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Teacher appraisal reforms in post-1994 South Africa : conflicts, contestations and mediations.

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CHAPTER 1
SETTING THE SCENE: THE COMPLEX JOURNEY

This chapter introduces the background, focus and rationale for embarking on this research on teacher appraisal in South Africa. It explains why it was decided to develop a new policy analysis approach to the study of South African policies with specific reference to the policies of teacher appraisal. It presents an overview of the main arguments and the organisation of the study as well as a summary of the main arguments of each chapter.

1. 1 How It All Started

I need to start with a brief mention of the early days of my PhD journey and how my research questions were finalized. I was told by my supervisor to think pragmatically about a PhD topic around what I had been teaching and publishing in the recent past. My policy research work in the 1990s made me interested in researching policies as structures, and in particular as constraining structures. However, I became increasingly aware of policies' enabling dimensions. As a sociologist, the complex dialectic between structures and agency is always in the foreground of my preoccupation, and at work, with my work experience of rather bureaucratic institutions, such as universities or government departments, it struck me that those who strive and grow are the ones who develop strategic insights into the life-world and system-world of their institutions and who translate their vision or goals into effective strategic plans and activities.

My recent consultancy work for the GDE on districts and schools; for the DoE in 2007 on the Whole-School Evaluation; and for the Ministerial Committee (MinCom) in 2008 on the feasibility of the National Education Evaluation and Development Unit (NEEDU), had made me interested in investigating school evaluation and teacher appraisal issues as well as their unintended consequences.

The topic of performance evaluation or appraisal is a controversial topic and we have all been subjected to some form of appraisal in our organizations and were probably all suspicious of the claim that appraisal could be both about development and performance management (PM). At Wits, no need to say that staff contested or challenged the PM system introduced in the early 2000s. To try to hold a mirror in a fair manner in front of someone is never as simple as it sounds. It can cause deep anxieties, especially given the many ways in which such mirror can be held and what it can reveal. Notorious for their endless debates, academics will always find arguments about the various biases involved in holding such a mirror. It is also then that many questions arose in my mind, about the importance and relevance of development and accountability mechanisms or systems in building our emerging democracy. Appraisal for development can be such a promising tool and yet it is so difficult to find an appropriate format which is productive and accepted by all staff.

1.2 Making the Choice of Research Teacher Appraisal

The choice of teacher appraisal was interesting because appraisal has always been a complex issue, with its tradition of tensions and contestations between employers and employees, especially as it zooms in on an evaluation of work performance; a sensitive issue in any set-up. Teacher appraisal systems are designed to monitor and improve the quality of teaching but in the process involve many stakeholders with their own intentions and interests. Education departments may be interested to use appraisal for quality control or assurance or the monitoring of policy implementation in schools. Schools may want to use appraisal to monitor their teacher performance to design more focused development opportunities. Other schools may be interested in using a peer appraisal system to foster a more collaborative school culture or a collective commitment to continuous improvement of teaching and learning. However, at the other end, teachers often feel ambivalent about appraisal, with some perceiving it as a means to extra pay and promotion, while others as a means for improvement and

better development opportunities. There are also issues about who appraises as well as what is appraised, how and for whom. These difficult issues, which policy-makers, stakeholders and educationists have to confront when designing and implementing an appraisal system, revolve around how to combine different intentions and emphases likely to produce tensions and contestations from the time appraisal is designed to its implementation and monitoring.

In a country such as South Africa, issues of teacher development, accountability and appraisal are much more complex and sensitive because of the *apartheid* legacy of unequal treatment of white and black teachers. By 1994, South Africa had a majority of teachers in need of serious redress measures and meaningful development opportunities to participate in the reconstruction of the education system. Teacher accountability was also an important concern of education departments and schools because of the inherited poor culture of teaching and learning, which was exacerbated during the interregnum period of 1990-1994. Education departments were under serious pressure to improve the quality of teacher performance and educational outcomes. This explains why teacher appraisals became high on the agendas of education departments and teacher unions alike, and had to be carefully conceived and developed to be both appropriate and acceptable to the various role players.

By 1994, South African education had to find an appropriate way of monitoring and improving teacher performance, taking into account the serious scars of the *apartheid* legacy. There were challenges in finding a system which could counter the poor experience that many South African teachers had from the *apartheid* punitive inspection system which discriminated actively against black schools and teachers (Chetty et al., 1993). In addition, there were other reconstruction challenges with the new education policies which required new monitoring policies.

In examining the new South African teacher appraisal system, the international experience and analysis of teacher appraisals in other education systems are valuable. This literature reveals similar issues: an increasing despondency among policy-makers, educationists and researchers about whether a system-wide teacher appraisal system can improve teachers' performance and quality. Indeed, many international research studies (Hopkins et al., 1995; Bartlett, 2000; Monyatsi, 2003; Kyriakedis & Campbell, 2003; Sinnema, 2005; Goldstein, 2009) and national studies (Naidoo, 2006; Gallie, 2007; Class Act, 2007) point to the various problems in the development, content, implementation and impact of appraisal systems, as well as the main reasons for these appraisals' lack of success at achieving their intentions in practice. Another common argument is that school or teacher evaluation systems rarely meet their intentions or objectives and have differentiated impact on schools.

U.S. researchers have studied the negative impact of recently introduced performance-based accountability systems in various state education systems (Fuhrman & Elmore, 2004; Webb Taylor, 2005). UK researchers have noted similar problems with school inspection and teacher evaluation systems which are often resisted and opposed by teachers (Grubb, 2000; Perryman, 2006). South African investigations of appraisal systems are still in their infancy but also point to problematic unreliable results as well as a lack of buy-in by schools and teachers (Gallie, 2007; Naidoo, 2006; Class Act, 2007). Interestingly, international and national studies of their impact on poorly performing schools and teachers point to the detrimental or negative consequences of these schemes which exacerbate, rather than deal with, poor performance problems (Hopkins et al., 1995; Mintrop, 2002; Webb Taylor, 2005; Mukwevho, 2002).

There are, however, some studies on innovative forms of performance monitoring for development which are better designed and implemented (Elmore & Burney, 1999; Darling-Hammond et al., 2003; Goldstein, 2007). These studies reveal how their enabling features, which effectively combine accountability and development, have a

positive impact on school and teacher improvement. While some interventions were driven from outside of schools, the majority were internally-driven and based on an internal form of accountability for development.

Appraisal studies, however, vary in the quality of their conceptual and methodological approaches with some resulting in incomplete or superficial understanding of why appraisals take the form they do and why certain aspects work and others do not. This is partly because these studies do not examine appraisals' political tensions and the way these are mediated by various stakeholders (see Cardno, 1994 on school appraisal tensions). Most studies do not investigate the complexity of the mediation processes involved in appraisal systems and do not frame their analysis of appraisals in terms of the conditions of possibilities. This is how this study differs from most of these previous analyses. It conceives of appraisals as socially and politically constructed and contested exercises that exist within the nexus of problems and tensions as well as in the context of strong socio-political forces and conditions.

1.3 Aim and Research Focus of the Study

This study aims to provide a trajectory analysis of teacher appraisal policies in South African education by capturing the dynamics of these policies across and between different policy levels as well as the reasons these policies have changed and evolved over the past 10 years (Ball, 1997, p. 265). More specifically, it aims to contribute to an understanding of why and how various South African post-1994 teacher appraisals were negotiated, formulated and re-negotiated with different impact on schools. Thus, the overarching question addressed by the study is:

How does one explain the evolution of teacher appraisal policy processes (from policy to practice), taking into account the various tensions and contestations within appraisal and between stakeholders?

This main question can be broken into the following four sub-questions:

- What epistemological, theoretical and methodological approaches are best suited for analysing tensions and conflicts embedded in teacher appraisals and the complex combination of teacher development and teacher accountability? What consequences do these have for understanding the evolution of the appraisal system?

- What are the historical, political and educational factors and conflicts that contribute to the making of the South African appraisal system in schools and its various implementation strategies?

- What are the main issues and tensions in the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) policy and the opportunities it creates for mediation strategies?

- What are mediation strategies and role of education departments and unions in this process?

The first sub-question points to the need for a systematic review of the literature on the issue of teacher work, development, accountability and appraisal as well as on policy and policy analysis. The literature of developed countries on appraisal systems and their tensions and challenges will be reviewed with the view to deriving insights into what needs to be analyzed and applied to the South African context with its *apartheid* legacy and heterogeneous teacher and school population. On the basis of this, a conceptual framework is developed for a more comprehensive approach to policy analyses and to inform the study of evolving system-wide teacher appraisal processes in the specific context of post-1994 South Africa.

The conceptual framework with appropriate empirical research is then used to answer the next three sub-questions on South African appraisal policies from 1998 to 2009. The nature and impact of various tensions and contestations around the IQMS development and implementation processes are discussed, to identify the conditions of possibilities created by these tensions in the content of the policies and their implementation. An analysis of the opportunities and conditions of possibilities the tensions created is done to study the mediation and repositioning by education departments and teacher unions over that period. Attention is paid to the leadership role of the state bureaucracy and teacher unions in interpreting and mediating appraisal policy processes and tensions.

1.4 Rationale for the Study

This study of teacher appraisal systems in South African education hopes to respond to theoretical, epistemological and methodological policy concerns.

Theoretical concerns exist around appraisal policies and systems and their combination of teacher development and accountability. Appraisal systems are fraught with various educational and political tensions and compromises, involving many groups with different interests. Most research studies on appraisal systems, which will be reviewed in chapter 2, are conducted in Anglophone countries where teachers have enjoyed for some time a certain professional autonomy and control over their work, despite recent government attempts at undermining such autonomy. South Africa, and Africa in general, faces very different conditions in schools and classrooms which should be reflected in appraisal systems. South African education, in addition, faces different appraisal challenges coming from having to counter years of *apartheid* education neglect, improving the quality of a rather heterogeneous teaching population and its bureaucracy as well as assisting with the implementation of demanding teacher-related reforms. This means that South African schooling requires a context-specific form of

teacher appraisal, with specific forms of teacher development and accountability, which are related to the realities and challenges of teachers of different qualifications, work and performance records as well as differentiated access to professional support and guidance.

However, most appraisal studies do not often offer sophisticated analyses of the complexities of the socio-educational forces and conditions at play and how these impact various stakeholders and this study will delve in greater depth on the tensions and opportunities created by these appraisal tensions.

Related to these, are *epistemological 'policy analysis' concerns* as most policy research studies have a limited explanatory powers on how policies are managed and evolved in terms of their conflicts and tensions at the level of policy content and policy implementation at different moments in time. *Policy analysis concerns* have to do with how to account for the development, implementation and evolution of a policy with its complex policy mediation processes which requires a sophisticated understanding of different ways in which power manifests itself in the policy processes. Many political analytical studies reveal how policies embody contradictions which derive from political compromises reached by different interest groups at the formulation and implementation stage. However, only few educational policy studies examine conditions of possibilities for policy agencies generated by such policies, which require the identification of main forces and conditions which frame the mediation of these policies.

Finally, there are *methodological concerns* associated with studies of appraisal systems as it is vital to research appraisal policy processes in a multi-layered manner, with multiple methods of data collection and analysis. Research methods on policy need to be sophisticated to understand the fluid and multi-dimensional aspects of policy processes. This is why, beyond the traditional document analysis and key interviews with policy actors, this study involves and relies on a constant engagement by the

researcher over the last four years with the main stakeholders and key policy actors concerned with evaluation and appraisal policies, starting with the researcher's work with the Quality Assurance directorate of the DoE in 2007, the Ministerial Committee (MinCom) on the NEEDU in 2008 and the Teacher Development Summit in 2009. By working at this level, the researcher was able to gather valuable information from workshops, seminars, oral hearings and conferences involving the main stakeholders to reach a sophisticated understanding of different and evolving positions and negotiation strategies over various aspects of evaluation and appraisal in the education system.

In that sense, this study hopes to contribute to policy and policy analysis knowledge of South African education by doing a *trajectory policy analysis* which captures the various dimensions of power relationships and dynamics of policy-making processes as well as to identify the conditions of possibilities for policy agency and leadership.

1.5 Argument of the Study

This study posits four main policy-related claims of a theoretical/epistemological and methodological nature. First, because policies, and teacher appraisal policies in particular, are socially constructed and politically contested, they are fraught with inevitable socio-educational tensions around the balance between teacher development and accountability, as well as negotiations between the main stakeholders from the time they are developed and implemented to the time they are monitored and re-formulated.

Second, an eclectic approach to policy analysis, which relies mainly on a political analysis of policies, is most useful at analyzing policies as both constraining and empowering structures and texts which have different contexts to assess and which create space and opportunities for policy agency and leadership. Such political approach understands three different policy powers which can assess the various tensions and contestations

around appraisal policies as well as conditions of possibilities. By examining how education departments and teacher unions have over time used their different powers to keep away professional associations from appraisal policy settlements and finalize the content and implementation of appraisal policies, the study examines how stakeholders interpret and mediate policy processes in pushing for their agendas and ensure policies remain fragile settlements which have to be constantly re-negotiated.

Third, this study focuses, more than other policy studies, on policy leadership in education departments and teacher unions and on their chosen mediation strategies to reveal how different groups and agencies position themselves, work with and strategize around policy tensions over time in the hope of strengthening their agendas and existing work. This policy leadership is critical to study in the case of appraisal to understand how these policies are often re-negotiated as they are implemented and lead to different impact on the ground. It argues that, despite constraints in policy structures, texts and contexts, an analysis of policy leadership and its agency is crucial to understand the degree of success and failure of various appraisal policies at improving education quality in schools and classrooms. Policy leadership can ensure a sufficiently strong consensus or appraisal settlement between education departments, schools, professional bodies and teacher unions and how to develop teachers while making them accountable for their performance. It is only then that appraisal systems are likely to contribute to the improvement of teachers' practices.

Fourth, this study claims that the evolution and change in the negotiations and strategies around policy processes over time can only be explained with an analysis which gathers and interprets data collected at many different points and in many different forums, other than interviews and document analysis. This multi-layered empirical research work is essential to delve into the complex and fluid positions and strategies adopted in various policy processes over time.

1.6 Overview of the Study

The study is structured as follows:

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene

This chapter starts by explaining the research and development journey. It introduces the background, aim, research questions and rationale of the study. It contextualizes the study in the literature on appraisal systems and policies to develop a justification for a new conceptual and methodological approach to policy analysis and appraisal policies in particular. It outlines the main argument of the study in relation to theoretical and methodological concerns and explains how four main claims can assist with the study of appraisal policy processes, their changes over time and why these differ on the ground. It then presents the organization of the study and its different chapters with their main arguments.

Chapter 2: Debates on Teacher Appraisal: for Development and/or Accountability

This chapter examines the literature as well as empirical research studies on teacher development, accountability and appraisal systems to draw insights towards a conceptual framework for this study of South African teacher appraisals. It reviews and identifies different models of teacher development, accountability and appraisal, and their underlying assumptions about teaching and the nature of teacher work and teacher competences as well as teacher development and accountability.

The chapter argues that, because appraisal is socially constructed and politically contested, it contains significant educational and political tensions and conflicts which make it fragile and likely to change and evolve with changing conditions and context. In particular, there is a major tension in the forms of teacher development and

accountability and the ways in which they are combined to make teachers improve their practices. These tensions, in turn, create space or opportunities which agencies can exploit to change or interpret appraisal in a way that advances their interests.

Such conceptualisation of appraisal assists with an examination of how, in different educational and political contexts, the space created can be navigated by stakeholders and their leadership who can strategize politically and educationally to bring compromises among stakeholders and use appraisal to meet different stakeholders' interests and further the vision of a better education quality. By linking the above-mentioned constructs of appraisal tensions, conflicts, opportunities and agencies, this chapter draws key insights for the development of a theoretical framework, which is fully elaborated on in chapter four.

Chapter 3: Analyzing Policy and Change: International and National Perspectives

In this chapter, the epistemological and theoretical debates on policy, policy analysis and change is reviewed to find the best explanatory ways in which to study policy and policy processes. It argues that policy-making and policy processes are messy, contradictory and constantly negotiated or mediated, leading to fragile settlements or consensus between an increasingly large number of stakeholders. With changing conditions and interests, the main stakeholders have to reposition themselves and change their strategies, forcing some shifts in policy processes. Therefore, the most comprehensive and dynamic explanation of policy processes and their evolution is provided by an eclectic approach, based on a combination of political policy analysis with aspects of the liberal pluralist and interpretive analytical approaches.

The political policy analysis examines how the various policy powers (which involve the exercise of power, play of power and power-play) manifest themselves in different policy processes and result in various policy negotiations and compromises. The

cognitive interpretive approach allows the exploration of the mediation role and strategies of policy agents. And the rational approach assists with its analysis of the degree of policy coherence and alignment as produced by the various tensions and compromises.

Thus, the chapter argues that the political policy analysis highlights the exercises and plays of power while the interpretive approach focuses more on the power-play of agencies and leadership. In doing so, this chapter provides further insights for a comprehensive conceptual framework for this study.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework: a Synthesis of Appraisal and Policy Analysis Claims

Theoretical insights from the literature review on teacher appraisal and policy analysis are drawn together in this chapter to formulate the main conceptual framework and claims which direct this trajectory policy study. Because policies are often the result of compromises, they are both constraining and empowering structures and texts which create space and opportunities for policy agency and leadership; teacher appraisal policies are fraught with inevitable socio-educational tensions and political ambiguities which have to be managed; education departments and teacher unions have dominated appraisal policy processes by relying on their policy powers to advance their agendas and interests and exclude other interest groups. Therefore, an eclectic policy analysis will highlight the educational and political context of the policies as well as tensions in appraisal policies, how these are the outcomes of various power dynamics between two main stakeholders and how these also contain conditions of possibilities for policy leadership to strategize and mediate.

Chapter 5: Research Journey and Design

This chapter starts with the research journey undertaken as well as the reflections and learning which occurred. It then explains the epistemological orientation and the choice of research methodology and design as well as the multi-layered data collection methods adopted as well as why/how these are appropriate for this study. It explains the choice of two policy narratives, policy historiography and policy genealogy, as tools to study and interpret the changing policies of appraisal in South African schools from 1998 to the present.

Finally, it discusses how the data analysis relies on deductive and inductive research approaches to capture the interesting dynamics between theory and empirical work.

Chapter 6: Education Terrain Inherited from *Apartheid*

The next three chapters deal with the historical, political and educational context factors which contribute to the making of appraisal policies. The chapter presents the educational context inherited from *apartheid* with the unequal nature and quality of the education system and its various bureaucracies. It argues that this legacy greatly influenced and shaped for a long time to come the differential profiles of teachers' work, professionalism and teacher organisations, with their different educational and political agendas and priorities. The racially fragmented teaching force set complex contextual challenges which had to be addressed in the post-1994 education reconstruction as education and schooling remain contested terrains with powerful stakeholders of different agendas.

It argues that, by the 1990s, new socio-economic and political contextual forces emerged with the rise of various stakeholders' groups concerned with education reconstruction. The new state and its education bureaucracy faced a scarcity of human and material resources as well as a weak state, faced with demands from many different stakeholders' groups. This relatively weak state had to negotiate its post-1994

relationship to civil society through consultations, participation and negotiation with various organizations and developed a special but tense relationship with unions which led to various consensus and power conflicts.

Chapter 7: The post-1994 Politics of Transition in Education: State, Bureaucracy and Education Policies

This chapter examines how the post-1994 state negotiated new educational policies by relying on secondary sources. It argues that the state in transition was weak as it had serious challenges and operated at the interface of an increasingly complex conflicting and demanding forces and interest groups, such as powerful international and national businesses, expectant civil society and militant trade unions. The political analytical framework is useful in analyzing the various issues of power and power dynamics as well as the tensions, conflicts and compromises which emerged around the state and education policymaking.

It also looks at the post-1994 education bureaucracy as a key player in the policy process and how it faced the challenge of winning administrative and political legitimacy by focusing on improving its delivery and policy performance. Relying on new conceptual tools of state capacities and stakeholder democracy in education, it argues that the education bureaucracy was part of a fragile state, lacking in sufficient levels of ideational, political, implementational and technical capacities. As a result, the education bureaucracy did not manage to build a professional administration which could deliver and implement strategically demanding education policies and complex service delivery. What was not sufficiently realized was the need to enter into strategic partnership and build social capital, skills and meritocratic values and systems to improve its professional and administrative performance.

Chapter 8: Appraisal Development: Contestations and Negotiation Strategies towards the IQMS

From this chapter onwards, the study examines the various appraisal policies and their evolution over a ten-year period. This chapter provides a policy historiography and genealogy narrative of what came before and led to the 2003 IQMS. Using the political analytical framework and its focus on three different forms of power in the policy process, this chapter examines the first two powers: the exercise of power through the various legal power structures which assert the hegemony of the powerful groups; and the play of power between the main stakeholders, how their agendas clashed, coalesced and evolved over time, what were their negotiation strategies and compromises over various pieces of legislation and ELRC resolutions around appraisal and performance management in the school system. It does that by tracing the various policy conflicts and their resolution as appraisal policies emerged from 1997 to 2003.

It argues that, after an initial consensus between education departments and teacher unions over the development of the 1998 DAS agreement, more serious conflicts and contestations developed leading to rather polarized positions between the two main stakeholders. As a result, no innovative proposal around teacher development, accountability and appraisal for development and performance seriously emerged to bring these stakeholders closer together. Instead, ambiguous and fragile policy settlements were reached which were to lead to difficult implementation and unintended results.

Chapter 9: A Critical Examination of the IQMS: its content, tensions and contestations

This chapter examines in greater depth the complexities, tensions and space in the 2003 IQMS policy document by analyzing its content, assumptions and impact as well as various ambiguities and dilemmas in the context of an unevenly resourced and unevenly capacitated education system where the nature of teachers' work and competences, especially with the demanding new curriculum, differs widely across the system.

It argues that the IQMS content is fraught with tensions and leans more towards school and teacher accountability and quality control because of its ambitious settlement for a combination of two different appraisal purposes in one system with their respective different assumptions. On the one hand, the IQMS aims to strengthen teachers as professionals, committed to improve and be the authors of their own development and, on the other hand, it aims to monitor teachers by adopting a deficit approach which perceives teachers as needing tight bureaucratic accountability and control. As a result, it is argued, the IQMS provides some opportunities for stakeholders to develop interpretation and mediating strategies to exploit opportunities created by various educational and political tensions.

It contends that the tensions in the IQMS policy document will continue to be the subject of deep conflicts and contestations in the implementation phase, unless mediated by a strong policy leadership among stakeholders which exploit effectively the space created.

Chapter 10: The Policy Role of the Educational Bureaucracy and its IQMS Mediation Challenges and Strategies

The next three chapters analyze the mediation strategies of various stakeholders at the IQMS implementation stage. This chapter examines the role and challenges of the educational bureaucracy and the serious constraints and challenges which emerged about the way it implemented and mediated new education policies. It then focuses on how some pockets of the educational bureaucracy develop policy leadership calibre with strategies to build capacity to implement the IQMS for the good of the education system. The second part illustrates concretely the meaning of policy leadership in relation to the IQMS mediation by examining how a provincial bureaucracy (the GDE) understood the IQMS tensions and how this influenced its mediation and negotiation strategies.

In illustrating in greater depth the policy leadership role of a provincial division and district, it argues that policy leadership requires deep political and educational knowledge to make strategic decisions in the implementation stage. It has to understand how to navigate issues of power and power dynamics to exploit opportunities created by evaluation/appraisal policies' tensions and has to win the support of the main stakeholders in using the policies to promote the good of the education system. In that sense, this chapter shows how a focus on policy leadership and agency can improve policy analysis knowledge.

Chapter 11: The Policy Role of Teacher Unions: IQMS Views and Mediation Strategies

This chapter examines the policy role of teachers' unions in mediating the IQMS implementation, as some unions were given access to some policymaking for greater professional status and better working conditions for their members. The second part of the chapter looks at how various teacher unions understood, navigated and strategized around the IQMS tensions.

It argues that teachers' organizations did not struggle strategically around the space created by the IQMS, partly because of their different membership, but also because of poor professional leadership, resources and/or social capital. Teacher unions did not manage to develop sophisticated strategies to counter the agendas of educational departments and develop creative ways in which teacher accountability for development could be secured to improve teachers' quality and professionalism, an area which is best catered for by professional associations or organizations.

Chapter 12: IQMS Implementation and its Evolution: a Possible Breakthrough with SACE?

This chapter focuses on the tensions in the IQMS implementation and how education departments and teacher unions are driven by different priorities and interests in

proposing and negotiating new appraisal forms in subsequent policy amendments and programmes. It argues that, compared with the education bureaucracy, there was not a strong union leadership to strategize how to exploit the space created by the IQMS tensions to improve their members' interests and the school system. In fact, teacher unions seem to have lost the initiative after 1998 as they never managed to develop feasible proposals which could use the IQMS to impact positively on teachers and the school system by becoming a more genuine form of accountability for development.

It argues that an appraisal system which aims to promote teacher development and professional standards and practices should not be the subjects of negotiations or bargaining between education departments and unions. Rather what was needed was strategic work by a professional association or body which had to work with and for teachers on the issue of a comprehensive form of teacher professionalism.

Chapter 13: Conclusion: Insights on Appraisal Tensions, Policy Analysis, Policy Leadership and Multi-Method Policy Research

This chapter concludes on the main arguments of the chapters of this trajectory policy study and the question on the epistemological, theoretical and methodological approached best suited for analyzing the appraisal systems, their tensions and evolutions over time. It explains the emerging insights on appraisal tensions, eclectic policy analysis and policymaking in the era of stakeholder society, policy leadership and multi-method policy research. It argues that appraisal policies have constraining and enabling aspects which are subjected to various forms of policy powers at different stages of the policy process and depend for their success on enabling policy agencies which can exploit the opportunities created by the tensions and conflicts around these policies.

In the case of school evaluation and teacher appraisal, it argues that the policy leadership of main stakeholders (education bureaucracy and teacher unions) is not

sufficiently mature or strategic to exploit the positive opportunities of the IQMS policy processes to improve the performance of teachers and the system as a whole. Apart from a few pockets of enabling policy agencies in the bureaucracy, it contends that the opposing interests and positioning of the education bureaucracy and teacher unions are such that the best way to promote greater teacher performance and professionalism belongs beyond the two main stakeholders in a professional association or arena where teachers work together towards that end.

CHAPTER 2

DEBATES ON TEACHER APPRAISAL: FOR DEVELOPMENT AND/OR ACCOUNTABILITY?

