Overseers or Advocates? An exploration of Heads of Departments and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago

Heather Angeline Daria Murphy

Doctor of Educational Studies

School of Education

March 2018

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

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ABSTRACT

In the history of school management and leadership in the Caribbean, the principal has been the primary focus in the work of educational researchers. Over a decade ago, Trinidad and Tobago began its second major reform of its educational system. As part of the Secondary Education Modernisation Programme, school-based management was introduced and with it a restructure of the organisation of secondary schools that included the formal appointment of middle managers. This study focuses on the beliefs and values that shape and influence the practices of the middle management in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago.

In my exploration of their beliefs and values, four participants took part in one of the few studies conducted on the middle management in the secondary school in the country. By middle management I refer specifically to the Heads of Departments and Deans who are intermediaries between the senior management-Principal and Vice-Principal, and staff. For the theoretical framework, I chose Kamau Brathwaite's "The Inner Plantation." As educational institutions become more homogenous and tied to global economic plans for expanding markets, the choice of a theory that has the potential to expose the ways in which secondary school middle managers are co-opted into feeding the global economy by the imposition of a market-driven model of school leadership and management is timely. To explore the beliefs and values of this tier of management, I employed the life history methodological approach as it offers a perspective of the major changes in an era of reform that have affected and continue to affect them, from their lived experience of a devolved version of school-based management. Based on this study, the Heads and Dean, resist the overseer role imposed upon them as they seek to live out their own beliefs and values in their daily practices as advocates.

INTRODUCTION

Setting the scene: Independence and Expansion of the Secondary School Sector

Three significant events took place in education between 1960 and 1962. Trinidad and Tobago became an independent nation; the Common Entrance Examination (11+) replaced the old College Exhibition Examination; and the modern government secondary school was introduced as a new type of school controlled by the state. A new era of educational reform began to take shape as thousands of children from all religious, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds were able to gain access to a secondary education based on the common examination at the end of seven years of primary school. Such changes are not to be underestimated if we consider that before 1962, there were a limited number of secondary schools, with the majority under the control of various religious groups. A chance at a secondary education was out of the reach of many children whose parents could not pay the school fees charged. Of these religious groups, the Roman Catholic Church was the most powerful as Trinidad, a former Spanish colony with an already large Catholic population, was further fortified with the arrival of French planters through the Cedula of Population issued from Madrid on 24th November, 1783 (Brereton, 1981, pp. 23-25). Even under British rule which began in 1797, Trinidad remained an island state dominated by French-Creole culture and religious beliefs. So strong were the feelings of the Church and its supporters of religious-controlled education, that the result of the battle was the passing of The Education Ordinance of 1870 that established the dual system of education (Brereton, 1981, p. 124), a system characterised by the existence of state-schools and state-assisted schools. Thereafter, secondary education became a battle between the British administration and the Church and its powerful followers. However, this conflict did not cease in 1962 as Trinidad and Tobago became self-governing. Williams (1968) would later describe this colonial education system as one which is defined as a "lack of integration, fosters class distinction, and tends to give sustenance to the attitude that one form of education is superior and another is inferior" (p.56).

So, by 1960, there were only two secondary schools under state control – the older Queen's Royal College (1859) and St. George's College (1953); as well as one technical school, San Fernando Technical Institute (Campbell, 1997, p.83). Between 1960 and 1961 however, modern secondary schools were built by the newly elected government in anticipation of the impending independence in 1962 and fulfilling the objective of an expanded secondary education sector. Along with the new schools, primary school students could enter secondary schools based on their performance in the new Common Entrance Examination, thereby affording thousands of students the opportunity to attend secondary school (Alleyne, 1996; Campbell, 1997). To understand fully the profound effect that greater access to secondary education had on the general population in 1962 and thereafter, it is important to note that secondary schools during and after emancipation were built primarily for the children of the ruling elite to prepare them for further education in the United Kingdom (Alleyne, 1996, Chapter 4). The goal of the colonial authorities of the time was not the promotion of universal secondary education but a secondary education with access to a "chosen few". These "chosen few" were largely students from the well-to-do families, members of the old planter class, with one or two places for black or coloured students who had been successful in the College Exhibition examination.

In a postcolonial society such as our own with its history of the enslavement and indenture systems, the modern secondary school would be the space for children from diverse ethnic, racial, religious and, socioeconomic backgrounds to enjoy an education that promoted nationalistic ideals such as love for God; respect for all and country; loyalty, citizenship, tolerance, truth and honesty-ideals echoed in the National Pledge recited daily by children throughout schools, as well as our National Anthem (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, pp. 5-6). Apart from greater access to secondary education and social cohesion as goals of the government's education agenda, it also sought to gain control over the entire education sector, and introduce a more modern technical /vocational type curriculum that reflected the new government's vision of becoming an industrialised nation (Campbell, 1997, pp.81-82).

 Unfortunately, in spite of Dr. Williams' efforts to reform the education system of Trinidad and Tobago, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the allure of the

older, traditional, "prestige" secondary schools remains. Every year, thousands of primary school students boast proudly of gaining a coveted place at a denominational school or the older, more prestigious state college Queen's Royal College when interviews are held by the local media with students on the day of the release of the results of the Secondary Entrance Assessment (SEA), (formerly the Common Entrance Examination) by the Ministry of Education. While more students are able to attend secondary school, the older, more "prestigious" schools remain the first choice for both parents and students alike. Old beliefs and attitudes about our secondary schools are difficult to dismantle and these continue to persist, crippling our education system so it remains "selective, stratified and segregated" (De Lisle, Seecharan and Ayodike, 2009, p.9), having "grown in size from 1962 but has maintained the same stratified structure and elitist functions" (Mustapha, 2002, p. 153).

Our education system has undergone significant changes during the post-independence era. By significant I refer here specifically to the changes in the structure of the Ministry of Education; the curriculum-both nationally and regionally; the introduction of regional examinations at the Ordinary and Advanced levels for secondary school students; the introduction of pre-primary education; an expanded post-secondary sector; a local university and in the management structure of schools. My particular interest is in school management and leadership.

Twenty-five years later, as an educator at the secondary school level, my experience as a classroom teacher, acting Dean and Vice-Principal have been enriching. My first-hand experience of teaching and leading in a traditional government secondary school, a former junior secondary school and a traditional denominational school, has brought me to a deeper understanding of the inequalities within our school system; the common misrepresentation of students from lower income homes, at times, the seemingly overwhelming problems faced by many young people, and the continued importance of race, ethnicity, gender and class that has its roots in our colonial past.

My interest in middle management started during my three years at, what was at that time, a junior secondary school located just outside of the country's capital Port of Spain. Teaching in a "junior secondary" school challenged all my preconceived ideas and views of students who are schooled within a shift system. Nothing in my own

educational or social background before had prepared me for dealing with the pedagogical, disciplinary or socioeconomic challenges that I encountered during my three years at the school. As a young teacher with less than four years' teaching experience, I was impressed by the school Deans and their knowledge of students. Not only did the Dean know each student by name, they also knew their family and community histories. Some of them had themselves come from communities with strong drug and gang cultures.

 The daily management practices of Deans in schools are guided by values, beliefs and attitudes. As a former acting Dean, and later Acting Vice-Principal, I recognise the different managerial styles of Deans and Heads of Departments with whom I interact now and in the past. My experience as a member of the middle management team at two schools made me more aware of the many challenges faced by Heads and Deans who are simultaneously leaders and followers. They are in the position of what I call "betwixt and between" within the organisation. Over time, I have observed, during meetings with the Principal and Vice-Principal, the interactions between Heads and the Principal and Vice-Principal; among heads of departments and between heads of departments. Each Head of Department possesses a distinctive managerial style and demonstrates a different attitude toward pedagogy, management of personnel (teachers and laboratory technicians) in her or his department; with students, parents, the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders. Likewise, during joint Deans and Heads of Departments meetings with the senior leadership, there were moments when the two groups of middle leaders seem to be antagonistic towards each other and very territorial. What is evident to me after attending some volatile meetings, now and in the past, the issues of power, control and authority between Heads and Deans; among Heads of Departments as well as between the middle and senior leadership often occur. As a former Dean, Subject Coordinator, and more recently, acting Head of Department in charge of a team of teachers, I am familiar with the responsibilities of middle managers such as the induction of new staff members, mentoring, monitoring and evaluating staff. More importantly, middle managers are expected to uphold and pass on the culture of the school (Bennett, Woods, Wise and Newton, 2007, p. 461).

The title of my study is "Overseers or Advocates? An exploration of Heads of Departments and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago." The central research question posed is how do the personal beliefs, values and attitudes of Heads of Departments and Deans influence and shape their everyday practices as middle leaders in secondary schools? The emphasis in current research on leadership and management in the Caribbean has tended to be primarily on the role of Principals. With the introduction of School-Based Management in 2004, the Ministry of Education began to decentralise its operations and schools were expected, by 2006, to be "on board" with the new management structure. School-Based Management was introduced as part of the modernisation of the public sector by central government. This began in the 1990s. As part of the on-going Secondary Modernisation Programme (SEMP), workshops were held for school leaders from education districts to introduce SBM. In addition, prospective candidates for the positions of Heads of Departments and Deans were interviewed by the Teaching Service Commission and duly appointed to positions after success at the interviews.

In my own role as a Subject Coordinator and as a former acting Dean, I often find myself in the position of a negotiator. My way of interacting with my peers and other non-teaching staff has always been one in which the best possible decision should, I believe, represent as far as possible, what is best for all, especially for students. From my perspective, middle managers are at the centre of the school's personnel. Heads of Departments and Deans, cushioned between the teaching and non-teaching staff and the senior leadership of the school, are at the core or heart of the school. As such, this exploration of the personal beliefs, values and attitudes of Deans and Heads of Departments that influence and shape their practices as curriculum/subject leaders; pastoral/disciplinary leaders, as well as their relationships with members of the wider school community, opens a space whereby the views of those who "lead from the middle" could be heard.

Aim and key research questions

My interactions with and observations of the daily practices of Heads of Departments and Deans, coupled with my own knowledge and experience of the middle management in a number of secondary schools, led to the selection of my topic "Overseers or

Advocates: An exploration of Heads of Departments and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago." Duties and responsibilities of Heads and Deans are prescribed in their respective job specifications, but more important to me are their beliefs and values that shape and influence their particular practices as managers of the curriculum and pastoral/disciplinary matters. The aim of my research therefore is to explore the practices of Heads and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. Thus, the key research questions are

1. Do their beliefs and values reflect those of the overseer or the advocate?

2. Do the practices of Heads and Deans in secondary schools reflect those of the overseer or the advocate?

3. How does the theory of the inner plantation provide a decolonising framework for the exploration of the practices of heads and deans?

As a postgraduate student engaged in postcolonial-educational research of a particular management group within the secondary school, theories on management practices that proliferate much of what is known about organisations, are derived from the work of people such as Peter Drucker (2008), Stephen Covey (2013) and Jim Collins (1994). To use such theories to explore middle leadership in this study would be a "Failure to recognize the value of indigenous ways of knowing to the design of research" and further "the maintenance, reproduction, and dominance of Westernized ways of coming to know the world through conducting research (Bristol, 2012, p. 16). Thus, the choice of Brathwaite's theory of the inner plantation provides an indigenous framework for an analysis of the beliefs, values and the resulting practices of middle managers in secondary schools.

Overview of chapters

Chapter One: "Living in an Era of Reform-School-Based Management and the Self-Managing School" opens with a critical look at the specific goals of the first Fifteen Year Education Plan 1968-1983. In this early plan, the goal of "full independence and

identity" achieved through an education system that departs from a reliance on "foreign assumptions and reference for its existence and growth" and as a "foundation and catalyst of change" (GOTT, 1974, p. 5), has failed to effect changes in the overall structure of the education system, that is the dual system of state and state-assisted schools, and, more importantly, has failed to address the elitism, competitiveness and insularity that continues to be a feature of this dual system. State schools are those that are under the direct authority and control of the Ministry of Education. State-assisted schools however, are denominational in nature, under the authority of a school board of management made up of various stakeholders within the school community and funded in part by the state. In effect, it is a partnership between the state and the denominational board of each school. What follows in this critique of the first education plan is the argument that subsequent education plans continue to be shaped by the neoliberal agendas of multilateral funding agencies with the state's compliance with these agendas. The theory of dependency introduced by the New World Group, is used to account for the persistence of the English-speaking Caribbean's reliance on the former metropolitan centres and their donor agencies for the necessary knowledge, funding and expertise to meet the goals outlined by the United Nation's Millenium Goals; and since 2015, the Millenium Sustainable Goals, along with the Education for All agenda, as well as lending conditions laid down by the International Development Bank (IDB) and World Bank (WB).

As a prelude to understanding the rapid changes faced by teachers and school administrators, it is necessary to explore critically the main reform-the Secondary Education Modernisation Programme (SEMP) and School-Based Management (SBM), the decentralisation of power to the school site, that were introduced into the education system of Trinidad and Tobago in the 1990s to fully understand how, two decades later, these reforms have shaped and, continue to shape the leadership and management of secondary schools. Questions addressed in this chapter are, why was the secondary sector reformed? What does secondary education modernisation mean really? How was it introduced? Where does the funding come from? What are the ideological assumptions underpinning this reform? What is school-based management? Why was it introduced and how was it introduced? What does decentralisation really mean? What

are the implications of the new management of schools for those engaged in school leadership and management?

Chapter Two focuses on the school management and leadership in this changing landscape of educational reform. With the introduction of School-Based Management, school leaders are now responsible for not only "improved levels of student learning and achievement" but also "school effectiveness' (RADU, 2009, p.4.1). However, given the history of an inherited colonial school structure with its hierarchical, authoritarian school leadership style, the imposition of SBM would appear to reinforce inequalities in the school system and sustain a management/leadership system that continues to be authoritarian and controlling rather that democratic and participative in nature. The argument here is that given our elitist school structure, schools that are deemed successful by the number of students who obtain scholarships each year, many of whom are already run by school boards and enjoy a certain degree of autonomy (Concordat, 1960; 1999), will continue to outperform the state-run schools, many of whom do not receive an intake of students who attain high scores in the SEA examination. Given these factors, how then is SBM going to address the many inequalities within the secondary school system?

This is a complex situation. School management and leadership in Trinidad and Tobago, as in the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean, has been immortalised by many of the region's writers who recall with strong aversion the image of the school teacher or schoolmaster in fiction. For example, Earl Lovelace's *The Schoolmaster* (1968); Zee Edgell's *Beka Lamb* (1982) and *Crick Crack Monkey* (2000) by Merle Hodge are all novels in which childhood experiences of schoolmasters and mistresses are vividly portrayed. In each narrative, the images presented to the reader are those one of authoritarian rule, use and abuse of power. In the real world of school management and leadership in Trinidad and Tobago, the image of the authoritarian school leader is much closer to its fictional counterpart than we think. The result of research done by James (2010) on educational reform reveals the dominance of "authoritarian/autocratic and dictatorship types of leadership in schools" because "many principals come from environments that maintained the status quo" (p.p. 394-395). Therefore, how can the school management and leader move from a situation whereby the Principal historically

was the authority figure within the school community, the decision-making coming many times with or without consultation from other community members, to one whereby she or he must now embrace a managerial/leadership style that is transformational, democratic and involves shared decision-making? How does the Principal's changing role as facilitator, affect her or his relationships with the middle management? How do the middle managers now perceive their roles? What are some of the challenges faced in their daily practice as Heads of Departments and Deans? Does this new division of labour suggest a specialisation of tasks? Are Heads and Deans a new version of overseers or are they advocates of change and of social justice? How are we to explore their practices in the light of school-based management in a way that is both historically and culturally grounded in the Caribbean experience?

By the end of the eighteenth century, the economy of Trinidad had developed into a plantation economy based on enslaved labour. Brereton (1981) in her description of the island states, "By the 1790s Trinidad had become an international frontier colony, full of foreigners preying on the island's new prosperity, anxious to make quick fortunes" (p.19). More than two centuries later, the economy of not only Trinidad and Tobago, but economies of the other Caribbean states, remain in a state of economic dependency. These economies are but contemporary versions of plantation economies (Beckford, 1999; Best and Levitt, 2005; Bristol 2008) whereby the development of education systems function primarily to produce the necessary trained human power to fuel the local/global economies. The direct consequences of this are education policies are then packaged and imported from international funding agencies, shipped to the Caribbean and then sold to the various governments to be distributed and consumed. This steady diet of knowledge about what counts as a comprehensive curriculum; pedagogy, assessment; school leadership and management, is privileged above other knowledge that is indigenous. Thus economic dependency is further linked through an "intellectual dependency" which produces the "intellectual consumer" (Bristol, 2008, p. 117). In this way, the process of colonisation continues thereby perpetuating what Edward Kamau Brathwaite (1975) refers to as the "inner plantation" (p.6). Chapter Three argues for this theoretical framework, The Inner Plantation as an appropriate theory for the exploration for not only the values and beliefs of Heads of Departments and Deans in the secondary school, but also how these influence and shape their everyday practices as leaders or

managers since the education system in Trinidad and Tobago has and continues to be subservient to the needs of the capitalist economic system.

Ever person has a story to tell. Stories are an integral feature of all societies. Human beings are natural storytellers and we in Trinidad and Tobago are no exception. Listen to any conversation or discussions between or among people in Trinidad and Tobago and I guarantee that you will hear at some point in the conversation, "Leh meh tell yuh ah story..."[1] In my own experience as a teacher, particularly a Class Mistress; an acting Dean and Vice-Principal, I would often listen to the stories of students' and teachers' lives. In a way, listening to the life story of individual student and teacher is part of my daily routine at school. Students and teachers are more than simply names or numbers but human beings with their own views, beliefs and values that influence their words and actions .Thus Chapter Four focuses on the fieldwork undertaken by me inclusive of my use of the life history methodological approach for the collection of data on how the beliefs and values of Heads of Departments and Deans in the secondary school are a result of their combined experiences as children, adults, within a political, social, cultural milieu that have shaped their practices as middle managers. As a teacher of Literature and Communication Studies, I understand fully the importance of narratives as constructions of our various selves in which are embedded beliefs, values and traditions.

 Therefore, the focus here is on the individual-the Dean and Head of Department, and as such, each person's daily practice is shaped by the beliefs and values which she or he holds from her or his own personal lives and social backgrounds. In this section the process by which four candidates were selected, approached and details of the research project is detailed. Following this is an extensive account of the fieldwork which was conducted over a period of seven months-from February to September 2014. Included in this are the many challenges encountered namely postponements of interviews that had been arranged due to personal difficulties; ethical dilemmas that confronted both the participants and myself as we knew each before as colleagues and as in one case, a friend.

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[1] Creole expression, Standard English translation, "Let me tell you a story"

Chapter Five, "Analysis of Findings" draws on the findings of Chapter Four, particularly on the importance of using the inner plantation as a postcolonial theory that is grounded in our historical and cultural context, to explore the educational institutions, teachers, school management and leadership in research.

CHAPTER ONE

'Living in an Era of Reform-School-Based Management and the Self-Managing School'

Introduction: Setting the context

Aid Travels with a Bomb

> Four hundred years from the plantation whip
> To the IMF grip and
> Aid travels with a bomb
> Watch out!
> Aid travels with a bomb
> They rob and exploit you of your own
> Then send it back as a foreign loan
> Interest is on it, regulations too
> They will also
> Decide your policy
> for you
> And Aid travels with a Bomb
> Watch Out!
> Aid travels with a Bomb.

Jean Binta Breeze

Dub poet Jean 'Binta' Breeze's poem "Aid Travels With a Bomb" (2013) sounds a warning. A warning to all who live in the Global South; all who live daily with the consequences of international donor funding and the severe conditions that are part of the "package deal" that accompanies such funding. "Watch Out!" (ll. 4 &13) is a reminder that the insidiousness of the plantation system, originally an economic system that depended on the labour of enslaved Africans, then, indentured labourers from the Indian continent for nearly four hundred years in the Caribbean, is still alive. In linking "the plantation whip" and "the IMF grip" (ll.1-2), Breeze demonstrates the persistence of this oppressed system. She demonstrates, in her choice of strong words such as

"whip" and "grip," a new form of enslavement to financial institutions situated in the Global North. Moreover, Breeze's linking of "bomb" (ll.3, 5, 12, 14) in relation to "Aid" (ll.3, 5, 12, 14) is a powerful one as she alerts her listeners/readers to the devastating effects that aid, in the form of loans with its severe terms and conditions, not to mention penalties, have on Caribbean economies and people, as well as other developing countries in the Global South. Metaphorically, the bomb makes this more vivid by alluding to the destructive nature of aid to developing countries as it accounts for loss of autonomy in charting their own destinies. This poem, with its description of the dangers of the "foreign loan," (l.7) "interest" and "regulations," (l.8) in addition to "policy" (l.10), is a gripping reminder that despite our attempts as small developing states to break free of economic, political, cultural and psychological dependency, we are further entrapped by financial and technical aid exported from multilateral funding agencies.

 As such, it provides the context for the discussion in Section One of "Educational Policies in Trinidad and Tobago: 1962 to 2015." In this critical review of successive educational policies introduced since independence, I argue that they reflect a narrowing of a vision of education that might have had the power to truly emancipate and enlighten successive generations of educators, students and school leaders to think critically about our reliance on economic, political, social and cultural structures and ideologies that continue to imprison rather than liberate. In effect, we continue to be trapped in what has been described by Caribbean intellectuals, both past and present, as *a state of dependency* (Girvan, 2006) as Trinidad and Tobago, like other small-island territories, struggle for economic, political, social and cultural development and survival in a globalised world (Mayo, 2008). This incarnation of globalisation is, in effect, a "new form of imperialism" (Tikly, 2004, pp.177-178) as it originates from a western concept of development fostered by the World Bank and other multilateral agencies. In this manifestation of globalisation, the role of the State becomes that of a "mediator between local policy and capital and the global economy" (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 14) or as Carr (2002) explains, the state functions as a "service industry" "secondary partner" resulting in "entrapment in a new neocolonialism" (p. 272). Development then is thus conceived of in purely economic terms and education becomes the means to feed

a global economic system intent on maintaining globally, a market capitalist system. Education systems, ministries of education, schools, school leaders, teachers, students, parents and the wider community, all become tools used in the maintenance of this dominant economic system as education, once conceived of as a public good, now becomes a private good, an important commodity that produces individualised, competitive entrepreneurial citizens instead of citizens who are socially, politically, culturally and morally just (Davies and Bansel, 2007; Ball, 2009; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Gulson and Fataar, 2011; Hursh and Henderson, 2011). These changes are reflected in educational policies that emerged in the late 1980s to the present.

Section Two is "The Modernisation of the Secondary School Sector." In this section, I discuss the Inter-American Development Bank funded Secondary Education Modernisation Programme (SEMP). This was the second major reform and expansion of the secondary school system and many of the changes experienced by teachers today are a result of the introduction of SEMP. Born out of the global financial crisis of the late 1980s and 1990s, it was a significant attempt to restructure the secondary school system that had not been transformed on a grand scale since the 1960s and 1970s. Here I examine critically the SEMP as words such as "reform", "restructure" and "modernisation" are contested and are open to different interpretations by all who were involved in this massive endeavour. Underpinning the reform thrust is the capitulation of the government of Trinidad and Tobago to external pressure to transform our education so that it conforms to education systems internationally that have all embraced a market approach to education. Moreover, it was an attempt to satisfy the demands for a more equitable education sector that could provides access to increasingly large numbers of students each year and finally, as a solution to the ever pervasive problem of quality.

The final section is "Decentralisation, School-Based Management (SBM) and the Self-Managing School." With the introduction of a centralised/decentralised approach to SBM, this new managerial approach to school leadership sets the context within which secondary schools nationally have been mandated to operate since the early twenty-first century. With the introduction of SBM, Trinidad and Tobago has joined the

international community in its adoption of a more business-like, corporate approach to the management of not only schools, but of the entire education system. Moreover, this section is extremely important as it provides the necessary background for my discussion in Chapter Two on the changing face of school management in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. Additionally, SBM has been at the forefront of successive governments to ensure its successful implementation in secondary schools. Finally, this chapter concludes with an overview of the attempts to transform our complex education system through practices borrowed from the private sector but which continue to fall short of ensuring an education system that is equitable, inclusive and provides quality education for all students nationally.

Section One: Educational Policies in Trinidad and Tobago: 1962 to 2015

Dr. Eric Williams, nationalist and regionalist who fought for the decolonisation of thinking in both the academic and political arenas, recognised the urgency to reform the existing education system. For him, the education system had to be "both the foundation and catalyst of change" guided by a "philosophy of service to the people of Trinidad and Tobago, recognising, of course, the Caribbean setting and international role of Trinidad and Tobago" (GOTT, 1974, p.5). Trinidad and Tobago, like other former colonies worldwide, was faced then with the task of forging a national identity after the end of colonial rule.

Trinidad and Tobago is a multicultural, multiracial, multi-religious society composed of descendents of Africans, Asians, Middle Easterners, Europeans and a small population of one of the two indigenous people who once peopled the islands, the Caribs. As a former plantation and colonial society, one of the many challenges faced by Dr. Williams as leader of a newly independent state, recognised that we had a system of values and beliefs based on dominant Western/European language, religion, and other cultural practices. Thus, the task of the first elected government began with the building of a nation in which the lines, "every creed and race find an equal place" of the national anthem, would, hopefully, become a reality. Education was to become the "vehicle for decolonization through nation-building" (Rohlehr, 2012, p. 183), to a radical transformation from a colonial/colonised identity to a decolonised/ national

identity. With education as both a national and social good (Dewey, 2011, p. 53), in the First Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983, it is clear that education was first conceived as not only developing a national consciousness, but also for developing:

citizens who are intellectually, morally and emotionally fitted to respond adequately and productively to the varied challenges of life in a multi-racial developing country and to the changes which are brought about rapidly in the economic foundations of civilisation, particularly the challenges of Science and Technology (GOTT, 1974, p. 5).

It is important to point out that the administration of the education system during colonial rule was under the direct control of the Director of Education who was answerable only to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to the British electorate (GOTT, 1974, p. 74). This changed with independence as control was transferred to the Minister of Education and Culture with responsibility for the Ministry of Education and Culture as it was then known. Therefore, educational planning was directed and controlled by the Minister and the Planning Committee made up of the Permanent Secretary, the Chief Education Officer and the Deputy Secretary (Planning and Development), with the Secretariat coming from the Educational Planning Unit (GOTT, 1974, p. 78). This transference of power and control of the education system from a Director of Education to the Minister responsible for education meant that the newly independent political directorate would be able to shape the direction of the education system to achieve national goals. To do this however, the government at the time recognised its lack of technical expertise and financing to effect radical changes to the inherited colonial system and turned to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and World Bank for assistance. On 2nd April, 1964 the UNESCO Educational Planning Team of four international experts arrived in Port of Spain and departed on 26 May, 1964 (UNESCO, 1964, p.1). The report was prepared in Paris and in 1964, UNESCO set up a Planning Division in the Ministry of Education and Culture which continues to operate out of the Ministry to this day. With the technical expertise of the UNESCO Mission and the recommendations from the 1959 Maurice Commission Report, the fifteen year educational development plan emerged and the first World Bank loan of $US 9.4 million was signed in October 1968 for the

construction of junior secondary and senior comprehensive schools; one Teacher Training College as well as the extension and conversion of three government secondary schools to comprehensive schools (Alleyne, 1996, p. 49; 101-102). Although, the plan was born out of the recommendations of the Maurice Commission, Bristol (2012) argues that this initial external funding of the expansion of the educational system by the World Bank, only resulted in firmly locking us into a dependency of external funding for education by adopting educational concepts and practices originating from the Anglo-American world.

What then, were the benefits that emerged from the first educational plan? Overall, with a more centralised education system in place, the economic and social agenda of the central government did succeed in opening up the secondary sector to a greater number of primary school graduates with the construction of modern secondary schools nationally. Under the direction of the Minister of Education and Culture, students in greater numbers were able attend secondary school. However, while the first loan from the World Bank and technical advice from the UNESCO Planning Team enabled more children access to a secondary level of education, equity and quality remained problematic. The more popular schools remained the older denominational schools which possessed the power to select through the Concordat of 1960, twenty percent of the incoming students who sat the Common Entrance Examination (Concordat, 1960, p.2). As a result, the student population continued to mirror that of the social stratification of the society during the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, the culture of competitiveness for places in the more traditional grammar type secondary schools has neither diminished with time nor with more secondary school places available. While the Trinidad and Tobago education system has evolved since independence into one whereby students have access to pre-primary through to secondary education, problems of selectivity and stratification based on race, class and colour along with non-inclusion of students with special educational needs, persist in essentially what remains an elitist educational landscape (De Lisle, Harricharan and Ayodike, 2006; Brown and Lavia, 2013).

In 1986, faced with a financial crisis as a result of a worldwide recession, together with the increase in import costs and inability to maintain public expenditure, the then government, the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), was forced to resort to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1988 which mandated a decrease in expenditure and privitisation by the state (Bissessar, 2000, pp.2-3). Under this administration, private sector practices and procedures would be introduced into the public sector (Bissessar, 2006, p. 90). With this new government came a new Education Plan. In a sense, this plan continued to focus on the secondary school system. The shift was now on the *quality* of schools, with evaluation of curriculum and measurement a priority (Alleyne, 1996).

