

TO EDUCATE FEELING: IMPLEMENTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION
CURRICULUM IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1950 TO 2000

by

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Abstract

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In Trinidad and Tobago, a small multiethnic state in the Caribbean, education policies aimed at reducing inter-ethnic and inter-religious tensions, and at integrating diverse ethnic and religious groups into a national identity were implemented as content and pedagogy in the social studies curriculum and as structural education policies meant to improve access to secondary schooling and social mobility for disadvantaged groups. Historical institutionalism theory in conjunction with frameworks and theoretical perspectives from comparative and international education, globalization and education, political science and public administration were used to analyze primary and secondary historical documents from the 1851 to 1950 period, semi-structured interviews of government bureaucrats and educators, and policy documents and policy-related documents from 1950 to 2000.

Data analysis revealed that rules, routines and procedures from the 1851 to 1950 period were so institutionalized in the Trinidad and Tobago education system that they constrained the behavior of policy actors making it difficult for actors to adjust rules, routines and procedures to do things differently than they had in the past. As such, curriculum and structural education policies aimed at reducing inter-ethnic and inter-religious tensions, and at integrating diverse groups into a national identity during the

1950 to 2000 period were often formulated and implemented in much the same way as they were during the 1851 to 1950 period. Data analysis also revealed that the implementation of structural and curriculum policies aimed at reducing inter-ethnic and inter-religious tensions and at integrating diverse ethnic and religious groups into a national identity were hindered by several factors, including: the command and control nature of the Trinidad and Tobago bureaucracy; poor coordination between ministry of education agencies; the wording of statutes; the knowledge and attitude of teachers; managerial skills; work load at all levels of the education system; as well as other contextual factors that are inherent to the Trinidad and Tobago case.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CEE	Common Entrance Examination
CEO	Chief Education Officer
CDU	Curriculum Development Unit
CIDA	Canadian International Development Association
CRC	Conventions on the Rights of the Child
CXC	Caribbean Examination Council
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
EFA	Education for All
GCE	General Certificate Examinations
HFLE	Health and Family Life Education
I-ADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICIU	International Cooperation Initiatives Unit
IT	Information Technology
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
NCC	National Curriculum Council
OAS	Organization of American States
PNM	People's National Movement
PS	Permanent Secretary
SOE	School of Education
SEA	Secondary Entrance Assessment
SS	School Supervisor
SSI	School Supervisor I
SSII	School Supervisor II
SSIII	School Supervisor III
THA	Tobago House of Assembly
TTUTA	Trinidad and Tobago Unified Teachers' Association
UTT	University of Trinidad and Tobago
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nation's International Children's Emergency Fund
UWI	University of the West Indies

Difference in religion, difference in modes of cultural affirmation, required a new agenda of perspectives, a wholly new way of looking at the concepts of nation and the cliché of national unity. [Williams] would have to educate feeling to respect the autonomy of the Other's difference, to negotiate the cultural spaces, which were the legitimate claim of the Other; and to work toward an environment, which could manage stability as a state of conflict.

(George Lamming, 1997, p. 736)

CHAPTER 1

Telling Implementation Stories

Introduction

Five years ago, I developed an interest in multicultural education, a short hand term born in the United States that refers to educational policies, approaches, content and pedagogy meant to mitigate problems that arise in schools in diverse contexts. This diversity may be cultural, linguistic, economic, ethnic, religious, or based on ability, gender and sexual orientation. In the last two decades of the 20th century, international organizations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have initiated various conventions aimed at inclusive education, a term synonymous in meaning to multicultural education. The international agenda saw inclusive education, particularly related to gender, as an important step in improving economic development and as a panacea for poverty and the reduction of overt or covert forms of conflict in states with multi-ethnic populations.

When I attempted to do preliminary research on multicultural education, I noticed that multicultural or inclusive education, as phenomena, exist first as international, regional or national anti-discrimination regulations in schools or as statutes that endorse school systems that serve the needs of persons of various cultures, languages, classes, ethnicities, religions or abilities. These statutes and regulations are often reflected in other sub-education categories, particularly the curriculum, where curriculum experts translate regulations into learning standards and outcomes, which are in turn translated into classroom activities, textbooks and examinations. Put another way, I found that the object of analysis in any study of multicultural or inclusive education is regulatory public policy.

As I reviewed national case studies of regulatory education public policies geared towards inclusive or multicultural education, I noticed certain trends, particularly among post-colonial developing nations with multiethnic populations. I noticed that in the post-WWII period as many former colonies with multiethnic populations, like Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, Tanzania and Malaysia, gained their independence these colonies instituted education policies aimed at reducing discrimination, promoting equality and inculcating citizenship values into their diverse populations. In fact, five years ago marked almost half a century since these multiethnic developing states had instituted these policies. I was struck by the similarity of these policies across nations, particularly those of Trinidad and Tobago and Singapore. I wondered what happened in the education systems of these countries since these sometimes vaguely stated regulations were implemented over fifty years ago. I also wondered what other nations with newly multiethnic populations wishing to create inclusive school systems and societies might learn from the over fifty years of implementation experiences in the developing world. The purpose of this study is to describe how multicultural/inclusive education regulations in the post-independence years were implemented in the school system of one of these multiethnic developing states from the middle of the 20th century to 2000. I chose to study Trinidad and Tobago, a multiethnic state in the English-speaking Caribbean.

I chose Trinidad and Tobago because much of my research was focused on learning about the history of the Trinidad and Tobago's education system, so I was already familiar with the context. I choose to focus on how multicultural/inclusive education policies were implemented in the curriculum because the curriculum is the main vehicle for inculcating ideas, values and morals in the classroom. Preliminary field

research, begun in Spring 2008, revealed that, in Trinidad and Tobago, multicultural/inclusive education policies were implemented in the curriculum as social studies. Preliminary field research also revealed that, in the Trinidad and Tobago policy nomenclature, the term *social integration* is used to denote concepts such as the reduction of discrimination, the promotion of equality and the inculcation of citizenship values. The terms ‘multicultural education’ or ‘inclusive education’ were rarely used in the 1950 to 2000 period, but were beginning to become part of the education discourse during the data collection period in 2009/2010. In the period under study, 1950- 2000, *social integration* tended to encompass issues of ethnicity, religion, social class and language, with language becoming less salient once English was adopted as the national language in the 1960s. This is a study of how education policies aimed at social integration were implemented in Trinidad and Tobago’s primary school curriculum, as social studies, in the 1950 to 2000 period. I focus on primary education because social studies was and continues to be taught in all primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago, but only in select secondary schools.

Trinidad and Tobago

The unitary state of Trinidad and Tobago is made up of two islands, Tobago and Trinidad. Tobago, the smaller of the two, is located just twenty miles off the northeastern coast of Trinidad. Though there are historical, cultural and demographic differences¹ between the two islands that make up the Republic, when taken together, Trinidad and Tobago is “the most ethnically varied, religiously and culturally heterogeneous

¹ Trinidad is more ethnically diverse than Tobago. Trinidad, since the 19th century is comprised of Blacks, Indians, peoples of mixed heritage, Chinese, and Whites and tens of religions with Roman Catholicism, Hinduism and Islam the chief among them. In contrast, Tobago is predominantly Black and Protestant.

laboratory” in the Caribbean (Yelvington, 1993, p.iii). Unlike the United States that has promoted an assimilationist agenda in defining its national identity, Trinidad and Tobago has defined its national identity as “multicultural,” an identity that recognizes the mixed (religion, ethnicity, culture) nature of its population and has avoided “discourses of exclusion or purity” (Cornwell, 2001, p.14).

Trinidad and Tobago’s diversity is the result of Spanish and British colonial labor and migration policies that date to the 18th century. Added to its much-lauded diversity is the fact that Trinidad has had an almost two hundred year legacy of using education policies to integrate its diverse population. This legacy dates to the 1850’s when, after emancipation of slaves in the British Empire, the colonial governor sought to integrate Trinidad’s disparate groups based on English language and customs. As the nationalist endeavor took root after WWII, the newly elected government, headed by Eric Williams², sought to use the school system to integrate the population based on a nationalist Trinidad and Tobago identity that recognized the multireligious, multiethnic, multiracial nature of the population taken as a whole. Williams’ government often made education policy decisions without considering the cultural and historical differences between Tobago and Trinidad. Further, though there is almost two centuries of education policy making and implementation, Trinidad’s education policy history is better documented than Tobago’s, particularly before 1889. After the British merged the two territories in 1889, education data for Tobago is often subsumed under data for Trinidad and Tobago as whole. Despite these challenges, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago might still be described as a place of “endless education,” with a proliferation of policy documents, speeches, media

² Williams is Trinidad and Tobago’s first prime minister. He was first elected in 1956.

commentary and debates on education and its intersection with race, ethnicity and religion (Campbell, 1997). It is precisely this rich education policy record, and a rather stable multicultural socio-political context, that makes Trinidad and Tobago an ideal site for a longitudinal study of educational social integration policy implementation.

The Problem: Telling Implementation Stories

Essentially, the story of implementing social integration curriculum policies should tell us how primary school teachers end up teaching the social studies lessons that they teach in classrooms. However, a teacher teaching social studies in a classroom is only the delivery end of the social integration curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago. To describe the implementation process, we must look at all the interacting factors that affect what teachers teach in classrooms. These factors include the work of curriculum technocrats, the work of school and district administrators, the social studies curriculum, the historical and political context, the relationship between Tobago and Trinidad, the changing nature of education governance in the 1950 to 2000 period, and the influence of international organizations, particularly UNESCO and the World Bank. Each of these factors exerts influence on the teaching of social studies in complex and interactive ways. To illustrate how these factors influence the way social studies is delivered in classrooms, imagine a series of concentric circles with a teacher in a classroom at its center.

Just outside the central circle with the teacher in the classroom are curriculum technicians, school and district administrators and the social studies curriculum itself. These three factors determine the content of classroom lessons and methods for how lessons are taught or pedagogy. Curriculum technicians interpret curriculum policies at the national level into a syllabus from which teachers derive classroom lessons.

Curriculum technicians also train teachers to apply curriculum changes and to create lessons from the syllabus. School and district administrators, such as principals and school supervisors, determine the day-to-day working conditions of teachers in classrooms, like workload, benefits and sanctions. Social studies possesses learning outcomes that lie in both the affective and cognitive domains³, a factor that affects the content, pedagogy and goals of classroom lessons. Further, the curriculum is never complete, but is in a state of “*always emerging*”⁴ as curriculum technocrats are continually reviewing and rewriting outdated curriculum to conform to the latest education trends or to meet political, economic and social goals.

³ The affective and cognitive correspond to two learning domains as outlined in Bloom’s Taxonomy of education learning outcomes (1965). The teaching of social studies with a focus on the acquisition of knowledge and understanding and using content satisfies the cognitive domain of learning. Social studies lessons that focus on inculcating morals, values and on social interaction, satisfies the affective domain of learning which concerns personal transformation and the formation of values and attitudes (Bloom, 1965).

⁴ The fact that the curriculum is always emerging is even more salient in the Trinidad and Tobago case, since the education system appears to be in a perpetual state of reform. Educational reforms, particularly up to 2000, were developmental in nature, and were geared towards the attainment of universal primary and secondary school education. Education reforms also occur as a result of general elections that result in changes in government. Each new Minister of Education, restricted to a five-year term of office, attempts to make a name for his or her self by restructuring the Ministry of Education (MoE) or by bringing teaching and learning innovations, often of a curricula nature, to schools. For instance, in Trinidad and Tobago’s recent general elections, held on May 24, 2010, the ruling political party, the PNM lost to the Peoples’ Partnership. While collecting interview and documentary data on social studies curriculum implementation in 2009, there were various initiatives, slated for system-wide implementation, being piloted in select education districts, including a technology curriculum and the decentralized of the ministerial administrative structure. It is likely that these initiatives will be abandoned as the then Minister of Education, Esther Legendre, has been replaced by Dr. Tim Gopesingh, a gynecologist by training, who, just five days after the general elections had announced that school violence and indiscipline are to be the focal points of his agenda (Rambally, 2010, May 29).

Exerting influence on the social studies curriculum, on curriculum technicians and on teachers in classrooms is the relationship between Tobago and Trinidad.

Administratively, Tobago is the eighth of eight educational districts in Trinidad and Tobago. The other seven districts are located in Trinidad. Ideally since Tobago is part of the unitary state of Trinidad and Tobago, policies developed by the central government located in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, should be implemented in Tobago, as they would be in any other part of the nation. However, despite formal educational administrative arrangements, the geographical distance between the two islands seems to be a metaphor for persistent political and sociological rifts between the two islands. Three main factors account for the rifts. These factors have their basis in historical and cultural factors that date to the 19th century. First, before becoming administratively linked with Trinidad in 1889, Tobago had its own colonially appointed governing body, separate from the one in Trinidad, and since the nineteenth century, has advocated to govern its own affairs (Luke, 2007). This lingering collective memory of self-governance, and the idea that Tobago is a separate country have fueled a continued sense that Tobago should secede from Trinidad and have its own system of self government (Campbell, 1998; Luke, 2007). Second, differences in the racial and social make up of the two islands result in starkly different cultures. Cultural differences suggest that education policies meant to integrate diverse groups will be perceived differently in a diverse Trinidad that they would be in a more ethnically homogeneous Tobago. Differences in culture and a lingering desire for self-government were exacerbated by the third factor in the political and sociological rift between Tobago and Trinidad--the various political maneuverings of Eric Williams and the Peoples' National Movement (PNM) government in the 1960 to

1980 period. During this period Williams made public speeches that served to propagate Tobagonian⁵ resentment of Trinidad. Williams' activities, fueled by political unrest from 1969 to 1970, resulted in the passing of laws aimed at regulating the administrative relationship between Trinidad and Tobago, particularly as it relates to policy implementation. By the end of the second millennium, Tobago, the nation's eighth education district, had an administrative structure that, at least on paper, was different from that of the other seven education districts in Trinidad. Divergent systems of government during the colonial period, dissimilar administrative structures and cultural differences between Tobago and Trinidad point to the fact that in a case study of the implementation of social studies in primary schools, Tobago and Trinidad should be treated as two separate territories.

Social studies implementation is also influenced by the changing nature of governance and the historical and political context. Trinidad and Tobago's political and historical contexts are overshadowed by a history of British Colonial rule that formally ended with independence in 1962. Under British colonialism, both Trinidad's and Tobago's education policies were imposed by the Colonial Secretariat in England and then by various colonial appointed governors and administrators employed for the task. As such, Trinidad and Tobago's education system, like that of other former colonies, "[embodies] formerly imposed policies" as well as formerly imposed administrative structures from the colonial period (Brown and Conrad, p. 183, 2007). To understand

⁵ Term used to denote persons born on the island of Tobago.

how social studies was implemented in classrooms in the 1950 to 2000 period, one must understand the changing nature of education policy *governance*⁶.

International organizations are another major force that exerts power on social studies policies. Though these agencies lie at the periphery of our set of concentric circles, far away from the teacher in the classroom, these agencies exert undue influence on the types of policies formulated at the national level, on governance, particularly the administrative structures involved in the education policy making and implementation process. One of the main reasons is that education reforms in Trinidad and Tobago, in the 1950 to 2000 period were, and continue to be funded by international agencies like the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (I-ADB) and the Canadian International Development Association (CIDA) (Brown and Conrad, 2007). In addition to the World Bank and I-ADB, Trinidad and Tobago is a member state of and maintains close ties with the United Nations (UN) and its affiliated agencies, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). These organizations provide funding, technical expertise and access to educational research data and best practices that are often used to formulate education policies and design implementation strategies. Through the mechanisms outlined above, international agencies play a complex role in the transfer of policies from the post-industrial world to developing countries. However, after policies are formulated at the national level, it is still left to local actors to interpret policy goals derived from state involvement with international agencies. As such

⁶ Governance denotes both the actors and the administrative structures, from colonial time to the post-independence period, involved in the public policy making and implementation process.

understanding the ways that local actors below the state level, that is curriculum technicians, principals, teachers, school and district administrators, interpret policies derived from international organizations is an important factor in understanding how teachers teach social studies in the classroom.

So in order to tell the story of how curriculum policies aimed at social integration were implemented in Tobago and Trinidad, one must look simultaneously at the changing nature of education policy governance, from the colonial period to the post-independence period. One must look at the historical and political context of colonial education policy-making and implementation and how these policies affected nationalist education policies formulated and implemented after WWII. One must observe the influence of international organizations on education policy formation and implementation at the national level. Additionally, one must observe at the ways that local actors amended or adapted state level policies derived from dealings with international agencies. This complex implementation story is told through answers to the following research questions:

- 1) What were the effects of Trinidad's and Tobago's political and historical context on the education policy decisions aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period?
- 2) How were educational social integration policies implemented in Trinidad's primary school curriculum and Tobago's primary school curriculum, from 1950 to 2000?

Theoretical Framework

The intricate nature of policy implementation is also a significant factor in the way that theoretical lenses are utilized to help observe what happens during implementation in a particular context. On the use of theory in the study of public policy, Peter and Pierre (2006) write:

...any attempt to force public policy into any narrow theoretical frame should be considered with some skepticism. [The] complexity [of public policy] requires bringing together a wide range of theoretical and analytical perspectives to gain any sort of understanding of what is happening in any policy area (p.1).

As such, in order to answer the research questions and to help comprehend what happened during the implementation of a social studies curriculum in Tobago and Trinidad's primary schools, from 1950 to 2000, I use theories and frameworks from political science, globalization and education, comparative education, public policy and public administration.

From political science, Hall and Taylor (1996) define historical institutionalism as “formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and convictions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy” (p. 938). Peters (1999) adds that historical institutions are heavily influenced by ideas that “constrain limits of acceptable actions of government...and provide a set of ready solutions for policy problems that arise within their domain” (p.66). An institutionalist approach demands that one looks at how the actions of a variety of individuals interact to create rules⁷, routines⁸ and procedures within a single institution or across two or more institutions. Looking at how the actions of multiple actors interact, and, if possible, capturing the motivations for these actions, helps paint a picture of how institutions⁹ operate. Historical institutionalism does not predict future behavior but draws attention to the behaviors of

⁷ Rules “refer to prescriptions commonly known and used by a set of participants to order repetitive, interdependent relationships” (Ostrom, 1986, p.5). Rules are not laws in a legal sense. People can change rules. Rules have “prescriptive force” in that once one accepts rules, others can hold one accountable for breaking rules (Ostrom, 1986, p.6).

⁸ Routines, often determined or supported by rules are “a more or less mechanical or unvarying performance of certain acts or duties” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010).

⁹ Here institutions refer to “shared concepts used by humans in repetitive situations organized by rules, norms and strategies” and not to organizational bodies like “business firm[s],” “political parties” or schools (Ostrom, 2007, p.23).

institutional actors and contemporary events that occurred in the past. As such, a vital element of historical institutionalism is the notion that one focuses on particular points in time, so that one might distinguish between past actions and events from current actions and events. A historical institutionalist approach privileges the idea that knowledge of past behaviors and historical events is vital to understanding events and behaviors that occur afterwards.

This case study uses the cultural approach to historical institutionalism, which suggests that institutions, as defined above, “provide moral and cognitive templates for interpretation and action” (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p. 939). Individuals in the cultural¹⁰ approach to historical institutionalism are deeply embedded within institutions, yet construct institutions with their actions, while at the same time these actions are constrained by the institutions of which they are a part (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p. 939). I use ‘cultural historical institutionalism’ as a lens for analyzing the historical events and behaviors that constrain the policy choices and activities of actors within the Trinidad and Tobago education system, in the 1950 to 2000 period, and as the theoretical lens to help illuminate answers to Questions (1) from the data. As such, I look to events that occurred before 1950, as early as 1851, almost one hundred years before our chosen point in time. The year 1950 was selected because it is the year that the Ministry of Education (MoE)¹¹ was established, and the year that the first Minister of Education, Roy Joseph O.B.E¹²,

¹⁰ Culture, in the institutional context may be defined as “the codes, rules and ideas, however informal, which develop to regulate and maintain the relations between and among individuals in group settings” (Bissessar 2000, p. 17).

¹¹ In 1950, the Ministry was called Ministry of Education and Social Services.

¹² O.B.E. denotes the Officer rank in the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, a low ranking order of chivalry that honors persons who have performed commendable civil and military service to the British Empire.

was appointed to the Legislative Council, the main decision making body on the island during the colonial period (1950 Education Report). Both these events signaled the beginning of transfer of power over education policy from colonial powers to the national government of Trinidad and Tobago.

Since the late 1950's, the Ministry of Education (MoE) is the main organization in Trinidad and Tobago responsible for the formation and implementation of the social studies curriculum in both Tobago and Trinidad. The MoE is a large bureaucratic entity with various sub-divisions and units, each with specific, though interrelated, functions (1950 Education Report). This case study focuses on the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU), the division chiefly concerned with the translation of curriculum policies into documents, training and activities that facilitate delivery of curriculum. This work also examines the roles of school district administrative staff, school principals and teachers in delivering social studies curriculum.

The MoE is part of the Trinidad and Tobago Civil Service, which is comprised of the Public Service Commission and the Teaching Service Commission. The Trinidad and Tobago Public Service Commission is the civil bureaucratic entity that assesses, appoints, transfers and dismisses all executive, administrative, technical, clerical, maintenance and support positions except teachers, in the public sector. Since 1967, teachers have been assessed, appointed, transferred and dismissed by the Teaching Service Commission, a branch of the Public Service created specifically for this purpose. The MoE is staffed by both the Public Service Commission and the Teaching Service Commission. As such, though the CDU, district offices and schools, are the main parts of the MoE involved in curriculum education policy formation and implementation, we are actually observing

policy implementation within the Trinidad and Tobago Public Service and, by extension the Teaching Service Commission, the two entities that staff the MoE.

The Trinidad and Tobago Public Service is derived from the British Colonial Administration and many of its formal and informal rules, codes and ideas have “persisted” from colonial time (Bissessar 2000, p. 15). Concerning the influence of institutional culture on policy actors in the Trinidad and Tobago Public Sector, Bissessar (2000) writes:

Such codes, rules and ideas, overtime, acquire hegemony of their own, sometimes transcending generations of individuals. Thus, whatever the formal rule must proclaim, it would be the informal codes that either obstruct or promote policy (p. 17).

From the historical record, three main institutions, “shared concepts used by humans in repetitive situations organized by rules, norms and strategies” regulate the behavior of actors in the Trinidad and Tobago education policy making and implementation landscape: (1) government-run schools can be used as social integration tools because they allow access to all religions, ethnicities and social classes; (2) denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system in Trinidad and in Tobago and 3) Tobago, in contrast to Trinidad, is different, separate and inferior (Ostrom, 2007, p.23).

Historical development of these institutions seemed to be path dependent, in that key events that occurred early in Trinidad and Tobago’s political, social and education history took policy decisions into a particular direction that, over time, became difficult to reverse. The sequencing of policy and historical events resulted in positive feedback loops in which each successive decision reinforced the effect of the one that came before it. “Over time, roads not chosen” ...[those policy decisions not selected, became]

increasingly distant, increasingly unreachable alternatives” (Pierson, 2004, p.64). It is the sequence of reinforcing events that often creates institutional culture, the informal rules, codes and ideas that influence the day-to-day rules, procedures and routines of policy actors. And, in turn, the day-to-day rules, procedures and routines of policy actors create and reinforce institutional culture. Regardless of the policy direction that the formal institution may wish to take, it is the informal institutions, the institutional culture, which exerts power over the types of policies formulated to solve social problems.

In Trinidad, the use of schooling as a social integration tool is a persistent ideal in education policy making, buttressed by an almost unbroken sequence of policies, reports, recommendations and events for almost two hundred years. The historical/political event of Tobago becoming linked with Trinidad in 1889 affected the types of education policies formulated to regulate schools in both Tobago and Trinidad. The same can be said of the reason why Tobago is perceived as different, separate and inferior. An almost unbroken sequence of historical and social events helped reinforce the perception held by the central governing administration of Trinidad and Tobago that the island of Tobago is the same as any other rural part of Trinidad and should not have equal status with its larger counterpart. This perception is manifested in the way that policy documents are framed and in the way that curriculum policies are delivered to Tobago’s schools. The sequence of self-reinforcing events that result in denominational schools forming an integral part of the public school system does not occur in a single unbroken trajectory. During the sequence, certain events and policies “consolidate arrangements” at particular points in time, creating self-reinforcing path dependent effects that influence institutionalization later in the sequence (Pierson, 2004, pp.66-67). However, it is important to note that

though path dependency is a powerful phenomenon that could in many ways control the path that policy decisions take, path dependency is not deterministic and can be sensitive to historical events. Powerful historical events that influence informal rules, codes and ideas, can divert the policy sequence toward alternative directions, despite the power of early policies. For example, the tumultuous events of 1970 and the years that followed seemed to shift the way that Tobago was perceived by the central government in Trinidad. The events of the early seventies set the stage for political agitation at all levels, such that by the end of the decade, the central government in Trinidad resolved to give Tobago more autonomy over policy making and implementation. Cultural historical institutionalism might help explain the effects of Trinidad and Tobago's political and historical context on education policy decisions aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period, but to explain how social integration policies were implemented in curriculum from 1950 to 2000 we use frameworks from public administration, comparative education and education and globalization.

To answer Question (1), I will look at the historical, political, cultural and social context, the actions and documents produced by persons involved in the formation of educational social integration policies, in Tobago and Trinidad, as well as key decision points in education policy (e.g. a statute is passed by the legislature) to assess the extent to which possible outcomes were restricted by historical events or by policy choices made at particular decision points before 1950. My hypothesis for Question (1) is that cultural historical institution, informal codes, rules and ideas, in education social integration policies do constrain the behavior of policy actors because, over time such institutions are so embedded in the education administration that it is difficult for policy actors to adjust

procedures, rules and practices to do things differently than they have in the past.

Question (2) asks: How were educational social integration policies implemented in Trinidad and Tobago's primary school curriculum from 1950 to 2000? To answer Question (2), we look simultaneously at *external factors* and *local factors* that influence curriculum policy implementation in Tobago and Trinidad. *External factors* include the policies, and administrative and philosophical trends espoused by international and supra-governmental organizations. *Local factors* include those structural, administrative and contextual forces that affect the routine work of bureaucrats at the MoE and in school districts and the work of principals and teachers in the schools of both islands. Throughout the 1950- 2000 period, curriculum policy implementation in Tobago has been administrated by various persons and administrative bodies appointed or nominated by the central government in Trinidad to do so or by the organizational entities appointed by local elections in Tobago. These entities or persons often served as intermediaries between Tobago's education technicians, administrators and teachers, and the central government in Trinidad. To understand how local factors influence curriculum policy implementation in Tobago we will examine the changing nature of both Tobago's and Trinidad's education administrations in the 1950 to 2000 period.

To examine the influence of external and local factors, we look at their effects on the way that curriculum policies related to social integration are formulated at the state level and at the way that these policies are implemented by bureaucrats, namely the staff of the CDU, intermediary administrative entities in Tobago, district level administrator, school level administrators and by street-level bureaucrats at the delivery end of

curriculum policy implementation. Street-level bureaucrats¹³ are defined as those “public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work” (Lipsky, 1980, p.3). “Through their day-to-day routines and the decisions they make, [street-level bureaucrats] in effect *produce* public policy as citizens experience it” (Emphasis in original: Meyers and Vorsanger, 2003, p.246). Teachers and, to a lesser extent, school principals are the street-level bureaucrats of this study. To help illuminate those factors that affect the way that policies are implemented in bureaucracies we use frameworks from the public administration and policy implementation literature.

From the data we will attempt to illuminate those factors that influence implementation that seem to be derived from the nature of developing bureaucracies themselves. The Trinidad and Tobago public service exhibits some of the characteristics of bureaucracies in developing nations. We have already established that many of the rules, routines, codes and ideas of the colonial administration persisted in the Trinidad and Tobago administration even after independence. The imitation of the bureaucracies of former colonial powers is a common feature of bureaucracies in developing nations. Other features include: insufficient skilled personnel to carryout development schemes; bureaucrats focus on personal goals rather than public interest goals; large gaps between what bureaucracies purport to be and reality; and the fact that despite rigid hierarchical structures, developing bureaucracies are fairly autonomous in their day to day operations (Heady, 1996, pp. 317- 321). As we analyze interview and documentary data, we will

¹³ Most beneficiaries of public policy receive their benefits (or sanctions) through interactions with street-level bureaucrats in public agencies like schools, police stations, hospitals and civil courts.

observe if all these features are present in the Trinidad and Tobago case and see how or if they might affect social studies curriculum implementation.

The Trinidad and Tobago MoE is a hierarchical structure, in which policy decisions pass from the MoE at the top to districts and schools at the bottom. Implementation in hierarchical structures often occurs through “command and control” in which officials at the top control, often through rules, the activities of subordinates. In the Trinidad and Tobago case, top MoE officials control the work of educators and administrators in the education system. To achieve curriculum policy goals, high-level MoE officials delegate tasks to those lower in the hierarchy. Delegation of powers presents certain hindrances to implementation. As orders move through the hierarchy, from the top to the bottom, they become more and more specific. At each level of the hierarchy, subordinates use their discretion in deciding the types of activities they need to do to achieve the orders of higher ups. As subordinates exercise discretion at each level of the hierarchy, “the purposes the superior had in mind will not be the precise ones, his subordinate’s orders convey to people farther the hierarchy” (Downs, 1967, p. 134). The divergence from official goals or intentions at each level comprises a leakage of authority. Authority leakage can have a snowballing effect on the effectiveness of implementation, particularly if goals must pass through many levels. Top-level officials may be unaware of distortions in official goals until final results are reported. It is for this reason that subordinates often misrepresent results in final reports to “conform to [official] desires” (Downs, 1967, p. 135). Since the Trinidad and Tobago education system is run as a command and control hierarchy, with various levels of delegation,

authority leakage may be one factor that hinders social studies curriculum implementation.

Within bureaucracies run through command and control, top-level officials employ certain control processes and devices to ensure that orders are followed according to official goals and desires. These processes and devices include assigning directives with little opportunity for discretion or distortion; requesting that information (especially written reports) be produced to determine the activities of subordinates; reviewing only select activities; using various tactics to encourage compliance such as personal visits; and creating “separate monitoring organizations for inspecting and reporting on performance” (Downs, 1967, p. 148). As we analyze the data, we will assess the extent to which any of these devices and processes are used to ensure that subordinates comply with the orders of top-level MoE officials and the extent to which these processes and devices, if present, affect social studies curriculum implementation.

In bureaucracies in both developed and developing countries, one of the main hindrances to effective policy implementation is poor coordination within a single bureaucratic agency or among one or more units or departments within a larger bureaucracy or poor coordination among one or more units or departments across one or more bureaucracies. Poor coordination, within or across bureaucracies means that “elements are somehow incongruent, that they do not interact smoothly to produce desired results, and that the connections among them create excessive friction or conflict” (Brinkerhoff and Benjamin, 2002, pp. 118- 119). Policy coordination may be defined as having three major types of activities: “information-sharing, resource-sharing and joint-action” (Brinkerhoff and Benjamin, 2002, p. 119). Information sharing involves

departments or units sharing information with each other. This information might be about activities that units are doing and may be shared as reports, through meetings, seminars or via the Internet. Resource-sharing refers to one agency allotting limited resources to another. Resources may be monetary or non-monetary such as human resources, facilities, “knowledge, motivation and commitment [and] capacity to mobilize others for or against change” (Brinkerhoff and Benjamin, 2002, p. 119). Joint action involves one or more agency working in partnership towards a particular goal. The three types of coordination activities involve varying levels of harmonization between agencies and people in agencies. As such, effective policy coordination and effective policy implementation, call for participatory environments. In these participatory environments, persons who manage and monitor policy implementation become concerned with “developing shared vision, influencing and persuading supporters and opponents, negotiating agreements, resolving conflicts, cooperating with a wide array of stakeholders, devising work programs in participatory and collaborative ways and so on” rather than having actors follow orders within a rigid hierarchy (Brinkerhoff and Benjamin, 2002, p. 118). As we examine the data we try to observe the types of policy coordination activities in Trinidad and Tobago education system and degree to which policy coordination affects policy implementation.

As we analyze the data for factors that might affect social studies curriculum implementation in Trinidad and Tobago we will also consider informal structures that arise within the Trinidad and Tobago education bureaucracy. Informal structures are those functions, mechanisms for compliance and activities that are not prescribed by the formal rules, routines and procedures within a bureaucracy. Within a command and

control hierarchy, like Trinidad and Tobago's education system, informal structures may include those functions, mechanisms for compliance and activities that are not recognized or sanctioned by top-level MoE officials. Informal structures may occur "in reaction against the formal structure" (Downs, 1967, p. 61). In this case the actions of bureaucrats are often based on "a complex set of goals including" personal self-interest as well as the "formal purposes of the organization" (Downs, 1967, p. 63). Informal structures may also occur as "extensions or adaptations of the formal structure" (Downs, 1967, p. 63). In this case, informal structures arise when formal rules, routines and procedures are insufficient to implement organizational goals. This can take several forms, including situations in which "tasks formally assigned to one person are in fact performed by one or more others" or tasks formally assigned to a person or department within a bureaucracy are not done or done poorly due to lack of skills, knowledge or interest (Downs, 1967, p. 64). Further, informal structures may arise when formal rules, routines and procedures and formally assigned tasks cannot keep up with "unpredictable" organizational change (Downs, 1967, p. 64). In this situation, there is a gap between formal rules, routines and procedures and formally assigned tasks and what actually occurs in organizations.

We will also analyze the data for structural, administrative and contextual factors that affect regulatory policy implementation in civic bureaucracies. According to the public administration and public policy literature (May, 2007; Brewer, 2005; Ewalt 2004; Riccucci et. al, 2004; Meyers and Vorsanger, 2003; O'Toole, 2003; O'Toole & Meier, 1999), the actions of policy actors during implementation are influenced by five main factors: the wording of public policies; the structure of the implementation organization; the nature of management and supervision in implementation organizations; the

knowledge and attitudes of street-level bureaucrats; and the conditions under which bureaucrats at all levels work.

In this case study, we assume that despite the influences of external and local factors on implementation, a certain amount of implementation shortfall will occur, as it is an accepted notion in the policy implementation literature that “the realities of a policy in practice often differ on paper because of distortions in the process of implementing the policy” (Ripley & Franklin, 1982; May, 2003, p.223; Barrett, 2004; May, 2007). To answer Question (2), we attempt to observe these distortions and to find out the sources of these distortions with the aim of drawing lessons¹⁴ about the best ways to formulate policies that might reduce implementation shortfall.

As explained above, national reforms were often funded by international agencies such as the World Bank, the IADB, with technical guidance provided by entities like UNESCO. To observe the way that these external forces influence social integration policy formulation and implementation in Trinidad and Tobago’s national school system, we use two theories from education and globalization and comparative education—world culture theory and anthropological or culturalist theory. The world culture approach argues that “a single model of schooling has spread around the world, as part of the diffusion of a more general cultural model of the modern nation state” and through the work of international organizations (Anderson-Levitt, 2003, p. 2). World culturists focus on official policies, derived from global models, as outlined in official texts and discourses and are not concerned with policy implementation at the local level. In

¹⁴ Here, a lesson is an “action oriented conclusion about a programme or programmes in operation... [in another city, state, nation] or in an organizations’ own past” (Rose, 1991, p.7; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996, p. 344).

contrast, culturalists “examine the way that global practices are interpreted, adapted and changed at the local level” (Spring, 2008, p. 117). To help answer Question (2), I combine both world culture and culturist approaches to simultaneously look at the influences of the policies and practices of international organizations on official education policies, and at the ways that local policy actors, interpreted, adapted and changed policies.

Using world culture and culturalist theories to help explain the influence of external factors on curriculum policy implementation and using existing frameworks from the implementation literature to explain the influences of structural, administrative and contextual forces on the day-to-day actions of education administrators and teachers, my hypothesis for Question (2) is: The implementation of education social integration policies in the primary school curriculum, often differed from official policies, derived from international trends because of the interpretive and adaptive actions of policy actors, within domestic institutions.

Why Study Education Policy implementation in Trinidad and Tobago?

A study of curriculum policy implementation in Trinidad and Tobago must contend with powerful consensus narratives in the public policy and comparative education literature about the nature of policy implementation in developing states. Such narratives claim that policy implementation is difficult in developing countries because of unstable political regimes, poor infrastructure, insufficient funding and unskilled staff (Smith, 1985). There is some truth to these claims, yet context specific studies of policy implementation in developing countries, like this one, are useful for drawing negative and positive lessons about good or bad practices in formulating and implementing public

policies, particularly regulatory policies. Trinidad and Tobago is a fruitful site for drawing lessons about education social integration policies because, particularly for regulatory policies provided by the state, such as education, “it is easier to see similarities between the same policy area in different countries than to find similarities across state and national boundaries” (Rose, 1991, p. 4). In addition to the surprisingly ideal nature of Trinidad and Tobago for lesson drawing about social integration policies in education, this case study of the *implementation* of social studies is also relevant because studying policy implementation, rather than studying policy impacts and outcomes, may improve the way that policies are formulated and implemented, provided that material resources are in place, there is well coordinated capacity to implement and the political will to do so. Indeed, even with all these elements in place, as we will see in the Tobago and in the Trinidad cases, there is still some gulf between the intents and stated goals of policy makers and the way that policies ‘play out’ on the ground. The main cause of the gulf between policy and implementation is the multifaceted nature of policy implementation discussed earlier in this chapter. Further, implementation studies in developing countries, like Trinidad and Tobago, might offer more relevant frameworks for implementation research in developing countries than those frameworks derived from North America and Europe.

Under certain conditions discussed in the preceding paragraph, studying policy implementation, rather than studying policy impacts and outcomes, may improve the way that policies are formulated and implemented. A 2005 UNESCO “Education for All” Global Monitoring Report describes *quality* education policies as policies that respond to conditions of disadvantage related to gender, race and ethnicity, culture and language,

religion, social status and migration so as to reduce their impact on children (UNESCO, 2005). This and similar statements by other intergovernmental and supra-governmental organizations often privilege the developing world, particularly post-colonial multiethnic states in Africa, South Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America, as the site of racial, ethnic, religious and language conflicts that must be mitigated through legislation that promotes social integration and national development. In the 1950's and 60's, many newly independent nations, like Trinidad and Tobago, designed and implemented national education policies, aimed at the reduction of ethnic, religious and language conflicts. However, despite the ubiquity of social integration education policies in multiethnic developing countries, research on the topic is rare (London, 2003c) and few have looked into how education policies have been implemented (Craig, 1990; London 1994a; Dyer 1993, 1994 and 1996; Warwick 1992) despite increasing recognition in the field for more case studies that focus on the implementation of education policies rather than policy outcomes (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; London 2003). Education policy studies often focus on the stated goals and rhetoric of official documents (Saunders, 1982; Malikamkono 1980 as cited in Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984, p. 198), describing what should be happening rather than what is actually happening. The danger here is that research derived from such studies “becomes a reality for many observers who lack any direct experience of the actuality of schooling in [particular] contexts” (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984, p. 198). The fact that there are few implementation studies is troubling as developing countries can ill “afford the [economic and social] inefficiencies implicit in the failure to implement policies;” and education policies in developing countries often

form the corner stone of schemes to “alleviate poverty and generate self-sustaining growth” (Dyer, 1999, p.46).

Implementation studies in developing countries, like Trinidad and Tobago, might offer more relevant frameworks for implementation research in developing countries than those frameworks derived from North America and Europe. In twenty-five years of implementation research, the “western hemisphere, [including North America, Europe and Canada] accounts for close to 90% of all publications” of implementation studies, while approximately 10% of implementation studies in articles, books, book chapters and doctoral dissertation, come from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Oceania (Saetren, 2005, p.571). The relative “ethnocentric bias” in implementation research explains the hegemony of frameworks for policy implementation from North America and to a lesser extent from Europe (Saetren, 2005, p.571). The various lenses offered by European and American frameworks are “not ideal tools for policy makers [in developing and under-developed countries]” since these countries cannot guarantee “a reasonable degree of political stability; strong democratic traditions; an accessible database of information to guide policy formation or a relatively incorrupt set of civil servants with strong professional evaluative traditions research” (Smith 1985 as referenced in Dyer, 1999, p. 47). At the turn of the century, eminent scholars suggested certain criteria to reshape the field of comparative education so that it maintained its relevance in the 21st century. These criteria include research in developing countries and small poor states; the use of qualitative case study research methodology; research that is presented within the social, historical and cultural context of nations; and research that focuses on improving policy (Louisy, 2001; Crossley, 2001; Grant 2000). This study meets all these criteria. Trinidad

and Tobago is part of the developing world. The research data is analyzed within the specific local context and I use qualitative case study research methodology to study education policy implementation with an aim of improving policy. As such, a study of the implementation of social integration education policies in Trinidad and Tobago is both timely and necessary as it provides a useful framework for implementation studies in other developing multiethnic states and fills a gap in the comparative education literature for more contextual studies in small developing states.

With the increase in global migration, the need for lessons on the implementation of social integration education policies to manage diverse populations can no longer be confined to the developing world. The European Commission's 1995 *White Paper on Teaching and Learning* states "school plays a vital role in social integration. Positive discrimination in favor of those at a social disadvantage is essential...otherwise the risk is that the social rift widens" (European Commission, 1995, p. 27 as quoted in Alexiadou, 2005, p.115). The *White Paper on Teaching and Learning* represents a discursive shift from the European Union's focus on individual inequality based on education and skill to a focus on group differences based on culture, race and ethnicity (Brine, 1995; Alexiadou, 2005). It is too early to assess the direction, funding and process of European Union policies on the role of education in social integration (Alexiadou, 2005). However, the developing world, where such policies have been formulated, implemented and amended for almost sixty years, can provide valuable lessons to the developed world. Implementation research can be a powerful tool in this endeavor, as the success of any policy, no matter how novel, is in its effective implementation.

Education policy research in Trinidad and Tobago

A review of the literature on education policy research in Trinidad and Tobago reveals two dominant strands. Such works can be historical, in that they focus on the “what happened and when” aspect of education policies within a particular time period (Winter-Dahl, 1992; McD’Alleyne, 1995; Campbell, 1996; Campbell, 1997; Fletcher, 1977). Research on education may take the form of case studies of specific education policies within the Trinidad and Tobago national education system. These case studies discuss both the formation and implementation of policy and are dominated by the work of London (1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c). However, most of the research that attempt to observe some aspect of curriculum policy in either Trinidad and Tobago can be found in unpublished masters theses of students from the University of the West Indies (Beddoe, 1969; Ashton, 1979; Sambucharan, 1990; Lutchman, 1991). These works, discussed below, explore how Trinidad and Tobago’s national education policies may have been implemented among various racial, ethnic and religious groups within the school system. However, apart from Beddoe (1969), Sambucharan (1990) and Lutchman (1991), there was little research about the curriculum implementation process in the Trinidad and Tobago education system, from the state level to the classroom.

McD’Alleyne’s (1995) work, sponsored by the Organization of American States (OAS), is a description of the development of education in Trinidad and Tobago from the sixteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. The focus of the volume, however, is the development of secondary education and its role in nation building and as an investment in human capital. It features a discussion on the formation, implementation and management of secondary education. Of particular note, is a discussion of how secondary education, staffed and attended by students of various ethnic and religious groups was

meant as a deliberate measure of social integration in Trinidad and Tobago.

McD'Alleyne (1995) suggests that, despite the intentions of policy, the way that education services were delivered to various groups helped perpetuate unequal opportunities in favor of whites and members of the upper classes. His suggestions are based on a review of the historical record, documents and public opinion.

In other historical works, the structure and history of Trinidad and Tobago's education system is compared with other English speaking islands in the Caribbean, particularly Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana (Tsang, 2002; US Department of Education, 1995). However, despite the fact that Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados are part of the English speaking Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago's multiethnic population makes it radically different from Barbados and Jamaica, countries with large African descended populations (Cornwell, 2001; Campbell, 1997). Though Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Jamaica are linguistically similar, ethnic and religious differences among these islands results in starkly different cultures.

Campbell's three historical works (1992; 1996; 1997) on the social and political nature of education in Trinidad and Tobago take a narrative account of education policy development. Taken together, Campbell's research, particularly *Young Colonials* (1996) and *Endless Education* (1997) represent the most comprehensive treatment of the development of education policies in Trinidad from the post emancipation era to the late twentieth century. Campbell devotes a chapter in *Endless Education* (1997) and some chapter segments in *Young Colonials* (1996) to Tobago. However, as previously stated, education documentation in Tobago is poor. Campbell's works feature descriptions of the social, historical and political contexts of education policy formation, the evolution of

key policies (e.g. the 1966 *National Education Act*) over time, as well as brief accounts of how policies were implemented. Like others (Premdas, 1993), Campbell (1997) speculates about the extent to which integrated schools have affected racial, class, language and religious harmony. However, such speculations are often based on conjecture and on interpretations of the historical record. Campbell (1997) suggests that Indians remained the least integrated of the population because of the separate primary and secondary schooling of many Hindu and Muslim children (p.142). Most Christians did not send their children to Hindu or Muslim schools and it is quite common for Indian children to attend Indian-only primary and secondary schools, particularly in rural areas. This is not so easy at the post secondary institutions such as the technical and vocational colleges, teacher training colleges or the University of the West Indies. Campbell (1997) speculates that it is in these post secondary institutions that students are most likely to encounter peers of different creeds and religions (p.208). Premdas (1993) claims that the PNM regime did little to bridge the divide between Blacks and Indians. Indeed Trinidad and Tobago has not had race riots like the United States or Singapore. Racial disunity is seen, or heard rather, in popular discourse such as calypso, political speeches, the media, and in everyday talk. In 2007, twenty percent of the population, just over 260,000 people, identified as “mixed,” that is of mixed racial heritage (U.S. State department, 2007). High rates of intermarriage may be a normative indicator of improved social relations. But how might this be connected to education integration policies? Again, I do not know, as there have been no reliable evaluative studies of the impact of education social integration policies on racial, ethnic, religious and class relations in Trinidad or Tobago.

The use of empirical research to study the implementation of education policies, guided by theory, appears to be a paradigm shift in education research in Trinidad and Tobago and is dominated by the work of Norrel London (1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2003). London's work often features a case study of the implementation of a single program derived from national policy within a single school in colonial and post colonial Trinidad and Tobago. A detailed overview of his work on policy implementation and their intersections with the current research endeavor follows.

London's research on colonial education policy (1995; 2003a) use single schools as case studies to explore educational ideology in the implementation of colonial policies. One study (2003a) uses the ideology of power to explore how the English Language became entrenched within the educational system of Trinidad and Tobago through curriculum, pedagogy and the interaction between student and teachers. The main data sources are the logbooks of the 'case' school in Tobago that contained daily lesson plans and teacher' notes, and the larger policies and education programs related to the teaching of English. London concludes that the ideology of power figured heavily in the way that English was taught since the British provided education services that positioned the colonized as a homogeneous "mass" of individuals to be en-culturated by English culture. The issue of power is also apparent in the study of resistance among the colonized population at the delivery end of British education services in a school in Tobago (1995). Here, London concludes that policy practice often reflects the ideals of local actors rather than those of dominant groups.

In two important works, London (1994b; 1997) assesses the chances of implementation of two policies. As a solution to providing a junior secondary education

to large numbers of students, the Trinidad and Tobago government instituted a shift system¹⁵. Shifting became problematic as unsupervised students (mostly teenagers) leaving school in the middle of the day engaged in various mischievous and petty criminal acts. As a solution, the government issued various policies that called for community policing as a way to monitor student behavior. In his assessment of the chances for implementation, London (1994b) concludes that government policies that aimed to utilize the community for policing unsupervised students of the shift system were contradictory because community participation presupposes a decentralized administration, but Trinidad and Tobago has a rigidly centralized education system, in which decisions made at the top levels of the Ministry of Education, in conjunction with external consultants and executive levels of government, are meant to be implemented by those administrators, technicians and educators below.

In 1994, the Trinidad and Tobago government issued the *Report of the National Task Force on Education*, a policy document that attempted to reorganize and correct problems within the Trinidad and Tobago education system. London (1997), explores how the *Report* reflects global trends of “management, higher achievement levels and effective schooling” and discusses possible limits to its implementation (p.315). He argues that a major set back of policy implementation in the Trinidad and Tobago context is that policies are often developed by particular political parties, but implemented by another party as the power of the ruling party waned or was shared when power was

¹⁵ In a shift system, two groups of students use the same school facilities at different times of day, often one group attends in the morning, leaving around midday, while the other group begins classes just after midday, ending in the late afternoon.

reorganized during elections (p.312)¹⁶. In addition to changes spurred by general elections and the limits of power sharing, London concludes that, overall, education policy implementation in Trinidad and Tobago is limited by the “motivation, attitude and skills” of the state bureaucracy, financial resources and the relationship between state agencies (p.328). London’s 1997 study comes close to the current endeavor as it is concerned with the question of what limits implementation as well as how state level education policies reflect global trends.

London’s theoretical framework and methodological lens is different in each of his policy or program case studies. He uses sociological and management theories and frameworks as lenses to interpret his research findings. The various theories and frameworks include limits and capacity theory (1997), colonial ideology (1995), ideology, power, hegemony and social structure (2003a), and risk analysis (1994a). This case study departs from London’s work in three main ways. This case study is both a macro and micro level empirical study of the ‘implementation process’ of education social integration policies within the curriculum of primary or elementary schools in Tobago and in Trinidad from 1950 to 2000. This case study utilizes empirical methodology in order to observe and draw conclusions about education policy implementation and about the effect of global trends on state level education policies. London (1994; 1995; 1997; 2003) utilizes the implementation strategy as outlined in policy documents, as well as the documentary and historical record to trace global influences or draw conclusions about limits of education policy implementation or on

¹⁶ This seems evident, particularly in the most recent general elections in Trinidad and Tobago, where the new Minister of Education, Dr. Gopesingh, seems poised to abandon many of the initiatives of his predecessor.

how a policy was implemented. This study relies on policy and policy related documents, and interviews of persons involved in education policy formation and implementation in order to construct a picture of the interactive and complex nature of policy implementation from 1950 to 2000. Further, I depart from London's use of sociological and management theories to explain policy events in the Trinidad and Tobago context and use theories and frameworks from political science, public administration, comparative education and education and globalization to answer the research questions.

Micro studies on aspects of curriculum implementation in Trinidad and Tobago are found among unpublished masters theses at the School of Education (SOE) at the University of the West Indies (UWI). Beddoe (1969) assesses the state of social studies in 1969 Trinidad and Tobago and proposes a social studies curriculum for the junior secondary schools described in London's study above (1994b). Beddoe's ideas eventually formed part of the curriculum section of the *1968-1983 Draft Education Development Plan*, a policy document meant to restructure the education system with an aim of economic and social development. Unlike Beddoe (1969) who uses the historical record and policy documents for his study, Sambucharan (1990) uses empirical methods, namely interviews, questionnaires and participant observation, to assess student and teacher perceptions of *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education*, and the pedagogical tools used to teach this syllabus. The *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education* is derived from the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, a policy document that aims to improve academic performance in the school system and reform policy implementation (Ministry of Education, 1986). Sambucharan (1990) sampled fifty primary school teachers at the same grade level in three schools with

one hundred and fifty students, ages eight to ten, of various ethnic, religious and economic backgrounds (pp. 24-32). Eighteen social studies teaching sessions were also observed. Relevant results include that 60% of students who responded to a questionnaire “did not regard social studies as useful in future careers” (Sambucharan, 1990, p.42). Further, the study found that the textbook was the “dominant resource material” in the teaching of social studies (Sambucharan, 1990, p.46).

