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PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF TOBAGO: Teachers' Concerns With Change

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Teacher professional development has been one of the main avenues through which Caribbean nation states have sought to reform and modernize their education systems. Several models have been adopted over the past four decades in response to the varying development trajectories and resources of the individual nation states, with varying degrees of success. This study reports on a teacher professional development innovation project in Tobago, one of the two islands making up the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, from the perspective of a small group of secondary school teachers who participated in the project. Data about the teachers' concerns with the innovation were collected using a Stages of Concerns Questionnaire, and the data were analysed using the Concerns Based Adoption Model framework. The study found that the teachers who participated had low-level Personal Stage 2 concerns with the innovation, that is, they were typical nonusers of the innovation. This suggests that the majority of the teachers who participated in the professional development innovation would not use what they had learned in their classrooms once the period of training had been completed. This has implications for school improvement reforms since the assumption of most of these reforms is that teachers will embrace the new competencies and utilize them to improve the teaching and learning processes in their classrooms. The recommendation is that every effort should be made to mitigate against teachers' personal concerns, or at least to minimize them, to ensure that in-service secondary school teachers approach these professional development innovations more objectively, and by so doing increase the likelihood of them embracing these innovations in the ways that were intended.

Introduction

Tobagonian teachers' concerns with change can be viewed in the context of the tensions that persist between Tobago and its rich, powerful sister isle, Trinidad, the centre of power in the two-island Caribbean nation

state. Up until 1980, the year Tobago achieved internal self-government from the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago (T&T), "Trinidadians considered Tobago as a rural, if not backward island" and the junior partner in the union (Luke, 2007, p. 232). Trinidad, as the larger, richer, more developed island and the place where the legislative power resides, has historically claimed that it has a moral obligation to foster the development of Tobago. The moral obligation to Tobago, however, has never been fulfilled. As late as 1997, Tobago had a very low transition rate (59.1%) from primary to secondary education relative to the rest of the country (70.0% on average) (Craig-James, 2008). Though more secondary places were provided from 1997, and both islands moved to universal secondary education from 2000, for Tobago, the question of quality remains much more an issue for policymakers than it is for Trinidad.

For example, in 2000, a Task Force appointed to enquire into poor secondary school performance in Tobago noted that "more than half of the students assigned to secondary schools were in serious need of remedial teaching" (Craig-James, 2008, p. 235), and recommended special remedial programmes for the students. These remedial programmes have not yet been implemented in most of the schools that receive these students; in part, because many secondary school teachers in Tobago lack the professional teacher education training needed to implement any such intervention. Because secondary school teachers in T&T are hired as untrained graduates, there is a high proportion of untrained teachers in secondary schools. This problem is magnified in Tobago. In 2004, for example, of the 128 teachers with a university degree in public secondary schools in Tobago, 109 or 85.2% of them had no postgraduate training in education, as compared to 57% country-wide (Trinidad and Tobago. Central Statistical Office, 2005).

There are many conflicting accounts as to why the levels of untrained teachers in secondary schools in the country in general, and Tobago in particular, have remained high. One argument is that, historically, the Ministry of Education in Trinidad has adopted and continues to perpetuate the old "integrationist model of development" (Luke, 2007) that requires teachers from Tobago (the periphery) to come to Trinidad (the centre) for training; and that this historic centre-periphery development model did not change when Tobago gained self-government status in 1980. Those who advance this view suggest that this is why both the central government and the Tobago House of Assembly have remained insensitive to the hardship and expense for travel, food, and lodging that Tobagonians have to endure when

travelling to Trinidad to procure educational services. It has been further suggested by Craig-James (2008) and Luke (2007) that this century-old policy of centralizing higher education in Trinidad has aided the perpetuation of tensions between the two island communities, in addition to accounting for the marked differentials in trained graduate secondary school teachers on the two islands. These authors, however, have focused their inquiries on developing grand historical theories of identity and secession in Caribbean nation states over vast time periods from primary and secondary historical data sources. In these studies, teacher professional development has only been incidental to the grand march of Caribbean history as a discipline. The purpose of this inquiry, therefore, is to bring practising Tobagonian teachers more directly into the discourse of teacher change, by describing the stages of concerns a group of teachers from Tobago had with a professional teacher development innovation that was delivered to them in Tobago. Through their stages of concerns, I intend to explore the extent to which teachers who participated in the pilot project embraced the professional development teacher education programme as it was intended.

Education Development in Tobago: An Overview

The gestation period of education development in Tobago has been long. Today, over a century since it became "a Ward of Trinidad" in 1898, Tobago has still not yet fully come into its own in terms of actualizing the full potential benefits from the many education reforms the country has undertaken. For example, the development of its education infrastructure still lags behind that of Trinidad. This has been the case since the two islands amalgamated into a single colony. As early as the 1920s, James Biggart, a local black pharmacist turned politician, was requesting "special consideration for education in Tobago, including increasing funding, college exhibitions set aside for Tobago students, special representation on the Board of Education for Tobagonians, and an inspector of schools for the island" (Luke, 2007, p. 131). In addition to this, Biggart was at the forefront of efforts to establish secondary education in Tobago; efforts which led to the establishment of Bishop's High School, the first high school in Tobago, in 1925, almost three-quarters of a century after the establishment of Queen's Royal College (QRC) in Trinidad in 1859. The other eight secondary schools were long in coming. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago built five in the latter half of the twentieth century (Roxborough, Scarborough, Signal Hill, Mason Hall, and Harmon High School) and three (Light and Life Pentecostal, Goodwood, and Speyside) in the last 10 years.