This chapter reviews the international and national literature on teacher development, accountability and appraisal to develop a conceptual framework with which to analyze the various teacher appraisals which have emerged in the post-1994 South African school system. It identifies and reviews different models of teacher development, accountability and appraisal, and their underlying assumptions about teaching and the nature of teacher work and teacher competences as well as corresponding teacher development and accountability.

The chapter argues that there are several educational and political tensions in various forms of teacher development and accountability, the different ways to combine them as well as how and under what conditions teachers can engage in improving their practices. It also argues that it is important to recognize that appraisal is an exercise which creates social and educational conflicts and opportunities which can be managed and exploited effectively by agencies. This conceptualisation allows an understanding of how various stakeholders and their leadership can navigate the space created by these tensions to further a vision of a better education quality. By linking the above-mentioned constructs together, this chapter assists with a basis for a theoretical framework of a study of teacher appraisal, which will be elaborated on in chapter four.

2.1 Changing Teachers' Work and Development

Evaluation of teachers' work is based on a conceptualisation of teachers' work duties and responsibilities. Precise job descriptions for teachers are difficult to find in national documents since the responsibilities and duties of different post-levels are usually specified and negotiated broadly through collective education and labour agreements.

However, the research literature (Lawn & Ozga, 1981; Shalem, 1990; Wise, Darling-Hammond, McLaughlin and Bernstein, 1985; Kelley, 1997; Hargreaves, 2002) shows well how teacher work changed significantly in the past four decades in many different countries. Such changes are important to recognise because of their implications for the forms of teacher development, accountability and appraisal, which also changed and adapted accordingly. Some scholars (Wise et al., 1985; Kelley, 1997; Hargreaves, 2002), interested in the changes in teachers' work and status in the United States (US) and Britain, have developed useful typologies of teachers as workers, as professionals, as collegial professionals and as deskilled practitioners.

2.1.1 Teachers as workers

Traditionally in the USA, teachers were expected to transmit predetermined knowledge to learners through standardised prescribed teaching procedures and methods. Kelley (1997, p.18), Wise et al. (1985, p. 62) and Hargreaves (2002, p. 153) argue that teaching was conceived as labour regulated by departmental rules and regulation. Teachers were seen as workers with basic technical competencies to transmit teacher-proof syllabi. At that time, pre- and in-service training consisted of basic subject content and basic pedagogical knowledge and competencies. According to Reitzug (2002, p. 2), the traditional in-service teacher development was decided by the department with no teacher involvement. It exposed teachers to basic technical and administrative issues, taught in a generic and contextual manner, in the form of lectures and workshops, delivered off-site at teacher centres or district offices (Bosetti & O'Reilly, 1996).

2.1.2 Teachers as professionals

By the late 1960s/early 1970s, schools were under pressure to produce better quality education for all learners, especially for those from an underprivileged background, and teachers in the US and Britain were increasingly expected to have greater pedagogical

knowledge to adapt the curriculum and syllabi to their specific learners' context and constraints. Kelley (1997, p. 21) and Wise et al. (1985, p. 65) argue that teachers were treated as autonomous professionals, with some professional and pedagogical knowledge to adapt their teaching content, strategies and activities to reach all their learners. Hargreaves (2002, p. 158) explains that teachers gained more control over their work and became mediators of learning.

As teachers acquired this professional status**,** different teacher development approaches emerged to enable teachers to acquire greater professional competences and knowledge. Many in-service activities focused on training teachers to become 'reflective practitioners' and learn how to reflect developmentally on their practices (Reitzug, 2002, p. 2) while other activities were school-based, with mentors coaching teachers, facilitators modelling good practices and encouraging teachers to reflect on their practices, alone or with colleagues of similar contexts.

2.1.3 Teachers as collegial practitioners

Hargreaves (2002, p. 162) and Wise et al. (1985, p. 65) argue that, by the 1980s, teachers were increasingly treated as craft people or collegial professionals, working together to improve their practices and their school performance by relying increasingly on their collective professional judgment.

The findings of the school effectiveness and improvement literature of the 1970s and 1980s stress that the improvement of teacher quality and whole school development was linked to strong leadership, teamwork, and a collaborative school culture as well as whole school organizational development as essential improvement factors and goals (Henneveld, 1996; Hopkins & McGilchrist, 1998).

This new reality of teachers' work meant that heads of department or senior management (or district officials) decided, or at least guided teachers in identifying their professional development needs to improve pedagogical delivery and practices. Such professional development was increasingly based in schools and embedded in a school culture based on collegial trusting relationships as well as a culture of life-long learning (Haughley, Howard & Marshall, 1996).

Professional development (PD) activities became more teacher-initiated and school-based as well as targeted the needs of the school, teachers' teams and/or curriculum units, rather than individual teachers (Reitzug, 2002, p. 9). They became integrated into school instructional improvement programmes and consisted of teachers collaborating to share, reflect and improve on their practices through teacher cluster groups made up of teachers of neighbouring schools networking with one another. This PD mode proliferated in many developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa (McNeil, 2004).

Little (1993, p. 134/5) also notes the rise of inter-school collaboration, teacher networks and professional associations as new forms of professional support in the US. This made Wenger (2008, p. 1) and others develop the concept of 'professional learning communities' or 'communities of practice', which refer to groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do, and for learning how to do it better by interacting regularly. With the introduction of ICT and the emergence of the internet, these learning communities are also virtual. Wenger and Snyder (2000, p. 142) argue that these learning communities are the best form of staff development because they are ongoing, collaborative, self-perpetuating and responsive to the unique needs of individual schools and teachers.

2.1.4 Effective teaching and reflective teaching

What exactly is involved in teachers working together to improve their practices? The idea was for teachers to share with their professional colleagues their practices for constructive debates on how to improve them. This implies an idea about what is 'effective teaching'. It is difficult to define as it is context-based, and schools differ widely in their environment, dynamics, organizations and learner populations. Professional teachers have technical, professional and educational competences to teach an increasingly diverse learner population with their professional values, identities and status. With the introduction of outcomes-based education, effective teaching means greater coherence between teaching outcomes and the teaching and learning experience, by aligning teaching objectives, teaching content and pedagogy as well as assessment (Fuhrman, 1993).

Effective teaching will be defined differently by scholars of different theoretical perspectives. Liberal scholars (Talcott-Parsons, 1983; Harman, 1994) argue that effective schooling is about disseminating knowledge and socializing the next generation into the labour market. Radical scholars/sociologists of education (Bernstein, 1973; Bourdieu, 1977; Ball, 1993, Freire, 1970), or those who focus their analysis on power relations in society, argue that schooling, and teaching, is a political process, fraught with power relations, which silence certain voices and interests, and is often not 'socially just'. These scholars (Ball, 1993 and Smyth, 1996) argue that effective teaching is relative and depends on who defines it, what passes as legitimate knowledge and who judges what is worth teaching (Bernstein, 1973).

What does this imply for 'reflective teaching' and its effectiveness? As teachers become collegial professionals, they are asked to reflect on what they want to do and achieve in their teaching and how. Scholars (Clandinin, Kennedy & La Rocque, 1996 p. 181) argue that teachers' reflection is a form of professional development as teachers learn best when provided with meaningful opportunities to reflect with their peers and colleagues on how to improve teaching practices. Professional communities consist of "a content-

based professional development, aligned with curriculum and assessment, focused on student learning, sustained over time, with collaboration among teachers, and administrative support" (Weiss & Pasley, 2006, p. 1).

But how and on what do teachers reflect? Tabachnich and Zeichner (1991) provide a useful distinction between technical, ameliorative and critical reflective teaching. Technical reflection makes teachers meet the set goals via their lessons or teaching activities: they can reflect on pedagogical and administrative issues, such as planning the curriculum, learning programmes and/or lessons, assessment as well as on the underlying meaning and causes of learners' results. Ameliorative reflection addresses constraints imposed on teachers and learners to achieve the set goals, as mentioned above. With outcomes-based education and standard-based systemic reforms, teachers are asked to reflect on coherence (or alignment) between prescribed state standards or learning outcomes, what is taught and how learners are assessed (Fuhrman, 1993). These reflections, however, work within the school status quo and assume that schools and teachers are neutral professionals.

In contrast, critical reflection is a different process as it questions the set goals of equity and social justice in education. This emerged as a result of the socio-educational inequalities that persisted within most education systems in developed countries. From the 1980s onwards, radical educationists and scholars argue that one of the main ways in which educational inequalities are reproduced was through societal power relations being reflected in schools, through the curriculum and various school management and teaching operations. Ball (1993) argues that, by questioning how power is exercised in and through teaching, professional teachers can reflect deeply on the problems associated with the dominant school and societal culture for the less privileged learners, as well as on what they want to do and achieve with their learners. Smyth (1996, p. 192) contends that teacher reflection could focus on "what and how teaching work to improve the life chances of all children… [how] teachers celebrate differences and

diversity and question whether the curriculum, teaching and assessment provide meaningful learning opportunities... that connect with the lives and experiences of their students rather than satisfy national curriculum practices". Cochran-Smith (2001) mentions teachers' responsibilities of addressing school inequalities and at teaching sometimes against the grain.

Because teachers have different identities, ideological positions and interests, they are bound to be divided over this political activism which challenges the 'socially unjust' character of schools in their ethos, culture and imparted knowledge as well as relationship with learners. Also, few teachers have the time, energy, collective strength and/or political commitment to challenge the class character of the schooling system and the hands that feed them. This ambitious and demanding task for teachers assumes that teachers are not against overtly politicizing their school work, with the attendant risks of undermining their professional tasks.

Recently, in countries with sophisticated information data systems, collective teacher reflection has emerged, informed by evidence of their practices, namely learners' results (Katz, Sutherland & Earle, 2005, p. 2332). Sinnema (2005, p. 96) argues that teacher reflection should focus on how to change aspects of teachers' practices by monitoring their impact on learners' learning. Learners' results are therefore not used as summative indicators but as diagnostic assessment tools to reflect on why learners fail to learn what has been taught to them. Katz et al. (2005, p. 2330) specify that such 'evaluation habit of mind' makes teachers reflect on what they assess and why, as well as whether they provide learners with sufficient relevant learning opportunities to assimilate what is taught to them. This evidence-informed inquiry is believed to sustain best organizational and individual learning.

However, there are also problems in collective reflection. Some teachers, who collaborate and reflect with one another, do not always reflect creatively or

constructively beyond their own practices, because they lack exposure or meaningful opportunities to acquire more effective ways of teaching and mediating the curriculum. Expert supervision or 'critical friends' are often needed for valuable collective learning experiences (Darling-Hammond, et al., 2003). Whereas collaborative participative teacher inquiry is a vast advance on previous practices, Smyth (1996, p. 187) argues that it can continue to entrench unequal power relations in schooling, unless it aims at developing 'socially just' teaching and learning goals and practices.

2.1.5 Teachers as deskilled practitioners

The fourth era identified by Hargreaves (2002, p. 167) is the post-professional era. With the rise of economic managerialism to improve efficiency and productivity of the public service in the 1990s, many education departments (such as New Zealand and Britain) introduced prescribed standardized content and competences for teachers to be monitored and evaluated periodically. Fitzgerald (2001) mentions the introduction of explicit professional teacher competences or standards of performance, linking professional development to performance appraisal or performance pay systems while other systems required schools to make mandatory professional development plans so teachers could meet national requirements.

By setting up these standards, education departments claim to re-professionalize teachers in the light of changing societal needs. However, the system was introduced to push teachers' learner performance by subjecting them to tighter forms of bureaucratic surveillance on what they are meant or contracted to achieve/produce through ambitious performance management schemes (as opposed to whether they follow rules and regulations, as in the past). Many scholars (Ozga, 1995; Whitty, 2002) expose these performance-based reforms for de-professionalizing teachers by reducing their professional autonomy, discretion and judgment. Blackmore (1990) argues that these education reforms promote a new form of individual rather than collective

professionalism, which contributes to the fragmentation of the teaching profession between those who welcome this 'performance–oriented and performance-related pay' agenda, from which they hope to gain, and those who resisted these reforms in the name of a more welfarist agenda (Hanlon, 1998).

Finally, Hargreaves (2002, p. 167) draws attention to the contradictory tendencies of the post-modern era and their impact on teachers' work and development. He recognizes that, in the recent past, governments have introduced detailed measurement and control measures over teachers, through narrowly conceived competence or standard frameworks, which risk undermining teacher democratic professionalism. This is accompanied by a new managerial control over teachers, which limits their power to make autonomous or collective decisions and sometimes intensifies their work, under the claim that teachers' professional responsibilities are being increased. However, Hargreaves (2002) and Paton (2003) mention that the new global ICT and internet technologies of post-modern knowledge societies can also make teachers' professionalism more flexible and inclusive of groups beyond schooling and teaching, with the result of enhanced teacher professionalism. Thus, teacher professionalism is subjected to different combinations of contradictory tendencies, depending on the country's context. Only a careful analysis will reveal the tensions and potential of these changes in teachers' work and patterns of professional development. This is an important insight to remember for this study.

2.1.6 Different models of teacher development

So far, it has been argued that teaching and teacher roles, competences and development approaches evolve over time and/or are associated with different contexts and/or time periods. In any school system, especially those with a heterogeneous teacher and learner population, different teachers' roles and professional competences can co-exist at any moment in time. In fact, no empirically tested model of teacher

development is proven effective across different settings. This means that a mix of different models of teacher development (as opposed to a one-size-fits-all approach) is needed given the different teachers' specific realities, challenges and contexts. However, there is also a consensus that school staff and communities should be involved in its design and implementation (McNeil, 2004). Therefore, different institutions involved in teacher development, whether education departments, districts, schools and/or NGOs, are needed to provide different forms of teacher development.

Further, pedagogical or teacher development models are based on certain epistemological assumptions and socio-cultural values. For example, learner-centred education is more easily recognized and accepted in liberal western countries than in African countries where notions of knowledge, respect for the elders, teacher authority and responsibilities in schools are viewed rather differently (Tabulawa, 2003). Thus, any teacher development model borrowed from developed countries, such as reflective teaching, will often be found irrelevant or inappropriate in the less developed African context. What is rather needed is a form of teacher development that is rooted in the institutional context of schools and society (Elmore, 2002, p. 11). This means that African realities have to inform the notion of learner-centred education and the professional reflective teacher. Thus, any form of teacher development should value, engage with and be contextualized in local classrooms and school environments.

In conclusion, I would like to summarize what I see as the differences between various models of teacher development, according to some salient features:

TABLE 1 : Different forms of teacher development

	Bureaucratic	**Professional**	**Collegial**	**Managerialist**
Focus	Generic state-defined competences	Individual Professional Competences	Professional practices and standards	State-prescribed professional standards
Who decides	Dept. officials	School HoDs & dept officials	School HoDs with peers	Schools
and why?	To maintain state standards	To improve professionalism	To promote collaborative teacher reflection	To improve teacher/school productivity
Who delivers it?	Dept. curriculum advisers	HoD and Curriculum/ expert advisers	Peers (and invited experts)	Peers (with invited experts
Delivery mode	Off-site Periodically	On-site/off-site periodically	On-site On-going	On-site/off-site On-going
Assumptions	Teaching as technical/standardized process	Teaching as individualized craft activity	Teaching as professional judgement, for school development	Teaching as professional judgment with state regulation
Impact	Mixed, depends on school mediation	Individual improvement	Teacher and school improvement	Mixed, depends on school mediation

2.2 Changing Teacher Accountability

Teacher accountability expects teachers to take responsibility and account for their actions and/or achievements to someone in a position of authority over them. Frymier (1996) defines accountability as implying responsibility, responsibility as involving judging performance, and judging performance as evaluation. Thus, it refers to a multi-faceted evaluation process, based on the collection, analysis and reporting of data on aspects of teacher performance on which professional judgment is passed. It is done to improve teacher practices and/or performance.

Assessment of teachers' practices or performance has been done differently, given any particular context or period as well as depending on the accountability purpose, content and person to whom to account. It is conducted by an outside expert who does not work in the school but can also involve senior school management. It takes the form of self-evaluation, based on self-reflection, or peer evaluation, through critical friends or networking with 'communities of practices'. Monyatsi (2003, p. 42) defines peer observation as: "professional colleagues observ[ing] each other's practices against a background of agreed criteria, followed by constructive feedback and dialogue".

The evaluation or accountability content, often contested by various parties, will differ according to how the following three issues are answered:

- Who defines good teaching?
- How is it evaluated (by whom, with what criteria and how is context taken into account)?
- How is teaching performance and results separated or disentangled from other school and non-school influences given the joint co-production?

Different forms of teacher accountability have dominated at different periods of the school system, such as bureaucratic teacher accountability, professional teacher accountability, internal or external teacher accountability. What various authors say about these different accountability forms, assumptions and impact is now reviewed by analyzing how different teacher accountabilities are introduced, constructed, contested and managed as well as whose interests and concerns are met and how.

2.2.1 Traditional teacher bureaucratic accountability

Bureaucratic accountability refers to line management supervision, whether performed externally (by departmental subject advisors or inspectors) or internally (by school management) (Frymier, 1996). The traditional inspection systems are still used widely in different education systems, although they have also evolved.

This form of traditional bureaucratic inspection is found in education systems, organised usually through hierarchical lines of command and demarcated job specifications, committed to the goal of delivering a similar standardized education service to all. Teachers, as transmitters of technical knowledge and skills, had to deliver the same curriculum/syllabus to all learners and a monitoring or accountability system was put in place to ensure that teachers followed departmental rules and procedures and transmit the syllabus. As Perryman (2006, p. 157) argues, teacher inspection had to monitor whether teachers complied with the department instructions and the inspection content reflected the departmental understanding of effective teaching.

In many Anglophone countries, schools, teachers and more specifically their unions came to distrust or resist these rather bureaucratic traditional inspections. Several problems are cited regarding this in the literature. The first problem, articulated by Smyth (1996), was that teachers resented rigid bureaucratic inspections which were based on an underlying deficit model, which assumed that teachers need controlling

because they should not be trusted and were lazy or manipulative. Yet, Smyth argues, without some buy-in from schools and teachers, which usually involve some consultation and negotiation, inspection systems cannot have a positive impact.

A second problem, mentioned by Hopkins et al. (1995), revolves around teachers being suspicious of the purpose behind teacher monitoring or evaluation. Teachers felt that education departments were more concerned with evaluations OF school or teacher performance, meaning of their productivity, and not with evaluations FOR school or teacher improvement. This is because schools experienced the accountability aspect but not the developmental aspect of inspection because meaningful teacher development interventions rarely followed (Ball, 1993).

As teachers gained more control over their work and acquired greater professional autonomy, the form and focus of inspection changed slightly. The findings of the school/teacher effectiveness and improvement literature pointed to the importance of teachers taking joint responsibility for improving their instructional practices. As a result, inspection items and criteria changed, focusing less on disciplining and controlling teachers than on teachers monitoring themselves to improve their practices (Hopkins et al., 1995, p. 343). The notion of school self-evaluation emerged and inspections claimed to evaluate teachers' strengths and weaknesses with the view to improving their practices[1]. However, as Hopkins et al. (1995) argue, schools and teachers continued to experience inspection as controlling and judgmental, partly because of the unchanged attitudes and practices of inspectors and, above all, because no adequate follow-up support came after the inspection (given poor local authority's capacity and resources). Ball (1993) and Smyth (1996) point out that, in the UK, inspections continue to be seen as exercises of hierarchical power and assertion of departmental control over teachers.

[1] The 1993 OFSTED UK document was named 'Improvement through inspection.'

A third reason for teachers to resist inspection concerns what is inspected. Darling-Hammond et al. (2003) argue that effective teaching and how it should be evaluated is highly contested. Effective teaching is difficult to define universally and tends to vary, depending on who defines it and identifies its attributes, activities and criteria. Various stakeholders tend to have different views about effective teaching, which calls for different kinds of information and measurement. Paton (2003 p. 44) examines the different concerns and interests of various communities as to how to measure teachers' performance and distinguishes three levels: the institutional, managerial and professional, which are rooted in different policy, managerial and professional communities.

The fourth reason to distrust inspections came from the quality and validity of evaluators' inspection. While inspectors coming from outside may have evaluation expertise, they can only evaluate teachers through short sporadic school visits. In contrast, senior school management could circulate more frequently but they can also be more subjective or biased, depending on their relationship to the teachers. In his examination of various forms of inspections, Grubb (2000, p. 19) notes that the most legitimate and valid inspections in the UK tend to combine internal and external inspectors in one team to benefit from their respective advantages and achieve a better evaluation of teacher performance. Internal and external evaluators are also effective in making an effort to account for their views and assessments to one other. Thus, the success of bureaucratic inspection systems depends on:

1) How inspections are negotiated with and accepted by teachers and their unions;
2) Their real bottom-line purpose as well as coordination with authorities in charge of school/teacher development;
3) Their focus and performance items and criteria; and
4) The quality of inspectors or evaluators.

In countries with strong teacher unions and a rigid traditional bureaucratic education system, inspection never led to much school or teacher improvement because the contestation about the purpose and content of inspection was often fierce and uncompromising from both sides (Hopkins et al., 1995).

2.2.2 Teacher professional accountability

In contrast with this top down bureaucratic accountability and its poor records, professional teacher accountability emerged in the US in the 1980s when teachers were expected to be sufficiently professional to share and reflect on their own and/or their colleagues' work to improve. Darling-Hammond (1989) and Elmore (2004) favour this form of accountability, also called internal accountability, for development, as teacher colleagues account best to each other when they work together to improve their own practices. In the process, teachers develop shared standards of professional knowledge and practices and then set their professional goals as well as how to monitor these. According to Darling-Hammond (1989, p. 66), school-based professional accountability has the advantage of generating professional teacher accountability and development at the same time.

Barber and Phillips (2000) praise a strategy of teacher change based on the fusion of teacher accountability and support. Ranson (2003, p. 465) sees a beneficial dimension as this social practice promotes reflective activities “which will shape the dispositions of its members, their taken for granted ways of perceiving, judging, imagining, and acting”. Other advantages in school-based professional accountability include its location at the micro school level (as opposed to the macro system level); it is contextual, flexible, owned by teachers and a practice of collective teacher reflection for collective learning; it is easier for teachers to reach agreements on the meaning of good teaching in their context, as well as on the selection of the monitoring areas and measurement criteria.

However, this school-based accountability only works when certain conditions exist (Darling-Hammond, 1989). It occurs more naturally in schools where teachers already work and behave as collegial professionals, committed and responsible for their professional growth and school improvement. Teachers should also be sufficiently competent to reflect productively together to improve on their practices and results. LaRocque (1993, cited in Clandinin et al., 1996, p. 181) argues that professional accountability is only feasible in education systems where teachers have professional competences, behaviours and commitment to improving professional standards through their professional judgement. It also requires an atmosphere of mutual trust, respect and support among teachers. Abelmann and Elmore (1999, p. 3) mention three conditions for effective internal accountability for development: agreement and commitment by teachers to their responsibility in meeting learners' needs and having to work and account for it; collective expectations and commitment among school stakeholders that the school work is to be done; and, finally, a culture that supports and encourages formal and informal ways through which people can give an account of, and be supported in, their actions by someone in a position of formal authority.

Professional reflection or accountability can go wrong when teachers make professional decisions which suit their own short-term sectarian interests rather than the common good of the profession (Darling-Hammond, 1989, p. 67). Some teachers can demonstrate professional arrogance and justify their practices and standard levels while ignoring the views and interests of other stakeholders, on the grounds that the latter have a poor understanding of the profession's standards and practices (Gutman, 1987). Such problems led to the emergence of a new form of public accountability as a supplement to professional accountability to ensure that professional teachers account publicly for what they achieve with their learners.

2.2.3 Public teacher accountability

Public teacher accountability, or teachers accounting to the public, emerged at a time of increasing public discontent with declining school results. But public teacher accountability has also existed in African countries when the state relied on the community to assist with school buildings in return for teachers being morally accountable to the community. However, in the case of Tanzania, such teacher accountability to the community was more a question of mutual accountability between teachers and the community because they share a moral responsibility towards the new generation and expect mutual support (Barrett, 2005). In the West in the 1990s, public teacher accountability meant teachers accounting to the public for their learners' results (and not for their teaching).

This form of accountability claims to bring what is often marginalized in schools and that is the voice of the public, even if limited, to accounting for results and the non-professional aspects of schooling (such as values and other school outcomes). The problem, according to Carrim and Sayed (1997) and Sayed (2002), is who is included in the public: the broad society, the school governing body or only the parents of the school's learners. Nixon et al. (2001, cited in Ranson, 2003) criticize the narrow neo-liberal definition of the public (equal to 'the market'), for being ruled by narrow-minded sectarian interests. A more encompassing definition of the public would be civil society or its organizations upholding civic and even 'socially just' education goals and values, as opposed to the market's narrow interests in these learners' cognitive results. Hirst (2000) adds that local community organizations have to learn to go beyond their private interests and recognize that their future depends upon a commitment to improve education for all, which should be reflected and embedded in institutional practices. The best form of public accountability would therefore be a hybrid of social and political accountability, based on a partnership between the private and the public, and promoting transparency, responsibility and responsiveness to equity concerns.

2.2.4 Performance-based teacher accountability

By the 1990s, with pressures to improve their efficiency and outcomes, education departments had introduced a new form of bureaucratic performance-based accountability (Elmore, 2004). Ball (2001) and Ranson (2003) argue that governments relied on the discourse of new managerialism to blame the poor quality of learners' results across schools and regions on uneven and poor teacher professional standards and the absence of effective quality assurance systems to monitor and control teacher professional autonomy. To that effect, governments in the US, Britain, Australia and New Zealand introduced a common national curriculum with pre-specified learning outcomes and/or content standards as well as performance-based management schemes designed to improve the productivity of teachers and other public servants (Fuhrman, 1993; Ball, 2001; Perryman, 2006; Piggot-Irvine, 2000).

Performance management, which was made possible by the ICT developments which reduced the costs in data handling and processing (Paton, 2003, p. 217), was a concept borrowed from the business sector, which had tried various ways of improving its organizational efficiency. It relied on a flatter organizational structure which decentralized certain managerial and administrative functions while retaining control over the main strategic, policy aspects. It also monitored the exercise of these assumed devolved functions through tighter quality assurance systems. In education, this meant that education departments focused on 'steering at a distance', rather than delivering, as well as ensuring control over strategic decisions while monitoring how lower departmental authorities assumed their newly devolved powers. Such Anglophone states introduced other neo-liberal education reforms which promoted market-based efficiency and productivity and continued to rely on a tight control over its civil servants by evaluating their performance. This new evaluative state, as Neave (1998) calls it, was a neo-liberal strategy designed to cut down on the power of unions and improve its civil

servants' performance and productivity through new controls, not so much of processes by which their goals or targets are achieved but rather of measurable outputs.