By the early 1990s, under the guidance of management expert Gordon Draper, the largest reform of the public sector commenced. In effect what took place between 1991 and 1995 was an attempt at a systematic reform of the public service through the implementation of New Public Management (NPM). This new management reform would include the "devolution of management controls and the corresponding development of new reporting, monitoring and accountability mechanisms" (Bissessar, 2006, p. 92). Although this reform has been criticised by Bissessar (2006) as merely a "political ruse" (p.99), she does, however, point to an important consequence of the NPM which is the emergence of a "new epistemology" (p.98). This epistemology pervades the educational policies from the late 1990s to the present. The *Education Policy Paper 1993-2003, National Task Force of Education (White Paper): Philosophy and Educational Objectives*, included in the underlying goals of the Ministry, the development of human capital through professional development; the introduction of Heads of Departments in all secondary schools; cost-effective teacher preparation and training and the restructure of educational service (GORTT,2002, pp. 5, 7, 18). In the *Ministry of Education Strategic Plan 2002-2006,* the effects of globalisation were even more pronounced as the plan's focus was on the development of human capital via the modernisation of the education sector. In its Foreword, it is clear that Trinidad and Tobago, like other Caribbean territories needed to become competitive globally by having a knowledge-based and technologically-driven economy (GORTT, 2002, p.3). If not, they would face possible marginalisation from global economic activity; loss of

competitiveness globally, in addition to the loss of effective governance and economic development (Sutton, 2006, p.1).

In May 2010, the *Ministry of Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2011-2015* was introduced but differed little from previous education policies. In effect, it was a continuation of the policies of previous administrations. To achieve an education system characterised by equity and quality, the government needed to fulfil its Education For All (EFA) and Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). With this strategic plan it was clear that the ministry had adopted corporate planning, monitoring and evaluation practices and strategies to achieve its goals (GORTT, 2012). One of the sixteen priorities identified in this document was the assessment of the progress of School-Based Management and to revise its framework so that it would be fully operational at all levels of schooling (GORTT, 2012, p.15).

Section Two: The Modernisation of the Secondary School Sector

In the Introduction to the *2002-2006 MOE Strategic Plan,* the Secondary Education Modernisation Programme (SEMP) was described as a "long-term strategy for reform and modernisation" of the secondary school sector "to strengthen the nation's productivity and competitiveness by ensuring that young citizens from all backgrounds are prepared through a modern education system, to participate in, and contribute to, the development of a technologically driven and skills-based economy" (p. 12). This was the third such reform on a large scale since the first fifteen year educational plan. The Fourth Basic Education Plan: 1996-2003 funded by the World Bank aimed to improve the quality of primary education; while the SEMP Plan, which lasted from 1999 to 2009, focused on the expansion and improvement of secondary education (De Lisle, 2012, p.65). The IDB provided seventy per cent of the funding; the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, thirty per cent at the cost of $150 million US dollars (SEMPCU, 2002, p. 20). Due to incompletion by 2006, the IDB extended the programme to a further three years (Joseph, 2010, p.21).

To meet the programme's goal of providing an expanded secondary education sector characterised by quality and equity, students were to be provided with a curriculum that

prepared them to become technologically-skilled workers by teachers in possession of pedagogical expertise (SEMPCU, 2002, p.2). In order to achieve this objective, the third component-"Institutional Strengthening" addressed directly the Ministry of Education's capacity to "effectively plan, manage and monitor the education system" which included the decentralisation of the education sector and introduction of school-based management in all schools (SEMPCU, 2002, p.12).

As a Project Manager in the SEMP for six years, in his analysis of the success of the programme, Stephen Joseph noted that while the secondary education system was in need of reform, the undertaking was both a "complex and ambitious" one (2010, p.21). In his discussion of the five lessons learnt during his tenure as a Project Manager, Joseph is critical of not only prioritising which changes should have been made first, but when these should have been introduced on a phased basis (p.22). More importantly, the reform programme suffered from "weak leadership and limited and buy-in from the client organization and wide stakeholder body" (p.26). In fact, the IDB Project Completion Report (2011) corroborates this by identifying the barriers to the implementation and fulfilment of the objectives of the programme.

The SEMP Coordinating Unit (SEMPCU) which was established as a technical support unit for the Ministry of Education found itself operating outside of the Ministry as there was limited involvement by the MOE staff in the implementation of the project (p.9). Additionally, there was a lack of coordination and collaboration between the SEMPCU and the MOE and, at times, uncertain and limited funding from the Ministry of Finance for the project (pp.9-10). Moreover, a high turnover of the SEMPCU staff together with political changes resulted in delays as new Ministers of Education and Permanent Secretaries in the Ministry familiarised themselves with the project (p.10)

Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken (2012) in their analysis of Global Education Policy (GEP), not only offer reasons for the adoption by developing countries of education policies that originate externally via conditionality, but also identify the outcomes of attempts to implement them. GEPs are adopted because there is the common perception that they yield success. In other words, they work. Global policy entrepreneurs are responsible, according to Verger *et al,* for the marketing of policies that are both cost-effective and efficient, supported by evidence-based research. More importantly, the

authors note, these policies are crucial to reforming educational systems based on demands from teachers, families and other key members of society. In fact, the adoption of global education policies becomes more pervasive in times of a crisis in education. However, they contend, GEPs are "modified, indigenized or resisted" as they are "mediated by domestic history and politics and by the complex interplay of global and local forces, among other contingencies" (p.22). This lends support to the analysis by De Lisle (2012) on the failure to implement changes in our education system from 1999-2009. Using whole system and contextualized theories, he noted that systemic reform in Trinidad and Tobago was minimal, for large scale reforms imported from the North are unlikely to produce changes in a system influenced by historical, cultural, social, political and economic forces that are significantly different from education systems in the North (pp.67-68). Based on his ten interviews with project managers from the SEMPCU, Ministry of Education directors and one with a focus group made up of the local representatives of the IDB (pp. 69, 71), his findings are similar to those identified by Joseph (2012) in that the entire reformation was plagued by ambiguities, lack of cohesion, coordination and support between the MOE and SEMPCU; poor leadership and management; insufficient training and resources (p.73).

Despite the establishment of the Restructuring and Decentralisation Unit (RDAU) by the MOE to manage the decentralisation of the system and school-based management, even this was inadequate in providing sustained support and training for key stakeholders such as school leaders as they were disconnected from the entire decentralisation process (p.75). Decentralisation of our education system continues to be an ongoing process. In the following section, I explore the concepts of decentralisation and school-based management for the formal appointment of Heads of Departments and Deans, the middle management in all secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago as one of the prerequisites for the establishment of school-based management in all secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago.

Section Three: Decentralisation, School-Based Management and the Self-Managing School

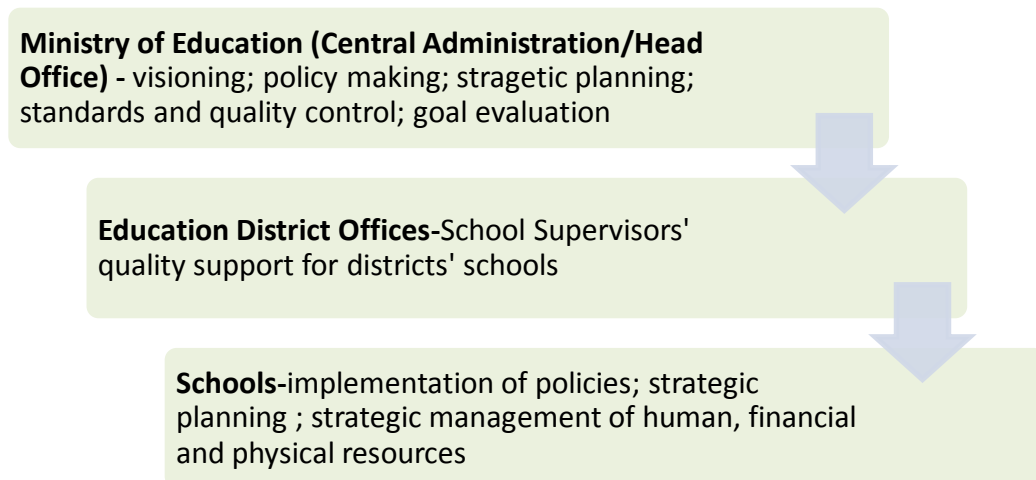**i. Decentralisation -Deconcentration, Delegation and Devolution**

What is decentralisation? In my perusal of the education policies from 1993 to 2015, each one is proliferated with language that speaks clearly to the government of Trinidad and Tobago's commitment to following the global neoliberal agenda. As discussed in Section Two, the modernisation and renewal of the education system outlined in the *MOE Strategic Plan, 2002-2006* had as its primary goal the development of the nation's human capital in its effort to survive in an increasingly competitive, knowledge-based and technologically-led world (GORTT, 2002, pp. 3 & 6). To achieve this, the Ministry needed to "achieve better organisational performance, better management of schools and a higher level of effectiveness throughout the system (GORTT, 2002, p.43). In its *Medium to Long Term Plan October -December 2003*, implementation of the decentralisation plan commenced in October 2003, of which school-based management, an integral component, would commence in June 2004 (GORTT, 2002, pp. 60 & 66). One of the weaknesses identified through a SWOT Analysis was an education system that was overly centralised (GORTT, 2002, p. 38), therefore, decentralisation would be expected "to achieve better organizational performance, better management of schools and a higher level of effectiveness throughout the system" (GORTT, 2002, p. 43).

Even though London (1996), in an early study of educational reform initiatives, noted that there was no clear definition of what is meant by "decentralisation" in the *Report on the National Task Force on Education 1993*, he pointed out however, that it included a justification of its adoption that was linked to the modernisation of the entire education system. Later, with the publication of the *School-Based Management and Planning Handbook*, decentralisation was defined. In its Introduction, decentralisation is defined as a shifting of a "significant degree of decision-making authority and resources from the Central Administration to Education Districts and school levels" (RDAU, 2009, p. 2.1). In reality, this shift is neither simple nor without challenges as decentralisation in and of itself, is open to a variety of definitions. In his discussion of educational systems Hanson (2010) describes decentralisation as a "continuum of the decision-making process" consisting of "deconcentration, delegation, and devolution" (p.27). Of these

three, decentralisation as conceptualised by the Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Education, appears to be in the first phase that is deconcentration. Deconcentration refers to work that is passed to subunits within the system; delegation relates to decision-making authority moving from those at the top of the hierarchy to lower levels, guided by policy established by those who occupy the seat of power and control; while devolution encompasses a transference of authority to independent groups (p.27). In fact, the handbook provided to schools as a detailed introduction and planner to school-based management, makes it clear that in the short term, decentralisation and the restructure of the school system begins with a deconcentration, then delegation of "some authority to the School and District level as preparedness is assured, with an eventual outsourcing of certain educational functions into companies or Education Authorities in the longer term" (RDAU, 2009, p. 7.1).

Furthermore, the main thrust of decentralisation was the introduction of School-Based Management which, according to the handbook, would assist schools to "make changes in the way in which they deliver services" and "generate the capacity to develop high performance" (RDAU, 2009, p. 1.2). A clearer picture of this is included in a simplified illustration of the decentralised decision-making authority in our education system, with the responsibilities of each sector listed (RDAU, 2009, pp. 5.2, 5.4).

Illustration 1: Decentralisation of decision-making authority in the Education System

Ministry of Education (Central Administration/Head Office) - visioning; policy making; strategic planning; standards and quality control; goal evaluation

Education District Offices-School Supervisors' quality support for districts' schools

Schools-implementation of policies; strategic planning ; strategic management of human, financial and physical resources

What this illustration reveals is an essentially *centralised* education system with the MOE as the commander-in-charge, providing the policies as blue prints to be implemented by the lower levels within the system. The Education Districts, under the administration of School Supervisors, function as monitors of the schools, while schools are expected to put into operation the policies mandated by the central office. These roles are stated explicitly in the SBM handbook (RDAU, 2009, pp.7.2 and 7.3).

Decentralisation therefore, in the context of Trinidad and Tobago educational system, emerges as "functional" rather than "democratic" (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, pp. 120 - 121). Power and control remain solidly in the hands of the state through the Ministry of Education. In this incarnation of decentralisation, the system has been restructured and reorganised following the practices inherent in New Public Management. However, reorganisation of the infrastructure of the education system is but one step in a much more challenging process as this also requires a "reculturing" (Fullan and Watson, 1999) to be in alignment with the larger global culture

ii. School-Based Management and the Self-Managing School

What exactly is school-based management? What are the consequences for Trinidad and Tobago's schools having to adopt what *appears* to be a more democratic approach to school management given the historical, social, political and cultural milieu in which they exist? Would SBM solve deeply-rooted problems in schools, particularly underperforming/non-performing students? Would SBM solve challenges faced daily by teachers, parents and school administrators with regard to gang violence, drugs, bullying or poverty? Although SBM was introduced in official governmental policy (GORTT, 2002, p.50), it has been the preferred form of school management internationally in countries that are culturally, racially and politically diverse such as South Africa, Singapore, Kenya, Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Mainland China, Malaysia, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Middle East-in Israel and Lebanon, Zimbabwe, Italy, Ghana, Niger, Senegal, Madagascar, Kenya, Burkina Faso, Mozambique and Belgium (Lingard, Hayes and Mills, 2002; Nir, 2002; Cheong Chen, 2003; Volansky and Friedman, 2003; De Grauwe, 2004; Caldwell, 2005; Nir and Meir, 2006; Cheong Cheng and Mo Ching Mok, 2007; Reimers and Cardenas, 2007; Chan Pak Tee Ng, 2008;

Gammage, 2008; Mizel, 2009; Blimpo and Evans, 2011; Chen, 2011; Kimber and Ehrich, 2011; Agasisti, Bonomi, and Sibiano, 2012; Bandur, 2012; Poppema, 2012; Mette and Bengston, 2015). Globally, with few exceptions, it is rare to find education systems that have not embraced, in some form, the concept of school-based management or, as it is referred to in some contexts, "site-based management", "site-based decision making" "school-based decision making", "shared decision making and "school management initiatives" (Bandur, 2012, p. 845).

Caldwell (2005), an expert on SBM and one of its strongest advocates, describes it as an "increase in authority and responsibility at the school level, but within a centrally-determined framework that ensures that a sense of system is sustained" (p.2). With this in mind, it is important to note that school-based management is not to be confused with self-government or autonomy (Caldwell, 2002, p. 35). In reality, SBM operates within educational systems that are both centralised and decentralised at the same time. This is a common characteristic internationally. For example, Singapore and Hong Kong have decentralised responsibility and authority to schools. In Hong Kong, the School Management Initiative (SMI) was established in 1991, while the School Excellence Model (SEM) introduced in Singapore in 2000, was later rebranded as SBM (Chan Pak Tee Ng, 2008, p.489). Investment in education is large and has been instrumental in their economic growth, especially Singapore which has become one of East Asia's economic powerhouses. In both systems, educational decentralisation is part of the centralised control by the state that monitors and controls from a distance, ensuring that schools are responsible and accountable to the state for students' performance (Chan Pak Tee Ng, 2008, pp.497- 498). As a consequence of their embrace of a neoliberal market approach to schools, Singapore and Hong Kong's schools are besieged by national examinations, students' tests scores, league tables, national benchmarks and where Principals are "encouraged to see themselves as CEOs" (Chan Pak Tee Ng, 2008, p. 491). Interestingly, Apple (2001) offers a clear picture of the role of the Principal in an educational climate that is radically altered when schools begin to take on the appearance of corporate entities. He warns that within this new administrative framework, the Principal's focus is more about the school's image and less on pedagogy and curriculum matters (pp. 74-75).

Where then, did this global phenomenon arise? According to Caldwell (2008), school-based management was part of an ongoing approach to the decentralisation of schools which started in the late 1960s (p.235). Its underlying purpose, he continues, was the empowerment of schools through the efforts of political, social and religious movements from the 60s into the 70s (p.240). In the United States in the 1980s, it was introduced in the *No Child Left Behind* legislation and in the United Kingdom with the Education Reform Act of 1988 (Smyth, 2011, p. 97). Indeed, it was hailed as "one of the most salient international trends of school reform" and a "new educational paradigm" (Cheong Chen, 2003, pp.31-35). However, Lingard, Hayes and Mills (2002), in their criticism of what started as a "social democratic reform and a way to move to a more progressive educational system" during the 1970s, argue that it is a "suturing together of competing aspects across the social democratic, managerialist and market perspectives" (p.15), emerging a decade later as a "Corporate managerialist system" (p.35). Kimber and Ehrich (2011), advocates of a more social democratic version of school-based management, point to the inherent hypocrisy of this corporate managerialist incarnation of school-based management that devalues true democratic citizenship, inclusion, social justice and community (p.180). In fact, much of the literature is critical of this corporate managerialist version of SBM (De Grauwe, 2005; Davies and Bansel, 2007; Ball, 2009; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Gulsan and Fataar, 2011; Smyth, 2011). As one of the more vocal critics of SBM, Smyth (2011) argues that this version originated from the bowels of the transnational banking sector as part of the "structural adjustment agenda of the World Bank, the IMF, and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development" thus paving the way for public education to become privatised, and the creation of entrepreneurial citizens globally (p.112). Furthermore, schools are now engaged in the business of self-marketing, while teachers have become little more than technicians and principals little more than "CEOs" (p.113). He describes teaching and learning as no longer the primary focus of teachers, as school leaders and staff must now manage the "plant" (school), "physical infrastructure," and "human and financial resources" (p.109) in keeping with the underlying practices embedded in new public management.

Yet, despite the many criticisms of SBM, it is the promise of a "democratic system of school governance" that is offered as one of the strongest justifications for its adoption by the Ministry of Education in Trinidad and Tobago. With the adoption of this new form of school governance, the expectations are high student learning and achievement as well as improved school effectiveness (RDAU, 2009). Lauded as a "means of empowering, restructuring and reculturing schools" (RDAU, 2009, p.4.1), SBM would propel schools towards the achievement of their goals of school improvement and student achievement. Over the past eleven years, schools have made the transition to a form of SBM whereby school administrators and staff are responsible for the decision-making at the school level albeit guided by their respective school boards, parent-teacher groups, other stakeholders and the district School Supervisor. School administrators submit the required three-year school development plans and manage human and financial resources with funds received based on the developmental plans submitted.

Studies of the effects of SBM throughout the school system in Trinidad and Tobago are now emerging. In one of the earlier studies on the implementation of SBM in Trinidad and Tobago by Bobb-Lewis (2005), she states that the adoption of the "principles of democracy and decentralisation" within the educational sector were "prerequisites for membership in international and regional organisations such as the United Nations Economic Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) (p.1). One of the principles of the democratisation of education is the power that is placed in the hands of the relevant stakeholders to manage the affairs of their schools and, as such, her research focused on the nature of stakeholders' relationships under SBM in two Tobago primary schools-one, a high level performing school; the other, low level performing (103). In addition to changes to stakeholders' relationships, she also examined how the management and administrative functions of the school organisation were affected by this initiative (p.44). Bobb-Lewis, in her role as a participant observer (p.93) interviewed the principals, the SBM Committees, students and five teachers (infants to senior juniors) of each school over a three year period (pp. 118-123). One of the key determinants in understanding the relationships within each school was the culture of the school. School culture could

either foster empowerment or prevent empowerment of stakeholders as her observation and interviews revealed (p.236). Her examination of the effects of SBM on stakeholders' relationship, although a decade old, nonetheless sheds light on a number of issues such as how power, control and authority are dispersed within a school and the challenges faced in implementing changes which are both organisational and behavioural in nature (p. 236).

Likewise, Dookhoo (2012) in his research into factors that either facilitated or hindered the implementation of SBM at the one secondary school is instructive. Information was gathered through opinions and perceptions received from three members of the teaching staff, two middle managers-one Head of Department and one Dean of Discipline, and one senior administrator, the Principal. This secondary school built under SEMP in 2003, is located in the Caroni Educational District (pp.12-13). In his discussion, Dookhoo presents decentralisation as a type of delegation, as top-level authority is passed on to sub-units to make "operational decisions" (p.17). In his interview with the senior administrator, the Principal, it was evident that the Principal's training by the Ministry of Education, knowledge and understanding of SBM, the role of middle managers and other stakeholders , enabled him to undertake the implementation process (pp.50-51). Yet, while the Principal demonstrated a more transformational approach to school leadership, his staff's perceptions were very different as he was accused of favouritism in his choice of middle leaders and hypocrisy (p.54). In fact, the implementation phase was plagued by "confusion," "enmity" and "animosity" as SBM brought with it "staff division" and charges of unfairness and inequity (p.55).

Yet, both Bobb-Lewis' and Dookhoo's research studies were insightful as they both reflected independent examinations of SBM. However, each study failed to critically examine the adoption of this externally produced school management approach, introduced as a panacea for a number of systemic illnesses, and its applicability to our schools given our colonial past that has created an education system that remains essentially elitist and hierarchical in nature. In each study, there appeared to be an unquestioned acceptance of this managerial approach to school governance as an innovation to be embraced.

Closing Thoughts

Without a doubt Trinidad and Tobago has joined the global community in its pursuit of human capital development. As a small-island state, faced with competitiveness from more developed nations, we have experienced two major educational reforms. Both have yielded positive and negative consequences. The expansion of the education system through the early establishment of the modern secondary schools, the comprehensive and composite schools, made it possible for more post-primary students to move on to   secondary schools. However, while there were many successes, our education system has not evolved into one in which we have witnessed the dismantling of the dual system; the change of the public's perceptions of what constitutes the "good secondary" school nor a view of education that truly caters for all children, especially those who learn differently. In this, perhaps we have remained short-sighted.

Chapter Two

Middle Management in secondary schools Trinidad and Tobago:

Those in-Between – Heads of Departments and Deans

A new paradigm is emerging or has emerged which has forced fundamental rethinking of such vital issues as the principles that guide organisations, the way competition will be conducted, new organisational structures that will influence their operation and complexity, new challenges for leadership, the assumption of the marketplace, and the architecture of the global environment (Hall, 2001, p.641).

Introduction

One of the infrastructural changes in the first phase of the SEMP site-based implementation process began with the introduction of a middle tier of secondary school management. This middle management tier comprises Heads of Departments and Deans. By the early 2000s, the MOE began its formal appointment of the middle managers in secondary schools nationwide. With this new management structure now composed of the "principal, Vice-Principal, Heads, Deans and Teachers" (RDAU, 2009, p.14), all are collectively responsible for the creation of the school's vision and mission, albeit guided by the vision and mission of the central authority, the MOE.

Unlike the growing body of research done on the secondary school principals in Trinidad and Tobago, and the Caribbean (Morris, 1993, 1999; Brown, 2002; Hamel-Smith and Crouch, 2004; Conrad, Brown and Crockett, 2006; Hutton, 2013; Newman, 2013; Smith, 2013), research on secondary school middle management in the region is now beginning to emerge (Phipps, 2007; Hernandez, 2013). This is understandable given that the school Principal has been the traditional leader, person in authority, and in many schools, especially in the past, a legendary figure. However, with the appointment of secondary school middle managers, there is the opportunity for new studies on this group. My own study focuses on the professional practices of Heads and Deans in an attempt to open a space for further research and to address the gap in our knowledge and understanding of middle managers locally.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section, "Is it Management or Leadership? That is the question," I offer a rationale for my choice of management and not leadership as the title for my discussion of the newly positioned Heads and Deans

under SEMP. In the second section, "Heads and Deans: those in- between," I examine the duties and responsibilities of Heads and Deans as described in their official job specifications. The final section "Middle Management-Mapping the field," is a review of the existing literature on this topic both regionally and internationally.

Section One: Is it Management or Leadership? That is the question.

I spent a considerable amount of time deliberating on whether I should include the words "management and leadership, or choose between management and leadership" as an appropriate for this chapter. Eventually, I chose to exclude the word "leadership" as part of the title for it would give a far less accurate picture of the role expected of those who occupy the newly-established positions of Heads and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago since the inception of school-based management in 2004. Management and leadership are often used interchangeably as the review of much of the literature on these two groups will show in the third section of this Chapter. However, there are differences in what is meant by management and what is meant by leadership. They do not have shared meanings or origins, though both are integral components to any effective organisation and often the two concepts intersect. For example, heads and deans can be viewed as leading when they influence others to adopt new pedagogical practices or to implement changes in curricula sent from the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC); while the Principal or Vice-Principal, is managing when they are engaged in planning or organising workshops and preparing the school's calendar of events for the academic year for submission to the ministry.

Given that there is some overlap (Northouse, 2010, p. 13), the dominant discourse in policy documents focus on management rather than on leadership. In fact, in the *Ministry of Education Strategic Plan 2002-2006,* secondary schools were reorganised to reflect "modern management structures and practices" (GORTT, 2002, p. 50). What is noted is the absence of the word "leadership" in the official document. So, what exactly is meant by "modern management structures and practices?" As mentioned in Chapter One, an important factor in laying the groundwork for the institutionalisation of school-based management throughout the school system was the creation of formal appointments to positions located between the Principal and Vice-Principal and the

teaching/non-teaching staff as a prerequisite for the functioning of the new organisational and management structure of secondary schools.

Consequently, the job specifications for aspiring and appointed Heads and Deans outlined in a variety of official state documents are replete with management jargon (MOE, 2007, pp-91-94). Looking through the job specifications for both the Head and Dean, the focus in each one is on activities for example planning, co-ordinating, monitoring, supervising, assessing and enforcing rules and regulations, in addition to following procedures and teaching the prescribed official curricula. From this it is clear that management jargon weighs heavily in these documents. Peck and Reitzbug (2012) in a study of how business management concepts have infiltrated and transformed the practices of school leadership in K-12 schooling is insightful. With references to forty years of documentary evidence, Peck and Reitzbug tracked and identified three major concepts that have influenced educational leadership over this period (p.361). These are the Management by Objectives (MBO) which lasted from 1972 to 1980; Total Quality Management (TQM) which began around 1992 and reached its peak in 1997, and the third, which is yet to complete its cycle, Turnaround/Turnarounds, which began in 2009 (p.361). The influence of classical organisational theories such as scientific management guru Frederick Taylor, the administrative model introduced by Henri Fayol and Max Weber's bureaucracy, all early engineers of rational, technical, hierarchical concepts of management/organisational structures, have not disappeared with time but continue to shape the organisational structure of schools worldwide as neoliberal reforms have swept across countries both in the Global North and South.

According to Hanson (2003), these classical organisational theories were later transferred to public organisations via Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick in their "planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting" (POSDCORB) formula (p.23), essential elements of Administrative Management Theory, much of which lurks in the roles and responsibilities outlined for the middle management in our own secondary schools today. One of the characteristics of Max Weber's hierarchical and rule-bound organisation is the division of labour. With the creation of an intermediary group of teachers whose knowledge and expertise provides them with the requisite criteria for selection to the position of middle managers, a

number of the state's goals would be realised. Some of these goals are more efficient and effective schools that will demonstrate improvements in students' performance and achievement through a transformation of the teaching/learning environment; an increase in whole-school involvement in decision-making, accountability and ownership; in addition to financial and pedagogical resources that must be complementary to instructional goals (RDAU, 2009, p. 1.5).

Thus, to speak of leadership and ignore management in our local school context would be to paint a false picture of the effects of SBM after twelve years of devolving some authority to the school level. In this respect, Mertkan's (2014) study in which she is critical of the hegemonic nature of current school leadership is worth some consideration for its relevance to a country such as Trinidad and Tobago. Her study of head teachers in North Cyprus is interesting as she points to the tendency to rely on the prevailing "dominant leadership discourse" in an exploration of school administration in countries that have implemented educational reform similar to that of Trinidad and Tobago. Mertkan's findings reveal the difficult situations faced by head teachers so immersed in their daily routine of administration and management of schools, that there exists, in reality, little opportunity for them to practise leadership or initiate any significant change in teaching and learning (p.227). Likewise, Beepat (2013) argues that in Guyana, school management rather than school leadership has been further solidified without any significant effort to nurture leadership. He contends that one of the shortcomings of their *Education Strategic Plan 2008-2013* is in its lack of a plan to build school leadership capacity (p.70). Furthermore, he adds that "school management is still the dominant model adopted by school principals who function more as managers rather than educational leaders" (p.71); as "custodians" and "caretakers" (p.77) within the school system. So, in both the North Cyprus and Guyana contexts, school management, not school leadership, is still the norm.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the situation appears little different from North Cyprus and Guyana in the way in which management rather than leadership is the norm despite efforts by the state to develop school leadership through training programmes and postgraduate degrees in school leadership. In his study of leadership development and reform in Trinidad and Tobago conducted by De Lisle (2009), the persistence of beliefs

and values held by Principals and other school administrators about leadership are so entrenched that they hold firmly to the position that their "informal in-school and out-of-school experiences" (pp. 76-77) are more valuable than those offered by the training programmes. He offers several reasons for the non-effectiveness of the training that are worth noting. One of the most important shortcomings is the lack of theories that originate from the Caribbean itself and an over-reliance on theories that are non-Caribbean in nature (p.77).

For instance, De Lisle examines how the Masters programme in leadership and administration and Executive Diploma in School Management offered through the University of the West Indies School of Education in partnership with Simon Fraser University –the Masters in Educational Leadership- as well as an Executive Diploma in School Management offered by what was then, the University of the West Indies Institute of Business (UWI, IOB) (p. 74). In addition, a two year programme in leadership and management was offered through the Consortium of the University of Montreal and McGill University; other short-term training focused on school development and strategic management for school principals (p. 74).