Lutchman (1991) studies the selection of social studies text books and how such texts might be related to the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education*, and to the Common Entrance Examination¹⁷ (CEE). Lutchman (1991) administered a questionnaire of closed and open-ended questions to a sample of seventy-seven teachers from eighteen schools. Results reveal that directives from the MoE had the most influence on the type of textbook principals recommended to social studies teachers, “even if it meant having to recommend a book that they knew to be wanting in content” (Lutchman, 1991, p. 79). Lutchman (1991) also analyzed the social studies sections the CEE and the three most commonly used social studies textbooks at the primary level. Lutchman (1991) concluded that 89% of textbook content was relevant to the CEE and 82% of content was, according to the teachers in the study, “adequately explained” (p. 82).

Sambucharan (1990) and Lutchman (1991) are micro case studies of social studies of social studies implementation in select schools, at the delivery end, though the term ‘implementation’ is not used in these studies. Essentially, both studies try to observe

¹⁷ Up until 2000, the CEE was the terminal examination that all primary school students sat to gain admission to secondary school. The CEE was administered by the MoE and took the form of multiple-choice sections in math, english, science and social studies and a section on essay writing.

the role of textbooks at the delivery end of the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education*, the social studies syllabus derived from *1985-1990 Education Plan*, one of the three main policy documents that regulated social studies in the 1950- 2000 period. These studies are important contributions to the study of curriculum policy implementation in Trinidad and Tobago, particularly as they are policy specific and employ empirical research techniques. In addition, these studies contribute to our current endeavor by providing a view into the role of textbooks in social studies implementation, a view not captured by data collected for this study. We return to these studies again in Chapter 7, the chapter on implementation.

Summary

This is a case study of the implementation of social studies curriculum policies in primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago, from 1950 to 2000. There are many factors that influence what teachers teach in social studies primary school classrooms, including: the work of curriculum technicians; school and district administrators; the changing nature of the social studies curriculum; historical and administrative differences between Tobago and Trinidad; the changing nature of education policy governance in the 1950 to 2000 period; the historical, social and political context; funding schemes, technical assistance, initiatives and referendum of international agencies; and the way that local actors below the state level, that is curriculum technicians, principals, teachers, school and district administrators, interpret national policies derived from international organization. All these factors help shape case study research questions and the theories and frameworks used to help answer the research questions. To capture the various interacting factors that influence the teaching of social studies in classrooms, we use two research questions:

1) What were the effects of Trinidad's and Tobago's political and historical context on the education policy decisions aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period?

2) How were educational social integration policies implemented in Trinidad's primary school curriculum and Tobago's primary school curriculum, from 1950 to 2000?

We will look at both external factors and internal factors that influence the types of education policies formulated to address issues of social integration and the implementation of these policies. Since Trinidad and Tobago is a developing state that has utilized technical assistance and funding from international agencies to develop and expand its education system, a study of external factors explores the influence of these organizations. Internal factors include the historical and political past and the ways that local actors interpret policies as part of their day-to-day work. Since there are undeniable social, cultural and historical differences between Tobago and Trinidad as we answer both research questions we will observe the implementation of social studies in Tobago, separately from Trinidad.

To answer Questions (1), we use 'cultural historical institutionalism' as a lens for analyzing the self-reinforcing sequence of events and policy decisions in the 1851 to 1950 period to see how they constrain the policy choices and activities of actors within the Trinidad and Tobago education policy aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period. The three main institutions in the Trinidad and Tobago policy landscape that have constrained the policy choices and activities of actors within the Trinidad and Tobago MoE in the 1950 to 2000 period are: (1) government-run schools can be used as social integration tools because they allow access to all religions, ethnicities and social classes;

(2) denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system in Trinidad and in Tobago and 3) Tobago, in contrast to Trinidad, is different, separate and inferior. My hypothesis for Question (1) is that cultural historical institution, informal codes, rules and ideas, in education social integration policies do constrain the behavior of policy actors because, over time such institutions are so embedded in the education administration that it is difficult for policy actors to adjust procedures, rules and practices to do things differently than they have in the past.

Question (2) helps illuminate both internal and external factors that influence social studies implementation in Tobago and Trinidad. To illuminate internal factors that influence social studies curriculum implementation, we use frameworks from public policy and public administration. We will examine the data to see if the Trinidad and Tobago education bureaucracy exhibits any of the features of developing bureaucracies, and if or how these factors might affect social studies curriculum implementation. We will examine the data to see if poor coordination or the command and control method of implementing MoE policy decisions has any bearing on social studies curriculum implementation. We will also examine the data for those factors that influence the work of street level bureaucrats, the teachers and principals in schools. According to the public policy and public administration literature, the work of street-level bureaucrats is influenced by the wording of policy statutes, workload, management, and the knowledge and attitude of street level bureaucrats themselves.

To observe external factors that influence the formation and implementation of curriculum policies aimed at social integration we combine both world culture and culturist approaches to simultaneously look at the influences of the policies and practices

of international organizations on official education policies, and at the ways that local policy actors, interpreted, adapted and changed policies. The hypothesis for Question (2) is: The implementation of education social integration policies in the primary school curriculum, often differed from official policies, derived from international trends because of the interpretive and adaptive actions of policy actors, within domestic institutions.

Trinidad and Tobago is an ideal site for a case study of the implementation of curriculum policies geared towards social integration for two main reasons. Trinidad and Tobago has had an almost 150 year history of formulating and implementing education policies aimed at integrating its diverse population and government has maintained an interest in preserving the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of the population. This case study may provide a more relevant framework for implementation studies in developing states and fills a gap in the extant literature for context-based implementation studies in small, developing states.

Education research in Trinidad and Tobago falls into two categories, descriptive historical studies and case studies of single policies or education programs. Historical studies often use documentary and historical data, while case studies often rely on a mix of documentary data, interviews, questionnaires and observations. The documentary record is lean on research that looks at the implementation of education policies from the MoE to the school level. However, there have been case studies of social studies curriculum implementation at the school level. These case studies examine aspects of social studies curriculum implemented during the late 1980's. These case studies, particularly Sambucharan (1990) and Lutchman (1991) utilize interviews, classroom

observations and questionnaires and can be found among unpublished masters theses of students at the SOE, UWI.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology: Observing Social Studies Curriculum Implementation

Introduction

A remarkable aspect of curriculum policies aimed at social integration in Trinidad and Tobago is that state level policy documents, such as the *1985- 1990 Education Plan* or the *Education White Paper 1993-2002*, just to name two, expressly state that their main goal is to foster an education system suited to a plural or multiethnic society. Even in curriculum guides and syllabuses derived from state level documents, references to religious and ethnic tolerance, social integration or social class are still quite overt. However, reviewing what is written in social studies curriculum policy and policy-related documents is still not enough to understand what happens during social studies curriculum implementation. We must also conduct interviews to capture those aspects of social studies policy implementation that are not documented, particularly as they relate to the day-to-day activities of bureaucrats at the MoE, in districts and in schools. Since this study examines the influence of external forces, namely international organizations, on education policy formation and implementation, we will also review loan agreements and reports from international agencies that help document the influence of international organizations on education policy in Trinidad and Tobago. Documents, the evolving administrative infrastructure, and interview testimonies of bureaucrats and education practitioners must all be imbedded in the historical context, which lends another facet of meaning to what is written and what is said about the implementation of the social studies curriculum. Bringing together these elements--text, talk, evolving administrative apparatus, and history constitute a methodology for observing the implementation of

social studies curriculum. However, before we discuss the type of data that was collected and how it was collected, we must first delineate the scope or the array of observable phenomenon that constitute a social studies policy implementation case study. Added to this is the matter of what exactly is meant by social studies. The social studies curriculum falls under the purview of education policies aimed at *social integration*, a term already much used in this study, but not yet defined. Also needing are working definitions for other terms employed in this work like policy, implementation, curriculum and syllabus, particularly since these terms are often associated with powerful normative meanings.

Delineating Scope and Observable Phenomenon

Case study methodology is used for this study because it is impossible to disband policy implementation, a phenomenon with no identifiable boundaries, from the social, historical and political contexts of Trinidad and Tobago (Crossley & Jarvis, 2001; Crossley & Broadfoot 1992; Yin 2003). Since we observe implementation from the state level to the level of the classroom teacher, this case study is both a macro (state) and micro (classroom teacher), in which the ‘case,’ is the ‘implementation process’ of curriculum policies meant to promote social integration, essentially the social studies curriculum, in elementary or primary schools that use public funds in Tobago and in Trinidad. For reasons explained in the previous chapter¹⁸, the implementation of social studies in Trinidad will be compared with the implementation of social studies in Tobago. Since social studies curriculum policies are often implemented in conjunction with other education policies aimed at social integration, this case study will not be confined to the implementation of social studies but will also explore the implementation other policies

¹⁸ Namely dissimilar demographics, distinct administrative apparatuses and the historically discordant relationship between the two islands

related to social integration within the Trinidad and Tobago national education system, including structural policies that determine rules and laws concerning equitable rights and equal access in the education system, and policies governing the relationship between the state and church-run schools. This study will also take a look at policies that regulate power-sharing agreements between Tobago and the central government in Trinidad. These policies must be examined if one is to understand how education policies, indeed any policy for that matter, are implemented in Tobago. In all, this is a contextual study of the process of translating stated policy goals into rules, routines and procedures that technicians, bureaucrats and teachers perform in order to deliver the social studies curriculum to students.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), a policy is “[a] principle or course of action adopted or proposed as desirable, advantageous, [or disadvantageous] or expedient; *esp.* one formally advocated by a government, [or] political party” (1989). This is the working definition of policy for the case study, as it is a broad definition that includes all formally expressed desirable actions from legislative documents, non-legislative documents, recommendations and desires of authoritative bodies in Trinidad and Tobago. Social integration education policies, including curriculum policies, exhibit both regulative and redistributive characteristics according to the taxonomy developed by Lowi (1972). They are regulative because they set standards for behavior in the Trinidad and Tobago public school system and outline coercive measures, such as monetary fines and disciplinary proceedings, for violating the rules and regulations. Social integration education policies, in Trinidad and Tobago, are redistributive as they are an attempt to redistribute access to quality education and ease of social mobility from privileged groups

(White, colored and Roman Catholic) to the less privileged (Blacks, Indians, Hindus, Muslims and other Christian denominations). Social integration education policies, particularly those concerning religion, are an attempt to redistribute existing powers in the education system between churches and denominational school boards, and the Trinidad and Tobago government.

The object of analysis is the policy implementation process which, though much more nuanced and complex in reality, is, in its simplest terms, the translation of education policy statements related to social integration into curriculum documents and syllabuses, which are in turn translated by educators into textbooks, which are then made into social studies lesson plans and activities that teachers use in primary schools in Trinidad and in Tobago. In this case study, I use implementation in a narrow sense, in that I try to observe the process of implementation and only explore policy outcomes as they relate to the implementation process. The word “implement” is both a noun and a transitive verb. We are concerned with the verb, which means, “to complete, to perform to carry into effect...to execute, fulfill...to satisfy” and constitutes “the ability to achieve the predicted consequences [as outlined in stated policies] after the initial conditions have been met” (OED, 1999; Wildavsky 1984, p. xxii). The direct object is policy, a desirable principle or course of action. Though the term ‘implementation’ gives the impression that implementation is some discrete identifiable stage in the policy process, it is important to note that implementation, the process of carrying out or performing stated policy goals and authoritative intents, often overlaps and interacts with other ‘stages’¹⁹ of the policy

¹⁹ The notion that the policy process may be divided into stages, though critiqued (Nakamura, 1987; Stone, 1989; Sabatier, 1991), has an important function in public policy studies as it is a useful heuristic for thinking about a complex process, and it

process, that include “ agenda setting, decision making, legitimization” and evaluation (Peters and Pierre, 2006, p.6). In this study the implementation process often begins, as Wildavsky and Pressman (1984) stated some thirty years ago, after “the initial setting of goals, securing of agreements and commitment of funds”²⁰ (p. xx).

In its normative use, *social integration* is often used interchangeably with or grouped with concepts such as *social cohesion*, *multiculturalism* and *tolerance*. The concept of social integration is quite popular among social scientists and policy makers, particularly in this era of identity politics, in which groups seek benefits based on real or imagined language, ethnic, racial or primordial identities (Benhabib, 2002). As explained in the previous chapter, in Trinidad and Tobago, the terms *multiculturalism*²¹ or *multicultural education*, terms popularized in discourses on identity politics in the United States, are not used in policy language that refer to issues of education equity and its relationship to religion, social class and ethnicity. It is the term *social integration* and its variations such as *integration of society* that predominate. The concept of *social integration* used in this case study is taken from closing remarks of a speech in 1965 made by Eric Williams in which he attempted to convince the legislature to sign the

supports the idea that each stage of the policy process has some discrete identifiable characteristics that differentiate it from other stages. It is these identifiable characteristics that help us to *see* when the process of implementation begins.

²⁰ However, as we will see later in this work, implementation begins often after initial goal setting, while the securing of agreements and commitment of material resources such as funds and personnel occur during implementation. Once we examine the data, we will also see that implementation may also proceed, despite what is written in policy documents, without secure agreements or without the commitment of any resources what so ever.

²¹ In contemporary policy language, the term “multiculturalism” is often used instead of *social integration* because it places the “emphasis on culture rather than ethnicity or race as primary signifier [and] is more inclusive, allowing for the representation of genders and sexualities” (Cornwell, 2001, p.12).

Trinidad and Tobago National Education Bill (1965) into law. In his remarks, Williams positioned the Education Bill “as a necessary measure of *integration of [Trinidad and Tobago] society*, a necessary national system for an independent nation” (My emphasis) (Sutton, 1965, p.247). The term *social integration* is an amalgam of the phrase ‘integration of society.’ In these remarks, social integration refers to various phenomenon, articulated elsewhere (PNM Political Manifesto, 1956) that include the reduction of social and economic inequity on the basis of ethnicity, religion and social class; the reduction of racial, ethnic, religious and class tensions; and the formation of a Trinidad and Tobago identity rather than identities formed on race, ethnicity, religion, real or imagined primordial heritages and, social class. The formation of a Trinidad and Tobago nationalist identity was a key platform in the nation building process spearheaded by Williams in the post WWII years, becoming more salient after Trinidad and Tobago gained independence from Britain in 1962. Williams sought to promote the integration of the country’s diverse population by reducing overt and covert forms of ethnic/religious conflicts through multi-sector reform, especially in education. *Social integration* is Williams’ term for this process. Since this is a contextual case study, terms and their definitions will be used in the way that policy makers within the Trinidad and Tobago context understand them, as it is from contextual meanings that policy interpretations and actions derived from interpretations (implementation) originate.

According to the OED, a *curriculum* is a “regular course of study, as at a school or university” (1989). To build a curriculum is to decide “what to teach and how to order what [one] intends to teach” (Eisner, 1965, p. 156). Derived from the curriculum is the syllabus which according to OED is “a statement of the subjects covered by a course of

instruction [a curriculum] in a school [or] college; a programme of study” (1989). A curriculum often contains goals, learning outcomes and suggested activities for achieving goals and learning outcomes. Sometimes the terms curriculum and syllabus are used interchangeably but, in the Trinidad and Tobago case, subject-based syllabuses are the official curriculum and include content, activities and lessons used to achieve curriculum goals over a specified period of time. The curriculum process does not stop with the creation of syllabuses, but continues as educators and scholars create textbooks and teachers and education administrators create classroom lessons and teaching aids (such as charts) in order to deliver the curriculum to students. As such, the final observable stage of the curriculum process is also the basic unit of curriculum, that is, those activities that students engage in to gain educational experiences (Eisner, 1965, p. 158). Yet, education debates are often not based on the definitions of curriculum, but on the goals, content and organization of the curriculum, which are, in turn, based on the particular philosophical and/or political orientations of curriculum architects.

In the late 20th century, Eisner (1974) laid out five orientations of curriculum in an attempt to group various concepts in curriculum discourse—the cognitive processes approach, curriculum as technology, curriculum for self actualization and consummatory experiences, curriculum for social reconstruction, and academic rationalism. These five curriculum genera, as developed by Eisner (1974), are labeled arbitrarily and may even overlap, yet the orientations provide a useful framework for thinking about or analyzing curriculum goals, content and organization.

Social reconstruction/relevance- The notion of the use of the school curriculum as a social integration tool is an example of a curriculum oriented to “social reconstruction-

relevance” (p. 10). In this orientation, “there is a strong emphasis on the role of education and curriculum within the larger social context...[where,] social reform and responsibility to the future of society are primary” (Eisner, 1974, p.10). This orientation contains both “an adaptive and a reformist interpretation of social relevance in which the curriculum “makes the individual better able to keep up and function effectively in a rapidly changing world” (Eisner, 1974, p.11). The social reconstructionist orientation takes stock of the problems of the contemporary world, and at the same time imagines a future world. It is for this future world that the curriculum must prepare students in schools.

Cognitive Processes- This orientation is concerned with establishing habits of mind, where the curriculum is geared towards “sharpening the intellectual processes and developing a set of cognitive skills that can be applied to learning virtually anything” (Eisner, 1974, p. 6). The way that students interact with learning materials and the cognitive adaptations that take place over time are of chief import in a curriculum oriented on cognitive processes.

Curriculum as self-actualization- Content and cognitive processes are the main foci of this approach. It is a student-centered approach where education enables students’ personal growth. It is education geared towards personal change and the development of sincerity, though these qualities may be contrary to those of the wider society. The main aim is to change or reconstruct society by fostering changes in those individuals that make up society. Educators are seen as the main change agents in the self-actualization orientation, as they are charged with providing meaningful content and pedagogical tools to develop cognitive processes and guide students on the path to self-actualization.

Curriculum as technology- Like the cognitive approach above, the technological approach focuses on processes, but not the processes of mind, but the processes of how knowledge is conveyed and how learning is made possible. In this approach, the curriculum is oriented towards “finding efficient means to a set of predefined, non problematic ends” and developing a “technology of instruction,” with “little or no attention to content” (Eisner, 1974, p.7). The technological approach is not learner-centered and is the opposite of the reconstructionist and self-actualization approaches as it claims to be a curriculum without values.

Academic rationalism- As the most traditional of the five curriculum orientations, academic rationalism is concerned with the passing on of the “Western cultural tradition,” to each new generation of students (Eisner, 1974, p.12). The academic rationalist curriculum is often composed of the “established disciplines” such as classical literature, Latin, history, mathematics and to be educated means to be able to “read and understand those works that the great disciplines have produced” (Eisner, 1974, p.12). Indeed debates about the primacy and importance of the academic curriculum versus a more technical and vocational curriculum have a long history in Trinidad and Tobago and continue to the present day. As we will see later in this work, social studies, in Trinidad and Tobago, was created by amalgamating various subjects from the traditional curriculum, namely History, Geography and Civics. Pedagogy in the academic rationalist approach to the curriculum often consists of the mechanical recalling of facts the use of the black board and textbook as the main teaching tools.

Of the five orientations, the use of the curriculum for social reconstruction, and the academic rationalist approach figure prominently in the Trinidad and Tobago school

curriculum, particularly in social studies. The predominance of these two orientations is seen in the tension between social studies learning outcomes as discussed in the section on social studies that follows.

In Trinidad and Tobago, a single definition of social studies is elusive. The definition of social studies used in this work will be an amalgam of the two authoritative definitions of social studies in use, in Trinidad and Tobago, from 1950 to 2000. These definitions are termed authoritative because they are crafted by the two educators who made social studies part of the Trinidad and Tobago school curriculum.

In a 1972 retrospective of social studies education in Trinidad and Tobago, the discipline is described as having two definitions (Beddoe, 1972). One definition describes the way that social studies was taught in Trinidad and Tobago up to 1972, as “a selection of the social sciences simplified and adapted for teaching at secondary and primary levels” (Beddoe, 1972, p.1). At the primary level²², the main concern of this study, social studies focused on History and Geography, with “the structure and function of government taught as Civics” (Beddoe, 1972, p.1). These subjects were taught and examined as separate disciplines within the school curriculum. Instruction focused on the description of phenomena and on the “acquisition, retention and reproduction of information” (Beddoe, 1972, p.1). The second interpretation of social studies in Trinidad and Tobago, is that of an interdisciplinary subject that focuses on problem solving, “social interaction,” values and morals (Beddoe, 1972, p.2). These two definitions correspond to two learning domains as outlined in Bloom’s Taxonomy (1965) of education learning outcomes. Both the affective and cognitive definitions of learning in

²² At the secondary level, Economics and Commerce were added to History, Geography and Civics.

social studies occur in policy, curriculum documents, syllabuses and textbooks throughout the 1950 to 2000 period. These two learning domains appear in the form of stated goals of the social studies curriculum, its objectives and suggested content areas, as well as syllabuses and teacher lesson notes. In a sense, there is a tension between affective and cognitive learning outcomes in the Trinidad and Tobago social studies curriculum, a tension that becomes more apparent at the implementation stage, as we will see later in this work.

In this case study, we use a definition of social studies that addresses both the affective and cognitive learning domains in order to represent the various definitions that occur in social studies curriculums, syllabuses and related documents. In 1985, the main architects of social studies education in Trinidad and Tobago defined social studies as “an interdisciplinary approach to the understanding of social concerns, their challenges and possible pro-social responses and resolutions” (Beddoe and Seepersad, 1985, p.69). This definition comes after almost twenty years of the delivery of the social studies curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago and with its focus on understanding, responses to and improvement of social ills, lies in both the affective and cognitive domains.

Methodology

As stated earlier, this case study relies on four main sources of convergent evidence to draw conclusions about the implementation of curriculum policies aimed at social integration from 1950 to 2000: the historical, social and political context of Trinidad and Tobago; the evolving nature of education policy making and implementation in Trinidad and in Tobago from 1851 to 2000; unstructured interviews of government officials, curriculum technicians, administrators, principals and classroom

teachers; state level education policy documents; loan documents and reports from international organizations, and documents derived from state level documents such as curriculum, syllabuses, textbooks and other documents related to curriculum delivery in schools (Yin, 2003). All data were embedded in a historical context. Historical data has an important role in education case studies as it allows investigators “to trace the conceptualization of ideas and the formation of knowledge over time and space,” particularly in organizational frameworks (Yariv-Marshal, 2003, p.435 as quoted in Sweeting, 2005).

Data were collected during two three-month visits to Trinidad and Tobago in 2009 and in 2010 for a total of six months of data collection. On the first trip to Trinidad and Tobago, in Summer 2009, I focused on collecting documentary data and conducted ten interviews. During the second trip, in Spring 2010, I conducted twenty-three additional interviews and reviewed the documentary and historical records to fact check statements made by interview participants. Unstructured interviews or “discussions” are effective tools for helping researchers to acquire explanations for complex events during the implementation process, and figure prominently in exemplary implementation studies (Yin, 1982, p. 45).

Question (1) asks: What were the effects of Trinidad’s and Tobago’s political and historical context on education policy decisions aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period? To answer Question (1), I used primary and secondary historical sources to review types of education policy decisions aimed at social integration from 1851 to 2000. Primary sources consisted of colonial education policies and reports on education policy in the colonies submitted to the British House of Commons. These data were also used to

describe the evolving process of how education policies were made and passed into laws or practices in Tobago and in Trinidad, from the colonial period, before 1962, to 2000.

Question (2) asks: How were educational social integration policies implemented in Trinidad's primary school curriculum and Tobago's primary school curriculum, from 1950 to 2000? To answer Question (2), I reviewed all available authoritative education policies documents, official memos, educational and economic development plans, proposals, reports, and recommendations as well as documents derived from policies, memos, plans, proposals, reports, and recommendations created during the 1950 to 2000 period. Based on stated policy goals, I selected those statutes that referred to the role of curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago's multiethnic society, or sections of policy documents that outlined social studies curriculum objectives and learning outcomes. I also reviewed curriculum documents, syllabuses, textbooks and teachers' classroom lesson notes derived from state level policies in the 1950-2000 time period. To answer Question (2), I also conducted 33 unstructured interviews of MoE personnel, high-ranking education administrators in Tobago, Curriculum Development Unit staff, school principals and schoolteachers from government and denominational schools involved in curriculum policy implementation in primary schools in Tobago and Trinidad, from 1950 to 2000. Since both questions overlap, interview data were also used to help answer Question (1).

Interview participants were selected in two ways. The names of initial participants and offices where they currently work or once worked were collected from the documentary review. I used this information to contact potential participants. Once participants agreed to be interviewed, they were given an Institutional Review Board approved 'Information Sheet' describing the study and outlining the rights of interview

participants (See Appendix A and Appendix B). During interviews, participants were asked to nominate persons to be interviewed. Once a nominee expressed an interest in participating, the current participant forwarded the Information Sheet to him or her. To set up the time and date for interviews, new participants contacted me or forwarded their information so that I might contact them directly. Of the thirty-three interviews, thirty were audio taped. Interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and two and one-half hours. The average length of an interview was approximately one hour and three minutes.

The number of available interview participants for a study of the implementation of the social studies curriculum is limited for three reasons. Interview participants had to have been involved in the implementation of education policies related to social integration, as part of their day-to-day activities anytime during the 1950 to 2000 period. Members of this group were often retired, difficult to locate or had left the education sector and were not willing to discuss their education careers.

The criterion that participants should have been involved in the implementation of curriculum policies aimed at social integration automatically privileged persons involved in the social studies curriculum either as policy makers, as curriculum technicians, as school administrators or as teachers. However, the MoE division responsible for curriculum development, the CDU, was not established until the mid-seventies. Further, for most of its history, the CDU was understaffed, sometimes going for many years without a director and with inadequate support staff. Lack of staffing in the CDU is one of the main reasons that there were few available participants who could speak knowledgeably about social studies curriculum implementation in the 1950 to 2000 period.

Lastly, many participants in the study remained in the education sector for their entire careers, some as long as thirty-three years. As such, a single participant may have held various positions in the education hierarchy, from classroom teacher to principal to high-ranking government official in the MoE as illustrated in Table I, Appendix C. Of the thirty-three participants, thirty-two are former or current teachers. Twenty teachers taught at the primary level, while fifteen taught at secondary school. Two teachers taught at both the primary and secondary level. There are eight former and current school principals and seven vice-principals. Eleven participants are current or former staff at the CDU with responsibility for writing curriculum documents or syllabuses. Of this group, four were former directors of the CDU, five participants created social studies policy, curriculum documents and/or syllabuses. Three participants, all former colleagues of Beddoe, were involved in the creation of social studies when it was first introduced as a school subject in the 1970's. Nine participants are former or current high-ranking administrators or government officials in the MoE, while two participants are former or current government officials responsible for policy implementation in Tobago. Levels of education and training among participants are also quite varied and run the gamut from one-year training at a teachers training college to doctorates from local and foreign universities as illustrated in Table II, Appendix D. All these realities contract the number of available participants who can attest to the implementation of a social studies curriculum in Trinidad or Tobago. A further testament to the limited nature of possible participants is that as interviews progressed, participants began to nominate participants who had already been interviewed or were scheduled to be interviewed.

Analytical Strategy

In political science, two dominant approaches for thinking about the implementation process are top-down and bottom-up. A top-down approach is best suited to situations where there is a “dominant policy (statute) or agency²³” (Sabatier, 1986, p. 30). A top-down approach begins with official policy decisions then focuses the inquiry on four main aspects: the degree to which the activities of implementers and “target groups” align with goals and processes delineated in policy decisions; the degree to which “objectives [are] attained over time; the main elements that influence “policy outputs and impacts²⁴”; and the way that the policy decision has evolved over time, “on the basis of experience” (Sabatier, 1986, pp. 22- 23). A top down approach begins from the point of view of decision makers, often excluding other actors from the inquiry.

A bottom-up approach first determines the network of policy actors involved at the delivery end of a particular locality or the street-level bureaucrats. Testimonies from these actors are used to determine the members of the network at the delivery end, and the goals, procedures, routines and strategies employed by actors in the network. Information from network members is also used to “identify the local, regional, and national actors involved in the planning, financing, and execution of the relevant governmental and non-governmental programs” (Sabatier, 1986, pp. 32). In this way a bottom up approach moves from street-level bureaucrats to top-level officials. A bottom-up approach is suited to situations where there is a dominant policy decision as well as situations where there are smaller projects and programs that may not have been derived from dominant statutes. In a bottom-up approach, an investigator is more likely to

²³ In the Trinidad and Tobago case, a dominant policy would be state-level education policies that outline curriculum goals for social studies.

²⁴ Including those elements related to the policy decisions or to the political environment

discover informal interactions, observe “unintended consequences of governmental and private programs” and “assess the relative importance” of a program or project for finding solutions to problems as opposed to solutions proposed by private or non-governmental agencies (Sabatier, 1986, pp. 32).

Rather than choose a single approach, I synthesized the two for a more comprehensive approach, with the inquiry weighted towards the bottom up approach where much of implementation, and hence policy making, actually occurs in developing nations (Verspoor, 1992). I will use authoritative statues as a guide to intended policy goals. Interviews with policy makers, senior administrative personnel and curriculum technicians at the MoE will be used to map formal implementation structures and processes and to locate documents related to these processes and structures. At the same time I will use the testimonies of street-level bureaucrats (teachers, principals) to determine the goals, procedures, routines and strategies employed by other actors at the delivery end, as well as the goals, procedures, routines and strategies employed by curriculum technicians, senior administrative personnel, and MoE officials. This comprehensive approach serves to describe the implementation, the “what happened when and by whom” of social studies curriculum policies.

Data from unstructured interviews of persons involved in the policy implementation process was used to crosscheck and triangulate chains of evidence encountered in historical, political and social contexts and documentation. All sources of evidence were placed in the historical, social and political context, where *primary sources* constitute historical, documentary, and interview data “that are contemporaneous

with, and have been generated in the course of the events under investigation” (Sweeting, 2005, p. 32).

Summary

In this study, the case is the implementation process of the curriculum policies aimed at social integration in primary schools that use public funds in Tobago and in Trinidad. We use a broad definition of policy and a narrow definition of implementation. We define policy as “[a] principle or course of action adopted or proposed as desirable, advantageous, [or disadvantageous] or expedient; *esp.* one formally advocated by a government, [or] political party” (1999). To implement is “to complete, to perform to carry into effect...to execute, fulfill...to satisfy” and constitutes “the ability to achieve the predicted consequences [as outlined in stated policies] after the initial conditions have been met” (OED, 1989; Wildavsky 1984, p. xxii). This case study does not aim to look at results or outcomes of social studies curriculum implementation, though in discussing implementation, we indirectly deal with policy outcomes/results. In this chapter, we defined the main terms in the study and outlined the scope of observable phenomenon, including policy, implementation, social integration, curriculum, and social studies.

The definition of the social integration used in this case study is taken from remarks made by Williams in 1965 when he tried to exhort the House of Representatives to sign the *Education Bill, 1965* into law. In these remarks and in other remarks and writings, social integration refers to the reduction of social and economic inequity on the basis of ethnicity, religion and social class; the reduction of racial, ethnic, religious and class tensions; and the formation of a Trinidad and Tobago identity rather than identities

formed on race, ethnicity, religion, real or imagined primordial heritages and, social class.

In this case we define curriculum simply as a course of study. However, in Trinidad and Tobago, the official curriculum takes the form of a subject-based syllabus that outlines lessons, content and activities for meeting curriculum goals. Social studies is defined as “an interdisciplinary approach to the understanding of social concerns, their challenges and possible pro-social responses and resolutions” (Beddoe and Seepersad, 1985, p.69). This definition encompasses both the affective and cognitive domains of learning and is concerned with two of the five orientations of the curriculum as outlined by Eisner (1965) over fifty years ago--the use of the curriculum for social reconstruction, and the academic rationalist approach. The other three curriculum orientations include the cognitive processes approach, curriculum as technology, curriculum for self-actualization and consummatory experiences. In this study, we analyzed curriculum policy goals to assess the extent to which they adhere to the principals of each of the five curriculum orientations and to the affective and cognitive learning domains.

To observe the implementation of social studies curriculum policies in the 1950 to 2000 period, we analyzed national social studies curriculum policy and policy related documents, loan agreements and reports from international agencies, and 33 interviews of bureaucrats at the MoE, in districts and in schools. The study will not be confined to the implementation of social studies but will also explore the implementation of other policies related to social integration within the Trinidad and Tobago national education system, including structural policies that determine rules and laws concerning equitable rights and equal access in the education system, and policies governing the relationship

between the state and church-run schools. This study will also take a look at policies that regulate power-sharing agreements between Tobago and the central government in Trinidad. Documents and interviews will be placed within historical, social and political contexts contemporary with the data.

This inquiry of the policy implementation process synthesizes bottom-up and top-down approaches to implementation research to obtain a comprehensive view of the implementation process. The inquiry will be weighted more towards the bottom-up approach as it is at the delivery end that policy making occurs in developing countries. Dominant statutes will be used as a guide to intended policy goals. Interviews with policy makers, senior administrative personnel and curriculum technicians at the MoE will be used to map formal implementation structures and processes and to locate documents related to these processes and structures. Simultaneously, interviews with teachers and principals will be used to determine the goals, procedures, routines and strategies employed by other actors at the delivery end, as well as the goals, procedures, routines and strategies employed by curriculum technicians, senior administrative personnel and MoE officials.

CHAPTER 3

Education Governance in Trinidad and Tobago, 1851 to 2000

Introduction

“Only the Cabinet can agree to...suspend a student [laughs]”

(Participant 5, personal interview, July 29, 2009)

This statement may seem comical, but in Trinidad and Tobago it is emblematic of the hyper-centralization of the public education system. In reality, a principal can recommend that a student be suspended but the final decision rests with the Minister of Education and if the minister cannot reach a decision due to public, union or political pressures, the decision rests with the Cabinet at the executive levels of government. Decision-making power in the education system has been highly centralized since the inception of government sponsored mass education in the 1850's. Then and now, policy decisions are determined by an executive center and implemented by administrators and educators on the periphery. It is this centralized, top-down structure that most characterizes education governance in Trinidad and Tobago.

This chapter discusses education governance the Trinidad and Tobago education policy context, that is, the process of making education policies, desirable courses of education related actions adopted or advocated by government. Myriad definitions of governance exist (Kooiman, 1993; Pierre and Peters, 2000; Heinrich and Lynn, 2000). In this study, governance is:

A descriptive label that is used to highlight the changing nature of the policy process... In particular, it sensitizes us to the ever-increasing variety of terrains and actors involved in the making of public policy.

(Richard and Smith, 2002, p. 3 as quoted in Peters and Pierre, 2006).

A description of governance includes those actors involved in agenda setting²⁵, decision-making, and legitimation of policies, as well as those “actors and locations beyond the ‘core executive’” involved in implementation and evaluation²⁶ (Richard and Smith, 2002, p.3 as quoted in Peters and Pierre, 2006). Education governance in Trinidad and Tobago describes the actors and changing structures involved in education public policy making from colonial time (before 1962) to the post-independence period up to 2000.

In order to appreciate the way that a variety of actors interact at various levels to formulate policies and at the myriad variables that influence education governance in Trinidad and Tobago from 1851 to 2000, we first describe the public primary education system. We describe the primary school system as it existed at the time of data collection (2009 to 2010), and the way the system changed from the 1850's to 2000 period. This is followed by a description of the main stakeholders within the education system. Since this study looks at policymaking and implementation during a time of transition from colony to independent nation, one must understand the evolution of education governance (actors and structures) from the colonial era to the present day. This discussion includes a description of the changing nature of the actors and structures involved in curriculum implementation, within the CDU in the 1950 to 2000 period in Trinidad. Any examination of education policy formation in Trinidad and Tobago must describe the influence and ideals of Eric Williams, the main architect of the national education system

²⁵ Here *agenda setting* is the allocation of government attention towards a particular problem in the education or education related sector, while *decision-making* is the successful allocation of power towards a particular agenda to the point that a policy decision is made (Jones, Boushey and Workman, 2006).

²⁶ In Trinidad and Tobago, education policies are indirectly evaluated through various exams administered by the state at the primary and secondary level. International organizations, which fund education schemes, often require formal evaluations as a condition of continued funding.

in Trinidad and Tobago and the foremost advocate that public sponsored mass education can be used as a tool to integrate diverse groups into a national identity and so reduce ethnic and religious tensions. A brief overview of those policies that structure the policymaking and implementation apparatus in Tobago is vital to an appreciation of policy formation and the process of implementation, discussed in later chapters. We will also describe the changing nature of the actors and structures involved in curriculum implementation, in the 1950 to 2000 period in Tobago. This chapter ends with a description of both formal and informal ways that education policy decisions are made in Trinidad and Tobago.

Overview of the Primary School System

The primary education system in Trinidad and Tobago has three school types-- private, denominational and government. Since this study concerns primary schools that use public funds, we discuss government schools and denominational schools.

Government schools, as defined by the *Education Act*, are built and “wholly owned by the government,” (*Education Act*, Classification 11, 1966). Denominational schools, so called because they are managed by religious boards representing Hindu, Muslim and various Christian denominations, have received steadily increasing amounts of public funds for day to day management since a decision made in the *1875 Education Ordinance*. The *1875 Education Ordinance* granted public funds to religious schools as a measure to expand the existing education system on condition of good academic performance (Maurice Report, 1959, p. iii; Campbell, 1996, p.30). Since 1870, with the passing of the *Education Ordinance, 1870*, denominational schools are termed “assisted schools,” meaning assisted with public funds, in the education policy nomenclature

(*Education Ordinance, 1870*). Any school that receives public funds is a 'public school' (Education Act, 1966, Classification 2). Thus under the Trinidad and Tobago education regulations, denominational schools *are* public schools. Denominational school boards were lawfully recognized in 1960 as part of the national education system (Cabinet Proposals on Education, 1960).

Both government and denominational primary school consist of seven standards or grades, as they are termed in the American system. Infant standards, for students from five to six/seven, consist of First Year and Second Year. Junior standards, for students from age seven to nine/ten, consist of Standard I, Standard II and Standard III. Senior standards, for students from age ten to eleven/twelve, consist of Standard IV and Standard V. Once students complete Standard V, they sit a cumulative examination to determine entry to secondary school. In the 1950 to 2000 period, the main test was the CEE.

By 1950, Trinidad and Tobago was divided into eleven education districts. Ten districts were in Trinidad, five northern districts and five southern districts. The island of Tobago comprised the eleventh district. In 1960, the geographical area of districts in Trinidad was redrawn so that some districts became larger (Cabinet Proposals on Education, 1960). As such, Trinidad's ten districts became seven districts. From 1960 to the present day, there are a total of eight districts, seven in Trinidad while the eighth district comprises the island of Tobago. Each district is run by school supervisors, a group of administrators that evolved from a system of school inspectors²⁷.

²⁷ The inspector system was established by the colonial government in 1846 and implemented in Trinidad in 1851 with the establishment of the first secularly funded school system (Campbell, 1996, p.261). The term 'school supervisor,' replaced the term

Main Stakeholders in the Education System

A stakeholder is “an individual or group that makes a difference, of that can affect or be affected by the achievement of [an] organization’s objectives” (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, p. 141). The main stakeholders in the Trinidad and Tobago education system are denominational boards, school supervisors, principals, the minister of education, international organizations, the prime minister, the teacher’s union and the general public. These stakeholders emerge through both mandatory and informal factors. Mandatory factors include defining the ways that some stakeholder groups can affect the education system in education regulations. Informal factors include the historical and social significance of stakeholder groups within the education system and the power of stakeholders to sway public opinion or to distribute scarce resources. In the Trinidad and Tobago education system, stakeholders can affect both the education policy agenda and policy implementation, as policies are often formulated through collaboration with various stakeholder groups. In the discussion that follows, we describe the main stakeholder groups and the voluntary and mandatory factors through which they emerged.

Among the stakeholders listed above, international organizations exercise considerable sway over agenda setting and implementation. Trinidad and Tobago has both binding and voluntary relationships with international organizations. Voluntary relationships often occur when Trinidad and Tobago, as a member state, seeks technical support from international entities or ratifies various conventions and initiatives. More formal binding relationships occur when the government of Trinidad and Tobago seeks

‘school inspector’ and was first outlined at a UNESCO Planning Meeting in 1965, and then lawfully established in the *1966 Education Act* (Education Planning UNESCO, 1965).

loans or accepts funding from international entities. Trinidad and Tobago is a member of various international and regional entities, but we focus here on those international entities that most influence education policy on the island republic as identified by MoE personnel during interviews (Participant 05, personal interview, July 24, 2009; Participant 28, personal interview, March 4, 2010; Participant 29, personal interview, March 4, 2010). These include UNESCO and the World Bank. UNESCO, in particular, “influence[s] national policy makers ... indirectly through the information and policies spread at their conferences and reports” (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000, p. 11). Trinidad and Tobago has both binding and voluntary relationships with the World Bank and UNESCO. Since 1964, the World Bank and UNESCO have provided both technical support and funding to support education initiatives in Trinidad and Tobago. It is through conferences convened by the World Bank and UNESCO that technical advice, often based on prevailing social and economic trends and education models are disseminated. Some education models that have influenced Trinidad and Tobago’s education policies, particularly since 1964 are the human capitalist model of education and education as manpower planning. These two concepts, human capitalist model and manpower planning, will be explored at length in Chapter 6, when we discuss specific education policies aimed at social integration that were influenced by international organizations in the 1950 to 2000 period.

Religious or denominational boards are one of the main stakeholders in education governance for three main reasons. One, religious boards, are named in the *1966 Education Act* as having the power to ensure that education regulation are adhered to in the system. Two both Tobago and Trinidad have more denominational schools (both

primary and secondary) than government run schools. As a comparison, in 1950, there were 306 secondary and primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago and of that number, only 61, approximately 20%, were government built and owned (1950 Education Report). In the same year, of the 108, 375 students attending primary schools, 90,312, about 83%, attended assisted schools, while about 17%, 18,063, attended government-controlled schools (1950 Education Report). The total numbers of schools increased by the year 2000, but the number of denominational schools is still quite significant. About 70% of Trinidad and Tobago's 484 primary schools are assisted schools and 30% government controlled (Ministry of Education, 2001). The third reason is that assisted schools and their boards have been part of the Trinidad and Tobago mass education system for almost 170 years, since the Roman Catholic Church started the first mass education system just after the emancipation of the slaves in 1838. To this day, the Roman Catholic Education Board is a powerful force in education policymaking and could, arguably, be viewed as a separate stakeholder in its own right, outside of denominational boards per say.

School supervisors are another main stakeholder group in education governance in Trinidad and Tobago. Ideally within each district, there are three supervisors--School Supervisor III (SSIII), School Supervisor II (SSII), and School Supervisor I (SSI). The SSIII is the most senior position in the district and essentially all education administrators, educators, principals and teachers report to him or her. In addition, SSIIIs have, since 1972, been responsible for the administration of secondary schools, but have a say in the running of all schools that receive public funds within a district (Circular Memorandum No. 67). Reporting to the SSIII are SSIIIs and SSIs. SSIIIs assist the SSIII with the running of secondary schools, while SSIs are responsible for the running primary

schools in each district (Brown and Conrad, 2007, p.184). There are often at least two SSIIIs and SSIs, but only one SSIII in each district. School supervision once constituted a discrete unit within the MoE, called the Office of School Supervision, but this office was phased out by late 2009. School supervisor's duties have been constantly evolving, particularly in the latter part of the 20th century, as the needs of the education system have changed. SSs are a mandatory stakeholder group, since, as stipulated in the Education Act, school supervisors exercise ministerial power at the district level in ensuring that policies are carried out as stipulated in statutes. According to the *1966 Education Act*, school supervisors, in the absence of other management schemes, shall “control government schools” and “shall exercise such powers, functions and duties as the Minister may confer” (1966 Education Act, p. 24). SSs are also the main conduit through which policies pass from the MoE to schools, and the main conduit for school to school and school to MoE communications. As laid out in the UNESCO Planning Meeting, school supervision is responsible for “feeding down to the schools informed opinion from the Ministry...transferring good ideas from one school to another and feeding back to the Ministry information about the schools on such matters as staffing and teaching, equipment including books, accommodation and the building...[as well as] the need for teacher refresher courses and appropriate personnel for them (UNESCO Planning Meeting, 1965, Appendix pp. 2- 5). As one SSIII put it, “we monitor the overall school operations” (Participant 8, personal interview, July 29, 2009).

The Minister of Education is another stakeholder in education policy making in Trinidad and Tobago. The power of the minister is mandated in the *Education Act, 1966*. The Minister in conjunction with the prime minister, external consultants and

committees, representatives from international organizations and senior ministerial staff often sets the policy agenda for his or her term of office. Even today, the Minister of Education sets his policymaking and implementation agenda based on the Prime Minister's education agenda, as expressed during electoral campaigns or through direct communication. The contemporary connection between the office of the prime minister and the MoE may have its roots in the 1950's, when Eric Williams became the first Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago.

Williams often dictated education policy from the Prime Minister's chair and the MoE was expected to carry out his dictates, often without question. Williams is the creator of the Trinidad and Tobago national education system. In 1956, Williams, on a nationalist, anti-colonial platform, led the PNM to victory in the national elections. In the PNM's political manifesto, Williams promised that if elected prime minister, he would foster, "a national identity among a potpourri of peoples: Blacks, East Indians, Chinese, Portuguese, Libyans, Assyrians, Jews, Palestinians and ethnic Europeans [and establish] ... a Trinbagonianess that would transcend the convenient, colonial separatedness of groups, ideas, and ideologies" (PNM Political Manifesto 1956 as quoted in London 1991, p. 252). In these words, Williams expresses his intent to establish a national identity, to transcend or rise above the separateness created by British colonialism. In this and other writings and speeches Williams positioned the colonial system as the main cause of class, racial, religious and language separations, and saw an educated populace as the key to social integration, and economic and political autonomy.

Williams died in 1981, and until his death "bestrode the political landscape like a colossus, dwarfing all else by his charismatic presence" (Ryan, 1999, p. 182). According

to Ryan (1999), Williams was able to do so because he was a gifted public speaker, who knew how to marshal common interests among disparate groups. In many ways, education social integration policies in Trinidad and Tobago, particularly up until the mid-1980's were Williams' policies, and were a culmination of his thinking, up to that point, on the role of education in nation building. Even after Williams' death in 1981, the office of the Prime Minister, as the executive head of a bicameral system of government, retained veto power over all policies and policy proposals. In other words, if the Prime Minister does not support a policy, it is unlikely that the policy will be legislated or implemented. As seen in the education structure outlined in Figure I, Appendix E, all personnel in the MoE essentially report to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, as the apex of the education system, is the chief stakeholder in education policy making.

All the stakeholders discussed so far, school supervisors, the Minister of Education, denominational boards and the Prime Minister are named in the *1966 Education Act* as having the power to enforce education regulations within the national education system. *The Act* also names school principals (ideally the lead teacher in schools) as having the power to enforce education regulations as outlined in the Act. As such, principals are another important group of stakeholders in the education policy process. In Trinidad and Tobago, principals exercise much of their power over policy making through three powerful organizations, the National Primary Schools Principals Association, the Association of Principals of Public Secondary Schools and the union, Trinidad and Tobago Unified Teachers Association (TTUTA). The *1966 Education Act*, as the supreme education law in Trinidad and Tobago, legitimizes the power of school principals to carry out education regulations in schools. This question of legitimacy,

specifically who has the lawful right to formulate, implement and enforce education policies in Trinidad and Tobago becomes particularly salient at the implementation stage. The issue of legitimacy is often the sore point of other stakeholders who may have some powers within the system, such as the ability to sway public opinion or to control scarce resources, but no legitimate power as outlined in the *1966 Education Act*. These stakeholders include international organizations, TTUTA, business and industry, particularly the petroleum industry, teachers (through the National Teachers Association), parents, and the general public.

The Changing Nature of Education Governance

Tobago came under British rule in 1763, and like other British colonies in the Caribbean, had a representative form of government in which a few property holders decided the island's affairs (Ryan, 1985). By 1769, Tobago "had its own bicameral legislature, [with a legislative and executive branch], and control of funds was in the hands of an elected legislature assembly" (Ryan, 1985, p.7). When the British captured Trinidad in 1797, less than half of the white population was English²⁸. Fearful of the prospect of having a colony governed by Frenchmen and Spaniards, Britain did not set up a self-governing legislature²⁹ as it did in other colonies, but opted for Crown Colony rule, a system unknown till that time and created especially for Trinidad, because of the minority status of British nationals (Williams, 1982, p.69). Even before Tobago and Trinidad were linked, Tobago's representative government was abolished, much to the

²⁸ The census of 1808 estimates that there were 2,476 whites in a total population of 31,478 (Williams, 1982, p.69).

²⁹ Colonial legislative systems were composed of a lower house, headed by a British Governor, representing Crown interests and an upper house of elected representatives (Williams, 1982)

displeasure of Tobago's elite, and replaced with a system of Crown³⁰ rule like that of Trinidad. Once "Tobago was added as a ward of Trinidad... [in 1899, there was] an increase in the size of the legislative council to allow for the representation of Tobago's interests" (Samaroo, 1976, p. 5). Under Crown rule, policies were formulated by the Crown in Britain and implemented, often throughout Britain's many colonies, by the Crown Colony Administration, a civil institution with rules and regulations guided by those of the Colonial Civil Service³¹. Under the Crown system, education policy was administered through local school managers who were often clerics. Less frequently, lay managers who were appointed and paid by local borough councils managed schools.

The creation of an Inspectorate of Schools in 1846 heralded the beginning of colonial government interest in education. From 1846 to 1876, there was one chief inspector of schools for Trinidad (Campbell, 1996, p. 261). The role of the chief inspector was not to advise teachers on pedagogy or curriculum or to inspect schools as the name implies, but to examine pupils. Student performance on these often-impromptu exams indicated the success or failure of a school. In fact, school inspectors, until the late 1890's were not necessarily knowledgeable about education³².

The documentary record is quite vague on education governance in Tobago in the period before the Crown administratively linked the island to Trinidad in 1889. After

³⁰ The Crown system has a "single-chambered legislature with a nominated majority" in which, "all essential powers [are] reserved to the British Government through the governor" (Luke, 2007, p.49; Williams, 1982, p.70).

³¹ The Colonial Civil Service is "an aggregate [of Public Services] of British dependencies [in Asia, Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean] of varying constitutional status, but bound by allegiance to the British Crown" (Jefferies 1938, xvii, as quoted in Bissessar 2000).

³² It seemed that the only prerequisites for the position were that incumbents be white, or near white, and male.

1889, at least in documents, Tobago was treated as part of the territory of Trinidad and Tobago and any education policies devised by the Crown were expected to be implemented in Tobago as it would in any other part of Trinidad. However, several factors help illuminate the state of education in Tobago before 1889. In Tobago, until 1939, there were no government primary schools, only village based church-run schools (Campbell, 1998, p.8). This suggests that in Tobago, education at the local level was under the management of clerics. School inspectors, it seems, were never able to examine all students in Trinidad. Adjoin this fact to the notion that in the 19th and early 20th centuries Tobago was relatively isolated³³ from Trinidad as well as the fact that there were no government schools in Tobago. Together these facts suggest that it is unlikely that school inspectors visited Tobago.

A formal Education Department was established in 1918, creating a more centralized and complex bureaucracy. It was during this period that the number of inspectors increased to six with the addition of five assistant inspectors, all under a chief inspector. Assistant inspectors ‘inspected’ primary schools, while only the chief inspector could inspect secondary schools³⁴. The Education Department consisted of the Director of the Education, the chief inspector and five assistant inspectors.