The 'new accountability' (Fuhrman, 1993; Carnoy, Elmore & Siskin, 2003), presented as a form of public school accountability, consisted of school managers and teachers being subjected to service-level management agreements with pre-specified performance indicators. Teachers no longer accounted for their professional knowledge, competences and commitment to learners' learning, but rather for certain agreed-upon performance targets, expressed in measurable indicators, such as levels of services delivered and/or learners' outcomes. Some US states used learners' results as the only performance criterion while others use their comprehensive management information systems to measure teachers' value add to learners' progress over the course of the year (Ladd, 1996). Other states link their performance-based accountability systems to a high stake system of sanctions and rewards, arguing that it was a relatively cost-efficient solution to motivate teachers (Ladd, 1996). The UK Department of Education and Science also formalized the relationship between teacher performance, responsibilities and pay in appraising teacher performance (DES, 1985, cited in Bartlett, 2000, p. 26).

The literature points to many problems with performance-based accountability. The first set of problems derives from borrowing performance measures from the private sector which, according to Schacter (2001), has different dynamics and purposes than the public sector. Education is a public good with specific processes and outcomes which are very different from private goods and commodities (Ball, 2001). By focusing only on learning outcomes, teacher performance is assessed in a reductionist manner as the importance of other outcomes produced are underplayed, such as values, beliefs, learning competences and attitudes and preparation of effective educated citizens (Schacter, 2001; Bottery, 2000). As Husbands (cited in Ranson, 2003, p. 466) argues:

> In the short term, it is almost certain that the sharper focus and defined targets brought by performance management systems will deliver higher levels of attainment in external tests

> and examinations . . . It is less clear that (these systems) will in the medium term produce a 'nation equipped for the challenges and opportunities of a new millennium'.

Another difference with the private sector is that teaching cannot easily be assessed with tangible quantifiable criteria and will be contested because teaching is as much about outcomes as about the process by which different knowledge, skills, behaviours, values and relationships are transmitted and developed in learners (Darling-Hammond, Hightower, Husbands, LaFors, Young & Christopher, 2003).

Being concerned about learners' results and teacher performance implies that teachers are a main influence on learners' results, even though there is an interaction between many internal and external factors to the school such as home, media, community background as well as other school factors such as peers, school working conditions, departmental policies, school management, etc., which are beyond teachers' control and yet greatly influence learners' learning (Paton, 2003).

Learners' results can also be questioned as valid or reliable measures of what learners have been taught and learned (Fuhrman, 2004, p. 9). Many assessment criteria or practices are not valid, especially when teachers lack professional competences to align their assessment with their teaching content, pedagogy and activities. Other teachers manipulate the performance-based system by teaching to the test, something which could be managed, according to Elmore (2004, p. 291) with better tests assessing a wider variety of high order skills, such as problem-solving and independent thinking, which will make it impossible for teachers to teach to the test.

A second set of problems derives from the different purposes or interests served by performance-based schemes. According to Schacter (2001), performance-based schemes are less motivated by educational reasons than by concerns to enhance the political and public support towards the education system. Parents in the UK had lost trust towards the schooling system and its uneven standards (Bartlett, 2000). By presenting performance-based schemes as public accountability, education

departments hoped to reassure parents and the public by arguing that the public had a right to make schools account for their learners' results (Elmore, 2004, p. 279). But such department-initiated performance accountability was hardly a product of public democratic participation and judgment. No agreement between various interest groups was attempted by education departments which continued to marginalize public voices while re-establishing its control over the profession (Ranson, 2003). Instead, Ball (2001) and Perryman (2006) argue that performance-based accountability introduces a regime of performativity[2] in education which represents a shift in power relations from the professionals towards departments reasserting their authority over school and teachers.

A third set of problems concerns their implementation in schools. Performance-accountability is sold as an assurance that teacher quality will improve as teachers could not afford to ignore this new system's high stakes. However, many research studies reported unintended consequences and perverse pedagogical effects on schools and teachers. Some researchers (Nolen, Haladyna and Haas, 1992; Ball, 2001; Fitzgerald, 2001; Elmore, 2004) record such schemes as threatening the pedagogical core of teaching, with teachers manipulating or teaching to the test and/or constructing their practices in compliance with the accountability process and criteria. Taylor Webb (2005, p.201) reports that teachers take less risks with respect to new practices or evaluating their work collectively while Ball (2001) and Perryman (2006) mentioned a negative impact on school culture and school organization. Far from incentivizing teachers, performance-based schemes undermined teacher morale, motivation and interest in teaching because they felt undermined in their agency (Perryman, 2006; Bartlett, 2000).

Hargreaves (2003), however, argues that globally-inspired performance-based accountability has a double edge which reflects the contradictory tendencies of the post

[2] Performativity is a term coined in 1984 by Lyotard as a characteristic of post modern societies. Jeffrey (2002) defines it today as a discourse which relies on teachers and schools instituting self-disciplinary measures to satisfy new forms of public accountability.

modern knowledge society. By producing information and data systems, performance-based accountability systems can control teachers but can also be used by schools to learn and grow when comparing their practices and performance within networked relationships. These information systems about teacher performance can provide a platform for constructive deliberations and create space and opportunities for teachers to dialogue and develop creative innovative practices and standards. Such professional learning communities can strengthen collective agency and expand the social and intellectual capital of schools. Such benefits will only be achieved if teachers and their organizations devote time, resources and motivation to participate in learning communities to analyze the impact of their practices through evidence-based inquiry. Osborn et al. (2000, cited in Barrett, 2005) argue that teachers who continue to work collaboratively could absorb or accommodate this performativity reform without sacrificing their personal moral responsibility and professional identity.

On the whole, performance-based accountability, a manifestation of the department managerialist agenda, did not yield great improvements in school performance because it was based on a problematic theory of change. Top down structural reforms rarely have an impact on teachers' practices because they cannot change or impact on teachers' knowledge, attitudes and beliefs, which, according to Cohen (1995, p. 13) are a *sine qua non* condition for any change process. Abelmann and Elmore (1999, p. 43) emphasize that departmental accountability has to work with teachers' existing beliefs and attitudes about accountability. In contrast, Barrett (2005, p. 5) mentioned that Tanzanian teachers feel morally accountable to learners and to the community because they share a moral responsibility with the community towards the youth.

2.2.5 Professional accountability and learners' results

Performance-based accountability drew attention to learners' results as an important aspect of teacher accountability. Scholars (Darling-Hammond, 1989; Katz, et al., 2005)

argue that professional accountability needs to be more comprehensive and incorporate learners' results because professional teachers ought to be concerned about these. Darling-Hammond recommends that teachers undertake a data-based enquiry into learners' progress and develop new teaching strategies with a better impact on learners' learning. Katz, et al. (2005) argue that collaborative teacher inquiry, focusing on learners' learning by making teachers reflect on what changes in teaching practices, will impact most. Sinnema (2005) argues that school accountability should be dynamic and assess how changes introduced in teacher practices have produced any improved learning, as evidenced by increased learners' results. Professional accountability therefore encourages teachers to use learners' results as diagnostic tools to identify the strengths and weaknesses of their teaching and assessment activities with the view to learning what and how to improve.

2.2.6 Different models of teacher accountability

Although these accountability models are presented as if they belong to different periods, in reality, various forms of accountabilities co-exist or are intentionally combined to offset each other's weaknesses. The 'one-size-fits-all' teacher accountability approach is not appropriate, partly because of the heterogeneity of the teaching population but also because of the limited impact of any one form of accountability. This is why Gutman (1987) argues for a combination of professional and public accountability in US schools, and O'Day (2004) for professional and bureaucratic accountability. The challenge is to ensure that accountabilities do not contradict one another and are not misaligned with the nature of teachers' work.

Others argue that it is not only teachers who are subject to accountability, as the education of the new generation is a shared responsibility. Elmore (2004) talks about reciprocal accountability between teachers and education departments, while Barrett (2005) mentions teachers, parents and education managers being bound together "in

relationships of mutual accountability and support". Leadership (whether at departmental or school level) is therefore crucial in managing these conflicts and in ensuring these accountabilities complement one another.

Based on this review, one can compare and contrast these accountabilities in terms of different salient features:

TABLE 2: Different forms of teacher accountability

	Bureaucratic Acc	**Professional Acc**	**Public Acc**	**Managerialist**
Focus/ content	Compliance with process rules and regulations Teacher technical competences	Professional competences, practices and standards, using learner tests to improve. At times, collaborative team competences	Quality, as measured by school results	Teacher outcome performance or learners' results
Who decides and what for?	Dept. to control system and school quality	Negotiated by peers, to improve teacher quality through their mobilisation. At times promote teacher cooperation collective learning for school improvement.	Market and dept. to improve school quality and competitiveness	Depts. to regulate from a distance and improve schools/teachers' productivity with rewards/sanctions.
Whose concerns?	System rather than schools and teachers' needs	Schools/teachers' needs.	System and clients' needs	System/clients' needs, not schools/ teachers' needs.

Nature of Evaluators	Line managers: inspectors/school managers looking for problems. Not balanced as acting for system. Need eval. expertise and accountability	School line managers & peers with varying quality depending on teacher professionalism Acting to raise professional standards but need eval. expertise and accountability.	No evaluators transparency of results for all	Line managers: inspectors/school managers. Acting for system & market Need eval. expertise and accountability
Evaluation instrument	Standardized a-contextual. Narrow rigid indicators to diagnose problem	Context-specific evolving schedule/indicators, allowing for flexible application.	Non-negotiable league tables/ comparative tests	Test results on state prescribed standards. Narrow indicators
Evaluation assumptions	Teaching as technical/standardized knowledge transmission	Teaching as indivi-dualized craft activity Teaching as professional judgement	Teaching as internal professional matter.	Teaching as professional judgement but to achieve prescribed state outcomes.
	Untrustworthy teachers need control before development	Teachers need school/ peer pressure to improve and grow	Competition produces best in school/ teachers.	Professional performance need state pressure
Evaluation impact	Compliant standardized delivery but some	Some professional growth and teacher collaborative learning	Managerial manipulation of results. Not	Managerial or teacher result manipulation

	teacher resistance and manipulation. Little changes in practices.	for creative improvements but possible abuse by arrogant professionals.	pushing understanding of what/how to improve.	Teacher resistance as not assisted to make substantive changes.
Assessment of evaluation	About system control. No negotiation. No contextualisation	About school/teacher pressure/improvement Contextualisation and negotiation	About client and system needs. No negotiation or contextualisation	About system control. Little negotiation. No contextualisation

2.3 Teacher Appraisal Systems: Forms, Complexities and Tensions

Teacher appraisal assesses the knowledge, skills and attitudes of teachers to enhance teaching and learning as well as teacher performance. It consists of qualitative judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of teacher performance and provides evidence to meet individual teacher developmental needs or career/salary progression plans (Cardno, 1994, p. 64). Appraisal can only be understood as socially and politically constructed and appraisal systems should therefore be assessed contextually. However, the purpose of this section is to extract the most contentious and contradictory issues from various appraisal systems, as highlighted in the literature, to assist with the conceptual framework needed for appraisal research.

2.3.1 Appraisal origin and purposes

A form of teacher appraisal is embedded in inspection systems, which are expected to pass professional judgments about teachers' practices and performance but also to guide teachers' support and guidance as to what and how to improve. However, as inspection systems became formalized and standardized, they increasingly focused on

quality control and not development (Fitzgerald, 2001). By the early 1990s, systemic formal teacher appraisal schemes emerged in some Anglophone countries, partly because of the poor records of teacher inspection but also to impress teachers of the need to continue learning and improving their performance as a life-long process, especially as schools had to adapt to the new global socio-economic conditions and rapidly changing educational technology and research findings (Stoll & Fink, 1996).

Two processes are involved in teacher appraisal: a development process and an accountability process (Hickcox, Lawton, Leithwood & Musella, 1988). The development process, or appraisal for development, is known as formative appraisal which consists of teachers identifying, by themselves, with colleagues and/or external supervisors, their strengths and weaknesses. Teachers are provided with feedback on their performance and priority development needs, leading to a goal-directed personal and professional development plan. The accountability process, or appraisal for performance, is known as summative appraisal of teacher performance which provides teacher information to assist managers in deciding about teacher compensation as well as job confirmation, promotion, dismissal or future career plans (Monyatsi, Steyn & Kamper, 2006).

In most education systems, teacher accountability and development were initially split between different authorities. Inspection units were responsible for monitoring schools and teachers and made some recommendations about what needed to be done for school development or improvement. Other departmental units (often located at lower local authority level) were in charge of organising and delivering professional development interventions and activities. However, many of these local authorities worked in a silo effect without much liaison with the inspectorates. They organised their own development activities aimed at various aspects of school/ teacher performance but without taking their cue from inspectors' school reports and recommendations (Hopkins, West & Skinner, 1995; Fitzgerald, 2001). This separation of inspection and development units started in what Hargreaves (2002) calls the pre-

professional age, when teachers were treated as workers subjected to standardized bureaucratic rules and regulations with not much development needs.

As schools and teachers' work entered the professional age, the separation of accountability and development functions became increasingly inadequate and counter-productive, according to Middlewood and Cardno (2001). Schools and teachers became frustrated and confused by departmental parallel but not aligned activities as these did not cohere or work towards the same goals. Middlewood and Cardno (2001) argue that teacher development dominated over teacher accountability in the 1980s, only to be inversed in the 1990s with the professional development model being replaced by an assessment for performance-related pay. Neither of these systems was very successful.

This is when some education systems combined teacher accountability and development in one and the same system to improve the links between the two. This new system of appraisal also corresponded to research findings of the emerging change knowledge literature (Fullan, 1992, 2003) which pointed that the most effective way of changing institutions and people is through a combination of pressure and support. Barber and Philips (2000, p. 278) motivated for the fusion of accountability and development in one system but warn of the difficulty in finding the appropriate balance between the two. Different scenarios of this combination will have different impact, as shown in the Table below.

TABLE 3: Different combinations of pressure and support

		Pressure (or accountability)	
		LOW	**HIGH (with stakes)**
Support (or development)	**LOW**	Slow, complacency	Conflict Demoralization

Support (or devt)	**HIGH**	Stagnation underperformance	Rapid progress High Performance

Barber and Phillips (2000) argue that the combination of high pressure and high quality support has the best potential in changing and improving school or teacher performance, something confirmed by various research studies on teacher appraisal systems or teacher support with accountability interventions (Alvarado & Fink, 1998). Fitzgerald's (2001) study in New Zealand and Bartlett's (2000) UK study confirm that the success of teacher appraisals hinges on the appropriate balance between accountability and development. The formative developmental appraisal is better accepted by teachers than the summative accountability appraisal because the latter is often seen and experienced as judgmental and control-oriented (Timperley, 1998).

2.3.2 Complexities and conflicts in teacher appraisals

Because of the sensitivities involved in teacher appraisals but also because appraisal are socially constructed, their features or attributes present serious tensions and challenges which will differ in their intensity and scope according to the country's set up. Tensions in a system refer to problems of consistency or alignment, or when parts of a system change, leaving a disequilibrium or contradiction with other parts of the system, which can only be resolved through some adaptive change of the other parts. For example, a tension or contradiction in appraisal refers to the system putting together a different form of development or accountability which do not talk to, or are not aligned with, one another.

Forms of Appraisal

Different forms of appraisals include self-appraisals, peer appraisals, appraisals by HoDs or principals, and/or by external department officials. In education systems where

schools do not have the professional competences and commitment to undertake genuinely their own school-based appraisal, education departments are more likely to have external appraisers, who supplement and verify school-based appraisals. Internal and external teacher appraisal schemes do co-exist and are usually conducted sequentially, with the former being verified by the latter. Another possibility, according to Grubb (2000, p. 19) is to combine internal and external appraisers in the same appraisal team. However, as Newman et al. (1997) argue, an external accountability or appraisal system has to aim at building school organisational and professional capacities so that accountability can eventually be internalized and owned by schools. This explains why some education departments combined an external and internal system while others frame from the centre a school-based teacher appraisal scheme. For example, in the 1990s, the New Zealand education department mandated schools to draw their own appraisal systems and staff development plans. However, it formulated guidelines on the nature and frequency of these school-based appraisals as well as specified their broad performance areas and indicators (Fitzgerald, 2001).

Some teacher appraisals have high stakes attached to them, with substantial performance-related pay. Because of the poor impact of teacher appraisal systems on the improvement of teachers' performance (as measured by learners' results), education departments in the UK and New Zealand borrowed the American high stakes dimension (Middlewood and Cardno, 2001, Fitzgerald, 2001). This sanction and reward system introduces different dynamics in teacher appraisal schemes and makes teachers suspicious of the department's motives, wondering if high stakes appraisal systems are less about incentivizing teachers than pressurizing or even weeding some out.

Appraisal purposes and instrument

Teacher appraisals have many different purposes, partly because they have to take account of and answer various agendas and needs — those of the schooling system, the organization and individual teachers (Timperley, 1998). Education departments are

usually interested in reviewing and auditing the strengths and weaknesses of the school system to understand how to improve it. Schools are more concerned about improving their performance by setting and accounting for their development goals or targets, while individual teachers may be committed to improving and accounting for their professional performance. Because these three levels (the system, school and individual) have different appraisal expectations, it is likely that conflicts will emerge over whose needs and interests an appraisal system serves most. The main tension, however, is that between accountability and development (Hickox et al, 1998; Bartlett, 2000). If teachers experience appraisals as controlling and punitive rather than developmental, and if there are high rewards associated to them, they are likely to manipulate the system to protect their interests and focus on the performance areas in which, they know, they will fare better to secure high rewards.

Appraisals often rely on a common standardized instrument which goes against the notion of teaching being contextual and teachers having to exercise professional autonomy and judgement to adapt the curriculum and their teaching practices to their specific learning and school environment. Given the growing diversity and heterogeneity of schools and their learner population, teachers of poorly resourced schools are likely to feel disadvantaged, compared to those in rich schools.

Appraisal content and criteria

Appraisal criteria and performance targets should be clear and effectively understood by teachers as appraisal of teachers' practices and performance can differ (Kelly et al., 2008). It can focus on a mix of inputs, work processes and outcomes, such as teacher pedagogical content knowledge, added value to learners' learning or contribution to school development (Darling-Hammond et al., 2003). Such selection is not obvious and brings certain pointed messages to teachers because effective teaching is a multi-dimensional task which changes according to context and is made up of many tangible and intangible aspects. Appraisal systems, which focus on teaching practices and

teacher performance, tend to assume that teachers are 'autonomous professionals'. Those which appraise teachers for their practices and performance but also for their relationship with colleagues and contribution to school development, assume that teachers are 'collegial professionals' who identify with the school and are committed to improve school performance (Everard & Morris, 1996; Glover & Law, 1996). Recently, some appraisals focused predominantly on teacher outcomes, measured by learners' results, causing great anxieties and resentment among teachers who feel that many other factors beyond their control influence learners' results.

Teachers are more likely to respond positively to appraisals that are fair, not too subjective, which evaluate teachers on criteria related to instructional quality and reflecting actual performance (Kelly, et al., 2008). But teacher evaluation (or appraisal) can also reflect the department's conception of effective teaching, leading to conflicts and contestations from those who did not participate in the appraisal development process and content. Researchers have shown that greater teacher involvement in the development of appraisal schedules makes these exercises more constructive, legitimate and assumed by teachers as part of professional development (Cawley et al., 1998). Appraisals which are legitimate and credible with most stakeholders, in particular with teachers and their unions, are the ones over which some consensus or agreements have been reached over the meaning of effective teaching.

Appraiser quality

Teacher appraisals differ in the quality of their appraisers and their level of evaluation knowledge, expertise and competences (including ethical); something which comes more easily to external appraisers who can be trained as full-time professional appraisers. If internal appraisers have the advantage of understanding the school dynamics and context, they need to be properly trained to acquire such knowledge and competences. According to Chow et al. (2002), the relationship between teachers and appraisers and the credibility of appraisers are critical to effective appraisal and depend

on the professionalism and integrity of their work as well as their trustworthiness (Mo, Conners & McCormick, 1998).

In some systems, there is a problem when appraisers act as referees, assessing and supervising teacher performance, and players, supporting or providing access to support opportunities for teachers. This double role was partly a response to the need to ensure that teacher accountability and teacher support work in the same direction and are rooted in teachers' realities and challenges. However, it then leads to appraiser-appraisee collusion and subjectivity as they could both work in a way that protects their interests and does not undermine their relationship (DoE, 2009a).

Appraisal balance and alignment

Conflicts can also emerge when forms of teacher accountability and development are not balanced or aligned to one another and to the realities of teachers. Reviewing the literature on different coupling scenarios in appraisals, I identify three different issues which can lead to problems and conflicts:

a) The coupling of teacher accountability and development is balanced or biased. If it leans towards effective development with weaker accountability, there is no obligation from teachers to implement what they have learnt and translate these into improved learners' learning; this leads to stagnation or under-performance (Barber & Phillips, 2000). If it leans towards accountability with a lack of systemic capacity for on-going quality professional support, teachers will become demoralized and ineffective. It is rare to find a balance as systems usually tend to lean towards one or the other. Systems with centralized quality assurance system do often lack the matching capacity or resources to ensure continuous systemic professional support, especially with their poorly performing schools.

b) The coupling is loose or tight. A loose coupling refers to the availability of different forms of teacher accountability and development but without capacity to plan, coordinate and strategize for their alignment at school level. This leads to confusion, duplication, and demoralization. A tight coupling refers to a situation where different forms of teacher accountability and development are available but where leadership (at departmental and/or school level) ensure that these are aligned to one another as well as to the nature of teachers' work. This has more potential to lead to teacher improvements.

c) The coupling of teacher accountability and development addresses realistically or ambitiously the gap between teachers' realities and their growth challenges. A practical coupling refers to forms of teacher accountability and development which rely on quality experts (inside and outside of schools) who ensure on-going monitoring and supporting of teachers so that they can gradually improve their teaching and become reflective professional teachers. The ambitious coupling consists of using teacher accountability and development forms which assume that teachers can work as autonomous/ collegial professionals, committed to account to another to grow through professional learning communities. However, it also assumes that teachers are professionals. The problem is that, with a wide gap between existing teachers' skills and what needs to be achieved, there is a high risk of failure (Dembele, 2003, p.173) which will demoralize and overstretch teachers.

2.3.3 Appraisal tensions and leadership strategies

Thus, it is clear that there are tensions in all appraisal systems. The challenge is to manage these and minimize their negative impact on schools and teachers and this is where leadership (at departmental and school level) comes in. Middlewood and Cardno (2001) argue that leadership has to navigate and strategize around these tensions by first identifying the sources of appraisal tensions, their content and how they manifest

themselves in the school structure, culture and micro-politics. It also needs a vision around school and teacher improvement so as to exploit the space and opportunities created by these tensions in the name of their vision for the common education good.

Having reflected on appraisal studies by various scholars (Scriven, 1989; Darling-Hammond, 1989; Cardno, 1994; Hopkins et al., 1995; Cardno & Piggot Privine, 1997; Middlewood & Cardno, 2001; Fuhrman and Elmore, 2004; Kelly et al. 2008) concerning the complexities of appraisals, what follows is my understanding of the five main appraisal tensions (already mentioned in a previous section) which leadership needs to manage effectively. Some appraisal tensions or ambiguities are more difficult to manage and mediate than others, depending on their nature and scope. There are technical appraisal tensions in ambiguous appraisal mechanisms, procedures and discrepancies between what is proposed/assumed and what exists. Educational tensions also emerge when problematic assumptions are made about the nature of teachers' work, their development and accountability priorities. Political tensions come from appraisals being products of negotiated compromises between various groups.

Managing tensions from appraisal purposes

Appraisals combine appraisal for performance management and for development and the leadership needs to ensure balance between the two so that the one does not dominate the other. Bartlett (2000) and Walker and Dimmock (2000) argue against the developmental and evaluative functions of appraisal being combined in a single system, because these should be managed by separate units which rely on different appraisers and instruments and working closely together. Cardno and Piggot Privine (1997) disagree, as their combination has a greater impact on teachers but the tensions in combining the two have to be managed so they can enrich one another.

Thus, it should be possible to accommodate different appraisal purposes and agendas in one system. For example, the department and school management may be interested in

pushing learners' results while teachers may be more interested in using appraisals to improve their practices. Yet, appraisal can be presented as a professional requirement from teachers who are autonomous but owe accountability to the public in return for the trust the latter has in them (Cardno, 1994). Another example of conflicting agendas is that schools may want to use teacher appraisals to encourage collaborative work while teachers may perceive team work as a threat to their individual professional autonomy, preferring to pursue their own individual needs. Yet, teachers' professionalism and career paths are not necessarily incompatible with their contribution to school development. Professionals can be asked to contribute to, and be rewarded for, their performance and contribution to school development; they can also be developed and in the process contribute to the school's development (Cardno, 1994).

Teachers can be suspicious that appraisal is introduced predominantly to satisfy schools' or education departments' expectations but it could also assist teachers with their own development needs. Abelmann and Elmore (1999, p. 2) point out that, because teachers construct their own views and beliefs about accountability, a system-wide appraisal can engage with, and build on, teachers' conceptions of appraisal while improving these. To change teachers' views, the leadership of the various stakeholders will have to engage with teachers' attitudes and beliefs and impress them on the need to improve performance. It will have to ensure a conducive climate and vision about constructive appraisal for all through some form of participatory process (Cardno, 1994).

Thus, appraisals are not ends in themselves but means for dialogue and engagement among departments, schools and teachers on how to learn and improve. The leadership of stakeholders has to ensure some reciprocal accountability exists between these stakeholders (Elmore & Burney, 2001) so that teachers account for how they improve their practices and performance, and education departments account for the quality of their support and development opportunities provided to teachers.

Managing tensions from appraisal content

Contestations around what needs to be appraised and with what criteria will always be there but, according to Darling-Hammond (1989, p. 290), these could be lessened if a common vision and goals of what learners need to achieve exists. In developing this vision, school stakeholders should discuss the different and legitimate definitions of effective teaching. This could then be translated into what teachers are expected to do and what appropriate evaluation criteria are needed. The role of leadership is to translate this common vision into effective strategies that are implemented and monitored effectively. Marshall (2005, p. 732) argues that, whatever the teaching focus is, teacher supervision (or appraisal) should focus on teacher teams or curriculum units to avoid personal defensiveness and encourage team work. However, appraisal of teams can be difficult and controversial if there is no collegial school climate.

Another tension revolves around the use of learners' results in appraising teachers. A possible strategy is to design and use reliable and valid tests which assess the value added by teachers to learners' competences and knowledge (Fuhrman & Elmore, 2004). Learners' results can also be used as diagnostic tools to provide useful feedback on what teachers and learners struggle with and what needs to be changed.