Additionally, almost all Tobagonian teachers still have to go to Trinidad to be trained, as there is yet no in situ tertiary level teacher training institution on the island. Furthermore, as the eighth educational ward (district) of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, its schools are underperforming, as reported by the 2000 Task Force on secondary education in Tobago (Craig-James, 2008); and its students' rankings on the high-stakes Secondary Entrance Assessment (SEA) has been consistently eighth of eight over the last decade (Trinidad and Tobago. Ministry of Education [MOE], 2009). The results on the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) and Caribbean Advanced Proficiency (CAPE) examinations have also been consistently poor over this period.

This is in stark contrast to Trinidad, the sister island, which leads on all the education development indicators. For example, of the 152 secondary schools in the country, 141 are in Trinidad, including 41 of the 42 high-performing "prestige" secondary schools (Lochan & Barrow, 2008). Furthermore, quality indicators such as the results of the 2010 CAPE examination highlight the ongoing contrasting performances of the students being schooled on the two islands. Of the 355 scholarships offered to students in 2010 based on their performance on the CAPE examinations, 354 went to students who attended secondary schools in Trinidad, with only one going to a Tobagonian student!

If the assumption is made, as Neal Gross (1979) recommends, "that individuals must change before organizations, and schools are no exception, can be altered" (p. 20), then coming into its own in the context of education for Tobago, in part, means "teachers having a greater willingness to engage in new practices, to push new boundaries, to explore new territories in education reforms" (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2004). That is, teachers must change, in radical ways, their classroom practices. However, these new classroom practices that Tobagonian teachers must embrace for its system of schooling to improve are not only those with respect to the best practices of their counterparts in Trinidad, but also with respect to best practices by those teachers in countries now considered as having developed nation status. The study, therefore, further explored the commonly held perception of Tobagonian teachers' resistance to the embrace of such practices.

Specifically, in an attempt to address what was perceived as one of the underlying causes of this type of structural inequity faced by schools and teachers in Tobago, as well as trying to stem the proliferation of "virtual universities" beaming their programmes to prospective clients on the island, the School of Education of The University of the West Indies

(UWI) initiated a Diploma in Education (Dip.Ed.) pilot programme for secondary school teachers in Tobago. This pilot programme in teacher education development was delivered on-site in Tobago over the period July 2009 to May 2010. This paper reports on the concerns that the teachers who participated in this pilot programme had with this specific innovation, and sought insights into the extent to which such resistance was impacting on education development in Tobago.

Theoretical Perspective: Development and Teacher Resistance

Manifestations of the desire to achieve excellence in education for Tobagonians are evident everywhere in the island's schools. For example, the vision statement of one the leading secondary schools in Tobago captures this desire as follows: "to be the premier institution for the provision of world-class holistic secondary student education in the changing global environment."[1] This is contrary to the views held of them by Trinidadians as reported in the historical literature. Luke (2007), for example, documents a vivid example of an experience that James Biggart had with this conflicting view held by the Trinidad authorities, that is, that Tobagonian "teachers were poorly qualified, [with] too many small schools wasting government's money" (p. 143).[2]

These comments provide insights not only of how Trinidadians viewed Tobagonians in the early years of the union, but also suggests the level of resistance the wider Tobagonian population was willing to offer against Trinidadian hegemony. The experience of A.P.T. James, a former teacher, gives specific insights into the level of concerns Tobagonian teachers had with the education system at the time when the country was seeking political independence from Britain:

> As a former teacher, A.P.T. James was very much concerned about education in Tobago. During his fifteen years in the legislature he demanded that the government build and maintain schools in Tobago, as many of the existing ones were very dilapidated. In 1947 he requested that a "proper school" be built in Roxborough, the island's second town, to replace the 'two old shacks' there. In 1950 James urged the government to construct at least one of the other secondary school in Tobago. At that time Tobago had only one secondary school – Bishop's High School in Scarborough, which was an Anglican school. (Luke, 2007, p. 173)[3]

It is therefore not surprising that Tobagonian teachers viewed the professional development innovation with some degree of scepticism, given that it was coming from Trinidad and their experiences with "gift-

horses" coming out of that source. This is notwithstanding the fact that this innovation was a UWI-initiated project.

Researchers who have examined how teachers respond to professional development opportunities elsewhere have found that each teacher approaches a new programme, or any change for that matter, with a personal set of concerns. For example, Karel Holloway (2003) notes that individuals ask: "Why should I do this? How long is it going to take for me to work through this? I know my students and I don't think this will work" (p. 1). Helping teachers work through these personal concerns is crucial in ensuring that the intended changes occur, since being aware of the concerns allows those in charge of the innovation to tailor aid given to individuals (Holloway, 2003).

The current education literature is also replete with general concerns teachers have with the implementation of education innovations (Barrow & De Lisle, 2009; Fullan, 1991; Fuller, 1969; Gross, 1979; Hall, 2001; Holloway, 2003; Hord, 1987, as cited in Holloway, 2003; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2004). These concerns can be categorized in various ways depending on the change model adopted by the researcher. The Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) was developed by researchers at the Southwest Education Development Laboratory in the mid-1970s (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006; Hall & Hord, 2001; Hall & Loucks, 1977), and has been used to analyse teachers' concerns with change. The CBAM framework categorizes teachers' concerns with innovations as: awareness, informational, personal, management, consequence, collaboration, and refocusing concerns.