³³ Until the mid-twentieth century, the only way to travel between the two islands was by steamer.

³⁴ This structure is similar to the current structure in which only the SSIII, with the assistance of the SSII is responsible for education policies in secondary schools. Proposals were made as early as 1855 to unify the primary and secondary school systems, but they remain separate to the present day (Campbell, 1996, p. 262). The two systems have separate principals’ and teachers associations and principals of primary schools report to the SSI in their districts. SSIs positions, in capacity and scope of powers, are synonymous with assistant inspector positions in the 19th century.

The Crown Colony system remained largely unchanged until 1925 when a small number (about six) of the Legislative Council was elected based on popular representation rather than appointed to the council by the governor (Samaroo, 1976, p. 5). Despite its elected members, the Crown still retained majority power on the Council. Within this system, an attorney general advised a Crown appointed governor, who in turn appointed the non-elected members of the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council, composed of prominent white men, was the most important decision making body on the island. By the 1930's the Education Director on the Legislative Council had more power to successfully create and implement education policies through the Colonial Public Service. The Director of Education, the head of the Department of Education, with the assistance of a Board of Education, and the system of inspectors remained primarily responsible for education policy implementation up until 1961 (Maurice Report, 1959).

The colonial system of education policy-making in Trinidad and Tobago did not change at the moment of independence. The change was gradual and lasted some eleven years, from 1950 to 1961. The key events were the appointment of a Minister of Education to the Legislative Council in 1950 and the reorganization of the education policy making and implementation apparatus in 1960. Two main documents legitimize the change—The 1946 Constitution and the *1960 Cabinet Proposals on Education as Approved by the Legislature*.

Trinidad's 1946 constitution paved the way for the appointment of Roy Joseph O.B.E. as the Minister of Education and Social Services, in 1950 (Mc D'Alleyne, 1996; Education Report, 1950). Education policy "became theoretically the Minister's responsibility, but the system continued to be administered by the Director [of Education]

as the chief executive officer of his department with the advice of the Education Board (Maurice Report, 1959, p. 5). The Director of Education remained because the Legislative Council was still in operation and Joseph was elected to the Legislative Council as the representative for the city of San Fernando, Trinidad's second largest city, located in the south (See Figure II, Appendix F).

The *1960 Cabinet Proposals on Education as Approved by the Legislature* are a set of proposals and regulations aimed at transforming education governance from the colonial system to the system we see after 1960, in which education policy making and implementation is handled by a Ministry of Education, headed by a minister. The *1960 Cabinet Proposals on Education as Approved by the Legislature* tell us that a Cabinet, the executive branch of a parliamentary representative system, was in operation by 25 July 1960 (Trinidad and Tobago Government, 1960). The PNM had won the general elections in 1956. The 1960 proposals on education were based on recommendations outlined in the Maurice Commission, a local commission assembled by the PNM government in 1957 to make recommendations to improve education in Trinidad and Tobago. It should be noted that the *1960 Cabinet Proposals* do not make particular reference to Tobago, but refers to Trinidad and Tobago as a single entity. In the 1960 approved cabinet proposals, the education administration, indeed the entire colonial administration in Trinidad and Tobago, was reorganized to facilitate the hand over of education agenda setting and decision making from the Director of Education to the Minister of the Education and Social Services and the Government of Trinidad and Tobago. The 1960 proposals approve the integration of the MoE and the Department of Education, making the Director of Education the Chief Education Officer (CEO) of the

Ministry. The CEO was chiefly responsible for policy implementation. Other proposals relevant to education governance are the absorption of the Board of Education into the MoE to become the Central Council of Education that “advises the Minister on general policy” and includes “parents, employers, trade unions and local government bodies” (Trinidad and Tobago Government, 1960, p. 2). The CEO became the secretary to the Council and headed the technical branch, one of three branches of the Ministry. The other two are the secretarial branch, under a Permanent Secretary (PS), and a financial branch under an Accountant. The posts of Deputy Director of Education, Chief Inspector and the various administrative secretaries were all abolished by 1960. To facilitate the administration of education policies, the Maurice Commission proposed that Trinidad and Tobago be divided into eight districts, each headed by an Education Officer. A local committee would the Education Officer, who in turn would the MoE on the building and maintenance of schools; and made recommendations on the appointment and salaries, of unqualified and part-time teachers and non-teaching staff (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1960, p. 3). The Education Officer was never created. Instead the duties of local school managers, who managed the schools since the mid 19th century, were combined with that of the duties of school inspectors and, by 1966, these duties were subsumed under the Office of School Supervision.

When Williams and the PNM won the general elections in 1956, Trinidad and Tobago government was still in the transition phase, from a territory governed by the Crown to one governed by an elected government. By 1961, many of these changes had been completed and Trinidad and Tobago “operated a Westminster-derived system of parliamentary democracy, with its own characteristics evolved from past practice”

(Meighoo, 2003, p. xxi; Ryan, 1999). With Trinidad and Tobago's parliamentary democracy, the executive branch consists of the President who is the chief of state and the Prime Minister as the head of government and the Cabinet. The legislative branch takes the form of a bicameral parliament with a House of Representatives and a Senate. The House of Representatives is analogous to the British House of Commons. However, one characteristic particular to Trinidad and Tobago is that the House of Representatives is composed of members elected through popular votes in various geographical constituencies. As such Trinidad and Tobago's House of Representatives is often composed of members of the ruling party and members of opposition parties, often represented in the minority. The judicial branch consists of an independent court system in which the highest court of appeal is the Privy Council in London. Ideally, in a Westminster parliamentary system, public policies are formed through interaction between members of the executive branch, the cabinet, the legislature, ministerial committees, sub-committees and consultants (Ryan, 1999). However, another characteristic of Trinidad and Tobago Westminster-styled democracy is that public policies often originate in the executive branch and the Cabinet, and reflect the ideals of the Prime Minister, who is both the head of the Cabinet and the head of the ruling political party.

The Westminster-styled democracy created a new system for implementing policy. To implement education policies, the Minister of Education works with the PS, and the CEO, two senior administrative positions that have evolved much since they were

proposed in 1959. The Minister of Education, the PS³⁵ and the CEO constitute the executive positions in the MoE. In the 1950 to 2000 period, composition this executive core has remained relatively constant, with the exception of changes in the duties of the CEO. After 1960, changes in education governance were dictated by two main policy documents, the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* and the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*.

Concerning education governance the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* attempts to establish “a rationally conceived administrative structure capable of efficiently discharging the country’s commitments in Education...not as a condition of implementing [the 1968-83] development Plan..., but [as a measure that is] absolutely essential as a basis for any future progress ” (p. 75). The Plan goes on to explain why the educational administrative structure should not be reorganized only as a measure to implement the *1968-1983 Plan*, but to support a growing education system. The Plan cites the fact that the Ministry is often criticized for spending 80% of its annual budget of 45 million, due to a lack of staff to administrate the funds. At the time of the *1968-1983 Plan*, some 10,000 teachers in over 600 institutions were handled by 24 administrators, only 3 of who were senior officers. The plan also cites the deterioration of schools due to a lack of supervision (p. 76). To meet the Ministry’s growing needs, the *1986-83 Plan* proposed a structure that emphasized “ministerial control,” which is “fundamental to the democratic way of life” (*Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* p.78). The

³⁵ The PS is a “career officer promoted through merit and seniority and is responsible for the operations of the Ministry...the actual management” (Participant 04, personal interview, July 22, 2009). In essence, the PS has the chief responsibility of organizing resources for policy implementation, particularly financial resources. As such, the PS may be viewed as the “chief financial officer” of the Ministry.

position of CEO was given more power to steer the Ministry's various committees according to ministerial policy and was now, hierarchically, under the PS. Since the *1968-83 Plan* was a crucial instrument in education planning, the new Division of Educational Planning and Development, established by the Williams administration in conjunction with UNESCO in 1964, now formed one of the core units of the Ministry. Before the *1968-83 Plan*, testing, publications, examinations, and broadcasting were all performed by temporary staff on contract. The Plan added a new Central Services and Divisions unit to house these functions. Central Services, previously detached from other ministerial units and "operationally autonomous" came under the direction of the CEO. School Supervision was also given more powers. Instead of one supervisor examining all the operations of particular schools, we see the beginnings of the contemporary system, in which the most senior school supervisor has jurisdiction over an entire district.

Related to curriculum, the *1968-1983 Plan* established school supervisors with curriculum portfolios, called Curriculum Supervisor in the Plan. However, according to interview participants who held these positions, the title was changed to School Supervisor II, Curriculum in order to align with existing pay scales in the civil service.

The duties of the Curriculum Supervisor were to:

advise and carry out research in curriculum and syllabus development. [The Curriculum Supervisor] will be directly involved with Principals in the supervision of teaching and the organization of subjects and courses in each schools. [The Curriculum Supervisor] will advise on the type of staff and physical facilities required for educational efficiency. [The Curriculum Supervisor] will also at the Minister's direction be engaged in the research projects from time to time into areas of curriculum and syllabus requiring special and urgent attention.

(Draft Plan for Educational Development, 1969, p. 79)

There is a direct relationship between the expanded duties of school supervision to include curriculum, and policy provisions that expanded the education system and

reoriented the curriculum to include social studies at the primary and post-primary level, and technical and vocational subjects at the post-primary level. However, the revised organizational structure largely affected “Head Office,” as the MoE is often called, and hardly penetrates the periphery of the system.

Attempts to improve curriculum implementation continue in the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*. The *1985-1990 Plan* establishes a Teachers’ Resource and Curriculum Development Center, also referred to as the Curriculum Development Unit (*Education Plan, 1985-1990*, p.60). The CDU, then in the form of curriculum supervisors as outlined in the *1968-1983 Plan*, integrated curriculum development with a Multi-media Production Unit, composed of Publications, School Broadcasting and Educational Television, all formerly part of Central Services. Also housed under the CDU are School Libraries Unit, and the Teacher Retraining and Upgrading Unit³⁶. The CDU:

in collaboration with other agencies in and outside the Ministry will articulate the Ministry’s goals and objectives in educational development with respect to curriculum matters. The Unit will design, monitor, field test and evaluate new curricula, as well as teaching methods and strategies prior to their introduction in the school system. It will also train all teachers to use the new curricula.
(*Education Plan, 1985-1990*, p.60)

The CDU is meant to work in tandem with the Multi-media Production Unit to publish and duplicate multimedia curriculum materials for distribution to schools, and to train teachers and principals in new curriculum and pedagogy. The School Library Unit is meant to serve as a resource center for teachers and as technical advisor to curriculum supervisors, providing information and reading material so that curriculum personnel may keep abreast of education trends worldwide (*Education Plan, 1985-1990*, p. 61).

Though the CDU was officially established as a discrete unit of the MoE in the *Education*

³⁶ As of 2010, the Teacher Training Unit is housed in a separate building in Port-of-Spain

Plan, 1985-1990, at least four interview participants, all of whom were appointed to this division when it was first established, claim that the office was established in 1976, then written into the *Education Plan 1985-1990* (Participant 04, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 18, personal interview, February 11, 2010; Participant 17, personal interview, August 4, 2009, Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010).

However, apart from the testimonies of interview participants, I could find no documentation to support this claim.

The *Education Plan, 1985-1990* also attempts to promote effective supervision through re-training schemes, foster more communication between the MoE and principals, and establish a certain minimum number of “inspections per term” (p. 68). As part of this endeavor, the Plan also hopes to “establish coordination between the Divisions of Supervision [and] Curriculum” by calling for regular meeting of the directors of each unit, to facilitate information exchange and coordination of activities at the school level (*Education Plan, 1985-1990*, p.69). Stated need for coordination in a national level policy document may be interpreted, as an expression of the fact that by 1985 Curriculum and Supervision, do not coordinate well. Indeed, participants in the study expressed a similar concern that the coordination of these two units, with overlapping functions in curriculum monitoring, remains an unresolved issue to the present day.

Both the *Education Plan, 1985-1990* and the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* contribute to the MoE structure outlined in Figure I (See Appendix E). Under the current working structure the PS works with the Minister of Education, parliament and Prime Minister to organize resources for policy

implementation. The PS reports to both the Minister of Education and the Prime Minister. The CEO under the guidance of the PS manages the core services of the MoE, particularly as they relate to policy implementation. Currently, there are six core areas: 1) Educational Research and Development (2) Student Support Services (3) Curriculum Development (4) Educational Services (5) School Supervision and (6) Early Childhood Care and Education. These six core areas are supported by the divisions of Finance and Accounts, Educational Facilities Management, Human Resources, Education Planning and General Administration. Each division was often added as part of on-going attempts to improve policy implementation and to promote the more efficient running of the MoE.

Other auxiliary divisions that were not part of the core functions by 2000 include: International Co-operation Initiatives, an office created to ensure Trinidad and Tobago's compliance with international organizations; the Secondary Education Modernization Program (or SEMP), an office created to manage an I-ADB funded project to modernize secondary schools; Project Coordination and Seamless Education, an office created to coordinate the implementation of small projects and to make sure the curriculum at each stage of the education system prepares students for success at the next stage; and the Restructuring and Decentralization Unit, a unit created to coordinate the decentralization of the MoE as outlined in the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003*. At the time of data collection in 2009/2010, participants from the MoE expressed that the structure of the MoE was being transformed in order to decentralize the powers of the MoE and to improve implementation of education policy, particularly curriculum policy. As such, some participants, particularly policy makers at the MoE, discussed the proposed decentralized structure as if it were the actual structure of the MoE. However, in its day-

to-day operations, the structure of the MoE has remained unchanged since the mid-eighties. Despite the various changes, curriculum policy implementation still involves interaction between staff of the CDU, school supervision, principals and teachers.

Curriculum Implementation Structure, Trinidad

Due to restructuring schemes outlined in the preceding paragraphs, the curriculum implementation structure, within the CDU, has evolved throughout the 1950 to 2000 period. Currently, the CDU is staffed by a Director of Curriculum Development, Curriculum Coordinators and Curriculum Officers. For a brief period, from 1997 to 1999, CDU staff also included Curriculum Facilitators. The Director of CDU, as the head of the division, is a senior administrator with overall responsibility for developing the curriculum for all subject areas, in both primary and secondary schools, in Tobago and in Trinidad. Summing up the sentiments of other former directors, one former director of CDU explained that curriculum development means:

Translating a philosophy into operational terms, coming up with a curriculum document, the official curriculum. [The Curriculum Director has] in mind the totality of the conceptualization, the design... the implementation, which would mean, at the level of the school...how it is translated in the classroom...how the curriculum officers would be monitoring...what kind of checklists, what kind of instruments and evaluation...

(Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009).

Before the creation of the post of Director of Curriculum, curriculum was developed and disseminated by the Office of School Supervision through a position called Curriculum Supervisor, and later School Supervision II, Curriculum (SSII, Curriculum) (*Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* p.79; Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 17, personal interview, August 4, 2009; Participant 22, personal interview, February 24, 2010). There were about ten SSII, Curriculum for all primary and secondary schools in the country (Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010).

Within his or her subject area, each SSII, Curriculum, implemented the curriculum for both Tobago and Trinidad and reported to the Director of School Supervision, a post that was phased out in 2009/2010, as part of a decentralization scheme. Two participants (Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010; Participant 22, personal interview, February 22, 2010) who served as SSII, Curriculum from the 1970's into the 1980's claim that their job titles were changed to Curriculum Officer around 1980. So in essence SSII, Curriculum became Curriculum Officers³⁷.

Up until 2000, Curriculum Officers reported directly to the head of the division. Curriculum Officers design, develop, implement, monitor and evaluate curriculum in a subject area, in both primary and secondary schools in the entire island (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009). Curriculum Officers, under the guidance of the director, write a curriculum document that outlines “what to teach and how to order what [one] intends to teach” in each subject area (Eisner, 1965, p. 156). In other words, Curriculum Officers, under the direction of the Director of Curriculum, are responsible for the “actual writing of the curriculum” in a subject area (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009). In addition to writing the curriculum, officers are also responsible for the “design, development, implementation monitoring and evaluation of [the curriculum in] a subject area in the school system, [in] both primary and secondary school... and [are] responsible for building the capacity of teachers to carry out the curriculum in schools” (Participant 7, personal interview, July 28, 2009). To build the

³⁷ The documentary record supports the claim that the post existed, at least, sometime before December 31, 1986, as implementation reports chronicling the activities of the CDU before this time period refer to Curriculum Officers (Ministry of Education, 1986).

capacity of teachers means ensuring that teachers have the knowledge and ability to carry out the curriculum in schools.

Around 2000, the post of Curriculum Coordinator was created as an intermediary post between Curriculum Officers and the director. Coordinators supervise a unit or a group of Curriculum Officers in subjects that are closely related. For example one Curriculum Coordinator, interviewed for this study was the coordinator for Social Sciences, and so supervised all the curriculum officers in history, social studies, sociology. Essentially, since 2000, Curriculum Coordinators focus on the implementation and monitoring of the curriculum in schools, while Curriculum Officers focus on developing and writing a curriculum document in a subject area. Yet some Curriculum Officers claim that, because of staff shortages they “...are expected to go out into the field, and get feedback from stakeholders...teachers” (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009).

The post of Curriculum Facilitators was created in 1997 and according to Circulars announcing the vacancies Curriculum Facilitators were to operate until 1999 (Circular Memorandum No. 67, May 14, 1997; Circular Memorandum No. 126, Sept 23, 1997). However, some teachers interviewed for the study claim to have interacted with Curriculum Facilitators, in their schools, as late as 2000 and in one case up until around 2007. According to one teacher facilitators “were specially trained in the different subject areas...[and] would come around [to schools] to make sure that the teachers understood what they had to do...to make sure that the curriculum was implemented properly” (Participant 9, personal interview, August 5, 2009). Curriculum Facilitators had, essentially, the duties of Curriculum Coordinators, that is, teacher training and

monitoring of curriculum implementation (Circular Memorandum No. 67, May 14, 1997; Circular Memorandum No. 126, Sept 23, 1997). In Circular 126, the second circular memoranda that invited teachers to apply for the position of Facilitator, only twenty-four positions were advertised. Two went to social studies, but only in two education districts (Circular Memorandum No. 126, Sept 23, 1997). Two Facilitator positions were advertised for Tobago in mathematics and music, but it is unclear from the documentary record if these positions were ever filled. It seems that Facilitators were a preliminary attempt at the creation of an intermediary post to improve curriculum implementation in the system. Curriculum Facilitator posts were not renewed as it was deemed that Curriculum Officers would perform similar work as part of their duties. The changing nature of the curriculum implementation structure is outlined in Table III (See Appendix G).

Today, in 2009/2010, the actual work of curriculum implementation is performed by both Curriculum Coordinators and Curriculum Officers under the direction of the Director of the CDU. Once Curriculum Officers finalize the curriculum document, they create a subject syllabus. A circular memorandum is then sent to school supervisors and principals asking them to “release” one or more teachers to attend a training workshop (Circular Memorandum No. 50, April, 1997; Circular Memorandum No. 162, Nov 11, 1998; Circular Memorandum No. 3, Jan 11, 2000). The principal either selects teachers or teachers volunteer to attend training workshops, which are held, during the school year or during the summer vacation. Workshops are often held at the Curriculum Development and Teacher Resource Center, located in Mc Bean, Couva, in central Trinidad. But trainings are also held at various schools and district facilities around the

country so that workshops do not appear to preference one location over another. Teachers from each school were trained to use the syllabus and curriculum in each subject area. In these workshops, according to one former director of curriculum “we would go through the curriculum, get questions, get feed back” to get teachers “to become familiar with the document” (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009). The syllabus itself is created in tandem with the syllabuses of national and regional exams that are distributed to schools by the MoE³⁸. Ideally, teachers field test the syllabus in schools and give feedback so that the document may be revised, but this seldom occurs because of manpower shortages (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009; Participant 7, personal interview, July 28, 2009; Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010; Participant 22, personal interview, February 24, 2010). Trained teachers are then expected to share information with other teachers in their subject area once they return to school. Some teachers and principals (Participant 23, personal interview, February 25, 2010; Participant 27, personal interview, March 3, 2010; Participant 31, personal interview, March 5, 2010) Interview claimed that some schools further adapt the subject specific syllabus at the school level to better serve the needs of students. All other teachers and administrators claim that the syllabus was mailed to the school from CDU and used as is³⁹.

Once the syllabus is created for each grade, all teachers claimed that groups of teachers worked together with more experienced teachers, or heads of department, to

³⁸ Textbooks are also written based on the goals, objectives and topics of syllabuses, as well as national and regional exams.

³⁹ It is plausible that both things occurred and that some schools, particularly high-performing denominational schools, created their own syllabus, using the ‘official syllabus’ as a guide.

create a “scheme of work” that outlined content as well as goals, objectives and assignments that spanned several weeks of class time in a subject area. From the scheme of work, individual teachers developed a weekly forecast of what will be taught to achieve the goals set out in the syllabus. At the end of each week, the past week’s work is recorded and reviewed to assess student learning and how the activities were aligned with the projected forecast of work. Classroom activities for the upcoming week are forecast based on the goings on of the previous week. For example, if a teacher forecast that he/she will complete Topic A by week’s end, but for various reasons could only complete half of topic A. The record should show that only half of Topic A, was completed and the forecast for the upcoming week should include the remaining parts of Topic A as well as the beginnings of a new topic, if time permits. The foregoing process was recorded in a handwritten document called the “Record and Forecast” or more recently “Record and Evaluation.” See Appendix H for an example. The Record and Forecast, ideally, is a record of teachers’ work and is ideally a record of curriculum implementation at the school level. Ideally the role of the principal, as part of curriculum implementation, is to act as ‘lead teacher’ and to review the Record and Forecast of each teacher and monitor classroom practices in accordance with the national syllabus in a subject area.

Governance in Tobago after 1961

Within Trinidad and Tobago’s Westminster style government formed by 1961, Tobago is both an administrative district and represents two electoral districts or seats, Tobago East and Tobago West (Elections and Boundaries Commission, 2010). However, unlike other electoral districts within the country, a Ministry of Tobago Affairs oversaw policy implementation in Tobago, which may be viewed as a legislative

acknowledgement that Tobago is indeed dissimilar from other parts of the unitary state. In addition to the Minister of Tobago Affairs, after 1961, Tobago was administered by two parliamentary representatives (gained through its two electoral districts) and an independent Senator nominated by the President⁴⁰ (Ryan, 1985; Tobago Development Plan, 1998- 2013). Since Tobago constituted an education district, education policies **should** pass from the MoE through Tobago’s SSIII, as it would in any of the other seven districts located in Trinidad. However, this is not the case. The administrative structure that facilitates education policy implementation in Tobago has evolved throughout the 1950 to 2000 period largely through legislation.

To observe significant changes in the way that education policy was implemented in Tobago, we fast forward to 1977 when the Trinidad and Tobago House of Representatives determined that steps needed to be taken to promote some form of self-government in Tobago that does not contradict the Constitution of the unitary state of Trinidad and Tobago. After a series of debates in 1979, the *Tobago House of Assembly Act, Law No. 37* was passed the following year. The *1980 Tobago House of Assembly Act* (THA Act) created an administrative body, the Tobago House of Assembly (THA), to implement ‘government policies’ (read policies created in Trinidad) in Tobago. Overall, the THA functions to “formulate and implement policy on all matters referred to it by the Minister⁴¹ and Minister of Finances” (p.3). Concerning education policy, the THA:

shall be responsible for implementing in Tobago, Government policy relating to:

⁴⁰ The office of the President, as the “repository of all Executive Authority,” was created in the 1946 Constitution (Office of the Parliament, 2008). The President is the head of state and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces

⁴¹ Here, ‘Minister’ refers to the Cabinet Minister responsible for Tobago

(t) the introduction, in collaboration with the MoE, of programmes⁴² for the preservation and appreciation of Tobago folk art forms and the inclusion of such programmes in the school curricula;
(w) the maintenance and repair of school buildings

(p. 35).

The 1980 THA Act restates what was already the prevailing practice. Education policies should be implemented in Tobago as they would be in any other part of unitary state. Of note is the inclusion of folk art forms indigenous to Tobago in the curriculum. This practice of including relevant art forms and activities as part of curriculum and syllabuses⁴³ was encouraged throughout the education system, particularly in rural towns and coastal villages where traditional art forms and practices are at risk of erasure (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009).

In terms of staff, the THA, as laid out in the 1980 THA Act, is comprised of twelve assemblymen elected through a primary election and three councilors elected by secret ballot. The assemblymen elect a chief secretary, a deputy secretary and not more than five additional secretaries to form the executive core. The chief secretary then selects, from among the assemblymen, councilors, secretaries and assistant secretaries, secretaries with various portfolios such as health services, tourism and education. As such, from 1980 onwards a Secretary of Education assisted by an Assistant Secretary of Education held chief responsibility for education matters in Tobago. Both secretaries liaised directly with the MoE in Trinidad and with the school supervisor for Tobago to facilitate education policy implementation (See Figure III in Appendix I).

In terms of curriculum implementation, select teachers from Tobago were invited to Trinidad for training in the use of new or reformed curriculum. On some occasions,

⁴² British spelling in original

⁴³ Art forms and practices must conform to the official curriculum as developed by the Curriculum Development Unit.

according to three former directors of the CDU and a former THA Secretary of Education (Participant 2, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 16, personal interview, April 2, 2010) Curriculum Officers, CDU staff responsible for implementing curriculum, would visit Tobago to conduct curriculum workshops with teachers and principals. Like in Trinidad, these teachers would be responsible for sharing this information with fellow teachers once they returned to school. However, like the process of curriculum implementation in Trinidad, there are many variables that cause implementation shortfall in Tobago.

The foregoing describes how the Assembly was supposed to function according to provisions in the *1980 THA Act*. However, contained in the *1980 THA Act* are various stipulations that limit the power of the Assembly. Of note is the stipulation that “Any administrative scheme by the Assembly may be revoked or revised by the Minister⁴⁴ without modification or amendment” (Tobago House of Assembly Act, p.19).

Concerning funding, a Tobago House of Assembly Fund was established under the 1980 Act. In order to utilize these funds the Assembly must submit estimates to the Tobago Minister in Cabinet who makes modifications “as he considers proper” then presents these modifications to the parliament, without further consultation with the Assembly (Tobago House of Assembly Act, p.19). According to a former Assistant Secretary of Education (1981 to 1988) and Secretary of Education (1988 to 1993), the Assembly would create a budget that was often cut, without explanation (Participant 16, personal interview, April 2, 2010). Poor funding affected, not only the education sector, but also all aspects of development in Tobago. It goes without saying that limited Assembly

⁴⁴ Minister for Tobago Affairs

power and poor funding influenced education policy implementation in Tobago during much of the 1950 to 2000 period.

The *Report on the Allocation of THA Responsibility* tells us that by late 1987, the 1980 THA Act could not be implemented for various reasons, particularly poor staffing. Apart from the executive core and the various secretaries, many supporting staff positions that the Assembly needed for its efficient running were not clearly defined (Report on the Allocation of THA Responsibility, 1987, p.5). There were no systems in place for human resources development, including the recruitment, appointment, training and development of staff (Report on the Allocation of THA Responsibility, 1987, p.5). Finally the Assembly lacked trained workers since, of the 1,833 posts the Assembly needed, 582 were never filled, 358 were filled temporarily with workers unsuited for the posts and another 224 were vacant at the time of the report (Report on the Allocation of THA Responsibility, 1987, p.6).

Since the Assembly lacked adequate staffing, and had limited power and funding, it was business as usual in terms of policy implementation in Tobago. In other words nothing had changed since the time of Williams. In the years following 1980, various political machinations, including the death of Williams and the prime ministership of ANR Robinson, a Tobagonian, led to the repeal of the *1980 THA Act* and the passing of the *Tobago House of Assembly Act 1996, Act. Or Law No. 40* (hereafter, *1996 THA Act*). The *1996 THA Act* has the same stated purpose as the *1980 THA Act*, but has additional clauses that extend the powers of the Assembly over Tobago's affairs. For example in the *1980 THA Act*, any byelaws created by the Assembly for maintenance of facilities or to enter into contracts needed the approval of the President of the Republic. In 1996, the

Assembly was granted powers to engage in any activities “incidental to the exercise of its powers or for the discharge of its duties (Functions of the Assembly 25:2)⁴⁵.

In the new Act, the Assembly can introduce bills into parliament to be enacted into laws, once such laws do not contradict existing laws of the unitary state of Trinidad and Tobago. Changes were also made in the funding scheme. The Tobago House of Assembly Fund was repealed and replaced by a fund established in the Constitution. All revenues collected in Tobago are deposited in the new Fund. Also established in the 1996 *THA Act* is the Dispute Resolution Committee, a body “which shall undertake to resolve disputes between the Assemblyman and the Government on budgetary allocations to the Assembly and matters in connection therewith” (Part V: 56). In 1996, the THA had the power and funds to hire staff and pass laws for the better running of Tobago’s affairs. The 1996 Act gives the Assembly full power to formulate and implement education policy on the island, once such policies do not contradict education policies formulated by the central government in Trinidad. In practice, this means that policies may be implemented in such a manner that may be deemed appropriate in Tobago. Tobago’s educators cannot deviate too much from curriculum policies developed in Trinidad, as all primary school students throughout the twin-island republic take the same examination for promotion to secondary school. The exam driven nature of the system limits the amount of leeway that any educator has, whether they are located in Trinidad or Tobago, to deviate from the official curriculum.

Curriculum Implementation Structure, Tobago

⁴⁵ More specifically “in exercise of its power, the Assembly may propose and adopt Bills in relation to the matters for which it is responsible under section 25” (Functions of the Assembly 29:1).

Most of what was described earlier in the chapter concerning the curriculum implementation structure in Trinidad⁴⁶, occurs, to some extent, in the same way in Tobago as it does in Trinidad (Participant 2, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 16, personal interview, April 2, 2010; Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010; Participant 21, personal interview, February 25, 2010; Participant 26, personal interview, March 1, 2010). Though the CDU is responsible for the development and implementation of curriculum policy in Tobago and Trinidad, in Tobago, this office only creates documents, mails them, trains and monitors teachers. Once documents arrive in Tobago's schools and circulars are mailed to request the presence of teachers at training sessions, the coordination of teacher training is handled by the Secretary for Education and the Assistant Secretary for Education in the Tobago House of Assembly (THA) and the SSIII for Tobago. Within the THA, the Secretary for Education and his/her support staff form a Division (or Directorate) of Education.

It is unclear from the data when the post of SSIII was created for Tobago. One participant, a former School Supervisor II, Curriculum and Acting CEO claims that the post of School Supervisor III, was created for Tobago after the passing of the second Tobago House of Assembly Act in 1996 when Tobago was given more autonomy over its affairs (Interview Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010). Participants from Tobago seemed only to be aware that a School Supervisor III post exists in Tobago, but could not confirm when the position was created or filled. I could not glean from

⁴⁶ The creation of syllabus and curriculum that are mailed to schools, teacher training, teachers' interpreting the syllabus/curriculum into a scheme of work and then a record and forecast

policy documents or from implementation reports of the THA any details about a SSIII in Tobago.

Concerning teacher training, the THA administers the funds for teachers from Tobago to travel to Trinidad for training sessions, while the MoE pays for curriculum personnel to travel to Tobago to conduct staff training. After 1996, once Circulars reach Tobago, the THA's Division of Education would host a meeting of Tobago's principals to apprise them of policy amendments or of new policies. These principal meetings occur in addition to curriculum trainings for teachers that take place in either Trinidad or Tobago.

Also of interest is the fact that, in Tobago, like in other rural areas of Trinidad and Tobago, the curriculum leans towards topics in tourism and agriculture⁴⁷ to reflect Tobago's economy and the realities of life in Tobago (Interview Participant 16, personal interview, April 2, 2010; Interview Participant 24, personal interview, February 26, 2010). However, by the time students arrive in Standards IV and V, the senior grades in primary school where they most prepare for terminal exams, all curriculum materials align to focus on the national syllabus and test taking skills.

Modes of Education Policy Decision-Making: 1950 to 2000

Within this largely top-down system, there are various avenues through which policy decisions are made and various routes, some more formal than others, through

⁴⁷ These topics do play a central role in preparing students for national exams at the end of the primary level. The subjects tested at the end of the primary level are mathematics, English language (spelling, comprehension and grammar), and writing. Topics on tourism and agriculture are tested indirectly in comprehension passages that deal with these topics. Since most of Tobago's income is derived from agriculture and tourism, allowing the inclusion of these topics an overture by the central government to have the curriculum in Tobago reflect life in Tobago.

which policy decisions pass from the center to the periphery. The various routes depend on the purpose of the policy and on where it originates.

We have already alluded to the enactment of laws in the Trinidad and Tobago parliament. Laws or legislated policy constitute the most formal pathway of education decision-making in Trinidad and Tobago. *The 1966 Education Act* is an example of legislated education policy. At the start of the legislative process, MoE staff, with the Prime Minister's approval, in conjunction with experts from various stakeholder groups, committees and consultants draft a policy document. In the early 1990's, Trinidad and Tobago adopted a system of policy formation in which each successive policy draft is 'color coded' to indicate its level of development. This color-coding did not change the process of policy making, which had undergone little change since the 1960's.

Within the color-coded system, the initial policy draft is termed a 'green paper.' Stakeholders⁴⁸ review the green paper. Feedback is collected and the draft policy is revised. If no further changes are needed, the draft goes before the Cabinet. Cabinet may make recommendations or decide that the policy is not viable and refuse to go forward, especially if the draft causes political dissension or negative public opinion. If Cabinet makes recommendations, these recommendations are included in a subsequent draft or White Paper. The White Paper is sent out for stakeholder and public comment. Often free copies are available for review at City Hall in Port-of-Spain and at other civic establishments. Negative feedback at this stage might slow the process, but if the Minister of Education and his/her team of technocrats agree to changes, another White Paper draft is prepared for Cabinet (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009).

⁴⁸ Such as principals, teachers, the general public, denominational boards, academics, business and industry and TTUTA

Cabinet may again make recommendations in the form of a Cabinet Note. A Cabinet Note is basically a list of stipulations in the policy draft with recommendations that Cabinet has accepted. The decision making process may stop here and the Minister of Education can proceed to implement a policy with Cabinet approval alone. The *Education Policy Paper, 1993 to 2003*, also called the *Education White Paper, 1993 to 2003*, is an example of a White Paper that was implemented with Cabinet recommendations and approval.

Cabinet Notes are powerful, but they are not laws, that is, legally binding regulations to which citizens might be held legally accountable. If the Minister of Education or the Prime Minister wants the White Paper “legislated,” that is, made into a law, it is re-drafted by the legal arm of government and then sent to the Attorney General’s office to be enacted. Enactment occurs in two parts. First the policy is drafted as a Bill, and put to the vote before the House of Representatives, that consists of a Lower House and an Upper House (Participant 5, personal interview, July 24, 2009). Again at this stage, the various constituents in the House may have reservations and the Bill can be thrown out or returned for review and re-drafting as was the case with the *1965 Education Bill* that became the *1966 Education Act*. Once both Houses approve the Bill, it becomes an Act or law (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009).

Sometimes during the course of implementation of an Act or a Cabinet Note, it is found that additional resources are needed or human resource allocations need to be amended. These small amendments to policy, policies themselves, may be indicated through Circular Memoranda or ‘Circulars,’ as they are commonly called. Circular Memoranda are memos sent to personnel within the education system, by the MoE,

informing them of various things, including changes in policy. Of the hundreds of Circulars reviewed for this study, these memos transmitted information about public service vacancies in the education sector for both teaching and non-teaching positions; announcements about CDU training workshops; essay and art contests; and other administrative details related to the efficient running of the education system. Circular Memoranda were often signed, for the Minister of Education, by the relevant senior administrative position, such as the PS, the CEO, Director of CDU, or the director of School Supervision.

Since the Minister of Education has leeway in establishing policy, Circulars may also be used for the Minister to declare a policy. For example a change in the way that an examination is administered can be indicated through Circular Memoranda. However, though Circulars can inform constituents about policies, Circulars are not laws. This issue becomes more problematic when Circulars contradict with existing laws as outlined in the *1966 Education Act* or popular ministerial decisions. In these cases, education agencies, particularly TTUTA, may not recognize the policy, citing its illegitimacy (Participant 13, personal interview, February 10, 2010; Participant 14, personal interview, February 10, 2010). Once Circulars are sent out, all personnel for whom the memo was intended indicate that they are aware of policy changes or of new information by signing the memorandum. The list of signatures is sent, via the SSIII to the MoE. The final statement of most Circulars often includes an exhortation to comply with the contents of the Memoranda such as: “Your cooperation is needed and will be appreciated” (Circular Memorandum No. 3, January 11, 2000). Strongly worded exhortations to comply are often in the form of a threat of disciplinary action for repeated non-compliance (Circular

Memorandum No. 15, February 13, 1978). However, in the Trinidad and Tobago education system discipline often takes the form of various reports documenting infringements that must be sent through a carefully monitored channel of communication. Firing a teacher, like suspending a student, can, almost, take an act of Cabinet.

Though the system is largely centralized and top down, policy ideas can originate from tiers below the executive level, particularly curriculum policy. The Minister of Education might, through the PS, convey a particular curriculum policy to the Director of the CDU. The Director may ask for input from relevant Curriculum Officers in the field, who may be more aware of the viability of certain ideas within the school system, given resource, and infrastructure constraints (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009; Participants 7, personal interview, July 28, 2009). Based on consultations with Curriculum Officers or Coordinators, the Director may advise the CEO or the PS, who in turn advises the Minister. The Minister of Education may seek to create a Cabinet Note or a Circular based on the advice of curriculum staff.

There are other ways in which policies, desirable courses of education related actions adopted or advocated by government, are decided upon. These mechanisms are less formal and often only senior level administrators are aware of them. Through interviews with senior education personnel such as former Directors of CDU, school supervisors or Curriculum Officers, we learn that the Minister of Education may also declare a policy or course of action, either verbally or in a written memo, at a senior level meeting and charge those in attendance with implementation. These seemingly impromptu decisions are often related to existing policy and serve the same function as Circular Memorandum.

Summary

In this chapter we described education governance in Tobago and Trinidad from 1851 to 2000. Education governance in both islands of the unitary Republic is a complex issue since both structures and actors involved in education policymaking and implementation have changed constantly during the period under study. The Trinidad and Tobago education system, has throughout its history, been a centralized hierarchical bureaucracy in which policies originate at the top-levels of the MoE (or the Legislative Council during the colonial period) and are implemented by the periphery, in schools. In order to paint a clear picture of the complexity of education governance in the Trinidad and Tobago case, we describe various components of the education system, including: the primary school system; the main stakeholders in the education system; the changing nature of education governance in Tobago and Trinidad from 1851 to 2000; the changing structure of the curriculum implementation structure in the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) from 1950 to 2000; and the various formal and informal ways that education policy decisions are made.

The Trinidad and Tobago primary school system has three types of schools. However, in this study we observe social studies curriculum implementation in schools that use public funds, and so focus here on government schools and denominational or assisted schools. Both government and assisted schools have seven grades or standards: First Year, Second Year, Standard I, Standard II, Standard III, Standard IV and Standard V. At the end of Standard V, all eligible students sit an exam to gain entry to secondary school. In the 1950 to 2000 period, the main exam for entry to secondary school was the Common Entrance Examination (CEE). Primary schools are located within eight

administrative districts (seven districts in Trinidad, one in Tobago), headed by a team of school supervisors (SS)—SSI, SSII and SSIII. School supervisors are one of the main stakeholders in the education system. Other main stakeholders include denominational boards, principals, the minister of education, international organizations, the prime minister, TTUTA and the general public.

Both mandatory and informal factors determine stakeholders in the Trinidad and Tobago education system. School supervisors, denominational boards, principals, the minister of education, and the prime minister are all mandated by the *Education Act, 1966* to ensure that education regulations are upheld in the education system. These stakeholder groups often help set policy agendas at the national level. Denominational boards, particularly the Roman Catholic board, have existed in the education system for over 150 years, and are a powerful force in the Trinidad and Tobago education system. Denominational boards are also powerful because denominational boards run 70% of schools in Trinidad and Tobago. The Minister of Education heads the education system, but reports to the prime minister who is, essentially at the apex of the education system since he/she can marshal support for education regulations and has veto power over education policy decisions. The power of the prime minister over agenda setting in education dates to the 1960's when Eric Williams created a national public education system with the main aims of fostering social integration and promoting economic and social development. International organizations, especially UNESCO and the World Bank, exert power over agenda setting and policy implementation, through funding agreements and the provision of technical assistance that promote social and economic

ideas trends. TTUTA and general public affect education policies through their ability to sway public opinion against or for policy decisions.

Education governance in Trinidad and Tobago has been highly centralized from the colonial period to the present day. Before Tobago and Trinidad were administratively linked in 1889, the British had established a Crown Colony rule. Under the Crown system, education policy was formulated by the Crown in Britain and implemented through a Legislative Council, and local school managers who were either clerics appointed and paid by churches or lay persons, appointed and paid by local borough councils. To monitor schools, the Crown created an Inspectorate of Schools, in 1846, to examine pupils to assess academic performance. Up to 1876, there was one inspector for both Tobago and Trinidad and it is doubtful that he took the steamer regularly to examine pupils in Tobago. An Education Department was established in 1918 and consisted of a Director of Education elected to the Legislative Council, a chief inspector who examined students in secondary schools and five assistant inspectors appointed to monitor primary schools. The education department remained responsible for education governance till 1961. However, the system of education governance was in transition from a colonial structure to a ministerial structure since 1950. This transition is marked by the appointment of a Minister of Education to the Legislative Council in 1950 and the reorganization of the educational administrative structure in 1960. The highlights of this reorganization include the integration of the MoE and the Department of Education, making the Director of Education the Chief Education Officer (CEO) with the main responsibility for policy implementation. The MoE was reorganized into three main branches—a technical branch headed by the CEO, a secretarial branch, under a

Permanent Secretary (PS), and a financial branch under an Accountant. After 1960, changes in education governance (both actors and structures) in the 1950 to 2000 period were dictated by proposals in the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* and the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*. Both these documents contributed to the administrative structure we see in Figure I (See Appendix E).

Within the current governance structure, the CDU is the main unit within the MoE responsible for curriculum policy implementation. In the chain of command the Director of the CDU reports to the CEO. The staffing of the CDU itself has changed throughout the 1950 to 2000 period. However, essentially, the CDU is composed of a director of CDU, Curriculum Coordinators and Curriculum Officers as well as other auxiliary units such as Multi-media Production Unit, composed of Publications, School Broadcasting and Educational Television, the School Libraries Unit, and the Teacher Retraining and Upgrading, now housed separately in Port-of-Spain. To implement curriculum, the Director of CDU translates national level curriculum goals into an overarching curriculum document. Ideally, Curriculum Coordinators supervise a team of Curriculum Officers in the writing of curriculum in related subject areas. Curriculum Coordinators also supervise the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of curriculum in both primary and secondary schools in the entire island. However, because of manpower shortages, both coordinators and officers perform these duties. Coordinators and officers are also responsible for training select teachers to use new or amended curriculum in the classroom. Select teachers then return to school to train other teachers at the school level.

Education policy implementation in Tobago was subject to the same structures, rules and procedures as Trinidad. However, for much of the 1950 to 2000 period, in terms

of education policy implementation, Tobago was treated as Trinidad's rural outpost. In particular, policies were formulated with little attention to the cultural and social differences between Tobago and Trinidad. In 1980, the House of Representatives passed the *THA Act* to facilitate the formulation and implementation of policies referred by the Minister of Finance concerning Tobago. The *THA Act* established a governing council, Tobago House of Assembly to carry out policy implementation in Tobago. However, in reality, the Tobago House of Assembly lacked adequate staffing, and had limited power and funding to carry out policy decisions. Further, all final decisions remained with the Cabinet Minister for Tobago in Port-of-Spain. Another *THA Act* was passed in 1996. The *1996 THA Act* gave more powers to the Tobago House of Assembly to formulate and implement policies and laws once such policies and laws do not contradict the Trinidad and Tobago Constitution. Under the *1996 THA Act*, all revenues collected in Tobago are deposited in a fund, such that Tobago has more control over the collection of revenue and how that revenue is spent. Under the *1996 THA Act*, Curriculum Coordinators and Officers translate curriculum policies formulated in Trinidad, into curriculum in various subject areas. Curriculums are then mailed to schools in Tobago. Once documents arrive in Tobago's schools and circulars are mailed to request the presence of teachers at training sessions. The coordination of teacher training is handled by the Secretary for Education and the Assistant Secretary for Education in the Tobago House of Assembly and the SSIII for Tobago. Within the THA, the Secretary for Education and his/her support staff form a Division (or Directorate) of Education.

In Trinidad and Tobago, education policy decisions are made through various formal and informal means. In formal means, policy is first drafted as a green paper. The

green paper is sent out for stakeholder and Cabinet comment. Stakeholder and Cabinet recommendations are compiled and the proposed policy is redrafted as a white paper. The new white paper is again submitted to the Cabinet. Cabinet's recommendations are then drafted as Cabinet Notes, which can be implemented as official policy. To make Cabinet Notes more powerful, they can be legislated through the Attorney General's office.

Proposed legislation are drafted as bills, and put to the vote before the House of Representatives. An approved bill becomes an act or law under the Trinidad and Tobago Constitution. To make amendments to laws, Cabinet Notes or white papers, the MoE can also issue Circular Memorandum or 'circulars.' Circulars are memos sent to personnel within the education system to inform them of changes in policy as well as to provide general information on issues as varied as job vacancies and essay contests. Informal means of education decision making often occur at high-level meetings in the MoE. At these meetings the Minister of Education may declare a policy verbally and charge those present with enacting the policy in the system. The minister may also hand out a memo at a high-level meeting and also charge those present with enacting the policy in the education system. However, like Cabinet Notes, white papers and circulars, verbal declarations and memos at high-level meetings are not laws and can be challenged by stakeholder groups, especially if they are unpopular or contradict existing laws, practices and procedures within the education system.

CHAPTER 4

Historical Institutionalization in Education Policy Making

Introduction

Since the beginning of mass schooling in the mid 19th century, both the British government and the national government of Trinidad and Tobago have made education policy decisions with three main aims. These policies aim to create loyal citizens, resolve the issue of who should control the schools and increase students' access to schooling regardless of race, ethnicity, religion or social class. This chapter explores the influence of almost one hundred years, 1851 to 1950, of education policy decisions aimed at social integration, (specifically, policy decisions aimed at creating loyal citizens, and increase students' access to schooling regardless of race, ethnicity, religion or social class) on policy making during the 1950 to 2000 period. This chapter attempts to answer Research Question (1): What were the effects of Trinidad's and Tobago's political and historical context on education policy decisions aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period? The hypothesis is that policy decisions concerning the integration of persons of diverse religions, ethnicities and classes in schools, during the 1850 to 1950 period became so institutionalized in the system that it was difficult for policy actors in the 1950 to 2000 period do things differently than they had in the past.

As discussed in Chapter 1, we use the concept of *cultural historical institutionalism* as a theoretical lens to analyze historical and political events and behaviors that constrain the policy choices and activities of actors within the Trinidad and Tobago mass education system. Individuals in the cultural approach to historical

institutionalism are deeply embedded within institutions⁴⁹, yet construct institutions with their actions, while at the same time these actions are constrained by the institutions of which they are a part (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p. 939). In the Trinidad and Tobago education policymaking and implementation landscape, two sets of shared concepts seem to produce ideas that constrain the behavior of actors:

1) Government-run schools can be used as social integration tools because they allow access to all religions, ethnicities and social classes

(2) Denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system in Trinidad and in Tobago.

A review of the historical record shows that the institutionalization of the ideas that government run schools can be used as social integration tools and, that denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system occurs in two phases. In phase one, beginning in 1851 and ending roughly around the mid-1880's, we see a steady decline in religious schools and the ascendance of government-run schools. Within the same period, policies that were largely aimed at reducing the number of religious schools contained provisions that laid the institutional structure for phase two, the institutionalization of the idea that denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system. Policies implemented within

⁴⁹ To recall, institutions, “shared concepts used by humans in repetitive situations organized by rules, norms and strategies” produce ideas that “constrain limits of acceptable actions of government...and provide a set of ready solutions for policy problems that arise within their domain” (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p. 938; Peters, 1999, p.66; Ostrom, 2007, p.23).). Institutions “provide moral and cognitive templates for interpretation and action” (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p. 939). Institutional culture may be defined as “the codes, rules and ideas, however informal, which develop to regulate and maintain the relations between and among individuals in group settings” (Bissessar 2000, p. 17).

the 1851 to 1880 period facilitated an increase in the number of religious schools by the end of the 19th century and well into the 20th century.

A third institution provides cognitive and moral templates for interpreting education policy governance in Tobago. From the historical record, it seems that: (3) Tobago, in contrast to Trinidad, is different, separate and inferior. The historical development of this institution is rooted in Tobago's system of self-government that pre-dates self-government in Trinidad, cultural and social differences between Tobago and Trinidad, and the political machinations of the Williams regime in the 1970 to 1980 period.

The development of all three cultural institutions during the 1851-1950 period, and the ways that they influenced education policy decisions in the 1950 to 2000 period will be discussed in the sections that follow. We will briefly discuss the beginnings of mass schooling in Trinidad and Tobago and some of the main social integration policies that were aimed at legitimizing the power of the government in mass schooling, centralizing the education system and reducing the power of the churches. Though we will briefly discuss some curriculum policy decisions from the 1950 to 2000 period here, a full treatment of curriculum policies aimed at social integration will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Mass Schooling

The systematic abolition of slavery throughout the British West Indies occurred over a four-year period, beginning in 1834 and ending in 1838⁵⁰. Though slavery was not

⁵⁰ It was hoped that former slaves would undergo a four-year apprenticeship to create a trained labor force for plantation and estate owners, and to facilitate the gradual phasing out of bondage labor by 1838.

yet fully eliminated, the declaration of emancipation in 1934 created an “opportunity for a mass provision of day schools for black and coloured⁵¹ children” (Campbell, 1996, p.1). For about ten years after emancipation, the Crown, through the Colonial Secretariat, sent an annual subsidy to Trinidad⁵² to build schools and pay teachers’ salaries. Though the government aided this early system of schooling, it was neither “superintended nor controlled by the Government⁵³” (British House of Commons, 1905, p. 178). The intention of the Crown was that Protestant missions run by the Church of England would use the annual subsidy to create a wide spread school system. However, the Church of England did not have sufficient missionaries in Trinidad to assist the Crown in the building and running of schools. The Roman Catholic Church, present in the island since the first Spanish settlements in the sixteenth century, and fueled by French immigration in the 1770’s, built and ran the first widespread primary school system⁵⁴ in Trinidad. By 1838, at the end of the apprenticeship period, there were about thirty-two⁵⁵ schools in Trinidad supported with a combination of church funds and government funds from either the British Crown or local municipal government (Campbell, 1996, p.4). The majority of these schools, twenty-five, were run by the Roman Catholics and the Church of England.

The documentary record is thin on the state of Tobago’s schools before 1889. But the historical record indicates that before 1889 and up until around 1939, there were no

⁵¹ British spelling in original

⁵² The Legislative Council did not begin making education policy decisions for Tobago until 1890, one year after the two islands were joined under the British Act of Union.

⁵³ Upper case ‘G’ in original

⁵⁴ These schools were, initially, run with Church funds as catholic missions were not eligible for education subsidies because of England’s long established prejudice against Catholicism since the time of the Reformation.