Yet, while De Lisle's analysis of the shortcomings of leadership training in the early implementation of the SEMP identify weaknesses in the lack of indigenous leadership theories, it is his use of Edwin Jones's work on Caribbean public institutions as a conceptual framework to better understand the persistence of attitudes, beliefs and values held by those in administration, that demands closer scrutiny for its insights. According to De Lisle, Jones points to the nature of public institutions that facilitate a culture of bureaucracy and paternalism (p.79) and in turn, leaders in possession of a particular mindset, that is beliefs, attitudes and values - characterised by non-innovation (p.82). This is further reinforced by James (2010) who, in the conclusion of her study of educational reform in Trinidad and Tobago, states that it is necessary for the emergence of a new type of school leadership and leader that is "better trained, more research oriented, more of a risk taker and autonomous" (p.387) and one ready to move beyond simply the maintenance of the status quo (p.396). Therefore, despite the rhetoric of reform, principals, vice-principals, heads of departments and deans who make up the management core in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago, in effect possess little

or no autonomy to effect any significant transformation of their schools given the present structure of the Ministry of Education, one mired in bureaucracy and top-down decision-making. In a more recent study (James, 2014) which involved responses from Principals, School Supervisors and teachers, the findings reveal that school-based management, like other school improvement initiatives, is ineffective as decentralisation is essentially what in Trinidad we call "ole talk" or lip service according to the school principals as they possess no power or authority to act autonomously. Two of the participants, whose opinions were reflective of the majority of participants in this study, went further to state that the MOE is guilty of desiring, in reality, only managers not leaders (p.188).

Thus, within our bureaucratic system, I argue, what appears to be some incarnation of school leadership is a mixture of "managerial leadership" and "managerialism" (Bush, 2011; Bush and Glover, 2014). The emphasis in this combination of management/leadership is on one hand, the individual's function, tasks and behaviour (Bush and Glover, 2014) as outlined in job specifications and on the other, "management processes at the expense of educational purposes and values" (Bush, 2011). This is common to all formal models of organisations, in that power is thereby exercised by people who hold formal positions and also perform specific tasks that are supported by formal procedures and rules. Moreover, since the introduction of New Public Management system reform in the 1990s within the public service (Wittman, 2008), the education system which is a very significant constituent of the public sector, has embraced the NPM business-derived ideas and practices that has, in turn, resulted in a deepening of a bureaucratic and centrally-controlled education system coupled with some degree of decentralisation to the school level.

Therefore, as secondary schools have been restructured to reflect these new management structures, they continue to operate within a centralised educational system that controls and guides their daily activities through centrally determined policies that have been externally produced by transnational funding agencies such as the IDB and World Bank who continue to homogenise educational policies as part of their neoliberal agenda globally. Again, as mentioned earlier, Peck and Reitzug (2012) whose work on the relationship between business management concepts and school leadership trends, is

a strong reminder of how education has become a tool, a weapon even, of market and business influence on school policies and practices. In this respect, for Trinidad and Tobago the situation is no different from other countries globally.

Section Two: Heads and Deans: Those in-between

Who are Heads and Deans? First of all, the positions of Head of Department and Dean in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago are not level entry positions. By this I mean that for a Secondary school Teacher Grade 3 to occupy either of these positions, she or he must be promoted to the position, subject to the possession of a postgraduate Diploma in Education (GORTT, nd, p.1). The one year long Diploma programme is divided into two parts - theory and practice and is awarded to candidates who successfully pass the required courses, thesis and practical examination. Teachers who have been teaching for two or more years are eligible for the programme subject to the approval of the MOE and recommendation by the Principal of the teacher's school. This programme is exclusive to secondary level teachers.

One of the interesting features of this middle management position is the use of the title of "Dean" to refer to the person responsible for "monitoring the academic performance and discipline of a group of students in Forms One to Six" (MOE, 2007, p.93). This title is usually reserved for those in charge of faculties and departments in tertiary level institutions. As part of the middle management structure, the person who holds this position in a secondary school is more commonly known as a Dean of Discipline rather than a person in charge of the pastoral care of students.

Based on information taken from the *Green Paper on Standards and Guidelines for the Operation of all Schools* (2007), deans work collectively with the senior management, heads of departments and form teachers to monitor the students' academic performance and discipline (p.93). Nothing is explicitly stated to suggest that their role is that of a pastoral nature. Instead, deans are expected to "receive report of infractions of rules of conduct, and investigate and compile reports of students' indiscipline" (p.93). In the real world of school however, deans interact with students daily, and, in my experience of different types of secondary schools, each with its unique school culture and history, the dean is sometimes less of a disciplinarian and more likely to play a more pastoral role in

her or his care of students. More often than not, I have often observed students who form attachments to deans who are looked upon by their students as surrogate mothers, aunties and fathers. My observations about students' growing need for more "pastoral care" and less "disciplinary action" bears out in two recent studies on pastoral leadership. Although both studies reflect a New Zealand context, Joyce (2013) and Murphy (2011), note the shift away from the traditional role of the middle leadership in secondary schools from one that focuses on discipline, to a more holistic approach to the care of students. In the context of Caribbean, and more specifically Trinidad and Tobago, there is, based on my search, no study as yet in this particular area.

With respect to heads of departments on the other hand, the literature is replete with studies of this particular group of middle managers who were first commonly known as "curriculum and programme managers" (Earley, 1999, p.148) but later came to be known as "specialists who are responsible for an aspect of the academic curriculum, including department faculty heads, curriculum team leaders and cross-curriculum subject coordinators" (Wise, 2001, p 333-334). Busher, Hammersley-Fletcher and Turner (2007) refer to those who are situated in the middle of the organisational structure of schools as middle leaders. This is an important conceptual shift since the word leadership has replaced management in the literature. I refer to my earlier thinking on why this shift has occurred when I drew reference to Mertkan's (2014) criticism of the word leadership in a postcolonial context where the policy documents assign managerial roles to those who occupy positions in the middle. So, throughout my search, I discovered the growing preference for "leader" and "leadership" in discussions of middle managers (Fitzgerald, 2009; Bennett, Woods, Wise and Newton, 2007; Fitzgerald and Gunter, 2006; Busher, 2005).

According to Busher et al. (2007), studies of middle leadership have neglected the "institutional, social and political contexts" in which heads and deans work or on the "strategies" used to implement policies passed on to them from their ministries (p.406). Hernandez (2013), in what is a ground-breaking study of secondary school heads at two government schools in Belize, examines the leadership roles of the department heads and how they see themselves in their role as instructional leaders (p.7). Likewise, Phipps (2007) focuses on the academic middle leaders in three different types of schools

in Jamaica as they navigate the challenges and struggles in their capacity as academic leaders in Jamaican high schools. Both Phipps and Hernandez provide us with insight into the roles played by the academic head (Phipps, p.4) or subject leader in a changing school environment where leadership is no longer the sole domain of the principal and one also where the old hierarchical system is threatened by the middle leadership in such a way that, according to Hernandez, principals are intimidated by the autonomy now enjoyed by teachers as a result of their new leadership positions and are reluctant to relinquish some of their power and authority in decision-making to the new leadership body (pp.19-22).

One of several thought-provoking questions that I raise here then, is the nature of the relationship between senior management and middle management now that teachers have been formally appointed to the positions of heads and deans. Additionally, what is the nature of the relationship between heads and deans? The relationship between different heads of departments heads?   What about relationships between and among deans from different year groups? Schools are communities and as Busher (2005) reminds us, "constructed through dialogical processes between individuals and collectivities, such as departments or groups of students or external stakeholders" (p.138). Relationships then are influenced and shaped by policies, rules, job specifications and descriptions, school culture and organisation. For us who teach, manage and lead others, there is the *National School Code of Conduct*, *The Education (Teaching Service) (Amendment) Regulations, 2000*; *Public Service Commission Regulations 1990* and *The Concordat of 1960*, among others.

Section Three: Middle Management-Mapping the field

As I begin my review of the existing literature on middle management, I return now to my primary research question, "What are the underlying beliefs and values that shape and influence the daily practices of heads of departments and deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago?" as a guide through the existing research done on middle management in secondary schools both regionally and globally

Based on a review of the literature on middle management, there is a lack of research on heads of department and deans in secondary schools in the Caribbean when

compared to research done in other parts of the world, for example the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. This is understandable as the formal appointment of deans and heads is a fairly recent development in the context of the Anglophone Caribbean compared to other regions that decentralised their education systems and instituted the SBM model years before it was adopted by Caribbean educational policy makers. I also note the minimal research on pastoral leadership relative to the research done on heads of departments. Moreover, there has been limited work which foregrounds the values and beliefs of heads and deans that influence their practices. Much more research has focused on their roles and functions, rather than their beliefs and values. It is this gap that I hope to address.

Just recently I happened to pick up a copy of a book that I had purchased eight years. In John Maxwell's *The 360° Leader* (2005), Maxwell makes the claim that "Leadership is a choice you make, not a place you sit. Anyone can become a leader wherever he is. You can make a difference no matter where you are" (p.7). Then, much later while I was reading Lumby's (2013) critique of the cult following behind the concept of distributed leadership, I was struck by a particular statement in her discussion of power and authority as it relates to distributed leadership. She states that organisations are sites of power, making it either difficult or easy for the people within them to lead (p.584). While I agree with the first part of Maxwell's statement about making a difference wherever you are in any organisation, by, for example, acts of kindness, being courteous, generous, helping others, I am not convinced that becoming a leader anywhere in an organisation is all that simple as he suggests.

On the other hand, Lumby's point about the five dimensions of power is worth some attention as she rightly states that the hegemonic nature of power can appear so normative in daily life that people can fail to see its effects in their lives (p. 585). The five perspectives she offers are: power as one-dimensional that is, power as exercised when one person or group has control over another. The second is the avoidance of power, whereby any conflict is controlled by avoiding any confrontation with a person or group; the third is holding values and beliefs that, unknown to the holders of such values, gives others control over them; fourth is the power that resides within community-leaders are empowered by their followers, and finally, drawing on

Foucault's concept of power as a "fluid, constantly recreated construction embedded in the deepest structures in society" (p.585). Power, control and authority are key issues that surface when discussions of the introduction of middle management in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago continue to perpetuate organisational cultures that are built upon deeply embedded old colonial values and beliefs. Some of these are the values and attitudes towards children whose values and beliefs do not reflect those of the dominant groups. Brown (2003) in identifying issues in school leadership and effectiveness, points to the difficulties face by school leadership in countries with a diverse group of people from various religious, cultural and ethnic backgrounds such as ours (p.12). Views from participants on education suggest that middle class and upper class values are passed on through the curriculum and the power wielded by these groups are used to influence and direct the political leaders to uphold the status quo (p.13). Thus, in relation to my study of heads and deans who appear "empowered" as middle managers, looking at it from a postcolonial perspective, the power that middle managers possess is based on their positions as supervisors, monitors or, as my title states, a reinvention of the overseer type. Just look at the job specifications and description of the duties and responsibilities of the middle managers critically and you will discover a system in which heads and deans are expected to monitor supervise students, teachers and other non-teaching staff (MOE, 2007, p. 91-94).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to trace the historical development of school management from the colonial era to the present. In doing so, I wanted to show the continuity of the way in which the new form of school-based management is really similar to the one that existed during the colonial era. The second major reform of the Trinidad and Tobago education system introduced, rather than transforming the system to reflect a radical dismantling of an outdated system, instead, strengthened an already bureaucratic top-down education system mirrored in the organisational structure of secondary schools. The duties and responsibilities outlined in the job specifications for these two groups of middle managers-heads of departments and deans-is representative of the new public management structure introduced since the late 1990s. In the literature review on middle management, there are two major studies conducted on heads of departments-one in

Jamaica and the other in Belize. Research on deans is scare even in other countries where SBM has been in existence for a much longer time.

Chapter Three

'The Inner Plantation: An Indigenous Theoretical Framework'

> But did his vision
> fashion as he watched the shore
> the slaughter that his soldiers
>
> furthered here? Pike
> point? musket butt
> hot splintered courage bones
> cracked with bullet shot
> dipped black boot in my belly. the
> Whip's uncurled desire?
>
> (Brathwaite, 1992, p.17)

Introduction

The extract I selected to open this chapter is taken from one of Edward Kamau Brathwaite's poems from The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy (1992). In it, Brathwaite's poem captures the encounter between European, here represented by Columbus, and the indigent people of the Caribbean islands. This encounter set in motion a history of conquest, genocide, enslavement and colonisation, whose legacy is still evident today throughout the region. Girvan's (2000) describes the Caribbean as "the heartland of the sugar plantation system" (p.32). The sugar plantation has both in the past and the present, been the strongest influence in the shaping of the region. The sugar plantation in the Caribbean began as an economic system built on the labour of enslaved peoples-indigenous, African and later, indentured Indians from South Asia to produce sugar for export. Out of this economic system plantation societies were born. Plantation societies share common characteristics such as ethnically and racially diverse people who practise a wide range of religious beliefs, with the majority of the population the descendents of Africans.

Given such a history of the region, my theoretical framework is based on a plantation model of society and its institutions. In my exploration of the practices of middle management within the secondary school system in Trinidad and Tobago, I argue that the plantation provides both a conceptual framework and language to discuss the organisation and management of secondary schools. The plantation model is an appropriate one to apply in this study of middle management because it is grounded in historical and cultural understandings of the Caribbean-its people and institutions.

Therefore, this chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, "Applying a Plantation Model to Secondary School Management," I explore the potential transformative value of applying a plantation model to school management in Trinidad and Tobago. Section Two entitled "The Inner Plantation: An Indigenous Theoretical Framework" focuses on the theoretical model that I will use in Chapter Five to analyse the practices of Heads of Departments and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. In this section, Edward Kamau Brathwaite's discussion of the inner plantation in his "Caribbean Man in Space and Time" (1975) is an appropriate theory to use in postcolonial educational research as it is culturally and historically grounded in the Caribbean experience. Here I discuss the inner plantation as an indigenous theoretical framework that continues the Caribbean tradition of plantation scholarship originating in the 1960s and 1970s with Lloyd Best and the New World Movement, a group of intellectuals who pioneered indigenous scholarship to dismantle hegemonic colonial political and cultural ideas. Together with George Beckford, the New World scholarship's contribution to our understanding of the region as having retained much of the features of the plantation is still applicable in the face of the latest incarnation of colonialism. Furthermore, by applying the inner plantation to the practices of middle managers in secondary schools, I will show how secondary school management practices continue to reflect those of plantation management while at the same time, resist such practices.

Section One: Applying a Plantation Model to Secondary School Management

Educational policies in Trinidad and Tobago are shaped fundamentally by the demands of the economy. In Chapters One and Two, the two significant changes within our education system were discussed. Both widespread infrastructural changes were responses to policies by post-independent Trinidad and Tobago with the aid of external support-expertise from UNESCO and funding from the World Bank in the 1960s, and again with the IADB loan for the introduction of the SEMP in the early 1990s. Thus, with these two major educational reforms, the education system in Trinidad and Tobago was shaped by the economic demands of international markets in much the same way as it was before independence. The problem therefore, lies in the dependence on foreign expertise and funding thereby further embedding a plantation economic structure. Bristol (2012) for example, in her in her illuminating discussion of plantation pedagogical practices of primary school teachers, makes it clear that the relationship between the school and the MOE reflects the practices of the plantation. In this relationship the MOE, acting on directives and guidelines handed to them from their partners- global funding agencies- monitors and controls schools in what is still a centralised education system in Trinidad and Tobago. This has further entrenched the education system in its maintaining of a plantation type education system.

What this means is that educational institutions exist in a symbiotic relationship with the economic system; each one reinforced by the other in a relationship designed to maintain the dominant economic system that has its genesis in the old mercantilist system, now transformed into a global neoliberal market economic system. Therefore, schools, as public institutions are constantly being colonised by policies emanating from the multinational and transnational funding agencies that have on their agendas, the acquisition of new markets globally in which the state plays a significant role as a type of business partner and facilitator of global policies. The goal for Trinidad and Tobago is the acquisition of global markets to compete with other nations for markets. To accomplish this goal, the state requires trained and skilled labour. Education policy documents are thus littered with management jargon as the job specifications for teachers and school administrators appear to be yet another method employed to move

teachers further away from educational goals and practices to those that are instrumental and mechanical in nature, and, guided by the agendas set by these global alliances.

(i)Plantation Management and Secondary School Management

In addressing the applicability of using a plantation model to my study of school management, I believe that this model is best suited to analyse the current practices of managers in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. As a postcolonial educational researcher, I take my lead from Meeks and Girvan (2010) who urge researchers like me, to cultivate scholarship based on life as we know it. Building on the scholarship of plantation studies introduced from the beginning of the twentieth century by Thompson (2010), and more recently by Bristol (2012 b), this study demonstrates the value of using a decolonising, indigenous conceptual model that speaks to the reality of our current situation in secondary schools. Moreover, the plantation model possesses a conceptual language with which to explore school management. I begin my discussion of how the plantation has affected and continues to shape the management of secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago during the colonial era and after independence.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the plantation as an institution is its highly centralised decision-making power that is authoritarian in nature (Beckford, 1971, p.16). Decision-making and power has always been concentrated in the hands of the planter class and public administrators both during and after Emancipation. With independence in 1962, the power structure shifted to include formerly excluded groups such as coloured leaders of political parties and unions, supported financially by members of the planter class (Beckford, 1971, p.17). This highly centralised government system is one of the most enduring features of a plantation society. One of the results of having a very strong central state is the power and influence it possesses over the various public institutions under its control such as the colonial and postcolonial secondary education system.

Under the colonial secondary education system, secondary schools that were built from 1836 up to 1958 were sites for the reproduction of the values, traditions, religious beliefs and cultural practices of the elite British or French planters, merchants, colonial officials and professionals. Their influence in the shaping of the secondary school in the

pre-independence era has had a profound and lasting effect on the education system in Trinidad and Tobago. As a result of their influence, our first secondary schools were modelled after the European and British Grammar School systems. With the exception of the state-controlled Queen's Collegiate (1859), later renamed Queen's Royal College, all other secondary schools were faith-based or denominational schools. Such schools were established for the education of the daughters and sons of powerful members in Trinidad's colonial society. In effect, secondary school education in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century provided a space for the indoctrination of the younger members of the elite groups so that these groups would occupy and maintain their positions of power. This was accomplished through an authoritarian school management system that worked effectively to instil the norms and values of this controlling and privileged sector in the society.

During the nineteenth century, faith-based or denominational secondary schools which were predominantly Roman Catholic, were led by either a member of the religious Order which had founded the school. As private institutions, the first managers of such secondary schools were members of Teaching Orders such as the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny and the Holy Ghost Fathers, who were experienced administrators of their schools in their homeland, as well as overseas. They were considered excellent school administrations (Campbell, 1996, pp. 262-263) and were his first choice for the leadership of schools by Patrick Joseph Keenan, Chief of Inspection of the Board of National Education in Ireland, in his official 1869 Report. In this report, he endorsed the clergy as the best choice for the administration of the colonial school (Gordon, 1968, pp.78-79). In his assessment of the Keenan Report, Williams (1962) noted that the management by clerics or a "person of station or property" (p. 201) favoured by Keenan should come as no surprise. As a colonial society, the prestige that followed a person of property and wealth from the dominant social class, in possession of the accepted colour, race and religion, meant that the person could apply and be accepted to occupy positions of authority and control within schools. This also meant that the dominant ideology would be maintained and passed on to successive generations.

The reasons for Keenan's recommendation of clerics as local managers are not difficult to understand. First of all, they possessed the experience of teaching aboard. For

example the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny had schools already in Africa and Asia. Then, there was the question of the inculcation of Western knowledge and values that were appropriate through denominational education such as obedience to authority, diligence, doing good work and adherence to a Judeo-Christian world view. In addition, the clerics had the opportunity to forge ahead with the goal of the conversion of former enslaved Africans. Later this conversion process would continue with the arrival of the Canadian Presbyterian Missionaries who established churches and schools with the aim of the Christianisation of indentured Indians brought in large numbers to Trinidad to work in the sugarcane fields in the late nineteenth century.

Samaroo (1975) argues that the evangelisation process which started in the late nineteenth century by the Canadian Presbyterians, while serving to equip the Indo-Trinidadian population with a Western education and religious belief system to navigate the new society which many chose to live in after their indenture contracts were fulfilled, was not intended to bridge the cultural and racial divide between the Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian populations. Instead, the evangelisation of many former indentured East Indians would ensure, from the planters' and merchants' point of view, a more controllable labour force and the maintenance of civil order, so that the threat of an Afro-Indo alliance against them could be prevented (p. 55). The old "divide and rule" policy under British colonial domination was also applied here. Likewise, Hamid (1980) his scathing criticism of the evangelising agenda of the Canadian Missionaries in Trinidad, contends they created a "culture of silence" and "neo-colonial victims" (p.90) among Indo-Trinidadians.

By the 1960s, however, in preparation for independence in 1962, the newly elected government of Trinidad and Tobago expanded the secondary school sector by establishing the modern secondary school. The modern secondary school could boast of an expanded curriculum that included technical/vocational subjects. Another goal of the new modern secondary school was the creation of schools that would fulfil the nation-building agenda initiated by the first government of an independent state. Yet as I explained in my Introduction, the significance of this expansion should not be overlooked. While it opened the doors to larger numbers of primary school leavers from all socio-economic, racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds to take advantage of a

state-controlled secondary education that offered a wider curriculum, the management style and practices of the new secondary schools were similar to that of their colonial denominational counterparts. The similarity lay in its top-down management structure with the Ministry of Education at the apex of this structure, in control of the entire education system. By the 1980s the denominational schools would also benefit from partial funding from the state, the result of a joint management agreement between the respective school boards of management and the state. Post-independence school management *before* the introduction of SBM in my illustration below shows the relation between the state represented by the MOE and the administrative and teaching staff in public schools.

Ministry of Education

School Supervisors

Principal

Vice-Principal

Teachers
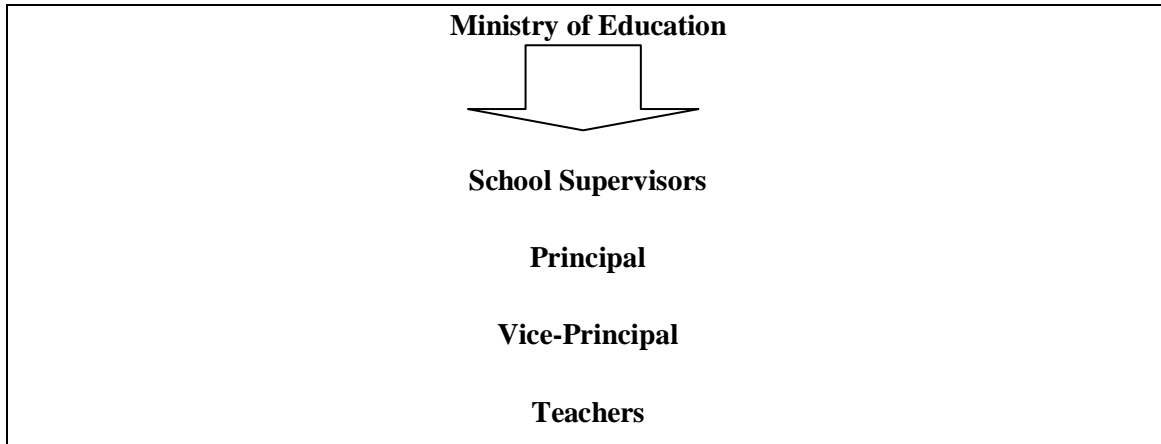
Despite the change from colonial to independent rule, there was no dismantling of the type of top-down secondary school management structure that had existed during the colonial era.

As I explained in Chapter Two, the introduction of SBM held with it many promises of a restructured, more effective system that would be marked by an improved quality in the delivery of the curriculum and more efficient and effective management of secondary schools. Even with the introduction of a third tier of management-the Heads of Departments and Deans, the management structure remains top-down and hierarchical in nature. Apart from infrastructural changes within the MOE, this top-down management structure of the education system also remains much the same as it did in the 1980s. This modified secondary school management structure is illustrated below.

Ministry of Education
⬇
School Supervisors
Principal
Vice-Principal
Heads of Departments and Deans
Teachers
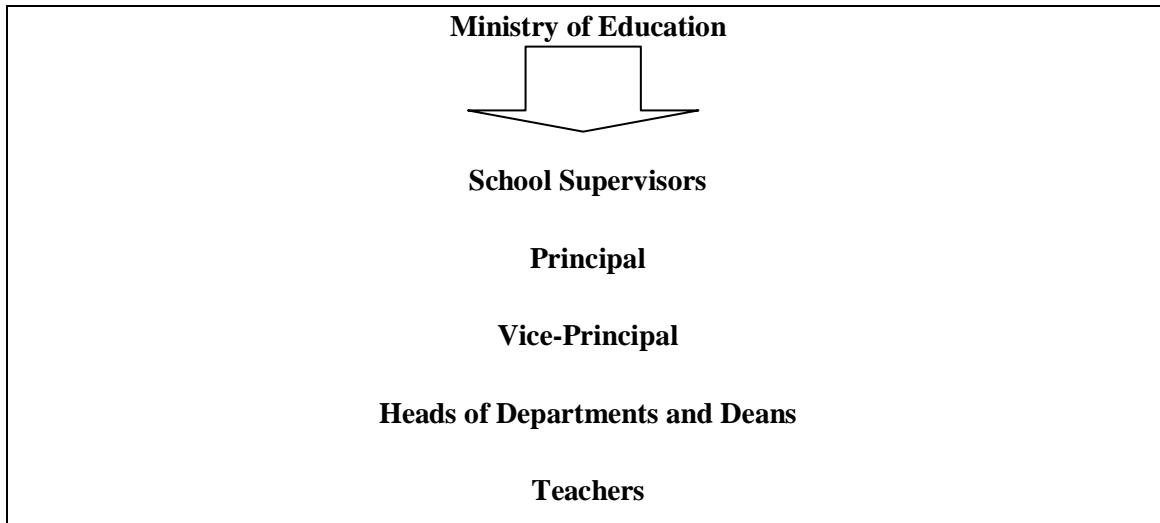
To lend support of my argument of a persistence of authoritarian and top-down management structures, De Lisle (2009) and James (2010) studies on secondary school reforms point to the factors responsible for the failure of wide-scale system and school reform to effect significant changes in school management in Trinidad and Tobago. They both cite a lack of innovation or change in how secondary schools are led or managed. This problem stems from the persistence of an authoritarian approach to the leadership and management of the education system that is mirrored in how individual schools themselves are managed and led by those charged with the responsibility of school administration. James attributes this situation to the "remnant of a colonial past" (p.387).

Moving beyond the rhetoric of reform promised through SBM, I believe secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago operate within a set of cultural practices that have been inherited through the plantation style management practices passed on from the colonial era. Chitolie-Joseph (2011) refers to this as "plantation management" (p. 28). In plantation management, principals and teachers work as subordinates for the MOE (p.30). So, despite the rhetoric of decentralisation and a more democratic approach to school management, there is a deepening of the authority and control by the MOE over schools.

Section Two: The Inner Plantation: an Indigenous Theoretical Framework

(i)The Inner Plantation

To understand the concept of the inner plantation as a theory that can be applied to the educational institutions or educational practitioners in Trinidad and Tobago, or elsewhere in the Caribbean, I believe we must first understand the underlying epistemological and ontological foundations that guide the writer Edward Kamau Brathwaite. A renowned social activist, historian and poet; one of the literary sages from the region, Brathwaite's early poems written in the 1960s were centred on themes such as "loss, dispossession and fragmentation" (Dash, 1998, p.194). His later work, according to Dash was less about loss and more about the refashioning of a new way of envisioning the New World (p.195). It is not surprising therefore, that in his "Caribbean Man in Space and Time" (1975), he opens his discussion of the outer and inner plantation with what is its central theme- how to find a way of studying the Caribbean, an archipelago, fragmented first through geological movements, then by the influx of different people from various continents, then developing into islands that are multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual, but whose unity is to be found buried and in need of unearthing (p.1).

In the first phase of his discussion in "Caribbean Man in Space and Time," he questions whether the plantation as defined by economists, that is, the outer plantation, is capable of addressing the fragmented, complex, contradictory and ambiguous nature of the region itself (p.4). The plantation, when taken as an abstract concept, obscures the part played by people culturally for as he states, "the model/system must contain *or live with people*" and must enable us to understand "our inscapes" as well (pp.4, 8).One way of learning more about our cultural life is through the collection of information from people themselves (p.9), for example, the recording entitled "The Word" in which a Jamaican Kumina Queen recalls her first experience at an African dance, is for him, an "authentic inner plantation statement"(p.10). Rahim (2013) also echoes this point in her call for theoretical models and methods that speak to Caribbean life in a way that encompasses the traumatic experiences of its people but at the same time, offers a way to recreate the world in which they live (pp.18-19).