Though the CBAM model assumes that each concern operates as an independent factor, and that a teacher may exhibit peak intensities in one or more of the stages of concerns, it postulates that "it is the profile of the intensities of the concerns that an individual teacher has that is most revealing about the teacher's commitment to the innovation in which he/she might be involved" (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006, p. 31). Furthermore, analysis of concerns can also be carried out at the group level by aggregating the individual concerns, using the same CBAM framework (Hall & Hord, 2001). The latter was the approach to the analysis that was adopted in this study, in which data on the concerns of seven secondary school teachers with a teacher professional development innovation were collected and analysed using the CBAM framework.

Research using this theoretical framework has consistently shown that teachers have varying intensities of concerns with any innovation (Hall & Loucks, 1978). This is even more so when the initiative is directed at changing their professional practice (Fullan, 1991). The concerns can

vary from issues of awareness, through management, to more substantive issues of consequence, collaboration, and refocusing (Hall & Hord, 2001). Since the intensity of teachers' concerns can impact on the extent to which an innovation is successfully adopted, it could be helpful, when implementing any new teacher education initiative, to monitor the profiles of teacher concerns about the innovation, as awareness of the concerns allows those in charge of the innovation to tailor aid given to individual teachers (Holloway, 2003).

One possible way of generating the concerns profiles of teachers participating in any innovation is through use of the concerns-based questionnaire (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006). In this study, the Stages of Concerns Questionnaire (SoCQ) was administered to a small convenient sample of Tobagonian teachers participating in a pilot teacher professional development innovation. The data collected was subsequently used to construct the concerns-based profile of the group, and the profile was analysed in conjunction with interview and classroom observation data. The analysis provided some insights into the concerns that this group of teachers had with the innovation and the process of change.

The study describes, as a composite, the concerns profiles of seven individual secondary school teachers who participated in the piloting of a Dip.Ed. programme offered on-site in Tobago in 2009/2010. This postgraduate programme, like CBAM, had its origins in the early 1970s, and aims at enhancing secondary school teachers' best practice in the classroom. The programme, developed at the School of Education of the St. Augustine Campus of UWI, is a one-year in-service programme offered to secondary school teachers who have had no professional teacher training.

The sample comprised five female and two male secondary school teachers. Five had been teaching for five years or less, one for eight years, and a male physics teacher for 26 years. Four taught in urban secondary schools in Tobago, and the other three taught in two rural schools located in villages in the north-east and centre of the island. Two of the female teachers were not born in Tobago—one was born in Venezuela of Tobagonian parentage, and the other in Trinidad. Though the latter two participants were raised and went to school in Tobago, and were citizens of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, they were considered by the Tobago natives at the school to be "outsiders." In one of the rural secondary schools where one of these young female teachers taught, there were two staff rooms, one room for native Tobagonian teachers and the other staff room for "outsiders." This

"insider"/"outsider" theme, with all its ramifications, including their concerns about innovation and change, was one of the unintended observations that evolved from the analysis of the qualitative interview and classroom observation data.

Methods

Stages of Concern Questionnaire

The Stages of Concern Questionnaire (SoCQ) is a 35-item instrument used to determine the intensities of teachers' concerns about an innovation. The instrument conceptualizes concerns as having seven dimensions, as summarized by Holloway (2003):

- Awareness: Aware that an innovation is being introduced but not really interested or concerned with it.
- Informational: Interested in some information about the change.
- Personal: Wants to know the personal impact of the change.
- Management: Concerned about how the change will be managed in practice.
- Consequence: Interested in the impact on students or the school.
- Collaboration: Interested in working with colleagues to make the change effective.
- Refocusing: Begins refining the innovation to improve student learning results. (p. 2)

In the CBAM construct, the Stages of Concerns are hierarchical and also developmental, with Awareness concerns being the lowest set of concerns and Refocusing concerns the highest.

The purpose of the questionnaire is "to determine what people who are using or thinking about using various programs are concerned about at various times during the innovation adoption process" (Hall & Hord, 2001, p. 279). It consists of agree-disagree statements on a 7-0 Likert scale, ranging from "concerns about teachers attitudes towards this innovation" to "concerns about not having enough time to organize myself each day."

Each of the seven dimensions of concerns on the SoCQ has five statements associated with it, and the respondents are urged to score each statement on the 7-0 Likert-type scale in terms of irrelevant (0); not true

of me now (1); somewhat true of me now (4); and very true of me at this time (7). The respondent's raw scores on statements on each of the stages of concern are them tallied and the total score used to determine a percentile ranking from a table provided by its developers. The percentile ranking is a measure of the intensity of respondents' concern on that dimension or stage. To construct the individual profile of the stages of concern of respondents, a graphical plot is done with the percentile score (dependent variable, DV) against the stages of concern (independent variable, IV). Both variables are continuous. To construct the group profile of the stages of concern of the respondents, the raw score mean of each stage is used to determine the percentile score for that stage of concern and a graphical plot done as for the individual profile (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006).

Since its initial development, many of the original staff developers have field-tested, modified, and integrated the concepts into their work over the past 35 years (Holloway, 2003). The questionnaire has also been validated for use in several countries other than the United States, including Canada, the UK, the Netherlands, Spain, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan (Anderson, 1997).