⁵⁵ This number does not include private schools run by organizations or individuals.

government schools in Tobago, only Protestant primary schools (Campbell, 1996; Campbell, 1998). As such, the Roman Catholic presence is stronger in Trinidad than in Tobago. Even today, there are few Roman Catholic schools in Tobago. Hindu and Muslim schools were also present in Trinidad by 1889, though Hindu and Muslim religious boards were not officially recognized till 1933 (*Education Ordinance*, 1933).

The historical fact that mass primary schooling started as a religious-led endeavor and that churches and their clerics continued to build and manage schools in both Tobago and Trinidad even after the government began centralizing education governance and subsidizing schools fueled a power struggle between secular and religious interests that persists to the present day. The main debate concerns whether schools should be controlled by churches or by the government. This secular/religious debate lies at the core of education policies aimed at social integration. The main reason is that religion in Trinidad and Tobago society, though less so in Tobago, is bound up with ethnicity, culture and social class.

Religious schools, up until the 20th century, tended to accommodate students of the same religion as the school, to the exclusion of others. These ‘others’ tended to be of a particular ethnicity and/or social class. As such, the government and other secular powers perceived religious schools as a divisive force in society since religious schools tended to reinforce cultural and class differences. There is a prevailing belief that government schools admit students of all religions, downplaying ethnic, cultural and class differences in favor of a common identity⁵⁶. For reasons explored in Chapter 1,

⁵⁶ During the colonial period, this “identity” was that of a British subject who spoke English (British House of Commons, 1905; Williams, 1982). After WWII, when Williams began campaigning to be the first Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, he

mass education was the main tool in the social integration project in both the colonial and postcolonial period.

Government Schools as Social Integration Tools

In 1842, Governor Sir Henry Mac Leod, in a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote that:

There is perhaps no British Colony, where, from the mixed nature of its inhabitants...the necessity of some general plan of education is more required than in Trinidad...Yet the differences of languages and religion make it more imperative that the system to be adopted should be one under the control of the government... to make it accessible to all parties and creeds, but to cause the language spoken to be that of the Country to which this Colony belongs.

(As quoted in Williams, 1982, p.196)

Governor Mc Leod (1842- 1846) advocated that the heterogeneous population of Trinidad be unified through a government run education system in which the language of instruction was English. Recall that by 1838, about 78% of primary schools in Trinidad were built by churches and run by the clergy. The Roman Catholic Church funded Roman Catholic Schools, while Protestant schools were partially funded by British subsidies or municipal funds. Up until the early 1840's Mc Leod and his chief advisor, Attorney General Charles Warner, tried to push a non-denominational education agenda. However the Legislative Council had neither the funds nor the political will to create an adequate number of government schools (Campbell, 1996, p.9). It was not until the *1851 Education Plan* of Governor Lord Harris that a successful non-denominational school system was set up. Warner was Harris' advisor and many of Harris' policies were influenced by Warner's ideals for a non-denominational system. Warner and his supporters advocated for non-denominational schools as they perceived religious schools

exhorted future citizens to accept a Trinidad and Tobago identity, one inclusive of all the country's peoples regardless of origin, ethnicity, religion or class.

to be a divisive force in society. Government schools were thought to be open to all creeds and so promoted social integration. Government schools also served the chief purpose of creating citizens out of newly freed peoples, many of who had recently migrated from North America and other British territories, and as a measure to combat labor shortages that occurred after the abolition of slavery (British House of Commons, 1905).

In 1847, Harris proposed two economic measures to support a wide spread publicly funded education system—the *Warden’s Ordinance* and the *Municipal Ordinance* (See Table IV in Appendix J). The *Warden’s Ordinance* divided the island into wards, headed by volunteer wardens with the power to collect property taxes. The *Municipal Ordinance* was meant to be the second phase of the *Warden’s Ordinance*. Chiefly, the *Municipal Ordinance* was to establish an elected municipal council to replace the wardens and to oversee the spending of tax revenue on schools, roads and hospitals (Campbell, 1996, p. 5). In 1851, Trinidad and Tobago had a population of 69,600, a population that was “mixed and heterogeneous both in aspects of religion and nationality” (Maurice Report 1959, p. i). At least eight religions, “Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Gentoos⁵⁷, Mahometans⁵⁸” as well as “unknown religions” and “heathen” were identified in 1851 Trinidad society (Board of Education, 1905, p. 178). The *1851 Harris Education Plan*, the first “systematic consideration of education in Trinidad,” complemented the *Municipal Ordinance* and the

⁵⁷ An early term, of contested origin, used to describe non-Muslim in India during the 19th century

⁵⁸ An early term referring to followers of Islam

Warden's Ordinance, two economic policies passed four years before (Maurice Report 1959, p. i; Newton, 1975).

The main goals of Harris' *Education Plan* were to form a Board of Education; appoint a system of school inspectors; create a teachers' training college; end funding to religious schools; exclude clergy from school management; and open a series of free ward schools funded by local taxes. Concerning religious instruction the *Education Plan, 1851* states:

- (a) *That no religious instruction whatever was to be imparted in schools*
- (b) *That under no circumstances were school masters to give religious instruction*
- (c) *That the religious instruction of the children was to be committed to their respective pastors, who, upon a day set apart for the purpose in each week, the schools being closed on that day, were to impart such instruction in the churches or elsewhere.*

(Education Plan, 1851)

In 1869, P. J. Keenan, an Inspector of Schools from Ireland was selected by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to report on the state of education in Trinidad. In an education report presented to the British House of Commons in 1870, Keenan reports that "Lord Harris's scheme appears to have been received with much popular favor" despite it being "a heavy burden on taxpayers" (British House of Commons, p. 7). Nineteen years after the implementation of the *Education Plan, 1851* the Roman Catholic clergy and lay ministers were in frank opposition to ward schools, and used their own funds to continue opening "schools under their own exclusive management, making religion an indispensable feature of the instruction" (British House of Commons, 1870, p. 7). In interviews, Protestants conveyed to Keenan that they favored the ward system over a denominational one. However Protestant support may have been an attempt to show overt allegiance to the Crown, as like the Catholics, Protestants continued to build and run their

own schools. In essence, a denominational system co-existed with Harris' ward system by 1870. Further, the implementation of the secular system was plagued by the problem of property. Simply put, few schools were built and owned by the colonial government. In 1869, Keenan estimates the number of publicly owned schools to be thirteen out of a total of thirty ward schools (British House of Commons, p. 8).

In the same year that Keenan presents his report, the Legislative Council passed the *1870 Education Ordinance*, a policy document that officially recognized the dual nature of the primary school system consisting of “schools already established or to be thereafter established by the government, and to be maintained entirely from the public funds of the Colony; and, secondly, assisted schools to be established by local managers, to which aid should be contributed from the public funds” (*Education Ordinance, 1870*). In order to receive funding, assisted schools were to “be open to all children, without distinction of religion or race” and have teachers licensed by the Board of Education (Board of Education, 1905, p. 182). Despite the facts that religious entities continued to open and run schools and that the government owned fewer school buildings than the churches, Harris' Plan, particularly provisions that stopped public aid to religious schools and that required all teachers to be licensed⁵⁹ by the Board of Education, did result in a steady decline of denominational schools by 1875. Further, religious schools were funded with church funds and philanthropic contributions, while government schools, under provisions made in Harris' plan, were funded by both tax revenue and ward revenue as outlined in the *Warden's Ordinance*. Denominational boards could not keep up and by 1876, there were 19 denominational schools and 47 government schools, a number

⁵⁹ Licensure required that teachers pass an exam administered by the Board of Education

which, by 1887 had increased to 57 compared with 45 denominational schools in the same year (CP 44 of 1877).

In 1875, another policy, the *1875 Education Ordinance*, revised the *1870 Ordinance*, and expressly reinstated government funding to religious schools to cover a portion of teachers' salaries and rent, and established a system of fee-based primary schooling⁶⁰. Stipulations concerning funding and licensure in the *1870* and *1875 Ordinances* constitute measures to make religious schools part of a centralized secular school administration that was essentially governed by school inspectors. Conditions of the stipulations were that denominational schools maintain clean surroundings, an average daily attendance and satisfactory academic performance as determined by the school inspector (*Education Ordinance, 1870*).

History does not record if Harris' ward schools resulted in a more integrated society, meaning, if ward schools resulted in a society that paid less interest to racial, religious and cultural distinctiveness and was unified on English values and the English language. What is important to note is that Warner's and Harris' education policies aimed at reducing social differences constitute an early event that had lasting effects on education policies well into the 20th century. Education schemes outlined in the *Education Ordinance, 1851* were supported by stipulations concerning Board licensure of teachers and reduced funding to religious schools in the *1870* and *1875 Ordinances* that reduced the number of denominational schools by the end of the 19th century. Together, these policies constitute a series of self-reinforcing events that seemingly created an

⁶⁰ The main reason for these measures was the high cost of schooling and reports of poor academic performance by school inspectors. Contemporarily, as will be discussed later in this chapter, sugar, the main cash crop in the British Colonial economy was on a steady decline resulting in decreased revenues for civic endeavors.

indelible informal code of rules, which dictate that in the Trinidad Tobago education policymaking and implementation landscape government-run schools can be used as social integration tools because they allow access to all religions, ethnicities and social classes.

Religious Schools Become Part of the Government System

When the British sought to create a mass education system in Trinidad there was a mismatch between intention and capacity. The policy was implemented, but not in the manner that the Crown desired. The Legislative Council implemented the policy by giving small subsidies to religious entities to open and run primary schools. Lord Harris' *Education Plan, 1851* created a trajectory that substantially reduced the number of religious schools by 1887. The self-reinforcing sequence of policy decisions and historical events in the 1851 to 1870 period correspond to a "critical juncture"⁶¹ around 1890 that reversed the ascendance of non-denominational schools spurred by Harris' economic and education policies, and set the school system on a different institutional path.

One important event in the sequence was the arrival of the Canadian Presbyterian Church in 1968 that focused on educating the growing Indian⁶² population. These

⁶¹ "Critical junctures are characterized by the adoption of a particular institutional arrangement from among two or more alternatives. These junctures are "critical" because once a particular option is selected it becomes progressively more difficult to return to the initial point when multiple alternatives were still available" (Mahoney, 2000, p.513).

⁶² After emancipation of the slaves in the British Empire in 1838, the British sought to replace slave labor on sugar plantations and cocoa estates through the importation of Indian indentured laborers from throughout the British Empire. The first shipment of Indian⁶² indentured laborers arrived in Trinidad from Calcutta in 1845 (Williams, 1982; Yelvington, 1993). This group was not homogeneous, as it was comprised of peoples who possessed various languages, such as Bhajpori (Hindi), Gujrati and Tamil, as well as

Canadian Mission schools began receiving public funds in 1891 on the grounds that they were “open to children of all races” and maintained an average daily attendance of thirty students (*Report of Select Committee of the Board of Education in Special Indian Schools*, 1905). Second, the Catholic Church waged a worldwide campaign to assert itself against secularism and demanded the right to teach religious doctrines in its schools (Campbell, 1996, p.29). Policy decisions in the *1870 Education Ordinance* and *1875 Ordinance* reinforced the creation of the institutional path in which religious schools become part of the government system. The *1870 Education Ordinance* recognized a dual system, and the *1875 Ordinance* expanded the government school system by funding more denominational schools make the change in institutional trajectory even more legible. The critical juncture in the self-reinforcing sequence of these events and policies was the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*. The *1890 Ordinance* repealed provisions concerning religious schools in both the *1870 and 1875 Education Ordinances*. Though these two policies contributed to the decline of denominational schools as propagated by the *Education Ordinance, 1851*, the *1870 and 1875 Education Ordinances*, in sanctioning a dual education corresponded to a shift in the sequence of events that led to the ascendance of denominational schools in Trinidad and Tobago. The trajectory of the *1870 and 1875 Education Ordinances* become legible in the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*, some 20 years later.

The *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890* went a long way in legitimizing the power of government over denominational schools in both Tobago and Trinidad and

various religions, Hinduism and Islam being the chief among them (Williams, 1982; Khan, 2000).

“marked a crucial turning point in the dual system by giving the denominational schools certain advantages which they retained for the next two generations. It put denominational schools...in the mainstream of development; they became, morally, socially and politically the norm⁶³” (Campbell, 1996, p.33). Indeed, this is bolstered by the fact that, in 2000, religious schools outnumbered government schools 7:3 in Trinidad and Tobago, and that education regulation and policies after 1890 and up until the present day maintain and support the dual nature of the education system. Many provisions in the *1890 Ordinance* support the dual nature of the system.

Under this 1890 policy, assisted schools no longer needed to establish sufficient academic performance, to receive aid which was increased to support 75% of the total cost of the upkeep of buildings and furniture and 75% of teacher’s salaries (British House of Commons, 1905, p.184). The students of Indian parents still under the stipulated five years of indenture, as well as poor children, were exempt from paying school fees. In the *1890 Ordinance*, the government agreed to “pay to the managers of assisted schools, the fees of scholars exempted from payment” (British House of Commons, 1905, p.184).

In terms of education governance, the *1890 Ordinance*, again, re-established⁶⁴ a Board of Education, composed of the governor as the head, two members of the Legislative Council and six other members, of which three had to be Roman Catholic and the other three non-Roman Catholics (*Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*). On the

⁶³ Indeed the *1890 Ordinance* was followed by various amendments in 1901, and 1902 meant to reduce its effect, such as setting a higher daily attendance rate of fifty for assisted schools, but the dependent path created by its implementation could not be easily reversed (See TABLE IV in Appendix J).

⁶⁴ The Board of Education was first established in the *1851 Education Plan* and then again in the *1870 and 1875 Education Ordinances*, but according to contemporary reports, the Board met infrequently or was deemed to be heavily influenced by Roman Catholicism

issues of non-discrimination and social integration in schools, the 1890 policy provides that:

(1) No applicant shall be refused admission into any school on account of the religious persuasion, nationality, race or language of such applicant or of either of his parents or guardians

Put another way, any student can attend any school regardless of his or her racial, religious or language background or the race, religion or language of his or her parent. This provision, particularly as all schools are now funded by the government, essential sets up a condition of admission to all schools within the education system and works in tandem with funding schemes outlined in the *1890 Ordinance*. This statement of anti-discrimination is still upheld in the Trinidad and Tobago education system and, as we will see later in this chapter, forms part of the education regulations as outlined in the *Education Act, 1966*. The provisions and stipulations outlined above help bolster the institutional idea that religious schools form part of the national system in Trinidad and Tobago.

Perhaps the most sweeping evidence for establishing the enduring concept that religious schools are part of the national system must be stated in full:

(6) It shall be lawful for the Board to make order for the discountenance of any Government School in any locality in which Assisted Schools sufficient for the instruction children of the locality shall be established and conducted to the satisfaction of the Board: Provided always that such discountenance shall not take place if such Government School does not fall below an average attendance of twenty-five Scholars and the education therein is satisfactory

(Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890)

If a government school's attendance falls below 25 or it is deemed unsatisfactory by the Education Board, the schools may be closed if an assisted school could sufficiently serve the students in a particular area.

The *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*, provides for Religious Instructions to be a timetabled part of the school day in assisted schools, as they were in government schools. The *1890 Ordinance* also allows parents to withdraw their children from school-based religious observations without penalty. In these stipulations, we see the pre-cursor to provisions concerning students taking part in school based religious instructions outlined more than forty years later in the *Education Ordinance, 1933*.

Though the *1933 Ordinance* was meant to regulate the entire education system and was drafted, primarily, to address complaints of Indian parents that their children were being converted to Christianity in schools run by Canadian Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian Mission built and ran ‘estate schools,’ so called because they were run on sugar and cocoa estates where Indian laborers worked (British House of Commons, 1870). Before the Presbyterian Mission built primary schools for Indian children there was no systematic attempt⁶⁵ by colonial powers to educate the Indian population until 1891. By the early 20th century a system of Indian education was well established in Trinidad, though there were no clear guidelines on proselytizing. On this issue the *1933 Ordinance* states:

Religious Instruction may be given only during hours set apart for the purpose and inserted in the time table, and shall not form part of the school curriculum....[A]ny scholar may be withdrawn by his parent or guardian from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school (p.8).

The fact that this stipulation is clarified in the *Education Ordinance, 1933* may indicate that this procedure may not have been maintained in many schools after the passing of

⁶⁵ There were private schools organized and funded by Protestant ministers or by individuals, but these attempts seemed largely unsuccessful (British House of Commons, 1870).

the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*, or that such a procedure was difficult to implement in estate schools which remained outside the purview of government superintendence until 1891 or thereafter. The *1933 Ordinance* also authorizes parents to withdraw their children from school so that children might take part in the religious observances upheld by the religious body to which the parent belongs (p.8). Stipulations in the *1933 Ordinance* that religious instructions not form part of the school curriculum are reminiscent of similar stipulation in the *1851 Education Plan*. The main difference is that the *1851 Plan* required that religious instruction not take place in the school building at all.

By the time of the *1933 Ordinance*, religious schools were an accepted part of the education system. Schools that received public funds could no longer discriminate against students and their parents on the basis of religion or race. Assisted schools could not teach religion as part of the school curriculum but in timetabled sessions apart from the school curriculum. Parents could keep their children from school, citing religious observances that may or may not match those of the school. All these stipulations, except those that disallow religion in the school curriculum, become part of education regulations in the *1966 Education Act*. The *Education Act* resolves the issue of whether religious instruction shall form part of the curriculum of schools that receive public funds. Indeed, some stipulations are rephrased for clarity in the *Education Act*, but are essentially the same.

In the post WWI period, the position of denominational schools in the education system was bolstered by recommendations first outlined in the *1932 Mayhew and Marriot Report*. The Report evaluated the education system and created policy

recommendations aimed at improving the system. The main recommendations are outlined in the policy map in Table IV (See Appendix G). Of note are recommendations to expand the public system by building new schools and by increasing support to denominational schools. Marriot, the then Director of Education sat on the Legislative Council, so he was able to marshal political support and a series of Council-backed loans to implement almost all his recommendations. In 1937 there were 247 denominational primary schools and 47 government primary schools, further evidence of the denominational character of the ‘public system’ (Campbell, 1996, p.304).

Just before WWII, the British House of Commons proposed a series of policies aimed at promoting development⁶⁶ in the colonies. The British government funded the *Moyne Commission* in 1939, aimed at improving development and education. In its recommendations, the Commission reiterated some of the policy goals of the *1890 Ordinance* and added that the government, rather than the churches, should control the appointment and transfer of teachers (Campbell, 1996, pp.198-201). This aspect of the policy was implemented despite the initial controversy it created and was formalized as part of the national Trinidad and Tobago education system in the *Concordant*, 1960 discussed at length later in this chapter.

National Education

In July 1957, the PNM through the Ministry of Education and Culture (formerly the Ministry of Education and Social Services) set up a commission, popularly called the *Maurice Commission*, to review and make recommendations for the education system. The *Maurice Commission* was the first review of the education system conducted by a

⁶⁶ The situation was deemed dire in Trinidad and Tobago, because of labor riots in 1937 that resulted in loss of property and life (Williams, 1982).

non-colonial entity and was charged with two interrelated goals (Maurice Report 1959, p.1). One goal was to create “an education system with a unified national objective aimed at integrating the diverse elements of a cosmopolitan and democratic society” (Maurice Report 1959, p.5). The other goal was to create an education administration with “administrative policy that takes into account the important circumstance of political change and come to grips with it” (Maurice Report 1959, p.5). Put another way, the *Maurice Commission* was to make policy recommendations aimed at social integration and create an education administration that took into account the transition from dependent colony to autonomous nation.

In 1959, denominational schools comprised the majority of schools. These schools admitted students on the basis of religious affiliation, and hence race and class, so much so that the *Maurice Report* argues that “the major problem of [Trinidad and Tobago’s] education system was its heritage of schools built for children of a particular religion or race” (1959, p. 2). To create an integrated system the *Report* recommends a series of interrelated policies concerning curriculum, teacher training and the power structure of the education system.

On curriculum, the *Report* recommends that religious instruction be added to all schools at a specified time of day, led by persons from religious establishments, in much the same way as was outlined in the *1933 Ordinance*. The *Report* also recommends that the English grammar school curriculum be discarded in favor of a curriculum that reflected the material opportunities of the island, namely agriculture and its related skills. These curriculum changes were never implemented, as the Maurice Commission did not seem to appreciate the power that the traditional academic curriculum had on the psyche

of school personnel, students, parents and the larger population. The focus on an academic rationalist curriculum was supported by a curriculum geared towards preparation for various examinations based on English grammar school education (Mc D'Alleyne, 1995; Participant 17, personal interview, August 4, 2009; Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009).

In recommendations concerning teacher training, untrained teachers from government and assisted schools were to be jointly trained in an emergency course for one year, commencing in 1958, to promote integration of the teaching force. The *Report* suggests that this measure might promote social integration but does not say exactly how the emergency course might do so.

In recommendations concerning the education power structure, the Maurice Commission recommends that the PNM government decentralize the education system, shifting power to local districts rather than denominational school boards, and that the government assume ownership and management of denominational school buildings. Cabinet approved these recommendations in 1960 and, the PNM government began a systematic implementation of these policies (Trinidad and Tobago Government, 1960). However, there was much public debate and outcry from religious groups and school boards on this issue, and many religious publications dubbed the policy a form of “legalized theft” (Campbell, 1997, p.128).

Williams, an astute politician, realized that there could be no national system of education without the cooperation of the denominational schools. In 1960, John S. Donaldson, the Minister of Education and Culture, drafted a concordant between the government of Trinidad and Tobago and denominational boards and schools. *The*

Concordant, 1960 is a policy document that corrects all the offending recommendations in the *Maurice Commission* and outlines policies to promote social integration. *The Concordant, 1960* after the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890* is a powerful policy in the government's quest to centralize the school system and to secure fiscal and administrative dominion over denominational schools and their boards. *The Concordant* promotes social integration in three main ways:

1. It protects the rights of students attending denominational schools, in that students who attend "schools of a Denomination not of their own faith will not be compelled to take part in the religious exercises or lessons of that Denomination" (The *Concordant, 1960*). This measure has its legacy in the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890* and the *1933 Ordinance*.

2. It shifts control of the denominational primary school teaching force from denominational boards to the government. As such, the "appointment, retention, promotion, transfer and dismissal" of primary school teachers resided with the Public Service Commission, but denominational boards had the right to make recommendations for teachers to the Public Service Commission, and to refuse Service Commission teacher appointments on moral or religious grounds pending an investigation (The *Concordant, 1960*). Denominational Boards could also select teachers for training at the government-run teachers training colleges, pending the approval of the Minister of Education and Culture. The notion of government control over the appointment of teachers has its roots in provisions in the *Education Plan, 1851* that called for the creation of a government-run teacher college to complement those run by the Roman Catholic and the Church of England. Though a government teaching college was not opened till much later, we see

this desire for government control over the work of teachers articulated again and again in policy. *The Concordant, 1960* set requirements that teachers be licensed by the Board of Education, similar to requirements set out in the *Education Ordinance, 1870* and the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*⁶⁷

3. In the same year that the *Concordant* appeared both the Primary School Certificate Examination and College Exhibition Examination were abolished and replaced with the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) the following year (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1960). The College Exhibition, aimed at the poorer classes, was an examination that allowed the colonial government and the Ministry of Education and Culture to annually select, “a few brilliant boys for free secondary education” (Campbell 1997, p. 5). At the end of primary school, all students sat the Primary School Certificate Examination, and upon successfully passing this exam, received a Primary School Certificate. In contrast, the CCE was a ‘common’ exam that all students, both in assisted and government primary schools took to determine admission to secondary school. The caveat is that the government appoints 80% of successful passes to secondary schools, based on parental choice, and denominational school principals appoint 20%, “as they see fit,” based on successful passes at the CEE (*The Concordant, 1960*).

The CEE⁶⁸ is one of the most powerful education social integration policies. The CEE was meant to reduce the power of denominational schools by offering an exam common to all secondary schools as an alternative to the system in which each secondary

⁶⁷ In the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*, elementary teachers must hold a “Certificate of Competence to teach in such a school..., which ...shall be given by the Board after such examination as the Board shall prescribe, or without examination, but subject to such conditions as to previous training as the Board shall prescribe” (*Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*).

⁶⁸ CEE was approved by Cabinet in 1960 and implemented in 1961

school holding its own exam as a condition of admission or as an alternative to the extremely difficult and selective College Exhibition Examination. This coupled with the 80% government control over the placement of student sets the stage for expansion of secondary schools and for the creation of a national curriculum after independence in 1962⁶⁹.

Stipulations concerning social integration in *The Concordant, 1960* worked in tandem with social integration statutes outlined in the *Education Act, 1966*. *The Act* legitimized the power of the government over education in Trinidad and Tobago and set up a hierarchical structure that shared power over the education system between governmental and denominational entities in the country. The *Education Act* was written in conjunction with the *Education Teaching Service Regulations*⁷⁰, 1967, and regulates government appointment of teachers as outlined in *The Concordant, 1960*. All teachers registered under the *1966 Education Act*, as of 1968 are considered part of a “unified Teaching Service” (The Teaching Service, Education Act, 1966). The *1967 Act* concerns various aspects of the teaching service including rates of remuneration, allowances, sick

⁶⁹ However, though the CEE did improve access to secondary education for thousands of students in poor, working class and middle class families, the structure of the exam and the administration of the exam, over time, resulted in inequality based on gender, geographic location, and according to some reports social class, a factor tied to ethnicity and religion in the Trinidad and Tobago context (Report of the Task Force for the Removal of the Common Entrance Exam, 1998).

⁷⁰ The *Education Teaching Service Regulations, 1967* governs the work of teachers of all “grades,” including the “principal, vice-principal, head of department, teacher-holder of a university degree, or a teacher’s certificate or other equivalent qualifications, special teacher; part-time teacher and pupil teacher” (*Education Teaching Service Regulations, 1967*). All former policies concerning the appointment and transfer teachers, are subsumed under the *Education Teaching Service Regulations, 1967*. Dismissal of teachers remains under the guidelines of the *Education Act* and are subject to investigation and formal disciplinary proceedings that begin as ‘paper trails’ at the school and district level. Final decisions are made at the MoE level.

and maternity leave, provisions for holding public office or running businesses and terms of termination (*Education Teaching Service Regulations, 1967*). The *Education Teaching Service Regulations, 1967* is the regulatory framework of the Teaching Service Commission, an administrative branch of the Civil Service established in 1967 to conduct the business of recruitment, appointment, transfer and dismissal of teachers.

The *1966 Act* and the *1967 Teaching Regulations* are meant to complement each other and to support implementation of provisions in the *1960 Concordant*. However, we focus here on the *1966 Education Act* as it legitimizes, in the post-colonial period, the historical institutions concerning education policies aimed at social integration: 1) Government-run schools can be used as social integration tools because they allow access to all religions, ethnicities and social classes; and (2) Denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system in Trinidad and in Tobago.

The text of the 1966 Act⁷¹ states its main purpose as “An Act to make better provision for the promotion of education in Trinidad and Tobago” (Education Act, 1966, [Title]). Implied in this purpose is the idea that there was an education system already in place when the Act was signed into law on August 27, 1966. As such, once the Act was passed, all aspects of publicly funded⁷² education in Trinidad and Tobago were subsumed under it (Education Act, 1966). The public school system encompasses “infant or nursery schools” for children below the age of five; primary schools for children aged five to twelve; junior secondary schools for students aged twelve to fourteen; vocational schools

⁷¹ Excluding amendments

⁷² Public schools include government schools, schools “wholly owned by the government,” or assisted schools, schools that are assisted with government funds (Education Act, Classification 11). Recall also that the term “assisted schools” dates to the *Education Ordinance, 1870*.

for “craftsmen and technicians”; teachers’ training colleges; schools for the mentally and physically handicapped; and schools of adult education (Education Act, Public Schools 12.). In sum, the Act governs all children and adults in educational institutions fully or partially supported by public funds. We pay particular attention here to clauses concerning issues of social integration in public schools, that is, Clause 7 and Clause 29.

Clause 7, *Prohibition of Discrimination 7*, states:

*7. No person shall be refused admission to any public school on account of the religious persuasion, race, social status or language of such person or of his parent*⁷³.

Clause (7) is similar to the anti-discrimination clause in the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*. The main difference is the addition of the term “social status,” referring to class differences. Like race, religion in Trinidad and Tobago is also tied to class, with those in the upper and middle classes tending to be Roman Catholic. The addition of “social status,” also reflects Williams’ own ideals to use the education system to promote integration of social class, as well as race and religion. It seems that Eric Williams, and supporters of the Education Bill, intended for Clause (7) to have a broader application than outlined in the 1966 Act. In his last exhortation speech before the Act was adopted, Williams informed the House that in initial comments to the draft Bill, one organization stated that in Clause (7) “there is written in a whole civil rights law that must be the envy of countries larger and more powerfully endowed with resources, social and economic, than Trinidad and Tobago is” (Sutton, 1981, p.246). Supporters saw Clause (7), as civil rights in the school system. It is reasonable to think that this comment refers to Civil Rights laws passed in the U.S. just two years before, laws that extended equal civil rights under the law to blacks, other minorities and women.

⁷³ In the Education Act “parent” includes guardian (Education Act, 1966, Preliminary, Interpretation 2).

Clause 29, the so-called “Conscience Clause” states:

29. (1) no child shall be required as a condition of admission into, or continuing in, a public school-

(a) to attend or to abstain from attending any Sunday School or any place of religious worship;

(b) to attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere from which observance or instruction her may be withdrawn by his parents; or

(c) to attend the school on any day specially set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which the parent belongs.

(2) Religious instruction shall form part of the curriculum of every public school, and the facilities for religious observance in the school shall be provided in such manner as is prescribed, save, however, that any pupil may be withdrawn by his parent from the instruction of observance without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school.

(3) The time during which religious instruction may be given or during which any religious observances may be practiced shall be inserted in a timetable to be affixed in every classroom.

Clause (29), a compilation of the Conscience Clauses in both the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890* and the *1933 Education Ordinance*, outlines five stipulations

concerning religion and religious instruction in public schools. (a) Attending religious worship or abstaining from religious observances should not be required for admission to, or to continue education in a public school. (b) Students, and the Act refers specifically to children in this sub-clause, may not attend a religious event, on or off school grounds, if a parent or guardian has not given permission. (c) Attending school on days set aside for religious observances should not be required for admission to, or to continue education in a public school. (29)(2) Public schools may offer religious instruction as part of the curriculum and set aside a place to do so. However, if a parent or guardian does not give permission to attend such religious instruction, the student may not be denied other services in the school. Lack of parental consent to attend school-based religious instruction should not be required for admission to, or to continue education in a public school. (29)(3) The time and dates for religious observances must be approved by the

MoE and conspicuously displayed in the classroom. Clause (29) solidified the power of the Cabinet and the legislature over the admission and continuing education of students in denominational schools.

By allowing religious teachings in the curriculum of all public schools, Clause (29) creates a ‘policy space’ for the inclusion of religious schools in a public education system by nullifying the substantive difference between government and denominational schools, namely Religious Instructions. An embedded hypothesis of Clause (29) might be that *if* the legislature lawfully upholds the practices of denominational schools as the practices of all public schools, *then* the substantive distinction between public (government) and denominational (assisted) schools, religious teachings, will be reduced and perhaps cease to exist.

Anti-discrimination and freedom of religion clauses in the *Education Act 1966*, the CEE, and government control over placement of students in secondary schools and the appointment of teachers combine to help the Trinidad and Tobago government consolidate power over religious schools and promote its social integration agenda through the education system. In 1976, the government goes a step further to encourage freedom of religion and social integration through the education system.

The *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976* outlines certain human rights as freedoms “without discrimination by reason of race, origin, colour, religion or sex” (Chapter I, Part I, Recognition and Declaration of Rights and Freedoms). Among these rights are: “the right of a parent or guardian to provide a school of his own choice for the education of his child or ward” (Chapter I, Part I, Recognition and Declaration of Rights and Freedoms, Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976). Parents have a constitutional

right to choose the primary or secondary school that their child might attend. This right to school choice facilitates social integration in three main ways. First, parents may choose a school in any geographic location. Encouraging people to seek schooling in any part of Trinidad and Tobago encourages the physical mixing of students in schools, a key factor in reducing ethnic tensions and promoting a national identity. Second, parents may choose a school regardless of religious affiliation, supporting the anti-discrimination clause in *Education Act, 1966* that was signed into law ten years before. The right to choose any school is further supported by the constitutional right to “freedom of conscience and religious belief and observance” (Chapter I, Part I, Recognition and Declaration of Rights and Freedoms, Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976). Third, the right to school choice also supports the administration of the CEE and government control of 80% of admissions to secondary school. When students register for the CEE, parents may choose up to four schools, in order of preference, that their child might attend, upon successfully passing the CEE. Couple this with the fact that the government could place successful students in 80% of available places in secondary schools. The constitutional right to parental school choice, reduces the power of religious entities (literally to 20%) in admitting students to secondary school on the basis of religion, and gives more power to the people of Trinidad and Tobago. In this sense, the government of Trinidad and Tobago acts as a broker in dividing power over access to secondary education.

Statutes geared towards social integration in *The Concordant, 1960*, the *Education Act, 1966* and the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976* combine to create a structural framework within which curriculum policies geared towards social integration

might be implementation. As such, the social studies curriculum must be viewed as embedded in a policy framework created by *The Concordant, 1960*, the *Education Act, 1966* and the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976* and cannot be disbanded from this framework. However, though the interaction of structural policies and curriculum policies supports an education system geared towards social integration, these policies sometimes contradict each other or create loopholes for actors to subvert policy. This and other factors that influence implementation, will be discussed in Chapter 7. For now we return to the third of three historical institutions that influence education policy implementation—the perception of Tobago as different, separate and inferior.

Tobago as Different, Separate and Inferior

As stated above, the main reasons for the perception of Tobago as different, separate and inferior lie in Tobago's history of self-governance, cultural differences between Tobago and Trinidad and the political maneuverings of Eric Williams and the PNM in the two decades following 1960. In this section, we explore cultural differences between Tobago and Trinidad and historical factors that might account for the social and political rifts between the two islands. A brief overview of the historical factors that contribute to the social and political rifts between Tobago and Trinidad is vital to an appreciation of curriculum policy implementation.

Tobago and Trinidad have, historically, been culturally and socially different. In the 19th century, Trinidad society had a “well-defined class system with European whites at the top...followed by near-whites and mulattoes...at the middle levels and African and Indians at the bottom” (Ryan, 1985, p.7). Tobago, in contrast, had a small “planter class at the top which owned substantial estates,” and an ethnically homogenous group of

former African slaves at the bottom (Ryan, 1985, p.7). By the 20th century, there were even fewer Chinese, Lebanese or Portuguese in Tobago than in Trinidad. Added to racial differences are religious differences. Tobago has been and continues to be predominantly Protestant. For example, in 1960, Tobago was 48% Anglican, 12.5% Methodist, 10.3% Roman Catholic, 0.35% Hindu and 0.2% Muslim (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1961). In the same year, Trinidad was 37.5% Roman Catholic, 20% Anglicans, 1.8% Methodist, 24% Hindu and 6.3% Muslim (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1961). Added to these demographic differences is the largely metropolitan orientation of Trinidad society as compared to Tobago, where rural small village life predominates. These facts, as well as trends that emerge from the analysis of interview data, point to the notion that differences in the religious and ethnic make-up of the two islands, result in differences in the perception of the implementation of curriculum policies aimed at social integration.

Social and cultural differences between the two islands might explain the differential perceptions of social integration policies, but they do not explain the cause of lingering social and political rifts. The cause of these rifts date to the 19th century. During this period, sugar was the economic mainstay of Britain's West Indian colonies. Up until the mid-19th century, Tobago was one of the more prosperous sugar producers and exporters in the region. However, Tobago's prosperity was "tied primarily to customs duties...[such that] the decline in exports of its major crop seriously affected the island's economy and its ability to meet its financial obligations" (Luke, 2007, p.47). The

reduction of sugar revenue⁷⁴ lies at the heart of circumstances under which Tobago became linked to Trinidad by the end of the 19th century. Since 1833, Tobago was linked administratively with the Windward Islands⁷⁵, but the decline in its economy forced the colonial government, in 1889, to link Tobago with Trinidad to reduce administrative costs and in the hope that “capital would flow from [the more prosperous] Trinidad to help restore [Tobago’s] sugar and cocoa estates to a measure of prosperity” (Ryan, 1985, p.7). When the economy did not improve, Tobago was made a ward or administrative district of Trinidad in 1899.

Throughout much of the 19th and 20th centuries, the relationship between the two islands has taken the form of a submarine conflict, where particularly in education matters Tobago was often treated as a Trinidad’s rural outpost with few or no school inspector or school supervisor visits (Campbell, 1998). The submerged nature of the conflict between the two islands emerged, in the early 1970’s, as overt political and social wrangling spear headed by Williams and the PNM government. This too has its beginnings in the previous decade.

Recall from Chapter 3 that within the Trinidad and Tobago parliamentary system, Tobago is both an administrative district and an electoral district. Since 1961, Tobago represents two electoral districts or seats, Tobago East and Tobago West (Elections and Boundaries Commission, 2010). In addition to the Minister of Tobago Affairs, after 1961,

⁷⁴ The decline in British sugar economies is linked to late-19th free trade movements in Britain that resulted in the rejection of the mercantile system in favor of a laissez-faire system. For Caribbean sugar economies, the laissez-faire system allowed “foreign-grown sugar to enter the British market at the same rate of duty as sugar from the colonies” (Luke, 2007, p.48). The result was a glut of sugar on the market and a severe reduction in prices.

⁷⁵ Today the Windward islands include islands of Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada

Tobago was administered by two parliamentary representatives (gained through its two electoral districts) and an independent Senator nominated by the President⁷⁶ (Ryan, 1985; Tobago Development Plan, 1998- 2013). Positive outcomes for Tobago, it seems, depended often on the way Tobago voted, that is, things seemed to go better for Tobago if these parliamentarians were members of the ruling party rather than members of the opposition (Ryan, 1985).

In their first electoral win, in 1956, the PNM lost the Tobago seat⁷⁷ by a slim margin. Despite the loss, the PNM appeared sympathetic to Tobago issues, allocating monies to support economic development of the island (Ryan, 1985). Tobagonians rewarded the PNM's concern by electing two PNM candidates to the parliament in 1961. The PNM were again successful in Tobago in 1966. But by 1970, Tobagonians were dissatisfied with the PNM and many young Tobagonians, as did Trinidadians, took to the streets as part of the Black Power revolt⁷⁸. In Tobago the main complaint was that whites, a fractional percent of the population, owned the majority of land and wealth on the island. The elections in 1971, one of the most contentious in Trinidad and Tobago's history, hastened a series of reforms (namely the *1980 and 1996 THA Acts*) that drastically changed the administrative relationship between Tobago and Trinidad.

⁷⁶ The office of the President, as the "repository of all Executive Authority," was created in the 1946 Constitution (Office of the Parliament, 2008). The President is the head of state and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces

⁷⁷ Before 1961, Tobago represented one electoral district or seat.

⁷⁸ The Black Power revolt took the form of a series of violent political protests that targeted the government, the mostly white elites and the commercial sector. The main concerns among the predominantly Black youth who took to the streets was that Williams' government had failed to transform the country's colonial class structure and improve living conditions for the poorer classes. Another major concern was the lack of well-paying jobs for an increasingly educated citizenry. Street protests coupled with a failed military-led coup threatened to bring down the PNM government.

In the late 1960's, various opposition parties clamored for electoral reform in favor of proportional representation rather than geographical boundaries. When Williams refused, the opposition boycotted the 1971 elections, causing the PNM to win by default. Since the Trinidad and Tobago Constitution assumed the existence of an opposition, the 1971 elections put Trinidad and Tobago in a constitutional crisis. This constitutional crisis enflamed by the 1970 Black Power riots and the failed military coup forced Williams, in 1971, to appoint a Constitutional Reform Commission (Ryan, p.153, 1977). Most of the Commission's recommendations, presented in 1974, were rejected as by then the riots were over, and everything seemed to be business as usual. However, Tobago's lingering frustrations from events of 1970 and 1971, seemed apparent in the 1976 elections, when the PNM lost both Tobago seats to one of the opposition parties, the Democratic Action Congress, headed by Arthur Napoleon Raymond Robinson, Williams' Oxford educated protégé.

In response to the PNM's loss, Williams, in 1977, closed the Ministry of Tobago Affairs, "throwing several temporary employees out of work and dislocating the administrative services of the island" (Ryan, 1985, p.38). Tobago's civil servants found delays in receiving salaries and there were no Tobagonians appointed to the Senate. A.N.R. Robinson, Williams' fiercest critic on Tobago affairs, called these actions "the most irresponsible attitude I have ever seen a government adopt in a so-called democratic society" (Ryan, 1985, p.38). And to add insult to injury, in his post-election speech Williams infamously invited Tobago to secede from Trinidad. These incidents did little to encourage good relations between the two islands even though the post of Minister for Tobago Affairs was later reinstated and staffed by a Tobagonian. The main reason may

have been that the Minister for Tobago Affairs had no real power and had to refer all decisions to his ministerial counterparts in Trinidad. It was not until 1980, with the passing of the THA Act that there seemed to be any expression of legislative will to clear up the administrative conundrum that was Tobago. And, as discussed in Chapter 3, despite the fanfare surrounding the creation of the THA, real power over Tobago's affairs remained in Port-of-Spain up until after 1996.

Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the development of three cultural historical institutions that are important to understanding the formation and implementation of education policies aimed at social integration in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1950 to 2000 period. These institutions are: 1) Government-run schools can be used as social integration tools because they allow access to all religions, ethnicities and social classes; (2) Denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system in Trinidad and in Tobago; and 3) The central government in Trinidad perceives Tobago as different, separate and inferior.

Institutions (1) and (2) were formed through the self-reinforcing sequence of education policy decisions and historical events aimed at social integration in the 1851 to 1950 period. A review of the historical record shows that the institutionalization of the ideas that government run schools can be used as social integration tools and, that denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system occurs in two phases. Phase one begins in 1851, and ends roughly around the mid-1880's. In phase one, we see the ascendance of government-run schools through provisions in the *Education Ordinance, 1851*, the *Education Ordinance, 1870*, and the

Education Ordinance 1875 that reduce the ascendancy of denominational schools. These provisions include a reduction in funding for denominational schools, high minimum attendance and stipulations that teachers in religious schools must be licensed by a government appointed Board of Education. By 1876, there were 19 denominational schools and 47 government schools, a number that, by 1887, had increased to 57 compared with 45 denominational schools in the same year.

Within the 1851 to 1880 period, provisions in the *Education Ordinance, 1870*, and the *Education Ordinance 1875* laid the institutional structure for phase two, the institutionalization of the idea that denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system. These provisions include the recognition of a dual education system consisting of both government-run and assisted schools in the *Education Ordinance, 1870* and the reinstatement of funding to religious schools in the *Education Ordinance 1875* on condition of a minimum attendance and satisfactory academic performance as determined by the school inspector. The self-reinforcing power of these provisions became legible in the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*. The *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890* repeals provisions in the *1870* and *1875 Ordinances* that reduce the ascendancy denominational schools. In particular, provisions *1890 Ordinance* establishes that the government will pay 75% of teachers' salaries and building upkeep to religious schools. Religious school no longer needed to meet the condition of satisfactory academic performance, as outlined in previous ordinances. The *1890 Ordinance* re-establishes an Education Board of which six of the total nine members would be representatives of religious boards. The *1890 Ordinance* also disallows schools from discriminating against students on the basis of religion, race,

language or on the basis of the religion, race, language of students' parents or guardian. Aspects of the *1890 Ordinance* that most support denominational schools are provisions that state that if a government school's attendance falls below 25 or it is deemed unsatisfactory by the Education Board, the schools may be closed if an assisted school could sufficiently serve the students in a particular area. Provisions against religious discrimination in the *1890 Ordinance* are upheld in the *Education Ordinance, 1933*, with a particular focus on Indian children on estate schools.

Taken together, the sequence of self-reinforcing policy decisions in the *Education Ordinance, 1851*, the *Education Ordinance, 1870*, the *Education Ordinance 1875*, the *Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890*, and the *Education Ordinance, 1933* had a powerful effect in institutionalizing the rules, routines and procedures surrounding education policies aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period. These institutionalized rules routines and procedures concerning schools and social integration are reinforced in the *1960 Concordant*, the *Education Act 1966*, the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976*, and to a lesser extent the *Education Teaching Service Regulations 1967*. The implementation of these policies, particularly statutes concerning anti-discrimination and religious freedom in schools, and government control of secondary school admissions, attempted to structure an education system that promoted the reduction of ethnic and religious tensions and the integration of diverse groups into a national identity that recognized the diverse population of the Republic. It is within this structure that a social studies curriculum, in the 1950 to 2000 period, was implemented.

Institution (3) corresponds to the sequence of self-reinforcing historical events and policy decisions concerning the relationship between Tobago and Trinidad. These

events include Tobago's history of self-governance, demographic and cultural differences between Tobago and Trinidad and the political maneuverings of Eric Williams and the PNM in the two decades following 1960. To give Tobago more power over policy implementation the THA Act was passed in 1980. However, the 1980 Act contained many provisions that restricted the power of the Tobago House of Assembly, the organization created to implement policy in Tobago. The Tobago House of Assembly did not have real power to create and implement policies in Tobago until the THA Act was amended in 1996.

CHAPTER 5

Social Studies Curriculum Policies, 1950 to 2000

Introduction

The three main policy documents that regulate social studies in Trinidad and Tobago are the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan*, the *1985 to 1990 Education Plan* and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003*. The social studies curriculum policies, as outlined in these three documents, are meant to support the ‘social integrationist education structure’ set up by the *1960 Concordant*, the *Education Act 1966*, the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976*, and to a lesser extent the *Education Teaching Service Regulations 1967*. As such, one cannot discuss social studies curriculum policy formation or implementation without discussing the *1960 Concordant*, the *Education Act 1966*, the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976*, and to a lesser extent the *Education Teaching Service Regulations 1967*.

The three main policy documents that regulate social studies curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago-- the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan*, the *1985 to 1990 Education Plan* and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003* --should not be perceived in a linear way. These policies should be seen as a set of interrelated policies in various education sub-sectors that include the school curriculum; expansion of primary and post-primary education; expansion of the academic curriculum to include technical and vocational subjects; power sharing between the government and denominational boards; the appointment of teachers; and school choice. Each successive policy is an attempt to improve or clarify the one before it and each successive policy operates within structures created by the policies that came before it. Taken together, the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan*, the *1985 to 1990 Education Plan*, the *Education White Paper, 1993-*

2003, the 1966 *Education Act*, the *Education Teaching Service Regulations, 1967*, the 1960 *Concordant*, and the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976*, all constitute both policy, desirable courses of action formally advocated by the government of Trinidad and Tobago and the structure within which policies were formulated and implemented. However, the social studies curriculum policies and other policies related to social integration do not end with national or ministerial level policies.

As discussed in Chapter 3, for national level curriculum policy documents to be used in the classroom, they must first be translated by Curriculum Coordinators or Officers into an overarching curriculum document that outlines national level goals and then translated into subject-based syllabuses. Subject-based syllabuses are further translated into classroom lessons and activities. Recall also that the curriculum is never complete, but is always emerging, and is constantly being updated to meet institutional goals or to adhere to prevailing curriculum trends. As such, curriculum documents, syllabuses and classroom lessons and activities derived from national level policy documents are often revised and re-revised. Essentially, all these various documents, procedures, rules and regulations within the public education sphere constitute ‘a social studies curriculum.’ The bottom line is that the development of a social studies curriculum, in Trinidad and Tobago, is a complex issue with many interrelated variables that are difficult to represent in a coherent way on paper.

With this complexity in mind, in order to paint a clear picture of what constitutes social studies curriculum policies this chapter will be divided into two parts. In part I, we discuss the historical development of social studies in 1950 to 2000 period. In part II, we discuss the main policy statutes that regulate social studies in the 1950 to 2000 period, the

1968- 1983 Education Development Plan, the *1985 to 1990 Education Plan* and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003*. Statues concerning social studies curriculum will be analyzed to determine whether they satisfy Eisner’s five orientations of curriculum⁷⁹, as well as the cognitive and affective learning domains⁸⁰ as defined in Bloom’s taxonomy of education learning outcomes. Since the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan*, the *1985 to 1990 Education Plan* and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003* utilized technical assistance and funding from international agencies, in parts I and II, we will briefly discuss the ways that international agencies, particularly the World Bank and UNESCO, influence the formation of the three main policy documents that regulate social studies in Trinidad and Tobago. A full treatment of the way that the World Bank and UNESCO influence policy formation and implementation will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Part I: Historical Development of Social Studies

Up until the early 1970’s, there was no nationally derived curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago. At both the primary and secondary levels “that which [was] examined and how it [was] examined determine[d] 90% of the curriculum” (Participant 17, personal interview, July 22, 2009). During this period, at the primary level, the course of study was modeled after an English grammar school education and included arithmetic, reading and recitation, history, geography, civics, nature study, health education/hygiene, art,

⁷⁹ The cognitive processes approach, curriculum as technology, curriculum for self actualization and consummatory experiences, curriculum for social reconstruction, and academic rationalism (Eisner, 1974).

⁸⁰ As discussed in Chapter 2, when the social studies curriculum is aimed at acquiring knowledge, it satisfies the first level in the hierarchy of the *cognitive domain* of learning (Bloom, 1965). When social studies is geared towards personal transformation and the formation of values and attitudes the inculcation of morals, values and on social interaction, it satisfies the *affective domain* of learning outcomes (Bloom, 1965).

physical training, religious knowledge, character training and handicraft⁸¹ (Ministry of Education and Culture, n.d.). In all, the primary school curriculum consisted of the course of study required to succeed at either the Primary School Certificate Examination or the College Exhibition Examination, and to a lesser extent, the private entrance examinations of denominational secondary schools.

Once students completed secondary school, at least up until the 1930's, a few students sat university scholarship examinations in order to qualify for university education. After the 1930's, students took external degrees out of the University of London and the University of Cambridge, leading to the much-coveted General Certificate Exam (G.C.E.) certificate that became synonymous with social mobility for the poorer classes (Campbell, 1997; Participant 17, personal interview, August 4, 2009). At the secondary level, the focus was on a traditional English curriculum that prepared students for white-collar jobs in the civil service and the curriculum consisted of "Mathematics, Greek, French, German, English Language and Literature, English History and Geography" (Mc D'Alleyne 1996, p. 37). The effect of successful student passes of Cambridge exams on the reputation of cannot be overstated. The amount of successful passes a school obtained determined the school's ranking order in the secondary school hierarchy, in the minds of parents and the general population. The religious schools often ranked highest, and are still perceived as superior to other school types, in terms of student academic performance and access to opportunities for social mobility. Up until 1960, at both the primary and secondary level, social studies, as a discrete subject was not

⁸¹ Handicraft consisted of needlework for girls and basketry and woodwork for boys.

yet part of the curriculum. However, even by the late fifties, there were attempts to develop a social studies curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago.