Managing tensions from appraisal instrument

The use of a common standardized 'one-size-fits-all' instrument for performance and development appraisal, with pre-specified performance criteria for comparative purposes, is problematic, as they cannot take account of teachers' specific contexts and circumstances. What is required is a balance or co-existence of a nationally-needed standardized appraisal instrument and a school-specific negotiated appraisal. For the latter, some accommodation is needed to contextualize appraisals and root them in the environmental challenges of a particular school and its staff. A possible solution is to have a schedule with different performance areas from which schools could choose to

reflect different teaching contexts and challenges. Another possibility is for the schedule to record school conditions and inputs against which teaching and learners' performance are assessed.

Managing tensions around appraisers

Tensions can exist with appraisers. If appraisers act simultaneously as players and referees, the leadership could set up a system of formal reciprocal accountability which would ensure that appraisers ensure that developmental and accountability components work effectively together in the same direction and aligned to one another at school level. Marshall (2005) mentions the case of effective UK school heads, who act both as teacher supervisors and developers because they work hard to win legitimacy from teachers and who have authentic conversations and regular constructive feedback, thereby promoting a genuine process of teacher accountability for improvement. Another way of lessening the tension between internal and external appraisers and their different school reports is to make them work in one and the same team, according to Grubb (2000), because they have different expertise and comparative advantages. Wilcox (2000, p. 50) also argues that appraisers should be subjected themselves to some form of evaluation or auditing.

Managing tensions from appraisal balance

A final set of tensions derives from the poor balance or alignment between teacher development and accountability, which often depends on the system capacity, human and financial resources and management systems. If capacity, resources and funds do not exist, departmental and/or school leadership need to find assistance from outside of the system. Putnam's (2001) notion of 'social and intellectual capital' is an interesting notion to understand ways in which to supplement and enhance the capacity and resources needed for an effective appraisal system. It also depends on whether the leadership can ensure that teacher development and accountability at school level are aligned with one another and reflect the status of teachers' work.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown from a review of appraisal literature the contentious and contradictory issues around appraisal systems. It argues that appraisal tensions derive from ambitious attempts at combining teacher development and accountability as well as from compromises achieved between different purposes and interest groups. It argues that a conceptualisation of appraisal as socially constructed assists in identifying educational and socio-political conflicts and opportunities and in assessing how these need managing. It illustrates concretely how stakeholders and their leadership can strategize politically and educationally on how to navigate the space created by appraisal tensions to meet, not only different stakeholders' goals, but also to minimize their conflicts of interests for the good of the education system.

Before developing the conceptual framework from this review of literature on teacher development, accountability and appraisal, a review of policy analysis approaches is required, something which the next chapter will do.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYZING POLICY AND CHANGE: INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter examines the debate around policy, policy analysis and change in order to find the best explanatory approach to analyse policy and policy processes. It reviews the epistemological and theoretical debates about policy, policy process and change and shows how these influence and correspond with different approaches of policy analysis. The insights derived from this review provide further insights for the theoretical framework of this study which will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

It argues that a political analytical approach allows for better understanding of the contradictory and conflicting dimensions of policy development and implementation between and across different levels over time. However, it argues that the most comprehensive and dynamic explanation of policy processes and their evolution over time is provided by an eclectic approach which combines aspects of different analytical approaches. This is because policymaking and policy processes are messy, contradictory and often the temporary awkward outcomes of fragile consensuses that are constantly being re-negotiated or mediated through the various policy processes. As conditions and interests change, stakeholders reposition themselves and change their strategies, forcing some shifts in policy processes.

3.1 Conceptualisations of the Policy Process, Change and Analyses

Different conceptualizations of public policies exist which define policy and the policy process slightly differently. The three broad different conceptualizations of policy are: the liberal pluralist, interpretive and political perspectives (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard & Henry, 1997, p. 37).

3.1.1 The policy and policy process

The *liberal pluralist* approach conceives of policy as a statement of intent and goals, or as a "plan of action", "a goal-directed course of action to resolve a problem" (Harman, 1984, p. 13). It is a statement of what is going to be done and why it is done (reflecting the norms and values of policy). According to this approach, policy is the product of rational thinking and choices by a state which is a neutral arbitrator between different interest groups. Hence, policymaking is about decision, actions and allocation of resources between different sectors and groups to achieve the best possible goal for society as a whole (Ham & Hill, 1993, p. 5).

State bureaucrats ask experts to investigate rationally a specific problem, its causes and possible solutions. Different policy options, with their financial, social and human capacity implications, are then weighed for their advantages and disadvantages and the option offering the best solution is chosen (Grindle & Thomas, 1991). Sabatier (1986) stresses that policies have more chance of being effective with clear objectives, coherence, effective costing and suitability to the context and needs of society.

This perspective argues that, once adopted, the policy is translated into implementation strategies through an administrative process. Implementers are expected to execute loyally the policy directives, which require technical, administrative or managerial know-how. The monitoring and evaluation of policy is then done to identify the causes of unintended policy outcomes and assess how the policy or its implementation can be adjusted for another cycle of policy development (Harman, 1984). If policies do not achieve their intentions, blame is laid less often on the policy itself but on managerial failure, poor implementation capacity or lack of resources.

Thus, this perspective conceives of policy as a rational, linear process, subjected to the hierarchical relationship between policymaking and policy implementation. The policy

cycle is made up of a series of sequential steps: the formulation of the policy, its costing, planning and implementation, its monitoring, evaluation and adjustment (Sutton, 1999).

With the growing concern in the 1970s about the lack of effectiveness of public policy on the ground, attempts were made to re-think policy content and implementation. New policies were developed with tighter implementation strategies but not necessarily with more certainty at having their intentions translated into practices.

Taylor et al. (1997, p.25) challenge the *liberal pluralist* approach for its problematic epistemological assumptions and views on the nature of the policy process, arguing that policymaking is not a rational process. Barrett (2004, p. 20) criticizes it for underplaying the different meanings and rationales which the problem, the policy and its implementation have for the various interest groups affected.

A second approach is the *interpretive* approach, which disputes the *liberal pluralist* assumption of policy as a rational process which understands and resolves problems (Brynard, 2007). Instead, it understands the social world as the product of human interpretation and knowledge, as acquired through subjective perceptions of various people trying to make sense of the world. Guba and Lincoln (1989) explain that the mind or consciousness filters perceptions about the world, and that prior knowledge plays an important role in sense-making. Individuals experience and give different meanings to social phenomena because of the way they interact with, and make sense of reality.

Like the *liberal pluralist* approach, the *interpretive* approach is based on an understanding of dispersal of power between different social groups, with the state acting as an arbitrator. Social groups lobby government or policy experts and impress them of how they perceive the problem and their policy solutions. As a result, policy is influenced by, as well as influences, the views, perceptions and actions of various role-players (Spillane, Reiser & Reimer, 2002, p. 388). As Barrett (2004, p. 20) puts it:

> ..[policies reflect] the inter- and intra-organisational value and interest differences between actors and agencies as well as problems of differing perspectives and priorities [which] affect policy interpretations...

In this perspective, Fullan (2001) argues that policy implementation is a process of policy clarification and further policymaking. Policy is conceived as an interactive, constantly evolving process with implementation as a continuous learning process with various groups giving different meanings to it (Juma & Clarke, 1995, p. 125). What policymakers understand and intend with a policy is therfore different from what street level bureaucrats or targets of the policy understand (Spillane et al. 2002, p. 392). This is because implementers use their discretionary powers to give more specific meaning to policies, as well as mediate and adapt them to their context. As a result, there is a constant rethinking and reshaping of the policy process which is "a confusing swirl of policy events" (DAE, 1995, p. 6). McLaughlin (1987, p. 175) calls the policy process as "mutual adaptation" or negotiations between various local, national and international actors, keen to advance their competing interests.

Discrepancies between policy intentions and practices are therefore understood, not as the result of inadequate administrative and organisational controls, but rather as the inevitable product of negotiations. As McLaughlin (1990, p. 12) explains in her study:

> Contrary to the one-to-one relationship assumed to exist between policy and practice, the nature, amount and pace of change at school level is a product of local factors that are largely beyond the control of higher level policy-makers.

The *pluralist liberal* and the *interpretive* approach are criticized by Prunty (1984) and Ball (1993) for underplaying the uneven power relationship between various interest groups and for not presenting policy narratives as embedded in, but also often heavily influenced by, the socio-cultural and ideological views of dominant groups in society. For Prunty (1984), the uneven political influence of different social groups has to be taken into account, because society is conflict-ridden and run by powerful groups who are closer to, and more influential with, government.

The third *political* approach to policy conceives of policy as exercise of power and control, which reflects the values and interests of powerful social groups (Prunty, 1984, p. 3). Hjern (1982) explains that various social groups contest and influence policies which become outcomes of various social and political interactions and constructions. Ozga (1990) also contends that policies involve compromises between different actors, such as education bureaucrats, unions, teachers and students in various national and/or local contexts. As a result, policies are often ambiguous, unstable and, at times, with a contradictory content (Ball, 1993, p. 13). The *political* approach perceives the policy process as a policy-action dialectic which is messy, fluid and constantly evolving. The difference with the *interpretive* approach is its emphasis on unequal power relations and interactions between policymakers, implementers and other social groups. It refers to the "politics of policy-making" (Ball, 2001) or policy as temporary settlement because it contains "crises and other settlements in waiting" (Gale, 2001, p. 386).

Within the *political* approach, there are differences in the way power relationships and the exercise of power is conceptualised in terms of advancing the interests of dominant social groups in the policy process. One strand privileges the role of power as knowledge, which it argues is predominantly exercised through discourse. Its main protagonist, Foucault (1977), contends that discourses are social practices that form and frame the meanings of objects. According to this approach, policy is a discourse which sets the terrain and frame a form of politics in terms of what can and cannot be said, thought and reacted to (Ball, 1993, p. 13). Gasper and Apthorpe (1996, p. 6) explain that the discourse presents the policy solution as what 'inescapably ought to be done', what 'stands to reason', even though, in reality, there are many different solutions to a policy problem. The political nature of a problem and its policy solution is underplayed by a scientific neutral language aimed at winning public support through high moral posture.

Thus, in this perspective, the state policy discourse is presented as 'neutral' to create an apparent distance between policymakers and those affected by the policy, thereby

absolving policymakers from the responsibility of any problematic policy outcomes. In that sense, the discourse shapes identities and contexts, predisposing some groups and individuals to act in certain ways, while encouraging others to remain passive.

Bowe and Ball with Gold (1992, p. 13-15) argue that policy is both discourse and text. Policy is a discourse with possibilities and impossibilities and a text which creates circumstances in which different agents, however unequal in terms of their power and authority, contest, mediate or resist the policy. These actors give policy meanings through their different readings and decoding. Policy as text carries opportunities, contradictions and constraints because differential readings play off different meanings within the state and open up spaces for action and responses (Ball, 1993, p. 11).

The *political* approach to the policy process appears more sophisticated in following the contradictory ways in which policies develop, are managed and change over time because of the interaction of groups and actors with different interests and influences.

3.1.2 Different policy analyses

Policy analysis is also based on different theoretical perspectives and cannot claim neutrality and objectivity. Troyna (1994, p. 5-6) argues that policy research is influenced by the researcher's understanding of what policy and policymaking are about and therefore policy analysis depends on the analyst's values and position in relation to the power structures of society. I believe that the concept of power and in particular the unequal power structures and relationships among stakeholders are key analytical categories to analyze policies, their intentions, construction, implementation and implications for the various groups in society. Policy analyses, influenced by their understanding of policy and the policy process, differ in their analysis of policy and policy implementation.

The *liberal pluralist* approach argues about the rationality and effectiveness of policies. It relies on a normative conception of policy and policy implementation which separate neatly policymaking and administration; policy is developed and put into effect through rational prescriptions and in a top down manner by the state bureaucracy. This approach was popular in the 1960s when welfare governments needed assistance to determine the most technically efficient courses of action as well as predict the possible outcomes of particular policies (Grindle & Thomas, 1991; Ham & Hill, 1993). It is essentially an analysis FOR policy, an attempt to analyze policy for improvement and prediction. This is why it was favoured by policymakers and implementation agencies, which were concerned about the gap between policy intentions and policy practices.

These implementation policy studies ask 'neutral' and 'apolitical' questions such as:

- Are the policy aims clear and focused?
- Do policy planning and implementation reflect the policy aims and content?
- Are policy implementers clear on what needs to be done and do they have the systems, structures, resources and capacities needed?
- What are the policy outcomes so far and are they cost-efficient and effective?

This first generation of *liberal pluralist* implementation studies, led by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), examines the complexities and uncertainties of policymaking with the aim of bringing greater clarity, rigour and coherence in policy objectives, content and implementation. They use what Elmore (1979/80, p. 603) calls a forward mapping approach to implementation and trace the top down policy process with the view to identifying the main factors causing the gap between policy intentions and practices. The main findings of these studies on the implementation problems are as follows:

- Lack of clarity in policy objectives;
- Implementers' inadequate skills, competences and resources;
- Poor communication/coordination at implementation level given the multiplicity of actors; and

- Poor administrative control over implementers who use discretionary powers.

(Jones, 1992, p. 240).

Recommendations usually ranged from better communication and coordination between policymakers and those in the implementation chain; the need for policymakers to prescribe in greater detail the administrative and organizational steps and procedures needed for policy implementation and ensure that implementers are capacitated but also more accountable and compliant with the policy objectives and the steps specified (Sabatier, 1986).

The problem with this analytical approach is its influence by a positivist-informed policy science which sees scientific knowledge as objective and value-free. It researches policies (and the social world) through 'objective' scientific methods of enquiry on the grounds that human actions are seen as predictable and as external realities which can be measured (Barrett, 2004). Yet, questions asked tend to articulate a particular ideological position. It ignored socio-economic interests and the lived experiences and meanings that individuals or groups give to the policy.

However, this approach had a renewed popularity and influence in the late 1980s/early 1990s when issues of cost-efficiency and effectiveness became more dominant, especially in resource-strapped environments (Barrett, 2004, p. 23). With the fiscal austerity measures of the 1990s and the pressure to improve the productivity and efficiency of the public sector, the new public management discourse attempted to address the main factors identified by the liberal pluralist analytical approach to policy. Unclear policy objectives had to be avoided through contracts with performance targets and indicators. Lack of resources for policy implementation should be eased through privatization of services and public/private partnership and the use of discretionary powers by implementers was to be minimized with performance-based accountability.

But this created new implementation problems. Performance measurement is not ideal because quantifiable performance indicators ignore qualitative measures; the focus on outcomes or service delivery encourages manipulation of results and underplays vital organizational and micro-political processes which are associated with organizational performance. The use of an 'efficiency' discourse de-politicizes government functions to minimize policy implementation challenges but in the process ignores '... the experienced reality of inter- and intra-organizational politics in the policy-action relationship, …[and the] multiple negotiations between semi-autonomous agents with often-competing interests and divergent values' (Barrett, 2004, p. 25).

The second *interpretive* policy analysis approach is based on a conception of the policy process as complex, socially constructed, and not often coherent in its inner logic and rationality because it is socially experienced, interpreted, mediated or constructed. Yanow (2000) argues that the key is to understand the intended meanings of policies and how these meanings are communicated, interpreted and mediated by different groups or policy communities.

But how does one rely on a theory and practice of mediation, as the latter is rarely homogenous or rational but often ideological? One needs to understand what mediators do and ignore as they intervene, and use their knowledge and beliefs about what motivates people, what causes conflict, how people behave in conflict, and what people are capable of to resolve conflict (Bush & Folger, 1994). Spillane et al. (2002, p. 387) explains that mediation is the outcome of the interaction between implementers' policy knowledge, values and beliefs, as well as their situation and reading of the policy signals. This is why this generation of implementation studies, which focus on social understanding, interaction and mediation, explores what occurs and could occur in the policy process practices by examining the values, beliefs and 'sense-making' of implementing agents or policy communities as well as the ways in which these come to understand their practice, potentially changing their beliefs and attitudes.

Because policy formulation and policy implementation are part of the same policymaking process, Brynard (2007, p. 34) argues for an understanding of how participation of stakeholders and commitment of leadership at all levels of the system affect policy process and outcomes. Coming from this interpretive perspective, Elmore (1979/80, p. 605) encourages implementation studies to adopt a bottom up approach, which he calls the backward mapping approach, to analyze the difference between expected and actual behaviours and practices of policy targets.

Recommendations from this generation of implementation studies range from encouraging policymakers to negotiate with the main policy actors and gauging their likely responses (Gunn & Hogwood, 1984, p. 217) to improving communication and coordination at different levels of the policy process and providing better departmental support to policy agents to make sense of the policy (Spillane et al., 2002, p. 418). Elmore (1979/80) urges policymakers to explain the intended behaviours and practices expected from those targeted by the policy and recommends that implementers put in place processes and structures to support changes of behaviours and practices. The next level of governance will then align its work to supporting the street-level implementers, and the next organizational level up will support the one below in the hierarchy.

The third *political* approach to policy analysis, developed in opposition to the positivist and interpretive approaches, emphasizes that power, interests and influence underlie policies. It focuses its analysis on the interaction between uneven power structures, power relations and agencies as they impact on policy processes (Ball, 1993; Whitty, 2002). Taylor et al. (1997, p. 37) argue that this approach seeks to unravel policy assumptions and values, unmask the dominant ideologies, structures and social practices which function to reproduce the status quo, by comparing the interests, agendas and relative power of different policy actors. Thus, in examining power

relations and different social interests in and around policy processes, *political* analyses ask questions such as:

- What is the socio-economic context and power relations in society as well as around the policy issue and its development?
- How have various stakeholders' interests influenced the policy process? Whose aims and values does the policy reflect?
- How is the policy interpreted and mediated by different policy actors?
- Whose interests are advanced through the implementation of the policy?

This approach also understands the limits of education policies. Whitty (2002) argues that education and educational inequalities have to be contextualized in the broader socio-economic inequalities:

> Policies that tackle poverty and relate aspects of disadvantage at their roots are likely to be more successful than purely educational interventions in influencing overall patterns of educational inequality (Whitty, 2002, p. 124).

There are variants to the *political* analytical approach, with different conceptions of how to understand the state, how power is exercised and played. The first variant assumes that no knowledge of social reality can be comprehended beyond discourse and language. Thus, policy analysis should unmask the power of discourse by deconstructing existing representations or constructions of social reality. It studies the terms of the policy discourse, the formation of particular coalition discourses as well as the institutional practices in which the discourses are produced (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003, p. 103). Ball (1994) privileges the influence of discourse in framing policies, implying that the state is as constrained by not having control over economic and political relations. Hatcher and Troyna (1994) criticize Ball for underestimating the power of the state and the ways (such as ideological, coercive, etc.) in which the state exercises power over social groups. The power of the state is therfore not be conceived as isolated or separate from other social groups. As Taylor et al. (1997, p. 31) argue, the state is a site of contestations between different groups and therefore has different and contradictory

mandates. This allows an understanding of policies as both enabling and disabling (Fulcher, et al. 1989)

A second variant, the *empowering* approach to policy analysis recognizes unequal power relations and argues that intellectuals have to work with those silenced by dominant groups to counter the sophisticated ways in which state power is exercised. Thus, critical knowledge is about empowering and assisting marginalized groups in their struggle against the status quo for a world of greater freedom, social justice and democracy (Habermas, 1972). Policy analysis FOR a more just policy aims to deconstruct the policy discourse, expose the weak links of the policy process and open up possibilities for changing and re-constructing oppressive unequal situations. Participatory action research is one way of assisting the marginalized in deconstructing their conditions of domination (Lather, 1992, p. 91).

The third variant emphasizes analysis of the interaction between uneven power structures, power relations and policy agencies. To unravel what underlies policy processes and identify whose interests are promoted in the policy requires a historical contextualization. Bowe et al. (1992, p. 20) emphasize three different policy contexts: the broad context of influence, the context of policy production and the context of practice. Each context involves different groups with conflicting interests which should not be separated in the analysis because they interact with one another. Gale (2001) also stresses the need to study the historical and current context, negotiations (and their outcomes) by relevant stakeholders, as well as the meaning-making process and mediation agendas and strategies of different policy agencies.

Thus, it is clear that the political analysis approach, which is the one favoured in this study, has different variants with different conceptions of power in policy processes[3].

[3] Power is associated with the state and with various influential or powerful socio-economic interest groups. Power structures and relationships tend to shape the interaction between state, civil society and capital.

Debates on power have been dominated by political French sociologists, Bourdieu (1977) and Foucault (1977), who conceptualize state power respectively in terms of it pervading social relations and in terms of its embodiment in knowledge and language. However, this study will restrict its understanding of power to how it is exercised and played, whether through individual or social persuasion, influence, legitimacy, authority and/or coercion. It will rely on French's (2009, p. 27) SAQA analysis which distinguishes three forms of power: the exercise of power, the play of power and power-play. The exercise of power refers to various power structures—political, institutional (bureaucratic, legal, cultural/educational) and coercive (military, police)—which assert the hegemony of the powerful groups. The play of power refers to "how resources and energy are generated, stored, shaped and directed by a multitude of processes and [tangible or hidden] mechanisms for securing consent and even active participation with minimal use of the threat of violence" (French, 2009, p. 28). Finally, power-play works on class or group position, expertise, personal charisma, persuasion, financial influence, threat of violence or coercion.

Adapting French's (2009) power constructs to policy analysis, the exercise of power is understood as embedded in policy structures and discourses; the play of power as agencies contesting and engaging with policy texts to further their interests and the power-play as the enabling policy agency or leadership which gives meaning and mediates the policy within contested social domains. Many political analyses examine power structures and/or power relations between various interest groups at a particular moment in time (i.e., the exercise and play of power) but not acts of individual and social power agency or leadership ability. These can manifest at various stages of the process through negotiation or mediation strategies (the power-play).

Policy leadership refers to the ability for creative and adaptive thinking and action. Zhang and Feiock (2010) note inherent tensions between bureaucratic responsibility and compliance and explain that leaders are about the authority exercised usually at the

expense of administrative authority. According to Teodoro (2007, p. 1), policy leadership is about active entrepreneurial and vigorous policy-making action at various levels. Such leaders have resourcefulness and knowledge to drive innovation to attain standards of excellence and impact on others. Policy leadership is also the ability to strategize to secure buy-in and manage the policy for the better of the system. Heifetz's (1994) adaptive leadership is useful as, for him, leaders should understand changing intentions and ideas and know how to engage with people's attitudes and beliefs to make them agree on the principle and ideas behind the change for improved organizational performance. Thus, appraisal policy leadership refers to the capacity to read appraisal tensions, ambiguities and contestations and to identify the space and opportunities created to be pro-active and the development of mediation strategies for the good of the school system.

Table 4 shows a comparison of what I believe are main features of policy analyses.

Table 4: Distinguishing Features of Different Policy Analyses

	Positivist	**Interpretive**	**Critical Political**
Understanding of policy	Technical and rational. Static	Fluid, people-mediated and socially constructed	Exercise of power & control Changing/contested and contradictory
Aim of policy analysis	Explain, improve and predict	Interpret/Understand	Deconstruct and/or Emancipate
Main focus of policy analysis	Look at rigour and possible flaws in policy content and implementation process	Look at people's experiences, meanings and mediations of policy process	Unmask power relations and power dominations. Analyze contestations between different interests/agendas

Research methodology for analysis of appraisal	Rigour/Coherence of appraisal systems/instruments and how appraisers work. Validity of document and reliability of data collection	How policy actors interpret, mediate and implement appraisal. What shapes their appraisal mediation and construction? Interpretive methodology & perceptual data	Whose aim is behind and embedded in appraisal. Who benefits from the 'who, what and why' of appraisal. Where do appraisal tensions come from and how are there mediated? Document analysis and perceptual data

3.1.3 Policy change and the change management process

An important debate around policy reforms revolves around the change process or what Fullan (2001) calls policy underlying theory of action or change strategies[4]. Fullan, the education change and change management scholar who has contributed greatly to the field, explained the poor impact of a decade of system-wide policy reforms in US education. These reforms, according to him, were often introduced from the top down in the form of a standardized curriculum, high-stakes standardized testing, school restructuring and performance-based accountability measures (Weber, 2008, p. 8). Policymakers and implementers have also a problematic conception of the change process which contributes to the poor impact of reforms on organisations and their

[4] Fullan (2001) defines a theory of action or of change as a set of strategies which guide and lead the organization towards the operations and actions which will achieve behaviors and cultures that are consistent with the leaders' theory of education.

staff. It is therefore important to review the literature on change drivers as well as the 'what, why and how' of change to bring new lights on how to analyze policy changes.

The drivers and the 'what' of change

Change reforms come from outside or inside schools and scholars have debated the advantages and limitations of these two approaches to school reforms (Hopkins & Levine, 2000). State-driven school reforms and interventions became popular in the US in the late 1980s with the increased concern about uneven and declining school and teacher performance. Cohen and Ball (1999, p. 1) argue that external systemic interventions were supposed to ensure 'large and lasting change in instructional capacity' given the belief that more coherent instructional policy guidance were needed with new instructional frameworks, more ambitious curricula and new content and performance-based standards (Cohen, 1995, p. 11). Such reforms, known as 'outside-in' school reforms (Calhoun & Joyce, 1998, p. 1286), were influenced by a behaviourist perspective which assumes that organizations like schools need pressure to improve their performance (Hopkins & Levine, 2000).

But government-initiated reforms rarely affect directly teacher practices because policies are blunt instruments which are not sufficient to promote change in teachers' practices, beliefs and behaviours. Being critical of US state policies, Elmore (1995) argues that school reforms are often introduced to quell public's frustrations and buffer the core business of schools from being affected. Cohen (1995, p. 11) criticizes systemic policy changes for assuming that performance standards and indicators would make schools improve. Elmore (1995) also questions their underlying theory of change, which assumes that schools and teachers have the capacity to improve and only need pressure because they are lazy or self-interested. Sergiovanni (2000, p. 61) makes a similar point when arguing that ineffective reforms are those targeted at the system-world of schools, or at 'the management decisions and protocols, strategic and tactical actions, policies and procedures and accountability assurances'.

Thus, changes should aim at enhancing what Sergiovanni (2000, p. 61) calls the life-world of schools, or 'school leaders and their purpose, followers and their needs, and unique traditions, rituals, and norms that define a school's culture'. Such life-world changes need to be backed up by appropriate changes in the system-world, and not the other way round. Dalin with Ayano, Biazen, Jahan, Miles and Rojas (1994) also criticize structural reforms, contending that cultural and individual changes are needed to generate deeper and lasting changes. Cohen and Ball (1999, p. 2) argue that policies should target school variables which create 'adequate conditions for teachers to learn about or develop knowledge, skills and beliefs needed to enact these interventions successfully in the classrooms'. Elmore (1995) concurs that change should focus first on the core of teaching and learning and then that structural changes should support the cultural and individual value changes needed in schools.