The SoCQ was used to construct the concerns profile of each individual teacher participating in the innovation (Hall, 2001). Constructing these profiles was seen at important for several reasons. For example, if the person in charge of overseeing the implementation of the innovation knows that a teacher is concerned about how to effectively source multimedia materials to use in the classroom, the teacher can be given additional preparation, or paired with a teacher who is able to source and use media in the classroom effectively. Additionally, the stages of concerns profile provides a snapshot of the intensity of each of the seven concerns that the teacher has at any specific point in time throughout the process of implementing the innovation. Hence, the data generated from the SoCQ provided insights not only on the ongoing, steady support needed to move an innovation forward (Holloway, 2003), but also documentary evidence of this sample of teachers' concerns with the innovation at a particular point in time.

Elite Interviews

Elite interviews were done with four of the seven respondents following the administration of the questionnaire. The interviews were semi-structured and the questions sought to determine the perceived impacts that specific components of the programme had on the participants. For example, the interviewees were asked which aspects of the programme

they found most useful to their teaching and which they found least useful. Notes were taken on the respondents' responses to questions and their suggestions on how to improve on the programme's implementation. The average length of an interview was 15 minutes. An interpretive approach (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Creswell, 2003) was taken in the analysis of the interview data. Interview data were therefore used as an additional source of information on the teachers' concerns about the programme.

Classroom Observations

In this study, the stage of the teachers' concerns about the innovation was assumed to be associated with their level of use (LoU) of the various elements of the programme in their classroom practice (Hall & Hord, 2001), and was therefore further examined in the secondary school setting. Each teacher was observed five times teaching in their subject area to a class in their own school, and two times teaching to a class in another secondary school. The observations were all clinical classroom observations in that they all accommodated pre- and post-observation conferences. A rubric constructed specifically for this purpose was used to guide the classroom observations and the investigator generated field notes immediately following each of the supervisory observation visits. An interpretive approach (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Creswell, 2003) was used to track teachers' level of use of the various elements of the programme, including planning, use of media, student engagement, questioning skills, and appropriate choice of teaching strategy, and so on, and their levels of use was mapped onto their stages of concerns in the analysis of the data.

Analysis of the Findings

Analysis of the Questionnaire

The analysis of the seven teachers' responses to the SoCQ was, as far as possible, guided by the approaches recommended by George, Hall, and Stiegelbauer (2006). As they note, the SoCQ data "can be interpreted at several different levels of detail and abstraction" (p. 31). For the purposes of this paper, group data were analysed at three levels to accommodate three types of interpretations, namely: the peak stage score, the first and second highest stage score, and profile interpretations. The three levels of analyses were done since this allows for the most sensitive interpretation of respondents' concerns, while at the same time

presenting a rich clinical picture of how some teachers as a group react to innovation and change (Holloway, 2003).

Peak Stage Score Interpretation

Table 1 shows the peak stage scores (*) for each of the seven teachers in the sample and their composite group peak stage score. The group peak score of 76 (percentile scale) suggests that, as a group, these teachers were predominantly at a personal stage of concern at this point in time in the innovation implementation process. This was followed closely by an expression of a relatively highly intense set of management concerns, mean peak score of 73. It is important to note that although as a group their collective peak concerns were with the personal dimensions of the change process, three (T3, T5, and T7) of the seven teachers had most concerns with the management dimensions of the change process.

The percentile ranking of a stage of concern score is a measure of the relative intensity of the concern. The higher the percentile score the greater is the intensity of the concern. Hence a percentile score of 76 indicates a moderately high intensity of personal concerns. The score of 76 suggests that the respondents have intense personal concerns about the innovation and its consequences for them, that is, they want to know the personal impact of the change (Holloway, 2003).

Table 1. Listing of Individual and Group Stages of Concern Percentile Scores

Teachers	Stages of Concern Percentile Scores						
	Awareness 0	Informational 1	Personal 2	Management 3	Consequence 4	Collaboration 5	Refocusing 6
T1	66	88	85	88	63	80	92*
T2	29	54	80*	43	24	48	34
T3	10	45	57	64*	54	48	42
T4	23	69	76	28	92	98*	65
T5	37	95	97	99*	86	95	99*
T6	37	40*	35	34	27	36	34
T7	81	66	78	94*	43	64	65
Average (Group)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
	46	66	76*	73	66	68	65

Note: Teachers were assigned numbers T1, T2, … T7, as pseudonyms.

Table 2 confirms that though, as a group, the respondents' collective peak concerns were at the Stage 2 level (personal), 43% of the

respondents peaked at the Stage 3 level (management). The explanation for this is the way that the group data were manipulated in the construction of the composite concerns of the group. George, Hall, and Stiegelbauer (2006) recommend against "averaging percentile scores, because such averaging allows the extreme values to influence the results more than might be appropriate" (p. 34). They suggest that the proper procedure is to average the raw scores for each stage of concern and "refer those averages to the percentile score table" (p. 34). In addition, they note that users of the SoCQ always use the raw scale scores in statistical analyses.

Table 2. Frequency of Highest Concerns Stage for Individuals Displayed in Table 1

Highest Stages of Concerns								
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Total**
No. of Teachers	0	1	1	3	0	1	1	7
% of Teachers	0%	14%	14%	43%	0%	14%	14%	100%

First and Second Highest Stage Scores Interpretation

Including the second highest stage of concern in the analysis is helpful for several reasons. The most obvious reason for including it is to see whether a general pattern is really present. Secondly, "because of the developmental nature of concerns, the second highest stage of concern will often be adjacent to the highest one" (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006, p. 34). If this turns out to be the case, then one could have a little more confidence in the suggested pattern. Finally, analysis of the second highest stage score for the small sample of respondents included in this study is reasonably straightforward.