For Brathwaite, scholarship on the plantation should now focus on how the inner plantation. The inner plantation as a system is made up of a variety of institutions that are linked directly to other institutions in the global plantation (outer plantation). Some examples are banking, tourism, education, the extractive industries, technology and trade. McKittrick (2013) calls this "plantation logic" (pp. 8-10) which is so widespread that every institution is influenced to some degree by it. The education system is guided in large part by this logic. Our school system in Trinidad and Tobago is is a dual one, consisting of both state-controlled and state-assisted (denominational) schools. Even though there have been significant changes within the system itself, the basic duality of the system persists and with it, attitudes, beliefs, values that act to further strengthen the division of children into different groups based on class values and ethnicity. To support this claim, Bristol (2012) argues that this division of labour is evident in our education system in the ways in which the Ministry of Education classifies and categories teachers into a hierarchical ordering based on school level-primary and secondary, which place the primary school teacher below the secondary school teacher. Furthermore she adds, there is a correlation between the continued dependency by the state on external policies and funding, and the system of monitoring and surveillance that have emerged as a result (pp.104-105). Teaching therefore becomes a practice in passing on the values, knowledge and attitudes of the plantation through what she describes as "plantation pedagogy," characterised by a "dominant classroom practice" that has its origins in plantation society and the economy (p.63). In this system, the role of massa[2] and overseer is thus linked to the ideologies and policies that seek to control, monitor and punish teachers. As such they are fluid concepts that can be used to describe the role and function of an individual, group or institution. What this means is the "overseer" is part of the monitoring system and her or his role is fundamentally to maintain order and control (p.110) while the figure of "Massa", is represented by the Minister of Education (104), the person in charge of coordinating the entire system.

Therefore, the outer and inner plantations are in a symbiotic, reciprocal relationship by which one feeds off the other. Put another way, the inner plantation is made up of

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[2] Mass-required form of address by a slave or labourer to a white planter or any white man of the ruling class. Modern usage-any man who makes a show of his authority
Allsopp, R.1996. *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*

institutions, technological systems and ideologies that are products of the economic system introduced through first the older mercantilist system, then the international globalised neoliberal market system. Benítez-Rojo's (1996) plantation machine has once again metamorphosed into a global network of markets connected through the Internet! Thus power and control continues to be exercised by external organisations-financial institutions and multinational corporations, aided by both local and global elites.

Henke (1996) defines the inner plantation as an oppressive place/space comprising the plantation house, slaves' quarters and the fields in which Caribbean people of African descent were cut off from their spiritual or cultural practices from their homelands in Africa and instead, expected to be subservient through colonial ideologies and religious practices (p.60). As part of the outer plantation-the local/global economic system, the inner plantation provided plots or "provision grounds" (Henke, 1996, p.52), allotted to slaves for the planting of their own food that were located far away from the plantation house, estates and slaves' living quarters. It became a special place that, according to Henke, fostered a return to ancestral roots and traditions; a place free from the oppressiveness of both the outer and inner plantation, and a place to begin new traditions (p.59). In effect, it was a place for spiritual growth and a reconnection with the earth (pp.60-61); a place where the enslaved African could become someone other than an enslaved person labouring on the inner plantation to feed the outer plantation, as well as for the profit of the planter. So, the plot of land assigned to them by their masters to grow their own crops becomes the one place or space available for the spiritual and mental development of Africans (Wynter, 1971, p. 99).

The plot then, located within the inner plantation, yet relegated as a place for the enslaved people, becomes both a site for the types of institutions and ideologies that developed away from the plantation's grip and provided a space/place for the birth of new Creole cultural and spiritual forms and expressions; a network of family, community and land ownership, along with a rich history of resistance by the enslaved population to the system of enslavement (Besson, 1992, p.183). More significantly, as Besson points out, what emerged were settlements out of the development of plots of land used by enslaved people in places like Jamaica (where it was more prevalent); in

Trinidad, around north-eastern Port of Spain area and the east-west corridor and in San Fernando in the Victoria and Rambert villages (p.p. 193-194). In what would later develop into settlements with provision grounds and yards, you could find family burial grounds (p.189). Upon the death of a member of an enslaved family member, the provision grounds could be bequeathed to a surviving family member (pp.189-190).

To fully explore the theory of the inner plantation as a theoretical and analytical tool, we need to take a closer look at the potential of the "plot," located as part of, yet apart from the inner plantation, as a model of resistance against the combined effects of the inner and outer plantation. Sylvia Wynter (1971) in her discussion of the relationship between the novel and history; plot and plantation, offers us a unique perspective on the two competing value systems born out of the plantation and the plot. The raison d'être for plantations in the Caribbean was simply, to become sites for the production of sugar (p.95). So, from its inception, the plantation was not a place for settlements of large numbers of immigrants but a place designed for the purpose of supplying a world marketplace with raw materials. Wynter speaks of the genesis of our societies as "adjuncts to the market system" and our people as an "adjunct to the product" (p.95).

Out of this market relationship was born two types of values-one related to the demands of the market and the other to the needs of human beings (p.97). In the latter case, people from non-plantation areas who respected and understood their relationship with the land/earth as one of mutual respect, were brought into a different understanding of that relationship when they were forcibly brought into a system through enslavement to become alienated from the earth/land. This is the argument introduced by Wynter (p.99) and as such, the plot of land given to the enslaved to feed themselves, made it possible for them to reconnect with the land/earth and continue, albeit in a new form, their practices carried with them to this new place. Out of this reconnection between earth/land and people, emerged a "folk culture" that was a "source of cultural guerrilla resistance to the plantation system" (p.100). This resistance to the effects of the inner plantation developed within the designated plot of land given to the enslaved Africans and which later became the areas where they established settlements, is referred to in Brathwaite's (1975) discussion of the inner plantation as the "cores and kernels; resistant local forms; roots, stumps, survival rhythms; growing points..." (p.6) and as the

starting point for the birth of Creole institutions and society that emerged out of an ongoing process which included "subtle and multiform orientations from or *towards* ancestral origins" (p.7). Out of these hybrid cultural institutions and cultural forms, emerge values that Wynter describes as "indigenous plot values and the "creole-colon plantation values" (p.102).

Based on the explanations of the inner plantation and plot offered by both Wynter (1971) and Brathwaite (1975), I created a checklist of the value-systems associated with the Plantation/State Economy/Ministry of Education and the Indigenous/Folk Institutions. The table below shows the value-systems of both the state and folk/indigenous institutions. I included the state and the MOE together with the plantation type economic system because of its strong links with the external global market system. The Indigenous/Folk Institutions are linked together because of their shared value system.

Value-systems in Trinidad and Tobago

Plantation/State/Ministry of Education	Indigenous/Folk Institutions
Market values born out of the global market/neoliberal system	Use values born out of human needs
Associated with roles of Massa/Planter & the Overseer	Associated with role of the Advocate
Compliance, policing, monitoring, surveillance, supervision, individualism, free market competition	Resistance to domination and hegemonic social structures and ideology, advocacy, social justice, community
Neo-colonised thinking, neoliberal market philosophies.	Decolonised thinking, indigent knowledge and institutions.

How then could the theory based on the concept of the inner plantation be used to interpret and analyse contemporary school organisational and management structures? When applied to the management and leadership of secondary schools, the market values that are the consequences of a business-corporate approach to school

management surface, and are evident in values such as individualism; reinforcement of a culture of testing; the importance placed on positional power and authority, not to mention control; a spirit of competitiveness, measurement, and accountability, often measured in students' academic success, sometimes at the expense of other forms of success.

It is would be useful at this point to draw attention to Cooke's (2002) discussion which links the history of management to the history of the plantation and enslavement. In this, he shows how the growth in management and management studies has seen the overseer of the plantation's metamorphosis into a middle manager as management has, in recent times, returned to its roots in the theories of scientific and classical management. In an interview with the Harvard Business Review, Berinato (2013), discusses the findings of Caitlin Rosenthal, historian of plantation management, who, during her research on accounting practices, discovered that contrary to popular beliefs about the accounting and management systems of plantation owners and managers during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, they used sophisticated accounting and management practices that focused on "optimization" of resources where human beings were viewed as human capital and an inventory system that clearly showed how appreciation or depreciation of the enslaved Africans could be measured (p.30).

This is reinforced by an earlier study that focused on management structures of plantations in the British West Indies and the United States between 1834-1865, conducted by Fleischman, Oldroyd and Tyson (2011). In their research, the high percentage of absentee plantation owners made it necessary for the development of local professional managers (p.767), unlike the situation on the plantations in the United States where owners of plantations were present. Both planters and their managers colluded with the local legislative bodies and together, they formulated rules and punishments that could be applied to labour to keep them bound to the land even after Emancipation (pp.792-793). It should come as no surprise that management practices and the role of overseers of the past have passed on into many of the contemporary management practices and organisational structures today. The influence of the corporate world on education is strong, hence globalised education policies continue to filter through their language and practices, corporate style logic aimed at selling the

corporate approach to education as the solution to more effective and improved schools, teachers and students' achievement.

The second table below shows how contemporary school organisational structures and practices continue to reflect the market-exchange values that emerged out of the plantation system and are perpetuated in the neoliberal market system.

Contemporary Secondary School Management & Market-Exchange values

Secondary School Management	Market-exchange values
Hierarchical management structure-division of labour. Examples-Senior management; middle management; teaching staff; non-teaching staff; clerical staff; ancillary staff.	Use of positional power, authority and control-procedures, regulations, rules System of monitoring; policing; regulating; supervision Measurement and testing culture; Production of trained, knowledgeable workers for market production and for profit-making.

Within this climate of surveillance, policing, regulating, the middle management is expected to work to fulfil the mandate of the MOE. Are we seeing the perpetuation of the overseer as Bristol (2012) has argued in heads and deans within the inner plantation? I believe that given the surveillance and monitoring role expected of heads and deans, the plot offers an alternative place/space for the resistance to the hegemonic management practices outlined by the MOE by supplanting the market value system of the inner plantation with an education system that supports the development of critical and creative students and ultimately citizens. To put it another way, we subvert the present plantation/market value system by resistance and plant instead, a new system which places educational goals above those of the global marketplace.

(ii) Overseer or Advocate - Surrender to or Resistance against the Inner Plantation?

Who is an overseer? Given the market-exchange values outlined above and the description of the duties and responsibilities of heads and deans detailed in the official documents, the management of the secondary school from the middle, appears to be a perpetuation of management practices that came out of the plantation system. Overseers, like contemporary deans and heads, implement and manage the policies and new curricula passed on to them through the MOE and, in the case of CXC, the syllabi for the ordinary and advanced candidates. Both deans and heads operate within an educational environment that is dictated by laws, rules and regulations that are passed on through the MOE and other governmental institutions. Deans and heads are guided in their daily practices by regulations, such as the *Public Service Regulations*; *The Education (Teaching Service) (Amendment) Regulations 2000; The Education Act of 1966, and the National School Code of Conduct (2009).* In the case of denominational schools, there is also the *Concordat of 1960.*

These documents were not produced by teachers themselves. Some have been in existence for over fifty years and been handed to teachers and administrators who are expected to be familiar with them and, in cases where teachers have been promoted, have a working knowledge of each one. Within each one you will find the terms and conditions of your employment, the rules which teachers must adhere to and other general rules of conduct appropriate to the position. In addition, there exists within several of the documents such as *The Education Act* and the *National School Code of Conduct*, guidelines to be followed with respect to interactions with all stakeholders; attire, behaviour and procedures to follow.

What all this amounts to is any power and authority of any teacher, school administrator within the school organisation or the teaching service is tightly controlled and subject to punitive action if rules, regulations or procedures are transgressed. Rules and regulations are thus used by the employer, the state that is, to keep their employees in check and under surveillance. At every level within the MOE, all employees, teachers included, are expected to follow the protocols outlined in these legal documents. State

institutions such as schools, are therefore subject to a system of monitoring, supervision and surveillance. In turn, this system is mirrored in the guidelines for school administrators as can be found in the *Revised Green Paper on: Standards and Guidelines for the Operation of all Schools* (2007).

At the school district level, the word "supervisor" appears in the title of women and men, retired principals of schools, who are then promoted to school supervisors. The school supervisors are themselves guided by the regulations, rules and procedures produced by the state such as in the Education Act of 1966. At all levels of the MOE, officials and teachers alike are expected to engage in some form of "overseeing" (Bristol, 2012, p.137).

At the school level, and in their official capacity as heads and deans are contemporary forms of the overseer type within each school, armed with a list of duties and responsibilities that reflect a technical and mechanical approach to the management of teachers and students. The education system and schools become facilitators and providers of skilled, knowledgeable workers for the labour market. Schools are the factories and teachers, different categories of workers and overseers whose goal is to be subservient to and maintain both the outer and inner plantations! Heads and deans are co-opted into the maintenance of the plantation and its market values that perpetuate the existing status quo. Below, I provide a comparison of the overseer and heads/deans that links the overseer role and practices within the inner plantation to those of the deans and the heads of departments in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago.

Overseer	Dean & Head of Department
Monitors workers	Monitors teachers and children
Supervision of workers, plant, materials, work loads, stock	Supervision of equipment, materials, work schedules, teachers, students
Assessment and measurement of performance of workers	Assessment and measurement of performance of students, teachers and non-teaching staff
Reporting to superiors-owners of plantations;	Reporting to Vice-Principal; Principal; record-

record-keeping	keeping

All the above duties of the heads and deans can be found, as discussed in chapter Two, the official job specifications issued by the MOE.

Together, the inner plantation and the symbol of the overseer offer us a theoretical framework with which we could discuss the perpetuation of plantation management practices in contemporary middle management in secondary schools. Indeed, they offer a theoretical lens with which we can analyse the practices of middle managers within secondary schools. Brathwaite (1975) reminds that there are "cores and kernels; resistant local forms; roots, stumps, survival rhythms; growing points..." (p.6) that exist within the inner plantation, yet outside, capable of resisting the inner plantation effects. I refer here to the plot-the place and space to which I now turn for an alternative theory of the inner plantation and an alternative to the practices of the inner plantation and the overseer.

The plot, as explained earlier, was allotted to the enslaved by the planters to grow their own provision and other food items. If we look at the plot as a symbolic of a place and space for the indigenous Creole practices rooted in the culture and history of the enslaved, and later, the peasantry, this offers an alternative theory to explore the educational institutions and their practices in the contemporary secondary school system in Trinidad and Tobago. What if, alongside the overseer types and practices, there exists, advocates, whose practices are the antithesis of the inner plantation practices of the overseers within the educational system?

What do I mean when I say advocates? Advocates stand for change, and by change, I mean empowerment through education of a different kind. The type of education that critically identifies and challenges the present hegemonic managerial practices transferred from business, and replaces these with practices that seek to decolonise the present managerial practices that cast those who lead schools into the roles of overseers. An advocate focuses on resistance to the twin evils of the outer and inner plantation through the strategies and techniques of Anansi who is, according to Marshall (2009), "representative of the horrors and triumphs of Caribbean history," and "symbolic of the richness and creativity of the modern Caribbean," as well as a "resource for resistance

against colonialism" (p.126). Widely employed in literary criticism as a method for the deconstruction of colonial texts, Anansi has also been used in John Furlong's ethnographic study of African-Caribbean students at a London comprehensive school as a "metaphor for the chameleon or protean changes of self-presentation" (Delamont, 2014, p. 416). Not only did he discover the Anansi-like practices of self-identification by the students, but also saw the importance of tapping into the cultural inheritance when studying African-Caribbean students (p.417).

Harris (1981) in his "History, Fable and Myth" describes the spider or Anansi as the "submerged authority of dispossessed peoples" (p.35), their resistance and renewal (Marshall, 2012, p. 156). He is also representative of what James (2004) refers to as the "indigenous syncretism" (p.2) of Amerindian, African and Asian people, in Trinidad and Tobago, in particular, a "Creole ethos" has emerged characterised by a strong African foundation and layers of European and Asian strata (p. 3). For Trinidad and Tobago and the rest of the Caribbean, Anansi represents the "ingenuity, endurance, and commitment to self-preservation" of all people in the region (James, 2004, p. 3).

Some of the most important features of the advocate are the dismantling of hegemonic practices that are based first on the belief in the superiority of a person's race, ethnicity, religion, and, socioeconomic class. This is echoed in Williams' (Cujdoe, 1993; 2006) reference to the underlying prejudice practised by Massa and what he referred to as the "aristocracy of the skin" (p. 253). The advocate, unlike the overseer, moves away from the practices of the market place and emphasis is placed on tapping into indigenous knowledge; the promotion of social justice for all; empowerment of teachers and students; community involvement; the development of communities of practice and a respect for the professional autonomy of teachers and, above all, resistance to a hegemonic view of education that foregrounds economic goals as its sole purpose. This calls for a radical rethinking of the role of the management and leadership of secondary schools as well. Instead of succumbing to the practices of business and corporate-style management promoted by New Public Management, there is need for the development of leadership that is characterised by the employment of, or rather deployment of Anansi type tactics that subvert and resist the overseer style of management currently promoted through SBM. Advocacy and Anansi type tactics offer the promise and hope

of a new way of decolonising the practices of middle managers. As those closest to the teachers, they possess the potential to influence teachers, as well as be influenced by teachers, more than the senior administration. Their middle position offers the opportunity to really move away from the prescribed roles assigned to them and place them in a position whereby they could become agents of transformation rather than passive adherents to the dictates of policy and prescriptive job specifications.

Conclusion

Rising to the challenge of a search for an indigenous theory that seeks as its purpose a way of understanding the practices of heads and deans in the wake of educational reforms that borrow substantially from the corporate world is challenging yet, exciting. Education is not a business. Students are neither products to be manufactured in a factory, nor are teachers, heads of departments, nor deans factory workers or overseers.

With this in mind, Lavia's (2012) call to challenge existing notions of the purpose of education both locally and globally, must not go unheeded. As such, the challenge before us is to resist the inner plantation. To do this, Lavia argues, is to return to a practice of education that seeks to liberate us from a "deeply pervasive ethos of internalised oppression" (p.13). If practices of and for education that continue to colonise our thinking, actions and beliefs are persistent and deeply embedded in our psyches, then it is time to return to the "plot," return to those spaces/places where educational practitioners could reflect, come together in communities of practice away from the hustle and bustle of timetables and schedules and engage in reflective practice in individual schools or departments. With such measures in place, we could transform ourselves from mere cogs in an ever-turning wheel and become less implementers of curriculum or discipline and more advocates for the development of pedagogical practices that are less about grooming children to pass examinations and more about the cultivation of critical thinkers and innovative, creative thinkers.

Thus, the inner plantation introduced by Edward Kamau Brathwaite and the plot by Sylvia Wynter in the 1970s, are two important interrelated concepts that offer us the possibility of an indigenous theoretical framework in which present managerial, corporate style practices could be interrogated. The plantation overseer has neither

passed away nor faded into history. New incarnations of the overseer has emerged throughout the education system at all levels from the Minister to the middle managers in schools. However, it is in the concept of the plot, there resides the potential for new forms of resistance against the destructive and dehumanising practices of the inner plantation through the advocate. The advocate who looks inward to the community practices and relies less on external practices that are alien and do little to foster indigenous knowledge or practices.

CHAPTER FOUR

Fieldwork - Voices from the Middle

Introduction-The Journey begins

Doing insider research is not easy. While it is an exciting prospect, when I invited colleagues to participate in my research, I experienced a combination of excitement and trepidation all at the same time! Equally daunting yet exciting, was my choice of the life history as my methodological approach. From the start to the end of the fieldwork, I was aware of my ethical responsibility to my participants, my research community and to myself and in knowing this to be both reflexive and reflective at each and every stage of the research journey.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section One: Preparations for the Fieldwork focuses on a detailed description of the steps that I undertook before I began my fieldwork such as the research question which I addressed; the selection of the participants; getting ethical approval and a profile of each participant. Section Two: The Life History Methodological Approach begins with a short introduction to the life history research methodology with justification for my choice of this approach. In Section Three: The Fieldwork, I discuss the actual fieldwork conducted based on the life histories interviews with participants. Lastly, in Section Four: Ethical Challenges, my discussion relates to the ethical dilemmas that I faced throughout my fieldwork.

Section One: Preparation for the Fieldwork

(i) The Research Question

How do the personal beliefs, values and attitudes of Heads of Departments and Deans influence and shape their everyday practices as middle managers in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago? This is the key research question that guided my choice of theoretical framework, methodology and participants.

(ii) Ethical approval from the University of Sheffield

Following the formal application process for approval from the university before I began my fieldwork, I filled out the necessary official documents such as the Ethical Approval Form and Applicant's Ethical Checklist. This process began in August 2013. There were some changes to be made to my first application that I had submitted, so I sent my amended application to the University of Sheffield's Ethics Committee in November 2013. I received my Letter of Approval to begin my fieldwork at the end of January 2014. Copies of all these documents are attached in the Appendices at the end of my thesis.

(iii)Preparing for the Fieldwork

Before I began my fieldwork, I decided to email the four participants who agreed to embark on this journey with me. I sent each one a copy of the Approval Letter from the university; a formal Letter of Invitation; the Participant's Information Sheet; Participant Consent Forms from the university and a Letter to the Participants giving them background information on the life history methodological approach. These are also attached as Appendices at the end of my thesis. Additionally in each email to the individual participant, I asked each participant to give me a time, place and date convenient so that we could arrange our first meeting.

(iv)The Participants

Three (3) Heads of Departments and one (1) Dean accepted my invitation to be participants. There were three females and one male. I chose to use purposive sampling in selecting the participants. I wanted to focus on participants who were representative of the first cohort of teachers in their respective schools who had been promoted when the Secondary Modernisation Programme was first introduced. Their predecessors would have been senior teachers who had been acting in the capacity of deans and heads of departments but who had retired before the new restructuring of the Teaching Service took place.

Of the four participants who consented to be part of the project, two of them were curious and interested long before the project began because of my conversations with

them on many occasions while I was still in Part One of the EdD Caribbean Programme. Two were very interested in the topics that we had covered throughout the course of the programme and some of the theories were new to them even though all of them have their Diploma in Education and Masters Degrees. Looking back now, I can see that there was a desire to keep in touch with the latest debates within the educational field and one of them was very disappointed that she was unable, because of her commitments to her family, to pursue further studies.

All of the participants and I have known each other as colleagues for over ten years, and in one case, about forty years, even though we no longer keep in close contact with each other but we manage to see each other from time to time. Each participant teaches and holds a middle management position in her and his secondary schools. However, the choice of school was not deliberate as I was more interested in the participant's age and date of appointment as a middle manager than in the type of school in which each one worked.

Anita is in her late forties. She is the head of department at her school. She has the responsibility of managing three curriculum areas and has been a member of the teaching profession since 1994. She holds the requisite qualifications for her position as Head of Department. Prior to her present position, she worked for short periods in two other secondary schools. Married with children, she comes from a close-knit family. She spent many years abroad before returning to Trinidad.

Septimus, the only male in this study, is in his late forties. Like Anita, he chose his own fictitious name. He comes from a small family in northern Trinidad. Although following in the footsteps of his mother, a retired primary school teacher and principal, teaching was not his first choice of a career. Since graduating from university, he has spent his entire teaching career so far in one school. Like all the other participants, he has over twenty years of experience in his curriculum area and is also a marker with the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC).

Joanne, in her mid-fifties is the head of a department with responsibility for several curricula areas. She comes from a small, close-knit. Unlike Septimus and Anita, Joanne attended one of the teachers' training colleges that existed before the Bachelor of

Education degrees were offered at tertiary level institutions. Interestingly, she began her career as a primary school teacher. She has a wealth of experience in teaching at all levels of the profession.

Zidane is also in her mid-fifties and has lived her entire life in the northern part of Trinidad. Her current position is that of a dean of two year groups at her school. Unlike the other three participants, Zidane has never lived far from her favourite places-her home, school and her church. A mother and grandmother, she continues to be actively involved in sports and cultural activities in her school, church and community. At her school, she is the longest serving member of staff. Like Joanne, her first experience as a teacher began at the primary level. She attended teachers' training college, and unlike any of the other participants, also attended technical school.

Section Two: The Life History Methodological Approach

C. Wright Mills (1959, 2000) states, "The life of an individual cannot be adequately understood without references to the institutions within which his biography is enacted" (p.161). How true this is! If you consider this quote carefully, the truth of Wright Mills' statement cannot be ignored for, as a teacher, I am required to look at a child not merely as a nameless, faceless being but someone within whom biography, history and society have come together, to shape this young person. My awareness of the importance of possessing the "sociological imagination" (Wright Mills, 1959, 2000, p. 15) is perhaps one of the qualities my long tenure as a teacher of English Literature and present role as educational researcher, has nurtured. When I teach a novel, the first activity my students and I are engaged in is finding all we can about the person behind the novel-the novelist. We look at the writer's life. What I want them to see is not simply a text to be studied to pass an examination, but the author of the novel, or the short story, whose birth into a particular society in a specific time and place, her or his family background; her or his beliefs and values that were nurtured within her or his family; her or his education, friends, relatives and so on, that were all important factors that contributed to the shaping of her or his worldview. So, Wright Mills' statement concerning man as both a "social and an historical actor" (p. 158) makes sense to me. That is why I was attracted to the life history methodological approach when it was introduced to us at our

first study school in July 2010. To me, it offers perhaps one of the more realistic methodological approaches used to re-present lives as they are lived.

The life history method first developed in the early nineteenth century among anthropologists who studied the lives of Native American chiefs (Goodson, 2013). Popular in the 1920s and 30s, there was renewed interest in this approach later by feminist researchers. As a postcolonial researcher engaged in life history research, I am aware of all the challenges associated with people who share intimate details of their lives with me. It is a tremendous responsibility and yet, when done in a climate of mutual trust and respect, yields rich data and insight into the subjective experiences of people. In this way, we are able to learn how people other than ourselves see the world. For researchers like myself who are engaged in decolonising research into educational settings that are controlled by a highly authoritarian state administration, the official narrative of teachers' professional lives outlined in job specifications and policy documents, are exposed by the stories in which the teachers reveal details of their professional lives that are counter to the official narratives. Often, it is the voices of state bureaucrats and policy-makers that are heard especially in an era of the scientific approach to educational research (Barone, 2007, p.454).

Take the job specifications for an HOD or Dean of a secondary school in Trinidad and Tobago. What does it reveal? A long list of requisite academic qualifications, experience along with a long list of duties and responsibilities. Does it reveal much about the person who is successful in getting one of these positions? Perhaps only that she or he met the criteria for employment for the position. If, on the other hand, I or someone else, were to spend several hours of listening to the Head or Dean tell me about her or his life, then a personality and a personal history surfaces. Now, we have the start of the life story narrated by the storyteller either the Head or the Dean. The listener/researcher later engages the storyteller in a conversation about her or his life story that has been shared and together, in collaboration, the life history is written.

Additionally, what is particularly appealing about narrative research is the way it provides the storyteller and the researcher with the opportunity to engage in dialogue. One of the very important lessons that I learnt from choosing and engaging in this form of research is the necessity of becoming an attentive listener. Active listening is at the

best of times difficult because of the many other "noises" both external and internal that beset us on a daily basis. A key component of a life historian is to be an attentive listener, and I might add, observer. Human beings communicate not only through words, but through their eyes, bodies, posture, changes in voice and even silences. I agree with Mazzei and Jackson (2012) who suggest that we might benefit more from "plugging in than simply thinking that we are allowing the participants to "speak for themselves" (p.745). What this means is to "read interview data from a multidimensional perspective" (p. 749), paying close attention to "how voice is projected through intertitles, indirect images, and out-of-field "sounds"" (p.749).

Consequently, life history research forces us to see and attempt to understand how other people see the world. One of the other key elements in doing life history research is to first acknowledge your own prejudices, ways of seeing the world, biases and negative attitudes and recognise how these in turn colour how you see the other person, and how to listen to the other person as well. This is particularly difficult when we are doing research with people we already know and demands even more attention to how our own knowledge about the other person or, rather what we think we know, could colour or distort how we see the other person. This is one of the challenges of doing insider research with people you know, even if it is for a short time. Yet, because the life history is a collaborative activity, there is "room for negotiation of meaning, for discussion of the relationship between epistemology and methodology, and more room for questioning the researcher as to their meaning and intention" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001, p.49). This acts as a type of safeguard against "othering" as Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) address in their work among women living in poverty. They offer this advice for those engaged in writing about people's lives, especially collaborating with those who are marginalised to keep the participant's history that is "contextual, specific, and particular," one that is "written out of a situated position" (p. 300) and to be reflexive. This serves as a useful and instructive guide for researchers who also collaborate with those who do not occupy the margins of society.

Section Three: The Fieldwork

I began the fieldwork for this study with much anxiety. The cause of anxiety for me was the late start to the fieldwork. I had expected to begin before the end of 2013, but because of some amendments that were necessary on my application form to the Ethics Committee, I did not begin my fieldwork interviews until February 2014

In conducting the life history interviews, I decided to follow the life history process outlined by Goodson and Gill (2011, pp. 36-42). Heeding the practical advice given by these two life history experts, I discuss how I selected the research participants and then the actual interviews.

I was very deliberate in my choice of participants for this research study. When I began to consider the research question, I realised that since the inception of the Secondary Modernisation Programme, the first group of teachers who were appointed as heads and deans would be the most interesting participants to invite to be part of research on middle management's practices. Prior to the SEMP initiative, there were no formal guidelines for teachers who were performing the roles of Heads of Departments and Deans to follow. After their appointments, heads and deans were expected to conform to the guidelines in their job specifications. This transition from teacher then to an internal arrangement as a head of department/dean, following the guidelines laid out by the Principal to the formal appointment as a middle manager by the MOE, offers the opportunity to explore the first hand complexity of middle management practices in secondary schools.