Other 'inside-out' school reforms come from schools which drive their own changes (Calhoun & Joyce, 1998, p. 1286). Influenced by the humanist tradition, this approach to change argues that schools should own change reforms and feel in charge of their development strategies for change to be sustained (Dalin et al., 1994; Henneveld & Craig, 1996; Hopkins & Levine, 2000). Also, because school change and improvement is context-specific, schools are best equipped to identify their needs and devise their improvement strategies (with or without assistance of NGOs or other service providers). Cuban (1992) argues that changes from within are more likely to have a deeper and lasting impact than changes coming from the outside.

'Inside out' and 'outside in' school reforms can be combined and benefit from each other's advantages. Since 'outside-in' policy reforms go for scale but often have only an indirect impact on schools, they should learn from successful school-based interventions and strategies and their targeting of certain school processes, such as classroom teaching, acknowledgement of context, availability of different curriculum strategies from which schools could choose, and appropriate staff development (Hopkins & Levine,

2000). Cohen (1995, p. 15) argues that what impacts most positively on instruction and teachers' practice include: promotion of teachers' knowledge of their subjects and pedagogy, teachers' professional values and commitment and social resources of practice[5]. According to Cohen and Ball (1999), instruction (teaching and learning) is a triadic relationship between teachers, learners and educational material:

> The instructional capacity — the capacity to produce worthwhile and substantial learning — is a function of the interaction among these three elements, not the sole province of any single one — such as teachers' knowledge and skill, or curriculum (Cohen and Ball, 1999, p. 2).

This relational capacity of teachers and learners with their knowledge, competences, values and resources needs to be strengthened. Relying on a form of backward mapping approach, Cohen (1995, p. 15) recommends that effective education policies are those which impact on these instructional areas by activating or developing schools' internal capacity to improve teaching and learning.

Change reforms also use certain means which can be categorized as rational, coercive and/or normative. Often, change strategies use different combinations of pressure and support. Rational strategies assume that institutions or groups change when they are exposed to better ideas that appear useful to the institution or group; they do not envisage the need for pressure measures. Power coercive strategies are based on the use of rewards and sanctions to entice organizations/groups to change while normative strategies take for granted that change improves problem-solving capabilities when normative values are enhanced.

Thus, the success of change reforms relies on the impulse of change and how it is communicated and received. Another component of change strategies is the management of the change process.

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[5] Social resources for improved practices means families and communities supportive of the school as well as ensuring that learners are able to engage with schoolwork, and recognition by employers and tertiary institutions of the value of schoolwork and academic performance.

The 'why and how' of change: the change management process

Policies can be good or bad and yet many policy change scholars focus on the change process at the expense of the content or substance of the proposed change. Sergiovanni (2000, p. 58) warns policymakers and scholars of the danger of assuming that educational changes are always good. The issue is whether changes are justified pedagogically and/or educationally or desirable for all those involved.

Change management has to confront several issues. There is the issue of strategies to change teachers' and/or learners' beliefs, attitudes and practices (the HOW of change?). What changes first: practices, beliefs and/or attitudes? Johnston (2004) argues that broad change strategies are linked to two psychological and/or organisational theories or a combination of both and that they should be designed depending on the context and people targeted by the change. The cognitive approach emphasizes persuasive communication, talking individuals through change and producing dissonance with new information being presented convincingly (Johnston, 2004). Agents of change slowly realise the apparent contradiction between what has just been agreed upon and their existing practices. This will convince them to change their beliefs and then attitudes to reduce these contradictions. In line with this, Sergiovanni (2000) argues that schools and teachers need to believe in the adequacy and necessity for change, as most schools and teachers are reluctant to change without being convinced of the need to abandon their previous behaviours and practices.

In contrast, the behavioural approach to change advocates role models and the use of rewards and reinforcements to woo individuals to adopt desirable behaviours and attitudes. Guskey (1986, p. 5), in his work on staff development, argues that change is an experientially-based learning process and that change in teachers' behaviours and practices usually precedes, rather than follows, change in attitudes and beliefs. Teachers' attitudes and beliefs change only after teachers use new practices and

experience improvements in student learning. Thus, the improvement of teacher performance requires above all meaningful professional development (PD) support to practice new, more effective instructional practices (Guskey, 2002, p. 385). However, Fullan (2001; 2003), inspired by aspects of this behaviourist approach, argues that both pressure and support are needed to make schools embark on the process of changing.

In addition, Fullan (1992, p. 112) argues that change management pathways are rarely smooth and predictable, linear or a one-off exercise, but are rather cyclical and in need of continuous revisions and adaptations. The change process should be part of everyday practice and mobilizes broad support, leadership commitment, networking and providing peer support and evaluating the impact. He also stresses the importance of planning implementation steps, including a cost/benefit analysis, allocation of tasks for the implementation as well as monitoring. Fullan's change management knowledge is invaluable but underplays socio-political factors and power relations as well as the micro-politics which permeate all organisations. Because individuals operate in interaction with a social and institutional set up, they are also influenced by their degree of power, interests and positions in the organisation as well as the power their organisations hold in society. In that sense, the change process should also be seen a political process with inevitable political conflicts and contestations which requires political commitment and leadership.

Informed by these debates on the source and process of change management (the 'what, how and why change'), it is important to read the embedded 'theory of action' underlying policy reforms. Such theory can be comprehensive or not and based on rational or political arguments. These theories of change or action impact differently on policy research methodology and provide different insights in the policy process and implementation strategies. These insights also allow a critical assessment of South African policy studies.

3.2 South African Policy Analyses: How Have We Fared So Far?

With the legacy of *apartheid* education and the struggle for democratic changes, there were high expectations that the post-1994 education policies would promote greater quality, equity and redress, especially with a strongly racially-differentiated social and labour market structure. Many political analysts analyzed post-1994 education reforms by focusing on power relations, on whose interests are furthered by the policies as well as their impact on patterns of socio-educational inequalities.

What follows is a critical review of how some political policy analyses[6] often use a problematic and incomplete conception of policy powers as the latter take different forms. When reviewing South African education policy analyses, French's (2009) different power constructs are useful. As mentioned earlier, these are: the exercise of policy power or what is embedded in policy structures and discourses; the play of power as agencies contesting and engaging with policy texts to further their interests, and the power-play as the enabling policy agency or refers to the ability to mediate the policy within contested social domains for achieving some consensus among stakeholders. In that sense, these power constructs do not include those referred to by 'political' policy scholars influenced by Foucault, who understands power as embedded in discourses which set the terrain and frame a form of politics in terms of what can and cannot be said, thought and reacted to (Ball, 1993, p. 13). This view of policy powers refers to a network of powers, diffused and all-permeating in various policy processes, which ensure some form of symbolic domination. Thus, this perspective is not sufficiently strong in South African education policy analyses to warrant inclusion here.

I will argue that these political analyses examine mainly power structures and/or power relations between various interest groups at a particular moment in time (i.e., the

[6] As there is a flurry of post-1994 'political' education policy analyses, a selection of these was made for this meta-analysis to reflect the main trends and approaches, mainly within the neo-Marxist paradigm.

exercise and play of power). They do not focus on acts of individual and social power agency (or leadership) which exist at various stages of the policy process through policy strategies. As a result, these political analyses are limited in explaining the dynamics, evolution and some differentiated impact of education policies.

'Political' policy analysts can be clustered into four groups according to their focus, scope and underlying conceptions of policy power. The first two groups examine the content of policies, with the first exposing their ambitious and symbolic content while the second analyses the policies' contradictory content. A third group focuses on how policies are implemented by studying their implementation context and processes to identify the main causes for the gap between policy intentions and practices. The fourth group explores in greater depth policy change and the change process.

3.2.1 First group: symbolic and unfair policy content

The first group, with its focus on policy content and context, was interested in why education policymakers chose the administrative and legislative route (or the policy framework route) to address the *apartheid* legacy. Jansen (2002, p. 199) argues that the aim of policy frameworks was to forge an alternative vision of a democratic and equitable education system which would break away from *apartheid*. Other policy analysts agreed that policies were ambitious and removed from the context and realities on the ground (Chisholm & Fuller, 1996; Jansen & Christie, 2000; Soudien, 2007).

The debate crystallized around the political interests at play behind these ambitious policies. Rensburg (1999) argues that the new legal framework for education was a necessity to achieve de-racialization of the main education structures and processes and send a message of unity and reconciliation around a common education reconstruction project. Citing Halpin and Troya (1994), Jansen (2002, p. 204) contends that newly-elected politicians and senior officials were not interested in addressing educational

problems and changing practices with detailed policy plans and strategies. Bal-Layla and Sack (2003) disagree that ambitious policies are only symbolic because they can be used as tools to build the capacity and status of policy implementers and those targeted by the policies. However, Jansen (2002) argues that it was less a question of building implementation capacity and resources than a realization by policymakers that, with poor capacity and resources available, there was even more value in policy's symbolism to gain some political legitimacy and settle some political struggles.

Fleisch (2002) argues that the new bureaucratic incumbents were appointed on the basis of their political records and loyalty rather than their managerial or educational competences and expertise. The latter was not a major criterion in the recruitment drive. As a result, the GDE struggled with poor capacity to exercise its governing powers and delivering on its mandates (Fleisch, 2002). This explains why, during the 1994-1998 period, the GDE set up participatory consultative fora with organs of civil society and launched various school support interventions based on the anti-*apartheid* notion of school and teacher empowerment. The DoE also used consultations with non-state groups to gain support from the ruling party constituency and other social groups.

Another constituency which the new government wanted to appease was the international community. Chisholm and Fuller (1996, p. 694-698) argue that, because fragile governments need legitimacy by acting and looking modern, they adopted globally competitive policies as 'signs of modern progress'(Fuller, 1991). The international policy trend at that time was to introduce policies to enforce tighter management and greater efficiency while appearing to satisfy various competing interests. Another strategy for international legitimacy was international visits, inviting international consultants and privileging their policy advice over local groups (Jansen, 2002, p. 204). Spreen (2004) mentions that policy borrowing from other countries, a frequent feature of the global era, was justified on the grounds that countries wanted to be acknowledged as globally competitive. Sehoole (2005) explains the need to access

international policy networks to frame policy changes because of lack of policy literacy, defined as inadequate policy capacity, expertise and resources.

While important to recognize lack of policy expertise and interest in legitimacy, policy borrowing remains a national political choice. International consultants do not have 'carte blanche' in advising on policy development because they have to convince local and national interest groups of their policy recommendations. Jansen (2002) argues that the privileging of international experts over local consultants and consultative fora was a reflection of the dominance in policies of the interests of the emerging black middle class with which department officials identified.

Other policy scholars, less interested in policy symbolism, agree that education policy content reflects the interests of dominant groups. Vally and Spreen (1998) argue that a shift occurs after 1996 in the balance of forces towards international and national capital. This led the state to adopt a market-based globalisation discourse and policies in education. Chisholm and Fuller (1996) agree that the radical vision of a more socially just educational set-up gradually gave way because of constraints set by discursive practices associated with the compromise-based transition. For them, the adoption of the neo-liberal 1996 Growth, Employment And Redistribution (GEAR) policy made goals of social justice recede significantly for efficiency, with damaging implications for the poor as the education gap worsened (Chisholm, Motala & Vally, 2003; Chisholm, Hoadley & wa Kivilu, 2005). Many education policies, such as teacher education, curriculum and school governance policies, were also seen as favouring and promoting the interests of dominant socio-economic groups.

The anti-*apartheid* push for stakeholder democracy and participation receded also when consultative participatory policy-making processes (with civil society in the case of SASA and the Higher Education Act) were gradually replaced by a more centralised top down

approach to policymaking, starting with GEAR but also with the 2001 Whole School Evaluation Policy (DoE, 2001) (Motala & Pampallis, 2007; De Clercq, 2007).

Motala and Pampallis (2007, p. 370) contextualize the limitations of education policies by warning against the danger of 'attribut[ing] to education policy powers which lie outside its range of possibilities'. Soudien (2007) also agrees that *apartheid* history and the wider socio-economic inequalities posed serious obstacles for what education policies could do to counter poor education quality in disadvantaged communities, whereas Shalem and Hoadley (2009) show how socio-economic inequalities penetrated the education process by affecting significantly and unequally teachers' work.

Because of the time at which these policy analyses were done, they concentrated their analysis on policy content and context which they exposed as exercises of policy powers. They did not conceive policies as temporary settlements or interactive texts which are subjected to on-going contestations and mediation strategies by various stakeholders. As a result, they underplayed the significance of tensions in these policies and the kind of opportunities these created for various groups keen to further their interests. In that sense, these analyses ignore play of power and power-play.

3.2.2 Second group: contradictory content

The second group investigated the lack of coherence in education policies, whether within a policy or in relation to other policies. For example, the curriculum policy (and its 2001 review) was criticized for not being aligned with teacher development policies and appropriate curriculum materials and textbooks to ensure effective curriculum implementation (Fleisch & Potenza, 1999). Carrim (2001) points out that education policies such as DAS and OBE curriculum are based on a notion of teachers as professionals with relative autonomy while other policies (SASA), contradict this by subjecting teachers to tight bureaucratic controls. Jansen (2004) and Soudien (2007) criticize the internal contradictions of outcomes-based curriculum policy with its

simultaneous emphasis on progressive constructivist pedagogic principles and detailed prescription of learning outcomes.

Explanations for this lack of alignment differ. Some argue that policymakers lacked the capacity and expertise to develop policy with coherent objectives and content relevant to the realities on the ground. Mamphela (2008) suggests that many policymakers and senior department officials came from exile and were either in a state of denial about the extent of the underdevelopment or unable to understand the devastating educational *apartheid* legacy. McLennan (2009) contends that the bureaucratic administration did not grasp the implications of policy implementation on the ground while Sehoole (2005) blames the lack of policy literacy and expertise in higher education as well as the fragmented and poorly-capacitated administration which worked in silos.

Others dispute that poor policy coherence was mainly due to the inexperience of policy makers. They argue instead that policies are awkward outcomes of compromises that had to be made by various parties. Badat (1995) explains how many post-1994 policies differed from those of the ANC yellow book (ANC, 1994) because they were products of political compromises between strong opposing groups. Jansen (2001) attributes the problematic policy compromises to the negotiated settlement which weakened the post-1994 state, while McGrath (2004) agrees that the politically and administratively weak state was fraught with tensions which did not allow policy coherence.

Many analysts explain the development and amendment of education policies such as SASA, curriculum 2005, IQMS and the NQF, as the outcomes of on-going contestations between powerful groups which rendered these policies fragile and temporary political settlements. Sayed (1997, 2002) explains the development of SASA from its inception to the act and subsequent amendments as the outcomes of continuous negotiations and bargaining. Analyses of the 2001 curriculum revision also reveal changing political and educational alignments which made the DoE admit publicly to problematic aspects of

C2005 for the majority of poorly-trained teachers (Jansen & Christie, 2000; Chisholm, 2001; Cross, Mungadi & Rouhani, 2002 and Spreen, 2004). De Clercq (2008, p. 14) shows how the problematic DAS and IQMS assumptions about teachers as professionals led to teacher resistance which continue to force amendments in teacher appraisal policies. Lugg (2007), Allais (2007) and French (2009) explain how the awkward mix of NQF neo-liberal and radical assumptions changed over time because of changes in stakeholders' interests, policy positions and negotiation strategies at different times.

While these policy analysts engage with global and socio-political contexts of influence which shape specific policy discourses, they do not explain how this discourse frames only certain issues (and not others) as substantive problems which the policy addresses and responds to. They do not analyze the relevance of the variables targeted by the post-1994 policies which focus mainly on structural or system variables such as the management, governance and administration of schools (SASA), the qualification framework (SAQA and NQF), teachers' employment conditions, professional development as well as related issues of quality control (WSE and IQMS policy).

Thus, these analyses of contradictory policy content conceived policies mainly as temporary policy settlements. They show that these are subjected to exercises and plays of power and that their content reflects ongoing contestations between various interest groups. However, they do not research how and why some policy agencies exploit opportunities created by these conflicts in the policy process. Only a few analysts, doing a trajectory policy analysis (such as Lugg, 2007; French, 2009), examine how stakeholders' interests and strategies change over time, even if why these shifts occur are not explained. I want to argue that one way to explain this may be found in the space and opportunities created by the policy tensions and how these are exploited.

3.2.3 Third group: policy implementation gap

Implementation studies comprise the third group which analyzes policy implementation in terms of its context and processes (Jansen & Christie, 2000; Sayed & Jansen, 2001; Motala & Pampallis, 2001; Kraak & Young, 2001; Chisholm, 2004). These studies were interested in explaining the gap or lack of congruence between policy intentions and practices and for the uneven impact these policies have on the ground. Three strands of implementation studies are identified here with different conceptualisations of implementation and the source and nature of the problems.

The first strand identifies explanations for the policy-practice gap at the level of education departments and the constraints of their weak administration, limited or non-existent implementation plans and strategies, and poor capacity, expertise and resources (Jansen, 2001; Sehoole, 2005). The CEPD's Education 2000+ implementation studies (Kgobe, 2001; 2003), as well as Sayed (2002) and Class Act (2007), cite poor implementation capacity, resources and expertise among districts which impact differently on the ground, with poor schools suffering more than rich schools.

Some of these analyses conceive problematically of policy implementation as separate from, and unaffected by, policy content. They confine their explanations of the policy-practice gap to implementation without linking these implementation problems to the unrealistic policy content, something which Kgobe (2007), coordinator of the CEPD studies, acknowledges in retrospect as a problem. In addition, by focusing on human, organisational and financial constraints responsible for poor policy implementation, these studies do not delve much on what contributes to best implementation practices in schools or districts of similar contexts, resources, capacity and interest groups.

Another weakness is that, in searching for sources of implementation problems, they do not engage with change theory and change management to understand how and why policy agents respond in the way they do in policy implementation. Yet, as Fullan (1992) argues, policy implementation is crucially shaped by change management strategies.

(Only a few South African implementation policy analyses deal with implementers' change strategies — see the fourth group). The main shortcoming of this strand is that it underplays power relations in the implementation process and the various plays of power between policy agents who constantly contest and negotiate for their interests.

The second strand focuses explicitly on the impact of contestations or conflicts that arise in policy implementation. These analyses conceive of implementation as an integral part of the policy process which is socially constructed and mediated by various agencies. These analysts attribute the policy-practice gap to contestations and negotiations taking place in the implementation process or mutual adaptation between policies and the local context where various parties negotiate over the meaning and interpretation of policies (McLaughlin, 1990, p. 12). However, the uneven power relations within and around the state must be taken into account when looking at the effectiveness of implementation strategies and the level of local leadership, commitment, expertise and capacity.

South African policy analysts (Jansen, 2001; Sayed, 2002) use a similar political approach when examining policy contestations and negotiations at different levels of policymaking. According to Sayed (1997, 2002), conflicts, which already existed in policy development and formulation, were exacerbated in implementation. In their trajectory policy studies on the NQF, Lugg (2007) and French (2009) show how implementation conflicts led to changes in content and implementation strategies, which temporarily settled the conflicts, only to open up new tensions and conflicts. The other finding of these studies is that policy and policy implementation often worsen the already existing education inequalities between rich and poor schools (Sayed & Jansen, 2001).

A third strand challenges indirectly implementation studies by shifting their focus away from the policy-practice gap on the grounds that this assumes a causal link and implies that implementation should be a forward mapping process (Elmore, 1979/80). De Clercq

(2002) shows how education departments' top down implementation approach prevents districts from facing up to the priority problems encountered by schools and teachers before these can be in a position to implement the new policies. Criticizing the top down implementation approach (the state's play of power), Elmore (1979/80) points the advantages of a 'backward mapping' approach to implementation which expects implementers to understand what schools require in terms of differentiated support strategies to assist with the gradual implementation of the policy changes. As De Clercq (2002, p. 88) mentions, this approach assumes a substantial change in the hierarchical power relations between education departments, districts and schools.

The backward mapping approach suggests a different research methodology for implementation studies which will yield better understanding (Dyer, 1999). The idea is to investigate what happens at the level of the actors, targets of the policy, and trace policy implementation work from the 'bottom up' by analyzing what influences policy actors' actions and behaviours. Rogan and Grayson (2003, p. 1174) use this approach to show how teachers of disadvantaged schools are stretched beyond what they can manage by districts' 'one-size-fits-all' implementation approach. This is the reason, they argue, for the negative impact of the curriculum policy on poor schools. Based on their research, they devise a theory of curriculum implementation which contends that, because schools have different zones of feasible innovation, "implementation work should be aligned to the school profile of implementation, the capacity to support innovation and the school's access to outside support" (Rogan & Grayson, 2003, p. 1195).

Finally, policy implementation studies are still vague in their analysis of the state as they do not investigate the concrete operations and actions of education officials at specific sites. There is not much research on why and how some districts or schools, faced with similar contexts, capacity and interest groups, manage to ward off some of the worst effects of discriminatory policy content. This requires an investigation of <u>how</u> policy

actors exercise their enabling agency to interpret policy signals, and develop mediation strategies to make the best out of implementation. Lugg (2007) and French (2009) provide the beginning of such analyses by focusing on the leadership of various NQF policy communities and their mediation strategies. Lugg (2007) argues that policy leadership explains hegemonic moments of some NQF policy groups at certain times.

Thus, implementation studies could benefit from analyzing all manifestations of policy powers (exercise and play of power as well as power-play). They should capture how policy discourses and texts are constantly interpreted and contested by agents who exploit opportunities created by policies and strategize around these in implementation.

3.2.4 Fourth group: how does policy change occur?

The South African government is the main driver of education reforms since system-wide changes were needed to counter the legacy of *apartheid* education. This centralised approach to policy work mirrors that of many other countries in the 1990s as state-driven standardized education reforms were introduced. But policymakers and education departments do not sufficiently engage with change theory or change management. The fourth group deals directly with such issues by examining the nature and impact of change management tools of pressure and support, as used by various school improvement interventions or policies.

Post-1994 education policies focused on the management, governance and administration of schools (SASA), the curriculum (C2005), qualification framework (SAQA and NQF), the employment conditions and professional development of educators as well as related issues of quality control (WSE policy). These reforms often targeted 'system-world' changes, but without these being determined or followed by changes to enhance 'life world' changes (Sergiovanni, 2000). This is why many research

studies note demoralisation, apathy and passive policy compliance by education officials and teachers (Jansen, 2000; De Clercq, 2002; Bloch, 2009).

Fleisch (2002) studies the pre-1994 NGO-led school interventions and their use of support to argue that these interventions were unsuccessful because they provided support to poorly functioning schools without ensuring managerial functionality and/or accountability. His study of the GDE 1999 'Education Action Zones' (EAZ) programme welcomes the use of external bureaucratic accountability for aiming at restoring and stabilizing these schools' managerial authority. The problem with this is that it does not delve into the quality and balance of pressure and support used by the EAZ nor does it look at its long-term impact. Yet, a researcher, working on a parallel qualitative case study of EAZ schools, found that the bias towards pressure (with high stakes external bureaucratic accountability) led to conflicts and demoralization among teachers who felt shamed and not motivated to work for lasting improvement (Mukwevho, 2002).

In his research on the poor success achieved in the 1990s by NGO interventions, Taylor (2007, p. 537) agrees with Fleisch (2002) that managerial authority is needed *before* support interventions can take place and impact meaningfully in poor schools. For him, the problem is that the NGOs lack managerial authority and these dysfunctional schools need, above all, strong bureaucratic school accountability. Like Fleisch (2002), Taylor (2002, 2007) does not engage with the quality or relevance of NGO school support interventions nor does he specify the appropriate balance between pressure and support for different kinds of schools. Thus, both Fleisch (2002) and Taylor (2007) disagree with the international change literature argument for a fusion of pressure and support for dysfunctional South African schools.

Shalem (2003) investigates the meaningful opportunities for teachers and school to learn, something she criticizes Taylor (2002) and Fleisch (2002) for not addressing. Using Elmore's (2001) concept of reciprocal accountability, she contends that the government

does not do its share by building teachers' professional knowledge, skills and attitudes through meaningful support *before* accountability is introduced in schools.

Although sympathetic to Shalem's arguments, it is argued here that these three authors neglect the issue of how outside-driven change interventions impact on schools' internal capacity and agency. Outside changes must work through internal school contradictions and the mobilization of school agency. Thus, change management studies should identify the contradictions and gaps created by ambiguous reforms and their change processes and explore how policy agents respond, strategize and mediate these change reforms and processes (the power-play).

3.2.5 South African teacher appraisal/evaluation studies

There are no systemic research analyses but a few case studies of school evaluation and appraisal studies on the nature, implementation and impact of different school evaluation and appraisal policies. A few MEd and PhD research studies (Lucen, 2003; Ramaisa, 2004; Rimisati, 2006; Silbert, 2007) were done on the implementation of the 2001 Whole School Evaluation (WSE) policy and its impact on schools. The studies of Ramaisa (2004) and Rimisati (2006) on the perceptions of districts and teachers of the WSE policy implementation and impact are rather superficial. Relying on a positivist-informed analytical approach, these do not locate the WSE policy in its historical and politically contested context (the exercise and play of power of policy) and take for granted the policy content by accepting the DoE claim that the WSE policy is a rational policy aimed at school improvement without any significant implementation contestations. They conclude that the implementation suffered from constraints of capacity and resource.

Silbert's (2007) study of the 2001 Whole School Evaluation (WSE) policy conceives policy as an exercise of power, which frames and excludes certain monitoring performance

areas while Lucen (2003) explains the WSE policy as both exercise and play of power by the DoE. De Clercq (2007) supplements these content analyses by unravelling the policy's contradictions and tensions but without exploring how these opportunities are exploited by policy agency to reveal the role of power-play or strategies which either divert or build on this school accountability policy for developmental purposes.

A few post-graduate research studies (Pym, 1999, Barnes, 2003 and Gallie, 2007) were done on appraisal policies. Barnes (2003) and Gallie (2007) use a political approach by locating DAS and its implementation within their historical and socio-politically contested context. They identify various educational and political tensions in the policy as well as compromises between education departments, unions and schools (the play of power). Little consideration is given, however, to the problematic DAS assumptions about teachers as professionals and the ambiguous position of the main stakeholders on this. These studies trace teachers' interpretations and contestations around the DAS implementation, mentioning teachers' distrust of education departments and their lack of capacity to support schools. They do not study, however, how implementation problems are related to the policy's contradictory content and tensions or how policy agents mediate and strategize around the space opened up by DAS (the power-play).