Table 1 listed the group as scoring highest on Stage 2 and second highest on Stage 3. This suggests that the respondents have intense personal concerns about this innovation and its consequences for them. The second highest Stage 3 concerns indicate that the respondents also are concerned about how the changes necessary will be managed in practice, that is, the group as whole also has concerns about logistics, time, and other general management issues. It is common for groups to have this adjacent combination of highest score on Stage 2 and second highest score on Stage 3. George, Hall, and Stiegelbauer (2006) suggest that this arrangement "might indicate that respondents have uncertainty and doubt about whether they can master the innovation" (p. 35).

With group data, it is sometimes useful to develop a matrix that cross-tabulates each individual highest Stage of Concern and the second highest Stage of Concern. Such a matrix, Table 3, shows that the highest Stage of Concern for most individuals is Stage 3. This indicates that most of the respondents are concerned about how the change will be managed in practice, that is, how they will be able to make all these changes to their classroom practice—planning units of lessons, infusing media in their lesson presentations, selecting appropriate teaching strategies, catering for the diversity in their classrooms, and so on. The matrix also shows that this group of respondents has no Stage 1 Concerns (Awareness), that is, they fully understood the nature of the innovation; but also no Stage 4 Concerns (Consequence), that is, no concerns with the impact that this innovation will have on their students or their school. Altogether, although there appears to be uneasiness with the innovation, there is no real indication of any serious resistance to it.

Table 3. Percent Distribution of Second Highest Stage of Concern in Relation to First Highest Stage of Concern

Highest Stage of Concern	Second Highest Stage of Concern								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Row Pct.	Row No.
0 Awareness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1 Informational	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	2
2 Personal	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	14	2
3 Management	66	0	17	0	0	0	17	44	6
4 Consequence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 Collaboration	50	0	0	0	50	0	0	14	2
6 Refocusing	50	0	0	50	0	0	0	14	2
Total									**14**

Profile Interpretation

Table 4 shows the profile of the group Stages of Concerns. The profile shows a constant rise in the intensity of the Stages of Concerns from Stage 0 through Stage 2 where the intensity peaks, followed by a slight negative dip in intensity at Stage 3, followed by a gradual fall in intensity through Stage 6. This is a typical nonuser SoCQ profile. "Nonusers' concerns normally are highest on Stages 0, 1, and 2, and lowest on Stages 4, 5, and 6" (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006, p. 37). To better understand the variation of the profile of the group presented here, it is

necessary to closely examine the relative positions of Stages 1 and 2 and also the relative position of Stage 6.

Table 4. Listing Group Stages of Concerns Percentile Scores

Average	Stages of Concerns Percentile Scores						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
	46	66	76*	73	66	68	65

Table 4 shows a "negative one-two" split in the group profile, that is, the Stage 2 score (76) is higher than the Stage 1 score (66) (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006). When Stage 2 concerns override Stage 1 concerns, the concerns about an innovation's effect on personal position are greater than the desire to learn more about the innovation. George, Hall, and Stiegelbauer (2006) have encountered this variation of the nonuser group profile on numerous occasions, and suggest that a group with this kind of profile will not be able to consider a "proposed innovations objectively until their personal Stage 2 concerns are reduced" (p. 41).

The tailing-down (65 percentile score) of Stage 6 (refocusing concerns) on the typical nonuser profile, as shown in Table 4, provides additional insights about the attitude of the respondents towards the innovation. "When Stage 6 tails down at end of a nonuser's profile,… it usually means that the respondents do not have ideas that would potentially compete with the innovation" (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006, p. 42). This interpretation is consistent with what pertains on the ground in Tobago. Secondary school teachers are hired directly out of university on completion of their bachelor's degree, with no formal teacher education certification required. Their pedagogical knowledge is limited to that of their own experiences as students in faculties of arts, and social and natural sciences, and attendance at in-service professional development workshops in their capacity as teachers.

However, these professional development teacher training workshops are not offered to them on a regular sustained basis. One teacher who had five years teaching experience said that she had only attended one such workshop in the "*five years I have been teaching. It is not that they have these workshops and we choose not to go. They just hardly ever have them*" [T4]. The other option is to leave Tobago and go to a teacher training institution in Trinidad to get the pedagogical training. But this option is expensive, would take then away from their families for long periods of time, and there are no job-related incentives—more pay, a meritocracy in place that would facilitate promotion, security of tenure—

that would make this option attractive. Hence the options available to them are not "potentially competitive" with this innovation.

Interpretations of the Findings

The concerns these Tobagonian teachers had with a professional development programme offered to them on-site in Tobago, and related aspects of their level of use of the various elements of the programme in their classrooms, have been suggested within the limits of their summative responses to the SoCQ, select elite interviews, and some clinical classroom supervision reports. There are two of the findings that require further analysis and interpretation: the groups' peak Stage scores (76 percentile Stage 2 personal concern) and the group's first and second highest stage scores (personal and management concerns respectively).