Therefore, I decided to choose heads and deans who were born in the sixties as they represent a generation of teachers, now mid-managers, who were born either in the year 1962, the year in which Trinidad and Tobago became an independent nation, or later in the 1960s. This "selective bias" or "researcher bias" (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p.37) is deliberate because I wanted a group of participants who formed part of the then new generation of young women and men who lived through the first years of being citizens of an independent nation; possessed extensive experience as teachers, over a decade as middle managers within the system, and as such, would represent the first group of appointed middle managers, witnesses to and actively involved in the transition from a

strong centralised education system to one that purports to be less centralised and democratic in nature.

Septimus, Joanne and Anita, all share a professional relationship with me. Zidanne, as I stated earlier, I have known for over forty years. Even though I know the first three as professionals-teachers-we are not close friends. In this situation where I know three participants only in a professional capacity and one as a friend from my early school days, I agree with Greene (2014) who argues that the insider-outsider status is a "false dichotomy" and should be seen instead as a "continuum" (p.2). Throughout, this research study, and in particular in the interviews with the participants, I found myself shifting identities, from researcher, friend, teacher, colleague and coordinator which I had not anticipated when I first began my fieldwork.

Two of the participants, Septimus and Anita were very eager to begin their interviews and would occasionally ask when they would begin. Once I had received my official approval from the Ethics Committee to commence my fieldwork, I emailed each participant and sent the letter that I had written informing them of the type of research that I had undertaken and the specific methodological approach I would be using with an outline of the life history approach. In all, the majority of the fieldwork was completed between February 2014 and July 2014, after which time I had already completed three interviews with three of the participants-Septimus, Anita and Joanne; and two with Zidanne. I met the participants on several occasions informally and together we discussed my progress and I updated them on the work that I had covered.

(i) The Interviews

Anita

The length of the first interview varied according to the participant's readiness to speak about her or his life. Anita was the first participant to be interviewed. Our original plan was to meet at a location convenient to us both, but her husband volunteered to take her children out for the morning, so she made the decision to change the meeting place from our original location, to her home which is situated in a quiet suburb in the northern district of Trinidad. We sat in her family room, side by side. She had already prepared some notes based on the letter that I had sent outlining what a type of biographical

material the life history interview sought to gather. I gave her the Participant's Consent form to complete and kept a copy for my own files. I told her, as I did with all the other participants at our first interview, that they all had the option to discontinue the interviews, or terminate their participation in the research study without having to offer an excuse or explanation for their actions. My purpose was not only to ensure that they understood their right to terminate their participation at any time but I added that there would be no attempt on my part to persuade anyone to continue if that person had no desire to do so.

Looking back, I was so afraid of offending anyone that I think I repeated myself several times in my attempt to allay any fears they possessed about thinking that if they decided to leave, I would take it personally. I really wanted them to know what risks were involved in engaging in research in which the life history approach would be carried out and they would be opening a window into the personal details of their individual lives to me and, eventually into the public domain. Each participant agreed to the conditions and chose their own fictitious names, and in one case, there was much amusement and laughter by both the participant and I when the participant decided to chose his fictitious name. However, no one left during the period in which the fieldwork was carried out.

During this first interview with Anita on Saturday 8th February, 2014, I used a voice recorder, with the participant's permission, to tape the entire interview which lasted for one hour and thirty-eight minutes. I arrived at Anita's home around ten fifteen in the morning. We chatted a bit after she had signed the consent form and I explained the risks involved and she accepted that there would be some risk-taking on her part. She understood and indicated that we should begin the interview. The interview started at ten thirty six. While she held the recorder and spoke at length about her childhood, her eyes remained closed. Throughout her storytelling, she held her pair of spectacles in one hand, using it to gesticulate or emphasise her points. She was interrupted only once by a call via her mobile phone. She responded to the caller and asked if she could return the call at a later time. At the end of the interview, I thanked for her willingness to share her time and narrative with me.

What was very instructive for me during this first interview was the difficulty that I experienced in not interjecting at times. Even though they were sometimes to ask a

question such as "You're left-handed too as well uh um?" (First interview, 8th February, 2014), followed by a more detailed question about the type of school she had attended while living overseas (First interview, 8th February, 2014) I realised that I failed to maintain my "vow of silence" (Goodson, 2013, p.37) as she spoke at length and in much detail about her experiences of living abroad for the first eighteen years of her life.

We met briefly on the 19th April, 2014 to discuss clarify one issue in her first interview. Having transcribed and emailed her an electronic copy, I delivered a hard copy to her by hand at her school later. She had made no changes to the original interview. So when we met for what was a very brief meeting as she was free for a short time only as she had to attend to her family commitments, we used the time to talk about one issue concerning her mother's role in her early childhood that I wanted to clarify with her. We had arranged for a meeting in March but this was aborted when she was forced to cancel because of a family emergency. For our second meeting on the 3rd May, 2014, we moved from her life story to a discussion of her appointment as head of department after SBM was introduced.

Unfortunately, unable to make the appointment, she rescheduled what became our full length second interview on the 10th May, 2014. On the 10th May, we met at her home for another in-depth conversation. This time Anita focussed on her experience of life in Trinidad upon her return from years as a student in three different cultural settings and the culture shock she experienced at university. She spoke at length about her search for a Trinidadian identity, when she experienced great difficulty understanding the attitudes of her peers who were quick to identify with other students who had attended the same secondary school as they did. In this interview, she did most of the speaking as I listened to how she reacted to "labelling" as a student at university. Anita noted that she experienced this labelling of teachers in her interaction with fellow Caribbean Examination Council markers. If a marker corrected a paper in which the student answered the questions well, it was immediately assumed that the student was from one of the prestigious elites secondary schools in the region school. She added that this practice was also carried into workshops and conferences that she had attended. Later, she spoke about SBM and her personal view of this initiative by the MOE. She shared

with me her role at her school in the development of the School Plan and her subsequent training after she was promoted to the position of head of her department. What was interesting was her perspective of the roles played by the various stakeholders within the school community. During the course of this second interview, I listened and only interrupted once to ask her about her philosophy of education (Interview 10th May, 2014).

We attempted another meeting at her school on the 8th November, 2014 where it was more convenient as her daughter had a sporting event on the school's premises. This was aborted after twenty-one minutes and fifty-one seconds because of the loud cheers coming from the children on the compound. We did however speak briefly about some of the challenges which she faced as head and overcome since her promotion, and how her own beliefs and values have enabled her to shape and influence the direction in which the science department has grown.

Our last conversation took place on the 13th June, 2016. This really was not an interview but a conversation that focused on traditions in her school that continues to prevent the school from becoming more innovative. We talked about the power relations between senior and middle management. At the end, I thanked her for all her support, advice and trust in sharing intimate details of her life with me and sharing with me her valuable time.

Zidanne

Zidanne holds the position of dean of two senior year groups at her school. My first meeting with her took place at her school on 15th April, 2014. We met in the school's library which was quiet as school was closed for the Easter vacation. Zidanne is a very busy teacher, dean and is in charge of a number of groups, both sporting and cultural; both inside and outside of school. I went through the exact procedure with her as I did with Anita that is, sending her via email her letter from me that contained information regarding the life history approach; her Participant's Information Sheet, as well as a copy of the letter of approval from the University of Sheffield for permission to conduct the fieldwork. She signed the consent forms. I kept my copy on file. Her first interview lasted fifty-seven minutes and twenty-three seconds. She provided details about her

early childhood, even laughingly reminding me that she was an Independence baby, having been born seven months before Trinidad and Tobago became an independent country. During this first meeting, I again used the voice recorder with her permission. She was eager to provide detailed information about her relationship with her mother, father, siblings and adopted siblings; her religious beliefs as a devout Methodist and her life which revolves around her family, school and church. I was learning to keep my vow of silence and only interrupted her towards the end of her story to ask her to clarify what she meant by the lack of power within the ranks of the middle management. I also asked her about her decision to decline of the position of Vice-Principal (First interview, 15th April, 2014). In addition to these two questions, I asked her to state the name of the church she attended. Even though I have known Zidanne since we were teenagers, many changes have taken place in both our lives as there has been minimal contact between us over the years, therefore, our meetings and her revelations in her interviews were surprising and, at times, new to me .

Her second interview took place on the 11th July, 2014. Again, I took notes and she made use of the voice recorder. Zidanne made no changes to her first interview, so we began the second interview. I was very uneasy with the fact that she had not read the transcript of the first interview, and I asked her to postpone the interview to a later date which would give her time to read the transcript carefully. She declined and during the course of this conversation, she used it as a reference. This would be our last interview because her sporting and cultural activities prohibited her from committing to any further interviews. She left it up to me to complete the final interpretation and analysis of her life and work as a dean to me. I provided her, as I did with all the other participants, electronic copies of the interviews after I had transcribed them. I thanked her for her participation and the time she had spent with me on this research project.

Zidanne's decision to end the interviews was a bit unexpected. I knew she was involved in a number of activities that took precedence over this research and I respected her decision.

Joanne

Interviews with Joanne took place between the 15ᵗʰ February and the 14ᵗʰ June, 2014. All three meetings took place at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine campus. This was more convenient venue for us to meet there than in Port of Spain. I followed the same procedure at our first meeting as I did with the other participants. She was a little confused about the format that the interview would take, as she thought, that I was using the traditional interviewing method-that of questions and responses. I explained that the decision to what she wanted to reveal in her story and how it would be narrated was up to her. Again, I made notes while she used the voice recorder to tell her story. This lasted for only thirty minutes and thirty eight seconds because she had to attend a class that morning.

I sent her an electronic copy of her first interview and a hard copy as well. Unlike Anita and Zidanne, the two participants discussed previously, Joanne made numerous corrections with respect to grammatical errors and a few inaccuracies in my transcription.. In a similar fashion to Anita and Zidanne, Joanne began her life story with a description of the composition of her family. Having given details about her sisters and her position in this group, she continued with a description of her parents. In the first interview, she spoke at length about her early life and her family, in particular the pain she experienced as a child having parents who were from two different races-her mother was Indo-Trinidadian and her father, Afro-Barbadian. I recognised that I was becoming much more disciplined in maintaining my vow of silence with each participant, so it was easier to listen to Joanne's story of her life as I paid closer attention not only to what she stated but also how she chose to narrate her story.

Our second interview, also at UWI, was a bit longer as it lasted for fifty minutes and twenty-nine seconds. Her second interview became more of a grounded conversation between us as we discussed issues raised in her first interview. The conversation focused on her promotion to head of department with responsibility for several curriculum areas; her relationship with her sisters, father, mother and her mentoring of her students and teachers within her department.

By the time we met for the third and final conversation on the 14th June, 2014, I was surprised that she spoke this time for over an hour-one hour and twenty minutes to be precise. This time our conversation turned to school-based management and how it was introduced in her school. We spoke about the National Common Secondary Examination (NCSE), Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE), and the present state of our education system that has remained a pawn in the hands of powerful elite groups in society whose agenda is to keep the status quo unchanged. A serious, reflective teacher and head of department, she was generous in her giving of her time, invaluable experience and knowledge of our education at all levels in the system.

Septimus

Septimus, the last of the four participants, is the sole male in the group. As head of department at his school, he was he was very curious to hear what I had learnt at my study schools. As a then recent graduate of the Masters degree, he was curious about what I had learnt at my Sheffield Study Schools. We had three interviews. The first one took place on 13th February, 2014 at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine campus. This was a more suitable venue because it was more convenient for him to stop on his way home to meet me for the interviews. With the exception of the third interview, which took place at the National Library in Port of Spain, both the first and second interviews, took place at the UWI.

Again, I went through the same procedure as I did with the other participants in preparing him for the life history interview. In much the same way as Joanne was not very clear on her role in the interview I had to assure him that I was not going to ask a barrage of questions to which he had to respond. After taking some time to choose his pseudonym, which made us both laugh at his peculiar sense of humour, the interview began. He told me he wanted a name he could remember. Septimus, throughout all our conversations, was the most reflective of all the participants; an individual who thinks carefully before he responds. Becoming a departmental head for him, was not an easy transition from teacher to a member of the middle management as it was for many of his colleagues. In this it was evident to me that he was more at ease in the role of master teacher than in the role of "managing people."

The last of four children, his mother and sister are both educators. During the course of our conversations, he recalled vividly, his boyhood exploits more than what he had learnt at two of the primary schools he had attended as a child. This first interview lasted only thirty-eight minutes and four seconds. He ended the interview and I understood because he had had a very long day and wished to return home before the evening ended. By the second interview on 24th April, 2014, he reflected on how he had followed in the footsteps of one of his former teachers when he was promoted to head after she had retired. He spoke at length about his experience of the Teaching Service Commission's interview where he was stumped by the very first question that he was asked by a member of the Commission. The question about how he handled school finances was one that was outside his own experience.

After the first interview, I sent him an electronic of the transcribed interview. He also received a hard copy. He did make a few corrections, typographical and a few instances of incorrect grammar. He did not make any major changes to the content in his interview transcript. None of the participants in this study made significant changes only minor ones such as those made by Joanne and Septimus. In his third conversation with me at the National Library, he was a bit ruffled when we started as he had experienced a tough day at school. This took place on the 1st July, 2014 and even though I asked him if he wanted us to postpone to a later date, he insisted that we continue. The conversation lasted forty-four minutes and twenty-one seconds because he had to return to school for the afternoon session. He used the opportunity during the conversation to discuss the situation which had given him cause for concern earlier that day.

Section Four: Ethical challenges and dilemmas

(i)Maintaining a Vow of Silence

One of the first challenges that I encountered is with trying to maintain my silence throughout the interviews. All of the participants were known to me prior to the research study. I know three of the participants as colleagues in the teaching profession school but one is a friend for over forty years. My pre-existing knowledge about all the participants varied as a result of the length and nature of our relationships. While access

to each participant was easy because of familiarity and interest in my study, this also proved to be one of my toughest challenges throughout my fieldwork because of my tendency to chat. Although this was difficult at first and I had to keep reminding myself to let the participant speak, I managed to maintain my silence successfully for the majority of duration of the first interviews even though Anita, I interrupted Anita to clarify some confusion that I experienced while trying to follow her narrative such as asking her how old she was when she returned to Trinidad as well as some clarification about the middle management structure in her school(First Interview, 8th February, 2014).

(ii)Doing Insider Research with colleagues and friends

My second and more troubling concern was my insider-outsider status. Insider research, as defined by Greene (2014) is characterised by research carried out on a group, organisation, or culture that is familiar or known intimately by the researcher (p.1). As a member of the middle management with knowledge and some experience of the inner workings of the duties and responsibilities of a head of department, then I can be considered an insider. However, I am not an appointed or even acting head. I am a subject coordinator, a position that is relevant only within the context of my school organisational structure. There is no such position within the official management structure of secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago, that is, no such position exists as far the MOE is concerned. This is an internal arrangement within my school designed to distribute the work load of heads of departments who are responsible for more than one subject area. My role therefore is to assist the head of my department. So, from the perspective of the Ministry of Education, I am a Teacher III, which means a subject teacher. So, as I stated before, I am an insider by virtue of having been invited to assist my head of department in managing the Communication Studies curriculum while she manages the English curriculum. I attend our weekly Heads of Departments' meeting along with other subject coordinators, heads, Vice-Principal and Principal. My substantive position is that of Secondary Teacher III. All my participants are appointed by the MOE and thus legitimate holders of authority as middle managers.

However, this issue of positional power, my knowledge of our education system and the practices of senior management arose during the second and third interviews. My prior

experiences as a dean and Vice-Principal made me aware during the transcription of the second and third interviews of the multiple shifts in my identity as well as shifts in the participants' identities that were evident from these interviews. There were moments in my conversations with participants where though unconscious of it during the interview, I seemed to be offering advice on how to manage their departments. An example of this interjecting, interpreting and then offering advice is given below in my conversation with Septimus recorded on 1st July, 2014. The conversation follows his reflection of how he is becoming more conscious of his role as a head and my interpretation as his evolving into his role.

Septimus: I think so. I feel that's it, yeah. (*Heather: it took a little while*) er I am evolving into the role and the resp...with all the responsibilities that go with it.
Heather: It's almost *self-training*, on the job training.
Septimus: Uh um, yeah, that is it. I know you can say you have all these and things but um things *evolve* when you actually *put* them into practice.

Then, after this, when I asked about the practical application of what he had learnt while doing his Masters in Education, he stated that it was too theoretical. This is followed by my advice once again.

Septimus: Yeah, yeah, it wasn't practical. One of the best courses I think I did at that UWI was um the *DipED Tech* mainly because it was very practical you know, you were able to, we had the day off, the Thursday off and then you would go to the lab and, and the computer and, and other things-*learn how to record things; learn how to edit*; learn how to do video you know, video-recording and, and I found that very practical and useful. If I include it in my teaching is another thing but it's there (*short laugh*) you know. Certainly, I certainly don't incorporate it as much as I *would like* to and *need* to but as we, it comes back to time and not having the time as I said you know to, to do all these things.

Heather: So, so perhaps as Head of Department, part of the problem of really *leading* not only by example but being able to mentor and offer professional advice to er um teachers in your group or even to have time among the Heads to do some sort of talking curriculum across the board not just in your area, *discussing* curriculum issues with um co-heads, (*Septimus: Uh um*) perhaps might be um a way of sort of *helping heads* who are in challenging-faced with challenging situations to sort of discuss and (*Septimus: Uh um*) and find ways of dealing with these various challenges that arise (*Septimus deep intake of breath: Uh um*) instead of just having meetings um where you just discuss um mundane matters-day to day (*Septimus: Uh um*) but have a more *professional*...

Septimus: But as you say that, that would demand time and in a school day you don't have the kind of time, I mean I think...having a period, devoting a period to meeting as Heads I mean is a start, meeting as Heads with the Principal and then another to meet with the department, these are starts but oftentimes you would have to continue a meeting like that on an individual level-one on one-hardly as a group, when do you find the time to do that? But, that would be ideal you know, maybe even have a retreat for Heads alone, yeah, I think all those things, yeah, that's when you reflect, but time...(*laughing*)

When I reflected on this conversation later, I realised that Septimus has the experience of managing his department and viewed my recommendation as impractical given the reality of the demands made upon heads who also teach daily. On further reflection as the eldest of four children and, the only female apart from my mother at home, I recognised my natural propensity to "butt in" and give advice whether solicited or not. In this I recognise my intrusion by interrupting him, and making assumptions about his own ability to navigate his way through the new demands placed upon him as a head.

My interactions with Zidanne, Anita and Joanne however, were different. Throughout the period of the interviews, Zidanne, Joanne and Anita were all very confident in their ability to manage their departments, and in the case of Zidanne, counsel the students under her charge, as well as work alongside the senior management in her school. All three participants spoke with authority and offered interesting insights into their practices. With them, I found myself maintaining the roles of researcher, professional colleague and co-researcher as we navigated the move from life story to life history.

When I was entrusted with the task of writing Zidanne's life history on my own, I recognised that I needed to rely on what she had stated in her two interviews about how her beliefs and values had shaped her practice as a dean. I not only experienced a shock at being given this enormous responsibility but also much unease, distress and doubt. I experienced much anxiety when I was told without warning that she was not prepared to continue with any further interviews. After much reflection, I understood that I had consented to accept any participant's decision to leave, without explanation, at any point in the study. Her insistence that I was complete the interpretation and analysis on my own with her blessings and faith in me did nothing to quell my discomfort. Therefore, in Chapter Five, I make it clear that the interpretation and analysis of her life history is based on the two interviews that I had with her and her complete reliance on

me to re-present her practices as re-presenting those of the overseer or advocate or any combination of these two.

In the case of the other three participants, together we moved from the individual life story to the life history albeit one that focused primarily on the introduction of SBM and how this secondary school reform resulted in shifts in responsibility and accountability to the teachers and other stakeholders at the level of the school.

Conclusion

Over the six months of intense interviews with Anita, Joanne, Septimus and Zidanne as I listened to each participant's life story, I was struck most by the passion and enthusiasm for teaching that has neither diminished nor faded away with time, even though they are now in managerial positions. When I combine the number of years that they have all served in this profession, they represent over one hundred years of teaching in Trinidad and Tobago! Their struggle to improve the profession and to pass on their knowledge of pedagogy, of community, of goodwill, to younger, less experienced teachers, while at the same time, striving to develop in them a commitment to their students and to the teaching profession in an era of greater public scrutiny of teachers and the profession in general, are commendable ones.

Chapter 5

Summary and Analysis of findings

Introduction

The inner plantation offers a decolonising theoretical framework for our study of educational institutions, teachers, students and school administrators. It offers us a way to interrogate the hegemonic practices within our education system inherited from our colonial past. My aim is to explore how plantation notions shape the practices and understandings of Heads of Departments and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. In the first section of this chapter, I present a summary of the findings of the life history interviews that I conducted with the four participants. The second section focuses on the analysis of these interview findings within the framework of the inner plantation.

In Chapter Four, the findings from the interviews with the four participants tell us an interesting story. Instead of compliance to the dictates of the latest incarnation of New Public Management practices, they speak instead of the influence of family and community values in choosing teaching as their profession; the difficulties they experienced in the interpretation of their roles as curriculum specialists and leaders of pastoral care as defined by official policy documents from the MOE, the expectations of teachers, students, parents senior management, school boards and ministry officials.

Section One: Summary of findings based on the life history interviews

After over five months of intense interviews, transcribing interviews by hand and then typing them for my participants, I recognised the merit in investing time listening over and over to the interviews and conversations that I had with each participant. In doing this exercise, I learnt how rich and varied their life experiences had been and how they each head of a department or dean dealt with meeting the demands of their positions in their respective schools. Here are the findings from more than five months of interacting with the four participants.

Three of the participants began their stories by stating their dates of birth. The narrative frame was similar for Anita, "I was born..." (First interview 8th February, 2014); Zidanne, I was born..." (First interview, 15th April, 2014) and Joanne, "I was born..." (First interview, 15th February, 2014). Perhaps, the letter that I sent each participant may have influenced them to begin with their date of birth. Then, the story moved into a description of the composition of their families. With the exception of Septimus who avoided the traditional story-telling technique, all three females adhered to the conventional start to their narratives that reads and sounds much like the conventional start to autobiographies. Stories are themselves, a product of a particular culture and in Trinidad and Tobago, as in the rest of the Caribbean narratives are very much an important aspect of our daily lives and our history as people whose cultural heritage includes the oral or spoken word tradition. By firmly positioning their individual stories using the first person narrator, the "I" narrator, Anita, Joanne and Zidanne establish themselves as the main focus of their stories. These are her stories, not someone else's stories. Septimus, on the other hand, chose to begin his narrative with an anecdote and then linked it with his day of birth. He began his story with a joke as a matter of fact, which was a trademark of his throughout his interviews. He decided he wanted a name he could remember and then settled on the rather unusual pseudonym.

(i)The importance of family-mothers, fathers, grandmothers, siblings and children

Based on their first interviews, I recognised two familiar family structures found in the Caribbean. The first of these two, the extended family made up of mother, father, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and children; the second the nuclear family structure, that is, mother, father and children. For each participant, their families influenced her and his values, beliefs and future career choices and aspirations.

In her first interview, (15th February, 2014), Joanne began,

I was born into a family of four children-four girls, no boys. I'm the third in, in the list, so I have two older sisters and one younger sister. Um, apparently there were six of us and two died-before my second sister, and one after me. So, for some reason, my second sister and I are very very close, closer to each other than the other two. And I've always been very protective of my sisters from very young, so I would always think that I needed to protect them from my father in particular because he was the disciplinarian,

or from any other thing in life. I still have that protective streak, so if anything is wrong, I'm the one responsible for "solving" the problems or assisting them or fixing things.

Then she offered a reason for her protective nature as demonstrated by her defence of her siblings from their autocratic, domineering father. Joanne's family is summed up in her own words,

"So, we grew up in a very very closed sort of thing, there was just the family" (First interview, 15th February, 2014).

Growing up in a home environment that was characterised by a certain degree of insularity from the world outside family was and continues to be a source of strength for Joanne. Coming from a racially mixed background, her parents, who were unmarried and living in what is a common law relationship, were very protective of their daughters, her father in particular, to the point where it was difficult to cultivate any relationship outside the home and family. As Joanne pointed out,

Because it was four girls, daddy was extremely protective, so we were not allowed to have friends come home at all, so it was just 'us'. So, we learnt to play with each other and take care of each other and that was it. We really didn't have a good relationship with our parents in that we didn't have close interaction with our parents. They were very much old school, very, um, very um disciplinarian, very authoritarian, so the girls stuck together, it was us against them, that kinda thing. We were each others' protector sort of. Um, so very restricted sort of interaction with people growing up, so we learnt to take care of each other and we had a decent property because we had a property that was over an acre, and daddy planted every fruit tree that you could think about. So our escape was the garden sort of. so we would run down into the garden to get away from, do whatever we had to do. We stayed at home but we had enough space to be sort of creative and, and play. Um, play was always an escape from home life. We had two houses. Daddy built two houses. Daddy was a carpenter, and, so he built two houses. He was actually planning to build a house for each one of us, so he started the third house...the first house for my first sister, the second house for my second sister and he started the third one, never completed the third one. The third one was for me. We knew that growing up because he provided like that....at the back of my head was always the notion that we would never get married. He insisted on us getting an education but he also always said if you were educated and working, you don't need a husband. So, somehow in our growing up, this was the concept - that we would be living alone and we would get a job. You had to get an education, he stressed that. So we were never allowed to stay at home no matter what-if you were ill, it was raining, whatever, we went to school right. So, he insisted on the education but also said things to us like you don't need a husband, you don't need to get married, you good.

Joanne also described how racism created barriers between her bi-racial family's and her mother's Indo-Trinidadian family. The only member of her mother's family to acknowledge them was her mother's grandmother or "nani" a Hindu word for grandmother.

Um, my parents were not married, um, so I grew up in what at that time, would have been considered to be, um, ah, sort of illicit relationship because they were "common law" you know, and in the 1960s, common law marriages were frowned upon and that was the first problem and then well a problem for the rest of society when looking at us. Then, my mother is an Indian and my father was African. That was the second problem cause at that time again in the 1960s, an Indian was not supposed to get married to an African man. So, she was ostracised by her family, so we had no relationship at all with um, with that side of the family, er, and she had a large family. She was...there were thirteen of them. Her grandmother however, stayed in contact, so we knew her nani. That was the only relationship that we had with that side of the family.

She elaborates further in her story,

Part of the growing up experience was the racial issue as well because my mother continued to make attempts to go home but we weren't allowed to go into the home. So, she would take us with her to visit her mother and her brothers and sisters, but they would say, "Don't bring those black children in," so we would have to stand by the road until she's finished and come back...I remember as a child, that image is in my head still, of us holding each others' hands and standing by the road while she went in to talk to them and then to come back out. That has stayed with me forever. I...I can still see the colour of the dresses we were wearing. I was wearing a blue dress and we had to line up and wait for mummy to come back, and she would continue to go, you know. She tried until the very end to sort of build a relationship and have them accept us. Um, they were Hindu of course, which was an additional issue and she became a Christian which placed a further wedge between her and them so the African and then not married and then being a Hindu was, and then becoming a Christian. Became another problem but she raised us as Christians and um, so that was another divide.

Of her own marriage and on becoming a parent of two children, Joanne, in her second interview dated 23rd April, 2014 explains how she and her sisters, followed in their mother's footsteps.

Um, I...got married at age 24, I had my first child at 22. Um, I got pregnant before I got *married* actually and I insisted on having, I was very...um rebellious my father used to say but I just did not want to walk the normal path. The biggest part was him saying to us, "You don't need to get married, you don't need to get married." So in our heads that was the *least important* of the options. So um I got *pregnant* and it's when my son turned a year that I actually go married. Um was not something that I actually wanted to do.

I, my decision to get married was in fact in my son's interest. I felt he deserved to have his father, so I got married. It's not that I *wanted* to get married, but I did.

In her first interview she stated that her mother's family eventually accepted them despite their early rejection of the children when they became adults and were successful at school and in having careers. I asked her to elaborate on this in her second interview. She explained,

Um, the...it was the whole race issue. They um never accepted us...they were unwilling to accept black children and we were *black children*. Um, so er that was said to us and it was said to my mother that she should not bring those African, well they said nigger children, but "Don't bring those nigger children to their home." So we just never had any sort of relationship with them. Um, because my father insisted that we educate ourselves-he believed that-so he would insist-we never stayed home you know, we had to go to school rain, sun, whatever was happening, you had to dress in the morning-went to school. Um, it's when we started to *succeed* because of that education, we got jobs that were considered to be fairly good jobs, that they, because being a teacher was considered, a teacher was considered as being something middle-class sort of thing. So when we started to succeed they accepted us (*Heather: Uh uh*) right but...so really as adults mummy would talk to them, "This one is at university, this one has gone away." It's very late that we established some sort of relationship with them. Is only when I started to *work*, my sister went to *England*, then they would embrace us and it was something I could not deal with because to me that is hypocrisy and I'm not...so *even now* I...there is still a distance.