As early as 1958, representatives of the major teachers' colleges existing at the time, Emergency Teachers' College, Naparima Teachers' College, Catholic Women's Teachers' College and Government Teachers' College⁸², got together to create a social studies curriculum (Beddoe, 1985, p.69). This initial attempt was abandoned and replaced with a course called 'Sociology.' It is unclear from the documentary record what this course contained. In the early to mid-1960s, there were other minor attempts to set up a social studies curriculum, such as the introduction of the subject into selected grades of two secondary schools in south Trinidad (Beddoe, 1985). The development of social studies, as a widely taught and examined subject, in Trinidad and Tobago, was born of three critical events. The first two interrelated events are the invitation of the UNESCO Planning Mission to Trinidad and Tobago by the government and the introduction of Junior Secondary Schools. These events occur under a general ethos of dissatisfaction with the economy and the school system that percolates in the early sixties and erupts as the Black Power Riots in 1970. The third and most crucial event that helped establish the overall acceptance of social studies in the Trinidad and Tobago education system was the creation of the Caribbean Examination Council, a Caribbean-based consortium of

⁸² Of the list, Teachers' College is the only one in existence. All its operations have been transferred to the University of Trinidad and Tobago. Bachelors and Masters degrees for teachers, as well as PhDs in education are offered by the Faculty of Education at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine (est. 1948).

scholars and educators who created a system of curriculum and exams⁸³ that reflected the Caribbean environment.

In 1964, the Trinidad and Tobago government invited a UNESCO Planning Commission to help restructure the education system. This invitation was in response to complaints of social and economic dissatisfaction, and the government hoped to adjust its education agenda from one of expansion to one of reorientation. To facilitate this, Williams adopted a strategy that involved long term planning in all sectors to foster system-wide development. The first act was the formation of the National Planning Commission in 1963, chaired by Williams, to assist with long term planning in various government ministries. Planning in education took on a more international bent when the UNESCO Planning Mission was invited to Trinidad and Tobago to provide expertise on long term education planning (Newton, 1975; Campbell 1997; Mc D'Alleyne, 1996).

In 1964, the main goal of the UNESCO Mission was to train local personnel, particularly the staff of the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the staff of the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning and Development in education planning and secondarily to “encourage international aid agencies to favor those countries which had integrated, overall plans” (Campbell, 1997, p.108). In Trinidad and Tobago, the invitation of the UNESCO Planning Mission is the first formal evidence of the influence of international trends, in this case the use of the influence of the concept of human capital, and its associated ideas of manpower planning and long-term education planning. A full discussion of manpower and human capital development, as well as the details of

⁸³ Caribbean Examination Council exams, called CXC, assess student performance at the end of secondary school and replaced ordinary level examinations offered by universities in the United Kingdom.

UNESCO's and the World Bank's involvement in development of the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* will be included in Chapter 6.

To fund the initiative, a World Bank educational representative visited Trinidad and Tobago “to discuss some of the educational and financial implications” of the plan (Gurr, 1967, n.p.). Following the World Bank, a UNESCO Project Preparation team visited to help education planners prepare for a World Bank appraisal team schedule to arrive later that year. Recommendations from the World Bank appraisal, UNESCO Planning Mission's recommendations, in addition to recommendations from the *1959 Maurice Commission* were compiled in the *Outlines of a Plan of Educational Development in Trinidad and Tobago 1967 -1983* and presented to the Cabinet in 1967 (Gurr, 1965; Newton, 1975). Cabinet approved a number of the Plan's recommendations that were then re-drafted and adopted as the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*. The first five years of the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan* was then re-branded as the *Third Five-Year Plan 1969 to 1973*, in order to fall in step with the two five-year locally derived education plans that came before it, the *1958-62 First Draft Five-Year Plan* and the *Second Draft Five-Year Plan 1964-68*, both geared towards expansion of the school system (Assessment of Education Plan 1968-1983). The World Bank funded the first five years of the *1968-1983 Plan, Third Five-Year Plan 1969 to 1973* in phased disbursements, from 1968 to 1973, for the sum of 29.6 million TT dollars or 18.5 million U.S. dollars (Gurr, 1967, n.p.).

Concerning social integration, the *Second Development Plan* also called for the compulsory teaching of West Indian History in the secondary school and the emphasis on the West Indian environment, a measure recommended in the Maurice Commission and

approved by Cabinet in 1960 (Trinidad and Tobago Government, 1960). Both the *1958-62 First Draft Five-Year Plan* and the *Second Draft Five-Year Plan 1964-68* are aimed at integrating various races, religions and classes through expanding secondary schooling so that post-primary education might be more representative of the country's diversity. These policies were meant to articulate with provisions in *The Concordant, 1960*⁸⁴. During the 1964 to 1986 period, the 1966 *Education Act* was signed into law. All existing education policies were subsumed under the *1966 Act*. Chiefly, *The Act* legitimized the power of the government over education in Trinidad and Tobago and set up a hierarchical structure that shared power over the education system between governmental and denominational interests.

The promised expansion of secondary schooling, as outlined in the First and Second Draft Plans, was insufficient to deal with the growing population. Modest expansion of secondary schooling did occur and resulted in more students graduating with Cambridge Certificates⁸⁵. However, by the late 1960s, there were not enough jobs to support the increasingly qualified workforce (Campbell, 1997; Mc D'Alleyne 1996). These factors, coupled with massive unemployment and growing political dissatisfaction with the ruling PNM came to a head as the Black Power movement in 1969 and 1970. The *Draft Third Five-Year Plan 1968-1973*, meant as a corrective measure to growing multi-sector dissatisfaction, states its main goals as ending structural unemployment, due to changes in job demand; the creation of economic diversification; and the promotion of

⁸⁴ Namely, provisions that establish the CEE, as well as provisions that give the government 80% of all available places in secondary schools, leaving 20% to the principals of denominational secondary schools

⁸⁵ Cambridge Certificates were awarded by Cambridge University, upon successful completion of series of exams.

economic autonomy, such that economic decision-making is shifted from foreign hands to local ones (The Draft Third Five-Year Plan 1968-1973, pp. 1- 10). These goals, when seen within the social, historical and political context within which they were created, exemplify the prevailing belief that “educational growth in and of itself would impact favorably on political, social and economic conditions prevailing in the developing world” (Farrell, 1983, p.5).

The *1968-73 Draft Plan* does not focus on social integration per say except in its support of a free and expanded secondary education, a measure first proposed in the *1958- 62 Draft Plan*. Since the economic measures of the 1968- 1973 Plan are obliquely related to the present study, we focus instead on the education measures related to social integration and social studies as outlined in the full *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*.

Part II: Social Studies Curriculum Goals

The Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983

The *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* cites its main goal as amending the economic dilemmas through changes in various sectors. Taken as a whole, the *1968-1983 Draft Plan*, outlines goals and expected outcomes for the primary, junior secondary and senior secondary schools. There are no policy statements concerning social integration per say. However, the *1968- 1983 Plan* states the purpose of education as the production of

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 being brought about rapidly in the economic foundations of civilization, particularly the challenges of Science and Technology

(p. 5).

This might be interpreted as an overarching goal that governs all other goals and expected outcomes in the *Plan*. At the primary level the *1968 -1983 Plan* states that the curriculum must allow students to make a smooth transition from primary to post-primary education and calls attention to “needs” in the system, including “the urgency of a meaningful social studies programme centered around the local scene” (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1968, p. 9). The *1968- 1983 Plan*, states the main objectives of social studies as,

To provide an acquisition with environmental factors which explain the bases of society and its operations, in particular the geographical and historical influences; to explain the structure of modern day social and political aspirations and the part played by the individual in maintaining and promoting the character of the society; to impart some skills in the assessment of social issues and in bringing various factors to bear on the examination of social issues.

(Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983, p. 3)

These social studies objectives are understandably vague, as social studies was still in its infancy in Trinidad and Tobago. By 1967, Beddoe and his colleagues had only just piloted social studies in a few schools and held summer workshops for post-primary teachers at Institute of Education⁸⁶, University of the West Indies (Beddoe, 1972).

Social studies goals, as stated in the *1968-1983 Draft Plan*, reflect a curriculum oriented towards a social reconstruction-relevance, where “there is a strong emphasis on the role of education and curriculum within the larger social context ...[where] social reform and responsibility to the future of society are primary,” (Eisner, 1974, p.10).

These objectives are also oriented towards *cognitive processes* as they aim to “impart some skills in the assessment of social issues,” a goal that is concerned with improving intellectual processes and specifying the way that students interact with social studies content. According to a high-ranking member of the Ministry of Education, social

⁸⁶ The precursor to the School of Education at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

studies, as outlined in the *1968-1983 Plan*, “was meant to be a mechanism..., while you were teaching, to talk about integration, to look at the social make-up of the country...to talk about equality and equity” (Participant 5, personal interview, July 24, 2009). Aspects of social studies goals that focus on the acquisition of knowledge which explain the “geographical and historical influences” of society, as well as “the part played by the individual in maintaining and promoting the character of the society” they lie in both the cognitive and the affective learning domains of the social studies curriculum. These combined objectives viewed within the context of a curriculum geared towards social change indicate that, overall, social studies goals in the *1968-1983 Draft Plan*, are oriented towards a curriculum as self-actualization, where the aim is to reconstruct society by cultivating change in the individuals that make up society. The very idea that the society can be changed, become more equitable, that ethnic, religious and class tensions can be reduced, that people will feel that they belong to the nation rather than their ethnic or religious group, all through schooling, orients all social studies curriculum objectives in Trinidad and Tobago towards a social reconstruction/relevance curriculum and a curriculum as self-actualization.

Junior and secondary schools focused on both traditional academic subjects, and vocational and technical subjects, offering eleven subjects in the curriculum—english, music, arts and crafts, physical education, mathematics, general science, agriculture, social studies, prevocational subjects⁸⁷, and a modern language of either Spanish or French (*1968-1983 Education Development Plan*, 1968, p. 20). In a sense, the broad offering of subjects is a type of social integration in that the new focus on vocational and

⁸⁷ For boys this meant woodwork, metal work and technical and industrial drawing, while girls focused on home management, food preparation and sewing.

technical education aimed to meet the deferring talents and aptitudes of students. The main curriculum goal of the junior secondary school system was to develop “ the academic attitudes of curiosity, initiative and investigation along with basic competence in a wide range of disciplines” to ultimately prepare students to sit the Cambridge exam, once they complete senior secondary school (*1968-1983 Education Development Plan*, 1968, p. 19). The shift system, a temporary solution to overcrowding, was a purely instrumental measure based on manpower projections and available resources. The new focus on technical and vocational subjects to suit the growing oil industry was also part of manpower planning to meet human capital needs. However, education planners did not anticipate the political and social ramifications of shift schools in a traditionally 8:00am to 2:30pm/3:00pm system nor the way that vocational and technical subjects might be perceived by a society that had valued traditional academic curriculum, as offered by high status denominational schools for over a hundred years.

At the senior comprehensive level, the curriculum includes both academic subjects and non-academic subjects such as technical drawing and agriculture and home economics. However the focus of the curriculum, in senior secondary schools, like that of all secondary schools at this time was the mastery of subjects offered by the Cambridge General Certificate Exam since, still at the secondary level, that which was examined *was* the curriculum. It was a different story at the junior secondary level. Once junior secondary schools were established, a government appointed committee was formed to create a social studies curriculum to train junior secondary teachers at the government teachers training college (Beddoe, 1985). This curriculum was to work in tandem with the primary school curriculum.

Over the next decade, all junior secondary school teachers were trained, as part of their in-service teacher training to deliver a social studies curriculum. Based on the documentary record, and interviews with teachers, trained at the teachers' colleges, this training does not appear to have been extensive. The *1968-1983 Education Development Plan* outlines a plan to fill the dire need for teachers in junior secondary schools, by requiring that teachers should have "at least two years' training after the G.C.E. 'O' level or equivalent, and many of them three," (p. 19). In essence, junior secondary teachers are essentially primary school teachers, with an extra year of training. Despite the limited training, teachers graduating from teachers college in the 1972- 1982 decade, particularly those who went on to higher degrees formed the core movement towards a national social studies curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago.

By the end of the same decade, 1972- 1982, social studies became an entrenched part of the education system, largely because it was examined at two crucial education stages, at the juncture between primary school and secondary schooling as part of the CEE, and as part of the Caribbean Examination Council system of exams, CXC, the juncture between secondary schooling and the world of work or further study. CXC first examined social studies at the ordinary level in 1981. The following year, 1982, social studies was introduced as part of the CEE to determine entry to secondary school. Social studies remains an integral part of the primary school curriculum, though the CEE was restructured and renamed to create a new kind of exam, the *Secondary Entrance Assessment* or SEA, that does not offer a discrete social studies exam for reasons discussed in Chapter 8.

Education Plan, 1985-1990

The *1968-1983 Education Development Plan* was the first education plan, in the Latin American and Caribbean region to span such a long period, 15 years. “Critics of planning recurrently contend that rapid and unforeseen changes make it difficult to plan beyond periods of time as short as 5 years, let alone the 15 years of the Draft Education Plan” (London, 1997, p. 320). In 1973, the government drafted the *Prime Minister’s Proposals to Cabinet on Education*, which was adopted in 1975. The 1975 Proposals were meant to address unforeseen social and economic changes, at both national and international levels. At the international level, the price of oil increased substantially, producing an economic boom in Trinidad and Tobago, since oil was and continues to be the country’s chief export. At the national level, the shift system that left scores of teenagers unattended in the early evening began to have a negative impact on Trinidad and Tobago society.

Since Trinidad and Tobago now had more money from petroleum exports, the main purpose of the 1975 *Prime Minister’s Proposals to Cabinet on Education* “was not to supersede its 1968 progenitor but to modify some of its 17 principles and objectives because of the country's improved economic fortunes following a quadrupling in the price of petroleum, the nation's premier export” (London, 1997, p. 320). The *1975 Prime Minister’s Proposals on Education* was also drafted to deal with implementation short fall from the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan*, particularly social problems resulting from the shift system and the building of senior secondary schools that had fallen behind schedule. The *1968-1983 Education Development Plan* was followed by the more modest, *Education Plan, 1985-1990* which was created, by the Minister of Education, under the direction of Cabinet with the involvement of major stakeholder,

including the general public, educators and educational organizations and denominational boards of management.

The main goal of the *Education Plan, 1985-1990* is “to succeed the 1968-83 Education Plan,” and to solve the major problem of poor reading skills (Education Plan, 1985-1990, p.1). Assessment of the education system, in 1984, revealed that at least 20% of primary school students entering secondary schools read below grade level and that the basic curriculum was inadequately taught (1985-1990 Education Plan pp. 6-7). The *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, created during an economic recession, is the first systematic plan for education reform created by a non-PNM⁸⁸ government, without direct input from Dr. Eric Williams, who died in 1981⁸⁹. The *Education Plan, 1985-1990* focused on revision of the primary school curriculum, expansion of primary schools to provide more available places, revision of the CEE, decentralization of the administrative structure, teacher training and a re-organization of supervision staff to facilitate the effective and efficient attainment or implementation of policy goals (1985-1990 Education Plan p. 11). In its philosophy, the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, like the *1968-1983 Education Development Plan*, concentrates, to a great extent, on the use of education policy to

⁸⁸ The Education Plan was sponsored by the NAR, the National Alliance for Reconstruction, a political party headed by William’s former protégé and most articulate critic Dr. Arthur Napoleon Raymond Robinson.

⁸⁹ Williams education policies of the previous two decades, still had an enormous effect on policies that came after, as the *1985-1990 Plan* and those that came after, were to operate in a system set up by powerful documents like *The Education Act, 1966*, *The Concordant, 1960*, *The Teaching Service Act, 1967* and *1968-1983 Education Development Plan*. These policies created entirely new types of schools and reformed a hundred-year old academic curriculum that exemplified British mores into one that was focused on the local scene and included technical and vocational subjects. By 1984, when framing of the *Education Plan, 1985-1990* got underway, the Trinidad and Tobago education system was different from the one that Williams inherited when he won the general elections in 1956.

promote the interdependence of peoples, morals, values, intercultural understanding and the way that these ideals articulate with citizenship and nationhood and to a lesser extent on issues of literacy and academic performance. Of note are Cabinet's hopes that education programs outlined in the *1985-1990 Plan* might "promote: the development of a sense of nationhood and the building of a sense of self" and "a spirit of unity and understanding among all ethnic and religious groups while preserving diversity and individuality" (*Education Plan, 1985-1990*, p. 16). All activities and programs outlined in the *1985-1990 Plan*, follow from this philosophy.

For the primary school curriculum, the 1985-1990 Plan outlines ten main goals. Four of the Plan's ten goals are related to social integration. Each goal, lists major and supporting subject areas that will help achieve the goals of the syllabus. Those goals related to social studies are outlined in Table V (See Appendix K). Like social studies curriculum goals in the *1968-1983 Education Plan*, social studies objective in the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, are oriented towards *cognitive processes, social reconstruction/relevance* and *self-actualization*. Goals (2) and (4), particularly aspects that center in the "awareness," "understanding" and "recognition" of cultural art and the historical and contemporary factors that contribute to Trinidad and Tobago's diversity are oriented towards cognitive processes. Aspects of Goals (2) and (4) that concern the student demonstrating "appreciation" or making "positive responses" are goals aimed at personal change that may affect the wider society, and so are oriented towards a curriculum as self-actualization and a social reconstruction/relevance curriculum. Goals (2) and (4) satisfy both the cognitive and affective learning domains. Goal (7), with its aim that students "act in accordance" with ethics, morals and values that reflect those of

the wider society is oriented towards a *curriculum as self-actualization* and *social reconstruction/ relevance* curriculum that aim to change society by changing the individual, and lies in the affective learning domain. Goal (8) also lies in the affective domain, and since it concerns the development of religious tolerance and respect, it is oriented towards a *curriculum as self-actualization* and a *social reconstruction/ relevance* curriculum.

Concerning overall implementation of goals relating to improved academic performance, the *1985-1990 Plan* establishes a system of summative and continuous evaluation, through written and oral tests (p.53). Unlike previous policies the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, also provides a list of implementation procedures and the date when a particular goal, objective or program should commence. This seems an effective scheme to improve policy implementation. But recall that the Trinidad and Tobago education system has few protocols for ensuring policy compliance. Further in such a highly centralized system, power is concentrated at head office. These policies seem effective in themselves, but, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, it is the way that these policies articulate with the structure of the education system as set up by *the Education Act, 1966*, *The Concordant, 1960*, the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976*, and to a lesser extent, *1968-1983 Education Development Plan*, that seem to encourage shortfall between stated policy goals and implementation. The same might be said of the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, the next major policy that regulates social studies in the 1950 to 2000.

Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003

After losing the general elections for the first time in 1986, the PNM, headed by Patrick Manning, won the 1991 general elections and, like previous regimes made education their first priority. The government put together a committee of educators, academics and technicians, called the National Education Task Force, to assess and make recommendations for improving the education system. The draft Report of the National Education Task Force was laid in Parliament on March 12, 1993 as a green policy paper for review (Report of the National Task Force, 1993). The Report benefited from comments by some of the main stakeholders in the education system such as denominational boards, TUTTA, industry representatives, and the general public. After a series of revisions, in 1994, Cabinet adopted the Report of the National Education Task Force, 1993- 2003, as the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, a white paper that, according to some sources, is still being implemented, though we are beyond the planned implementation time frame of 2003.

The *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* aims, chiefly, to improve all aspects of the education system—student learning, curriculum delivery, administration, access to primary and secondary schooling etc-- through a human resource development framework that articulates with economic policies in other sectors. Human resource development is aimed at all segments of the education system, from personnel at the central administration, teachers and principals to students, as part of a goal of sustained human resource development. One of the main reasons for the focus on the development of the system's human resources is past failed policy reform in which the education administration “failed to deal adequately with the innovations set out in the Draft Plan (1968- 1983), and for a very short period (1971-1974) turned towards the micro-planning

and participatory style of operations so sorely needed in educational ventures, but jettisoned that approach in the 1975-82 period” (*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, p. ix).

Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003 contains many recommendations for creating a sustained system of operations to enact education policy reforms. In particular, the *White Paper* has one of its main aims as the creation of “an enabling policy environment and a policy reform capability at Central Administration, supported by divisional and school-based management practices” (*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, p ix). To achieve this, the White Paper, like the *Education Plan 1985-1990*, outlines a plan for ongoing and summative evaluation, an “Action Plan⁹⁰” that names the agencies and units responsible for each of the policies goals, as well as timelines for when activities should begin and end (*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, pp. 81- 168). There is also a planned phased decentralization of the decision making process, giving more power to the eight education districts and schools, and placing the overall administration of the Ministry under the purview of the CEO (*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, pp. 21- 24).

Other major goals of *Education Policy Paper* include:

- (a) Provision of universal primary education
- (b) Development of a systematic early childhood education system for ages zero to five
- (c) Improvement student numeracy and literacy skills,
- (d) Reorganization and decentralization of the education system
- (e) Development of ongoing teacher training and teacher education schemes at U.W.I
- (f) Delivery of educational services for students with special needs.

⁹⁰ The “Action Plan” is a stipulation of the World Bank loan agreement (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development March 7, 1996)

Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003, goals concerning systematic early childhood education system for ages zero to five, and universal primary education align with goals (1) and (6). In its overarching philosophy, the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, states, “that the educational system must provide curricular arrangements and choices that ensure that cultural, ethnic, class and gender needs are met (p. xvii). This guiding philosophy is supported by the philosophies that “every child has an inherent right to an education which will enhance the development of maximum capability regardless of gender, ethnic, economic, social or economic background” and that “ethical and moral concerns are central to human development and survival. Fundamental constructs such as ‘decency,’ justice,’ ‘respect,’ ‘kindness,’ ‘equality,’ ‘love,’ ‘honesty,’ ‘and sensitivity,’ are major determinants of the survival of our multicultural society” (*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, p. xvii). This is the first time that gender is included in education philosophies that deal with issues of equality within Trinidad and Tobago’s society. It is in these philosophies that we observe the adherence to those EFA goals related to gender equality in schooling. These philosophies also serve as the philosophical basis for curriculum goals related to social integration.

As in the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, issues of social equity are dealt with in social studies, health and family life education (HFLE), religious and moral education, religious instructions, and supported largely by the visual and performing arts and literature. The primary school curriculum outlined in the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* was directly “adapted from the *1985- 1990 Education Plan*” but is now geared towards the goal that “by 2002- 98% of the age group 5-12 [primary school] should

develop Basic Literacy and Numeracy Skills”⁹¹ (p. 169). Those goals related to social integration with major and supportive subject areas at the primary level, as well as whether they reside in the affective or cognitive domains of learning are outlined in Table VI (See Appendix L).

Curriculum goals in the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, with few changes, mirror the curriculum orientations and learning domains of those in the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*. Like social studies curriculum goals in the *1968-1983 Education Plan*, social studies goals in the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, are oriented towards *cognitive processes*, *social reconstruction/relevance* and *self-actualization*. Goals (2) and (3), in their hope that students would “recognize,” “understand” and “identify” the historical and contemporary factors that contribute to Trinidad and Tobago’s diversity are oriented towards a curriculum geared towards cognitive processes. Goals (2) and (3) lie in the cognitive learning domain. Goal (5) that concerns the student making “positive responses” is aimed at individual change that affects the wider society, and is oriented towards the curriculum as self-actualization and a social reconstruction/relevance curriculum, and lies in the affective learning domain. Goals (6), (10) and (11) satisfy the affective learning domain. Goal (6), with its aim that students “act in accordance” with ethics, morals and values that reflect those of the wider society is oriented towards a *curriculum as self-actualization* and *social reconstruction/ relevance* curriculum that aims to change society by changing the individual. Goals (10) and (11), since they

⁹¹ This is a direct reference to EFA’s Goal (6). According to one high-ranking MoE official, the curriculum must reflect EFA and is interpreted in two main ways. EFA is interpreted as access to schools through the provision of spaces and buildings for students of all physical and mental abilities and as curriculum, where the curriculum is the “driving force of the system” to promote social integration (Interview Participant 05, personal interview, July 24, 2009).

concentrate on the development of “religious convictions” and the demonstration of religious tolerance and respect, are oriented towards a *curriculum as self-actualization* and a *social reconstruction/ relevance* curriculum. These goals were translated by technicians at the Curriculum Development Unit, with the help of a foreign consultant into a curriculum framework and syllabus in the Draft Primary School Syllabus, September 2002 (Ministry of Education, 2002). Already we observe that curriculum goals are translated into a syllabus for use in classrooms in 2002, when the “Action Plan” lists the completion year of 1996 (*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, p. 170) This alerts us that there were some problems with the implementation of curriculum policies. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, these ‘problems’ were often structural in nature rather than related to the *1993- 2003 White Paper* itself. Further the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* is a rather complex document that attempts to right the ‘wrongs’ of all previous policies with an aim of improving the system and adhering to international trends of long term education planning, human resource development and manpower planning, and universal basic education.

In order to correct previous ‘wrongs,” the White Paper makes other recommendations that are directly related to the structural aspects of social integration. Of note is the phasing out of the CEE by 1998, in favor of a test that was more indicative of student preparedness for secondary school (*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, p. 82). *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* also recommends and outlines an “Action Plan” for changing public perception of junior secondary schools, improving numeracy and literacy at the junior secondary level to better prepare students for success at the senior comprehensive level, and the eventual de-shifting of junior secondary schools, slated to

begin in 1993 (p. 84). The ways that these stated policy objectives are enacted ‘on the ground’ will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Summary

In this chapter, we reviewed the historical development of social studies and examined social studies curriculum goals in the three main national level policy documents that regulate social studies curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1950 to 2000 period—the *1968- 1983 Draft Education Development Plan*, the *Education Plan 1985-1990*, and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003*. Social studies was developed in conjunction with the creation of a national curriculum. Social studies curriculum goals outlined in the *1968- 1983 Draft Education Development Plan*, the *Education Plan 1985-1990*, and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003* were analyzed to determine whether they satisfy Eisner’s five orientations of curriculum, as well as the cognitive and affective learning domains as defined in Bloom’s taxonomy of education learning outcomes. The chapter briefly discussed the influence of international organizations on the formation of the three main policy documents that regulate social studies in Trinidad and Tobago.

There was no national curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago until the mid-1970’s. Before the mid-70’s the primary school curriculum consisted of the course of study necessary to pass either the Primary School Certificate Examination or the College Exhibition Examination, and the private entrance examinations of denominational secondary schools. Attempts to create a social studies curriculum occurred as early as 1958, but these initial forays into social studies consisted of pilot programs that involved only a few schools and were not wide spread. A wide-spread social studies curriculum was born of three key events: the invitation of a UNESCO Planning Mission in 1964; the

creation of junior secondary schools and the creation of the Caribbean Examination Council.

The main goal of the UNESCO Planning Mission was to train MoE, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning and Development personnel in long term education planning. The World Bank funded the education planning initiative. Together the World Bank and UNESCO promoted manpower planning and human capital frameworks within the Trinidad and Tobago education system. The main product of these frameworks is the junior secondary school as outlined in the *1968- 1983 Draft Education Development Plan*, the policy document that fully articulated the Trinidad and Tobago, World Bank and UNESCO collaboration. Junior secondary schools were meant to provide three years of post-primary schooling for students from poor and lower middle class families. Junior secondary schools also offered a new type of curriculum. This curriculum was more focused on the local and Caribbean milieu and was a mix of technical and vocational subjects and the traditional academic curriculum. Social studies was developed to help focus the junior secondary curriculum on the local and Caribbean scene and also became part of the primary school curriculum, as it is in primary school that students prepare for entry to post-primary institutions. The Caribbean Examination Council offered a system of exams (taken at the end of secondary school) created by Caribbean educators and experts and focused on Caribbean themes. Once social studies was offered as part of CXC, beginning in 1981, it became a widely accepted part of the primary and secondary school curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean as a whole.

Social studies goals in the *1968- 1983 Draft Education Development Plan* are only vaguely stated. In sum the goals concern the acquisition of knowledge and skills

concerning the history and geography of Trinidad and Tobago and the hope that students might understand the part played by individuals in society and might develop the skills and knowledge necessary to assess and address social issues. These goals are not elaborated further until the creation of a curriculum for junior secondary schools in the 1970's. Social studies goals in the *1968- 1983 Plan* reflect curriculum oriented towards a social reconstruction-relevance and cognitive processes, and lies in both the affective and cognitive learning domains.

The *Education Plan, 1985-1990* continues manpower and human capital development schemes began under the *1968- 1983 Plan*. The *1985-1990 Plan* proposes to revise the primary school curriculum, increase the number of available places at the primary level and decentralize the MoE in order to facilitate more effective policy implementation. Of the ten curriculum goals for primary school, four are directly related to social integration and list social studies as the main subject through which these goals might be fulfilled. Social studies goals in the *1985-1990 Plan* concern the acquisition of knowledge and skills concerning the history and culture of Trinidad and Tobago's diverse population, as well as the acquisition of morals, values and behaviors that foster cultural, racial and religious tolerance. Taken together, social studies goals in the *1985-1990 Plan* are geared towards social reconstruction/relevance, self-actualization, and cognitive processes curriculum. Social studies goals in the *1985-1990 Plan* lie in both the affective and cognitive learning domains.

The *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* continues manpower and human capital development schemes began under the *1968- 1983 Plan*, and utilizes funding and technical assistance from the World Bank and UNESCO. Education plans outlined in the

White Paper were heavily influenced by UNESCO's EFA initiative and the World Bank's Basic Education Project. The *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* also aims to improve the entire education system, particularly student learning, curriculum delivery, and access to primary and secondary schooling. The *1993-2003 Policy Paper* proposes a human resources development framework that aims to improve knowledge, skills and training of staff at all levels of the education system, from high-level officials at the MoE to teachers and principals in schools. Included in the *1993-2003 Policy Paper* is a detailed action plan that names the agencies and units responsible for carrying out policy goals as well as start dates and end dates for achieving goals. An underlying goal of the *1993-2003 Policy Paper* is to carry out many innovations that were proposed in the *1985-1990 Education Plan* but poorly implemented. As such, social studies goals in the *1993-2003 Policy Paper* are the same as those outlined in the *1985-1990 Education Plan*. Like social studies goals in the *1985-1990 Plan*, those in the *1993-2003 Policy Paper* are geared towards social reconstruction/relevance, self-actualization and cognitive processes curriculum and lie in both the affective and cognitive learning domains.

CHAPTER 6 International Organizations

Introduction

In this chapter we focus on *external factors* that influence social studies curriculum policy formation and implementation in Tobago and Trinidad. *External factors* include the policies, and administrative and philosophical trends espoused by international organizations. We look, specifically, at the influence of manpower planning and human capital development frameworks on the manner in which social studies curriculum policies were formulated and implemented in the 1950 to 2000 period. We also look at the influence of EFA initiatives on social studies curriculum implementation. Data on the effect of external factors was collected largely from the historical record and to a lesser extent from policy documents and interviews.

Since Trinidad and Tobago utilizes loans, grants and technical expertise from international organizations, a discussion of social studies policies must include an exploration of how international organizations influence⁹² curriculum policies through membership and funding accords, technical assistance and consultants, where applicable. In other words, a discussion of social studies must include an exploration of how international organizations ‘inspire,’ ‘affect the condition of’ or ‘have an effect on’ the social studies curriculum through membership and funding accords, technical assistance and consultants. But there is a caveat. The caveat is that, in this chapter, we track this ‘influence⁹³’ through a review of how the text of policy documents reflect stipulations in

⁹² Influence, used as a transitive verb, means “to inspire,” or to “affect the condition of” or “have an effect on” some direct object, which, in this case is the social studies curriculum (OED, 1989).

⁹³ ‘Influence,’ the noun, is defined as the “capacity or faculty of producing effects by insensible or invisible means, without the employment of material force, or the exercise

loan agreements, international initiatives, conventions and programs. In this chapter, we track how loan agreements, international initiatives, conventions and programs informally or non-overtly, ‘produce effects in,’ ‘control’ or ‘hold sway over’ the text of policy.

In the sections that follow, we first discuss the nature of Trinidad and Tobago’s relationship with international organizations and the influence of international organizations on the three main policies that regulate social studies in Trinidad and Tobago-- the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*, *Education Plan 1985 to 1990* and *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003*. We then discuss the ways in which international organizations influenced curriculum policy implementation. Findings indicate that though we find textual evidence in state-level policies of the influence of international entities like the World Bank or UNESCO, evidence of how these organizations influence, “affect the condition of” or “have an effect on” the social studies curriculum is difficult to observe once one leaves the central office at the MoE and approaches the periphery (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989). Findings also indicate that implementation of policy ideas and trends derived from international agencies is largely voluntary, regardless of formal or binding relationships that the national government might have with international partners. When viewed through the cultural historical institutional lens, during implementation local actors adapt trends and stipulations from international agencies to suit the local context.

Influence of International Organizations on Education Policy

of formal authority;... sway, control, or authority, not formally or overtly expressed (OED, 1989).

Trinidad and Tobago has both binding and voluntary relationships with international organizations. Voluntary relationships often occur when Trinidad and Tobago, as a member state, seeks technical support from international entities or ratifies various conventions and initiatives. More formal binding relationships occur when the government of Trinidad and Tobago takes loans or accepts funding from international entities. Trinidad and Tobago is a member of various international and regional entities, but we focus here on those international entities that most influence education policy on the island republic as identified by MoE personnel during interviews (Participant 05, personal interview, July 24, 2009; Participant 28, personal interview, March 4, 2010; Participant 29, personal interview, March 4, 2010). These include UNESCO and the World Bank⁹⁴.

Trinidad and Tobago has both binding and voluntary relationships with the World Bank and UNESCO. Since 1964, the World Bank and UNESCO have provided both technical support and funding to support education initiatives in Trinidad and Tobago. It is through conferences convened by the World Bank and UNESCO that technical advice, often based on prevailing social and economic trends and education models are disseminated. UNESCO, in particular, “influence[s] national policy makers ... indirectly through the information and policies spread at their conferences and reports” (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000, p. 11). Some education models that have influenced Trinidad and Tobago’s education policies, particularly since 1964 are the human capital model of

⁹⁴ The World Bank consists of two development institutes, the International Bank for Reconstruction and the Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). Funds come from the IBRD.

education and education as manpower planning. These two concepts, human capital model and manpower planning, will be explored later in this chapter.

As a member state, Trinidad and Tobago endorses various initiatives, programs and conventions⁹⁵ developed by international organizations. Persons who draft policy at the MoE attempt to ensure that state policies comply with international conventions and agreement (Participant 5, personal interview, July 24, 2009; Participant 28, personal interview, March 4, 2010; Participant 29, personal interview, March 4, 2010). By ratifying or endorsing international conventions, Trinidad and Tobago holds itself liable to the tenets of particular conventions before the international community. Of the UN conventions that Trinidad and Tobago has ratified, those that most affect education policies, according to high-level MoE officials, are the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*⁹⁶ (CRC), established in 1990, Education for All (EFA), a UNESCO initiative, and the Millennium Development Goals⁹⁷ (MDGs). However, though Trinidad and Tobago has ratified various international conventions and initiatives, EFA emerged from the data as the most significant. More will be said on the influence of EFA on policy statutes and implementation later in the chapter.

International organizations influence Trinidad and Tobago's education policy agenda largely through binding loan agreements. The World Bank and the Inter-

⁹⁵ Conventions are developed through unilateral discussions with representations from the world's countries.

⁹⁶ CRC "protects children's rights by setting standards in health care; education; and legal, civil and social services" (UNICEF, 2008).

⁹⁷ MDGs are part of a resolution outlined by the UN, in 2000, to foster a more even distribution of the positive benefits of globalization among the world's countries by 2015 (United Nations, 2000, p. 2). MDGs were implemented in Trinidad and Tobago as part of Vision 2020, a series of policies aimed at systematic, multi-sector development in which education plays a key role. Vision 2020's education policies were implemented after 2002 and are beyond the scope of this study.

American Development Bank (I-ADB) fund almost 90% of Trinidad and Tobago's education reforms in the 1950 to 2000 period (Participant 5, personal interview, July 24, 2009). I-ADB and World Bank loans almost always have quality controls, namely evaluation schemes and implementation plans, attached to them that govern what goes on in schools. It is with these quality controls that the MoE must concern itself during the policy process. Further, loan agreements often stipulate that the borrower employ a consultant (often a foreign born academic or administrator), to formulate and sometimes write policy and policy-related documents, to assist in implementation or to set up and administer evaluation schemes. The consultant is hired often as a condition of the disbursement of funds, as a condition of continued support or as part of the initial funding agreement. In most cases, the consultant is recruited by the funding agency and assigned to the project in the borrowing country. The role of consultants is to "offer advice based upon what they regard as the 'best practice' elsewhere, often paying little attention to the particular context in the borrowing political system" (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000, p. 10). All of the education policy documents that set goals and objectives for social studies engaged a consultant. Most education policies and curriculum documents reviewed for this study seemed to employ a foreign consultant, and in recent years, beginning around the mid to late nineties, local consultants were also utilized. Local consultants were often academics (not necessarily in education) from the University of the West Indies (UWI) or persons with long careers in teaching and education administration. On the role of international consultants in Trinidad and Tobago, a staff member at the MoE who has drafted education policy documents and worked closely with Trinidad and Tobago's international partners since 1984 said:

[International organizations], especially now, enquire first what are your policies. [But sometimes] You don't get the right person to work with you. They are sometimes not culturally specific in their recommendations and technical assistance. They observe something working in another place and attempt to do the same in Trinidad and Tobago, when the program may not work because of cultural and contextual differences. You have to argue...and convince them

(Participant 5, personal interview, July 24, 2009)

These statements highlight some of the main issues some countries⁹⁸ face when international organizations transfer policy ideas from one place to another, without regard to local context. In education governance in Trinidad and Tobago, international organizations are supra-government agencies that work in conjunction with the Minister of Education and his/her senior staff to provide technical assistance and funding. Through consultants, these organizations help draft policy and policy related documents such as curriculum and syllabuses as well as plan implementation and evaluation schemes.

Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983

As explored in the previous chapter, in Trinidad and Tobago, the invitation of the UNESCO Planning Mission, in 1964, is the first formal evidence of the influence of international trends. UNESCO was invited as part of an overall move by Williams to facilitate long-term planning in all policy sectors. UNESCO's technical expertise was used to facilitate overall planning in education. As part of Williams' planning endeavor, an Educational Planning Unit⁹⁹ was formed at the MoE. The main purpose of the Educational Planning Unit was to facilitate the development of Trinidad and Tobago's human capital through manpower planning in education.

⁹⁸ Particularly developing countries

⁹⁹ Initially the Educational Planning Unit was small and worked "largely in isolation from the Ministry of Education," but by 1967, staffing was increased and the Planning Unit was transferred to the MoE where it remains today, though housed in a different location because of increased staffing (Gurr, 1967, n.p.).

In Trinidad and Tobago, manpower planning and human capital development were two of the main frameworks used to structure educational development schemes in the hope of affecting economic development. Proponents of human capital models of economic analysis argue that education is one of the largest costs incurred by governments in the development and formation of human resources¹⁰⁰. Skilled human resources contribute to a nation's gross domestic product and, costs associated with human resource development contribute to a nation's gross domestic product and national wealth (Wykstra, 1971, p. xvii). Education, under the human capital model is seen as an investment in the human resources of a nation. Connected to the notion of human resources, is the concept of manpower planning. The three main objectives of manpower planning are to "fit the unskilled for better jobs, to augment the supply of scarce skills, and to improve the efficiency of labor markets" (Council of Economic Advisors, 1971, p. 30). In other words, manpower planning, based on stated goals, forecasts the types of skills and expertise a country needs in order to meet stated goals within a stipulated time period. Efforts to integrate diverse groups into a national Trinidad and Tobago identity, as outlined in social studies curriculum objectives and goals, are an important aspect of human resource development, and manpower planning as this 'desirable social factor' reduces ethnic, religious and class tensions, promote a more cohesive and stable society to as so facilitate education expansion geared towards manpower planning and possibly

¹⁰⁰ Two methods have been used to estimate the value of human beings within a polity. In the cost-of-production method, economists estimate the "real costs" sustained in "producing" a human being, while in the capitalized-earnings procedural method, economists estimate "the present value of an individual's future income stream" (Kiker, 1971, p. 3). Decolonization, nation building and the expansion of formal education in the post-WWII period in developing states, like Trinidad and Tobago, coincided with the renewed interest in human capital.

economic development. A vital feature of education planning for manpower development, particularly since it is often the responsibility of the public sector, is the long timeframe needed to realize the potential of human capital investments. For this reason, many of the policies we discuss below span relatively long periods of time, often with specific goals in mind.

In order to facilitate the new education planning scheme, the 1964 UNESCO Mission was followed by a UNESCO consultant visit in 1965, headed by Dr. C.E. Gurr (Gurr, 1965; Gurr, 1967). Gurr's visit had two main duties:

- 1. Act as an adviser in educational planning to the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, and in particular, assist the appropriate authorities in organizing a planning unit within the Ministry of Education and advise on techniques and methods to establish long-term educational goals and draw up priority programs for educational development*
- 2. Advise on the preparation of priority projects necessary to achieve established goals*

(Gurr, 1967, n.p.)

By early 1967, preliminary drafts of a plan for education were produced by the Educational Planning Unit, under the guidance of Dr. Gurr. To fund the initiative, a World Bank educational representative visited Trinidad and Tobago "to discuss some of the educational and financial implications" of the plan (Gurr, 1967, n.p.). Following the World Bank, a UNESCO Project Preparation team visited to help education planners prepare for a World Bank appraisal team schedule to arrive later that year.

Recommendations from the World Bank appraisal, UNESCO Planning Mission's recommendations, in addition to recommendations from the *1959 Maurice Commission* were compiled in the *Outlines of a Plan of Educational Development in Trinidad and Tobago 1967 -1983* and presented to the Cabinet in 1967 (Gurr, 1965; Newton, 1975). Cabinet approved a number of the Plan's recommendations that were then re-drafted and adopted as the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the first five years of the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan* was then re-branded as the *Third Five-Year Plan 1969 to 1973*, in order to fall in step with the two five-year locally derived education plans that came before it, the *1958-62 First Draft Five-Year Plan* and the *Second Draft Five-Year Plan 1964-68*, both geared towards expansion of the school system (Assessment of Education Plan 1968-1983). In Chapter 5, we examined these policies for social integration curriculum goals, here we examine these policies for provisions that were influenced by manpower planning and human capital development.

The first of the three five-year education plans, *First Draft Five-Year Plan 1958-62*, (created before UNESCO's visit) established a system of free secondary education, which increased access to secondary education for those in lower classes so creating a "secondary student body that would be more ...representative of the country's [diverse] population"¹⁰¹ (p. 5). The *Second Draft Five-Year Plan 1964-68* expands on the *First Draft Five-Year Plan 1958-62* and is a multi-sector development plan in which education played a key role. In the 1964-68 Plan, education served in the "development of manpower planning...[which aims to match] the supply of specific levels of education and specific categories of skill with the requirements of economic development" and proposes three main policies related to social integration (Second Draft Plan 1966, p.125). The *Second Draft Plan* proposes comprehensive schools, a new type of secondary school where "the children of all socio-economic groups should be educated together" and where the curriculum "caters for the abilities and aptitudes of all students" so

¹⁰¹ The *First Plan* also established an Island Scholarship, funded by the elected government to replace the College Exhibition Examination that was abolished in 1960 (McD. Alleyne 1996, p. 53; Trinidad and Tobago Government, 1960).

integrating students of various social classes and abilities (Interim Report of Working Party on Education 1975, p. 2). Comprehensive schools, a major tool of manpower planning, were to focus on science and mathematics as a foundation for technological training to support the burgeoning oil industry.

Junior secondary schools, established by the *1968- 1983 Plan*, catered to students, ages 12 to 14. Senior secondary schools, the counterpart to junior secondary school, catered to students, ages 15 to 18 (Newton, 1975; Campbell, 1997). According to Gurr's 1967 report, manpower projections outlined in the *1968- 1983 Plan* forecast that the education system would serve 100% of primary students, ages 5-12, 90% of junior secondary students, ages 12-14, and 35% of senior secondary students, ages 15-18, to accommodate some 300,000 students by 1983 (*Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*, p. 8). In order to serve this number, some primary schools and all junior and senior secondary schools offered classes on a shift system in which two different groups of students shared the same school building, one group in a morning session and another in an evening session. In this way, one school building accommodates twice the number of students. These numbers were figured into the amount of money borrowed from the World Bank to fund the project. Junior and senior secondary schools, catered to poor and lower-middle-class families, and were part of a government effort to create tangible evidence of opportunity in the wake of the 1969- 1970 social unrest. Junior secondary schools, as a solution to effective expansion and as a tool for providing comprehensive general education was suggested three times before in the Trinidad and Tobago education policy history. This type of school was suggested first in the *1931/1932 Marriot Mayhew Report*, then again in the *1939 Moyne Commission* where junior secondary schools were

called “central schools,” and again in the *1954 Missen Report*. The idea of a shifted post-primary education system existed in the Trinidad and Tobago educational policy landscape for over thirty years and has been part of a ready-made set of solutions for post-primary expansion.

Education Plan 1985 to 1990

Implementation of manpower planning objectives in the *1968-1983 Plan*, mainly the building of junior and secondary comprehensive schools, the delivery of a technical and vocational curriculum, continued under the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*. However, data on the ways that international organizations might have influenced the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, through direct or indirect means is lean. A UNESCO report on the development of education in Trinidad and Tobago, 1984-1986, tells us that the MoE “continues to enjoy international cooperation with many organizations” (UNESCO, 1986, p.22). During the 1985 to 1990 period, UNESCO provided “education T.V. equipment” for the Teaching Resource Center, referred to in the *Education Plan, 1985-1990*, as well as informational conferences and seminars on information systems, library services, book publication, all to support the CDU established in the *1985-1990 Plan* (UNESCO, 1986, p.22). The International Labor Organization provided “technical assistance” in technical and vocational education schemes created by the *1968-1983 Plan* (UNESCO, 1986, p.23). The MoE also received targeted funding for various aspects of the education system. The OAS provided funding for special education and pre-school education, while CIDA provided funding for special education, though the form of this assistance or whether funding took the form of grant, loans or technical assistance, is unclear from

available documentation (UNESCO, 1986, p.23). We turn now to the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*.

Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003

The *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* continues long term education planning trends promoted by the 1964 UNESCO Planning Mission, and human resource development prerogatives promoted by the World Bank. The *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* is also focused on the concept of ‘basic education’ through direct influence of the World Bank and UNESCO (London, 1997). The draft Report of the National Education Task Force 1993-2003 and the ensuing *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* are part of the World Banks’ Basic Education Project, a program that supports “primary and secondary education to help build up literacy, numeracy, and problem-solving skills” as measures for “alleviating poverty and promoting equity” (Vespoor, 1991, p.ii).

The *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* articulates with the terms and conditions of a 51 million US loan provided by the IBRD¹⁰². The IBRD loan was approved for the period, November 16, 1995 through June 30, 2003. Targeted funding for specific schemes, such as improved school transportation, de-shifting, within the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, come from the MoE, I-ADB, OAS, CIDA, CXC, and other national and international donors. However, the IBRD loan, number 3956-TR, sets various conditions for disbursement that manifest as provisions in the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development March 7, 1996).

¹⁰² A subsidiary of the World Bank

All goals in the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, reflect the objectives of the Basic Education Project as described in Loan Agreement:

The objectives of the Project are to: (a) enhance the cognitive and social development of children in ECCE¹⁰³ to prepare them to enter into Primary Education; (b) improve the quality of teaching and student achievement in Primary Education; (c) improve the physical infrastructure of facilities for ECCE, Primary Education and Secondary Education; and (d) strengthen the management and institutional capabilities of the Borrower's education sector.

(International Bank for Reconstruction and Development March 7, 1996).

Additionally the main goals and objectives outlined in the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, represent an overt attempt to maintain compliance with UNESCO's EFA program and the World Bank's Lifelong Learning education framework. The *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003* does not contain direct references to Lifelong Learning. However, as we will see in Chapter 7, once curriculum goals in the *Education Policy Paper 1993-2003* are translated into a social studies syllabus, lifelong learning education frameworks become salient. In the next few paragraphs, we discuss EFA and lifelong learning.

EFA was initially developed at the 1990 World Conference in Jomtien, Thailand and later reviewed and updated at the 2000 World Education Forum to include a focus on girls' education. EFA became a UN Resolution in 1997. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the purpose of EFA is that persons of all ages would "benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" (UNESCO, n.d.). EFA commits governments to attaining quality basic education by 2015.

EFA commits governments to attaining quality basic education by 2015. EFA has six main goals:

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children

¹⁰³ Early Childhood Care and Education

2. *Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality*

3. *Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes*

4. *Achieving a 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.*

5. *Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality*

6. *Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills*

(UNESCO, 1995-2010)

According to World Bank assessment, 29% of Trinidad and Tobago's ECCE Project, as outlined in the *Education Policy Paper, 1993- 2003* aligns with UNESCO's EFA initiative (The World Bank Group, 2010a).

Lifelong learning "encompasses learning throughout the lifecycle, from early childhood to retirement, and in different learning environments, formal, non-formal, and informal" (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 2003, p. xiii). The attributes of a lifelong learning framework are: interactive group learning; learning by doing rather than rote recall; the use of assessment as a guide to pedagogy and future learning; continuous professional development for teachers, who are lifelong learners themselves; learning outside the classroom connected to learning inside the classroom; and the use of technology, particularly computers (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 2003, p. 29).

Lifelong learning extends the Bank's "education options" for prospective borrowers in low and middle-income developing countries as initially expressed in a 1995 report "*Priorities and Strategies for Education,*" (International Bank for

Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 1995). In order to qualify for World Bank education funds, Trinidad and Tobago had to adhere to a lifelong learning education framework as well as those education strategies outlined in the 1995 “*Priorities and Strategies for Education.*” As such, though lifelong learning frameworks are not apparent in the text of the *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003*, they exert influence on curriculum and syllabuses derived from the *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003*.

The 1995 *Priorities and Strategies for Education* also outlines additional education sector strategies for improving human capital and national wealth. These include: education as a high fiscal priority within nations; basic education as a priority in the public sector; equal access to education for all citizens; involving the household in the education of the child; and the development of autonomous institutions to improve education governance (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 1995). The role of lifelong learning in improving education access, equity, quality, and governance and in turn human capital and economic wealth was first publicly articulated in a 2003 report “*Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy*” (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 2003). The 2003 report also describes the competencies for lifelong learning—“acting autonomously,” “using tools interactively,” and “functioning in socially heterogeneous groups”-- and strategies that countries can take to begin to develop a lifelong learning framework in the education sector (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 2003, p. 21).

As explained above, the influence of international organizations on social studies curriculum goals was observed through a review of policy text. Observing the influence

of international agencies on implementation through documentary and interview data proved difficult as the influence of international agencies was poorly documented in the Trinidad and Tobago case. Further, few participants could speak knowledgeably about the role of international agencies in the implementation of education policies in Trinidad and Tobago.

Influence of International Organizations on Implementation

The Educational Planning Unit is only one of two main points of contact between Trinidad and Tobago's education system and international organizations. It is in the Education Planning Unit that statistics related to Trinidad and Tobago's adherence to stipulations in international conventions, programs and funding schemes are produced. Staff members from the Education Planning Unit represent Trinidad and Tobago at meetings and conferences hosted by international organizations (Participant 28, personal interview, March 4, 2010; Participant 29, personal interview, March 4, 2010). The other point of contact between Trinidad and Tobago's education system and international organizations is the International Cooperation Initiatives Unit (ICIU).

ICIU was created, in 2005, to ensure Trinidad and Tobago's compliance with international and regional agencies such as OAS, CARICOM or the British Commonwealth, of which Trinidad and Tobago is a member state. High-ranking MoE staff referred to this unit as the "international desk." The "international desk" was created sometime between 2001 and 2005 as an informal measure to achieve education goals related to compliance with international initiatives, conventions and loan agreements. Before 2001, the need existed for such a post, as the Trinidad and Tobago education system has been involved with international agencies since 1964. However, formal

structures did not address the need for an “international desk,” to ensure Trinidad and Tobago’s compliance with international and regional agencies. To fill the gap, the then Assistant Director of Testing in the Office of Research and Evaluation began addressing issues of international compliance as part of her day-to-day duties. From 2001 to 2005, the ‘international desk’ consisted of a single individual and staff of the Education Planning Unit whose interests and expertise were called upon on an ‘as needed’ basis.