Peak Stage Score

A Stage 2 peak concern suggested that the group of teachers was uncertain about the demands of the in-service teacher education programme and/or about their adequacy to meet those demands. The latter was especially evident in the classroom observations of some of these teachers. For example, the teachers were exposed to several models of instruction, including the traditional direct instructional model, as well as some of the constructivist models such as: the informal instructional model, the inquiry model, learning cycles, problem-based learning model, and the infusion lesson model. The direct instructional model is the model closest to their way of teaching before they entered the programme, and therefore learning how to do that skilfully required the least amount of effort. To skilfully use the other models required a radical change in their epistemologies, and demanded more of their creative energies and more thoughtful planning time. Most of the teachers chose to stick with the direct instructional model when visited by supervisors. T5 justified this choice of instructional model saying that "*this strategy required less time to plan, … [Furthermore] the model is consistent with my teaching style and the learning styles of my students*." The reason T4 gave for embracing this model above the others was: "*To me, the direct instructional model is the most efficient of all the models of teaching we were introduced to in this course. It helps me to do a much better job of preparing my students for the external examinations and to cover the syllabus material*."

A Stage 2 peak concern also suggested that the group of teachers was constantly analysing their relationships to the reward structure of their

schools as part of the wider education system of the island and country (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006). The education system of Trinidad and Tobago is elitist in many respects, including being driven, like many other Commonwealth countries that were former British colonies, by high-stakes external examinations (Tobin & McRobbie, 1996). Schools in Tobago, like its sister isle Trinidad, are recognized and ranked by the level of success their students have in passing the CSEC examinations. Teachers are also recognized and sought after for private supplementary tutoring services by students preparing to sit these examinations (Lochan & Barrow, 2008). From this perspective, it was not entirely surprising that these teachers were operating at the personal Stage of Concern, given that there was the potential of them being rewarded financially if they focused only on those teaching strategies that they saw as most helpful in getting students to pass the CSEC examinations.

Finally, a Stage 2 peak concern suggested that the group of teachers may have been occupied with the status implications that fully embracing the programme had for them (Hall & Hord, 2001). Though teachers in both Trinidad and Tobago are encouraged and supported by the Ministry of Education to do the professional in-service teacher training programme, there are no pecuniary, promotional, or direct status rewards associated with the extent to which they embrace the insights into teaching and learning offered by the programme. Promotion to a senior teaching, or to middle management, position in a secondary school is still largely done on a seniority basis. The majority of these teachers were teaching for five years or less, and may have realized that they were too far down the totem pole for any meaningful promotion "*any time soon*" [T6] that would come as a result of fully embracing this professional development opportunity.

Furthermore, some of them did not see teaching as a lifelong career. For example, in a personal communication with T5 five months after she completed the programme, she said:

"[she was] thinking of taking some time away from the classroom soon! Things haven't gotten better at my school. The leadership is still not doing what they are supposed to do. They are still leaving things that they are supposed to do up to the teachers. I have to teach, be the dean of discipline for some students, while being mother and auntie to others. I feel burnt-out and need to find a new space in Tobago to make a living."

Hence the status of the teaching profession itself, and their future in it, could have been some of the sources of teachers' personal concerns. This

seems to have been the case, especially for the younger teachers in the group.

First and Second Highest Stage Scores

Because of the developmental nature of concerns, the second highest Stage of Concern often will be adjacent to the highest one (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006). Hence it was not surprising that the second highest Stage of Concern for this group of teachers was Stage 3 (management concerns), given that their highest stage of concern was Stage 2 (personal concerns). This suggests that next to the personal concerns about the innovation and its consequences for them, they also had concerns about logistics, time, and management issues surrounding the innovation. These management concerns fell into three broad categories that were coded from their free responses to the question, "What other concerns, if any, do you have at this time?" These included concerns about the quality of the delivery of the programme; concerns about resources, and concerns about choice.

Concerns about the quality of delivery: Of the three categories of management concerns, this was the most intense. Students thought that the face-to-face lectures were too long; that too many "*power point presentations*" were used in the programme delivery; that *"there should be a better organized schedule for the delivery of the curriculum*"; that there was not "*sufficient communication among lecturers delivering the various aspects of the curriculum*"; that the *"quality of the venue was not ideal*"; that using a "*one-shot final teaching practice examination to assess their teaching competencies was inadequate*"; and that in the professional identity module delivered by a local adjunct faculty member *"no one was absolutely sure what was to be done*."

*Concerns about resources***:** This was the second most intense code of management concerns that the teachers articulated. Teachers expressed concerns about both material and financial resources. For example, they were concerned about the library resources that the programme made available to them in Tobago. The School of Education has its own library with a large collection of specialized education textbooks, journals, and multimedia materials, which is arguably one of the best such collections in the country. Students on campus at the School of Education have access to this specialized library as well as to the Campus's Main Library and the online library databases to which the university subscribes. Doing this programme in Tobago meant that students only had direct

access to the university's online library databases and a few select textbooks suggested by some tutors.

The School of Education Library is also the repository for exemplary theses, dissertations, and curriculum study reports of students who have done these programmes on campus. With regard to the last, the students' concern was that "*copies of curriculum studies, portfolio reports and library books should be available in Tobago*." Though they had access to the library at the site where the programme was delivered, they also thought that the service provided there was not on par with the service that the School of Education Library provided. For example, as two students pointed out: "*the time for loan of library books was too short and should be extended to match the time on book loans given by the School of Education Library*."

The material management concerns that these students had were in many ways directly related to the financial management concerns they had. Because the materials were not readily available in Tobago, they had to travel to Trinidad to access the resources and the "needed cost to travel to Trinidad (about US$50 per trip) to participate fully in the course was not provided and had to come from their own pockets." This was seen as an additional direct cost to them that their counterparts in Trinidad "*did not have to bear*" and which placed them at a "*further disadvantage to succeed in the program*."