Like Joanne, Anita began her story in her first interview dated 8th February, 2014, with her date of birth and a description of her immediate family, she interrupted this linear story line development as she described in some detail, her parents backgrounds and in particular, her mother and her grandmother's relationship-one characterised by conflict and feelings of resentment. In Anita's maternal family structure, there was an aunt and her children who lived together with her mother and grandmother in an extended family situation. Her concern for how her mother was treated in her family is noticeable in her repetition of how as a child, her mother's relatives were unkind to her and this influenced how she was a strong defender of her own children, that is Anita and her siblings. In addition, she mentioned her large maternal grandmother's family which nurtured in her mother a strong sense of commitment to family.

Ah, I lived in Trinidad for the first three years of my life of which I have not, um, much memory. Um, my home at that time, consisted of two parents, uh, a brother, an older brother and myself. Um, later on I had

two sisters who, ah, the eldest being ten years younger than me, so for a while there was just the two of us.

Um, let me go back a little bit to my parents because I think that shaped who they were and who I was. Uh, my mother, my mother uh, was a single child for twelve years. Her mother married a gentleman from Barbados who was in the Royal Army. Apparently he had said he had all these um...siblings that ended up being his kids, my mother was the twelfth which she discovered. Three months after, he, they were married, he left and was posted somewhere else to another island leaving my grandmother pregnant and uh I think for about twelve years he was back and forth with letters and my, twelve years later, he...er, um came back to Trinidad and my grandmother had my uncle who is twelve, thirteen years younger than my mother.

...my grandmother came from a family of five and one of her siblings had seventeen kids, of which, um, basically went through childhood until adulthood and my mother was very close to them and um, she grew up with a strong sense of family and um that again, I um think, has influenced how I, we, were brought up.

Of her paternal grandfather and his family background, she had little to say about his life except that he was a police officer, remarried a second time. Then she switched immediately into her account of her maternal grandmother's job as an ironer. An ironer, in Trinidadian dialect, is a person, usually a woman, who irons other people's clothes for payment. Her grandmother and mother's influence are evident throughout the interview as she revealed her mother's battle in her early years with depression and her inability to sit examinations until much later as an adult and life-long learner. Education, according to Anita was high on her mother's agenda for her own children.

When we went, we lived in a residential area of which we were the uh only uh people of Afr...colour, mixed or any otherwise, in a neighbourhood that was pre...Caucasians. Um, I did not go to school in my area where most people did. I went to a private school on the outskirts. It was on, how many, I think it was 200 hundred acres of land, so they had areas for camping, ponds, horses, the works, so we went to school there. At school was a mixed environment. When I say that, everyone was from a higher socioeconomic bracket, but you found that uh, they were people of all racial backgrounds. You found that the blacks were people like judges' children, then, you know, people in the army, they were higher and stuff like that. Ah, so, uh, it gave you a lot of experiences. I think my mother's job was always to keep us grounded, you know. She always used to tell us that we are only little guppies in a big pond, don't let it get to our heads. Um, at home, there was that sense of uh, of, particularly with my mother, of giving us the opportunity to do things because she saw sometimes her cousins and stuff do things that she couldn't do, so everything we wanted to do, we were able to do. Now, for me, it was dance and um, and music...and whatever you wanted. Once you were serious, she encouraged you. Also, you know, that was a big sense of um, of the education thing. She said, you know, that she had, uh, when we went to the States, she had continued her education and went to become a nurse and she always, a , something she

always wanted, and I think in her days it was a time of uh, before the Common Entrance, it was...the College Exhibition...

Heather: Exam.

Anita: Yes, and apparently they chose children and she thought that although she was, from what I gathered, did very well in school, they kept her back a few years because they thought my mother wasn't stable and therefore she wasn't really able to sit the exam, in the sense she only had one parent and sometimes she used to suffer from depression and, you know, that sort of thing. So, I mean, eventually, my mother was determined to done her stuff particularly her girls. She had this thing about staying at home, her boys educated, her girls more so because we were not to depend on anybody...

Heather: Um.

Anita: ... so that for as long as it has been there, which kinda has made me the independent person I am, that, uh, I think most things I feel the drive to get done, do and not having to wait for somebody and I think because this has been hammered into our heads and I think all her daughters have had that...

While living abroad, Anita recalled how her mother continued to work closely with her two children as they attended elementary school.

In the case of Zidanne, an independence baby and proud of it, as she proclaimed to me,

 I am one of the fortunate ones who was born in that year! (First interview 15th April, 2014).

Her story began with her birth date and then she immediately gives a synopsis of her parents' involvement in church activities and then, unlike the other participants, moves into a description of her experience of primary school. Her mother was a primary school teacher and in her descriptions of her early childhood, she recounts how her primary school mother brought her closer to her own teachers whom she described as caring and reminded her of her own mother. These two primary school teachers would be the first of three women who played a significant role in her decision to enter the teaching profession herself, in addition to providing her with a model of care that she held out for herself later on when she made the decision to embark upon a teaching career. She recalled early on in her first interview, vivid recollections of her experience of primary school.

Good morning, my name is Zidanne. I was born on the 10th of March, 1962 in the year of independence of our country Trinidad and Tobago. I am one of the fortunate ones who was born in that year. I was born at a nursing home in Belmont and during that time, it was a time when we just became independent, so that my parents felt that I was, we were just becoming independent, so that my parents felt that I was a special baby. I...during my early childhood, I grew up in the church. Um, both my parents were deeply involved in church activities, so that from a tender age, I remember going to church and going to Sunday

school; both my parents sang in the choir and my parents were Sunday school teachers as well. From the early age of 4 years, I remember entering primary school because my mother was a teacher there and I remember my very first teacher when I was four years old and she has had a great impact on my life from since then to now. I remember her because I remember that she was *strict* yet *sweet*. And I remember her caring and it reminded me so much of my mother and at that point in time I remember as a child I remember feeling that all teachers should be that way because she was my first teacher, and she was so much like my own mother and, she cared for me and *all of us* in our class in a special way.

Even when Zidanne spoke about the occasional punishment given to children at school, common to many Trinidadians who grew up in the 1960s and 1970s, that is, corporal punishment, she described this without any anger, regret or remorse. Nor did it deter her from her goal of becoming a teacher.

And I remember her caring and it reminded me so much of my mother and at that point in time I remember as a child I remember feeling that all teachers should be that way because she was my first teacher, and she was so much like my own mother and, she cared for me and *all of us* actually in our class in a special way. I remember going into Standard One at 5 years of age and my teacher there was yet another caring teacher who has left an indelible impression on my memory...and she herself was very caring and *somehow* was also heavily-stocked, heavily-built woman and she found time every day to hug each and every one of her students at some time. And when it was time to be flogged or when it was time to be disciplined, she would discipline you but she would always let you know that it's because she cares and that again I remember clearly. Going through the rest of my primary school years, I remember being a normal child but it was different because my mother was a teacher in the school and you had to always *behave* a certain way. You could not misbehave of course because mummy was a teacher there and you didn't want two things-you didn't want to embarrass her and you didn't want the children to say that you know, "*yuh mudda is a teacher, ah goin to tell yuh mudda everything, ah goin tell yuh mudda*" – I had that experience (*smiling and laughing*) several times with children saying they "*goin tell yuh mudda*", so that sort of made me keep straight and narrow, having a mother who is a teacher. It is a different experience to those children who didn't have their mothers as teachers or their fathers as teachers in the school. I gained friends, um, lots of friends in the primary school whom I've, I'm still friends with to date.

Her parents' influence on her life is important as their subsequent divorce when she was just seven years old was one that she described as life-changing. She interrupted her linear narrative to speak of her personal crisis which was doubly painful when her father was physically separated from her when he made the decision to emigrate to the United States of America, leaving her and her siblings in the care of their mother.

I need to go back to a specific time in my life when my father and my mother got a divorce because *that* had a great impact on my life-that was in 1969. I remember I was 7 years of age and I was in Standard Three and that *really, really, really* affected me because um I was very, very close with my dad, I was the last of the children and you know, I was like daddy's girl so when my mother told me that um they were going to get a divorce, I really couldn't understand at that point in time because children of that time weren't as children of today, they weren't as knowledgeable, they weren't *allowed* to be in people's conversations in the first place. Whereas children now can discuss that for you at 6 or at 5, but at 7, I, I, you know, I was lost; I was *totally shattered*. My life was shattered because my father and my mother had separated and even to make it worst, he was, he left the country to go abroad to live.

Left on her own with her children, Zidanne recalls that her mother never changed her attitude. In fact, her mother became a foster mother to a number of children. Later on, she herself would follow in her mother's footsteps and become a foster mother to female students from her school who had suffered loss of family members or homes. The seeds of the mothering, nurturing role that she has undertaken were sown during her early experiences with her teachers and her mother, also a primary school teacher.

And then my mother became both my mother and my father and, but she never changed. She never changed the way in which she dealt with us and her loving, caring attitude never changed. And one thing I remember too as a child growing up at home, my mother *always took in people's children*. And we...so we always had an extra sister, brother, sisters and brothers growing up because even before I was born, let me go back to that, my mother took a friend's child from 6 days old and she was my sister as far as I knew. When I was born, and I remember when I was growing up, I knew she was my sister. I thought she was my mother's child. It was only when I was big enough, I found out that she was not my mother's child because we grew up in the house with *her* being our big sister. Another *blow* that struck me was when I was 9 years old, she got married and left home. So, I had lost my father, and then I lost my big sister who was also very caring and loving. But, as I said my....I got other brothers, other sisters because my mother always had someone living at home you know, who she would take in-somebody's children who had problems, who, who were being abused and that type of thing, so we always had somebody at home.

Septimus, like Zidanne, comes from a family of teachers. Both his mother and older sister are teachers-his mother retired as a principal of a primary school. In his first interview which took place on the 13th February, 2014, he recalls his mother's role in his decision to enter the teaching profession after his graduation from university.

Um, so I was born in 1965 after, in January 1965 um and my family was, at that time, there were 2 boys and 2 girls. I was the last, I was the youngest and my um, you know, my sister who is the only one, my only other sibling who has survived because the other two have died. Um, she would say that I was spoilt. I would disagree but, um, I guess being the last, they thought I, eh, has life better, easier perhaps my mother was not as strict as she might have been with them. Of course, she was younger at the time, but when I came a long time after them like, eh, this sister before me, was a twin – a sister and a brother, both of them were twins, and were eleven years older than I was. Er, I really was, I guess, spoilt by everybody else if you want to look at it like that. Hm, I wouldn't consider myself spoilt. Spoilt if only because I remember...my mother took me, I grew up in the time of the oil boom if you want, so that although my mother was a teacher and my father was a supervisor in a factory, you know he had to manage some workers there, they used to make, ah, um, tablets-Caffenol and these things-she was still able to afford trips abroad, so I grew up in the time when that was what Trinidadian families used to do, I suppose most middle class families you know, go abroad and whatever else when there were still restrictions on the amount of US money that we could take. I remember one experience, so you had to pay, you didn't have credit cards at the time, just like cell phones, you had try to pay as much, as much as you could because you have limited US you could take out, you know, um, but we still man...I remember one year we went, that's my mother and her friends, so all those older ladies and myself, a young boy, going to, one year, we had gone to, it was three places we went to, I think it was Curacao, we went to Florida, from there we went to Puerto Rico, you know and having....I would share a room with my mother and...so, I suppose my mother always had a strong influence on me. Um, as I said, she was a primary school teacher and she um went through the ranks from teacher to Principal. She retired as a Principal and then, she um, was called back to teach again, to teach again in a private school not far from where she lived She did that for many years, so I always had that...image, or a role model if you want, um as a teacher you know, who when she came home on afternoons, especially in the later years, I don't remember too much as a child how she was, but certainly in the later years, you know, she would have this board, sit on the couch and have this board on her lap and all her papers on there and do whatever-prepared her work and you know, very, um, I'm almost the opposite now of that (*laughs*) especially now.

Surrounded by educators-his mother, sister and his uncle who worked at the MOE, he would follow in their footsteps, while his father had less influence on his choice of a career. As he stated in his first interview on 13th February, 2014,

My father, on the other hand, um, was a supervisor and I, I think I saw where you know...intellectually he might have struggled, not that he was unsmart or anything, it was not that he was not smart, but but in terms of eh... I always remember as a child you know, he was, he used to do studies probably in his role , with his job you know, um, like management studies, I'm not too sure that he coped very well, like he developed psoriasis and all these things out of the stress of studies and um, you know, but but he was always there for us and you know...he did the best that he could do. Um, but the person, you know, the figurehead, of course who was the figurehead was the mother and the strict one, who used to make sure

we did the homework and you know, that we sat down. As a child, I remember having to, you know, eh, the tv was there, so I grew up in the time of television, so television has always played a role in my life and *continues* to be a role in my life, that's one of the biggest distractions for me. Um, so it was black and white and then went to colour but, you know, sitting down at the table doing homework cause I was sent there and there was this curtain made of strips but you still trying to peep through the strips to see the tv, and, but but, they always insisted that you do your homework, schoolwork, that came first in my family,

The bond between Septimus and his mother is a strong one. What was significant in his narrative is Septimus's passion for pedagogy and curriculum and much less enthusiasm for his current position as head of his department at school where he, at the time of the interviews, was still attempting to understand his role as part of its middle management.

At first glance, the storytelling technique used by each participant appeared to follow a conventional, traditional pattern of autobiographical writing. What appeared conventional, and by this I mean, the familiar story line that begins with the storyteller's birth and family as part of the chronological structure of the story, was instead, a method of identification with a kinship group. Within this kinship group, the story teller becomes part of a tradition, family tradition, carriers of their own beliefs and values that have been passed on from one generation to another generation. It was in a sense, "I belong to..." "I am part of...", and in all the participants' stories they utilised what knowledge they had of narrative techniques that they learnt at school or from the narratives as passed on by their own families about members of the family. Anita, Zidanne and Joanne identified with the strong females in their families-sisters, mothers, and grandmothers who were not only the support and centres of power and sisterhood; but also provided models of social justice at work in their families and communities. Even Septimus, as the lone male in the study, identified more with his mother and sister than with his father.

This should not be surprising as Caribbean society has, and continues to be, matriarchal in nature. Women have traditionally been the centre of the home as wage earners and nurturer of children. Women after Emancipation withdrew from labour on the estates so that they could spend more time on rearing children and becoming independent by engaging in farming with other members of their families (Brereton, 2005, pp. 151-153). Brereton explains that Caribbean freed women were not inspired by Western middle class gender norms in their desire to stay away from estate labour, instead they

were guided by "rational strategies aimed at securing the survival and welfare of their kin groups, in the face of appalling odds and at carrying out lives which would not be wholly dependent on the plantation" (p. 157).

Paton and Scully (2005) on writing about Emancipation from the point of view of women, argue that with freed men and women, experienced emancipation differently and in their different responses, gave new meaning to male and female gender roles. Freed women were now able continue in the practices of cultivating their own plots of land as they did before emancipation, not as enslaved people but as owners of the land.

The tradition of caring for the family, usually made up of a number of relatives, extended to the community. Grogan and Shakeshaft (2011) in their discussion of "leadership for social justice" (pp.10-11) and "spiritual leadership" (p.13-16) are often surprised when black or coloured women speak about their experiences as educators. Zidanne, in her description of one of her earliest experiences of teaching in a primary school in an area where the student population came from a lower income community, recalled in our conversation on the 15th April, 2014:

And if I may say so myself, I, when I went to, to Laventille to teach, I had just come out of teachers' training college and they gave me an adjustment class...

Heather: What does that mean "an adjustment class?"

Zidanne: An adjustment class is a class where you have children, where I had children from the age of 7 to 14; all the children they felt couldn't *learn*, they just put them into that class (*Heather: Uh um*) and I had them. And that is where I think that, I think that time of my life was the best time of my life. I was in a deprived area. The children only came to school Monday, Wednesday and Friday because those three days they were giving out food. Tuesdays and Thursdays, my class was *very scant* and then what I did, they...at that time we had no breakfast, so I used to get up early every morning and make a sandwich loaf. And make it with cheese or tuna or whatever, *every* single day. I had thirteen children in my class and *I remember* making breakfast for them every morning so that they would come to school because what used to happen, I remember on Monday mornings when we had assembly, the children would be dropping down like flies all over because they're hungry. So that I would get up every morning and make and do this. And I did this because is what my *mother did.* My mother always helped *everybody* and that is what I grew up *learning*, so, I just automatically did it. And those children today have not forgotten me, they come and look for *me-many of* them come and look for me. However, I remember to get them *to learn*, every day I would be doing research on how I can help these children to learn. And a simple thing like giving them um flou... (*slight steups here*) giving them...I used to buy treats for them. So I used to

have a spelling test every day-3 letter words eh. So if you get, I gave 5 words every day to learn, 3 letter words, and if you get all right I had Bon Bon biscuit, I had chocolate-different levels according but every child get something. So if you didn't do too well-1 right, you get a sweetie and then if you get 2 (*laughing*) right, you get a pack of biscuits (*Heather: Uh um*). So every day I used to spend I feel my *whole salary* (*both of us laughing*) when the month come on these children but I enjoyed doing it!

This practice of becoming immersed in the life of the community, of the children, is an important facet of life in Trinidad and Tobago that is in danger of dying because of the values that come with a free market economy and its promotion of self-centred individualism and a consumerist culture.

Spiritual leadership like leadership for social justice is another trademark of black and coloured women leaders. Joanne, for example, like Zidanne, is a strong advocate of social justice and her deep spiritual beliefs fostered by her mother who, a convert from Hinduism to Christianity, instilled in her daughters a desire always to help others and to do good. In her second interview, dated 23rd April, 2014, she shared the following:

Whenever you do something it impacts people around you and you must always be conscious of how you impact people, what you can do to make life better for them, it's always an issue. So and I think that is from growing up. I remember where we lived we had an acre of land- we *had lots and lots* of fruit trees and we would get up on mornings, go down to the garden, collect the mangoes and um we would then put the buckets at the road and as people passed we would say, "Would you like some mangoes, take some mangoes. Would you like this?" We *never, never* from and I say my mother was like that, she was, "You want this, want that, you want?"People would come to us and say, "Can I go and cut dasheen bush?" and we would say, "Yeah, go ahead." We not even going down in the back with them. So we grew in that kind of, *although* what is significant, daddy *kept us at home*, there was always the sense and we were so separated from our family, that is the our relatives, always had this belief that you *help people*; that you have to do something to help others. A lot of that had to do with the churches we went to (*Heather: Uh um*) because we went to these very charismatic born-again type churches where people they...I was telling another friend of mine I learnt all those Bible stories as a child –that you reach out and you help and what's God's expectations of you as a person would be and it's never about becoming wealthy, elevating yourself to some status that separates you and every level that you go and you can go very high-you must turn around and help people. Um, I think that's basically the foundation –that's how I live.

 In this, both Zidanne and Joanne disrupt the official narrative of the practices of the dean and head of department which places instrumental practices above loving and caring practices. In this, studies of leadership by women, again by Grogan and Shakeshaft (2011) point to a departure by women, from the masculine concepts of

leadership that often focus on "heroic" or "charismatic" leaders (p.41) and models prevalent in corporate leadership that emerge from the business environment and are favoured in formal organisational models (p.42).

One of my favourite educators and gifted story-tellers, the late Dr. Rita Pierson, in her last TED Talks Education delivered a memorable address entitled "Every Kid Needs a Champion." In this powerful and sometimes humorous presentation, Dr. Pierson reminded the audience that teaching is about forming relationships. Relationships are the focal point of education. It is about the practice of social justice in the classroom and out of the classroom. It is about seeing in every child an opportunity to do what is just and morally right. The message was evident in her mantra that every child not only needs a champion but deserves a champion. These are the qualities of an educator who is an advocate. A person who looks within to the community-of teachers, parents, students, community leaders, to form channels of support, for sustenance through meaningful relationships in the same way that the enslaved Africans found within the enslaved community, on the plots of land which they cultivated both a space to create and innovate.

(iii)A sense of commitment to their first calling as teachers

Moreover, the tradition of pursuing rational strategies for survival is also clear in the participants' parents' attitudes to education. In each interview and in every conversation that I had with the participants in this study, I was struck by their commitment to their calling as teachers. Even though each participant was a middle manager in her or his school, I could not fail to notice the passion with which they all spoke about teaching. Septimus for example, in his second interview states with a degree of uncertainty how he would feel not being in front of a class teaching. He stated,

But, I have always questioned (*pause*) you know my interest in...in the administrative side of school operations if you want. I, I still feel, I mean the reason why I entered the teaching was to teach and to be in front of the classroom and I...I don't...being a HoD still allows me a chance to have classes...and to help people who might need guidance if they ask me and those kinds of things. So I mean but certainly to go beyond and become Principal or Vice-Principal of a school, I don't know if I would like that because...I don't know, I think I would not like *not* being in front of, of a class and, and having to relate with you know, the children and teach them. I want to be able to teach what I like...you know (*laughs*). I

think that that is *important* as, as a *teacher*. I went in there because I was passionate about my subject and, and you know so I want to teach others that I don't want to have to administer to a um...now I like making up tests and those kinds of things, so that appeals to me but (*Heather: Curriculum matters*) but to tell you, to...I remember as I talked about that um and how eager some people were, you know that teacher that was so, so frustrated, I remember some of the HoDs were going so far as to check times, you know the time that you sign in the book and I, I think that is going beyond. I don't know if that is the role of an HoD. I don't know, you know, but, that was how they seemed to be at the time you know. (Second interview, 24th April, 2014).

Likewise, Zidanne in her early in her career as a primary school teacher in a low income area in Port of Spain reflects on trying to make sure the children came to school because they would have a meal prepared for them. She recalls how she had to be inventive and creative in finding appropriate teaching materials to use in class. She explained to me,

And I went *now* into the Diego Martin area at um Four Roads, which was another sort of school but we had a *mixed* um population there now where you had a *few* children who were less fortunate but then we had some really...what cou...should I call them um middle-class parents, children there as well, so that was a mixed school. It wasn't as *challenging as* where I was before, but when I left there I went to teachers' training college and that is where I learnt a lot *(Heather: Uh um)*.That too, the methodology that I learnt there-it gave me a rude awakening because when I realised that...methodology was important and I always say that teachers do not do methodology, you could be messing up children's lives and not know. And when I thought back to some of the teachers who I saw who taught me in the *secondary* school I recognise that they never really probably never ever did methodology because in teaching a child, you need to understand that children learn differently and you need to cater for the way in which they *learn* and you have to therefore, you have different ways in which you teach-different teaching strategies in order to be able to teach to, to um capture your entire class because if no learning takes place, you haven't really *taught* (*Heather: Uh um*). So that I, I focused on teaching strategies and I,I...I really felt that I am going make...I am one of the people to make a difference in the way students are taught because I observed that there are students who really, they did not learn by rote but they preferred to have...you know visual aids, actual stuff you know, that they can do in order for them to *learn* (*Heather: Uh um*). *Eventually*, they may be able to *learn* by er reading and writing but you know, in order to capture their initial...you know skills and to make them want to learn, to motivate them, you need to do certain things to motivate children who have difficulty learning. (First interview 15th April, 2014) .

Joanne, in one of her many passionate defences of children, summed up her own philosophy of teaching in

Well, I became a parent very early. I was twenty-two, but, um, it's interesting that you said...one of the things I always say to the children is that you are my children. I remember when we went to university, they asked this question, "Whose children are these?" I've always said, I've taught at primary school eh, so that's probably one of the things-I taught from infants all the way up, so I mean, I've been through the system and I've always said, "These are my children. These are *my* babies. If they fail, it's *my* responsibility." So I always say that from... and I think I teach the way I want people to teach my children. I always say I have to be the kind of teacher that I want for *my* own children so that's why I see the children in my classroom as my children. *They're my children, right* and whatever I want for my kids, is what I need to give them. I can't want my children to have all the best and then I'm giving the worst to the ones who are standing in front of me. *Never happen!* So I would say they are my kids standing in front of me; it's my responsibility to give them the very best, so, they're my kids. So I take ownership. So, I always refer to me, call me mummy *(laughs).* They say, "Mummy Miss" and those I don't teach call me "Auntie Miss" say "Auntie Miss." But to me, that's how you approach it and if you approach it like that, if you take that kind of responsibility for the children, then you do everything you can to ensure that they succeed. I f they don't succeed, at least you know, you did everything you can to ensure that they succeed. Ok *(laughs)* (First interview, 15th February, 2014).

Furthermore in this first interview, Joanne, in speaking of her own memories as a secondary school student, remembered being

very withdrawn in class but the teachers saw me for the ability and they pushed me and so my thing always in teaching is that I would look for the child who is hiding cause that is the child who needs my help, right, um...

Adding, as she recalled her then principal saying to her,

"You only fight for the weaker children"

and her response in turn,

I fight for all of them, they're all the same to me. It's children and is *my* responsibility to ensure that they can do their best; it is my responsibility to *give* of my best to them, and that's how I see it. And I've always believed that.

Her commitment to teaching, her sense of mission and vocation is very clear in the way she searches relentlessly for different pedagogical approaches in order to reach her students. In her first interview (15 February, 2014), the following statements bear out her passion for her students and their success.

It's children and is *my* responsibility to ensure that they can do their best; it is my responsibility to *give* of my best to them, and that's how I see it. And, I've always believed that. I remember when I was in Lower Six, same teacher who wrote, "This is an insult to your intelligence" *(laughs),* she asked us, um, what we wanted to be when we grew up, and students were saying, oh I want to be a teacher and she asked me and I said I definitely don't want to be a teacher. That's hard work and too much responsibility *(laughing with Heather)* –look at what I'm doing with my life- that's too much hard work and I understood it then, even then, the responsibility of being a teacher and to me, it is *too* great! Um, all through my teaching, if a child is failing, I say, "What am I failing to do, what am I failing to do?" even before I was trained as a teacher- I would say, there must be something I can do to reach this child and I would torment myself. I would go home and think about it. What can I do, think about it, there must be something that I can do to help this child and, I've been teaching like that ever since. When I went to training, that was confirmed- that you look for ways of assisting the children to do better, you don't, never dismiss a child or say she can't learn. You *never* say those things to children and it *always* offends me when I hear teachers saying that, it *drives* me crazy-that you cannot say to a child that you can't do this. Um, say to the child, "*You can do it*" whether you believe it or not, you say, "*Of course you can do it, of course you can do it, you can do it*!" and I tend to do that and I've seen it worked over and over again at my school.

Ah...so part of my experiences...I remember people telling me, a friend telling me, you and your conscience; that I have an overdeveloped conscience she says, because I honestly cannot stand in front of a class and see a child fail, and so I honestly *believe*, as a teacher, it is *my responsibility* to ensure the success of the students and I will do whatever I have to.

In Anita's case, her experiences in the classroom at a boys' secondary school; the death of a student as a result of an accident and becoming a mother herself, changed how she viewed her work as a teacher. In her first interview, 8th February, 2014, she has several views about the type of teacher she wanted to become and how becoming a mother herself changed her view about children.

When I went to UWI um, I did my first degree in sciences. I then went straight on to do my masters and I was supposed to do um, a PhD right after. I got married, I deferred it and then never did it. I stayed in teaching. Now, when I decided, I was supposed to go away, and I got married um, in '94, August '94, I was supposed to have gone away then and somebody called me and told me there might be an opening at one of the denominational schools in, um, Port of Spain for boys, uh and if I go...wanted to teach and I say yeah I'm taking a year off, so why not. And I went. Now, while I was a stu...while I was at UWI and doing my masters, I was a part-time, I did a little bit of part-time lecturing, tutoring *(Heather: Uh um)* demonstrating, and um, although at that time, my interest was in doing research, and that's why I wanted to do a PhD in research, um, many of the lecturers, as well as students, always told me I would probably make a good teacher *(Heather: Uh um)* and it was not something that I was looking at. But, um, when I had finished, between my first and second degree, I decided just put in an application to teaching just in

case. So I had gotten a teacher's registration number; I had been assessed based on my first degree, I just never used it. So when this opportunity came up, the paperwork was there. I went in and then after a year, I was, thought that this is what I'm supposed to do although it was not something I'm looking at at all. Um...being in a boys' school was interesting. Um, I found them, I found boys...teaching was, ok, first of all my influences from my teachers, as a teacher I tried to pull from my past and how I learnt. For example, I always say I never remembered doing work. I remembered my experiences when I was younger. So, I've always thought that my class must be a place of experience, where, and I think this was reinforced um, a few years ago. Um, a student, I moved from that to a girls' denominational school. Um, denominational again, and one of my students had passed away in an accident and I had taught her, she was in Form Five, and I had taught her for three years, and I thought to myself at the end of it-she was a weak student-at the end of it, and me pushing, the teacher, you have not learnt that has not helped her. What would have been important to her over that period would have been her experience in my classroom. And I think that has um, kind of made that a greater focus that while we have to be ready for an exam and we have to excel, at the end of the day, our experience and our everyday living in the classroom is what you're going to take away with you and that's important as well. So I kinda still had that when I started. Um, I enjoyed the lower forms. I mean I guess being a young teacher in a male school, I mean got many invitations by males I did not teach, to go to fetes (*Heather laughing*) and at all that *(laughing as well)* I tried to ignore. Um, the the, I think the the challenge there was motivating um, students, I think I have a good relationship with my students, particularly the younger ones, but um, I remember buffing a class one time and telling them I didn't like their work ethics and they were all hurt because they said miss didn't like us and I said no, your work ethics. And they said that's all right once you like us. So, they really couldn't care less about that, so I think motivating them. I think when I decided to stay in teaching, I decided that you know, this could be...I started in 1994, so, somewhere like 90, in 90, what year? '98, I had, I became a mother. I think, um, becoming a mother does influence your teaching in the sense of, I think I saw individual children before, so it wasn't like all a sudden I think that they're individuals in a class and not just a class. But I think more so, I thought like things I thought I could not tolerate, or um...I started at looking in a different way. I realised that having...children are not neat, tidy (*Heather: Um*) follow patterns, you know (*Heather: Um*), uh, they bring a hundred and one personalities into the classroom, not all you'll agree with. I also started to think you know, these are students *who may not* know what's good for them. So, even, my view before of, ok, you don't want to do it well fine, *changed* because *you don't know what's good for you* particularly with the younger ones, and by the time, you know it's going to be too late. So, therefore, it's *my* responsibility in the class to *ensure* that you do whatever you have to do to give you the best fighting chance (*Heather: Um*) later. I think that became *reinforced* as a mother because it's the same thing I would want to do with my child and it's not because they want something or not, I'll have them you know, it's my job to guide you and that um, despite and I think I, that's when I started to coin that phrase which I use to students "that we're going to get from point A to point Z and we can take the scenic route or the obstacle course, and I say I like the scenic route which is what we've been doing. But if I have to drag you, kick you, (*laughing*), you're going to get to Z.