In 2005, the duties of the international desk were formalized as a separate unit of the MoE, the ICIU, and the former Assistant Director of Testing became its Program Director. The ICIU ensures that Trinidad and Tobago’s education initiatives¹⁰⁴ comply with international standards set out by World Bank, UN or UNESCO. As such, the ICIU deals with compliance on a program-by-program basis. For example, during the data collection period, the Trinidad and Tobago government was in the process of building 601 new early childhood education centers by 2015. The Program Director of the ICIU led a team effort to ensure that these new centers complied with international standards concerning issues such as inclusive education for persons of various physical and mental abilities, as espoused by initiatives such as EFA. The Program Director of the ICIU retired from her position shortly before she was scheduled for an interview in March, 2010. During her interview the former “international desk” expressed that she also liaises with drafters of policy to ensure compliance with the various membership accords and funding agreements that Trinidad and Tobago maintains with international organizations (Participant 29, personal interview, March 4, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ Such as EFA or development programs like Millennium Development Goals (MDG), of which education is an important component

Other than loan stipulations and objectives that reflect conventions and membership accords, influence of international organizations in curriculum policy is almost impossible to observe. The main reason is that direct textual references to international organizations or funding often appear in the titles or introductions of curriculum but disappear in those syllabuses, textbooks, record and forecasts or examinations derived from curriculum. Another reason is that from the data, it seems that only persons at the top MoE levels or the district level¹⁰⁵ are aware of the influence of international organizations. Once one leaves the MoE and the district and go to schools, the influence of international organizations is difficult to observe. MoE officials who attend high level curriculum policy meetings seemed to be aware of the influence of international organizations. Of the participants from the school level, principals and teachers, who have never worked at the MoE or attended high level meetings at the MoE, only one teacher in the study seemed to be aware that international organizations had any effect on education policies in Trinidad and Tobago (Participant 27, personal interview, March 3, 2010).

Another reason why direct influence from international agencies were difficult to observe concerning policies related to social integration is that Trinidad and Tobago education reforms¹⁰⁶ have long reflected many of the ‘progressive’ ideas of gender, religious and ethnic equality touted by international initiatives like EFA. The former Program Director of the ICIU shared this view. A Planning Officer in the Education

¹⁰⁵ This group includes school supervisors, union executives, curriculum coordinators and curriculum officers

¹⁰⁶ Such as the *1960 Concordant*, the *1966 Education Act*, and the various education plans from 1968 to 2003

Planning Unit who represents Trinidad and Tobago at regional¹⁰⁷ meetings aimed at meeting standards set by international conventions and initiatives and who is responsible for collecting and compiling statistical data as evidence of compliance also shared the view that much of what Trinidad and Tobago's government has been doing in education over the last 50 years has brought the country into compliance. Pointedly, he said, "Common Entrance and free secondary education are all geared towards EFA goals. It set us apart and helped put us in the forefront" (Participant 28, personal interview, March 4, 2010). Trinidad and Tobago had already been promoting access and equity in education, as espoused by EFA and other international conventions for over half a century.

Concerning EFA, the former Program Director of the ICIU had this to say:

"nobody is following an EFA document, as it is stated, to do what they are supposed to do. They know that we should have early childhood education. And that did not come out of EFA saying that you should do it. That would have come from ...talking about equity issues and the fact that private early childhood centers were [unregulated by the state]"¹⁰⁸

Documentation of Trinidad and Tobago's compliance with international initiatives is a fairly recent phenomenon, beginning in 2005 so. All of the 24 participants, who expressed some awareness that international organizations influenced education policies in Trinidad and Tobago, agreed that the country almost always favorably complied. Participants who are current and former MoE Staff and curriculum personnel agreed that this influence was not documented but could only be assessed through a conversation with the former 'international desk.' She claimed that there was no

¹⁰⁷ Caribbean and Latin America

¹⁰⁸ In the original transcription, it reads: That would have come from ...talking about equity issues and the fact that private early childhood centers were under houses...

documentation of how Trinidad and Tobago's curriculum policies adhered to international agreements or reflected international trends until after 2000.

Some participants were able to talk about those factors that might hinder the implementation of trends or ideas derived from international organizations. These include the perception, by MoE officials and curriculum technicians that international organization "bully" small countries like Trinidad and Tobago (Participant 5, personal interview, July 24, 2009). Some cited the hiring of foreign consultants as a form of bullying since consultants are often not culturally specific in their recommendations and technical assistance. They observe something working in another place and attempt to do the same in Trinidad and Tobago, when the program may not work because of cultural and contextual differences, which sometimes results in arguments. According to one Curriculum Officer: "We don't really want a consultant, but we have a consultant trusted upon us" (Participant 7, personal interview, July 28, 2009). Staff of the Education Planning Unit and the former Program Director ICIU suggest that implementation of trends or ideas derived from international organizations may also be hindered by: lack of funding to implement; poor representation of Trinidad and Tobago MoE personnel at regional or international meetings where decisions are made; and "the cumbersome nature of the implementation bureaucracy" (Participant 28, personal interview, March 4, 2010; Participant 29, personal interview, March 4, 2010).

Summary

Though Trinidad and Tobago is a member state of various regional and international entities, the World Bank and UNESCO have had the most influence on curriculum policies in the 1950 to 2000 period. UNESCO provides technical assistance

and limited funding. The World Bank also provides technical assistance and together with the I-ADB, funds almost 90% of Trinidad and Tobago's education reforms. Trinidad and Tobago has both binding and voluntary relationships with international agencies. Voluntary relationships are formed when Trinidad and Tobago ratifies international conventions or initiatives like EFA or the MDGs. Binding relationships occur when Trinidad and Tobago signs loan agreements or accepts funds from international entities.

All man three policy documents that regulate social studies in Trinidad and Tobago were influenced by manpower planning and human capital development frameworks, trends derived from international entities. Junior secondary schools, as outlined in the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan* were based on manpower planning projections and human capital development frameworks. Junior secondary school provided a technical and vocational education (a need anticipated by World Bank education planners) and increased access to free secondary education for Blacks and Indians. Documentary data supports the fact that during the implementation period of the *Education Plan 1985-1990*, international entities provided both funding and technical expertise. Apart from this information, the data was lean on how international agencies influenced the formation and implementation of social studies policies in the 1950 to 2000 period. The text of the *Education Policy Paper, 1993- 2003* is strongly influenced by the World Bank's Basic Education Project and EFA goals, particularly its focus on ECCE.

It was relatively easy to find evidence for the influence of international agencies in policy text. It was more difficult to find influence of international agencies in policy

implementation. Three reasons account for this. One, in the 1950 to 2000 period, influence or compliance with international agencies was not documented. Two, though 24 participants seemed aware that international organizations exerted some influence over education policies in Trinidad and Tobago, only three participants could give details about the topic. Third, direct influence of international organizations on issues of social integration was difficult to track because, since the 1960's Trinidad and Tobago has been engaged in improving access and equity in education. As such international entities possibly did not influence this aspect of Trinidad and Tobago education policy.

During implementation, Trinidad and Tobago's compliance with international agencies is largely voluntary. Further, local actors, like the Director of the ICIU, interpret international concepts from international initiatives and conventions like EFA to suit local needs. It is the institutional culture that prevails during the implementation phase.

Participants were also able to suggest reasons why policies and programs espoused by international agencies may be difficult to implement in the Trinidad and Tobago case. These reasons include the complex nature of the implementation bureaucracy; negative perceptions of foreign consultants; lack of funding; and poor representation of Trinidad and Tobago MoE personnel at regional or international meetings where decisions are made.

CHAPTER 7

Implementing Social Studies

Introduction

In this chapter, we attempt to answer part of Question (2). We attempt to observe *local factors* that influence social studies curriculum implementation in Tobago and in Trinidad. We assume that policy goals will be distorted during implementation and we hope to find the sources of these distortions with the aim of drawing lessons about the best ways to formulate policies that might reduce implementation shortfall, given the political will of government, ample resources and infrastructure, appropriately trained human resources, and a well coordinated administrative arrangements.

In this case study, we observe distortions through the analysis of data from 33 interview participants, who were involved in curriculum policy formation and implementation in the 1950 to 2000 period, from the historical record, and from documents derived from state level social studies curriculum policy. Interview participants include: former and current teachers; former directors of curriculum development; former and current curriculum officers and coordinators; former CEOs; former Secretaries of Education at the Tobago House of Assembly; former and current school supervisors; and former and current principals and vice principals. Teachers and principals constitute the street level bureaucrats of this study, those civil workers who through their day-to-day work create education policies as it is experienced by students, parents and the general public.

To help elucidate those structural, administrative and contextual forces that most influence the day-to-day work of MoE administrators, district-level personnel and street level bureaucrats during policy implementation, we use various frameworks from the

public administration and the public policy implementation literature. We examine the data to see if any or all of the common features¹⁰⁹ of developing bureaucracies are present in the Trinidad and Tobago case and if these features have any bearing on social studies curriculum implementation.

As a centralized, hierarchal bureaucracy, the Trinidad and Tobago MoE operates through command and control, in which top-level MoE officials control the activities of subordinates. To implement social studies curriculum policy goals, top-level MoE officials delegate powers to those lower in the hierarchy. As subordinates exercise discretion at each level of the hierarchy, there is some divergence from official goals, which constitute authority leakage. We examine the data to see if authority leakage affects social studies curriculum implementation in the Trinidad and Tobago case. We also examine the data to determine the types of devices and processes used by high-level MoE officials to ensure that subordinates comply with official goals. We also analyze the data to see if these processes and devices hinder social studies curriculum implementation.

In many bureaucracies, one of the main hindrances to effective policy implementation is poor policy coordination¹¹⁰. Poor policy coordination may occur within a single bureaucratic agency or among one or more units or departments within a

¹⁰⁹ As explored in Chapter 1, these features include: imitation of the bureaucratic structures of former colonial powers; insufficient skilled personnel to carryout development schemes; bureaucrats focus on personal goals rather than public interest goals; large gaps between what bureaucracies purport to be and reality; and the fact that despite rigid hierarchical structures, developing bureaucracies are fairly autonomous in their day to day operations.

¹¹⁰ Recall from Chapter I that poor coordination, within or across bureaucracies means that “elements are somehow incongruent, that they do not interact smoothly to produce desired results, and that the connections among them create excessive friction or conflict” (Brinkerhoff and Benjamin, 2002, pp. 118- 119).

larger bureaucracy. Policy coordination involves three major types of activities, information-sharing, resource-sharing and joint-action, activities that involve varying levels of harmonization between agencies and people in agencies. As we examine the data we try to observe the types of policy coordination activities in Trinidad and Tobago education system and degree to which policy coordination affects social studies curriculum implementation.

Within the discussion of the features of development bureaucracy, command and control hierarchy and policy coordination we look at informal structures that arise both through personal interest and as a means of implementing organizational goals within the Trinidad and Tobago education system. Within this discussion, we also pay particular attention to factors¹¹¹ that might affect the work of street-level bureaucrats, the teachers and principals in the study. From the data, there emerged other factors that influence the work of street level bureaucrats and education administrators and so affect social studies curriculum implementation. These factors, inherent to the Trinidad and Tobago case, often occurred as unintended consequences of policies as successive policy goals contradict former policy goals or when infrastructure and resources proved insufficient to support policy goals during implementation¹¹². In order to paint a clear picture of the

¹¹¹ The actions of policy actors during implementation are influenced by five main factors: the wording of public policies; the structure of the implementation organization; the nature of management and supervision in implementation organizations; the knowledge and attitudes of street-level bureaucrats; and the conditions under which bureaucrats at all levels work.

¹¹² As stated in Chapter 1, in this case study, we assume that despite the influences of external and local factors on implementation, a certain amount of implementation shortfall will occur, as it is an accepted notion in the policy implementation literature that “the realities of a policy in practice often differ on paper because of distortions in the process of implementing the policy” (Ripley & Franklin, 1982; May, 2003, p.223; Barrett, 2004; May, 2007).

process in which social studies curriculum philosophies, goals, and objectives, as outlined in state level documents are ‘carried into effect,’ we describe social studies curriculum implementation in two parts.

Part I describes what documentary and interview data say about how social studies policy philosophies, goals and objectives outlined in the *1968- 1983 Education Development Plan*, the *1985 to 1990 Education Plan* and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003* were implemented, ‘satisfied,’ ‘executed,’ or ‘carried into effect,’ and includes implementation short-fall associated with these main curriculum policy documents. Part I also discusses factors that influence social studies curriculum implementation in Tobago. Within this discussion, all factors¹¹³ that contribute to the complex nature of telling implementation stories become evident.

In Part II, we discuss how the nature of development bureaucracy affects implementation. We also discuss how coordination and command and control affects social studies curriculum implementation and any informal structures that arise within the MoE to help meet MoE goals related to social studies curriculum implementation. Additionally, we discuss the five main factors that influence the actions of street level bureaucrats described above. This discussion is divided into two broad sections, human resources and contextual factors. The section on human resources discusses the various hindrances to implementation, regardless of their origins, as they relate to staffing. In the section on contextual factors, we discuss those factors that contribute to short fall in the

¹¹³ These factors include: the cultural and administrative differences between Tobago and Trinidad; the fact that curriculum technocrats are continually reviewing and rewriting outdated curriculum to conform to the latest education trends or to meet political, economic and social goals; and the ways that local actors amend or adapt state level policies.

implementation of curriculum policies aimed at social integration, in the 1950-2000 period, that are particular to the Trinidad and Tobago case.

Part I: Implementing Social Studies

Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983

Once the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* was adopted by Cabinet, in 1969, a committee, headed by V.S. Stewart was formed to translate the *1967-1983 Plan's* social studies objectives into a social studies curriculum that could then be translated into a syllabuses, classroom lessons and student activities to meet curriculum policy goals at the primary and junior secondary level (Beddoe, 1972). Once junior secondary schools were established, a committee, headed by Beddoe¹¹⁴ was formed to make recommendations for a social studies curriculum to be taught at the Government Teachers' College so that junior secondary school teachers may be trained in social studies. The Teachers' College curriculum was launched in 1970. Beddoe joined Stewart's committee, in 1969, to contribute to the primary and junior secondary social studies curriculum. The combined efforts of both social studies curriculum committees was the booklet *Man and His World- Social Studies Programme of work for Primary and Junior Secondary Schools*, completed in 1971. The 1972 graduating class were the first to be trained in the "nature, purpose and methods of social studies," using the *Man and His World* booklet, at the primary and post-primary level (Beddoe, 1985, p.70). *Man and His World* is, essentially, a full expression of the social studies curriculum sketched out in *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*.

¹¹⁴ I. B. Beddoe is the father of social studies education in Trinidad and Tobago and the entire Caribbean region

Though it was difficult to locate this booklet, we were able to find two curriculum guides for social studies, for Standards I and II that were derived from *Man and His World*. In 1972, a “social studies unit” of the MoE conducted workshops with select primary school teachers to produce *The Curriculum Guide in Social Studies for Standard 1* (1974) and *The Curriculum Guide in Social Studies for Standard 2* (1976). These curriculum guides, produced by teachers for teachers¹¹⁵, and derived from *Man and His World*, were meant to “provide valuable assistance as regards content and methods of approach” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p. 49).

The *Curriculum Guide in Social Studies for Standard 1* was an

attempt to ...give teachers guidance on Moral¹¹⁶ and Social Education and possible Social Experiences, which the child is likely to meet in ‘his’ world. The bulk of the guide ...contains Units of Work appearing in “Man and His World,” possible lessons which may be taught and suggested resources and activities
(Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976, p. 5).

The *Curriculum Guide in Social Studies for Standard 1* addresses social integration topics in a sample teaching-unit on the community that discusses the origins of the country’s diverse populations, cultural aspects such as food, dress, habits and customs and the importance of interdependence in a diverse community. All objectives of this unit concern social integration. This unit helps students:

- (1) To understand how the community functions
- (2) To appreciate the contribution of many people and individuals to our way of life
- (3) To make judgments on the basis of facts rather than prejudice

¹¹⁵ One of the co-founders of social studies who planned and conducted these workshops during the 1970’s, supported this claim in an interview, agreeing that curriculum booklets created by teachers were used in schools to show teachers how to derive lessons from curriculum objectives (Participant 17, personal interview, August 4, 2009).

¹¹⁶ In this guide “moral ... is concerned with character or disposition and with discriminating between right wrong” and is concerned with cultivating qualities such as love and affection, courage, kindness, honesty, loyalty and respect for the community (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1974, pp. 9-10).

- (4) To develop a feeling of partnership with the various groups which comprise the community
 - (5) To develop a growing sense of belonging to the community
- (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1974, p. 15)

Through achievement of these objectives¹¹⁷, students develop skills such as collecting photos, discussion and self-expression through writing, speech and music. Concerning social integration, an outcome of these objectives are that students “should have learnt to respect and appreciate other people’s attitudes” and to understand that depending on each other is essential for the wellbeing of a community and a nation (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1974, pp. 15). These outcomes lie in the affective learning domain.

The *Curriculum Guide in Social Studies for Standard 2*, based on year two as outlined in *Man and His World*, and focuses also on Moral and Social Education with specific examples from the Trinidad and Tobago environment (1976, p.5). Social integration is also addressed in the unit called ‘Our Community’ with a goal that

understanding the contributions, which others make to the corporate life of the community [is]...a necessary foundation for development of a feeling of pride in the achievements of the country. ...[Students] should also understand the way of life of various ethnic groups in the community, and the contributions made by the ancestors of the present inhabitants

(Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976, pp. 13)

The unit builds on ideas introduced in standard 1 to include map work related to ancestral homelands of the various ethnic groups; forming community bonds through sports, recreation, festivals and customs such as Divali, Eid and Christmas; learning about the origins and meanings of national symbols such as the coat-of-arms and flag; biographies of influential citizens; and geography skills (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976, pp.

¹¹⁷ Objectives (1) and (2) which focus on knowledge and understanding lie in the cognitive learning domain, while objectives (3), (4) and (5), which focus on values, morals and changes in personal lie in the affective domain.

13-14). Evaluation outcomes include the “ability to recall pertinent information about the peoples who form the community” and exhibit “respect for the National Anthem and the Flag” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976, p. 13). Like the Standard I curriculum, the Standard II curriculum focuses on both the affective and cognitive domains.

Derived¹¹⁸ from the *Man and His World* curriculum, created in 1971, the Ministry of Education and Culture, in 1975, produced a *New Primary School Syllabus* in order to fulfill curriculum stipulations¹¹⁹ as outlined in the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983* (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975). The social studies section focuses on family life education, population education and environmental education. The social studies syllabus is one section of a larger syllabus that covers language arts, mathematics, general science, nutrition education, physical education and creative arts from infants through Standard V.

In the first two years of the infant school, the social studies syllabus focuses on moral and social education, and social knowledge, through content areas on the home, school and community. The syllabus provides brief guidelines on how these aspects of social studies might be accomplished. Guidelines include suggestions of desirable student behaviors and experiences and a list of suggested topics. We focus here on those desirable behaviors, experiences and topics that are related to social integration. Under

¹¹⁸ As it is derived from the *Man and His World* curriculum, the *New Primary School Syllabus* spans seven years of primary school and the three years of post primary education, at the junior secondary level, and is based on the expected outcome that 67% of students would terminate their education at age 15 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, Introduction).

¹¹⁹ The social studies section of the primary school syllabus, quoting directly from the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983*, aims to create “a meaningful social studies programme centered around the local scene” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, Introduction).

moral and social education, in the first year, it is “desired that the child should develop standards of conduct which will make him a welcome member in any group, ready to give as well as to take” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p.47). Suitable topics, related to social integration, under ‘Living and working with others’ include “ good manners; table manners; thoughtfulness for others, service to other, and school rules” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p.47). Also under moral and social education, in the second year, “through the observance of special days and festivals the children will become aware of their heritage and the part to be played by each individual in building and upholding it” (Ministry of Education, 1975, p. 48). Sample topics for the second year of the infant school, include “good manners; working in the community; care of personal and public property; appreciation of beauty; [and] loyalty” (Ministry of Education, 1975, p. 48). Under social knowledge, in both years one and two, topics include: “The family- Our neighbours- their customs and dress; [and] Children and their families from other lands living in our village or town” (Ministry of Education, 1975, p. 48). The syllabus goes on to suggest that social studies should involve the use of current events, supplemented by folk tales, folk dances, folk songs and folk music, as well as “incidental teaching on moral and social topics” (Ministry of Education, 1975, p. 48). For other suggestions on teaching social studies, teachers are pointed towards the curriculum guides discussed earlier in this chapter (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p.49).

Concepts introduced in the first two years of infants are re-emphasized and developed, in Standard I, to include the natural world and civil and structural mechanisms for communicating with others such as mail, telephone and transportation services. In Standard II, “a more thorough study of the local community provides standards of

comparison and forms a starting point for extension beyond the locality ... [to] places far away” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p.51). Concerning the theme of social integration, is a section on “Social Knowledge” that includes topics on: “People from various lands living among us-their contribution, how they dress, &c.” and “children from other lands and how they live-difference in home, dress & c., and reasons for same” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p.53). Standard III builds on communication and community themes in the previous year and expands to include introductory topics on the history, geography and the flora and fauna of Trinidad and Tobago. Social studies in the final two years of primary education, expands, the child’s world to include the nation of Trinidad and Tobago, its Caribbean neighbors and the world at large. But is in Standard IV that there is overt focus on the topic of social integration. Under the heading of “social knowledge” under the theme “Understanding Our Community: Our Homeland-Trinidad and Tobago” students delve into a thorough study of the peoples of Trinidad and Tobago to include:

(a) Simple treatment of the cosmopolitan nature of our society and background.(Use of maps and atlas-important). The early people of Trinidad and Tobago-Caribs and Arawaks.

(b) Our Festivals and Customs- Christmas, Eid, Ramadan, Holi (Festival of Spring) and Divali, The Village Wake, The Gayap¹²⁰

(c) Kinds of jobs in our community. (Here the stress should be on interdependence and appreciation of all kinds of work).

(Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p.60).

In the lower grades, from infants to Standard III, the social studies syllabus seems to satisfy both the affective and cognitive learning domains, but by the senior grades, as students approach the CEE, the syllabus begins to focus on the acquisition of knowledge and skills, that is, the cognitive domain. Overall, the *New Primary School Syllabus*

¹²⁰ In common usage, ‘gayap’ is supposedly a word of Amerindian origin that means ‘to lend a hand’ or work together.

(1975) lists a series of topics that teachers should cover, with the idea that teachers will refer to curriculum guides derived from *Man and His World* discussed earlier in this chapter. Essentially, at the school level, the implementation of the social studies curriculum is teacher driven. It is difficult to discern how much this syllabus aligns with *Man and His World*, the full expression of social studies curriculum objectives in *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*, since no copies of this document could be located. However, the syllabus, at least in Standards I and II, does seem to align with available curriculum guides derived from *Man and His World*, particularly its emphasis on the family, community, festivals, customs and the origins of Trinidad and Tobago's diverse population¹²¹. We turn now to documented hindrances to implementing social studies objectives in the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*.

It was difficult to discern, from interviews or documents, those hindrances to social studies implementation that are directly related to social studies objectives in *Man and His World- Social Studies Programme of work for Primary and Junior Secondary Schools*, the full articulation of social studies curriculum derived from the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*. What did emerge from the data were hindrances to implementing policies in the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* that were related to social integration, particularly the creation of junior secondary schools.

When the first junior secondary schools¹²² were opened in 1972, they seemed a boon¹²³ to lower and middle class parents. Indeed, in the beginning, junior secondary

¹²¹ As we will see later in this chapter, festivals, customs and the origins of Trinidad and Tobago's diverse population are some of the main content areas that teachers use to teach the social integration aspects of social studies, despite what is listed in the syllabus.

¹²² Though the junior secondary school is a form of post-primary schooling, it is important to the present discussion because the junior secondary school became a type of

schools met the expectations of parents, but as time passed, the junior secondary school, disparagingly called '*junior sec*' by many, became one of the most divisive instruments in Trinidad and Tobago society. Here's how. Based on economic models, the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983* anticipated that only 37% of junior secondary students will go on to secondary school, while the other 67% would focus on technical and vocational training. There was difficulty in completing secondary school buildings to serve the anticipated 37%, which was further compounded by the fact that, despite UNESCO and World Bank manpower planning projections, almost 100% of students hoped to gain access to secondary education. In 1975, none of the secondary schools were completed to house the first 10,240 graduates slated to move to the upper grades by September 1976. Further, as an unintended consequence, the shift system left scores of unsupervised teenagers, from the morning shift, on the streets. Students engaged in petty acts of vandalism and after school fights, which were carried in a press, giving the junior secondary schools a bad reputation in the eyes of parents and the general public (London, 1994). "This variant of double-shift schooling has therefore had a destabilizing effect on societal norms, ransacking certain household values and cycles of daily living within individual families" (London, 1994, p. 53).

The government intended to expand the secondary school system as a measure to promote social integration by providing more secondary school places for the poor and

school that was associated with low social class, delinquency, and low academic performance within a system with denominational secondary schools that were associated with the upper class, discipline and high academic performance since the late 19th century.

¹²³ These schools offered a comprehensive education in which children of all classes were mixed and the curriculum consisted of a blending of academic and vocations subjects to cater to the abilities of all children (Mc D. Alleyne, 1996).

working class and to diversify the curriculum to include technical and vocational subjects. Instead these measures created different school types with the education system—high status denominational secondary schools with traditional academic curriculum, middle status comprehensive high schools with a mixture of academic, and technical and vocational curriculum, and low status junior and senior secondary schools, offering a predominantly technical and vocational curriculum. The availability of various school types operating within a system of school choice¹²⁴ created inequality in the school system, despite the integrationist intentions of policy. In practice, middle and upper class parents, tended to choose denominational secondary schools over other school types. When students were placed in ‘undesirable’ schools, parents used their social status and religious affiliation to gain access to desirable schools, despite the results of the CEE¹²⁵.

This issue of school choice is compounded by stipulations in the *1960 Concordant*. *The Concordant* allocates 80% of total available school places to the government and the remaining 20% of available school places to the principals of denominational schools. These principals used this 20% leeway to place more than their allotted amount, constituting a form of corruption in the education system, no doubt favoring students of certain religious affiliations and classes. In interviews with teachers at denominational primary schools, teachers admitted that students of the same religion of the school enjoyed preferential treatment in matters of selecting denominational post-

¹²⁴ Recall that parents can choose the secondary school their son or daughter attends, based on success at the CEE.

¹²⁵ In a 1985 Circular Memorandum, the then Minister of Education claims “several persons are using her name in their approach to Principals in an effort to get the Principals to accept their children into schools on transfer” (Circular Memorandum No. 212, September 5, 1985).

primary institutions (Participant 23, personal interview, February 25, 2010; Participant 27, personal interview, March 3, 2010; Participant 31, personal interview March 5, 2010; Participant 33, March 18, 2010).

Evidence of corruption was also observed in policy documents. A 1980 Circular Memorandum cites two instances where a parent knew the results of the CEE, and went to the MoE requesting a transfer to a particular school, even though the “Common Entrance Pass list of allocation of candidates to schools had not yet been established and the results were unknown to the Ministry and the Permanent Secretary” (Circular Memorandum No. 117, June 24, 1980). In Circular Memorandum No. 117, the Permanent Secretary writing on behalf of the Minister of Education alleges “parents received this information from the principals of certain Government-assisted schools” (June 24, 1980). Circular Memorandum¹²⁶, have also shown that “a number of principals have admitted students to their schools whose admissions were not authorized by the Minister of Education and who would not normally have gained admission on the basis of their performance at the Common Entrance Examinations” (Circular Memorandum No. 180, November 8, 1984). The problems of the shift system and the creation of different types of secondary schools within a system that advocated choice were recognized in the first five years of implementing the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*.

The government attempted to resolve the problem of the shift system through policy. Through unilateral consultation with various stakeholder groups¹²⁷, the *Prime Ministers’ Proposals on Education, 1975* was drafted to alleviate the problems in

¹²⁶ An important mechanism for correcting flaws in implementation

¹²⁷ Such as the Trinidad and Tobago Unified Teachers’ Association (TTUTA) and Cabinet appointed committees

implementing the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968- 1983*, including the shift system. As early as 1973, a decision was made to de-shift, but the process could not be carried out since de-shifting was “tied very much to available financial resources and the continued improvement of these resources” (Prime Ministers Proposals on Education, 1975, p.7). As such, Cabinet adopted a measure that “the three-year junior secondary school program remain an integral part of the Education Plan,” but was to be “viewed as a temporary measure and the financial implications of its complete phasing out be worked out as a matter of national urgency” (Prime Ministers Proposals on Education, 1975, pp. 7-10). By the late 1990’s, junior secondary schools enrolled about 30,000 students or 50% of the secondary school population so de-shifting was no small matter (London, 1994, p. 53). De-shifting began in 2006, some 31 years after it was first defined as a matter of national concern¹²⁸. Schools were fully de-shifted by the beginning of this study in 2009 and many schools were re-named¹²⁹ to end the stigma of the junior secondary school era.

Education Plan 1985 to 1990

The draft *Trinidad and Tobago Primary School Syllabus 1986* was created to meet curriculum goals of the *1985-1990 Education Plan* (Ministry of Education, p. 47, 1986). In its preface, the *Trinidad and Tobago Primary School Syllabus 1986* is

¹²⁸ In a bit of poetic justice, it was the PNM government, elected in 2005 that oversaw the process. In their 2007 election manifesto, the PNM boasted that some “thirteen Junior Secondary Schools were de-shifted and converted to full-day secondary schools. In addition, all Senior Secondary Schools were converted to seven-year secondary schools. As a result, an additional 11,050 secondary school students now enjoy full-day schooling” (Singh, October 30 2007).

¹²⁹ However, many teachers, curriculum technicians and MoE officials interviewed for this study still called former junior and senior secondary schools by their old names, illustrating that the stigma of the shift system is still present in the minds of those who formulate and implement curriculum policy.

described as part of a three phase implementation plan that involves, “orientation of [teachers, principals and supervisors] who will use the syllabus;” a phase of “experimental implementation,” in which teachers will teach the syllabus and take note of problems in the syllabus as well as teacher-developed solutions to problems; and a final phase in which “teams of curriculum officers will meet with groups of principals and teachers to discuss problems of implementation and methods of improvement of the syllabus (Ministry of Education, 1986).

It does seem, at least on paper, that the Primary School Syllabus was “rewritten in the light of feedback received over the 1986-1988” period to produce a series of booklets for each subject area that included a *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education*. In an implementation report, dated June 1987, we see, among a list of projected duties for the end of that year, that the CDU will “complete the testing of the draft primary school syllabus in preparation for the production of the final version in all subjects for implementation in 1988 (Ministry of Education, 1987)¹³⁰. We reviewed the social studies section of the draft *Trinidad and Tobago Primary School Syllabus 1986* and the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education* and there is little difference between the texts of the two documents, except that content differs in some grades and some words and phrases were re-worded for clarity. We proceed with a discussion of the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education*.

¹³⁰ In its introduction, the final draft of the social studies syllabus claims “the third and final stage of developing a new primary school programme of work for Trinidad and Tobago is now complete” (Ministry of Education, 1988).

The main objectives of social studies as stated in the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education* are taken, almost verbatim, from the *1985-1990 Education Plan* (Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 47). The social studies syllabus is organized as objectives, content and skills, from first year to Standard V that address various concepts of the social self. The concepts begin with the self and family, moves through the neighborhood and community and from Standard II to V, students begin to study the nation, its historical development, its social problems, industries, governance and the relationship of the nation to the rest of the world. The 1988 syllabus contains content areas and related objectives at lower and upper grade levels, related to social integration. At infant level I, in the “Celebrations” content area, students are expected to “demonstrate an appreciation for the customs and ways of life of their community [to include] religious celebrations i.e. Divali, Eid ul Fitr, Christmas, Easter, Good Friday, Easter Sunday [and] Political celebrations e.g. Labour Day, our Nation’s birthday, Emancipation Day” (p.12). The content area of “Celebrations” continues for Level II infants. At the end of Level II, infants are expected to:

1. Name the main celebrations in Trinidad and Tobago
 2. Explain what these celebrations are about
 3. Explain in simple form the importance of these celebrations to Trinidad and Tobago
 4. Describe and explain their role and responsibilities in these celebrations, and
 5. Strive towards greater involvement in these celebrations
- (p. 18).

The 1988 syllabus is different from the 1975 syllabus since in the 1988 students begin to study cultural, religious and national celebrations at the infant stage rather than in Standard IV as they do the 1975 syllabus. At the infant stage learning objectives¹³¹ lie

¹³¹ Statements about the knowledge, skills, behaviors and attitudes that students should achieve once they complete the syllabus

mainly in the cognitive domain, since they focus on knowledge acquisition through description and explanation. The onus is on students to “strive” to have more involvement in celebrations, aims to affect personal change and lies in the affective domain. At Standards I and II, the content areas of community, neighborhood and nation seem intended to develop mutual respect and love for persons in students’ neighborhood and community and lie in the affective learning domain (pp. 17-21). It is at the Standard III level under the “Nation” subject area that there is overt mention of social integration as a national endeavor. Learning outcomes for Standard III students, ages eight to nine years old, are that students:

- 1. Show that the population of Trinidad and Tobago is multiracial and understand the circumstances under which it emerged*
- 2. Identify and locate on a map the countries from which the groups came*
- 3 Know, understand, appreciate and accept the cultural differences of each group*
- 4. Identify aspects of integration of the groups in the society*
- 5. Appreciate the need to forge a single nation*

(p. 25).

On the topic of nation and nationhood, some of the topics students are asked to examine include “the composition of the population of Trinidad and Tobago i.e. various racial/ethnic”; the origins of each racial/ethnic group; the customs, festival and religion of each group; “forms of integration of the groups- (mixing and inter-dependence) mixed marriage, diet etc” and factors, such as sports that contribute to the creation of a “common identity” (p. 25)¹³². Like learning outcomes for the previous grades, learning outcomes for Standard III, lie predominantly in the cognitive domain and less so in the affective domain except for the single exhortation that students might “appreciate the

¹³² These learning outcomes and content areas are similar to and, in some cases, exactly the same as those outlined in the *New Primary School Syllabus*, produced in 1975, to implement social studies directives in the *Draft Education Development Plan, 1968-1983*.

need to forge a single nation¹³³.” In Standard IV and V, content shifts to national development, government, industry (tourism, petroleum, agriculture), commerce, civil structures as well as local and regional history, geography and weather. Learning outcomes in the last two grades before the CEE are overtly geared towards knowledge acquisition and heavily focused on content.

Learning objectives geared towards social integration in the 1988 syllabus seem more heavily geared towards content, the cognitive domain than those outlined in the *Education Plan 1985-1990* (See Table V, in Appendix K). However, there is a potential problem with this assessment. Social studies goals are intended to be supported by religious education, literature, the visual and performing arts. Syllabuses for these subject areas were not reviewed for the study. However, three of the social studies goals, geared towards social integration in the *Education Plan 1985-1990* list social studies as the “major subject area.” Further, when interview participants were asked about areas of the primary school curriculum that dealt with issues of social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period, all participants said that social studies was the main vehicle for addressing issues and topics related to social integration in primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. Since both documentary and interview data point to the prominence of social studies over other subjects in addressing issues and topics related to social integration, a discussion of social studies syllabuses is still valuable.

Writers of the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education* did not directly refer to social studies curriculum goals as outlined in the

¹³³ Put another way, it is hoped that students might appreciate the need for social integration, the integration of diverse religions, ethnicities and customs into a single national identity.

Education Plan 1985-1990, but aspects of all goals are addressed throughout the syllabus. Those aspects that are least addressed in the 1988 syllabus all lie in the affective learning domain. From goal (2) there is the aim that students “make positive responses to the need to become a more productive, honest, loyal and contributing citizen of Trinidad and Tobago” ; goal (7), that students “act in accordance with the nationally accepted code of ethics derived from the religious and moral principles, which underpin our value system and our laws of the society; and goal (8) that a student “pursue a religion of his own choice and to develop a respect and tolerance for the religion of others” (*Education Plan, 1985-1990*, pp. 83- 85). The 1988 syllabus attempts to address all these goals through content areas in cultural, religious and civic celebrations as well as content areas on fostering communal bonds in the family, neighborhood and broader milieu. All teachers in the study claimed to have taught those social integration aspects of social studies through content about local festivals and celebrations. Supporting these claims are the results of a 1979 study on the role of teachers in social studies curriculum development, Ashton (1979) concludes that “... in spite of efforts in Trinidad and Tobago to define curriculum development in terms broader than content, the major ...preoccupation in the new curriculum development thrust is with content” (p.7).

With the *Education Plan 1985-1990* there seems to be a concerted effort by the then education administration, headed by the then Education Minister, Dr. Clive Pantin, to monitor the implementation process. The documentary record reveals two implementation reports, from the period ending December 1986 and the period ending June 1987 (Ministry of Education, 1986; Ministry of Education, 1987). These two reports represent the creation of information so that top-level MoE officials, in this case the

Minister of Education, can find out what subordinates within the MoE are doing concerning curriculum implementation. The creation of reports is a common device used in command and control hierarchies to monitor if goals and desires of top-level officials are being met. Though these reports cover just over a year, they are indicative of the factors hampering implementation of the *Education Plan 1985-1990*.

In the report for the period ending 31 December 1986, Curriculum Officers make a list of suggested policy recommendations and strategies to improve implementation of curriculum goals in the 1985-1990 Plan. With the exception of a few suggestions, recommendations and strategies fall into three categories: improvement of human resources; improved coordination between the CDU and other ministerial divisions; and coordination and reorganization at the junior secondary level to improve curriculum implementation. We focus here on those suggestions within the report that are related to curriculum implementation.

The December 1986 report contains suggestions related to human resources. There are suggestions that the MoE create a lower level Curriculum Officer post, Curriculum Officer 1, to realize policy goals for the “very large primary education sector”; computer literacy training for Curriculum Officers; professional development for Curriculum Officers in the development of “low cost instructional materials” and “various elements of curriculum innovation” (Ministry of Education, 1986, p.8). The report also suggests that the MoE hire “adequate and appropriate” staff to run the Measurement and Training Unit, as a measure to track student performance (Ministry of Education, 1986, p.8). The recommendations call for closer coordination between CDU and Educational Planning, Technical/Vocational Education and Training, School

Supervision, the Ministry of Community Development and Local Government to “facilitate a more effective implementation of curriculum change” (Ministry of Education, 1986, p.9). The 1986 report also calls for more coordination between the CDU and the Standing Committee on the Selection of Textbooks¹³⁴ so that there is more alignment between selected textbooks and syllabuses. Recommendations concerning coordination suggest that coordination is an ongoing hindrance to curriculum policy implementation in the Trinidad and Tobago MoE.

The report on implementation of the *Education Plan 1985-1990*, ending June 1987, just six months after the December 31, 1986, does not contain recommendations to improve implementation. It is comprised of a list of projections for 1987, status reports of activities related to curriculum development, and a list of achievements of the CDU¹³⁵. This report is quite different in tone than the one written just six months before. This report could possibly have been an attempt to represent, on paper, that implementation of curriculum goals in the *Education Plan 1985- 1990* was proceeding according to plan. However, during interviews, former School Supervisors II Curriculum, Directors of CDU and Curriculum Officers expressed that the CDU and School Supervision have not worked well together, largely because there have not been clear education regulations concerning which office is ultimately responsible for curriculum implementation. School

¹³⁴ This recommendation is even more significant because textbooks are essentially a phase in curriculum policy implementation since most teachers, particularly for social studies, use textbooks as a main teaching tool (Sambucharan, 1990).

¹³⁵ For example one projection is the plan: “To complete the testing of the draft primary school syllabus in preparation for the production of the final version in all subjects for implementation in 1988” (Ministry of Education, 1987, p.1). One achievement listed is that the “School Supervision Division is working in close collaboration with the curriculum division on the implementation of the Draft Primary School Syllabus” (Ministry of Education, 1987, p. 22).

supervisors echoed these views (Participant 17, personal interview, August 4, 2009; Participant 22, personal interview, February 24, 2010; Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010). In essence, interview data does not support the claims of the implementation report. As such, the report may be viewed as evidence that MoE workers falsify reports so that it appears that the goals and desires of top-level MoE workers are being achieved, a tactic often employed in command and control hierarchies like Trinidad and Tobago.

In addition to documents discussed above, there were many curriculum-related documents reviewed for this study that were either difficult to place within an implementation, historical, or policy context or were difficult to place because they were undated and contained no information as to their purpose. One such document was the 1994, the *Social Studies for the Primary School: A Detailed Scheme of Work*.

Published in 1994, the *Social Studies for the Primary School: A Detailed Scheme of Work* is exactly what its title implies. Using the goals and objectives of the 1988 social studies syllabus, the 1994 document translates the 1988 syllabus into weekly lessons and activities with suggested resources (Ministry of Education, 1994). The goal, according to its main author, the then Director of CDU, was to help teachers in translating the 1988 syllabus into weekly lessons and to improve implementation and social studies learning outcomes (Participant 18, personal interview, February 11, 2010). *Social Studies for the Primary School: A Detailed Scheme of Work* was an attempt by the CDU to create a ‘scheme of work,’ a document traditionally created by teachers in to implement the syllabus. Essentially, the 1994 *Detailed Scheme of Work* is a ‘national scheme of work,’ aimed at unifying the social studies implementation process. In this way, all schools

possessed the same scheme of work. All left for teacher to do, is to create a ‘record and forecast’ from the ‘national scheme of work,’ and teach social studies. It is difficult to assess the impact that the 1994 scheme of work had on social studies for two reasons. In the same year that the document was produced, the then director of curriculum development, interviewed for this study, left his position to become the CEO at the MoE. Further, by the year that this document was published, Cabinet approved the *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003*, and the MoE was in the process of developing a new social studies syllabus, in conjunction with local and foreign consultants.

Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003

Despite Cabinet approval of the *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003*, the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education* remained the main social studies syllabus in the education system till 2002, when the MoE produced the *Draft Primary School Syllabus, 2002* (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, GORTT/IBRD, 2002). This document was produced in conjunction with foreign consultant Jan Wilson of the Centre for British Teachers and Dr. Jennifer Mohammed from the School of Education at the University of the West Indies. Like the *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003*, from which it is derived, the 2002 syllabus is part of the World Bank’s Basic Education Project (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, GORTT/IBRD, 2002). The 2002 social studies syllabus is a large (14 in x 11in), 221 page document geared towards learning through inquiry based learning, a pedagogical practice in which students learn by asking questions. The 2002 syllabus is a both a syllabus, and a scheme of work that describes what will be taught in each classroom session to achieve

curriculum goals. According to the syllabus, the goals of the social studies curriculum are that children will:

- (1) *Develop skills of lifelong learning and knowledge acquisition that are both socially acceptable and economically efficient*
- (2) *Understand themselves as social beings in relationships with others such as family members, the community, the nation, the state, the Caribbean and other parts of the world*

(Government of Trinidad and Tobago, GORTT/IBRD, 2002, p.4)

The second goal seems in keeping with goals expressed, though indirectly, in past syllabuses where content and learning outcomes are focused on forming and understanding social relationships within the family that extend to the neighborhood, the community, the nation, the region and the world. As explained in Chapter 6, the goal concerning “lifelong learning,” and economic efficiency reflects one of many World Bank strategies for reducing poverty through education as expressed by then World Bank President James Wolfensohn in his 2000 *Comprehensive Development Report*.

The attributes¹³⁶ of lifelong learning differ much from the traditional education system in Trinidad and Tobago, where the teacher is the center of learning, textbooks and the chalkboard predominate and exams are focused on mastering content. Further, many schools in Trinidad and Tobago were built before 1985 and do not possess the necessary infrastructure to support computers let alone the Internet. Yet, the *Draft Primary School Syllabus, 2002* seems to be geared towards a lifelong learning framework through an investigative approach to pedagogy. For example in a sample infant lesson on “preparing

¹³⁶ As explored in Chapter 6, the attributes of a lifelong learning framework are: interactive group learning; learning by doing rather than rote recall; the use of assessment as a guide to pedagogy and future learning; continuous professional development for teachers, who are lifelong learners themselves; learning outside the classroom connected to learning inside the classroom; and the use of technology, particularly computers (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 2003, p. 29).

to play an active role as a citizen” the syllabus describes objectives, learning skills, attitudes and values, suggested teaching/learning strategies, formative assessment outcomes and suggested resources to achieve learning (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, GORTT/IBRD, 2002, p. 32).

The concept of social integration seems to articulate well with one of the three lifelong learning competencies “functioning in socially heterogeneous groups.” However, the 2002 syllabus is lean on lessons related to issues of social integration, despite stated curriculum objectives. Lessons on interdependence, communication and citizenship, like the 1975 syllabus, are taught in the infant grades. Direct reference to tolerance, respect and appreciation of diverse cultures begin in Standard I, but the suggested teaching/learning strategy is a mask-making exercise using scissors, paper, glue and markers (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, GORTT/IBRD, 2002, p. 99). Also in the same grade, to meet the objective of “care and respect for heritage,” suggested teaching/learning strategy focuses on the Victorian Era, namely a lesson on creating “a story of an estate owner’s house or read a story set in a Victorian house” (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, GORTT/IBRD, 2002, p. 104).

In Standard II, cultural, religious and civic celebrations and festivals return as a teaching strategy to meet objectives of “identifying various ethnic groups” and fostering national pride (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, GORTT/IBRD, 2002, pp. 118-119). From infants to Standard III, social studies learning outcomes aim to satisfy the affective learning domain. In the last three grades, Standards III through V, learning objectives are less geared towards social integration and turn to the acquisition of skills and knowledge, satisfying the cognitive learning domain. Obliquely related to social integration, in

Standard III, students study geography of Trinidad and Tobago to gain skills. Civic duties and the affective skills of social interaction and changing attitudes are covered in Standard IV. In Standard V, like social studies syllabuses, Trinidad and Tobago is connected to the region and the world through content in government, industry, commerce, geography and history. The *Draft Primary School Syllabus, 2002* does not directly refer to curriculum goals in the *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003* and seems quite divorced from it. Indeed, to speculate, I suspect that the 2002 syllabus was created to align with the World Bank loan agreement and to satisfy education strategies that borrowers must adhere to in order to qualify for education funding. This may be one reason why there seemed to be such lean documentation on implementation.

During the course of interviews, some participants claimed that the *Draft Primary School Syllabus, 2002* was not being implemented and that the 1988 social studies syllabus was still in use in 2010 (Participant 20, personal interview, February 22, 2010; Participant 25, personal interview, March 1, 2010; Participant 27, personal interview, March 3, 2010). Some reasons why participants claimed that the 2002 syllabus was not being implemented are the sheer size of the document, 221 pages, and the fact that most teachers are unfamiliar with lifelong learning frameworks and investigative pedagogical techniques. According to one participant who is responsible for training hundreds of incoming primary school teachers to use the 2002 social studies syllabus:

The 2002 syllabus was so challenging that I think social studies died...The document is written in a language and a conceptual framework that it takes a certain level of education to understand...It requires a kind of environment and a kind of confidence that teachers do not have.

(Participant 25, personal interview, March 1, 2010)

One teacher who received in-service training to use the 2002 syllabus and who is a designated “change agent” responsible for training teachers at school supported the idea that the 2002 syllabus is not being implemented in schools even after she attended nine days of workshops at the CDU and trained all the teachers in her school. She suggested that teachers have not yet received all the ‘promised materials’ necessary to implement the curriculum:

We were told that it [investigative learning aspect of the curriculum] was to be done with a book, and we were not given the book, so you don't have the resource to do it. And because people are not familiar with investigative work, they stay away from it”

(Participant 27, personal interview, March 3, 2010).

Other participants in the study, who taught between 2002 and 2010, could not recall receiving the 2002 syllabus or attending any training sessions, at school or at the CDU, to learn about the new syllabus.

Apart from these claims there was little evidence that the *Draft Primary School Syllabus, 2002* was being used in schools. However, a 1999 interim report, prepared by a Curriculum Development Task Force, lists recommendations to improve implementation of curriculum objectives in the *Education Policy Paper 1993- 2003*. In this report, we see similar recommendations concerning human resources, in implementation reports prepared some twelve years before. Of note are recommendations that:

- a. “Competent curriculum supervisory” might be selected on the basis of merit rather than seniority
- b. “immediate action” be taken to train teachers to prepare “lesson plans for day to day teaching”
- c. “immediate action” be taken to hire curriculum development staff who can adequately develop curriculum in a subject area
- d. “immediate action” to “ensure that principals and school supervisors effectively supervise the quality of teachers’ teaching in the classroom”

(Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 22)

From the documentary record, manpower shortages, inadequate training, and poor

mechanisms for monitoring implementation seem to be ongoing hindrances to curriculum policy implementation, including social studies, in the 1950- 2000 period, in both Tobago and Trinidad. In the section that follows, we discuss social studies curriculum implementation with particular attention to Tobago.

Curriculum Implementation in Tobago

In addition to the administrative differences outlined in Chapter 3¹³⁷, two other factors emerged from interview data that might influence social studies implementation in Tobago. These factors are perceptions of Tobago by both Trinidadians and Tobagonians in the study, and the ethnic and religious composition of Tobago.

Participant's perceptions of Tobago emerged from interviews. During interviews, MoE staff, current and former curriculum development staff (including former directors who now help design national level policies) constantly compared Tobago to underdeveloped, rural areas of Trinidad like Matelot and Toco¹³⁸. If one viewed Port-of-Spain as the center, then these rural areas, like Toco, Matelot and Tobago are furthest from the center, on the periphery of the periphery so to speak, and the delivery of goods and services to these areas will be affected by this perception. When asked about social studies implementation in Tobago, Trinidadian MoE and CDU staff confirmed that the implementation structure and process were as described in Chapter 3. However, concerning Tobago's people and culture, Trinidadian MoE and CDU staff made statements like: "I do believe that Tobago is a separate ethnic group, not a racial group

¹³⁷ In Trinidad, the MoE and the CDU spearhead curriculum implementation. In Tobago, policies and syllabuses are produced by the MoE and the CDU, but training sessions are organized by the THA and the SSIII for Tobago, particularly after 1996.

¹³⁸ To give some sense of the problematic nature of this comparison, Toco is a sparsely populated village fishing village on the northeastern coast of Trinidad.

but an ethnic group” (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009). Tobagonians interviewed for the study supported the idea that Tobago was indeed different from Trinidad. One former, teacher, principal and senator for Tobago expressed the sentiments of all participants from Tobago when she said that, “Tobago is not another part of Trinidad. Tobago is a totally different island, a complete country by itself with its own values, its own history, its own systems, its own beliefs...” (Participant 21, personal interview, February 25, 2010).

The historical and demographic differences between the two islands, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, support the claims of difference made by study participants. Interviews also revealed how Tobago’s demographics, predominantly Black and Protestant, might influence the delivery of social studies curriculum aimed at social integration and the reduction of inter-ethnic and inter-religious tensions. All former teachers from Tobago shared the sentiment that since students in Tobago did not often encounter persons outside of their race or religious background and since “religious discrimination is not a problem [in Tobago],” the social integration goals of social studies were less relevant in Tobago than in Trinidad (Participant 21, personal interview February 25, 2010). As such, social studies is taught as content knowledge about the history, customs and religious festivals of the various ethnic groups that reside in Trinidad. Indeed, in the last decade, more Indians and whites have migrated to Tobago. However, these demographic figures are not yet available as at the time of the study (2009/2010), as the Trinidad and Tobago Central Statistical Office was just completing preparations for the 2010 census.