*Concerns about choice***:** Though these concerns were the least intense of the management concerns, they were a significant factor in the teachers' overall response to the programme. For example, some felt that the "*electives* [additional enrichment courses that were not a part of the core curriculum of the programme] *were not a choice for us*." Because of the number of teachers (seven) involved in the pilot project, the programme organizers felt that it would not be financially viable to offer more than one elective subject per semester. And even though the students, by consensus, "chose" what that one elective subject would be, there were challenges in getting them to reach a consensus. In the end, the programme organizers had to make this decision for them.

Another decision that was made for them was to limit the field-day experiences only to secondary schools in Tobago. This decision created two sets of problems and became sources of concerns for some of the teachers. The first was that "*the number of field day 'hostings' were uneven.*" This was a logistical problem, as there were four schools and nine field days. This meant that one school would have to host three of the nine field days compared to two hostings by the others. This was further complicated by the uneven distribution of the teachers per school.

There were two teachers each from three of the four schools and one teacher from the fourth. The lone teacher felt that hosting two field days was unfair to her since, unlike her colleagues, she had no help in arranging and planning for the hosting which "*made the work of organizing field days at [her] school twice as hard (and expensive) for her than it was for the others*."

The second set of problems created was that some teachers felt that the decision to limit the field day only to Tobago schools was not in their best interest, and they would have liked to have the "*field day opportunities expanded to schools in Trinidad*." They argued that this expansion would have broadened their experience and would have provided "*opportunities to see how the good schools in Trinidad operated and how teachers functioned in them*." One of the teachers who supported this view said:

"*I believe that these schools do better not only because they get better students, but also because they are closer to the center of power of the education system and so teachers there have more clout and greater access to resources than we have here in Tobago. I wanted an opportunity to see the extent to which this personal theory of mind had a bearing in reality"* [T2].

Another thought that:

"*It would have made life a little easier should I wish in the future to migrate to Trinidad to teach. I would have a much better idea of what it means to be a teacher in Trinidad vis-à-vis Tobago. I really wanted to have made that decision rather than having it been made for me*" [T7].

Discussion and Recommendations

Teachers Concerns and School Underperformance

The secondary schools in Tobago continue to underperform despite the substantive investments that have been made in education reforms over the past four decades (MOE, 2005). Though universal secondary education was achieved in Tobago in 2005, the quality of the education provided by most of the 10 secondary schools to students remains poor. This is evident in the consistent low ranking of the education district over the past five years on two of the most cited school quality indicators: the National Test and the CSEC examinations (Caribbean Examinations Council [CXC], 2010). Though there are many factors that impact on student learning, including: student self-concept, student attitude to school, student school engagement, the student's socio-economic index,

and parent factors (Anderson, George, & Herbert, 2009); teacher factors, including: teacher training, teacher engagement, and teacher care are also significant to student success at school (Newfields, 2006). In this regard, some insights into why secondary schools in Tobago continue to underperform have been suggested by the teachers' group concerns profile generated in this study.

The link between teachers' concerns and school underachievement in Tobago is best understood in the context of Tobago's development trajectory (Luke, 2006). A review of the country's history shows that Tobago was a colony in its own right, with all the associated challenges, until October 1898, when it was made, by decree, a Ward of Trinidad. This was when the then British Government, after a nine-year period of "trial and tribulations" had accepted, in full, the recommendations made by the West India Royal Commission a year earlier for: "the complete amalgamation of Tobago and Trinidad … [and for] Tobago [to] become a Ward, or district of Trinidad" (Brereton, 1981, p. 156). Hence from the inception of the union, Trinidad has been the dominant partner and the seat of institutional power and privilege. Therefore it is not surprising that, historically, the secondary school teachers of Tobago have had difficulties accessing teacher training. This, in part, has been attributed to there being no teacher training institutions on the island. Until this initiative was introduced, to access training institutions Tobagonian teachers have had to travel to Trinidad, in most cases, at a great added financial cost to the teachers themselves.[4]

Some conflict theorists and neo-Marxist historians have contended that the historical tensions between Trinidad and Tobago have their roots in the inequity of resource distribution between the two islands, and that this power inequity manifests itself through these types of arrangements whereby teachers have to leave the periphery (Tobago) and go to the centre (Trinidad) to get educated. This, they claim, is the historical source of the conflict between the two island communities and is the way in which "Trinidad, the more powerful community, has kept Tobago and its citizens marginalized" (Luke, 2006, p. 46). This study suggests that even if this analysis is viable, there are other concerns that the Tobagonian teachers have that are preventing them from embracing the type of teacher professional development opportunities that will provide them with the skills they need to better engage their students in the teaching/learning process, while enhancing the effectiveness of schooling on the island.

The study has suggested that these constraints are the relatively low-level personal and management concerns with the training programme

itself, that is, the majority of the teachers who participated were concerned with how accessing the training would disrupt their lives and/or how the logistics of the programme could be improved to make the training period less stressful on them. In this regard, their group concerns profile suggests that most of the teachers were, on their own volition, typical nonusers of the innovation (George, Hall, & Stiegelbauer, 2006). This means that though they did not offer any major resistance to the programme's implementation, the majority of them were not likely to use many of the skills presented to them in the programme in their classrooms once the period of training had been completed.