In contrast, Pym's (1999) PhD study on a school-based appraisal exercise focuses predominantly on policy leadership and its inadequate appraisal conceptualization and implementation strategies (or power-play). This critical reflection by the researcher (who, as school principal, initiated this peer appraisal) explains how the policy's context was not favourable to appraisal, given the poor school accountability culture and lack of continuous teacher support opportunities. Pym also criticizes the problematic theory of change and ineffective change strategies used as no stakes were attached and no attempt was made to root appraisal in teachers' priority concerns.

Other studies (Mathula, 2004; Naidoo, 2006; Hariparsad, Bisschoff, Conley, Du Plessis, Grobbler, Hlongwane, Loock & Mestry, 2006; Class Act, 2007) were undertaken on the IQMS and its implementation but these were mainly informed by aspects of positivist and interpretive analytical approaches. Naidoo (2006) and Hariparsad et al. (2006) take for granted the rational IQMS content and focus only on implementation constraints, as perceived by various stakeholders. As a result, their scope is narrow and does not problematize the IQMS content, processes, conflicts and change strategies. Mathula's (2004) study of the IQMS (as well as DAS and WSE policy) identifies political tensions and contestations around the policy content and implementation (the play of power), but does not see their manifestations in the ambiguous and contradictory content of the policies. Being a departmental official, Mathula (2004) prefers to focus on what made departmental implementation strategies ineffective, such as lack of consensus amongst stakeholders and their leaders. He does not engage with the unequal power relations around these policies and the role of policy leadership in navigating through these policy tensions (power-play).

The Class Act report (2007), commissioned by the DoE, investigates the problems in the IQMS implementation through an interpretive approach and teachers' perceptions and engagement with the IQMS. It reveals that parts of the IQMS instrument are not clear and technically coherent (performance standards and criteria, poor capacity to produce reliable data, etc.) but mentions mainly technical and not political issues around the IQMS content and implementation (the exercise and play of power). It also hints that well performing schools, with their collegial culture and professional commitment, are advantaged over poorly performing schools, with poorly qualified teachers and little access to meaningful support opportunities. Like Mathula's analysis, this apolitical report concludes that more consensus and acceptance by stakeholders should be achieved. De Clercq (2008) mentions the political character of the IQMS tensions but does not explore opportunities created for enabling agency or leadership.

Other small case studies on schools' IQMS implementation (Wadvalla, 2005) use an interpretive analytical approach to understand how and why schools experience and respond differently. Because he also relies on aspects of the political analytical framework to problematize the uneven context of implementation, Wadvalla (2005) identifies factors that make well performing schools, with their collegial culture and professional commitment, benefit from aspects of the IQMS while poorly performing schools, with poorly qualified teachers and no real support provided feel victimized.

3.3 Insights for a Conceptual Framework for Policy Analysis

This literature review on policy and policy analysis brought valuable insights about the need for an eclectic analysis of policies and their change theory. The *political* analysis is useful for its different conceptualizations of policy powers and how these are exercised or manifest themselves. It assists with the analysis of the socio-political context of influence and of policies as well as their content and implementation. At the same time, it explores the underlying theory of action. However, the problem of many *political* policy analyses is their underplaying of how political and educational tensions open up space and opportunities for policy agencies. This means they cannot explain why, in some areas, policies are implemented in an enabling, as opposed to constraining, manner, or how they produce conditions of possibility which enable policy agency or leadership to use these policies in an enabling manner. School evaluation policies have complex and interesting dimensions which need analysis to understand their evolution and different developments and implementations over the period 1998-2009. If the various forms and dimensions of politics in policymaking have to be captured, as well as its different implementation and impact, different power dimensions have to be unpacked, such as the exercise of power and the play of power as well as the power-play of agencies around the policies. In doing so, the analysis will identify how these policies are both constraining and opening space for policy agencies.

Policy agencies are understood as those who enter and are part of the social power-play as they mediate policy within socially contested domains. These policy agencies possess a certain kind of political and educational knowledge with which to assess the context and contested nature of school/teacher evaluation policies, together with the various needs and interests of multiple stakeholders. They are able to identify various political and educational tensions and ambiguities in these evaluation policies and find space to act and power-play within it. It is only then that policy agencies are enabled, mobilize resources, take decisions and strategies to exploit opportunities created by these policies which are used in a strategic manner, not to threaten the multiple stakeholders involved but to win them over by working out a way in which these policies can benefit them while also contributing to the improvement of the school system as a whole.

Concretely-speaking, policy leadership at district level, for example, understands the appraisal tensions experienced by school staff, teachers and their unions and works out how these can be managed and/or minimized. For this, it will assess the political and educational context of the policy, the different agendas and interests of departments, unions, schools and communities. It will identify the policy content tensions (such as between evaluation for managerial assurance and for development) as well as the needs on the ground. It will then be in a position to take decisions, mobilize resources and partners to navigate through implementation and secure the buy-in from multiple stakeholders to mediate the policy in a way that improves the performance of teachers and the system. It will present teacher appraisal in a non-threatening, valid and reliable form to identify where problems and needs are, how development providers can develop meaningful developmental interventions, etc. In that sense, policy agencies and leadership are about making appraisal an exercise for quality assurance as well as for development.

To sum up, the interpretive analytical approach examines best how and why multiple stakeholders and their agencies are influenced in their understanding and mediation of

policies by their ideas, knowledge, beliefs and interests. This approach does not focus only on the main stakeholders (such as the government and unions) but explores their plurality, unfortunately with insufficient attention to their relative and relational powers (this is where the political approach comes in). In terms of 'enabling policy agency' or leadership (Gale, 2001), the interpretive approach assists in understanding how policies are mediated to benefit multiple stakeholders as well as the system as a whole. The political analysis assists again in weighing the relative powers of various stakeholders.

Finally, elements of the liberal pluralist approach are useful to interrogate the coherence and alignment in policy content and, in this case, how various forms of teacher accountability and development are combined and aligned to one another as well as to teachers' realities and needs on the ground.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: A SYNTHESIS OF APPRAISAL AND POLICY ANALYSIS CLAIMS

This chapter draws together the insights of the literature review on teacher appraisal and policy analysis to develop the conceptual framework which informs and guides this trajectory study of South African appraisal policies and how these evolved over ten years.

4.1 Appraisal Literature

When reviewing the literature on teacher development, accountability and appraisal (chapter 2), it is clear that teacher work and practices differ over time and space, and so do forms and purposes of teacher development, accountability and appraisal.

4.1.1 Theoretical insights

Four insights are retained about the complexities and ambiguities of appraisals and the opportunities they create.

The first is that teacher appraisal systems are fraught with socio-educational tensions in their purpose, focus, instruments, personnel and calibration. Any appraisal analysis needs to examine the sources and manifestations of these tensions and constructions at the level of appraisal content and implementation.

The first set of tensions derives from the multiple appraisal purposes which can be deduced from what is being appraised. Teacher appraisals items consist of a mix of various kinds of inputs, work processes and outcomes which usually reflect the more

dominant appraisal purposes. Arguments and contestations often occur over the selection of appraisal items, the underlying conception of effective teaching and whether these items are a valid assessment for the particular purpose of the appraisal.

A second related set of tensions is with the appraisal instrument per se and how it is chosen. This is because some appraisal purposes are well served by common standardized instruments while other purposes, such as the developmental purpose, require a more flexible, negotiated instrument which captures the school's specific priorities and contexts. There is a danger in the 'one-size-fits-all' standardized evaluation instrument, especially in the context of a rather heterogeneous teaching population which faces differentiated conditions and resources. However, school-based appraisals alone are not totally effective as they are more cautious and tend to stay within zones of comfort which do not stretch schools and teachers.

The third set of tensions is around appraisers, their quality and legitimacy with various stakeholders, and teachers in particular. This refers to the professional competences, behaviours and attitudes of appraisers and the way they are experienced by teachers. Are appraisers supported in their role with access to capacity, resources and funds to undertake professional appraisals? Appraisal quality also depends on the combination and relationship of internal and external appraisers and whether they counter their respective disadvantages to provide an accurate reading or report of teacher performance. Up to recently, internal and external evaluators were separated but there are arguments to make them work in one and the same school-based team. This is why it is important to examine how appraisers understand appraisal challenges and tensions at the school level. What strategies do they use to ensure appropriate and reliable evaluation of teacher performance to be followed by appropriate teacher development?

A fourth set of tensions revolves on the appropriateness, coherence or alignment of appraisal assumptions concerning the realities and context of teachers' work and

challenges. The nature of teachers' work, professional status and performance has to be appropriately conceptualized as appraisal policies make assumptions about what teachers are supposed to do and produce. What is required is an alignment of teacher accountability and development to one another (whether bureaucratic, professional, public or managerialist) as well as at school level to teachers' context and realities to drive a coherent message.

The fifth set of tensions concerns the balance and combination of teacher development and accountability, which is difficult to achieve as education departments are more interested in control through accountability than in providing teachers' access to appropriate or meaningful support. The combination of appraisal for development and performance management was meant to solve problems of coordination and coherence between the two. However, it also created new problems such as the use of the same, usually standardized, appraisal schedule. Also, a 'one-size fits-all' combination of appraisal for development and performance management does not work well with a heterogeneous teacher population which requires not only different combinations for different teachers but also different forms of teacher accountability and development, given each form's limitations. This explains why careful mediation is needed for this balanced combination to occur at departmental and school level.

The second insight is that appraisal systems are socially constructed and politically contested exercises which bring different interests and agendas from the time they are developed to their mediation, implementation and monitoring. Appraisals usually lean more towards some purposes or interests than others, depending on the balance of power and relative strengths of the various stakeholders. At the core of these contestations are different interests and views regarding the nature and responsibilities of teachers' work, status, the meaning of effective teachers and effective teaching in a particular socio-historical context. Because appraisal systems contain tensions and are politically and socially constructed, they will inevitably be fragile settlements with

unintended consequences and differentiated impact on schools and teachers of different contexts.

The third insight related to the first two is that appraisal tensions and contestations create space and opportunities which can be used by agencies at various stages of the appraisal process to further the interests of some stakeholders and not others. More specifically, policy agency or leadership is a concept used to refer to the ability of leaders to understand the socio-political interests and needs and strategize their mediation of appraisal policy processes for the good of various constituencies and the system as a whole. The absence of strong leaders will result in appraisal systems not being effective, credible or used for the improvement of the school system.

Appraisal mediation strategies (whether at departmental or school level) can promote different outcomes. If they lead to compliance, pragmatism or manipulation of the system, appraisal systems will not assist with improvement of aspects of the school system. If the leaders are able to drive a bigger vision which could subsume short-term sectarian interests by various stakeholders, it could use the appraisal opportunities and space towards the building of the long-term goal of improving school and/or teacher performance. Such leaders have to strike a strong enough consensus between all parties on how to use appraisals towards the strengthening of school quality and/or teaching and learning.

The fourth and last insight is that effectiveness of appraisal exercises depends on their credibility, legitimacy and support from the majority, and especially from teachers. Too often, appraisal systems are introduced or framed from the top down without the buy-in of most stakeholders. Hence, appraisal systems have to be developed with consultations with, and involvement of, the stakeholders. They could remain fragile settlements if there is no sufficient consensus over the appraisal form, purpose and process. The strength of the consensus and the extent of compromises made by various

stakeholders will determine the fragility of appraisal policy processes and practices on the ground. If too fragile in its formulation, like many appraisal systems are, conflicts and contestations will resurface at implementation, threatening the appraisal and forcing a new round of consultations, contestations and negotiations.

4.1.2 Three claims about appraisal

Out of this review of the appraisal literature, three theoretical claims are derived.

The first is that teacher appraisals have inherent tensions in their content, purpose and implementation because they are complex exercises which are **socially constructed and politically contested** as they get formulated, implemented and evaluated. Different constructions and understanding exist about the nature of teachers' work, the meaning of effective teaching and how to change and improve teacher competences and performance, and these will evolve over time. The contestations are around the purpose, content and instrument as these can privilege some interests more than others. Therefore, this study has to examine at different points in time who influences various appraisals' purpose, focus, assumptions and instrument and whose expectations and interests these reflect or promote most.

The second claim is that **appraisals have to be negotiated and mediated** by various stakeholders and their agencies or leadership to ensure that the system, schools and teachers can live with the compromises and buy into appraisals. The leaders need to understand different appraisal agendas, assumptions and perceptions of stakeholders, recognize the nature and source of tensions which exist at various appraisal levels and how these can lead to differentiated consequences on the ground. This enables the identification of space and opportunities for mediation strategies for the good of some interest groups or the better performance of the system. Effective appraisals for improvement require credibility, acceptance and support from all stakeholders and

teachers, in particular. Thus, the study will examine how the leadership or agency of stakeholders (such as the bureaucracy, unions and schools) understands appraisal tensions and how they develop mediation strategies which are beneficial to sectarian interests and/or to the school system as a whole.

The third claim is that any teacher appraisal needs to be monitored and evaluated, not only because of the **unintended consequences and uneven impact** on various schools and teachers, but because they have to be re-negotiated and adapted to new circumstances. Leadership is therefore needed to monitor the process and impact as well as learn lessons to adapt/amend and improve the system. This is why this trajectory policy study examines different appraisal systems and strategies over time.

4.2 Policy and Policy Analysis Insights and Claims

The policy analysis review (chapter 3) argues for an eclectic analysis approach to capture the tensions, dynamics, contestations and unintended consequences of policies. This analysis is dominated by a political approach which conceives of policies as outcomes of various power dynamics and conflicts which create conditions of possibilities. It conceives of policies as both constraining and empowering structures and texts which create space and opportunities for policy agency and leadership. It also relies on the other approaches which have to be integrated in relation to certain of their dimensions.

4.2.1 The political analytical approach

This approach leads the study to focus on three policy contexts: the broad context of influence, the context of policy production and context of practice (Bowe et al., 1992). In all these contexts, conflicting interest groups as well as political and ideological positions are at play in a dynamic and relational manner.

The focus on different competing stakeholders is particularly useful in the case of South African appraisal policies because these policies are stakeholder-driven or pushed by different interest groups locked into unequal power structures and relationships which evolved continuously. The political approach assists in examining whose interests dominate at various moments in time as well as various points of the policy processes. This approach also can unravel the relationship between policy discourses and structures with their various forms of power and agencies, motivated by different goals, needs and interests. It also traces how power relationships, the dialectic between power structures and policy agency evolve over time.

Different theories of policy powers are useful as policies and policy processes are subjected to various exercises of power, plays of power and power-plays. For example, various policy communities push differently for appraisal policies to take a certain purpose, focus and instrument but this is subjected to contestations, negotiation and mediation strategies at various points of the policy process. The exercise of power is found by analyzing various policy documents and their ideological discourse. The play of power are the struggles and negotiated compromises between various stakeholders as they push for their interests and adapt to other stakeholders' strategies in the finalization of the policy. This requires an understanding of how appraisal policies impact on their work realities and challenge their agencies. This is where the stance of teacher unions on teacher accountability and development will be particularly interesting to study. The issue of the emerging new education bureaucracy operating at the interface of many different conflicting interests groups in and around them will also be part of this analysis of plays of power. Further negotiations and bargaining occur at the implementation level, and these will be analyzed in terms of how various groups of implementers, including teachers, decide to push for certain appraisal interpretations. As a result of these exercises and plays of power, appraisal processes are shown to be fragile settlements which will continue to evolve and change over time.

Finally, the power-play of policy agencies and leaders' responses and mediation strategies to appraisal have to be explored with the interpretive analytical approach and its underlying theory of mediation and implementation.

4.2.2 The interpretive analytical approach

This approach is valuable to analyze what shapes stakeholders' views of evaluation and appraisal and what influences their interpretation and mediation strategies. Implementers mediate policies as a result of the interaction between their policy knowledge, values and beliefs, as well as their situation and reading of the policy signals. For example, unions or education departments will develop particular mediation strategies at different points in time of policy processes, depending on their relative powers, agendas and interests as well abilities to mobilize for certain strategies towards policy implementation. This will require an analysis of how they interpret, negotiate and strategize in mediating appraisal at different moments in time and in relation to the other stakeholders' views and strategies. In other words, do they use their policy agency and leadership and in an enabling or sectarian manner? This approach will assist in analyzing how fragile or strong are the compromises and consensus reached at different stages of the policy and how positions and strategies change over time.

4.2.3 The rational analytical approach

This approach is useful in assessing the level of coherence and alignment or consistency in the policy content and implementation impact. If teacher appraisal policies are socially constructed with multiple purposes, focuses and instruments with their inner ambiguities and contradictions, this approach will assist with the different tensions within the policy and what requires attention if new negotiations are to lead to an arrangement which has to impact positively on the school system.

4.2.4 Three claims about policy analysis

Out of insights from aspects of policy analysis approaches, three further claims emerge.

The first relates to the importance of **contextual analysis** in understanding education policy and in particular the influence of the education terrain (and its power legacy) inherited from the previous apartheid regime and its resulting fragmented and differentiated teaching population in terms of teacher status, competences and experiences with departmental interventions and forms of unionization. This means that a theoretical understanding of the post-1994 state and its education bureaucracy is needed in terms of how it assumed and grew its power and authority, as well as how the education bureaucracy positioned itself in the education policy-making processes.
Such contextual analysis will also examine the influence of other socio-political forces, such as teacher unions and professional organisations, behind education policies with their agendas, relational powers, dynamics and negotiation strategies (exercise and play of power). It will also explain the kind of socio-political and education terrain and conflicts under which appraisal policies, their negotiations and reviews, were developed.

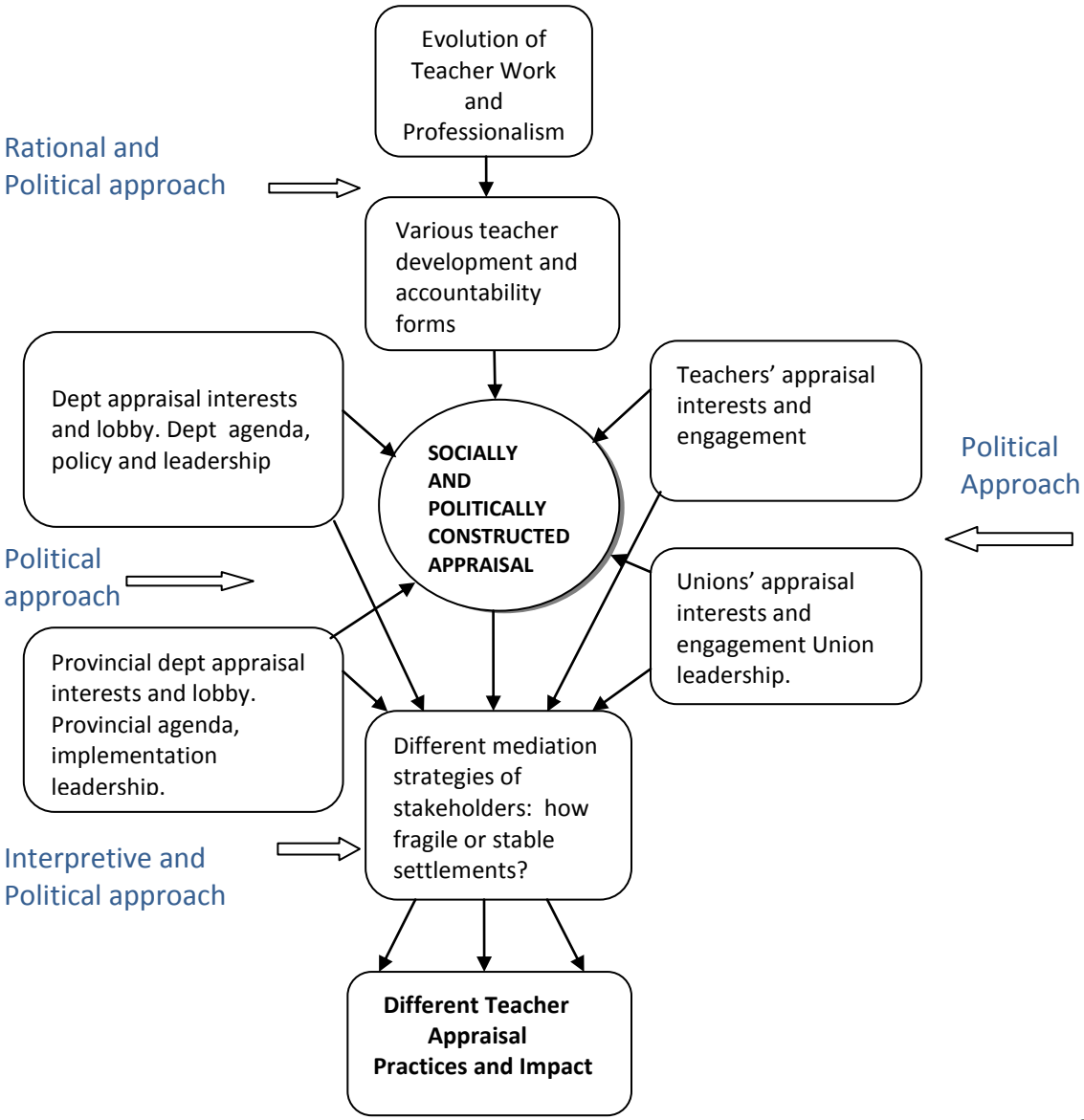
The second claim concerns the analysis of **different perceptions, interpretations and mediation strategies** of the various stakeholders to recognize their moves and selection of implementation strategies at various points of the policy process. This will allow an understanding of how enabling or constraining policy agencies and leadership are at different points in the years 1998-2009.

The third claim is that a rational analysis of the appraisal policies and their inevitable tensions and compromises in the content and implementation will reveal the fragility or strength of the policy settlement. This analysis will assess whether the tensions in the various policy processes have led to serious **lack of coherence and alignment** and what

exactly needs to be managed or revised about the policies' purposes, forms, implementation, impact and their evolution over time.

4.3. Graphical Representation of the Conceptual Framework

These theoretical insights and claims from appraisal and policy analysis can be brought together in a comprehensive conceptual framework for this study of a trajectory policy analysis of South African appraisal policy processes and their evolution over time. This conceptual framework could be illustrated in a simplified manner in the following graph:



CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH JOURNEY AND DESIGN

This chapter covers the research journey as well as the research methodology and design. It first explains how my academic interest in this study evolves and changes, starting from my choice of a particular research paradigm to finding a specific research angle and my reformulation attempts as I went through the research 'swirl of events' in collecting, analyzing, re-collecting and re-analyzing data.

It then discusses how the research was conceptualized, its methodology and design as well as why these were chosen and found suitable for the study. It presents the sample and process of data collection and analysis as well as highlights my growth in grasping empirical research, data collection and analysis as well as in developing valid and reliable arguments from the data.

5.1 My Journey towards a researchable PhD Topic

As mentioned in chapter 1, I have always been interested in policy analysis and research. The particular issue of development and accountability appears to me so important in the deepening of our emerging democracy and in developing our political and educational maturity, which was so desperately needed. The extensive literature and studies of school evaluation and appraisal reveal how few studies, especially in developing countries, do justice to all the complexities involved in evaluation or appraisal as socially constructed and contested issues.

I was particularly interested in an under-researched policy research issue, at least in South African education policy research, and that is policy agency. Ball (1993, p. 10) identifies policies both as structures or discourses and as texts which provide a terrain within which agency can exploit the space created by policy structures and discourse

and where it mediates policy. Policy agency is the agency which works strategically within policy discourses and structures by identifying the opportunities and conditions of possibility associated with policies. In turn, policy analysts ought to study such policy agency and policy leadership, their possibilities and limitations as well as what good practices reveal at various levels of the policy process.

The issue of mediation strategies is a significant imperative in South African education because policymakers and policy analysts borrow extensively from more developed countries, and this without sufficient adaptation or mediation strategies which take account of the potential and limitations of the national context. This is why a trajectory analysis of school and teacher evaluation policies, their contestations, negotiations and mediations in the last decade, became my favoured topic as it would enable me to examine and understand the various evolving policy contexts as well as different forms of policy agency and leadership in school evaluation and teacher appraisal.

After deciding on the research topic on the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS), its roots and evolution, the challenge was to develop a coherent focus with tight research questions. I was advised to identify research sub- questions that were not too specific or pointed, as these would inevitably be narrowed down and changed as I tightened my conceptual approach and framework. As I engaged with and read around appraisals and policy processes, I realized the value in identifying a particular epistemological paradigm, as well as a specific critical interpretive approach to policy and policy analysis. This assisted me greatly in identifying more specific research questions around the analysis of appraisal policies, with a specific emphasis on issues of policy agency and leadership.

5.2 Epistemological Paradigm and the Framing of Research Questions

The research methodology of this study borrows from a specific epistemological paradigm, which underlies my research approach. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is not possible to enter the policy field as blank slates because policy research is theoretically informed and makes the researcher focus on different policy issues and angles. For example, the critical political policy research asks what agendas and interests are underlying any policy discourse as well as how, why and to whom this policy and policy analysis will be useful.

This study is mainly but not fully informed by a critical post-structuralist paradigm which perceives the social world (and structures and practices of policy and change) as socially constructed through the dialectic between structures and agency. Therefore, this study understands policies as social constructs and the outcomes of unequal relationships between structures, social relationships, practices and people's agencies. These structures and relationships are often dominated by powerful groups who exercise their power through social practices (the politics of policymaking). The aim of this research study is to examine the various ways in which power is exercised in policymaking and its associated social practices.

It is against this that I understand appraisal systems and policies as fragile temporary settlements which are the outcomes of various historically and politically conflicting forces and which evolve in response to re-alignments and changing positions by various policy communities, that the overarching question of my study was identified:

- How does one explain the evolution of teacher appraisal policy processes (from policy to practice), taking into account the various tensions and contestations within appraisal and between stakeholders?

This can be further broken down into four sub-questions:

- What epistemological, theoretical and methodological approaches are best suited for analysing tensions and conflicts embedded in teacher appraisals and the complex combination of teacher development and teacher accountability? What consequences do these have for understanding the evolution of the appraisal system?

- What are the historical, political and educational factors and conflicts that contribute to the making of the South African appraisal system in schools and its various implementation strategies?

- What are the main issues and tensions in the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) document and the opportunities it creates for mediation strategies?

- What are the role and mediation strategies of education departments and unions in this process?

The first sub-question is addressed by the review of the literature on the subject of teacher work, development, accountability and appraisal (in chapter 2) as well as on policy and policy analysis, including a critical review of policy analyses of education in post-1994 South Africa (chapter 3). This led to the development of a conceptual framework to inform the study (chapter 4).