Part II: Policy Distortions

Developing Bureaucracies

Trinidad and Tobago's MoE can be described as a developing bureaucracy, characterized by five key features: the imitation of the British bureaucratic system; insufficient skilled personnel to carry out development schemes; a focus on personal goals rather than public interest goals; large gaps between what bureaucracies purport to be and reality; and the fact that despite rigid hierarchical structures, developing bureaucracies are fairly autonomous in their day to day operations. Only some of these features emerged from the data as relevant to the Trinidad and Tobago case. Implementation reports discussed above have already indicated that insufficient and poorly trained staff is a consistent feature of Trinidad and Tobago's education system, particularly in curriculum development and implementation. We discuss this feature, as it relates to the CDU and teachers and principals, below. It was unclear from the data if bureaucrats within the MoE made decisions based on "personal expediency as against public principled interests" (Heady, 1996, p.320). As I spoke with high-level MoE officials, they did seem, particularly at the beginning of interviews, to express an "urge to make things seem more as they presumably ought to be rather than what they actually are" (Heady, 1996, p.321). This was apparent on two issues—the nature of curriculum policy implementation and the structure of the MoE. Former directors of CDU explained that syllabuses are tested in the field in schools then revised, based on feedback and re-introduced into schools. However, interview data from teachers, principals, curriculum coordinators and curriculum officers did not support this claim. When I tried to collect data on the structure of the MoE hierarchy from top-level MoE officials, I was repeatedly referred to the proposed decentralized¹³⁹ structure advertised on the MoE website¹⁴⁰. However,

¹³⁹ MoE plans for decentralization will be discussed at length in Chapter 8

teachers, principals, curriculum coordinators and curriculum officers described a different structure. It took several requests from various MoE personnel to be given a copy of the working structure, which has changed little since the mid-1980s. Finally, the data did reveal that some parts of the MoE are fairly autonomous despite the centralized nature of the bureaucracy. Within the realm of curriculum policy formation and implementation, the CDU and schools are more or less autonomous in their day-to-day operations. The details of this autonomy will be discussed below as it relates to other factors that distort social studies curriculum implementation.

Human Resources

The delegation of powers through various levels of the MoE hierarchy distorts policy goals and hinders curriculum policy implementation. The Trinidad and Tobago MoE is a highly centralized bureaucracy with power concentrated in the minister of education, the CEO¹⁴¹ and the PS¹⁴² at the top-levels of the MoE. Policies are implanted through command and control. Power over achieving curriculum policy goals belongs to the minister¹⁴³. Since the minister cannot control all activities of subordinates, it is necessary to delegate power to subordinates to reach policy goals. In Trinidad and Tobago, the minister delegates the implementation of state-level curriculum policy goals, to the PS, who delegates this responsibility¹⁴⁴ to the CEO, who delegates to the director of the CDU. The CDU director delegates the creation of syllabuses to curriculum officers and coordinators in the various subject areas. As they implement the curriculum,

¹⁴⁰ This structure was not in use at the time of data collection in 2009/2010.

¹⁴¹ Chief Education Officer

¹⁴² Permanent Secretary

¹⁴³ And ultimately to the prime minister, the minister of education's direct supervisor

¹⁴⁴ The director of the CDU is responsible for completing curriculum related tasks. Responsibility for budget, space, human and other resources remain with the PS.

curriculum officers and coordinators train select teachers and delegate the training of remaining teachers at the school level to these select teachers. Bureaucrats exercise discretion at each level of the hierarchy. In the Trinidad and Tobago MoE, the most discretion is exercised among street-level bureaucrats at the school level. At the school level, implementation of curriculum goals becomes differentiated and idiosyncratic as teachers responsible for training other teachers decide, often exercise much discretion on the activities and materials they will use to convey content, skills and teaching methods learned in curriculum trainings. Further, at each school, it is the principal who decides the amount of time¹⁴⁵ that will be spent on curriculum training at the school level and the teachers who will be trained at the school level. Curriculum goals pass through at least six levels¹⁴⁶ of the MoE hierarchy. At the school level, curriculum may be implemented differently within each of the almost 500 primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. In this way, schools are fairly autonomous in the way that curriculum goals are implemented. The divergence from official goals or intentions at each level comprises a leakage of the minister's authority. At each level, "the purposes the superior had in mind will not be the precise ones, his subordinate's orders convey to people farther the hierarchy" (Downs, 1967, p. 134). In this way, authority leakage has a cumulative effect on the effectiveness of curriculum implementation in Trinidad and Tobago.

In addition to the creation of reports discussed earlier in this chapter, the MoE has put other processes in place to ensure control, to ensure that goals and desires of the

¹⁴⁵ A principal may decide that no time will be devoted to curriculum training at the school level

¹⁴⁶ From minister to PS, to CEO, to CDU director, to curriculum officers/coordinators, to select teachers who attend trainings to possibly other teachers and administrative staff at the school level

minister are carried out. The most significant of these processes is the creation of the office of school supervision, “a separate monitoring [organization] for inspecting and reporting on performance” (Downs, 1967, p. 148). The power of school supervisors to monitor curriculum implementation is stated in the *1966 Education Act*. The *Act* also states that school supervisors represent ministerial power at the district level. The power of school supervision to monitor curriculum implementation is further reinforced by the issue of rank. In the chain of command, principals and teachers report to the SSIII and SSII and SSI in their respective districts. School Supervision has more power over the work of teachers and principals than the CDU, despite the fact that the minister and other top-level ministry officials delegate responsibility over curriculum implementation to the director of CDU. In practice, this means that any school supervisor can obstruct the work of the CDU at the district level and at the school level. Essentially, the school supervisor has the power to veto policy at the school level¹⁴⁷. Though the Office of School Supervision was phased out by the time of interviews 2010, School Supervisors still operate in much the same way as they did when the Office of Supervision was a discrete entity within the Ministry. It seems that the position of school supervisors in the national education hierarchy and how these administrators relate to the rest of the system is an unresolved issue in the Trinidad and Tobago context.

¹⁴⁷ For example, one Curriculum Coordinator (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009), after extensive meetings with a school principal, designated a classroom to house a computer lab, in order to implement a system wide technology curriculum. Subsequently, the school had a larger incoming class than anticipated. The SS authorized the principal to use the classroom for the extra students without consulting or informing the Curriculum Coordinator. Imagine the confusion when computers had to be returned and teachers already trained to help students to use the computers are reassigned to other duties. From the MoE’s point of view, this instance constitutes a case of non-implementation of the curriculum by the CDU.

Curriculum technicians and MoE officials all cited discrepancies in wording of policy documents as having the most enduring effect on the social studies curriculum implementation in Trinidad and Tobago. School supervision was established in the *1966 Education Act* as a separate monitoring organization for curriculum policy implementation, inspecting and reporting on performance within the MoE. However, the CDU was charged with curriculum implementation and monitoring in the *Education Plan 1985- 1990*, some twenty years after the *1966 Education Act*. The *1966 Education Act* was never amended to include the CDU and so, this division, technically, is not a legitimate part of the national education system. Put another way, Curriculum Directors, Officers and Coordinators have no legislated power to develop, implement, monitor or evaluate curriculum in the Trinidad and Tobago education system (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 3, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009; Participant 7, personal interview, July 28, 2009). This problem is further compounded by the issue of rank. As explored above, teachers and principals report to the school supervisors within their districts. Curriculum Directors, Curriculum Officers and Coordinators can guide the work of teachers and principals during curriculum implementation, but they have no jurisdiction over teachers work, because principals, Curriculum Officers and Coordinators are substantively the same post, in terms of pay, benefits and seniority¹⁴⁸. In the Trinidad and Tobago education system, Curriculum Officers, Curriculum Coordinators and principals are peers and Curriculum Officers and Coordinators cannot tell principals what to do.

¹⁴⁸ Teachers and principals are appointed through the Teacher Service Regulations, while Curriculum Directors, Curriculum Officers and Coordinators are appointed through the Public Service Commission.

Curriculum implementation is also hindered by poor coordination between the CDU and School Supervision. In order for curriculum implementation to be effective, both these agencies must coordinate their activities. Activities include sharing information, sharing resources or joint action. We have already established, based on CDU reports discussed above, that in the 1950 to 2000 period, CDU and School Supervision do not routinely share information. Some interview participants indicated that the SSIII and the CDU Director often attend the same high-level meetings at the MoE. However, it seems that outside of attending the same high-level meetings CDU and School Supervision do not communicate. There was some evidence from the data that CDU and School Supervision do share resources, but this seems to be confined to providing space to host curriculum trainings at district facilities (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009; Participant 7, personal interview, July 28, 2009). There was no¹⁴⁹ evidence from the data that CDU and School routinely acted jointed to ensure curriculum policy implementation in the 1950 to 2000 period.

In the Trinidad and Tobago MoE, coordination is also difficult because of the nature of the bureaucratic structure for curriculum implementation. Trinidad and Tobago education bureaucracy has been restructured and reorganized throughout the 1950 to 2000 period. Restructuring took the form of creating new units and divisions in the MoE, such as the CDU and the Education Planning Unit, or of amending the duties of existing units, divisions and positions. These various institutional reforms, though aimed at improving the implementation mechanism, have overtime, created an inter-organizational

¹⁴⁹ During the data collection period, the MoE proposed that CDU and school supervisors should work together to monitor failing primary schools that had large numbers of students scoring in the bottom 30% of national assessment exams. The scheme was not yet implemented at the time of data collection.

framework that, in some ways, impedes the curriculum implementation process. The various parts of the MoE have “differing routines and specialized languages, not to mention distinct ways of seeing the world” (O’Toole, 2007, p.235). These differing languages, routines and ways of seeing the world are most apparent in the relations between the CDU, School Supervision and schools in the area of dealing with non-compliance of curriculum implementation.

The interaction between a technical agency (CDU) and an administrative monitoring agency (School Supervision) is problematic because of inherent differences in routines for dealing with non-implementation of the curriculum. The Director of CDU, Curriculum Coordinators and Officers are technical positions responsible for creating curriculum, syllabuses and other teaching tools to ensure that teachers have the capacity to implement the curriculum. Monitoring the curriculum--“actually sit in a class and watch the teacher in action” --forms part of the duties of the technical positions in the CDU (Participant 06, personal interview, July 28, 2009). School supervision, as a monitoring agency within the MoE charged with monitoring curriculum implementation, and general inspection and reporting. The CDU, as a technical, skill-based entity, has no formal mechanisms for dealing with non-compliance and routinely relies on an “infrastructure of communication,” that is, personal relationships with teachers and principals to aid in the efficient implementation of the curriculum (O’Toole, 2007, p. 238). School supervision, as the administrative and monitoring arm of the MoE at the district level, possesses formal mechanisms for teacher non-compliance, but in the realm of human resources, not in the realm of curriculum. Procedures for non-compliance require that principals record or “log” teacher infringements in a logbook then pass this

information on to the school supervisor. Supervisors are responsible for enacting disciplinary proceedings for teachers who do not work at optimum¹⁵⁰. In essence, because of poor-coordination of routines and procedures within the CDU and school supervision, there are no sanctions for non-compliance with curriculum policy at the school level. This issue is made more difficult because of the lack of legitimacy of the CDU discussed above and the knowledge and attitude of those who deliver curriculum policies as experienced by students, parents and the general public.

In the Trinidad and Tobago case, the knowledge¹⁵¹ and attitude¹⁵² of teachers, “concerning relevant tasks, their work situation, and clients” influences the way that social studies is implemented in schools (May and Winter, 2007, p. 455). From interview data, it emerged that in the Trinidad and Tobago case, teacher knowledge and attitude about social studies are influenced by teacher training, “individual interests and professional norms” (Meyers and Vorsanger, 2007, p. 248). By teacher training, I refer to

¹⁵⁰ The caveat is that disciplinary proceedings, as outlined by the Teaching Service Commission, do not address issues of non-implementation of curriculum. Disciplinary proceedings address problems of a human resource nature, namely infringements on work etiquette such as teacher lateness and teacher absenteeism. Further, disciplinary proceedings take the form of myriad written reports and documents compiled by the principal and submitted to the MoE via the school supervisor. The Ministry then submits these documents to the Teaching Service Commission, which supposedly takes action. Based on this process, almost all participants, even former school supervisors and union officials, when asked about the role of supervisors in the school system described the position as that of “courier” or “glorified messengers” for the MoE.

¹⁵¹ In this study knowledge denotes “the condition of knowing or ...being acquainted with” the history, geography, and past and present sociology of Trinidad and Tobago, its various ethnic groups and religions (Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd Ed., August 2010). Knowledge also includes pedagogy, a manner of teaching that captures both the affective and cognitive domains to influence morals, values and success at terminal exams.

¹⁵² Teacher attitude denotes their “manner of acting, as representative of feeling or opinion” or their “adopted or habitual mode of [thinking]” about social studies curriculum and the schools and education system within which the curriculum is embedded.

the in-service training that primary school teachers receive at the various teachers' training colleges, the university training that eventually replaced the teachers' colleges by 2000, and curriculum training workshops offered by the CDU.

Concerning curriculum, teacher training workshops, a former director of CDU and School Supervisor II, Curriculum admitted that, in the 1950 to 2000 period, "one of the weaknesses of our implementation is that ...very often, we [had] not done sufficient workshops,... over sufficient duration of time, for teachers...(Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009). One of the main reasons for this is that Trinidad and Tobago exhibits one of the key features of developing bureaucracies, insufficient skilled workers to implement policy. In the 1950 to 2000 period, there are simply too few curriculum officers and coordinators, often two to four persons, to administer workshop and monitor teachers in the approximately five hundred primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. As one union official explained, "there have been times when there were no curriculum officers in some areas for long periods" (Participant 13, personal interview, February 10, 2010). From other participants, it seems that Curriculum Coordinator and Director posts also remained vacant for long periods of time. The other reasons include the nature of curriculum training workshops themselves.

Curriculum Officers and Coordinators train teachers to use the curriculum using the cascade model. In this model, once selected teachers have been trained in workshops, it is hoped that they would go back to their schools and train other teachers to implement the new or amended curriculum. Some teachers reported that sometimes the knowledge was not shared or, in most cases, information gathered over a week or more had to be condensed into one to three half days of workshops at the school. There as simply not

enough time for teachers to grasp the materials, so teachers ultimately resorted to their usual routine, which will be discussed in the section below (Participant 27, personal interview, March 3, 2010).

The in-service training that primary school teachers receive at the various teachers' training colleges and at university does not prepare teachers to teach social studies in schools. Beginning in the 1950's, most teachers were appointed based on successful exam passes at the secondary level¹⁵³. Novice teachers taught for a year or two and then attended a teachers' training college for two years. Teachers who attended teachers' training college before 1972, have no formal training to teach social studies, except if they were lucky enough to attend extensive training session offered by the CDU. There were eight such teachers in the study. Four went on to complete advanced degrees and became involved in social studies curriculum development through various ministerial projects. One teacher who began teaching in 1967, explained that when she "began teaching the curriculum, it concentrated on the three R's," that is, reading, writing and arithmetic (Participant 10, personal interview, January 29, 2010). One former principal who attended teachers college from 1950 to 1952 said pointedly "teachers trained before 1970 were not equipped to teach social studies...or science" (Participant 11, personal interview, February 3, 2010). Teachers who *were* trained to teach social studies at training college, claim that this training was not sufficient as it focused on the theoretical underpinnings of education such as developmental psychology, the history of

¹⁵³ For most of its history the Trinidad and Tobago education system, tied "teaching ability to successful passes at CXC" and teachers with such a narrow background "didn't take easily to the fact that they should read and learn more" in order to improve their teaching (Participant 22, personal interview, February 24, 2010; Participant 25, personal interview, March 1, 2010).

Trinidad and Tobago, and on making basic teaching aids such as charts. Those teachers trained in education bachelors degree programs coming out of the University of the West Indies and the University of Trinidad and Tobago, as well as professors responsible for training teachers also claimed that this training was theoretical and content driven (Participant 25, personal interview, March 1, 2010; Participant 27, personal interview, March 3, 2010; Participant 32, personal interview March 16, 2010). It seems that framers of teacher education programs in Trinidad and Tobago assumed that teachers, in order to teach social studies, would be naturally compelled to engage in research in order to teach social studies. Put another way, teachers personal interest would provide content knowledge necessary for affective teach social studies. Based on the testimony of interview participants, this seldom occurs.

Another factor that influences teacher knowledge and attitude are professional norms. In particular, I refer to the pedagogical norms of teaching social studies. All primary school teachers in the study taught social studies using “festivals” or “seasonality.” In this method, teachers use the celebration of the various civil and religious festivals as an occasion to teach the history and customs associated with that particular festival. During the school year, “all festivals were observed, the Christian festivals, the Hindu festivals, the Muslim festivals,...things of national interest, like Discovery Day, Independence Day and Republic Day...[all] got precedence in the curriculum” (Participant 11, personal interview, February 3, 2010). As such social studies in primary school, particularly up to 2000, was taught mainly as content knowledge, facts and figures related to the history geography, and past and present sociology of Trinidad and Tobago, its various ethnic groups and religions. This content satisfied the cognitive

domain. From interview data, some teachers also taught social studies using current events and field trips to local sites of civil, cultural and religious interest. The main reason for the focus on content was that, until 2000, social studies was examined as part of the CEE. The social studies section of the CEE took the form of a multiple-choice exam. And since most teachers did not perform additional research to improve social studies content and pedagogy, or ignored advice gained during curriculum in-service training, social studies was taught almost entirely from textbooks (Sambucharan, 1990). The CEE was phased out by 2000 and replaced with the Secondary Examination Assessment Test or SEA. SEA is designed to assess math, reading and writing ability and does not include social studies. As such, social studies is taught up until Standard III, since in Standard IV and V, all efforts turn to preparing for the SEA. Another reason why social studies is not taught after Standard III is that National Assessment Tests implemented around 2005 to assess student performance are not administered after Standard III. These tests include a social studies section. Some teachers claim (Participant 9, personal interview, August 5, 2009; Participant 10, personal interview, January 29, 2010; Participant 11, personal interview, February 3, 2010; Participant 17, personal interview, August 4, 2010; Participant 27, personal interview, March 2010; Interview Participant 32, personal interview, March 3, 2010) that, in addition to festivals, they explored issues of religious morals and values when teaching social studies. However, outside of formal timetabled religious instructions there seemed to be few opportunities for teaching about morals and values, the affective domain of social studies. The exam-driven nature of the school system is the main reason why the affective domain is not taught as, it is the general belief of education planners that in an exam one “cannot

measure the affective domain” (Participant 22, personal interview, February 24, 2010).

Teaching social studies content surrounding festivals and celebration limits student learning to the cognitive domain and remains the routine in most primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago despite innovations in curriculum espoused by the CDU in the 1950- 2000 period.

In the Trinidad and Tobago case, factors such as workload and management affect not only the work of those at the frontline of policy, but also the work of other actors involved in the curriculum implementation process, namely curriculum technicians in the CDU. We have already explored the fact that almost all primary school teachers in the study teach social studies largely through festivals and seasonality. Not only are festivals and seasonal events such as Christmas and carnival taught as content in the classroom, but are celebrated as elaborate school-wide pageants with visual art, singing, dancing, and theatrical performances often involving elaborate and sometimes costly costumes. Both students and teachers take part in these events. At these pageants, students take the role of performers, while teachers organize the fund raising, costuming and rehearsals. School wide pageants increase the workload of teachers and students. These various “school activities ...take away from class time” and “hinder delivery of the curriculum” (Participant 9, personal interview, August 5, 2009; Participant 10, personal interview, January 29, 2010; Participant 22, personal interview, February 24, 2010). School celebrations hinder the delivery of the curriculum in two ways. Teachers running rehearsals or making costumes are “off-task from the lesson” and are not engaged in delivering the curriculum (Participant 22, personal interview, February 24, 2010). Students performing in pageants “have to practice...and this takes away from class time”

and is a hindrance to curriculum implementation (Participant 9, personal interview, August 5, 2009).

Principals claimed also that extraneous duties take them away from the curriculum implementation process. According to the 1966 Education Act, principals are responsible for:

- (b) the suitable application of the syllabus in conformity with the needs of the pupils of the school and the administration of the school's programme (read review and comment on record and forecast)
- (c) allocation and supervision of the duties and responsibilities of members of their staff;
- (e) teaching;

1966 Education Act

In addition to these duties, principals are responsible for budgeting and financial reporting, disciplinary reporting for teachers, and ensuring compliance with education regulations as laid out in the *1966 Act*. In practice these duties, particularly teachers' disciplinary measures, manifest as written reports sent to the school supervisor in charge of the district. Based on interview data, these myriad administrative duties seem to be one reason that principals do not assist in curriculum implementation.

Curriculum technicians also claimed that workload affected curriculum implementation. In the chain of command, the director of CDU reports to the CEO. However, in practice, the PS, the CEO and the Minister of Education can all direct the duties of the Director of CDU and he or she "cannot refuse" because of the risk of job loss (Participant 2, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009). All current and former CDU personnel, interviewed for the study, complained of long meetings at the MoE head quarters in Port-of-Spain¹⁵⁴. One former SSII, Curriculum, and former Director of CDU said that he often spent three to four days

¹⁵⁴ The capital of Trinidad and Tobago

of the workweek at meetings in Port-of- Spain. He went on to say that, in addition to meetings, “there were a lot of extraneous tasks, which reduce the time that you should spend in your subject area” such as “competitions...writing circulars...[and] writing speeches for the minister” (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009). Others supported the claim that much of the workweek was spent at meetings in Port-of-Spain and that “only 20% to 40% of ...time was spent developing curriculum and training teachers” (Interview Participant 22, March 2010). The situation is made dire by chronic manpower shortages in the CDU, explored earlier in this chapter. One of the main outcomes of chronic absentee management in the CDU, is that there is little management or supervision of the various support staff at the CDU, such as publications and general operations. The result is that CDU is somewhat autonomous in its day-to-day operations, a common feature of development bureaucracies.

Micro-management of the director of CDU by the PS, CEO and Minister, absentee management at the CDU and increased administrative workload of principals all contribute to poor management at all levels of the system. Principals, because of increased administrative duties, are not managing teachers’ delivery of the curriculum in schools. Except in the last ten years or so, principals were not formally trained to be managers, but gained their position through seniority in the education system. There are too few curriculum coordinators to monitor deliver. There are too few school supervisors to manage all the schools in a district and perform administrative and disciplinary duties. One former director of the Office of School Supervision, admitted that there was “varying quality of leadership in the districts, [and that] delivery is highly dependent on the talents of a strong SSIII” (Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010).

What's more, curriculum coordinators and officers were often late-career teachers, who though "good with workshops and other teaching-like duties" often ignore management functions of the position "because they were not comfortable with these duties (Participant 2, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009).

Within a poorly managed and monitored system, what happens to teachers who do not teach the affective domain or who do not use investigative pedagogic strategies as outlined in the 2002 primary school social studies syllabus? The resounding answer from all participants was: nothing! Indeed, there are 'disciplinary proceedings'¹⁵⁵, in which teacher behavior is logged and paperwork forwarded to the MoE. Representatives from TTUTA, the teachers' union, interviewed for this study, explained that disciplinary proceedings are subject to extensive investigation (Participant 13, personal interview, February 10, 2010; Participant 14, personal interview, February 10, 2010). In the meantime, the teacher under disciplinary proceedings receives full pay while the matter is being resolved. Matters take sometimes three to five years to be resolved¹⁵⁶. Also, some participants claim that the disciplinary process itself discouraged principals from attempting to have a teacher fired. Summing up the sentiments of most of those who shared this view, a lecturer at the School of Education at the University of the West Indies who trains primary teachers to teach social studies said:

A teacher here is almost untouchable. A principal who charges a teacher has

¹⁵⁵ But, as explained above, disciplinary proceedings, as outlined by the Teaching Service Commission, are confined to the realm of human resources and do not seem to address work related infringements rooted in technical incompetence

¹⁵⁶ One retired teacher told a story of a teacher who started a business, while waiting for disciplinary proceedings to be resolved (Participant 32, personal interview, March 16, 2010).

more work to do than the teacher. He has to verify and quantify. He has to write so many reports that he [is] better off leaving him [the teacher] alone.

(Participant 25, personal interview, March 1, 2010).

When formal structures within the MoE fail to meet organizational goals, informal structures arise to fill the gap. From the data, informal structures arise to deal with teacher lateness, absenteeism and non-implementation of the curriculum. Teachers who are poor instructors, or who are excessively late or absent eventually “loose favor” with the principal and their fellow teachers (Participant 13, personal interview, February 10, 2010). Using the formal mechanisms for assigning duties at the school level, principals may assign teachers with poor teaching skills to non-academic teaching roles such as a visual art room or a computer lab, where they might do the least damage or in the hope that working conditions will become unbearable, forcing the teacher to resign. Teaching Service Commission employs similar tactics for dealing with teachers who are poor instructors or who are excessively late or absent. If the Commission cannot reach an agreement (due to union interference or incomplete documentation) to fire a teacher, the Commission might, using formal procedures for re-assignment, re-assign the teacher to a remote, rural area of the country in an attempt to create uncomfortable working conditions. In the matter of dealing with teachers, indeed all personnel in the curriculum implementation process, it is the informal rules and routines that provide sanctions for non-compliance with policy rather than those enforced by formal structures.

Contextual Factors

So far, we have discussed factors that influence curriculum implementation that are related to human resources. However, in interviews some teachers described factors at the school level, outside of the work of teachers that strongly influence social studies curriculum implementation. These include the physical structure of primary school

buildings, the growing instances of social and psychological issues among the student population and the fact that the curriculum is geared towards high performing students.

Though there have been efforts to modernize the infrastructure of Trinidad and Tobago's primary schools, the fact remains that many of the nation's primary schools were built in the 1960's, some in the early part of the 20th century. These schools were designed to deliver a teacher-centric grammar school curriculum in which all students sat facing the chalkboard. These now fifty-year-old buildings were not wired to support the Internet, or to support electronics like computers. Curriculum innovations sometimes call for the use of electronic media and non-traditional seating arrangements. However, according to a principal of a prominent all-girls primary school:

[the] infrastructure does not allow you to implement the curriculum. For example, the new curriculum says that children should sit in a semi-circle, but we cannot do that because we do not have the space. We have an aging, outdated infrastructure

(Participant 31, personal interview, March 5, 2010).

While teachers, principals, curriculum technicians and union officials spoke freely about how infrastructure affected curriculum deliver, only three teachers in the study, agreed to record their experiences about how social and psychological issues affect the implementation of the curriculum. In these recordings are instances of sexual and physical abuse of students as young as seven years old. Teachers felt that they were not sufficiently trained to deal with these issues, particularly when these same students did not perform well on exams, were disruptive in class or seemed withdrawn during class lessons. These issues, in some teachers' opinion, hindered delivery of the curriculum.

Some teachers, as well as other participants, expressed concern that the curriculum was not geared towards students who routinely performed in the bottom 30% of SEA and National Tests. The reality is, by and large, since all students must take the

same terminal exams, the largely academic curriculum is geared towards high performing students, not those with mental or physical disabilities or other situations that might make create challenges to implementing the curriculum.

During conversations on the physical structure of primary school buildings and, the growing instances of social and psychological issues among the student population, teachers also made recommendations on ways that education planners might alleviate these problems at the school level. These and other recommendations to improve social studies implementation in the Trinidad and Tobago education system will be discussed in the final chapter.

Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to observe how social studies was implemented in Trinidad and Tobago from 1950 to 2000. Using the documentary record and interviews, we tried to observe and describe how the three main documents that regulate social studies were implemented—*the Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983*, *Education Plan 1985- 1990* and the *Education White Paper 1993- 2003*. We also tried to observe factors that affect social studies curriculum implementation in Tobago. Further, this chapter discussed local factors that might account for distortions of policy goals during the implementation process through the analysis of interview and documentary data. To illuminate factors that influence social studies curriculum implementation within the Trinidad and Tobago bureaucracy, we used various frameworks from the public administration and the public policy implementation literature.

Findings indicate that social studies curriculum implementation in Tobago is influenced by perceptions of Tobago by both Trinidadians and Tobagonians, and the

religious and ethnic composition of Tobago. Both Trinidadians and Tobagonians in the study perceived Tobago as a separate island from Trinidad, with its own beliefs, values and history. Further Tobago is predominantly black and Protestant. Tobagonians in the study claimed that because Tobago was not as religiously or ethnically diverse as Trinidad, issues and concepts related to social integration in the social studies curriculum were less relevant in Tobago than they were in Trinidad.

Findings also indicate that curriculum goals related to social integration from the *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983* were translated into social studies curriculum documents and syllabuses. Documents derived from *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983* were difficult to locate and only two curriculum guides for Standards I and II were found. Both curriculum guides seem to show adherence to social integration goals. The *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983* contained a plan for the creation of junior secondary schools, a major tool in creating access to secondary education for low and middle class blacks and Indians. Junior secondary schools became one of the most divisive forces in Trinidad and Tobago society, largely because of the shift-system that left scores of teenagers on the street in the afternoon. Efforts were made to de-shift schools as early as 1975, but the process was not completed until 2009.

Curriculum goals related to social integration from the *Education Plan 1985-1990* were translated into the *1988 Primary School Syllabus: Social Studies and Family Life Education*. Two reports from the CDU covering the period from June 1986 through June 1987 indicate that some of the main problems of implementing curriculum were

insufficient skilled staff and poor coordination between CDU, School Supervision, Education Planning and Technical/ Vocational Education and Training.

The *Draft Plan for Educational Development 1968-1983*, *Education Plan 1985-1990* and the *Education White Paper 1993- 2003* were all influenced by manpower planning and human capital development frameworks as espoused by UNESCO and the World Bank. The *Education White Paper 1993- 2003*, and documents derived from it were also influenced by the World Bank's Basic Education Project and lifelong learning education frameworks. The social studies component of the *Draft Primary School Syllabus* was derived from the *White Paper 1993- 2003*. The 2002 syllabus is geared towards a lifelong learning framework through and investigative approach to pedagogy. The main goals of the 2002 syllabus seem to be geared towards social integration. However, close examination of lessons and learning outcomes in the 2002 syllabus make few references to social integration. Further, since teachers are not trained in investigative techniques or in lifelong learning frameworks, they do not use the 2002 syllabus in the classroom.

Findings also indicate that curriculum implementation is quite structured at the MoE level, from the minister to the curriculum technicians at the CDU. However, once one leaves the MoE, curriculum implementation at the school level becomes differentiated and idiosyncratic, since once selected trained teachers return to school, they exercise much discretion in how they train other teachers and staff to implement the curriculum. Other findings are related to the nature of the Trinidad and Tobago bureaucracy, command and control, policy coordination, human resources and factors that are inherent to the Trinidad and Tobago case.

The Trinidad and Tobago bureaucracy exhibits four of the five main features of developing bureaucracies. The Trinidad and Tobago bureaucracy imitates the British bureaucracy, and throughout the 1950 to 2000 period, has had insufficient skilled staff to implement curriculum goals. Within the realm of curriculum implementation, schools and the CDU are fairly autonomous in their day-to-day operations. During interviews, participants attempted to represent some procedures and aspects of the ministry as they ought to be rather than what they are in reality. In particular top-level MoE officials, during interviews, referred to the proposed structure of the MoE rather than the actual structure. Directors of the CDU described curriculum implementation as a process in which the curriculum is updated based on feedback from teachers, when, in fact this does not occur.

As a centralized bureaucracy, the MoE is run through command and control. The achievement of curriculum goals is delegated from the minister, through at least six levels of the education hierarchy to teachers in schools. Goals are slightly distorted at each level of the hierarchy constituting leakage of the minister's authority. Authority leakage accounts for distortion of policy goals by the time they get to the school level.

Poor coordination between the CDU and school supervision is another factor that affects curriculum implementation. These two entities communicate poorly, and routinely do not share resources or engage in joint activities. Other human resources factors that affect implementation include insufficient curriculum staff, poorly trained staff, poor management skills, heavy workload, the attitudes of teachers, professional norms and poor sanctions for non-compliance with policy goals. Factors that hinder implementation that are inherent to the Trinidad and Tobago case include outdated school infrastructure,

growing instances of social and psychological abuse among students and the fact that the curriculum is geared towards high performing students.

CHAPTER 8

“So as not to paint a bleak picture...”

Introduction

In this case study of how education policies aimed at social integration policies were implemented in Trinidad and Tobago’s primary school curriculum, as social studies, in the 1950 to 2000 period, I used two research questions:

- (1) What were the effects of Trinidad’s and Tobago’s political and historical context on the education policy decisions aimed at social integration in the 1950 to 2000 period?
- (2) How were educational social integration policies implemented in Trinidad and Tobago’s primary school curriculum from 1950 to 2000?

To answer both questions, from 2009 to 2010, I collected and analyzed historical, documentary and interview data. To analyze the data, all sources of evidence were placed in the historical context, where *primary sources* constitute documentary, archival and interview data “that are contemporaneous with, and have been generated in the course of the events under investigation” (Sweeting, 2005, p. 32). In this case study, the events under investigation are those events that occurred during the course of implementation of the social studies curriculum in the 1950 to 2000 period. In collecting data, I looked at authoritative statutes and the testimonies of education officials as well as the testimonies of street-level bureaucrats and the networks to which street-level bureaucrats belong. I used these testimonies and networks to determine how procedures, and routines relate to authoritative policies.

Findings

To answer Question (1), I reviewed colonial and national level education policy documents that regulate curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1850 to 1950 period, policy documents that set out rules and routines for education governance in Trinidad and Tobago, and primary and secondary historical sources. I analyzed this data using a cultural historical institutional framework to see how formal and informal rules, routines, and procedures that date to the colonial period might have become institutionalized in the Trinidad and Tobago civil service restricting the actions of policy actors in the 1950 to 2000 period. The three institutions that prevail from the colonial period are: (1) government-run schools can be used as social integration tools because they allow access to all religions, ethnicities and social classes; (2) Denominational schools and school boards are an integral part of the school system in Trinidad and in Tobago and 3) Tobago is perceived, by the central administration in Trinidad, as different separate and inferior. My hypothesis for Question (1) is that cultural historical institution, formal and informal coders, rules and ideas, in education social integration policies do constrain the behavior of policy actors because, over time such institutions are so embedded in the education administration that it is difficult for policy actors to adjust procedures, rules and practices to do things differently than they have in the past. Data analysis proved the hypothesis to be true. These institutions were formed through successive education policy decisions and historical events aimed at social integration in the 1851 to 1950 period.

The self-reinforcing sequence of policy decisions related to social integration in the 1851 to 1950 period helped shape an institutional path that was difficult to reverse. These policy decisions can be found in statutes outlined in the *Education Ordinance, 1851, Education Ordinance, 1870, Education Ordinance 1875, Elementary Education*

Ordinance, 1890, and the *Education Ordinance, 1933*. These policies had a powerful effect on structural education policies geared towards social integration in the post-independence such that institutionalized rules routines and procedures concerning schools and social integration are reinforced in the *1960 Concordant*, the *Education Act 1966*, the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976*, and to a lesser extent the *Education Teaching Service Regulations 1967*. Put another way, educational social integration policies instituted in the 19th century had such lasting effects on the rules, routines and procedures that even in the post colonial era, when the government of Trinidad and Tobago could have created a different school system, they created a school system in which religious and ethnic diversity was accommodated using the same methods as the colonial administration. Also, a review of the historical and documentary records show that the central government in Trinidad perceives Tobago to be different, inferior and separate from Trinidad. This institution or set of concepts that determine rules, routines and procedures of policy actors in both Tobago and Trinidad is rooted in: cultural differences between the two islands; Tobago's history of self-governance; and in political upheavals during the first two decades after independence in 1962.

To answer Question (2), I reviewed both national level curriculum policy documents and documents derived from international entities. National level education policy documents include policies that regulate curriculum in Trinidad and Tobago, curriculum guides and syllabuses derived from these policies, teachers' lesson plans and textbooks. I also conducted thirty-three interviews of persons involved in curriculum policy implementation in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1950 to 2000 period. International documents include loan agreements and reports from the World Bank, as well as reports

from UNESCO. To answer question (2), I tried to observe both external and internal factors that might influence social studies implementation in Trinidad and Tobago. External factors include trends, conventions and initiatives promoted by international organizations that might influence the type of policies formulated at the national level. Internal factors include structural, administrative factors that influence the day-to-day work of curriculum technicians, administrators, and street level bureaucrats like principals and teachers.

To observe the way that international organizations and influence social integration policy formulation and implementation in Trinidad and Tobago's national school system, we use *world culture theory* and *culturalist theory* as well as frameworks from public administration and implementation research that help explain those factors that influence the work of implementation actors. *World culture theory* assumes that external forces, particularly international organizations, determine the way that education systems are structured. *Culturalist theory* claims that it is the adaptation of external policies and ideas within the local context that determines policies. My hypothesis for Question (2) is: The implementation of education social integration policies in the primary school curriculum, often differed from official policies, derived from international trends because of the interpretive and adaptive actions of policy actors, administrators and educators at the local level. Data analysis proved the hypothesis to be true and that culturalist theory most explains education policymaking and implementation in Trinidad and Tobago.

From the documentary data, the three main polices have regulated social studies in Trinidad and Tobago--the *1968- 1983 Draft Education Development Plan*, the

Education Plan 1985-1990, and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003*. These policies articulate with anti-discrimination statutes in the *1966 Education Act* and school choice statutes outlined in the *1960 Concordant* and supported by the constitutional right to school choice upheld in the *Trinidad and Tobago Constitution, 1976*. The *1968- 1983 Draft Education Development Plan*, the *Education Plan 1985-1990*, and the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003* are all heavily influenced by human capital and manpower planning frameworks espoused by World Bank and UNESCO. UNESCO has, since the 1960's, promoted a long-term education-planning framework in Trinidad and Tobago and provided technical assistance on the administrative structures needed to implement policy. From interview and documentary data, UNESCO's EFA initiative seems to be the international trend or initiative to have had the most significant influence on education policy making in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1990 to 2010 period. However, interview testimony revealed that though Trinidad and Tobago ratified EFA since 1990, many inclusive education initiatives outlined in EFA such as universal primary education and anti-discrimination in schools were already part of the education system since the 1960's. It seems that education planners in Trinidad and Tobago looked to EFA and other international education guidelines to improve education standards within the system.

The World Bank has, largely through loan agreements and education planning frameworks, also influenced national level education policies. In particular, the World Bank has propagated human capital development and manpower planning frameworks that persist to the present day. In some cases, particularly the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003*, policy statutes reflect, almost verbatim, what is outlined in loan agreements. Despite the fact that national level policy documents reflect international education trends

like human capital development and long-term education planning, influence of international trends below the level of the Ministry of Education (MoE), in districts and schools was almost impossible to track either through interviews or documents. Within available data, I could not observe how international trends affected curriculum implementation. What was observed were the various ways that implementation actors adapted and interpreted the mandates of policy ideas derived from international organizations to suit their own needs. For example, to create a system of early childhood care and education (ECCE), implementers of the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003*, selected those aspects of EFA that could provide guidelines in making ECCE facilities compliant with international trends on inclusion. Lifelong learning frameworks outlined in the 2002 social studies curriculum derived from the *Education White Paper, 1993- 2003* are written in documents, but ignored in the day-to-day work of teachers in the study.

Data revealed various internal factors that influence social studies implementation. The main unit within the MoE responsible for social studies curriculum implementation is the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU). The MoE, exhibits some of the five main features of developing bureaucracies. The MoE imitates the rules, routines and procedures of the British bureaucracy and, particularly in curriculum development and implementation has had insufficient skilled staff to carry out development schemes. It was unclear from the data if bureaucrats within the MoE focus on the realization of personal goals rather than programmatic, public interest goals. At the start interviews, top-level MoE officials seemed to represent procedures and routines concerning social studies curriculum implementation and the working hierarchy of the MoE as they ought

to be rather than what they are in reality. Finally, despite the MoE's fairly rigid hierarchy, curriculum implementation at the CDU headquarters and in schools is largely autonomous and outside of the purview of top-level MoE officials.

The MoE is a hierarchical bureaucracy run through command and control devices and process. During curriculum policy implementation, policy directives move from the executive branch of the government, namely the Prime Minister and Cabinet, to the Minister of Education. The Minister delegates policy goals to the Permanent Secretary (PS) and the Chief Education Officer (CEO). The CEO then conveys these directives in meetings or through memos to the Director of CDU, who in turn delegates to his/her staff of Curriculum Coordinators and Curriculum Officers, who translate curriculum goals and learning outcomes as outlined in policy documents into curriculum documents and syllabuses. Curriculum Coordinators, Curriculum Officers delegate the power over the achievement of curriculum goals to select teachers trained to use the new or amended curriculum and syllabus in schools. Training of teachers at the school level is delegated to those teachers trained by the staff of the CDU. At the school level, policy implementation becomes differentiated and idiosyncratic as each principal and teachers use discretion on activities that will be conducted to meet curriculum goals at the school level. Since bureaucrats exercise discretion in achieving curriculum policy goals at each level of the education authority leakage occurs, distorting policy goals by the time they reach the delivery end.

In the Trinidad and Tobago context, curriculum policy implementation is influenced by poor coordination between school supervision, the CDU and schools. School supervision was created as a separate monitoring agency within the MoE to

inspect, monitor and report on performance within the system and is mandated by the *Education Act, 1966* as a main stakeholder within the system and represents ministry power at the district level. In addition to poor coordination and other factors discussed above, there are other formal and informal evidence that account for hindrances in social studies curriculum implementation.

Formal elements include the wording of statutes; the inter-organizational machinery of the MoE; lack of disciplinary proceedings for teacher non-compliance with the curriculum; insufficient skilled labor; the exam driven nature of the system; workload at all levels of the implementation process; and inadequate school infrastructure.

Informal elements occur through unintended consequences of policies that create loopholes in the system allowing policy actors to intentionally subvert policy or fill gaps in policy to meet organizational goals. Informal elements include the knowledge and attitude of teachers who were often poorly or insufficiently trained; the growing number of psychological and behavioral problems¹⁵⁷ of students; and poor management skills at all levels of the system. Existing disciplinary proceedings for teacher non-compliance with the curriculum are weak. However, various informal mechanisms have arisen to deal with weak disciplinary proceedings. These include principals assigning teachers to non-teaching positions at the school level or the Teaching Service Commission assigning teachers to rural areas of Trinidad and Tobago, in the hope that teachers will resign due to uncomfortable working conditions. These findings are significant for several reasons.

Significance of Findings

¹⁵⁷ These problems, according to teachers, were often due to sexual, physical abuse as well as learning disabilities

At a superficial level, findings of the study support the complex nature of policy implementation even though implementation takes place in a single Ministry in a small state. Here, we viewed distortions from stated policy as an accepted part of the process of implementation. However, 'natural' distortions during the implementation process did not account for all implementation short fall. Through loans and oil revenue, Trinidad and Tobago was able to secure funds for its education reforms. At least on paper, the implementation architecture was sufficient to carry out curriculum directives. Trinidad and Tobago enjoyed a relatively stable political climate compared to other developing states with multiethnic populations. With the exception of the 1969/1970 Black Power Riots and an attempted coup in 1990, the government changes hands via general elections and parties successful in general elections serve their term of office until the next election. In short, the case study creates a more complex picture of implementation in developing countries than that advanced by Smith (1985) who cites unstable political climates, poor infrastructure, insufficient funding and unskilled staff as the main reasons for implementation shortfall.

Education technicians and teachers in the study are best described as semi-skilled rather than unskilled. With few exceptions, all the teachers in the study attended teachers' training college where the training focused on content. Further, though the goals and learning outcomes of the social studies curriculum, as expressed in policy, address both the affective and cognitive learning domains, the exam driven environment of schools rewards only the cognitive domain. Semi-skilled teachers and technicians in a system that lacks the human resources to implement the curriculum in almost 500 primary schools also adds to implementation short fall.

The most significant aspect of findings is the extent to which education planners relied on the discretion, organic self-coordination, and self-motivation of teachers at the school level to implement the social studies curriculum. Curriculum policy implementation is structured up to the level of the CDU, but at the school level is differentiated and idiosyncratic, as school principals and teachers determines how, or if, they will train teachers at the school level to use new or amended curriculum. This heavy reliance on the teacher to implement the curriculum by higher ups is contradictory in such a highly centralized top-down system. However, the relative autonomy of teachers in implementing the curriculum may be viewed as a symptom of a developing bureaucracy.

A Framework for Education Policy Implementation Studies in Developing States

From these findings, one might be able to propose a general¹⁵⁸ framework¹⁵⁹ for education policy implementation studies in developing states. From this study, the main elements or variables one needs to consider in studies of education policy implementation in developing states, indeed in implementation studies of any type of regulatory policy, are the historical, social and cultural context and the historical political, governance and policy context. It goes without saying that all policies are embedded within a historical, social and cultural context. However, this context is often ignored in policy studies. Knowledge and understanding of the history, sociology and culture or cultures of a place will help the analyst to generate questions relevant to a particular case. The historical,

¹⁵⁸ A general framework will help to “identify the elements and relationships among those elements that one needs to consider” in studies of education policy implementation in developing states (Ostrom, 2007, p. 25)

¹⁵⁹ Frameworks “provide the most general list of variables that should be used to analyze” the implementation process, such that “the elements contained in a framework help analysts generate questions that need to be addressed when they first conduct an analysis” of education policy implementation in developing states (Ostrom, 2007, p. 25).

social and cultural contexts are often indicative of, produced by, related to or have evolved with the historical political, governance and policy context. Analysts must consider the historical progression of the types of policy decisions made in the past as well as the way that governance and political structures have evolved over time. Elements of past policies, governance and political studies linger in formal and informal the rules, routines and procedures of bureaucracies despite intentions of policy planners to reform or change them. The wording of powerful regulatory statutes, particularly if they are enacted fairly early in the system, has tremendous bearing on implementation despite directives that may come after. By wording I refer to coherence or clarity in defining policy objectives and the persons responsible for achieving objectives. In this case study, *The Concordant 1960* and the *1966 Education Act* are two such powerful statutes. The *1966 Education Act* being Trinidad and Tobago's supreme education law.

Another important element that must be considered in implementation studies is how powerful statutes articulate with policies that come after them. In the Trinidad and Tobago case, as of 2010, neither *The Concordant 1960* nor the *1966 Education Act* had been amended to accommodate reforms in the system, despite the fact that in order for reforms to be implemented there had to be collaborations and clear power sharing arrangements between various units and divisions of the MoE. A prime example is the establishment of the CDU as the main unit responsible for delivery and monitoring of the school curriculum in the *1985-1990 Education Plan* though education law designates School Supervision and principals as responsible for delivery and monitoring of the school curriculum.

Membership in international and regional organizations plays a key role in setting policy agendas and implementation in developing states. As such, any study of policy implementation in developing states must take into consideration the various loans, membership accords, and conventions that a developing state has ratified. However, as this study demonstrates, international and regional organizations may have considerable bearing on the way that policies are written, but little influence on the way that such policies are implemented. It seems that in the case of the influence of international organizations on policy implementation, it is the informal actions, interpretations and adaptations of policy actors below the national level that prevails regardless of what is written in policies and formal loan agreements.

Another element that needs to be considered is changes in government, particularly for parliamentary democracies with party systems. A change in government is often the impetus for drastic reforms, since newly elected parties often try to make a name for them selves by instituting radical changes.

Lastly, when studying implementation in developing states, analysts must take into consideration the culture and values of the delivery environment of the policy realm. For example, in Trinidad and Tobago's primary schools, the delivery environment of social studies, the culture is geared toward successful passes in examinations. It is a school culture in which the recall of facts is most valued, a culture in which the cognitive learning domain is most valued. As such, students with academic ability to pass examinations are most valued. Teachers with an innate or acquired talent for successfully training students to pass examinations are often the most valued, and somewhat revered, teachers in the school. The culture and values of the delivery environment may differ

significantly from that of the policy formulation environment. In the end, it is the culture and values of the delivery environment that will prevail during implementation, despite the intentions of planners. This general list of variables and how they relate to each other or influence implementation point to the value of this case study in lesson¹⁶⁰ drawing.

In this study, we see that Trinidad and Tobago education planners drew lessons from the country's education policy past. For other multiethnic states wishing to formulate and implement curriculum policies in the hope of reducing ethnic tension or inculcating a sense of citizenship and belonging among diverse groups in a polity, policy formulation and implementation recommendations from the Trinidad and Tobago case might be useful. These recommendations might aid implementation, even in the Trinidad and Tobago case, given the availability of material resources, skilled and motivated staff, and the political will to do so. Recommendations fall into five categories—statutes, policy coordination, implementation planning, human resources and schools.

Recommendations

Statute recommendations concern the *Education Act, 1966*. The Act should be amended to reflect that the CDU is the main unit of the MoE responsible for the implementation and monitoring of curriculum goals. *The Act* must also sanction the various activities involved in curriculum implementation. In order for this amendment to have teeth, the Act must also be amended to add the CDU to the power-sharing quartet that now only includes the Minister, School Supervision, denominational school boards and principals. In fact, School Supervision should be removed as the monitoring agency

¹⁶⁰ To recall, a lesson is defined as an “action oriented conclusion about a programme or programmes in operation... [in another city, state, nation] or in an organizations' own past” (Rose, 1991, p.7; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996, p. 344).

and have a more supportive role in curriculum implementation, that is, taking direction from CDU in implementation and monitoring curriculum in schools. Though some of this does occur in schools, it is informal and idiosyncratic as the process of curriculum implementation at the school level is left up to the discretion of principals and teachers.

Improved policy coordination may improve curriculum policy implementation in the Trinidad and Tobago case. However, coordination is not just a question of more information sharing, resource sharing and joint action. In the Trinidad and Tobago case, improved coordination requires the creation of a participatory environment and the dismantling of the current command and control method of policy implementation. The current command and control hierarchy has myriad procedures that conflict with each other (particularly between technical agencies like the CDU and administrative agencies like school supervision and the Teaching Service Commission), making processes of change slow (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, p. 126). Viable suggestions about what to do to improve curriculum policy coordination in the Trinidad and Tobago can only emerge from a study of all the rules, routines and procedures that agencies concerned with curriculum implementation use in daily work and the ways that these rules, routines and procedures are linked, could be linked, are contradictory or redundant. Such a study would also have to capture the knowledge and attitude of actors in the various coordinating agencies. However, studies of policy implementation in developing states suggest that policy coordination is improved by four main factors: the creation of rules; the reduction of “excessive interdependence and control;” the creation of opportunities in which all agencies in an implementation network benefit from coordination; and shorter implementation planning spans (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, p. 125).

Coordinating organizations need to specify rules for activities related to policy implementation. These rules include “determination of who is eligible to make which decisions in which areas; what actions are allowed, required, or proscribed; what procedures must be followed; what information must be provided, to whom and when; what benefits and costs are to be assigned to organizations (or groups) as a result of their actions; and how monitoring and enforcement will be undertaken” (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, pp. 124- 125). These rules may already be part of existing regulations and organizational procedures or may need to be created to suit a particular policy. In the Trinidad and Tobago case, each new policy uses the same set of existing formal rules and procedures, in addition to new directives determined by higher-ups in the MoE. In many cases new policies are at odds or cannot be supported by existing formal rules and procedures, as is the case with monitoring curriculum implementation and formal structures for technically incompetent teachers.