It is important to note, however, that this claim is not without exception. Two (29%) of the seven participants [T1 and T4] had individual concerns profiles which suggested that they will become typical users of the innovation (Holloway, 2003). That is, these two teachers showed concerns with ways in which they could collaborate with other teachers in their school to use elements of the innovation to improve the quality of education delivery in the school (Stage 5 concerns); and even on ways of refocusing some of the elements of the innovation to better meet the needs of their school context (Stage 6 concerns). However, the majority of the participants remained resistant to fully embracing the innovation.

This finding has implications for the goal of breaking the cycle of school underperformance in Tobago. As Neal Gross (1979) has suggested, individuals must change before organizations can be altered. For this cycle to be broken, teachers cannot continue to do what they were doing before they entered the teacher training programme. The group concerns profile suggests that most of the teachers who participated in the teacher development innovation were not prepared to embrace the changes suggested by the innovation, and would return to doing what they were doing once the formal period of the training was over. Hence the prospect of these teachers, as a result of this professional development innovation, becoming pioneers in breaking the cycle of school underperformance in Tobago at this time seems bleak.

Recommendations

The concerns group profile of the seven Tobagonian secondary school teachers who participated in the professional education development innovation suggests various degrees of doubt and resistance to the innovation. Because their Stage 2 Personal concerns overrode all the other five potential concerns they could have had about the innovation, including Consequence, Collaboration, and Refocusing concerns, the

concerns about the innovation's effect on their personal positions were greater than the desire to embrace the programme in the way it was intended. As George, Hall, and Stiegelbauer (2006) have pointed out:

> Experience indicates that when general, nonthreatening attempts are made to discuss an innovation with a [group] with this profile, the high Stage 2 concerns are intensified and the [other] concerns are further reduced. [A group] with this kind of profile probably will not be able to consider a proposed innovation objectively until [their] Personal Stage 2 concerns are reduced. (p. 41)

The challenge then for the designers of this innovation—the UWI-School of Education—and their partners—the Division of Education, Tobago House of Assembly (THA)—is to find creative ways to reduce the Personal Stages of Concerns of the Tobagonian secondary school teacher. The source of some of these personal concerns is resident in the current tenuous offers of job security or security of tenure to Tobagonian teachers. In this regard, the THA could review their teacher hiring practices and tenure and promotion protocols in ways that would address some of the concerns the Tobagonian teachers have. For example, the current practice of hiring teachers on a temporary basis for three or more years before their positions are confirmed, or otherwise, by the Teaching Service Commission could be modified in ways that would make that process less stressful to teachers. Additionally, the practice of promotion by seniority, as opposed to merit based on further professional development, could also be reviewed. Furthermore, seconding teachers to other secondary schools on a visiting or sabbatical basis, including to schools in Trinidad to broaden their experiences of schooling in the country, should also be considered.

The planners of the programme need to address almost immediately the issues of quality of delivery, choice, and resources that have been identified by the participants as sources of concerns. Course delivery has to be made more interactive and there needs to be more, not less, personal, face-to-face interactions between faculty members and the in-service teachers. For, as one student commented, "*most of the lecturers just fly in, deliver their lecture, and head back to the airport*" [T7]. Another complained that *"almost all the feedback I got on assignments was 'on-line', and even then they were not sent at the times promised*" [T6]. Furthermore, students should be provided with some "real" choices, especially with regards to the elective enrichment courses.

Finally, resource issues must be addressed in as timely a manner as is practical. Because of the size and location of the education district, a programme like this one would necessarily have a high unit cost. But this investment must be measured against the potential it has to help Tobago in meeting the national standards, which is universal quality secondary education for all the citizens of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago (Trinidad and Tobago. National Task Force on Education, 1994). Students can only receive such a quality secondary education if there exists in all of T&T, quality schools run by a transformative leadership, with a quality curriculum delivered by highly trained, quality teachers (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2004). An investment in teacher professional development in Tobago is a laudable effort in making this vision possible.

Notes

1. World-class education status for students is therefore being sought even though Tobago's teachers in the past have had very limited opportunities to acquire the new competencies needed to change their ways of doing business in their classrooms.
2. Biggart's response to the Tobago school crisis of 1930 sheds light on his convictions. The affair stemmed from a visit to Tobago by the Governor Sir Claude Hollis and Director of Education James Merriot in July of 1930. Their comments about education in Tobago and about Tobagonians were not complimentary. Hollis "told Tobagonians that their school buildings were substandard, their teachers were poorly qualified, and that there were too many small schools wasting government money [while Marriot] said or implied that Tobagonians lacked 'brains' …" Biggart, who attended the function at which the remarks were made, was much offended, and retorted, "If the history of Tobago were written all these things would be made clear to people, and they would be able to realize that we Tobagonians are not the non-entity as some people imagine …" (Luke, 2007, p. 145).
3. James's philosophy of education promoted the study of agriculture, which he believed was Tobago's greatest asset. He advocated the establishment of a farm school in Tobago. The government expressed interest in such a school, but again cited cost as the mitigating factor in undertaking the venture… So frustrated was he with the government's lethargy in establishing a secondary school in the rural section of Tobago that he set up his own school in Roxborough – James Foundation Secondary School – "and devoted a class exclusively to the subject of agriculture" (Luke, 2007, p. 173).
4. Another option is for teachers to enrol in online (distance) education programmes that are being offered by other providers. This option, however, is expensive and in many respects requires a more long-term (two or three years) commitment.

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