The next two sub-questions on various South African appraisal systems are addressed both conceptually and empirically by researching through critical discourse/document analysis and secondary national literature how various tensions and contestations around teacher appraisal and school evaluation evolved from 1994 through to the IQMS production and formulation processes as well as the kind of opportunities created for their mediation when implemented.

The fourth sub-question involves an empirical examination of how different policy communities mediate appraisal policy processes over time, with specific reference to the leadership of the educational bureaucracy and teacher unions in making sense, mediating and managing the IQMS processes and its tensions. This is where I decided to rely on another interpretative epistemological research paradigm

To understand people's agencies and how they use their discretionary powers in the policy process requires research on the contextual forces and factors which influence the way policy agents experience, interpret and mediate policy issues. Spillane et al. (2002) argue that policy interpretation is forged in the interaction between agents' knowledge, values, beliefs as well as their situation and sense-making. Indeed, people make sense of policies through social practices, which include writing, discussing, negotiating in stakeholder forums and agreeing to resolutions in conferences and operating within them. Thus, the interpretative research paradigm used here understands social reality as socially constructed and as given meaning by the people who partake in it. Human structures, cultures and activities are social constructions, created by people and not the inevitable products of social elements. As Merriam (1998) argues, interpretative research aims to study and understand the meaning people construct about the social world, their activities and experiences of it.

Another important learning experience of this PhD research journey was the realization that, like the policy process, research is not a linear process which starts with a research question, then literature review, data collection and analysis, followed by the development of a rigorous argument, backed up by strong evidence. Indeed, research is never cast in stone as my research focus, data collection, analysis and arguments, kept shifting and changing slightly until my last write-up. PhD students should all be told that they will be transported through a 'swirl of confusing events', before coming out with a

viable research question aligned to an interesting argument backed up by relevant and valid data.

5.3 Policy Research Methodology

Policy research has been criticized for being under-theorized because it usually pays little attention to research methodology as methodological assumptions are often unclear or not fully explained and the links between research data and analysis of policy not well argued or justified (Ball, 1994, p. 107). The challenge is to understand the relationship between policy discourses and texts and their impact on collective agents as well as the range of social forces involved in and resistant to policy change. According to Ball (1997), too often policy research overestimates or underestimates people and their responses which can involve creative social action. Policy research has to capture and understand "the complex interplay of identities and interests, coalitions and conflicts within the processes and enactments of policy" (Ball, 1997, p. 270). This suggests that people's responses and actions in policy are not mechanistic or simple but the outcomes of many interests, identities and relationships with others. In a post-modern knowledge society, it is accepted that people and interest groups behave or react to phenomena, including policies, in a multiple different ways which cannot be reduced to one simple consistent behaviour or action.

Given the focus on a trajectory study of appraisal policies, the choice of research methodology and data collection/analysis for the study was influenced by Gale (2001) who sees three possible policy readings (or narratives): policy archaeology, historiography and genealogy.

The first reading, or 'policy archaeology' refers to the analysis of policy processes involved in constituting the policy agendas (who is involved, what agendas are heard and what strategies are used for legitimacy purpose) as well as and how and why policy

actors interact in the way they do (Gale, 2001, p. 388). The idea is to analyze what is spoken, from what positions, and how this is mediated in relation to other positions. This is valuable in understanding the conditions of the construction of policy problems and it enables a detailing of the parameters of the temporary settlements (Gale, 2001, p. 389).

A second reading or 'policy historiography' refers to the substantive policy issues at any particular hegemonic moments (Gale, 2001, p. 385). It involves tracing the policy change processes, mainly through documentary evidence, looking at the relationship between the past and present and asking questions such as: what were the issues, what are they now and what has changed? It also identifies the various communities engaged in constructing different policy positions (and the issues they articulate within their policy and practices) by asking what the complexities in these different accounts of policy are, who is advantaged and disadvantaged by these arrangements and where do these different policy communities engage in struggle over these issues? Thus, because policy historiography provides an account of temporary policy settlements over time, it will be relevant to our study of the trajectory of teacher appraisal policy in South Africa.

The final third reading, or 'policy genealogy', is interested in the particulars of the temporary settlements, the kind of negotiation or mediation strategies (bargaining; arguing; stalling; manoeuvring and lobbying) and how these strategies and settlements evolve. So, it traces mainly through semi-structured interviews how policies change over time, but not in a rational manner so much as by problematizing the consensus and conflicts involved in the policy process as well as by explaining how temporary alliances are formed and reformed given conflicting interests (Gale, 2001, p. 389). Thus, policy genealogy problematizes policy struggles and settlements and identifies where, over what and how conflicts develop and why positions change.

Even though all these narratives are relevant to this trajectory policy study, it relies predominantly on the second and third readings of policy historiography and genealogy. Aspects of the first reading of policy archaeology will be borne in mind, although the post-modern discourse theory will not be used except to note the parameters that frame negotiations over teacher appraisal, accountability and development.

To allow a policy historiography reading, this trajectory study needs to rely on multi-dimensional research methods which enable the gathering, documentation and analysis of the multi-faceted relational issues (between stakeholders) embedded in appraisal policy-making processes. Insightful evidence is gathered by engaging multiple stakeholders through various discussions and activities. Policy genealogy on the various appraisal policy settlements, compromises and changes will predominantly rely on more formal orthodox data collection methods, such as document analysis and interviews with key policymakers and implementers (see section 5.6 for more details).

5.4 Research Design and Approach

Research design is the research plan and approach adopted to meet research aims (Mouton, 2001). According to Yin (1989), the choice of a research approach is done by considering three issues: the type of questions, the amount of control the researcher has over actual events and the focus on contemporary phenomena. Being exploratory and explanatory, this study focuses on the 'how and why'questions of teacher appraisal. It investigates the interpretation by various policy stakeholders and how these were used to mediate the teacher appraisal policy in South African education. It is thus appropriate to rely on the qualitative research tradition and in particular a multi-method qualitative approach to data collection, comprising literature review, documentary review and analysis, as well as interviews.

Qualitative research is based on the assumption that the social world and reality are constructed by individuals interacting with such a social world or what Merriam (1998, p. 6) calls interpretism. The task of the researcher is to bring to the fore how such reality is, perceived, given meaning and interpreted (Bell, 1987). Patton (1985, quoted in Merriam, 1998. p. 14) explains qualitative research as attempting to give an in-depth understanding or:

> an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context …. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is attempting to understand the nature of that setting — what it means for respondents to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting — and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting.

To investigate in greater depth how teacher appraisal is mediated at the level of the provincial and district bureaucracy, a particular case of the GDE and one of its districts was used. As Yin (1989) mentions, the study of a single case is well suited when:

> The theory has specified a clear set of propositions as well as the circumstances within which the propositions are believe to be true. To confirm, challenge, or extend the theory, there may exist a single case, meeting all of the conditions for testing the theory. The single case can then be used to determine whether a theory's propositions are correct or whether some alternative set of explanations might be more relevant (Yin, 1989, p. 38).

Yin (2003) also argues that the study of a case can be useful in situations where the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident. He warns that such single case will not be generalizable, and indeed education departments and/or institutions are unique in their dynamics, micro-politics and the way they implement or engage with policies and systems. However, the significance of the study goes beyond the narrow boundaries of single case as referred to by Yin in that it is embedded in macro context, though it draws from a particular case.

5.5 Sampling

Sampling involves the drawing of the subject from the population for data collection. McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 126) describe a sample as the collective, group of subjects or respondents from whom the data are collected.

Because this study traces the policy historiography and genealogy of appraisal, it was decided to rely on extensive policy and departmental documents as well as on information from some purposefully selected elites, representatives of the main policy communities at national, provincial and district level. The decision to select these policy elites was motivated by the need to gather information from knowledgeable policy actors regarding the school and teacher evaluation policies since 1993 and the changing views, experiences, interpretations and bargaining of the main policy communities. These policy elites were in a position to provide information on policy agencies and leadership as well as the way various groups navigate and mediate the appraisal policy process with their political and educational knowledge and according to their agendas and interests.

Since the study also includes the study of a single case to examine in greater depth the experiences and mediation strategies of some stakeholders involved in teacher appraisal policy processes, a purposeful sample was chosen. As Merriam (1998) argues, purposeful sampling means that the sample is select as an information-rich case from which one can learn about issues essential to the topic of the study.

It was decided to research the Gauteng provincial department, partly because I had experience of researching for, and working with, the GDE in terms of its various district challenges since 2000. I secured permission to research one of the GDE divisions - the Quality Assurance (QA) division and one of its districts, which were purposefully chosen because they were known for being rich in information about the WSE and IQMS and their mediation strategies. The aim was to illustrate good practices regarding the dialectic between these policies as texts and agencies as the latter interpret and

mediate the policies to fit in with their context and interests. These GDE units were known to use the opportunities created by the WSE and IQMS to show their commitment towards the improvement of teacher and school performance as well as professional development.

.5.6 Data Collection Methods

Against the background of these policy readings and because of the nature of the different research questions identified, this study relies on multi-dimensional data collection methods. McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 415) explain that the utilization of different techniques of data collection has to be justified on the basis of their suitability and relevance to the nature and purpose of the various research questions. Multiple methods and sources of data collection are also used for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon studied and to verify many of the perceptual data (Bogdan & Biklen**,** 1998; McMillan & Schumacher, 2006).

To start with, less conventional data collection methods were used during two relatively interesting research activities with which I was involved during 2008 and 2009 where I gathered unusually rich insights into issues of evaluation and appraisal. This allowed me to target the next formal research fieldwork in a more focused manner.

Two concrete consultancy work activities assisted me greatly in engaging in great depth with the issues and debates of appraisal experts and stakeholders, such as education departments, teachers, teacher unions, NGO education service providers and ELRC representatives around issues of teacher development and monitoring. The first opportunity was through my participation in the 2008 DoE Ministerial Committee on NEEDU while a subsequent opportunity came with my work in preparing and attending the July 2009 Teacher Development Summit. The 2008 opportunity to sit on a five-month-long Ministerial Committee, under the chairpersonship of Professor Jonathan

Jansen, on the feasibility of a National Education Evaluation and Development Unit (NEEDU), exposed me to interesting evidence in the nine provinces, where departmental and district officials, unions and school personnel (around 40 representatives per province) explained their experiences and thoughts about evaluation and appraisal policies and mechanisms as well as the idea of a super-supervision unit, quasi-independent of the DoE. Written evidence was also sent to the Ministerial Committee by a few NGOs and service providers. The Committee also held two seminars involving experts and academics to discuss preliminary findings before the final report was written[7].

The second opportunity came with the work I did for the mid-2009 Teacher Development Summit, which made me witness the debate among various stakeholders and their representatives around the challenges of system-side teacher development. In compiling a preparatory reading pack and acting as a rapporteur, I read further on teacher development in South Africa and gained further insights from the main parties into the difficult, negotiable and non-negotiable issues pertaining to dilemmas embedded in teacher development and support.

It is worth mentioning here that these activities carried a threat to my impartiality and objectivity as a researcher. However, through significant reflectivity at the various stages of this data collection process, I ensured that the research data was treated objectively and rigorously to ensure a maximum of validity and consistency in the research questions, data collection and analysis.

Beyond these unorthodox methods, this study relied on more standard sources of information to understand the policy development around teacher appraisal in the past decade and how national and provincial officials as well as teacher unions contribute to it, negotiate and mediate. Three data sources were used: literature on teacher appraisal

[7] The details of these sources of information appear in the final 2009 NEEDU DoE document

studies, policy and institutional documents as well as in-depth interviews with key policy actors. The latter were particularly important since the study aimed to understand how policy agents operate and mediate policy within the constraints of context-specific forces and conditions and how their beliefs, values and goals interact with one another.

However, Merriam (1998) cautioned against exclusive reliance on this interview method as it may lead to bias or distortion of the picture of the reality under investigation. Interview data, also called perceptual data, always carry the risk of disjunction between what is said and what is done, hence the need to complement these data with document analysis and other evaluation or appraisal studies. Data triangulation is then recommended when single sources are recognized as partial accounts because it assists with verifying the position with alternative data as a check. Merriam (1998) argues that the cross-checking of data collected from different sources is the way to build greater research validity.

5.6.1 Literature review of secondary sources

The first three sub-questions of this study required a review of the literature or of secondary sources regarding the different forms, purposes and tensions of teacher appraisal and policy analysis. This literature consists of journal articles, policy analyses reports, and other texts. Secondary source documents in the form of empirical research studies and articles on appraisal systems in other countries were also consulted.

Literature review has a dual purpose. First, it assisted in constructing a conceptual framework. However, in the course of the study, the literature review on the international and national studies on school evaluation and teacher appraisal became important in re-examining earlier assumptions and concepts/constructs.

The second purpose of literature review is to frame the analysis of empirical data which were collected towards the last three sub-questions. The literature review is therefore part of the research strategy and data analysis techniques. This was important to develop a conceptual framework to guide with the identification of key issues for investigation on the 'what, how and why' of teacher appraisal and of the appraisal tensions as well as how they were managed, for what purpose and with what impact on the school system.

5.6.2 Critical analysis of primary documents

The last three sub-questions of this study on the historical evolution of teacher appraisal and its tensions required a critical discourse analysis of documents to understand how various stakeholders position themselves, respond and strategize around these policies. Documents refer to records of past events prepared intentionally to preserve records or for immediate practical use as well as policy documents. Institutional documents express the organizations, or departmental officials', perspective on the issue or process.

Documentary evidence can provide witting or unwitting evidence according to Duffy (1987). Witting evidence refers to what the author had intended to convey whereas unwitting evidence refers to the other aspects, such as underlying assumptions or issues that can be inferred from the documents. The use of documentary evidence requires the same circumspection applicable to most data sources. The danger is that the researcher may find it difficult to determine the documents' authenticity and accuracy (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006, p. 428). Consideration needs therefore to be given to problems of document authenticity, inference and interpretation (Cohen & Manion, 1984; Yin, 1989).

Primary source documents around evaluation and appraisal include departmental archives, official minutes, memoranda, policy drafts, written submissions, policy texts, newspaper articles, conference reports and programme evaluation reports. During my consultancy work in 2007 for the DoE on the WSE, I gained access to valuable policy and other report documents. This involved talking to the DoE QA Directorate about the WSE implementation of the WSE reports from the various provinces since 2002. I was asked to compile a synthesis report of the 1,025 schools completed in the nine provinces during the years 2002-2006.

This meant that I had access to 1,025 WSE reports, detailing the quality of schooling from the WSE supervisors using the WSE schedule. Then, as part of the NEEDU MinCom, further official documents were consulted as I was charged by the MinCom to do a review of national policies, structures and processes around school evaluation and development.

This work helped me to identify other policy documents (as well as representatives of the main stakeholders, who were most knowledgeable about the teacher appraisal policy development process for my own data collection). The following documents were consulted and analyzed:

- Official government policy documents on quality assurance systems, such as DAS, PMDS agreements, the WSE policy, the Systemic Evaluation Framework, the IQMS, IQMS training manual and the DoE-commissioned IQMS implementation report, various international evaluation system documents submitted to the ELRC as well as ELRC collective agreements over the period 1998-2008. Other important legal and policy documents, including the National Education Policy Act, the GENFETQA, the District Development documents, the NPFTED, NFPTED implementation plans, and other DoE and Gauteng annual reports and strategic plans;

- WSE school monitoring reports for the period 2002-2007;
- Various SACE documents and CPTD reports
- Teacher unions' memoranda and press statements

These policy and other related documents were subjected to a critical discourse analysis. Discourse analytical research focuses predominantly on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. Van Dijk (2000, p. 352/3) adds that it examines "the way social power dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". The aim is to trace the tensions and conflicts in various teacher appraisal policy agreements as well as the reasons for the changes which appear in these agreements from 1998 to 2009 by pre-selecting issues and categories necessary to draw comparisons over time or from other sources/institutions. Unions and district documents complement these policy documents in understanding the nature of the institutional contexts which structure and shape the perceptions and actions of various stakeholders towards teacher appraisal and school evaluation.

5.6.3 Interviews

Because data generated from policy and official documents do not reveal the struggles embedded in the negotiations, strategies and development, the study had to supplement its data with interviews. As Raab (1994, pp. 23-24) explains:

> [It is important] of going beyond the pronouncements of 'policy makers' and actually talking to them, for meanings and 'assumptive worlds' are essential parts of the policy process and require to be understood if action itself is to be understood.

Group and individual interviews

Both group and individual interviews were conducted to reveal how policymakers and implementers came to develop particular policy or strategy positions which changed

over time as well as to explore how these translated in different policy processes and tensions.

The oral evidence gathered in the nine provinces on a standardized questionnaire on the IQMS processes at provincial and school level during the NEEDU Ministerial work over a five-month period (August-December 2008) was used to develop material for my focus group interviews with key officials of the DoE, principals of resilient schools, WSE supervisors and district 'inspectors'.

The various evidence submitted to the Ministerial Commission members allowed a more insightful exploration of the experiences and interpretations by various policy agents of the WSE and IQMS policy processes. More specifically, it brought out the most contested issues around school evaluation, teacher appraisal and development, and how these issues and positions evolved over time. The DoE's DDG was asked for, and granted, permission to use the MinCom gathered research data.

Individual formal interviews with key policy respondents were also conducted more specifically for this study in 2008 and 2009. The first step was to identify the key respondents. Because the policy development process is socially contested and constructed by multiple stakeholders with competing and conflicting interpretations of the issues behind the policies, it was decided to gather interview data from representatives from various policy communities, which Yanow (2000, p. 10) called interpretive communities of meaning. These policy communities refer to groups who constructed common views, beliefs and practices around these evaluation and appraisal policies. Although many communities of meaning exist, three broad communities of meaning were selected: policymakers, implementing personnel, and affected citizens.

The selection of senior or key people within these communities was decided in terms of their involvement in particular phases of policymaking, ensuring they came from the

main policy communities involved with teacher appraisal and the IQMS. The snowball method was chosen to identify key people who were policy actors involved somehow at different phases of the DAS, WSE and IQMS policy development processes. At a later stage, reports on the 2009 TD Summit commissions were also used in relation to views and recommendations made around the IQMS.

Thus, the research study ensured that representatives of the main policy communities were interviewed, namely the education departments (DoE, the PEDs, district officials), SACE, the ELRC and teacher unions. However, data generated by certain interviews tend to provide only one interpretation of the policy and its processes of production and implementation (Rizvi & Kemmis, 1987, pp. 12-19). Other narratives could also be constructed from other interviewees with different views. That is why it is critical to interview a sufficiently wide sample from various policy communities. It is also accepted that, within each of the policy communities, there are most likely different interpretations of the policy, but the concern was to gather data from those who assume, in some form or other, a position of leadership and strategic direction within their constituency. Hence, only a few key respondents within the main policy communities were identified and interviewed about their interpretation, responses and strategies regarding teacher appraisal and the genealogy of the IQMS.

The interview technique is appropriate in this study because it allows insight into people's perceptions, meaning-making and strategies used around important aspects of teacher appraisals as well as how these work in a concrete educational context. Data was gathered through face-to-face interviews as these allow for greater flexibility and in-depth probing on some of the questions or answers given (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (1995) mention the importance of capturing the interview climate and mood as well as the relationship between interviewer and respondents.

Types of interviews

Cohen and Manion (1984) identify four types of interviews: structured, unstructured (or open-ended), focused and non-directive. This study relied on both open-ended and focused interviews. The former less structured type allows for interviews of persons who can offer particular insights into a situation and can also suggest further data sources. Follow-up (focused) interviews with key informants, and interviews with others identified by them, were also undertaken. Although the focused interview is still fairly open-ended, questions are more searching as the researcher attempts to corroborate certain established facts (Yin, 1989). Finally, less structured narratives were used when deemed necessary.

All interview schedules were semi-structured to include a list of themes derived from the literature (Polit & Hungler, 1999) and previous hearings for the Ministerial Committee. Apart from a section looking at the profile of respondents as well as various structures, culture, working conditions and micro-politics of their schools, the interviews were informed by the following themes and constructs: respondents' views on the challenges of teachers' work and status, of new teacher policies based on the concept of teachers as professionals, internal versus external appraisal, the concept of appraisal for development and for accountability, the chosen performance standards to evaluate teachers and schools. The second part of the interview explored what made respondents respond to and act towards teacher appraisal in the way they did as well as how they reflected to improve their leadership, professional competences and practices at work. Telephonic interviews were also done with a few national and provincial department officials.

Two sets of semi-structured interviews with different schedules were conducted.

The first set of interviews was meant to generate a free-flowing engagement and gain rich and detailed discussion on different stages and changes in evaluation and appraisal

policies. They focused on the different tensions and contradictions of teacher appraisal and the way they were incorporated into the policy and translate into policy implementation. More specifically, they asked about the reasons, strengths and weaknesses of the content of the various appraisal agreements from 1998 to 2008 as well as their main implementation problems. A particular emphasis was put on the negotiation strategies and the way in which they dealt with the appraisal tensions and the one between teacher development and accountability as well as the way these were, or could be, combined in appraisal.

This set of individual interviews was done with the following representatives of key policy communities:

- DoE: DDG of System Planning and Monitoring
  Chief Director of Human Resources Planning
  Three Directors of Teacher Development; Human Resource Planning; Policy and Monitoring, involved in the bargaining and/or drafting of the DAS and IQMS agreements
- GDE: Chief-director of System Planning and Monitoring
  Chief-director of Districts
- Unions: Two representatives from NAPTOSA, two from SADTU, one from SAOU, involved in the writing and negotiations of the DAS and IQMS documents
- SACE: One representative
- ELRC: The CEO of the teachers' bargaining council
- Two expert educationists: Professors J. Jansen and P. Matthews.

The second set of semi-structured interviews was conducted as part of the case study of a GDE division and a GDE district on their mediation work with the WSE and IQMS policies. The interview schedule focused more specifically on the policy agencies and

leadership of this division and district, their knowledge, understanding of the policies and various mediation strategies in respect of implementation challenges. The following people were selected:

- GDE QA and HR sub-directorate: the GDE QA Director and three WSE provincial supervisors
- One GDE district: One district Director and the District HR manager (in charge of teacher development)
- Independent Quality Assurance Association (IQAA): CEO.

Appendix B outlines the list of people interviews, with their functions and, when they agreed to it, their name.

Advantages and limitations of interviews

Interviews are important because they provide the means "to get inside the context and understand the subject of investigation from the perspectives of those who are centrally involved" (Sayed, 1995, p. 147). Interviews can achieve optimum data collection if they enable the interviewer to gain in-depth insights and subtle nuances in the perspectives of the respondents (Mouton, 2001). They have the advantages of being easy to redesign, cheap to conduct, flexible, and easy to engage respondents with and avoid any misunderstandings or misinterpretations by them. The disadvantage of interviews is the subjective relationship between interviewer and respondents, as well as interviewing respondents at a difficult moment or when they wanted to digress from the questions asked. Perceptual data, gathered through interviews, have a problem of lack of reliability. With the prevalent culture of blame in the school system and the sensitive topic of performance appraisal and evaluation, the views and responses of the various stakeholders on the IQMS tensions were indeed rather different, revealing different angles and views about the IQMS, which, it is argued here, are the sources of weak consensus and conflicts around the IQMS.

Thus, some of the (perceptual) data from interviews may not have been as reliable as one would wish for but efforts were made to improve this with triangulation of data, sourced from many different places and means, from formal interviews to less orthodox sources such as oral hearings, written evidence, seminars and group discussions. This also allowed greater and multiple insights as the data came from a variety of stakeholders, some representatives from policy communities, others appearing as themselves. The only data which were not triangulated sufficiently came in the case study from the second set of interviews about implementation and mediation strategies and moves by different stakeholders in the GDE. No schools and teachers affected by the WSE and IQMS work of GDE were interviewed to assess their experiences and views of specific mediation strategies and activities, but the idea was to explore the basis for their strategic thinking and decisions in relation to these policies.

Finally, in conducting these interviews, an ethical issue dominated all along as I did not want to declare my critical approach or position regarding these policies when interviewing various respondents. As a result, I presented my study, in a non-threatening manner, as an enquiry into what happened, what changed, how and why as well as what were their views, interpretations and work experiences in relation to evaluation and appraisal policies from 1998 to 2009. The idea was not to compare the various narratives but rather to analyze them, give them meaning and interpret them in terms of my critical conceptual policy framework. This ethical issue remained with me throughout the data collection and analysis.

To sum up, different data collection methods were used for the different policy narratives (Gale, 2001), to answer the various research sub-questions.

	Literature review	Document analysis	Interviews
Sub-question 1	On the different theoretical approaches to appraisals, their purpose, content and forms as well as ways of tensions, such as combining teacher development and teacher accountability. On the best ways to understand why appraisals change and evolve over time. On the policy analysis approach 1) to review studies of teacher appraisal policies introduced & implemented in various systems. 2) to inform study of teacher appraisal policies.		
Sub-question 2		Policy historiography: On the roots of appraisal systems, the legacies of teacher devt/accountability, (exercises and plays of power). On the state of the new education bureaucracy, teachers' unions, schools	Policy genealogy: On how education departments, teacher unions experience and interpret previous evaluation and appraisal policies (plays of power).
Sub-question 3		Policy genealogy: On the main tensions/contestations of various forms of appraisals and statements by various stakeholders (exercises of power).	Policy genealogy: On how education departments, teacher unions and teachers experienced, interpreted, negotiated IQMS appraisal policy (plays of power).

Sub-question 4		Policy genealogy: On how education departments, teacher unions and teachers responded to the WSE and IQMS in the way they do (power-plays).	Policy genealogy: On various agencies' and leadership strategies in addressing and mediating appraisal tensions and participating in various IQMS production and implementation processes (power-plays).

5.7 Validity and Reliability

In qualitative case study research, research criteria are not often clearly spelt out, bringing to the fore important research issues and concerns of generalizability, reliability and validity which are fundamental to the whole research process (Bell, 1987).

Generalizability refers to the extent to which findings or assertions can be usefully applied or generalized to other contexts. Most analysts argue that qualitative research is not concerned with strict generalizing to wider situations in a law-like fashion (Vulliamy, 1990). Instead, the emphasis is on a detailed study of single or specific contexts, with a view to generating ideas that might illuminate the realities and meanings of other similar situations (Parlett & Hamilton, 1977, cited in Vulliamy, 1990), a phenomenon described as 'analytical generalization' (Yin, 1989). There is also the notion of 'fuzzy generalization', which refers to the possibility, not certainty, of an occurrence in one situation happening in similar situations elsewhere.