Policy coordination may be improved by reducing “excessive interdependence and control” (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, p. 125). Actors in interdependent agencies may have conflicting beliefs about the need for coordination. Additionally, when processes in two or more agencies are closely linked “delays or capacity problems” in one agency may cause delays and capacity problems in other agencies, affecting the entire implementation network (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, p. 125). Some agencies within an interdependent implementation network may opt to control and supervise the work of actors in other agencies as a means of improving coordination. This is particularly the case when there are no clear rules governing the ways that agencies coordinate with each other. As such, clear rule making, as described above, is one means

of reducing excessive interdependence and control. Another means is to create more decentralized structures, a process proposed in the *Education Plan, 1958- 1990*, and again the *Education Policy Paper, 1993- 2003*, but not implemented until 2009/2010 and possibly abandoned when the Minister of Education changed in mid- 2010.

Recommendations for decentralization will be discussed later in this chapter.

The third factor that improves coordination involves fostering opportunities for coordination in which all or most agencies within an implementation network benefit from coordination (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, p. 125). This process best occurs in participatory frameworks, in which actors can negotiate the ways that their agency can benefit from interactions with other agencies and still achieve policy goals. Creating opportunities for coordination in which all or most agencies within an implementation network benefit from coordination is also highly dependent on rule making. In the Trinidad and Tobago case, coordination between school supervision and the district office staff and the CDU, in monitoring curriculum, could most benefit from rule-based negotiations in which both agencies benefit, and at the same time successfully implement the curriculum.

The fourth factor that may improve policy coordination is having shorter implementation planning spans. As in the Trinidad and Tobago case, national education policies often span periods as long as ten or fifteen years. Implementation frameworks and action plans derived from such policies can be overly detailed, particularly when education programs are sponsored by international agencies that require detailed action plans to meet loan requirements. Due to the complexity of implementation, long-term, detailed actions plans become less and less accurate over time, as can be seen with the

action plan developed for the *Education Policy Paper, 1993- 2003*, in which curriculum documents planned for the mid 1990's, were not developed until 2002. Policies may be long term, but implementation plans to achieve policy goals should cover shorter periods of time so that implementation may better adapt to social, political and economic changes. Further “smaller increments can increase task consensus by making it easier to agree on what to do in the short term, subject to refinement based on the lessons of experience” (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002, p. 128). Shorter implementation planning spans improves policy coordination as well as the allocation of resources to facilitate implementation, including funding, trained staffing, facilities and materials.

During the fieldwork period, the MoE was piloting a decentralized structure in two education districts. In this structure, Curriculum Coordinators, in conjunction with School Supervisors and School Support Services would have a presence at the district level to improve implementation of the curriculum. Since the government changed hands in May 2010, it is unclear if the new Minister of Education supports the initiatives of his predecessor. An amendment to the *Education Act, 1966* (reviewed and passed by Cabinet then enacted as a law) that reflects more power sharing between the Minister of Education, Curriculum Officers and Coordinators, School Supervisors and principals will give this arrangement more legitimacy in the eyes of all stakeholders. Amending the *Education Act* will also make policy initiatives less susceptible to upheavals caused when the governments changes hands during general elections.

Poor human resources in the CDU seem to have been an enduring problem throughout the 1950-2000 period. Human resources may be described as poor for various reasons, from no staffing, to under staffing to unskilled or semi-skilled staff. It seems,

that one main factor accounts for the CDU's chronic staffing problems. Simply put, though posts were created for Directors of CDU, Curriculum Coordinators and Curriculum Officers, there seems to be no political will or interest to fill these posts or to appropriately train the curriculum technical staff that was employed at CDU. As such, a main pre-cursor to improving human resources in this division, indeed any division or unit in the MoE, is the will and interest of the executive branch of government, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and the Minister of Education.

If political will and interest, time and resources are in place, one recommendation to improve the human resource situation in implementing curriculum in primary schools, is to break up each of the eight districts into three to four sub-districts, though maintaining the eight district structure for continuity of material and communication distribution networks, administrative procedures and document language. At the head of each of the eight main districts are School Supervisors (SS) and a management curriculum position, perhaps a Curriculum Coordinator, and clerical and maintenance support staff. The SS manages all the administrative functions of the district and facilitates the implementation of the curriculum in conjunction with the Curriculum Coordinator. The SS, with support staff, ensures that human resources, equipment, school infrastructure, and student support services like lunch or counseling are in place for the successful implementation of the curriculum. Each of the three to four sub-districts in each of the eight main districts is manned by a Supervisor's Assistant (SA), a technical curriculum positions, perhaps a Curriculum Officer, and clerical and maintenance support staff. SA's work in conjunction with Curriculum Officers, school support services and support staff to assist in delivery of the curriculum. All SAs report to the SS. Curriculum

Officers report to the coordinator or manager, who in turn reports to the Director of CDU. CDU retains its discrete office, where Curriculum Coordinators, Officers, SAs and SS are trained, meet to discuss policy and where curriculum resources are housed.

For the structure suggested above to work, Curriculum Officers must become generalists rather than subject specialists. In Trinidad and Tobago, Curriculum Officers are subject specialists. For example, the Curriculum Officer for social studies only works in social studies, and the Curriculum Officer for math only works in math. In order to make the proposed structure a reality, Curriculum Officers, like primary school teachers, must be generalists, that is, they must have a thorough knowledge of all the subjects taught at the primary level. As generalists, Curriculum Officers, should be curriculum specialists, who like teachers have organized systems of continuing education. In terms of rank, Curriculum Officers and SAs must be senior to teachers and principals. In this structure, Curriculum Officers and their staff are responsible for training teachers and monitoring the curriculum in fewer schools. The manner in which teachers are trained, might also be adjusted to suit this proposed management and implementation structure.

Within this proposed structure, at the school level, curriculum implementation will become the responsibility of the vice principal, who works in tandem with his/her principal, SA and Curriculum Officer to help implement the curriculum by organizing training sessions, acting as the conduit for best practices in the classroom, monitoring, giving feed back and assistance to teachers and ensuring good morale. Curriculum Coordinators train all heads of departments. Heads of departments, in conjunctions with the vice principal, train all teachers in the school during the last few weeks of the summer vacation and during the school year. The training is organized so that teachers cover each

other's classes. Indeed, this is quite an expensive scheme. It requires many more paid personnel as well as continuous training through out the system. As it stands now, there are simply too few bodies, at all levels, to implement the social studies curriculum. Even with the proposed decentralized system, outlined in the *Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, workload is still too great, with a single Curriculum Coordinators responsible for an average of fifty primary schools per district. Inadequate and poorly trained staffing is directly related to recommendations at the school level.

A principal told me a story about wanting to implement innovative social studies pedagogy in her school. This 'new' pedagogy called for a seemingly minor thing-- students sitting in a circle instead of the usual egg-carton style with students in chairs all facing the teacher (Participant 31, personal interview, March 5, 2010). Students could not sit in a circle, because the classrooms, built in the early 20th century, are too small to hold the almost thirty students to a class. A Curriculum Coordinator for Information Technology (IT), told a story about creating an IT curriculum and buying computers for schools only to realize that schools were not wired for the Internet and that the voltage was too low to support multiple computers (Participant 1, personal interview, July 1, 2009). Since there are so few Curriculum Coordinators or Officers, in any subject, these technicians often do not visit schools to see if the curriculum could be implemented in the existing infrastructure. It is a tall order, but the main recommendation is to update the physical infrastructure of existing primary schools in order to support curriculum implementation. Like the issue of human resources, this requires political will and interest, extensive resources and time. Indeed the government of Trinidad and Tobago is

rebuilding schools, but the process has not kept pace with the various curriculum initiatives that are constantly emerging from the MoE.

Another recommendation to improve implementation of the social studies curriculum came directly from teachers. Teachers, on and off the record, expressed that they did not have the training or skills to teach student who were sexually or physically abused. These teachers all recommended that more school counselors be placed in schools to assist abused students. Teachers complained that there were too few counselors, often one to two, in each school. With the exception of two teachers in the study, teachers also expressed that though trained at teachers college or at the University of the West Indies, they had little training or exposure to pedagogy for students with developmental, physical or mental disability. Teachers suggested that school counselors might be useful here as well.

While in Trinidad and Tobago, I discovered that there were secondary schools created to support the education of students who scored below 30% in terminal examinations at primary school. According to one retired teacher who currently teaches at one of these institutions, these institutions often include students with developmental, physical or mental disabilities (Participant 32, personal interview, March 16, 2010). However, apart from these high schools and the various civil, private and church-based institutions devoted to the aiding the disabled, I could not find mechanisms or institutions, except for school counselors, to deal with these issues in public primary level. This is problematic because the social studies curriculum is geared towards the ‘average student’ and teachers are expected to adjust the curriculum to suit the needs of all students. Further, apart from the testimonies of a few teachers, I could not find

evidence of instances of growing sexual and physical abuse among the primary school student population. This highlights one of the main limitations of this study—there is little data from news reports to analyze public opinion on social studies implementation or to gather more information about the social studies implementation process.

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research

In my dissertation proposal, I proposed that data would be drawn from interviews, policy documents, documents derived from policies, the historical record and news reports. It is an established idea in case study research that news reports help to document factual and interpretive information from various stakeholders in the implementation process including target populations, general public, and policy related personnel (Yin, 1982). On both data collecting trips in 2009 and 2010, it proved difficult to collect news report data. The main reason was the way that news report data was organized at archives and libraries. News reports were organized according to date and not according to subject or theme. In order to look for news reports on social studies implementation or even education policy in the 1950 to 2000 period, I needed to review the daily newspapers, every day for that fifty-year period. Some records were in microfiche and others were in hard copy. At one point, I sought to narrow the search by focusing on a single newspaper or by looking at the months preceding or following an important historical event or policy decision. Even if I confined the search to a single daily or weekly paper, I still had thousands of newspapers to review. I also looked at online searchable newspaper archives, but these records do not go back to the year 2000. Limited time was another key factor why I abandoned the collection of news report data. To collect data, I made two three-month trips abroad, for a total of six months over two years. I simply could not

afford to spend more time abroad. Much of my time, while in Trinidad and Tobago, was spent reviewing documents, cross checking facts and locating interview participants, many of whom were often retired, elderly, or no longer working with the MoE.

Another limitation of the study was that too few interview participants were knowledgeable about the role that international organizations play in education policy formation and implementation in Trinidad and Tobago. From reports and conversations with staff at the MoE and at the Trinidad and Tobago UNESCO Commission, I was able to come up with a list of seven potential participants who were either directly involved with UNESCO or some aspect of Trinidad and Tobago's compliance with international organization in the 1950 to 2000 period. Two of these participants¹⁶¹ agreed to be interviewed when I met them at the UNESCO Commission but did not respond when I tried to contact them afterwards. In the end, I interviewed two persons with experience in this area. I reviewed the collection at the UNESCO Commission Library. The collection holds reference material and UNESCO publications, but I could find no materials that documented Trinidad and Tobago's involvement with UNESCO or any other international organization. It also seems that the UNESCO Commission went for long periods without a director. The current director had been in the position for only a few years at the time I informally interviewed her and, though willing to help, she could provide little information on UNESCO's influence on education policy in Trinidad and Tobago during the 1950 to 2000 period.

Lastly, this study is limited by its scope. In this case study, we looked at the implementation of social studies from the MoE to the classroom. In this sense it is both a

¹⁶¹ People with at least 20 years experience working with Trinidad and Tobago's compliance with international accords and conventions

macro and a micro level study. At the micro level, the classroom, data collection terminates at the testimonies of teachers who teach social studies, and the weekly plans and assessments of classroom lessons created by teacher, the so-called “record and forecast.” Even while I was conducting the final set of interviews at a primary school in south Trinidad, I wanted to observe teachers while they were teaching social studies to see if the patterns and themes that were emerging from the data about the way that social studies is taught in schools were observable. In this study, in order to ‘observe’ how social studies was taught, I used Sambucharan’s (1990) study, a masters thesis, at the University of the West Indies, as a proxy. Sambucharan (1990) observed 18 social studies sessions at the same grade level in three schools and found that the textbook was the main source of content material for teaching social studies (Sambucharan, 1990, p.46). I would like to go further than Sambucharan and look at pedagogical techniques as well as the ways that religious and civic festivals and celebrations influence the teaching of social studies. What kind of content do teachers use? Did instruction attempt to address the affective domain? What kinds of pedagogical techniques do teachers most often employ? Are classroom activities, such as content and pedagogy, influenced by workshops and training sessions hosted by the Curriculum Development Unit? Is the 2002 social studies syllabus being implemented in schools? How do religious and civic festivals and celebrations influence the way social studies is taught in the classroom over the course of a school year? Observing how social studies is taught in classrooms is one of two suggestions for further research. The other concerns the many education reforms that have been implemented since the year 2000.

During interviews, participants in high-level positions at the MoE often lamented the lack of capacity, in terms of people and policy tools, to implement the social studies curriculum in the 1950 to 2000 period. Many believed that in the period around 2000 there was a paradigm shift in the way that education policies are formulated and implemented. One former Director of CDU and current policy consultant exhorted that “so as not to paint a bleak picture ¹⁶²of [Trinidad and Tobago]...” it is important that I include, in my study, the many initiatives implemented in the last decade or so to improve the capacity for policy implementation (Participant 4, personal interview, July 22, 2009). I focus here on those initiatives related to education policies aimed at social integration, social studies curriculum and education policy formulation and implementation in general. These various administrative reforms are emblematic of trends that seem to be taking place in civil bureaucracies worldwide and will form part of a future research agenda on the effects of recent educational reforms on social studies implementation in Trinidad and Tobago.

During the data collection period one of the major reforms on everybody’s lips was the move to decentralize the MoE. As explored above, the main aim of the new decentralized structure is to improve policy implementation, particularly curriculum policies. In the new structure, there will be Curriculum Officers, SSs, Student Support Services and Early Childhood Care and Education represented at the district level. In each district, there will be eight Curriculum Officers to represent the eight core subjects of the school curriculum at both the primary and secondary level—math, English, social studies, science, technical and vocational, physical education and the visual and

¹⁶² In the original text, he said “so as not to paint a bleak picture of us...”

performing arts (Participant 2, personal interview, July 22, 2009; Participant 8, personal interview, July 29, 2009; Participant 20, personal interview, February 22, 2010). Since there are so few trained personnel in visual and performing arts, these Curriculum Officers will remain at the MoE and service both islands in the republic. Also in the planning stages was the creation of sub-head offices at the district level, headed by a district administrator, who does the work of the CEO at the district level. Most persons who talked about the decentralization scheme seemed to regard it as a positive move to improve policy implementation, but some were skeptical. Skeptics explained that since decision-making and control of funds still remained centralized at the MoE, the proposed structure was one of “de-concentration” rather than decentralization (Participant 20, personal interview, February 22, 2010). Put another way, despite increased staffing at the district level, it is business as usual at the MoE.

Recent Changes in the Trinidad and Tobago Education System

By the year 2000, there were substantial changes in the MoE that affect curriculum policies geared towards social integration. Since 2000, the Secondary Examination Assessment Test (SEA) has replaced the Common Entrance Examination¹⁶³ (CEE). SEA is an “exam that focuses on the development of basic learning skills of reading, numeracy, writing and the understanding and appreciation of the natural and social environment” (*Report of the Task Force for the Removal of the CEE*, 1998, p. 40). SEA is a multiple-choice examination with sections in math, english comprehension and essay writing. With SEA, a parent still retains the right to choose the secondary institution that their child wishes to attend. And the government still retains the right to

¹⁶³ Recall that the CEE was a multiple choice exam with sections of english, math, social studies and science with a written essay to assess writing skills.

place 80% of successful students as established in *The Concordant, 1960*. SEA does not include social studies and science per say, but these subjects are included indirectly in the comprehension section where students analyze content and make inferences based on information provided in written passages. Reasons for removing social studies from the terminal examination are: social studies cannot be tested as multiple choice; schools do not possess the equipment or teachers the training to teach social studies or science; science and social studies are only included in the CEE because the MoE realized that if they were not included in the CEE, these subjects would be excluded from the curriculum (*Report of the Task Force for the Removal of the CEE, 1998, p. 41*). Social studies is now only taught until Standard III, while standards VI and V are devoted to preparation for SEA, at the exclusion of all else. As such, social studies, since in it not examined¹⁶⁴, has lost its priority in primary schools.

An important aspect of education policies geared towards social integration was the creation of opportunities for more equitable access to secondary schooling for all classes, religions and ethnicities. Trinidad and Tobago currently enjoys universal secondary education, such that all students who sit SEA have a place at the secondary level. Now that everyone can be placed, other problems have arisen.

Even students who fail the SEA, score in bottom 30%, are placed in secondary school. Over the last ten years, this practice has resulted in approximately 30% of students in secondary schools with reading and numeracy skills below grade level. This phenomenon, according to some interview participants, is the new inequality in Trinidad and Tobago's school system (Participant 19, personal interview, February 17, 2010;

¹⁶⁴ Social studies, however, is examined at the CXC level in some schools and so regains some priority at the secondary level.

Participant 20, personal interview, February 22, 2010; Participant 21, personal interview, February 25, 2010). This situation is made worse by the fact that the curriculum, at all levels, is geared towards the ‘average student.’

In recent years, the MoE has taken a hands-on approach with primary schools with high failure rates since primary schools feed into secondary schools. All the principals of failing schools have been called to a meeting at the curriculum head quarters where “they got the riot act read to them” (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009; Participant 7, personal interview, July 28, 2009). Principals of low performing schools were brought together to come up with strategies for improving student performance and were given a target of moving 20% of failing students above the pass mark, as indicated by results of National Tests (Participant 6, personal interview, July 28, 2009; Participant 8, personal interview, July 29, 2009). School supervision and the CDU will closely monitor failing schools. Principals who do not improve their schools cannot be fired, but will be disciplined, a process we know from previous chapters requires reams of paper and years to come to a resolution. All of these reforms and measures for improving student performance were at various stages of implementation in the 2009/2010 period. In the opening chapter of this study we highlighted the fact that the Trinidad and Tobago education system seems to be in a constant state of reform. Reform, as a factor for change, is even more salient now than it was in 2009 when I started collecting data.

In 2009/2010, the then Minister of Education was in office for almost three and a half years and the ruling political party was serving its second five-year term in office. As I write this final chapter, the new Minister of Education, Dr. Gopeesingh, as well as the

political party he represents, has been in office for eight months. This eight-month period, for education policy, has been a time of flux as Dr. Gopeesingh tries to distinguish his tenure from that of his predecessor and as Trinidad and Tobago experiences an economic down turn. To cut some 800 million TT dollars, Dr. Gopeesingh has scaled back the building of 600 early childhood center and opted instead to house these schools in under-populated primary schools (*Cutting and contriving to foster preschoolers*, 26 Dec, 2010). The content and administration of SEA is also slated for change (*Cutting and contriving*, 26 Dec, 2010). There is currently a scheme (in the planning stages under the former administration) to improve academic performance by converting co-ed schools to same sex school. This scheme is based on local observations that students in same sex schools tend perform better, academically (Participant 13, personal interview, February 10, 2010). The first twenty schools are slated for conversion by September 2011 (Spence, February 3, 2011). These initiatives are only a few of the many, many education activities taking place in Trinidad and Tobago.

Conclusion

In the education policy realm in Trinidad and Tobago, particularly when one studies implementation, there is always something to observe. Observing implementation is sometimes difficult because activities and decisions are often not written down or are based on informal arrangements that are difficult to document. One key, it seems, to observing implementation is talking to people, talking to those who write policy, those who translate policy, and those who perform policy as part of their daily work, often with little awareness that what they are doing is actually satisfying or carrying policy into effect. Another key is being in the right place at the right time, a phenomenon that

occurred again and again during the course of data collection. This phenomenon cannot be outlined in any research proposal or put on one's fieldwork agenda at the start of the day. Being in the right place at the right time occurs through keeping an open mind and through a bit of luck.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Information Sheet, 6/19/09 to 6/18/10



Ph.D. Program in Urban Education

The Graduate School and University Center
The City University of New York
365 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10016-4309
TEL: 212.817.8280 FAX: 212.817.1515
E-MAIL: urban-ed@gc.cuny.edu

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Heidi Holder and I am student in the Urban Education Ph.D. Program at The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, and the Principal Investigator of this project, entitled "Social Integration Through Education: Trinidad and Tobago as a Case Study 1950- 2000."

This is a research study of how state level national education curriculum policies and mandates related to social integration are translated into guidelines, resources, practices and ideas at the district level and the school level. The study is expected to improve the understanding of how national education curriculum policies aimed at social integration are implemented in small multi-ethnic states.

I would like your permission to interview you about your experiences related to the implementation of national education curriculum policies in your particular education division, unit or school district.

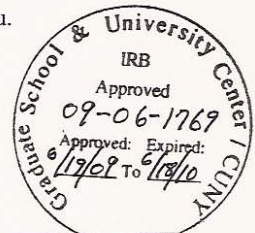
The interview will last as long as your time permits. With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interview so that I can record the details accurately. Only my advisor and I will hear the tapes. All information gathered will be stored in a locked file cabinet, to which only I, and my advisor, will have access. At any time, you can refuse to be audio taped. At any time you can refuse to answer any questions or end the interview.

The risks involved in this study are no more than encountered in everyday life. The benefits of your participation is that you will contribute to an understanding of how national education social integration curriculum policies are implemented in the Trinidad and Tobago public school system. There will be approximately 42 participants taking part in this study.

I may publish results of the study, but your name, or any identifying characteristics, will only be used with your permission. Direct quotes will only be used with your permission.

If you have any questions about this research, you can contact me, Heidi Holder, at hholder@gc.cuny.edu, 868 729 7601 or 917 442 1017, my advisor, Dr. Joel Spring at jspring3@ix.netcom.com or at 914 664 7541. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Kay Powell, IRB Administrator, The Graduate Center/City University of New York at (212) 817-7525 or at kpowell@gc.cuny.edu.

Thank you for your time. You may keep a copy of this form.



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APPENDIX B: Information Sheet, 5/10/10 to 5/09/11



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If you have any questions about this research, you can contact me, Heidi Holder, at hholder@gc.cuny.edu, 868 729 7601 or 917 442 1017, my advisor, Dr. Joel Spring at jspring3@ix.netcom.com or at 914 664 7541. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Kay Powell, IRB Administrator, The Graduate Center/City University of New York at (212) 817-7525 or at kpowell@gc.cuny.edu.

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APPENDIX C

TABLE I: Interview Participant Occupation, 1950- 2010

No	Sex	Teacher Primary	Teacher Secondary	Vice Principal	Principal	Curriculum Officer	Curriculum Coordinator	Curriculum Director	School Supervisor	MOE/ Gov't Official	THA/ Gov't Official	OTHER
01	M		X			X- IT		X		X		Lecturer, SOE, UWI
02	F	X	X		X	X- Science						Advisor to Minister of Ed
03	M	X	X					X	X- Curriculum	X		Policy Advisor
04	M	X	X									Teacher Educator, CDU
05	M	X				X- HFLE	X- Social Science					Member, NCC
06	M		X			X- Social Studies	X- Social Science					
07	M		X	X	X					X		
08	F	X										
09	F	X										
10	F	X										
11	F	X		X	X							
12	F		X									
13	M		X	X						X		Chair, NCC
14	M	X	X									Lecturer, SOE, UWI
15	F	X										President, TTUTA
16	M		X									V President, TTUTA
17	M	X				X- Social Studies		X	X- Curriculum	X	X	THA Secretary of Education
18	F		X		X							CXC Chief Examiner, social studies; Policy Advisor, CEO
19	M					X- English						Dir, Teacher Training MOE
20	M	X				X- Social Studies		X	X- Curriculum	X		Former CEO, SSIH
21	F	X				X- Social Studies			X			Head, MoE Project
22	M		X	X							X	Implementation Unit, SSIH
23	F	X										Senator, Tobago
24	F	X		X	X							CXC, Chief Examiner social studies; Policy advisor
25	M		X									Roman Catholic Missionary
26	M		X									Lecturer, SOE, UWI
27	F	X			X	X- Social Studies						Lecturer, SOE, UWI
28	M		X							X		Member, National Textbook Committee
29	F		X	X								
30	F	X			X	X- Science				X		Roman Catholic Lay Minister
31	F	X		X	X					X		Manager, Catholic Vicariate
32	F	X										
33	F	X										

APPENDIX D

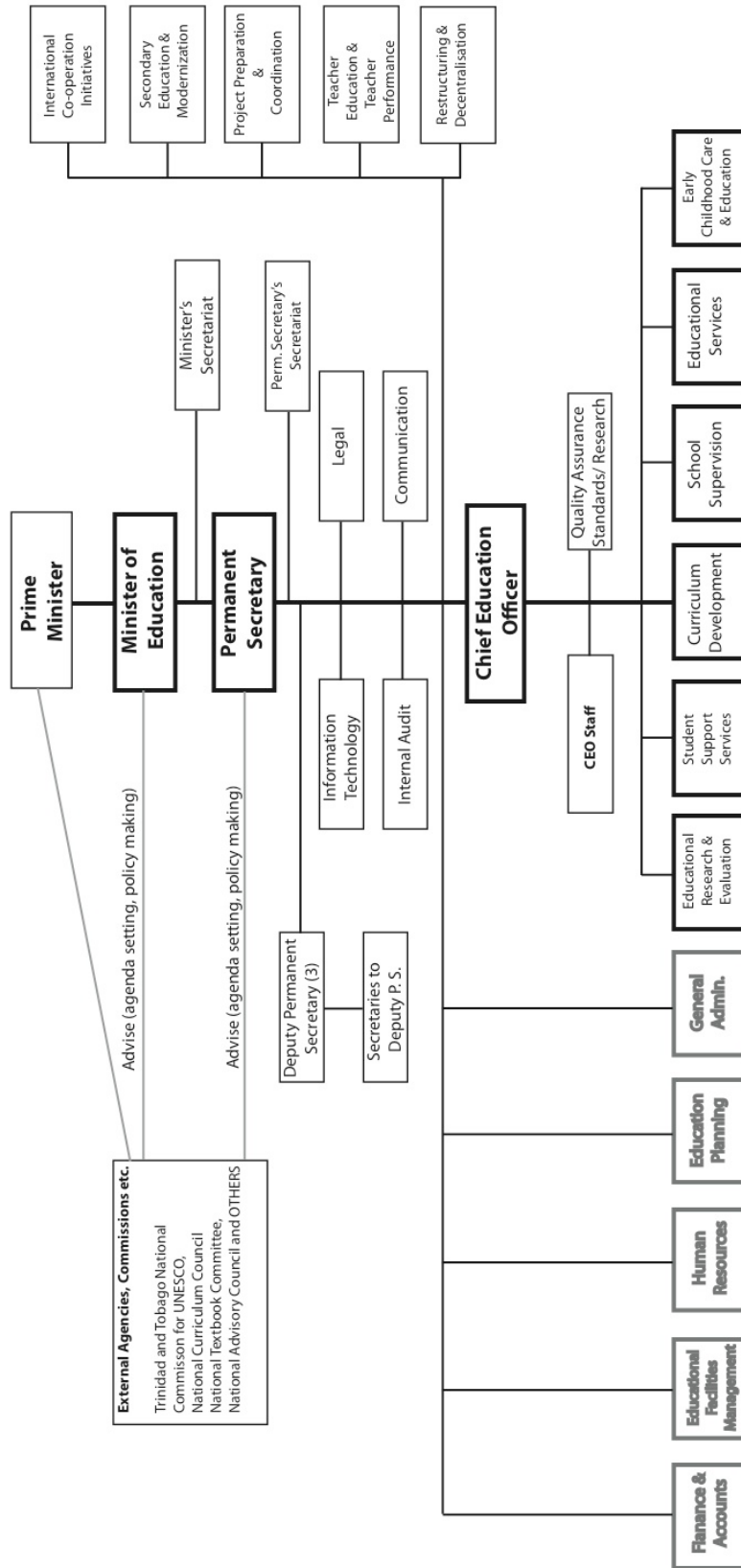
TABLE II: Interview Participants, Education and Training

- Indicates level of education

No.	High School	Teachers' College	BA/BS	Diploma of Education	Masters	PhD
01	X		X			
02	X	X		X		
03	X	X		X	X	X
04	X	X				
05	X					
06	X	X	X	X		
07	X	X	X	X		
08	X	X	X	X	X	
09	X	X				
10	X	X				
11	X	X				
12	X	X	X	X		
13	X	X	X	X		
14	X	X				
15	X	X				
16	X	X	X	X		
17	X	X	X	X	X	
18	X	X	X	X	X	
19	X	X	X	X	X	
20	X	X	X	X	X	X
21	X	X	X	X	X	X
22	X	X	X	X	X	X
23	X	X				
24	X		X	X	X	X
25	X		X	X	X	X
26	X		X	X		X
27	X	X	X	X	X	
28	X		X			
29	X		X	X	X	X
30	X	X				
31	X	X	X	X	X	
32	X	X	X	X	X	
33	X	X	X	X		

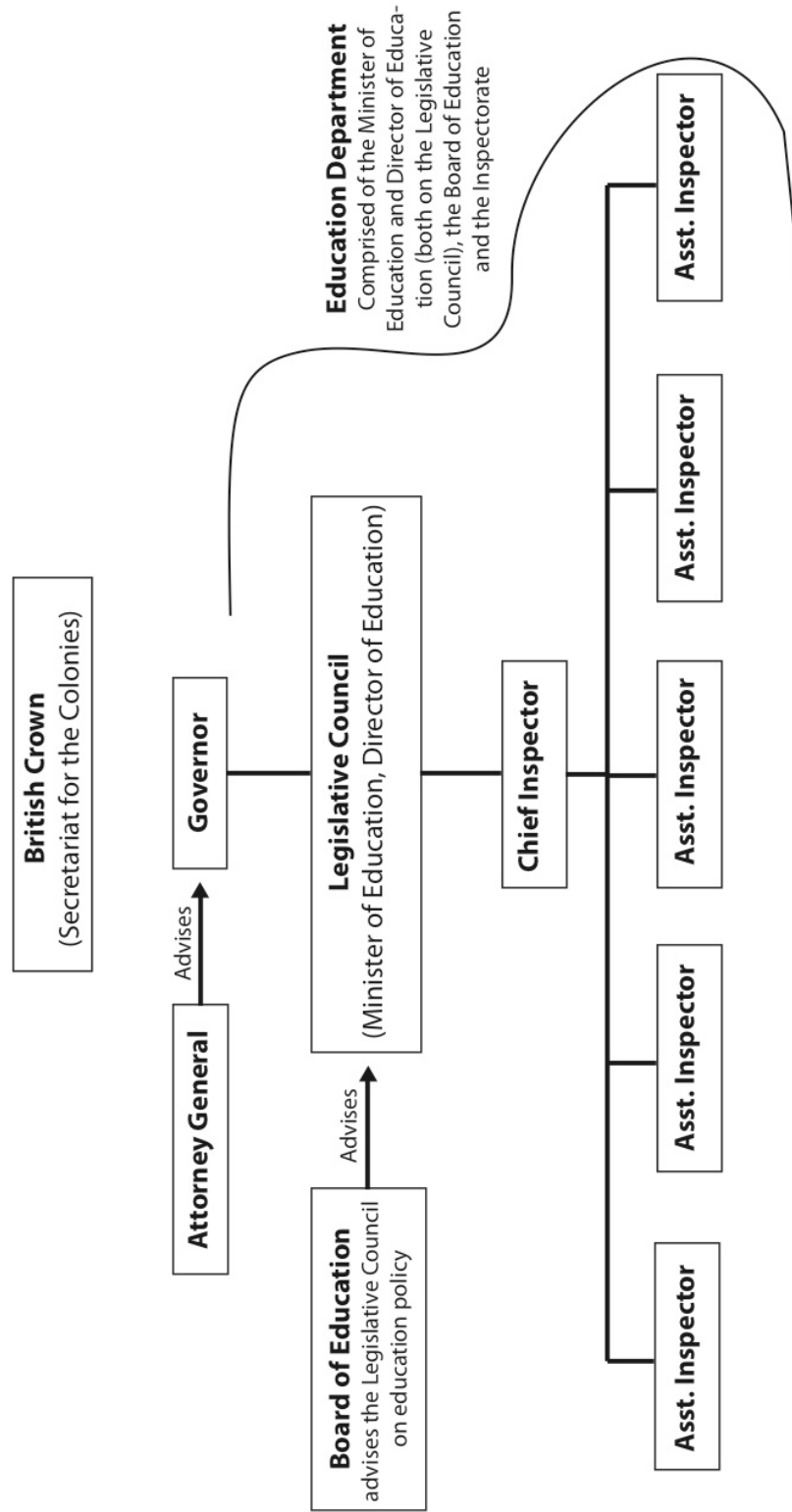
APPENDIX E

FIGURE I: Administrative Structure of the Ministry of Education, 1985 to 2000



APPENDIX F

FIGURE II: Trinidad and Tobago Education Administrative Structure, 1950



APPENDIX G

TABLE III: Changing Structure of Curriculum Implementation, 1976 to 2000

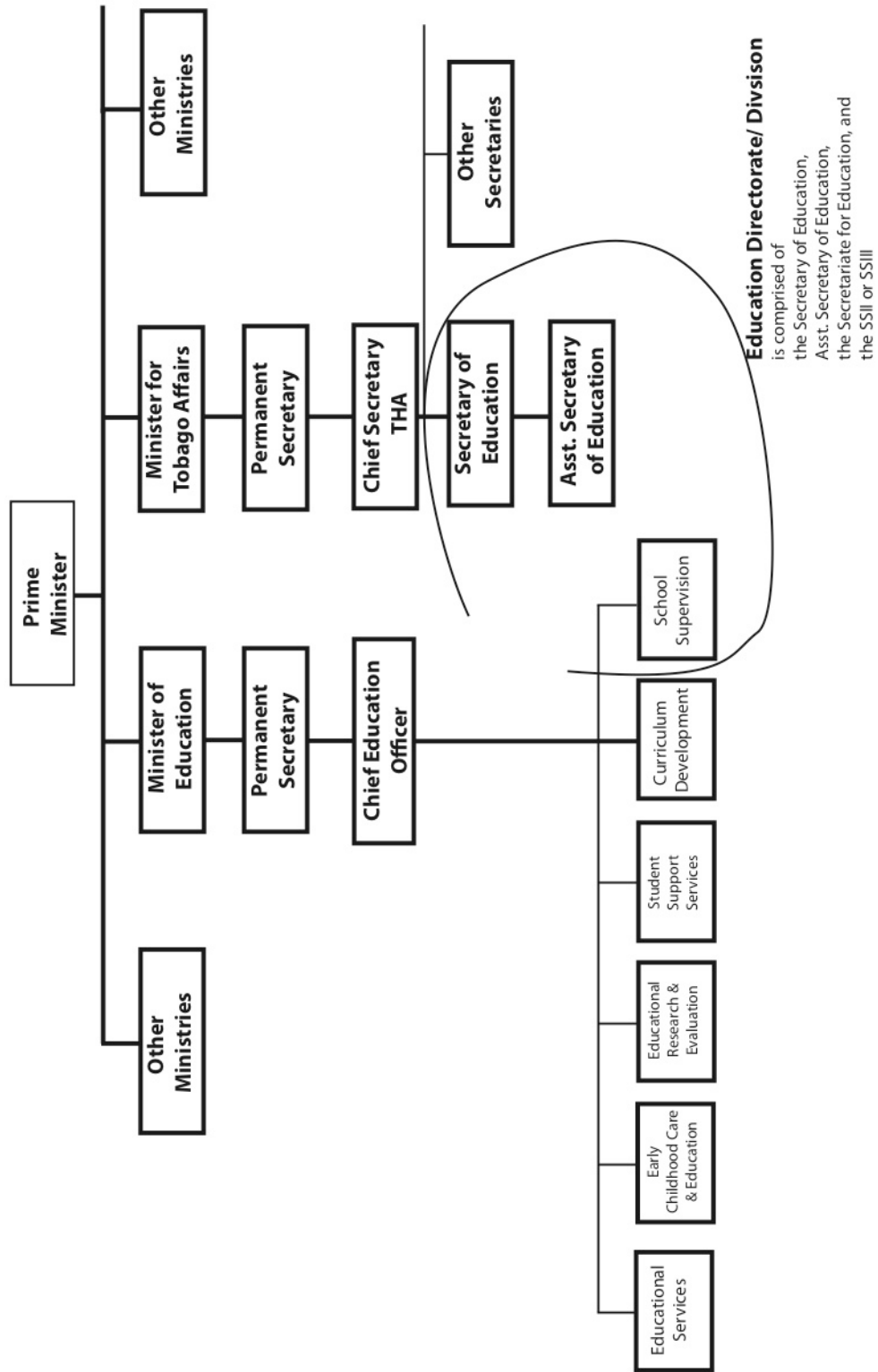
	1976? – 1985?	1985? – 1998?	1998? – 1999?	2000
Executive Level	Prime Minister/ Executive Branch Minister of Education	Prime Minister/ Executive Branch Minister of Education	Prime Minister/ Executive Branch Minister of Education	Prime Minister/ Executive Branch Minister of Education
	Permanent Secretary Chief Education Officer	Permanent Secretary	Permanent Secretary	Permanent Secretary
	Deputy Secretary (School Supervision) Curriculum Planning	Chief Education Officer	Chief Education Officer	Chief Education Officer
Senior Administration				
	School Supervisor II, Curriculum (10)	School Supervision (monitoring) Director of Curriculum	School Supervision (monitoring) Director of Curriculum	School Supervision (monitoring) Director of Curriculum
Junior Administration				
		Curriculum Officers	Curriculum Officers	Curriculum Coordinators
			Curriculum Facilitators (1997-1999?)	Curriculum Officers
School level				
	Principals	Principals	Principals	Principals
	Teachers	Teachers	Teachers	Teachers

APPENDIX H-Record and Evaluation (SAMPLE)

Record and Evaluation of Work			
Week Ending: 9th & 16th October, 2009.			
Subject	Content Covered	Lesson Evaluation	Comment
Mathematics	Used knowledge of right angles, straight angles & circles to determine size of angles formed by the hands of a clock.	eg. calculate the size of the angle formed when it is 2 o'clock.	Most stud. were able to solve problems well. Some reinforcement needed.
Mathematics	Angles formed on a compass	John is facing North to turn in a clockwise direction to face East.	reinforcement needed.
Mathematics	Multiplication	Mental quiz.	Some students are not reviewing.
Mathematics	Tables & Mental	Mental quiz.	Some students are not reviewing.
Mathematics	Tables of 2-5	2-5. Built and memorized table of.	Some students are not reviewing.
Social Studies	Recd and discussed fact about the Amerindians and Spanish.	Open questions eg. How were the Amerindians? Did they come? What crops they planted? Which religious group celebrates Diwali?	Students participated well in the discussions.
Social Studies	History of Trinidad and Tobago	Open questions eg. How were the Amerindians? Did they come? What crops they planted? Which religious group celebrates Diwali?	Students participated well in the discussions.
Social Studies	Diwali	Open questions eg. How were the Amerindians? Did they come? What crops they planted? Which religious group celebrates Diwali?	Students participated well in the discussions.
Family Life Ed.	Discussed the meaning & significance of Diwali.	Open questions eg. How were the Amerindians? Did they come? What crops they planted? Which religious group celebrates Diwali?	Students participated well in the discussions.
Science	Identified the different parts of the digestive system and explained the function of each part.	Matching items Matched the given part with its function eg. Pancreas, Gullet.	Students were rewarded to review notes.
Science	Wastes In Our Body	Matching items Matched the given part with its function eg. Pancreas, Gullet.	Students were rewarded to review notes.
Creative Arts	Children were allowed to engage in free drawing	Students were observed during the activity	Students enjoyed this activity
Creative Arts	Art & Craft	Practical activity on the past.	enjoyable activity.
Creative Arts	Music/Drama	Practical activity on the past.	enjoyable activity.
Creative Arts	Dance	Practical activity on the past.	enjoyable activity.
Physical Ed./	Dance	Practical activity on the past.	enjoyable activity.
CLASS TAKEN BY PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHER			

APPENDIX I

FIGURE III: Tobago Education Policy Administrative Structure, 1996



APPENDIX J

TABLE IV: Education Social Integration Policy Map- 1851 to 1950*

*Minor policies and amendments (about two in the 1930's), not related to social integration and education have been excluded.

RELEVANT Historical Events	POLICY/ Authoritative Statements/ Reports	MAIN GOALS	IMPLEMENTED?
1834- 1838 Emancipation of Slaves	1842 Governor McLeod (Attorney General Charles Warner)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create a system of government sponsored schooling based on English culture - Integrate population based on English language and culture - Decrease the power of Roman Catholic (RC) denominational Schools (Campbell, 1996, p.5) 	<p>Somewhat</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implemented in a system of government-sponsored religious schools, as no government schools existed. As such schools still remained non-integrated and religious and class divisions persisted. (Campbell, 1996, p.5)
Economic Policies:	1847 Wardens Ordinance	1847 Municipal Ordinance	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create wards with volunteer wardens - Ward responsibility over Schools, roads etc 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collect local land and house taxes - Elect a Municipal Council to replace wardens in governing wards (Campbell, 1996, p.6) 	
1845- Indian indentured servants begin arriving. Indians replace African slaves on the sugar estates	1851 Harris Education Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formation of a Board of Education (BOE) - Appoint an inspector of schools with a salary, to supervise - Create a government teachers' training college - Wardens (as established by the 1847 Warden's Ordinance) must establish schools in their wards - All children attend ward schools free of charge - No religious doctrines taught in the schools - Ward schools funded by local taxes - No religious schools funded by government 	<p>Partially</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No municipal council elected so warden overburdened - Ward tax revenue not spent on schools but roads and hospitals etc. - Ward residents did not support ward schools because of lack of religious instruction (though this was never the intent) - Harris died in 1854 and the BOE met infrequently - There was only one Inspector of schools, who could not adequately visit all schools in Trinidad. - Inspector salary too small to cover transportation to rural areas - By 1875 there were 49 ward schools and 2 denominational schools (Campbell, 1996, p.7)
1868- Canadian Presbyterian Church begins educating Indian in "estate schools" and in separate religious schools devoted to Indian education.	1870 Education Ordinance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish a dual system of education - Teachers to be licensed by the BOE (Campbell, 1996, p.29) 	<p>Partially</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dual system recognized - Decreased funding to denominational schools
World-wide, RC Church began to assert itself against Secularism			

APPENDIX J con't

TABLE IV: Education Social Integration Policy Map- 1951 to 1950 (con't)

RELEVANT Historical Events	POLICY/ Authoritative Statements/ Reports	MAIN GOALS	IMPLEMENTED?
	1875 Education Ordinance (Amended the 1870 Ordinance)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expand government school system (formerly the ward school system) by including more religious schools - School funding based on academic performance, minimum attendance, sanitary surroundings - Teachers no longer need to be licensed by the BOE - All primary schools charge fees 	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religious schools increased because of funding - Increased number of government schools (Campbell, 1996, p.30)
1889- Tobago amalgamated with Trinidad	Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890 (Amended the 1870 and 1875 Ordinances)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Established religious schools as part of the development of Trinidad - In religious schools, if a minimum daily attendance of 25 pupils gov't paid: 75% of teachers' salaries, 75% rent of head teachers, 75% rent of school building - Government subsidized student fees for all schools - Universal teacher certification mandated. 5 year period to obtain certification - Indian schools recognized as part of the governments system - Unique regulations created to serve the Indian population (Campbell, 1996, pp.33-35) 	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Major increase in the number of government schools through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased gov't subsidies - Inclusion of Tobago schools - By 1900, 57 gov't schools, 50 religious schools (Campbell, 1996, p.27)
	1891 Amendment to Ordinance 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gov't increased minimum attendance from 25 to 40 to secure government funds (Campbell, 1996, p.33) 	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some denominational schools closed because of new attendance quotas (Campbell, 1996, p.33)
	1894 Amendment to Ordinance 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gov't provides funds for training of teachers in religious schools (Campbell, 1996, p.33) 	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Naparima Teachers training College established by the Canadian Presbyterian Mission (Campbell, 1996, p.34)

APPENDIX J con't

TABLE IV: Education Social Integration Policy Map- 1951 to 1950 (con't)

RELEVANT Historical Events	POLICY/ Authoritative Statements/ Reports	MAIN GOALS	IMPLEMENTED?
1899- Tobago became a ward of Trinidad under the British Union Act	Ordinance 1901- 1902 Amendment to Elementary Education Ordinance, 1890	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School fees abolished - Minimum attendance raised to 50 pupils to secure government funds - Gov't pays 100% teachers' salaries of all schools - In religious schools, building and equipment funds reduced - Power shift from churches to BOE. BOE decides if a new religious school will be built, not the church (Campbell, 1996, p.34) 	<p>All implemented to varying degrees (Campbell, 1996, p.35-36)</p>
1914- 1918 WWI - British interest in Science - Empire-wide Focus on Agricultural Education	1914- 1916 Education Commission Evaluate Agricultural Education in primary schools	<p>Main Recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End cash incentives for school gardens - End promotion of head teachers for "good" school gardens - Amalgamate small rural schools to cut cost, instead of opening new schools (Campbell, 1996, pp. 85- 96) 	<p>Partially</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School gardens officially discontinued, but continued in some rural areas - Cash incentives and promotions ended (Campbell, 1996, pp. 85- 96)
Post-WWI Britain concerned about Germany's science advancements	1918 Education Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restructure the BOE - Teach science at the primary and secondary level (Campbell, 1996, pp. 92- 96) 	<p>Implemented after WWI in 1919</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Director of Education made chair of Board of Education - Science expanded in main secondary schools, QRC and CTC - Began an island-wide agricultural scholarship (1919- 1924) (Campbell, 1996, pp. 92- 96)
Progressive Education movement in Britain	Various amendments and initiatives by Marriot (1926- 1934) and Cuttidge (1934- 1942)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Modernize the education system based on progressive ideas - Professionalize the teaching service 	<p>Yes, but with controversy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restructured teachers training curriculum - Child centered learning in schools - Cuttidge wrote a series of texts that connect learning to the environment and made them compulsory reading in schools (Campbell, 1996, pp. 147- 157).

APPENDIX J con't

TABLE IV: Education Social Integration Policy Map- 1951 to 1950 (con't)

RELEVANT Historical Events	POLICY/ Authoritative Statements/ Reports	MAIN GOALS	IMPLEMENTED?
	1931/32- Mayhew and Marriot Education Papers	<p>Main recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create a system of Junior secondary schools for students ages 12 to 15 - Begin schooling at 6 and end at 12 - Create a government teacher training college - Amalgamate small rural schools to cut cost, instead of opening new schools. In clued Hindu and Muslim schools - Expand the school system with new schools - Increase support to denominational schools as a way of expanding the public education system (Campbell, 1996, pp.146-156) 	<p>Yes, Marriot was Director of Education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Major expansion of the school system (1932- 1939) - Extensive Legislative Council backed loans for education to government as well as denominational schools (Campbell, 1996, pp.146-156) - Established government teacher training college - In 1937, there were 247 denominational primary schools and 47 government primary schools serving a total of 72,776 students with an average attendance of 50,799 (Campbell 1996, p.304) - In 1938, 2,259 boys and girls attended nine secondary schools (Campbell 1996, p.304)
1937- Labor Riots in south Trinidad 1939- WWII begins	1939 Moyne Commission	<p>Main recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government should control the appointment and transfers of teachers in denominational schools rather than the churches - Create a system of Junior secondary schools for students ages 12 to 15 - Caribbean Development and Welfare established to spend a British grant for social and economic Welfare (Campbell, 1996, pp. 198-200) 	<p>Partially</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Caribbean Development and Welfare established with a focus on colony development - Government controlled the appointment and transfer of teachers (Campbell, 1996, pp. 198-200)
Post WWII Grow More Food Campaign	1939- 1955 SA Hammond Directives as advisor to Caribbean Development and Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shift education to focus on self-sustenance, island security and family life - Reduce interest in education for social mobility (Campbell, 1997, p.19) 	<p>Partially</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased adult education in literacy and crafts - School gardens return (Campbell, 1997, p.20)
1956- PNM wins the general election	1958 to 1962- Five year development plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stringent standards imposed to receive government aid - Decisions to open and operate new schools must come from the Government 	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schools inspected and some are closed, particularly rural denominational schools (Campbell, 1997, p.100)

APPENDIX J con't

TABLE IV: Education Social Integration Policy Map- 1951 to 1950 (con't)

RELEVANT Historical Events	POLICY/ Authoritative Statements/ Reports	MAIN GOALS	IMPLEMENTED?
	1959- Maurice Commission	<p>Main recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decentralize education administration to local districts (to reduce the power of Denominational Boards of Management in controlling education policy) - Denominational schools should convert their buildings to the style developed by government during the expansion period of 1932- 1939 and transfer ownership to the government. (Campbell, 1997, pp. 128- 129) 	<p>No</p> <p>Recommendations created much hostility between government and the churches.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The system remained centralized (Campbell, 1997, p. 129)
	1960- Concordant (between the government and Denominational Boards of Management)	<p>Secure the rights and privileges of denominational in matter of ownership of property, retaining the powers of the Denominational Boards and the imposition of books and materials by government</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 80% of places in the schools are to be filled by the students based on pass-rates of the Common Entrance Exam. The Principal may decide on the next 20%, who must also pass the Common Entrance. - Government approved teacher selection to denominational training colleges 	<p>Yes</p> <p>All aspects implemented and reduced friction between the government and the Denominational Boards of Management</p>

APPENDIX K

TABLE VI: Education Plan 1985-1990, Primary Social Studies Curriculum

No.	GOALS	Major Subject Area	Supportive Subject Areas	Learning Domain
2	Recognize and understand the nature of our cosmopolitan population with its diverse cultural traditions, identify the historical and contemporary environmental processes which contribute to the formation of the society, manifest a practical awareness of his role in the family which is the base of the society. And make positive responses to the need to become a more productive, honest, loyal and contributing citizen of Trinidad and Tobago	Social studies, Family life education and Religious/moral education	Literature, drama, art and music	Cognitive, Affective
4	Demonstrate an awareness and appreciation of the cultural arts—music, art, craft, music, dance—by participation in various aspects of these art form	Art, craft, music and dance,	Literature and social studies	Cognitive, Affective
7	Act in accordance with the nationally accepted code of ethics derived from the religious and moral principles, which underpin our value system and our laws of the society	Social studies and Family life education	Literature, Drama, Art and Music	Affective
8	To pursue a religion of his own choice and to develop a respect and tolerance for the religion of others	Religious instruction and social studies		Affective

(*Education Plan, 1985-1990, pp. 83- 85*)

APPENDIX L

TABLE VII: Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003, Primary Social Studies Curriculum

No.	GOALS	Major Subject Area	Supportive Subject Areas	Learning Domain
2	Recognize and understand the nature of our cosmopolitan population with its diverse cultural traditions	Social studies		Cognitive
3	Identify the historical and contemporary environmental processes which contribute to the formation of the society	Social studies		Cognitive
5	Make positive responses to the need to become a more productive, honest and loyal citizen of Trinidad and Tobago	Social studies and Family life education		Affective
6	Act in accordance with a nationally accepted code of ethnics derived from the religious and moral principles which underpin our value system and our laws of the society	Social studies, Family life education, Religious and moral education	Literature, Drama, Art and Music	Affective
10	Develop his own religious convictions in accordance with his conscience	Religious instruction and social studies		Affective
11	Demonstrate respect and tolerance for the religions of others	Religious instruction and social studies		Affective

(*Education Policy Paper, 1993-2003*, p. 170).

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