Listening to Anita, Joanne, Septimus and Zidanne share their stories about their families, in particular the profound influence of their mothers, fathers and extended family members, I was struck by the impact of the education that each participant had received. Growing up in the 1960s and 1970s, access to a secondary education was not only important for employment, but for a chance at becoming upwardly mobile, career advancement and entry into a highly respected profession. Education for the black and brown working/middle class whose ancestors had either been enslaved or part of the indenture system, meant an escape from work that was associated with humiliation, punishment, oppression and servitude (Brereton, 1981, p. 122). Thus, in all my interviews with the participants, not one of them neglected to remind me of the profound value of education and, in turn that they themselves desired to pass on to their students. This tradition of the importance of educating successive generations of young people is expressed in all the voices of the participants, especially as three of them are themselves the children of educators. Teaching was one of the few professions open to people of colour in the Post-Emancipation period. As a result teachers became the "nucleus of the emerging black and coloured middle class in nineteenth-century Trinidad." (Brereton, 1981, p.126)

 The education system today has become so competitive and more so an crucial factor in the degree of success that the student will achieve, that the lessons culture that has developed out of this competitive culture is yet another example of the high importance by working, middle and high-income parents of acquiring the best opportunities for their children to succeed in national and external examinations. Joanne provides a very clear understanding of the lengths many parents of all classes would go in seeking what they believe is the best chances of entry into schools parents regard as superior to other schools. In her third interview on the 14th June, 2014, Joanne and I discussed the differences between the colonial and present education system in Trinidad and Tobago.

Joanne: Well based on...if, if we have to make a contrast between colonial education and the education we have now, you have to say yes it has progressed because colonial education was extremely – was limited to a few and again, very elitist and we have sort of kept the elitist system. But the fact is that only a *minute* portion of the population had the privilege to be educated in the colonial era. So that's a huge change, that's a *huge* change that came with independence in that now we have *mass* education and, and part of the policy of Dr. Eric Williams was to make primary education available *to all so that* you can raise the standard of literacy; expand the education to the mass of the population etc, and that was the reason for the free secondary education and mass secondary education as well to get to the point where

everybody, *everybody*-you didn't have to write a College Exhibition to get into secondary school-so we *have* changed. But we have maintained the elitism in the system, the eli...and that is because we have *powerful* groups who have maintained it. It's not bec...it's not that um for want of trying, change the system by um the government. It's because the government had to hold to, I think, in um as in anything else, you have to meet the needs of your financiers, whoever is put in power. So *part* of it, and I think that was part of the Concordat-that agreement was to maintain the elitism. So you don't *threaten* the system that was established for a particular group and that is still the problem. Remember when we moved into CAPE, the idea was that CAPE was a threat to the old system so we should make the school private again? Teachers, parents actually proposed to the principal that the school should become a private school; they're willing to pay for their children to come to school. Think about that.

Heather: Well then it would become even *more* elitist!

Joanne: That is the point (*Heather: Uh um*), that the whole statement holds the fact that we want to maintain a *certain* system for a *certain group in the society*. So it continues to be an elitist system-the mere fact that we have a dual system is an elitist system (*Heather: Uh um*). We have one type of education for a certain group and you have another type of education for the lesser mortals in the society, for another group in society. So we haven't gotten away from that; we haven't gotten away from that *colonial mode* that one type of education is good for one group and another type of education is good for the other group. And we really don't want to see *too* many people from the *other* group *coming* into this group because then it will undermine, it would dilute the system-that's still the mentality. Honestly I think Dr. Eric Williams was trying to change that but the *forces* in society that *hold* power are *too* strong to really change (*Heather: Uh um*) we will *never* change that. And we have a lot of people *buying* into it- a lot of parents but into it, buy in to it. Ok, I want my child to go to the *best* schools; to get the best education. We buy...and therefore we continue to support the system. (*Heather: Yes*) There's a great buy in. So even those people who are considered to be the "other", buy in to this thing and they push their children; pay for the lessons, do everything to get their children into that other group to ensure that because that other group is where you should be. (*Heather: Yes*) Then you will rise in society.

Heather: Which will of course...it is really defeating...

Joanne: It is ingrained in our society. That is *so* ingrained in our elitist society; in our elitist system that you say to a child of eleven years old, you're not good enough. You're not good enough. That's what we do to children *we kill their psyche* from age 11. You say to a child, "You don't have what it takes." That's *horrific* because nobody knows at 11 who or what they should be or want to be, nobody knows that at age 11. Nobody knows what they're capable of at age 11 (*Heather: Uh um*) but we say to children at age 11, "*You are not good enough.*"

Heather: Yeah, because it is amazing that *they*, while there are so many *options*, different types of schools (*Joanne: Uh um*) out there *now* that the *preferred* choice is still (*Joanne: echoes "still"*) the grammar school.

Joanne: Because that is believed to be the *good school* (*Heather: echoes "good school"*), while the other choices are considered to be *bad* schools (*Heather: Uh um, uh um*); they're not good, so getting into that school means...literally we say that to children, "You have failed" (*Heather: Uh um*), it's not that you went to that school, "*You've failed! You've failed!*" and therefore you are placed in *that* school.

Heather: Yes, so, so you start off with a *negative* (*Joanne: Yes*) attitude, you know, and a sense that you have entered...

Joanne: It starts off saying (*Heather: Yes, with a sense*) and we all know that success breeds success (*Heather: Yes*) and failure breeds failure. You tell a child he is a failure, he will continue to fail (*Heather:*

Uh um), say to the child, "You're a success" the child will *believe* and continue to *blossom* and, and it's amazing we all know this you know, all in education, we know it.

Joanne moreover expanded into why the lessons culture in Trinidad and Tobago is so lucrative and pervasive:

Joanne: And what is sad even the so-called as I said the other, the poor parents *buy-into* the system (*Heather: Uh um x2*) that your child just has to study hard, they not going...and then they enter these schools-they pay for *the lessons*; they do *everything* because the idea is to get your child into this so-called good school and they believe that the system works, they believe it works (*Heather: Yeah*)...so.

Heather: Yes, because the child...

Joanne: It's going to be very difficult to change.

Heather: But you and I know, many times that sometimes it's to the child's *detriment*.

Joanne: Of course, that's what I meant by they end up in those schools and is really end up and then it destroys the child's psyche; destroys the child's self-esteem; personality. I'm glad my parents were not like that. My parents were not into-I did not even know about the convents-because my parents never made it an issue (*Heather: Uh um*). You were going to the school closest (*laughing*) to home (*Heather: Uh um*)-end of story. My secondary school was located nearby, you could walk to school. *That's* where you were going to school.

(iv)Fostering a sense of community and professionalism

Joanne and Anita both sought to empower the teachers in their departments. By building collegiality and working together in teams, Anita spoke often of empowering her teachers. In her first interview, 8th February, 2014, she spoke about the importance of team work.

But I think that um, I think again in my teaching and in my leadership, is not so much what I like as I try to avoid what I *dislike*, so I think for example I never...when I first went to um to...to Nigeria and so on, and you had some teachers who would just read from a textbook, and I think that um...I did not *like* it. So you found that even if I'm teaching that I will, I will incorporate, ok, while we use the textbook, I use it a lot, I would try to use it as a um...as...sort...you know, we...ok, this is going to be some superficial tool we use or to trigger a discussion or, you know, go beyond or incorporate something with it. But it would not be that alone because I didn't like it. Similarly with my leadership I really do not like the dictator, micro-managing things. So, as far as I can, I think I try to be, to sway and encourage students, the team to see our view or to come up with a view of ourselves. So I would sit down with my department and determine to ask them where do you see us, what do you want us, um, where do you think we can grow and kind of get...I mean, of course I try to get, direct if I disagree, I'll try to indicate why that can't be so or put an argument for what I want but I'll try to get people to buy in and to feel that they are part of the department and therefore part of what is happening and the outcomes and not so much as you're in here and this is what we must do. I try to encourage even the newest of people to figure that there's some

contribution they *can* make. You know, some of the younger ones are much more IT savvy that the older ones so they want to do this, so you do that. You know what I mean. Somebody else is very good at organisation, ok, so let's see how we can incorporate that. So, I think, you know, that anybody can feel there is, there's something to contribute to the department and not simply, doing what I want (*Heather: Uh um, uh um*). So that I think um...and I ask them too, I try not to micro-manage. I need to know what's going on, I ask them to try and come up with solutions to problems. If they *cannot* come up with a solution, which we then discuss and I would agree to, but if you cannot come up with a solution, I'll help you or I might suggest one, but I try to ask them what's happening, what do you see as the problem? I have my own views already, but what do you see as a problem? How do, how do you think we could solve it? Within a...I mean, everything should be within a framework, a framework of understanding "this is how we operate, can you generate things, you know, of *you can do,* that would still be...so everybody don't have to be the same but basically our principles remain the same (*Heather: Uh um*). So I think that you know um, I think that you know, *that* has been more...you know rather than thinking or what I leader or I want to be, I think I don't like this so I cannot do it. I cannot, I cannot...you know, so I think that is the kinda... shapes me, how I interact with, um, with the department-try to keep an open door so that everyone could um speak and if people don't agree they can say, we can examine options and can come up with something that can work for all of us with the aim of having already identified our goals, things that will, you know, not be contradictory in getting (*Heather: Uh um, uh um*) there.

In our conversation, Anita recalls what she learnt from her first experiences as a young teacher that were at a senior comprehensive secondary school run by the state and a denominational secondary school. She spent four days at the comprehensive. During the four days there, she received her baptism of fire and recalled how she was shocked at the vice-principal's advice to her.

And I went there, I remember the first day the VP called me and um, and told me that they didn't expect the, it was a boys and girls school, expect the students to pass, that I should just let them understand. And I couldn't for the life of me understand how students could understand work but not pass an exam, and um, while I have, only taught in the system for *four days*, I've always seen that one of the problems in it and you come in and you give a *low expectation*, then, it gives me, you're already gave me uh uh safety net to do nothing and indicate that they're not going to *pass anyway*, you know what I mean, um that was...the boys' school was not like that (First interview, 8th February, 2014).

Her second experience was a bit different in the sense that the expectations for students' success rates were higher. The problem as she discovered, was the manner in which the departments were managed and the overwhelming support given to deans and not the heads. In a type of laissez-faire environment, teachers were left to manage pedagogy on their own. This was an extreme example of allowing teachers complete control over

their classes-no accountability; no organisation; no formal induction to new teachers, just teach. This was a case of "They left you to either sink or float" (First interview, 8ᵗʰ February, 2014). In fact, Anita explains that coming into such an environment meant that you had to be "self-governed" (First interview, 8 February, 2014). At her third school, and what is her present school experience, she found herself in a school that was very tightly monitored, there was a structure in place and departments were well organised and managed by senior teachers who acted as heads of departments even though these were at the time unofficially recognised positions. This is what she had to say about this new experience of teaching in such an environment.

From day one you realise there was more, again you don't realise, I think there was a head of department, although it might not have been a formalised thing at the time yet, but there was certainly, um, head of department, someone functioning as a head of department. There was um, there was the scheme that everybody followed to try to keep, you know, uh, I did Dip.Ed.

Here you got the more organised scheme of work, um, labs were structured in where everybody did the same labs. You know, you could make adjustments nut cert...adjustments would have to be made for all classes, not just *your own*.

Right. I think, um, we entered a culture where the administration like to micro-manage, you know, they had the hands on, we must be part of everything, and I guess my own belief system is one of empowering people (First interview, 8ᵗʰ February, 2014).

Empowerment is a key word used by Anita throughout her first interview, 8ᵗʰ February, 2014. Unafraid to challenge the senior management at her school, she explains how she had to defend her position against being micro-managed.

Anita: Right. I think, um, we entered a culture where the administrative like to micro- manage, you know, they had the hands on, we must be part of everything, and I guess my own belief system is one of empowering people to do. So, even within my own department, I don't have to do anything, but um...like I had a conversation with my...my administrators, with my senior administrators in the same way as um...something happened in my department and if you know better than me, I shouldn't be the head, because I'm supposed to know my, the strengths and weaknesses of everybody in my department and try to...develop their weaknesses so that, you know, develop them so their weaknesses will not be weaknesses, but it's pulling on their strengths so that the unit will be strong. And I think that um...when I think that...they came...I think, I think...so that was a little turmoil for me because, of course, now I'm in an environment, I wouldn't say that...I think to an extent they would do that, as far as your academics or what you could do for um...once it was in line with what they wanted, you are empowered. If it's

anything against the grain, and when I say against the grain, it may not mean necessarily that you're going off, but it's always micro-managed and I think for me it was a lot of...it took me a few years to kind of... see it. (*Heather: Uh um*) Having seen it, I mean, I think my first...I really was...I went through the whole thing of ...maybe I need to think of...developing myself *elsewhere* because I realised that it was a strong system that has been in place for years and by having a lot of the teachers being, um, coming back to their alma mater, it was ingrained and they can always, you know, it was perpetuating. It wasn't something in the next two or three years would have ended. So, I think that I had gone through...I did go through that period of, "Is this where I belong?" Can I really...um, I actually had a , a...with the most present administration, I actually had that conversation where I had gone in for a transfer and I said that um, I want to go where I can make a difference. Ah mean, if it is that I have abilities and I cannot use them here, then what's the point, maybe I'm not the right person for you as you aren't the right person for me. And I think that um...with the present administration, they then uh, things were a little better; they started to...um when they realised I was serious and would leave, they started to micro-manage me a little less. So although...it's a little better now in the sense of uh...of...my department, they're allowing me to run it as I see fit and not micro-manage me. So it made working a lot easier.

For Joanne, her family values and religious upbringing guide have provided her with a belief in an ethic of care. This belief is the foundation for how she manages her department and influences her relationships with her students and her teachers. In her second interview on 23rd April, 2014, Joanne explains how her home and church shaped her practices first as a teacher, then as a head of department.

This concept that we are here to take care of each other, that it is never about self, that we have a responsibility to people around us and I always say to my children now, um, we are never placed, just think about how human beings function, we are never placed on this earth alone. We are always placed *in a family* and there's a reason for that because a *huge* part of being human is taking care of the people around you.

Elaborating further, she continued,

The family in the workplace, in the school, wherever you are-the friends that you make-that's part of the family and there is a responsibility to the people around you. And that responsibility is to care for people. Um and that's, that's what I take into teaching. That's why I *fight* for children because that's what I'm expected to do (Second interview, 23rd April, 2014)..

With her colleagues in her department, she intentionally tries to create an environment of professionalism and collaboration with a shared purpose. When speaking to her colleagues in the department, she stated,

"I'm not here to supervise you. I am here to help you develop professionally. I'm going to learn from you, you will learn from me as we go along" (Second interview, 23rd April, 2014).

The point of this is to help you develop professionally to learn to be a better teacher, to become a better teacher. I don't have all the answers, sometimes it's the persons *within* the department who would have the answers, have good ideas, so it *has* to be a collaborative effort where we build together and grow together. The technical things that I learnt about um delivery, about managing *curriculum* those things I can bring to you because those are the technical things I learnt but there are things that people know naturally; talents people would have; ideas that would come, can collaborate with as a department (Second interview, 23rd April, 2014).

(v)Learning to negotiate-conflict between senior and middle management; intra-departmental conflict

In my Introduction to this study, I identified a host of questions that could arise concerning the many changes and challenges that SBM could usher in the early 2000s when the government introduced SEMP (pp.18-19). What the interviews with each head and dean revealed was the difficulty each experienced in their attempt to first understand the new role expected of them since they would now be in a formal position with all the accompanying responsibilities and various stakeholders to whom they were now accountable. In each case, the findings of this study point to varying degrees of conflict with senior management, who were also expected to be more open to shared decision-making and collaboration given the enormity of the task assigned to them in an era of public accountability and transparency. Moreover, middle managers were faced with their own challenges within their own departments as they faced resistance and sometimes outright hostility from teachers who refused to be subject to clinical supervision for example. A change in the school's principal who practised a more open style of school management and leadership style, Zidanne, the only dean in the study, from her perspective, was disempowered and limited in her usual practices by a new school principal who proceeded to control her activities by having the vice-principal take control of the school programmes and projects that she was responsible for under the previous principal. (First interview, 15th April, 2014). In what follows, I offer some examples of how the conflict between middle and senior management unfolded from the participant's perspective as well as some of the difficulties faces when dealing with teachers within departments.

In the example taken from Zidanne's first interview dated 15th April, 2014, she describes how all her initiatives were stifled by the school's new senior management.

In our school we have a what is a set up called an administrative team but (*pause*) I don't think that it is working because *team* should mean every individual together, working together and not against each other, and I think what happens is that-I don't know if it takes place in other schools as well, it probably does-what happens is that we first must come together and have a common goal which I don't think is common among us, and I think we have a lot of problems because of that and I think too the head –it has a lot to do with the head. The head is considered, um, what should I call it, I want to use the right correct terminology-I think her leadership style is dictatorial but still laissez-faire in that that she wants to dictate but there's no example of proper leadership so that, I think at this point in time, the school is in disarray and the children-they are very intelligent children-so that they have recognised that that we are having problems and they take advantage and they they operate. They miss the the um channel of communication. So when , if a child have a problem, they skip the Form teachers, skip the dean and they go directly to the principal which should not take place and she entertains it, so then a lot of the teachers now feel disenchanted. So you'll find that um, it is a bit chaotic. Teachers don't feel anymore as though they are um supported by administration and some of them have just decided that they not going to do anything extra. So that, it's a problem.

Heather: Um, so the middle management or leadership in this school is...

Zidanne: It's non-existent!

Heather: ... has no power basically?

Zidanne: No power! Listen, it's there-basically no power.

Heather: So you have all these duties as Heads and Deans, but you're all not functioning as a team...

Zidanne: No.

Heather: ...working hand in hand with the senior administration?

Zidanne: No, we do what we have to do.

Heather: Was it always like that?

Zidanne: No it wasn't. You see empowerment is important (*Heather: Uh um*). As a, as a Principal you need to empower your staff, give them that authority to do what they are sup...what they are *capable of* doing (*Heather: Uh um*). You need to identify the skills that you have, your human resources, the skills of your middle um management and use them (*Heather: Uh um*). So when, for instance, me, I'll tell you what I, I, some of my peeves. Before this Principal came into, into um, *became* the Principal, I um I, being the Dean of Form Five and Form Six, I ran *all* sorts of programmes for my Form Fives and Sixes.

And whenever I wanted to initiate something I would go to the Principal and I'd say I think that um I want to bring in a speaker-motivational speaker to speak to my girls because I think, I really think that they need it at this time and whatever. She would say, "You go right ahead, organise everything and let me know which date you have chosen, who it is and you know, let me know what." When it was graduation time she would say to me, "Where are you having it this year?" I would say to her, "I'm going to the Hyatt, Hilton, whatever." "What is the cost going to be like?" Um, then she would ask me well um, "What, what are your plans, plan to do?" and then I will tell her I'm organising my programme and stuff and she said, "You go right ahead, just tell me when you need my foreword to put in etc, etc" and it would always be, I would always be empowered to do what I know, what I am good at which is organisational skills. I have, I am really good at that and she would let me plan everything and then come to her and I would show her what I'm doing along the way and she would be fine with that. *Now*, I have to sit with the Vice –Principal and *she* has to dictate to me what I must do, what I musn't do, how I must plan my service, who I must invite, who I um, who must be my guest speaker, I did that all the time for the past fifteen years because before I was officially the Dean, I had been doing Dean's duties, so I have been doing Dean's duties for like the past fifteen years, (*Heather: Uh um*) and now, it's like you're *regressing*, you know, because after having that autonomy for all those years-planning all, for instance I have Career Day coming up. I always plan Career Day. We, Mrs. L and myself, two of the people who initiated a mentoring programme for Sixth Form (*Heather: Uh um*) which we continue-I have always organised it, gotten all the mentors; contacted all the mentors for the mentees over the years, organised it you know to the last detail; set up visits for *all* the girls, all the sixth Formers and all that; I've also um, well the Career Day that I initiated. I also do um get people to come in to do motivational talks throughout the year for the girls of Form Five and Six, (*Heather: Uh um*) get people to come in to teach them about planning and um strategies for studying and that kind of thing-always done those types of things. But now I have to, I cannot initiate those things. I have to now go to her and she has to look at her timetable and tell me if she could slot it in to her timetable because she is very um *meticulous* about what happens at which time of the term and etc and etc. So, my motivation is no longer, so you know. But what happens when I think of the girls and the fact that they're the ones *losing out*, I still go through the motion but with a heavy heart because I really *can't* take the drama and the stress that I have to go through to do something for my girls (*Heather: Uh um*) you know. It's just so much.

In Septimus's case, he experienced much trepidation and a certain degree of conflict as a result of his interview with the Teaching Service Commission for the position of head of department. He recalls in detail the interview which he describes as "*a little frightening*" (Second interview, 24th April, 2014). He was taken aback by the first question asked by one of the interviewers, "What had you done to change the department or improve your department?" His response to the question as he recalls led to thoughts that he shared with me.

"What did I do to improve, what have I done to improve" as if I have so much power. But I was very honest with them, I told them well...for the most part the school that I come from it is...you know the role that I play...I am in-between, in-between the people in the department and the, and the Principal, the administration and the way that things go is that the administration has the say, the final say, they control all the money and everything. So if I need something I would go to them and, it's not like I have done that much you know. I let them know, the teachers in the department know what the administration feels and I would, you know, pass the information on and whatever feedback I get from them then I would have my meeting with the administration and so on and so forth.

Throughout his second interview 24th April, 2014, he shared his misgivings and struggles about his ability or rather capability to handle the demands of managing a department where, in his mind, he was expected to implement and supervise. He put it this way,

So, there was a time when you know I felt, "Oh gosh, am I some kind of *imposter*?" "Or "how come, why is it that I don't do the things that, that are required?" (*pause*) You know I remember at the beginning too when I had just been appointed, it's interesting how people saw it...you see because I always felt that how I couldn't perform as they expect...as it is on paper there as an HoD, if it is that the things that you *do*, that is send replacement teachers and all that, if all those things were not put in place. I mean, I remained at the same desk I am always at, there was no extra room, no...you know, not much of a reduction in , in timetable and all those things, so, but people and their perception of, of the job and the role, that was interesting too. I remember at the end of one term where or at the beginning of the term perhaps, some teachers needed photocopies and er I don't know if the photocopying machine had broken down, next thing I know, the teacher leaves a note on my desk saying that um the machine is not working so maybe you can get copies as HoD? Where? How? You know (*laughing*) was that um how...is that perception, was that perception of the role? Where was I supposed to get copies? And you know, how was I going to the money to...? I would have to pay for it. So, you know, I had to let, I had to let them know that is um, that's not realistic, that's not how it goes. So that was one, one thing I remember in this role as HoD. But um certainly as an HoD as well er you know, shortly after I suppose being appointed...I don't remember having meetings, frequent meetings with the Principal *before*, you know, um the, you know they put on the schedule, on the timetable that time, that slot for us to meet with...so all the HoDs will meet with the Principal, you know, so we could talk about what um different things, what she, what, you know, her plans, the Principal's plans, the administration's plans...so the Principal's plans as well as what was happening in the department and so on, you know, so I suppose we have had um closer relations, the Principal, the administration certainly and me. That was a change as, as HoD. Um so I suppose that was another way to learn what was expected −what *they* expected, the way that you should operate as an HoD in the school and then that also gave you a chance to find out how other people were, were, you know, *functioning* in the role. Um, er, another question of course that I had had at the beginning was, you know, all these expectations people have but I have not been trained for this role. You know, how you expect me

to operate effectively if, it is...so er is it just a matter of being appointed, going for an interview and being appointed and then I have to do all these things? So clearly people, other people have that concern as well and certainly the Ministry tried to put something in place but they put it in place over the holidays er so the long vacation and...they had called out um these HoDs to, to come to this training session over the eight weeks of the holidays or however six weeks. Um so I met people from other schools as well but I don't know how effective that was...

Section Two: Analysis of findings through the Inner Plantation Framework

> So, friend of my childhood years
> One day we'll talk about
> How the mirror broke
> Who kissed us awake
> Who let Anansi from his bag
> (Senior, 1985, ll:41-45)

School-based management promises a more democratic style management of schools. It promises much-greater stakeholder participation, autonomy and shared decision-making. Is this possible in an education system that is centrally-controlled by the state? In Trinidad and Tobago, SBM promises much but, given the structure of our education system, deeply embedded in a plantation economic system, the realisation or implementation of SBM is really nothing short of a ruse or disguise to further solidify the top-down management structure of the MOE and the existing school management structure within secondary schools. The interviews in this study, conducted over a period of five months, reveal the struggles of four secondary school middle managers-Anita, Joanne, Septimus and Zidanne, to recognise, confront and resist the effects of the inner plantation. The inner plantation is made up of a variety of institutions that are linked directly to other institutions in the global plantation (outer plantation). The MOE and the educational institutions play an integral role in ensuring our economic survival. This system is governed by market values-individualism, competitiveness- passed on through the Massa/Overseer/ Planter represented in contemporary society by the MOE/Administrators/Management. Their roles are to police, monitor, and supervise the system so that the economic goals of the state and its global allies are fulfilled. The plot, on the other hand, refers to the space/place located within the inner plantation where values other than those of the market are practised. These are values such as

community, privileging indigent knowledge, resistance to oppressive and hegemonic ideologies and promotion of social justice.

Based on the interviews, the values and beliefs discussed by each of the participants were traced to those first developed in the home and in the family. Their beliefs and values have helped to shape their practices as heads of departments and dean. In the case of three participants, their Christian beliefs which were nurtured early on by mothers and fathers, such as love of neighbour, fair play, equity, and an ethic of care, are the basis for much of what they do in their management of their teacher teams and students. Moving away from the mechanical and routine managerial practices outlined in their job specifications, Septimus, Zidanne, Anita and Joanne resist the pull of the inner plantation. By this I mean their refusal to be sucked into a system that is characterised by inadequate provision for all children to access the same quality of education. Joanne, in her first interview on the 15th February, remarked that she possessed a "protective" nature because of the type of ostracism she and her sisters faced as children of a bi-racial couple. In her second interview on 23rd April, 2014, that protectiveness and willingness to champion a cause are evident in how she handled a situation which involved the introduction of a subject without proper consultation and without thinking about all the challenges that they would encounter. In this instance, she was not prepared to "toe the line" and allow something that she explains "went against *everything* in education that you are taught about good practice." By taking a stand and resisting the temptation to disregard and discard her own beliefs and values in the face of severe reprimand from her senior administrator, she refused to play the role of the overseer, by not pushing her teachers to work during their breaks. In fact, Joanne's stance and refusal to work is an example of Anansi tactics. Anansi tactics were employed by enslaved Africans on the plantations and is used here to refer to a strategy for defying the Massa/senior administrator. She recalled the incident:

Joanne: I remember um the Vice-Principal actually said that, "I don't know why you making a fuss. Anybody could teach this. Anybody could teach this. Why you..." and I'm saying, "It's not about anybody teaching it. There's a curriculum that we need to deliver; people need to be familiar with it; you need to be trained; where are the teachers? There are no teachers." "Oh, other teachers could do that. Anybody could...I could do that." "Then you're dismissing it, right and you're dismissing *teachers*..."

Heather: And you're dismissing the *dis*cipline as well.

Joanne: ...students, and I'm saying it's an *insult* to the children. I *wrote* that in a report (*Heather: Uh um*) I said what all you did was an insult to the children and it was an insult to the teachers because it shows you did not value either the teachers or the students in how that thing was implemented. I got into a lot of trouble.

Both Joanne and Anita present their managerial styles as moving away from an authoritarian type of managerial approach to one that is more democratic, inclusive and embracing of diversity and of what each teacher has to offer the department, in way of ideas, creativity and innovation. Put another way, Joanne and Anita attempt to find their own plots within the inner plantation, nurture the teachers and to find new ways of resisting the inner plantation and by extension, the values of the outer plantation.

Joanne, in her second interview dated 23rd April, 2014, shared her views on how the teachers in her department dismissed the developmental plan that they themselves had created. In addition, one of the teachers in her department, felt intruded upon by Joanne's class visits. The teacher's refusal to be scrutinised, seems to indicate a desire to maintain her own control, power and authority in her class. Her resistance to Joanne's invasion of her space is indicative of mistrust on the teacher's part and of her perception of Joanne as an overseer. In this situation, the teacher was herself employing Anansi tactics against her Head of Department! Joanne explained:

Joanne: Yes, (*Heather: Uh um*) we, they created the document and I said, "This is what we want." "Yes yes." We agreed to it. Finalised, printed, distributed and then that was it. So, it's still there; still, I still have it on my folder on my stick for the department. It's still there (*Heather: Uh um*) and ever so often we revise it because remember we're supposed to resubmit plans every five years (*Heather: Yes*). So we *revise* it ever so often (*Heather: Uh um*) when it comes up, let's look at it again. "Is there anything we need to change? What do we need to add?" that sort of thing and we keep revising it. After we revise it and submit it to the administration, it becomes a...something we put on the wall (*laughing*).

Heather: Ok because one of the things (*Joanne continues laughing: It's for display*). Yeah because one of the things that I think um that, that I am hearing is while there is that, all that has been done, it's, has been to put things in place so that you have a community of professionals practising, you have um the *development of community* and a sense of we are doing *this together*. However, there will always be resistance (*Joanne: Uh um*) and why do you *think some* people resist and um is resistance a bad thing sometimes or a good thing?

Joanne: Um, I think a lot of the resistance has to do with a sense of insecurity. We are safe when we are isolated in the classroom and nobody knows what's happening. We *expose* ourselves when we have to

an...a lot of that has to do with, "Am I doing this well enough?" Um, we had a discussion last term that was quite interesting. We had an issue with the SBA and one of the SBAs and we had a meeting which was a *shock* to me because I couldn't see, I didn't see why it had to get to the point of meeting with the administration. Um the teacher said this, "She doesn't feel comfortable because um she's always criticised and she gets the impression that she is a bad teacher" and I'm saying, "*Where* did you get that impression?" she says, "I don't like to be supervised. I don't see why I have to be supervised. I don't see why if I submit a lesson plan that you don't just accept it." And I said, "Well you know because of long years of experience, if I see little things that could be improved, maybe you can try this and try that, it gives you ideas." She resents that. She resents, she says, "I give you a lesson plan, just accept it and give it back to me." So that, to me that's a *huge* personality issue um, a fear of being criticised, nobody...and at that meeting, I said, "All of us are imperfect" you know... there are things I do wrong. I expect people to criticise me and say, "You know you could do this better, try this" because it helps me to grow. She doesn't see it like that. So, that is part of what I think is the issue-this, this um desire for isolationism; this fear of being exposed, um, and they see criticism as a judgement rather than as a means to improve (*Heather: Uh um*). Um, so it means, "I'm not good enough." If, if I someone criticises, if I say to you maybe you should try...it's a criticism that says to the individual, "I'm not good enough" and that's part of the problem.

Heather: Um, apart from personality, perhaps how they *themselves were schooled*?

Joanne: That's exactly it. It's part of, but not just school, but the way teaching was before this attempt at um supervision and accountability. You remember our teachers didn't have to answer to a soul, the teachers who taught us, did not have to answer to...

Heather: They were, they were...

Joanne: *Kings in* their own little world in the classroom. So this thing about answering now is, that is not a common experience, that is not *our experience or understanding* of what teacher or teaching was supposed to be *came* from that experience (*Heather: Uh um*) so we were required to change and *that* change is always going to be difficult for individuals to make that leap from. "When I go into, nobody has to know what I'm doing" to "I need to report to people" (*Heather: Uh um*), that is a big leap for people to make.

Throughout the course of the interviews, all four participants never lost sight of their commitment to teaching. During the interviews, I never heard any one refer to herself or himself as a manager or engage in any discussion without reference to teaching and being a teacher. For instance, the passion with which Septimus spoke about his love for curriculum and developing tests and discovering new ways of teaching were far more enthusiastic than his discussion of himself as a head of department charged with

managerial duties. In fact, as it was only after the interviews had started that he noticed that he was doing some managing of the department. Their refusal never to lose sight of their educational objectives and not follow slavishly imported management practices shows clearly their resistance to the plantation.

Like family, building community was a priority for all three participants who were heads of departments. Building community is one strategy used by Joanne and Anita for empowering teachers in their departments. Collegiality and collaboration were often terms used by Anita in particular when she spoke about the teachers in her department and of her leadership style. In her third interview, dated 8th November, 2014, Anita discussed the racial tensions within the department and how she was dealing with this new situation. In trying to remove some of the strain within the department, she advocated Professional Learning communities as one way of offering all the teachers a forum so that they could learn from one another. She went so far as to state that it was her attempt to create a more open, fair, just environment for all where all teachers could have a "voice." In the cases of Septimus and Joanne, despite all their efforts to create an environment of collegiality and collaboration, some teachers failed to buy into the idea.

Conflict between members of departments is not unusual. With the exception of one participant who did not raise the issue of conflict within her dean body, all the heads of departments expressed their concerns about the conflict between members of their departments. Whether it is a case of younger teachers' desire for the opportunity to teach students in the upper forms or having to carry heavier workloads than more senior colleagues who were given fewer periods, the heads were called in to arbitrate to ensure that all are treated with fairness and equity. In other cases, such as with Septimus, as the only male in his department, he is sometimes is faced with situations that warrant a hard line of action but that is a role that he avoids as it goes against his naturally laid-back managerial style. Of all the participants, Septimus's attitude towards the managerial aspects of his position as head is ambivalent at times as he states openly in his second interview, dated 24th April, 2014. He laments the lack of training for this newly appointed heads offered by the MOE. In the course of our discussion on training for heads held over the July/August vacation period, he recalls little of the actual training and only remembers the information handed to the heads concerning clinical

supervision and the official documents that accompanied them. Moreover, his practices reflect his ambivalence and distrust of a system that has not evolved to an extent that the heads could be relieved of some of their classes as promised so that more time could be devoted to the development of his department. Yet, in some informal training sessions with the then School Supervisor for his district, the heads and deans invited from schools within her district, we given information concerning the rules and regulations pertaining to their duties and responsibilities. In all, the training by the Supervisor made the heads aware of the official documentation such as the teacher's confidential reports and how these should be used. So in his case, he appears to be confused and ambivalent about his own practice as a head of department.

Unlike Septimus, Zidanne, Joanne and Anita during all their interviews, demonstrated in their narratives their understanding of the roles expected of them in their schools as either a dean or a head. Their strong connection to the students enabled them to champion both teachers' and student causes; and guided by their values and beliefs about respect, empowerment, care and duty to others, brought them into conflict with senior administration. With Zidanne, with the retirement of her ally, her former principal, the principal's successor neither desired or encouraged a continuation of Zidanne's practice of managing school events and programmes without the permission of the vice-principal's knowledge and approval. The reason for this sudden reversal of events never surfaced in our second interview as she was reluctant to open the conversation about the issue and I respected her wishes.

Joanne and Anita on the other hand, while corporative with the senior management, there were always instances where they were confrontational and challenged the principal and vice-principal. In her second interview on 23rd April, Joanne stated,

"I know I had several conflicts again at school. They, um, you know, a young teacher came in, not in my department-this is a child we taught and then she started to teach and um I would say, "You should try to do something different" and she said, "Um Miss, you are a troublemaker and you're teaching me to trouble-make."

In that very interview she adds, "But that's the perception-that I don't toe the line and I don't follow that straight path that you're setting out for me." However, Joanne was very critical of her school's manipulation of SBM when it was first introduced. Her

statements revealed that in her experience of SBM, it was "something put on paper but um not really implemented." She further elaborates, "It is still very much management by a small group of administrators who, and that the instructions from that, decisions from that small group will filter down to the staff." Put in a nutshell so to speak, she concludes with "We *don't* have school-based management," it was just a "requirement by the government" and having submitted it, "we went back doing things the way we would usually do." Therefore, having long recognised the sham of SBM, she continues to resist and do battle with the senior administration or other members of the middle management group to prevent her from tending to her own department and in so doing, attempt to influence her teachers to "develop professionally to learn to be a better teacher, to become a better teacher" (Second interview, 23rd April, 2014).

Anita, who herself has been involved in confrontations with the senior management in her school, is neither indifferent to her school nor does she disagree with its underlying philosophy. In a casual conversation that we had on 13th June, 2016, she recalled our journey together during the course of my fieldwork and, as supportive of my efforts to research this group of teachers, she reflected on how the research had made her more reflective and more ready to "let go" which she has done after considerable time and effort. I was heartened to learn that by speaking at length during the interviews, she was able to arrive at some understanding of herself and her contributions to her school community.

Closing Thoughts

In this chapter, the theory of the inner plantation was used to interpret the data collected from the life histories of the four participants, Zidanne, Septimus, Anita and Joanne. What this exercise revealed is the multiple ways in which the heads and the dean in this study refuse to be managed, or simply to play the roles set out for them in their job specifications that limit them to overseers-managers of workers/teachers within a system that is designed to produce the next batch of workers! Instead, through their strong religious beliefs about education and their own personal convictions, these were evident in how they developed and maintained relationships with the principal and vice-principal, as well as with their colleagues and members of their departments.

Conclusion

Much has changed in the world since I entered the teaching service over twenty-eight years ago. Globalisation has spread its wings across almost every corner of the earth. Technological changes are everywhere. Look around and you see how mobile phones, Ipads, Iphones, Facebook and Twitter, are symbolic of the phenomenal growth in contemporary technology. Yet, while around us there are thousands of gadgets designed to help us stay interconnected, there are millions of people fleeing their homes as nation states struggle to deal with the growing threat from groups who hold and practice fundamentalist beliefs. As nation states fall, education systems are destroyed and millions of children are in danger of never having the opportunity to start, continue or complete their education.

In the Caribbean, we are constantly under threat from natural disasters such as hurricanes which cause havoc and widespread destruction wherever they pass. However, these are not the only hurricanes that we witness that create nightmares for families and communities. In Trinidad and Tobago, we are witnesses to a growing culture of violence and criminality. Every year thousands of school-leavers are inadequately prepared to face the demands of contemporary life.

In their recognition of these challenges, the Ministry of Education has spent billions of dollars, borrowed from The World Bank, Inter-American Development Agency and, the International Monetary Fund to reform the primary and secondary sectors. In their attempt to provide a seamless education system, early childhood centres can now be found throughout the country. The SEMP was part of the reform package. The formal appointment of heads of departments and deans are one of the results of this reform.

This study has been a first research attempt at exploring the practices of the middle management in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. It has also been the first in which an attempt has been made to apply a theory of the inner plantation to a study of the practices of heads of departments and deans. Here, I return to the key research questions posed in the introductory chapter. Do the *practices* of heads and deans in secondary schools reflect those of the overseer or the advocate? Do their *beliefs and values* reflect those of the overseer or the advocate? Does the theory of the inner

plantation provide a decolonising framework for the exploration of the beliefs, values and practices of heads of departments and deans?

In my attempt to address these key questions, I first located school management and leadership within its historical and cultural context, whereby past and present school management and leadership owes much of its language, concepts, and practices from the world of business management. Failure to recognise the impact of the corporate influence on school management and leadership is failure to see the continuity of practices that have been deeply embedded in our secondary school system since the first secondary schools were established in the early nineteenth century. Hierarchical, top-down management structures are difficult to dismantle because despite all the criticism, because public institutions such as schools and the education system are under the control of a highly centralised state. The state in partnership with elites groups, within and outside the state are subject to a form of management in which financial aid comes at a very high price. New Public Management is everywhere-from the restructuring of sections within the MOE, with new departments such as Human Resources to the rebranding of what was the position of the Director of Education now the Chief Education Officer (CEO).

With the restructuring of the MOE under the SEMP, heads of departments and deans were formally appointed to form what is now the middle management in secondary schools. Occupying the middle tier in the school's organisation places the heads and deans in the often challenging position of being caught between the senior management and the teaching/non-teaching staff under their management. In the interviews conducted, each participant had a different understanding of her and his role as a middle manager. For Septimus, it was difficult for him to make the transition from teacher to manager. Without little or no formal training or long experience as a head, it was, he expressed his fears and difficulty in understanding what was expected of him as a manager.   While the situation was different for Zidanne who had been performing as a Dean for more than fifteen years before her formal appointment in the position, she now faced the lost of her autonomy, initiative by adhering closely to the chain of command expected by the new Principal. Under the top-down managerial style practised by the principal, Zidanne's was stripped of some of the power that she possessed under the old

administration. Joanne and Anita, on the other hand, as heads of departments, struggled with issues such as their senior administrator's micro-management styles.

As I have argued in Chapter Three, Trinidad and Tobago's economic system continues to be a part of the plantation economic system found throughout the Caribbean. The plantation model is reflected also in the organisation of the secondary school under SBM. The middle management of the secondary schools is expected to function as the overseers of the schools in much the same way as overseers did on the older plantations. The overseer's job was to monitor, supervise, evaluate and report. So, too are the present middle managers, the head of department and dean, expected to monitor, supervise, evaluate and report. This is clearly the case in the official documents that are issued from the MOE to schools.

In addition, Sylvia Wynter's concept of the plot was instructive as it provided me with a value system which allowed me to separate the market-exchange values of the plantation from the use-value of the plot. The plot values I argued were characteristic of the advocate, someone who demonstrates the same type of resistance to a dehumanising system, where injustice is practised in different ways such as racial, ethnic, gender, class and religious prejudice. Essentially the market-exchange values are nothing more than a reduction of human beings to mere functionaries in a system which exploits them for their value as labour. What this means is that they are only valued for their labour. The use values on the other hand, which I associate with the advocate, are the values of kinship, community, resistance. I linked the inner plantation to the overseer, and the plot to the advocate. Therefore, both the plot and advocate represent the space/place and person in whom there is resistance to the inner plantation.

When applied to the present managerial structure of the secondary schools' middle managers, I found similarities between the duties of the plantation overseer and the contemporary head and dean as outlined in their respective job descriptions. However, after the interviews, the data collected from the four participants reflected a different narrative. The data revealed resistance to the effects of the inner plantation by participants challenging the official narrative that places them each in the role of the overseer, In interviews, there was a strong spirit of advocacy among the participants.

Therefore, the inner plantation does offer a way of theorising the management practices of heads and deans in a school community. However, the inner plantation can be used to explore other facets of the education system and not be limited either to the secondary school or to its middle management. As both a decolonising theory with which we can begin to explore our educational institutions and its personnel, it invites further exploration. This research project was but the beginning.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX –ETHICS CHECKLIST

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION APPLICANT'S ETHICS CHECKLIST

The purpose of the checklist is to help you to decide whether or not ethics approval is required and, if required, to decide on the appropriate ethics review procedure.

Who should complete the checklist?

The person carrying out the Research Project.

Research Project Title: "Betwixt and Between"

Name of person carrying out the Research Project and Supervisor (if appropriate: Heather A. D. Murphy (student)
   Dr. Jennifer Lavia (Supervisor)

The following 3 questions should be answered 'Yes' or 'No':

                 Yes or No?

Q1. *Is the proposed project a 'research' project?*
i.e. will it constitute 'investigation undertaken in order to gain knowledge and understanding' (this includes work of educational value designed to improve understanding of the research process)?

> **YES**

* If you answer 'Yes' to Q1 ethics review may be required.
If you answer 'No' to Q1 then ethics review is not required.

Q2. *Will the proposed research project involve the NHS?* (see **Note 3**)

> **NO**

* If you answer 'Yes' to Q2 ethics review is required via the NHS.

Q3. *Will the proposed research project involve human participants, data or tissue but not the NHS? (*See **Note 4**)
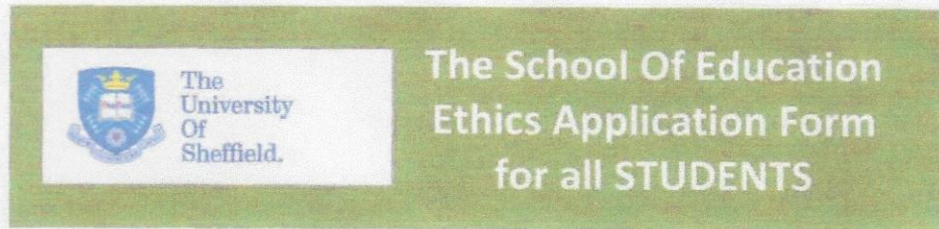
> **YES**

x

APPENDIX –ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

The School Of Education Ethics Application Form for all STUDENTS

The University Of Sheffield.

This form has been adapted for The School Of Education and agreed with The University Research Ethics Committee (UREC)

Complete this form if you are a **student** who plans to undertake a research project which requires ethics approval via the University Ethics Review Procedure. If you are a member of staff or are submitting an en bloc ethical review, this is the wrong form.

Your Supervisor decides if ethics approval is required and, if required, which ethics review procedure (e.g. University, NHS, Alternative) applies.

If the University's procedure applies, your Supervisor decides if your proposed project should be classed as 'low risk' or potentially 'high risk'. *For the purpose of ethical review all research with "vulnerable people" is considered to be High Risk (eg children under 18 years of age).*

Date:	18th Dec. 844 4th August, 2013
Name & Registration No of applicant:	Heather A. D. Murphy #90260364
Contact details (University email address & telephone number):	edpo9ham@sheffield.ac.uk 1-868-632-9957
Applicant's signature:	*Heather Murphy*
Research project title:	"Betwixt and Between"
Programme of study:	EdD (Educational Studies Caribbean Programme)
Module code:	N/A
Is the research ESRC Funded?	NO
Is the research project High or Low risk (please tick as appropriate)?	High ☐ Low ☐x
What type of student are you (please tick as appropriate):	Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate Taught ☐ Postgraduate Research ☐x PhD ☐ MPhil ☐
I confirm that I have ethically approved the above named project.	Supervisor's name: Dr. Jennifer Lavia Signature: *Jennifer Marie Lavia* Date: 18th Dec. 2013

This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by all Information Sheets/Covering Letters/Written Scripts which you propose to use to inform the prospective participants about the proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form where you need to use one.

A1. Other key investigators/co-applicants (within/outside University), where applicable: N/A

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

Title	Full Name	Post	Responsibility in project	Organisation	Department

A2. Proposed Project Duration:

Proposed start date: July 2012

Proposed end date: September 2014

A3. Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:

	Involves children or young people aged under 18 years
	Involves only identifiable personal data with no direct contact with participants
x	Involves only anonymised or aggregated data
	Involves prisoners or others in custodial care (eg young offenders)
	Involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness
x	Has the primary aim of being educational (eg student research, a project necessary for a postgraduate degree or diploma, MA, PhD or EdD)

A4. I can confirm that in my judgement, due to the project's nature, the use of a "Consent Form" is relevant

I can confirm that in my judgement, due to the project's nature, the use of an "Information Sheet" is relevant

A5. Briefly summarise the project's aims, objectives and methodology?
The key research question is "What are the beliefs, values and attitudes of the middle leader in the secondary school in Trinidad and Tobago and how have these beliefs, values and attitudes have shaped the everyday practices of middle leaders?" Seven years after the 2006 deadline given by the Ministry of Education for full implementation of School-Based Management in schools, the time has come for an examination of the working lives of this marginalised group of teachers in our school system. The literature reveals some research done on school leadership in Trinidad and Tobago, such as Freddy James's (2010) study with its concentration primarily on principals, teachers as a group, and school supervisors .In international studies of middle leadership, attention has tended to be on Heads of Departments, or as they are commonly known, Curriculum / Subject Leaders. By contrast, studies on Deans are sparse. The gap in knowledge of the middle leaders who are positioned "betwixt and between" those in senior leadership and the teaching and school support staff in Trinidad and Tobago needs to be addressed.

I will be using a Life History methodological approach. I chose this approach as it offers participants the best opportunity to reflect on their beliefs, values and attitudes that have been shaped by their own family, socio-economic, educational backgrounds and work experience, which in turn, have influenced their practice.

A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?
Minimal

A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project and, if yes, explain how these issues will be managed? (Especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises.) *No*

A8. How will the potential participants in the project be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?
The four (4) participants are Heads and Deans who hold formal appointments as middle leaders in their respective schools. Some are colleagues who have expressed their interest in my research and have followed my progress since I started. Many of them have held these positions for a long time prior to their formal appointments by the Ministry of Education. Those whom I identified as possible participants have already indicated their willingness to be part of the project. Two were invited to participate via telephone conversations and the other two I met informally at school and invited them to become participants.

A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants? Yes

	X
No	

If informed consent is not to be obtained please explain why. Further guidance is at
http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/policynotes/consent
Only under exceptional circumstances are studies without informed consent permitted. Students should consult their tutors.

A10. How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?) – remember to complete your "Consent Form" and "Information Sheet": *Discussion with potential participants individually, giving details of the project, allowing each one to read the cover letter and information sheet as well as answering any questions.*

A11. How will you ensure appropriate protection and well-being of participants?
Anonymous names; termination of interviews if participants are distressed in any way.

A12. What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate? *Anonymous names and omission of sensitive or personal information which participant wishes; all data collected will be placed in secure files accessible by me alone.*

A13. Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided.)

Yes	
No	X

A14. Will the research involve the production of recorded or photographic media such as audio and/or video recordings or photographs?

Yes	
No	X

A15. This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded or visual media:

How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media or photographs may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?

I will be using an audio recording device. I will ask each participant 's permission to tape interviews. After each recording, I will store each in a secured electronic file which can only be accessed by me through a password. This file will be on my personal computer and never on a public or any shared computer. These will be stored on memory sticks- two (2) copies which will be locked in a filing cabinet at home accessible only by me. After transcribing each interview, each participant will be provided with a hard copy that she or he can read and amend. These hard copies will be stored in the filing cabinet at home which will be locked and accessed only by me.

How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media or photographs may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?

PART C - THE SUPERVISOR DECLARATION

The Ethics Administrator needs to receive an electronic copy of the form, and other documents where appropriate, plus a signed and dated electronic copy of this Part C 'the Supervisor Declaration'.

Full Research Project Title:

"Betwixt and Between"

In signing this Supervisor Declaration I am confirming that:

- The research ethics application form for the above-named project is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

- The above-named project will abide by the University's 'Good Research Practice Standards': www.sheffield.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/good

- The above-named project will abide by the University's 'Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue': www.sheffield.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy

- Subject to the above-named project being ethically approved I will undertake to ensure that the student adheres to any ethics conditions that may be set.

- The student or the Supervisor will undertake to inform the Ethics Administrator of significant changes to the above-named project that have ethical consequences.

- The student or the Supervisor will undertake to inform the Ethics Administrator if prospective participants make a complaint about the above-named project.

- I understand that personal data about the student and/or myself on the research ethics application form will be held by those involved in the ethics review process (e.g. the Ethics Administrator and/or reviewers) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.

- I understand that this project cannot be submitted for ethics approval in more than one department, and that if I and/or the student wish to appeal against the decision made, this must be done through the original department.

Supervisor's name:	DR JENNIFER LAVIN
Supervisor's signature and date:	Jennifer Marie Lavie 18th Dec 2013

APPENDIX – APPROVAL LETTER

The University Of Sheffield.

The School Of Education.

Head of School
Professor Cathy Nutbrown

School of Education
388 Glossop Road
Sheffield
S10 2JA

30 January 2014

Telephone: +44 (0) 114 222
Email: @sheffield.ac.uk

Dear Heather

ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER
"Betwixt and Between"

Thank you for submitting your ethics application. I am writing to confirm that your application has now been approved, and you can proceed with your research.

This letter is evidence that your application has been approved and should be included as an Appendix in your final submission.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely

Professor Dan Goodley
Chair of the School of Education Ethics Review Panel

CC

APPENDIX-LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

10 San Diego Park,

Diego Martin,

Trinidad, W. I

4th August, 2013

Dear Colleague,

You are invited to take part in my Research Project. As part of the requirements of my doctoral degree in Educational Studies at the University of Sheffield, I have embarked upon a study of middle leadership within secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago.

Before you decide on whether or not you wish to be a participant, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following 'Information Sheet' carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this invitation.

Yours respectfully,

....

Heather Murphy

APPENDIX- PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

<u>PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET</u>

1. **Research Project Title:** "Betwixt and Between"

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this information sheet.

2. **Project's Purpose**

   This is the dissertation for my EdD degree at the University of Sheffield. The objective of the project is to gain a deeper insight into how the personal beliefs, values and attitudes of Heads of Departments and Deans in secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago, influence and shape how they carry out their duties / responsibilities and their relationships with other members of the wider school community. Busher, H, Hammersley-Fletcher, L and Turner, C. (2007) in summarising research on middle leadership, note the lack of attention to the "institutional contexts in which they operate" as well as the "strategies they use or may use to implement policies and actions that allow them to fulfil their functions" (p. 406). Instead, they add, researchers have focused on characteristics of leaders in the middle, their everyday responsibilities and not on the beliefs and values that shape their everyday practices. Thus, my study will address this gap. My study which began in July 2012 will be completed in September 2014.

3. **Choosing participants**

   I chose Heads of Departments and Deans from a variety of schools. Many are present and former colleagues and in one case, a former school mate of mine. You were chosen because of your position as an appointed Head of Department/Dean and secondly for your experience as a middle leader before and after your formal appointment to this position. Three other (3) participants were also chosen based on these criteria.

4. **Participation**

   Participation is entirely your choice. It is up to you to decide whether or not you are to be part of this project. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and you will be asked to sign a consent form). You can withdraw at any time during the project. You do not have to give a reason.

   If you do decide to take part in this project, the following information is important for a smooth and successful collaboration between us. The series of interviews with participants who chose to take part will cover a period of two

months-August to September 2013. The plan below shows the procedure for all stages of the interview process.

Arrange date, time and place for interview with participant.

This will be a place that not only offers a private space for conversations to take place, but also one that is mutually acceptable to both parties.

Interview participant will be less structured and in the form of a conversationbetween the interviewer of participant.

Review transcript of interview with participant

Your responsibility as a participant in this research project is to engage me in a series of conversations about your beliefs, attitudes and values as well as other information that you wish to share about your own role as a middle leader. I am using a life history methodological approach in my research, so this will require some reflection from you on your own family, educational and working background. If, at any time you wish to end our conversation because of any type of discomfort, you are free to do so.

5. **Possible risks/benefits to participant**
The benefits outweigh the risks involved in this research project. In conducting research using the life history approach, the potential for discomfort in bringing to memory painful experiences from your past either through recollections of past injustices, deaths, illnesses, is a possibility. Likewise, memories of the past may also be filled with wonderful people, events who have had positive effects on your life. So, while there are no immediate benefits for anyone participating in this project, it is hoped that this work will lead you to a greater understanding of yourself and your work.

6. **Complaints from Participant**
In the case of any complaint from you during this project, you can contact my supervisor Dr. Jennifer Lavia at j.lavia@sheffield.ac.uk or 482-5246 and if you are dissatisfied with how the complaint was handled, you can contact the University of Sheffield's Registrar and Secretary.

7. **Confidentiality**
All the information that I collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports

or publications. Your anonymous name will be used and all specific details about you will be omitted. You can choose your own pseudonym if you desire.

8. **Results of the research project**

   The results of my research will be published as a University of Sheffield dissertation and thereby becomes a public document. Copies of the dissertation will be made available through the researcher.

9. **Funding for the project**

   This is a self-funded project.

10. **Ethical Review of project**

    The ethics review for this project is managed by the University of Sheffield's School of Education Research Ethics Committee.

11. **Use of recording media in the project**

    During the course of the project, I will be using a digital voice recorder for recording your conversations with me. Your permission to do so will be asked before any such taping commences. Recordings of these interviews will be stored in a safe place and will be used for the purpose of transcription of interviews; access, by you, to the recorded interview and for analysis of data.

Thank you for participating in this research project!

APPENDIX-LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS (2)

10 San Diego Park,
Diego Martin
31st January, 2014

Dear Participant,

I wish to thank you for agreeing to be a part of my research project. As part of our preparation to talk about your beliefs, values and attitudes that have /continue to influence and shape your practices as Heads of Departments or Deans, I have outlined some areas for you to consider prior to our face-to-face meetings. Please feel free to add other areas that you think important.

In addition, as I indicated in my letter of invitation, I leave it to you to choose your own pseudonym. This will be the name used throughout the chapter on the fieldwork.

1. Place and date of birth
2. Family background, birthplace
3. Parents' occupations, general character and interests
4. Siblings, general character and interests
5. Your childhood, home and experiences
6. Educational background
7. Work experience
8. Your own family
9. Future ambitions and aspirations (Goodson & Sikes, 2001, p. 30)

Information adapted from *Life History Research in Educational Settings: Learning from lives* - Ivor. F. Goodson & Pat Sikes (2001), Open University Press, Buckingham

Thank you.

Yours respectfully,

Heather Murphy

APPENDIX- PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Model Participant Consent Form

Title of Project:

Name of Researcher:

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/letter (delete as applicable) dated *[insert date]* for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. *Insert contact number here of lead researcher/member of research team (as appropriate).*

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.

4. I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature
(*or legal representative*)

_____   _____   _____
Name of person taking consent   Date   Signature
(*if different from lead researcher*)
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

_____   _____   _____
 Lead Researcher   Date   Signature
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/pre-written script/information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy for the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

APPENDIX-FIELD NOTES

FIELD NOTES

Name   ....

Date   ....

Time   ....

Place   …………………………………………………