Reliability refers to the issue of replicability, that is, the degree of consistency in research findings and procedures (Golby, 1994). McMillan and Schumacher (2006) define reliability as "the extent to which the results are similar over different forms of the same instrument or occasions of data collection" (p. 244)**.** Reliability refers to the dependability of the data, testing the stability or consistency of the data collection

process, irrespective of time and different conditions, in terms of the extent to which the results are similar over different forms of the same instrument or occasion of data collection (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006, p. 183). In qualitative research, this means recognising similarities across different contexts, as no two cases are the same. As Golby (1994, p. 22) puts it:

> Reliability is the thin tissue that connects different experiences in different contexts under common frameworks of investigation and analysis.

A way in which reliability can be maximized is, according to Yin (1989), by documenting the whole operational process to allow the study to be repeated at any given time using the same procedures. Reliability can also be addressed through meticulous documentation and the building of a case data base. This would allow others to follow similar steps and processes in their own research.

To maximise the reliability of the research process, I ensured that respondents felt at ease and had time to reflect on the questions to ensure as much objectivity as possible and create some level of trust and ease with the respondents so they could answer the questions in a genuine and honest manner. However, in making sense of respondents' interviews and the reliability of their answers, I was reminded of Prawda's (1992) notion of discrepancy analysis, which recognizes discrepancies between what an organisation or respondents believe or say and what they actually do in practice.

Validity refers to the research investigating what it sets out and claims to investigate. Are the instruments measuring what was supposed to be measured? McMillan and Schumacher (2006) define validity as a judgment of appropriateness of a measure, or: '...a judgment of a measure for specific inferences or decisions that result from scores generated' (p. 239). Validity takes different forms, according to Mouton (2001): construct validity (or valid conceptualization of research issues), operational validity (or valid data collection instruments) and interpretive validity (or valid interpretation of data).

In this research, there are different validity issues. At the level of the literature review and the framing of the research investigation, one can talk of 'construct validity' or the need to construct an appropriate and relevant frame to research what it intends to be researched. According to Mouton (2001), qualitative research tends to be associated with high construct validity because the data obtained is rich and in-depth. At the level of the research design, 'operational validity' refers to the need to ensure that the relevant research design and instruments (interview or observational schedules and document selection) are chosen to collect the required data. At the level of data analysis, 'interpretive validity' refers to the need to ensure that the evidence coming from the collection of data is rigorously interpreted and analysed and that the researcher is not biased with the handling of the data (see next section for more on this).

In striving to maximize research validity, several steps can be taken. For greater construct validity, a particular construct, concept or idea that derives from the literature review, can be tested by documentary evidence or discussion with respondents.

To achieve greater operational validity, multi-method or multi-view triangulation can be used. By using multiple methods, the same data or concepts may be viewed from different points of observation (Golby, 1994). Triangulation is applied to a point of view (Golby, 1994), collecting the points of view of the school manager, policy maker/implementer and/or a policy analyst which are then triangulated to consolidate a view. For greater interpretive validity, a deliberate effort to disconfirm the researcher's own interpretations can be made to assist readers in making their own interpretations and recognizing the subjective element. The idea is to highlight or nullify external influences, reinforce specific interpretations or even send the researcher back to the drawing board (Stake, 1995). Others, like Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p. 4), point out that triangulation is more about obtaining an in-depth multi-angled understanding of a phenomenon; it is not a strategy for validation, but an alternative to validation. Thus,

although the notion of triangulation is itself the subject of conceptual debate, there will always remain a concern for multiple interpretations and accuracy of interpretation and meaning.

Strategies used to maximize the reliability and validity of the data collection included:

- Piloting interviews on members of the Ministerial Committee.
- Because the study understands knowledge as a social construct, it sees the importance of triangulation as a search for other/additional interpretations rather than the confirmation of a single meaning. Triangulation was therefore done through different data sources to show the different vantage points from which to understand a category of data (Flick, 2002, pp. 37-38).

It was beneficial to use triangulation given the prevalent culture of blame in the school system and such a sensitive topic as appraisal and evaluation of performance. It was obvious that, at times, the views and responses of various stakeholders were rather different, or that they insisted on focusing on very different angles of the issue or question at hand. Although difficult to process, such findings, some of which were not unexpected, had the advantage of presenting different sides of a story which probably all existed out there. The key was to understand which of these sides are more or less prevalent and accurate in certain specific situations and not others. Unfortunately for the writing of the research findings, because the different sides of the story could not always be verified by alternative data sources, it is likely that the data collected at school and district level are not the most reliable data.

The other important point coming out of this study is that a sense of agency and active mediation was rarely in evidence with many of the people interviewed, even though the latter were selected because of their position in settings with some success or positive experiences of evaluation and appraisal.

The achievement of high interpretive validity requires a discussion on the data analysis and synthesis in a separate section which follows.

5.8 Data Analysis and Validity

The purpose of data analysis is to impose some order on a large body of information so that conclusions can be reached and communicated (Polit & Hungler, 1999). This study uses some grounded theory for this. Henning et al. (1995, p. 115) describe it as a tool for turning concrete realities into a conceptual understanding. It starts with observations rather than hypotheses and seeks to discover dominant trends and patterns as well as theories from the ground up with no preconceptions (Babbie, 2005, p. 389).

Miles and Huberman (2002, p. 315) argue that there are three steps in data analysis: the development of thematic constructs, the indexing of thematic data and the piecing together of the whole picture by referring to the literature on the particular issues. Thus, qualitative data analysis is an ongoing process, which is integrated into all phases of qualitative research and describes the systematic search and arranging of data from interview transcripts to increase an understanding of the data and enable a clear and structured presentation. Several coding were done prior to the data collection (such as the main appraisal tensions and strategies) but others emerged from the data themselves as they were read and re-read.

It is also imperative to understand the deductive and inductive debate and approach to theory. As Wilcox (1983, as cited in Vulliamy, 1990) suggests, a qualitative study starts with a 'foreshadowed problem' in mind. This initial 'deductive' approach to the problem is general but, as the researcher gets inside the perspectives of the research subjects and the subject matter itself, other more significant issues can emerge. The evidence of the data changes or reshapes the study's framework of ideas (the inductive approach).

McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 417) argue that data have to be analysed through inductive analysis, which involves data coding, data categorizing and interpretation before providing an explanation that makes sense: ’categories and patterns emerged from the data rather than being imposed on data prior to data collection‘ (McMillan & Schumacher 2006, p. 462).

This study combines elements of the deductive and inductive approach. It was therefore a case of deducting from the theoretical framework what to explore and understand in relation to policy processes, but with the view to using the inductive approach to make the data feedback, complement and enrich the initial theoretical framework. Thus, although thematic constructs derived originally from the insights of the literature review, the data was collected and analyzed in a way that did not preclude new constructs from emerging from the data or old constructs being refined with data collection. The study’s constructs include teacher development, accountability, appraisal tensions, contestations and mediations (the way these are perceived, how they are adapted in contexts and how they impact on schools and teachers).

The study started by foreshadowing the problem or tensions of appraisal policy and policy implementation, as the result of different concentric circles of influences from the international, political/national bureaucratic and organizational contexts. How these influences manifest themselves (or not) in the challenges of education policy and policy implementation could not be determined in advance and, in the course of the data collection and analysis, the temporary policy settlements had to be understood, reflected on in terms of their strengths and weaknesses or consensus fragility to understand why and how it was re-negotiated. In that sense, hypotheses were established, invalidated or disconfirmed and new insights appeared and resulted in amendments of what was derived from the literature reviewed.

As Yin (1989) argues, the evidence of the single case provides an effective methodology for the organization and interpretation of qualitative data which are drawn from in-depth interviews and document analysis. After the data was analyzed, they have to be interpreted and related to one another in terms of the theoretical framework, according to McMillan and Schumacher (2006), which is what the study did, leading to more detailed conceptualization of the constructs of the initial framework.

5.9 Limitations of the Study

This study starts from the premise that it is near impossible to explain fully any social phenomenon and its development and changed form over time, especially if it is socially constructed and over-determined by many forces and factors. A phenomenon or practice such as teacher appraisal, which revolves around sensitive and controversial issues of performance evaluation, is a multi-faceted context-bounded issue in which many influences and factors are at play and for which there is no easy recipe. In that sense, the study did not attempt to explain fully how appraisal systems evolved.

It is also important to recognize that most of my empirical research data is perceptual and based on interviewees' responses, which inevitably poses a challenge to the reliability and generalization of the data analysis. There was an attempt to ensure some reliability but triangulating data sources with respondents from the main stakeholders and with document analysis can never be foolproof.

The study of a single case of appraisal implementation and mediation in two departmental agencies of what has been perceived as one of the most successful provinces, the Gauteng province, was conceived to explore what policy agency and leadership can do and achieve. In this sense, the analysis of this case can provide useful insights for appraisal practices in other provinces.

A possible limitation in this study is that the GDE case did not investigate mediation strategies and policy agencies from all sides, i.e., from the teachers' and schools' perspectives.

5.10 Research Ethics

McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 16) describe ethics as a consideration of fairness, honesty, openness of intent, disclosure of methods, respect of integrity of the individual, individual privacy and informed willingness on the part of the subject to participate voluntarily in the research activity. Educational research deals with human beings and, therefore, the rights and welfare of subjects must be protected. To achieve this and avoid any legal action, the following procedures were followed:

a) Permission to conduct the study was obtained from both the DoE and GDE to ensure protection of respondents and confidentiality of their responses. A summary of the proposal was sent to the DoE and GDE while interview schedules were sent in advance to the other respondents.

b) Ethics clearance was obtained from the Ethics Committee of the School of Education. To ensure consent by the respondents, the nature and purpose of the study was explained before the interview. Respondents were also assured that only the researcher would be responsible for processing the data (which were to be destroyed at the end of the study), and that they would be total confidentiality and anonymity in the processing and analyzing of the data, if they wished so. They were then made to sign a consent form for being interviewed.

c) All sources of information or data indicated throughout the report were acknowledged to ensure rightful ownership and credibility.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION CONTEXT INHERITED FROM *APARTHEID*

The second sub-question of this study on the historical, political and education context factors which contribute to the making of teacher appraisal policies is dealt with in the next three chapters. Indeed, systems of teacher development and/or appraisal are never introduced or implemented on a blank state and are usually informed by, and rooted in, a socio-political context and the realities of teachers' work and level of professionalism. To understand the state's challenges in the post-1994 education reconstruction, including in relation to school evaluation and appraisal, requires an analysis of the educational terrain inherited from *apartheid.* This will inform an understanding of this legacy's impact on the relationship between the post-1994 state, teachers, their unions and professional organisations as well as their different attitudes and practices regarding evaluation, appraisal and professionalism.

This brief chapter presents the educational context inherited from the *apartheid* era and the unequal nature and quality of *apartheid* education, its various bureaucracies and how these influenced and related to teachers' work and organisations. It argues that these authoritarian segregated bureaucracies impacted differently on teachers' work and their levels of professionalism as well as led to different teacher demands and forms of unionization. It shows how this led to two strongly unequal education systems with widely different provisions, experiences and performances, de-professionalized teachers and complex contextual challenges to address in the post-1994 reconstruction.

With the negotiated political settlement and its various compromises, new socio-economic and political forces and alliances emerged around education reconstruction and policymaking. It argues that the new state attempted to re-negotiate its relationship to civil society, whether professional organizations, advisory fora or teacher unions.

However, soon power conflicts re-surfaced and the situation became polarized between two stakeholders only: the education bureaucracy and teacher unions.

6.1 *Apartheid*: Uneven School Quality and Separate Education Departments

Apartheid education consisted of separate education departments for the various racial and ethnic groups, which were subjected to different legislation, funding, working conditions and teacher education provisions. Broadly-speaking, the *apartheid* logic was to produce widely unequal white and black education systems to maintain white supremacy and perpetuate black subordination. Education inequalities were strong by 1990 when white education received 15 times more state funding per child than black education (Nkomo, 1990). On the whole, white teachers were qualified and benefited from reasonable salaries and conducive working conditions in well resourced schools, with white students from a middle class background. This explains the relatively high performance of white schools with matriculation pass rates around 80%.

In contrast, black schools, and in particular African schools, were seriously under-resourced with poorly qualified and lowly paid black teachers, who taught students from poor communities, with mostly illiterate parents who were not very involved in their children's schooling. African schools were worse because they were the product of the 1953 Bantu Education system which represented a form of parallel mass expansion of educational provisions for the African population, without corresponding additional infrastructural, financial and human resources. As a result, African teachers faced particularly difficult working conditions in overcrowded facilities, with limited teaching resources and poor assistance from their under-resourced education departments more concerned with controlling them than able to support them to improve their teaching. This inadequate provisioning and poor quality schooling over nearly four decades produced poor school performance with matriculation pass rates revolving around 40%.

There was a white-dominated national department; four white regional departments with some curriculum development powers and access to the national department; three racially separate urban education departments for Indian, coloured and African schools; and ten homeland departments (Buckland & Hofmeyr, 1993). This administrative fragmentation was accompanied by a centralized approach to education governance, with the national department in control of overall finance and expenditures as well as the development, implementation and monitoring of education policies in the various other departments. White education departments were better resourced and, together with the four independent homelands, had some control over curriculum, examinations, teacher training and employment as well as school construction and infrastructure. In contrast, the Department of Bantu Education, renamed Department of Education and Training (DET) in 1979, which catered for Africans in urban areas, was particularly poorly-resourced, with restricted policy and decision-making powers and serious inefficiencies in delivery and provisioning. According to Buckland and Hofmeyr (1993, p. 30), the centralization of education powers and decision-making, coupled with a racially fragmented and differentially-funded administration, resulted in a seriously inefficient system of education delivery and provisioning, except for the white population.

Teacher education was also racially and ethnically fragmented with unequally resourced education departments managing their own teacher training colleges for White, Indian, Coloured and African teachers. As a result, teachers under *apartheid* acquired their knowledge and competencies through socialization in a racialized environment (Carrim, 2001). This segregation led to a costly and inefficient teacher education system with many duplications and a lack of coherence in the multiplicity of curricula and qualifications. White, and to some extent Indian, student teachers were provided with some meaningful teacher education and in-service teacher training opportunities to improve their professional competences and be able to adapt their teaching methods to the specific context of their learners, with some teachers also able to innovate on

aspects of their teaching (Sayed, 2002). In contrast, limited higher education opportunities existed for African and Coloured students who were discriminated against by poor quality teacher training colleges which specialized mainly in the humanities or social sciences and religious studies, offering limited opportunities to train in maths, science and technology (Sayed, 2002).

Thus, *apartheid* education de-professionalized black teachers. This was worse for African teachers who did not have access to many in-service training opportunities to develop many professional teacher competences. As Morrow (1989) explains, Bantu education produced a generation of African teachers who were poorly educated in what they had to teach, required to transmit a poor quality syllabus and behaving like civil servants or workers obedient to authority. African education departments were there to ensure that African teachers were socialized in a culture of subservience to authority and were treated as workers who had to comply with what they were told to do.

Jansen (2004) mentions that, by 1994, most black teachers in secondary schools struggled both with their subject matter and pedagogy. They had not been trained in the subject matter they were told to teach, having moved from primary to secondary schools when the secondary learner population grew, and also because of their inferior training in poorly resourced and poorly capacitated teachers' training colleges. Taylor and Vinjevold (1999), Adler and Reed (2002) and Marneweck (2004) also researched the late 1990s' teachers classroom practices in poor black schools. The evidence pointed to bad teaching still rooted in the fundamental pedagogical approach in which they were taught as well as insufficient subject and pedagogical knowledge.

Thus, the education system for African teachers and students had suffered badly from years of poor infrastructural, financial and human resources while the white and, to a lesser extent, Indian education systems benefited from greater administrative and pedagogical resources and capacity. This legacy of poorly educated teachers and

students, lacking exposure to sound cognitive and educational principles and knowledge was to weigh heavily for years to come on black teachers and students who developed a strong distrust of state institutions and bureaucratic structures.

6.2 Teachers' Work, Control and Union Organizations

As mentioned in chapter two, in the 1950s, teachers in many countries were expected to transmit teacher-proof syllabuses which education departments controlled in a rather rigid manner. By the 1960s, mainly with external demands for a more equal education system, teachers acquired more professional competences and autonomy to adapt the curriculum to their context, thereby enhancing their status and sense of identity and professionalism. By the 1990s, forms of teacher collaboration and interactive and democratic teacher professionalism emerged (Whitty, 2006).

However, in South Africa, teachers' work was differently conceived and depended on the racially and ethnically segregated education department. Most education departments were characterized by top down authoritarian structures with bureaucratic rules and procedures to ensure that *apartheid* principles, ideology and syllabi were transmitted in schools. However, departments adopted different forms of treatment and control over teachers. White departments expected their teachers to use prescribed textbooks and transmit their syllabuses, designed by white curriculum experts loyal to the apartheid ideology. Teachers came from a better teacher education dispensation and were allowed some professional autonomy with some professional development opportunities. White teachers had some representation in policymaking and in the development of curriculum and assessment while, at school level, by the 1990s, teacher-parent committee structures existed. According to Chisholm (1999, p. 115), most white teachers were totally insulated from the day-to-day realities and experiences of black schools, although a few of them who opposed *apartheid* were more tightly controlled. Chetty, Chisholm, Gardiner, Magan and Vinjevold (1993) argue

that, on the whole, because of Whites' enfranchised status and their freedom to associate, authority relations between white departments and their teachers were not as bureaucratic and controlling as with teachers of other races. In that sense, most white teachers belonged to what Hargreaves (2002) called the individual professional age: they behaved and associated as professional teachers committed to improving students' learning and acquiring greater professional competences and status.

In contrast, the often under-resourced and inefficient black education departments managed their teachers in a more authoritarian and oppressive manner. They relied on bureaucratic forms of authority and control to discipline teachers who were expected to comply with strict bureaucratic rules and procedures. Black teachers typically belonged to what Hargreaves calls the pre-professional age. Far from being encouraged to develop their teaching competences or professional status, they were perceived as workers with basic technical competencies to transmit the *apartheid* curriculum with teacher-proof syllabuses. Control over their work was exercised through a bureaucratic and authoritarian system expecting obedience and subservience.

Education departments in the eleven Bantustans were centralized structures, relying on hierarchical bureaucratic organizational arrangements. Some of these departments enjoyed relative autonomy from Pretoria and introduced some education reforms, in the hope of selling their independence to the homeland population. For example, Bophuthatswana initiated interesting learner-centred programmes such as the Early Childhood Development (ECD) and the Primary Education Upgrading Programmes (PEUP) as well as better support to teacher training colleges which were affiliated to the University of Bophuthatswana's Institute of Education (De Clercq, 1989). This, together with the well-known less militant nature of the rural population, may explain why Bantustan education departments were not the object of such strong protests from the local teacher and student population.

Such uneven treatments and controls of white and black teachers shaped significantly the nature of their work and identities and sense of professionalism. However, all teachers did not unilaterally accept and internalize these departmental messages and differences. As mentioned before, education is a contested terrain whereby some teachers use their social agency and organizational capacities to challenge existing authority relations and controls as well as mobilize to obtain some education changes from the state. Teachers-state interactions and relations are key in shaping teachers' professional and political identities since these are, as Lawn and Ozga (1988) argue, socially and politically constructed.

In tracing the history of South African teacher unionism, Hyslop (1999) argues that teachers' organizations partly reflected the racially fragmented teaching force and its different forms of control but also the different responses to the *apartheid* regime. White teachers' organizations, initially fragmented along regional lines, came together into the Teachers Federal Council (TFC) around apolitical professional issues and won some access to statutory advisory structures. Coloured teachers organized in the Union of Teachers Association of South Africa (UTASA) and Indian teachers organized on a regional or provincial basis with many joining eventually the Teachers Association of South Africa (TASA), even though these were not recognized by their education departments. Some African teachers joined the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA), a more conservative teacher organization which refused involvement in politics, preferring instead to focus on professional issues (Hyslop, 1999, p. 112).

By the late 1950s, protests intensified against the *apartheid* regime and a new union, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), emerged to mobilize predominantly black teachers to resist separate education systems and Bantu Education in particular. SADTU decided to join the ANC in its struggle against the *apartheid* state, on the grounds that their only chance for substantial changes was to combine the struggle for educational and political demands. After the repression of political

opposition and the banning of black political and trade union organizations in the early 1960s, the *apartheid* regime continued to buttress educational inequalities, based on race and ethnicity through an impoverished under-resourced black education system. With the deterioration of black secondary schooling in the urban areas, the frustrations and discontent of black students and teachers grew. A new wave of anti-*apartheid* protests emerged with the Black Consciousness movement in the late 1960s and again in the 1970's with protests against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (Kallaway, 1984, 2002). This opposition spread nationwide with various consumer township-based boycotts and industrial actions by black workers and unions.

The DET tried to defuse the volatile school situation by making some concessions and investing more resources in secondary, technical and vocational schools in the urban areas (Kallaway, 1984). Another strategy was to tighten bureaucratic controls over black teachers (Chisholm, 1999). Jansen (2004) argues that the inspectorate became one of the worst manifestations of state teacher surveillance and control used to defuse [in vain] black teachers' resistance and punish those who were disloyal or participated in oppositional politics. A World Bank report (Fehnel, Bergmann & Buckland, 1993) studied the tensions around the inspectorate in black schools as well as the role of inspectors, their capacity and legitimacy and concluded that the existing structure, personnel and practice of the inspectorate has a major impact on its quality, efficiency and the interaction between inspectors and school staff. Other objections to the inspectorate in black schools were identified by Chetty et al. (1993, p. 3) were:

- Its political bias.
- The unchecked powers of often incompetent inspectors.
- The victimization of politically affiliated teachers.
- The sexual harassment and discrimination of female teachers.
- The notion of a one-off inspector visit.
- The abuse of patronage and merit awards.
- The difficulties in challenging inspectors' assessment.

This inadequate departmental response did not quell black students and teachers' demands. By the early 1980s, the United Democratic Front (UDF) called all oppressed communities to organize in whatever sector to oppose the *apartheid* regime. The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) launched the 1985 People's Education campaign, and demanded the end of discriminatory measures in black education and a more democratic education for all (Chisholm & Fuller, 1996). The frustrations of black students made them mobilize under the slogan of: 'Liberation Now; Education Later', in line with wider protest campaigns for the country's un-governability. However, the NECC was quick to remind black students of the importance of education and put out an alternative more responsible slogan of: 'Education for Liberation' (Mashamba, 1990).

The period of the 1980s up to 1994 became known as the interregnum period. Because of the constant political protests, violence and repression, the managerial authority in the education system and schools was seriously undermined with many black schools becoming dysfunctional. During that time, inspectors were banished and quasi-disappeared from black schools. As Jansen (2004, p. 54) explains, there were serious consequences to this withdrawal of governmental authority from black schools:

> [Such withdrawal] left in its wake a dearth of developmental inputs in the work of teachers, and the lack of effective interventional authority in the disciplining of teachers. But this withdrawal of authority from the professional life of the school was replaced with a violent assertion of the same authority in the political life of the school.

These protests against *apartheid* led to a new unity among students and teachers of various racial groups fighting for the democratization of education structures. New trade unions emerged, including the non-racial National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) and other small progressive teacher unions in defence of the principle of non-racism. Even the National Union of Educators (NUE), with more conservative coloured and African union members, rallied around the demand for political rights and democratisation of education. By 1988, the National Teacher Unity Forum (NTUF) was formed to intensify the pressure against the *apartheid* state and embarked on a massive

national protest, which brought many black schools to a virtual standstill. By 1990, the NTUF dissolved to give way to a new teacher trade union, SADTU (using the name of the teacher union which had been banned in the 1960s) (Govender, 2008). SADTU affiliated to COSATU and constituted a strong base within the mass movement for political and educational democracy (Hyslop, 1999, p.112). In its first conference organized under the theme 'Unionize for Democratic Professionalism', SADTU declared its commitment to political freedom, improved work conditions and better professional status.

But what did different teacher unions stand for in relation to professionalism? Broadly speaking, there were distinct teacher union tendencies with different emerging definitions of teacher professionalism. The workerist tendency believed in all actions to demand better working conditions; teachers' mobilization for political and educational freedom, and a struggle for more professional competences and status. As mentioned earlier, there is a range and continuum in the definition of teacher professionalism, between a narrow conception, which refers to teachers focusing on the acquisition of professional knowledge, competences and expertise without being fully responsible for students' learning and a broader conception concerned with more autonomy for teachers, and the development of professional identity, beliefs and attitudes, in accordance with the profession's values and responsibilities (Hargreaves, 1994).

Chisholm (1999, p. 114) argues that the workerist and professional tendencies in South African teacher organizations became the 'symbolic markers of political difference'. However, the more radical black teachers'organizations insisted on the need to challenge *apartheid* and *apartheid* education policies. In the 1990s, the first SADTU general secretary, Van der Heever, argues that the workerist tendency was compatible with the professional tendency:

> When teachers demand a living wage, they demand adequate remuneration which promotes quality professional work in the classroom (in Swartz, 1994, p. 54).

However, Govender (2004) explains that SADTU and its predecessors learnt to flex their muscles as a workerist-type union, fighting for better working conditions and perceiving their members as workers first. They quickly joined the wider anti-*apartheid* struggle to fight against *apartheid* oppression, discrimination and exclusion from official departmental structures; something that added a political identity to their members. On the issue of teacher inspection or evaluation, Chisholm (1999, p. 118) argues that SADTU mobilized predominantly the 'worker' and 'political' identity of teachers against the *apartheid* oppressive structures and did not build their professional identity. SADTU ws therefore keen to demand the abolition of hierarchical forms of education management and monitoring and not so much greater professional competences and autonomy. It did not have a strong emphasis on teacher professional identities and professionalism.

In contrast, white and Indian teachers' organizations and their members did not agree to this political-cum-workerist type of union mobilization but preferred to focus on professional issues (Govender, 2004). Swartz (1994) quotes the National Association of Professional Teachers Organization (NAPTOSA), which regrouped some conservative black and white teachers' organizations, as disagreeing with SADTU's stance:

> ... the interest of the child are not interchangeable with issues such as demands for fair salaries and working hours for teachers, or party-political considerations...Protest action by teachers... has a damaging effect on their pupils (cited by Swartz, 1994, p. 55)

NAPTOSA discourse on teacher professionalism was closer to another conception of professionalism which emphasized teachers' professional autonomy, competences and professional moral values, codes and responsibilities. This is still different from Wenger and Snyder's (2000, p. 142) notion of communities of practice, committed to professional standards, in a collaborative culture of mutual support and growth.

Thus, there was not a shared discourse around teacher professionalism among teacher unions because of teachers' different histories, professional competences, work experience and relationship to education departments. It is also important is to note

here that the notion of teacher professionalism is rarely best promoted by teacher unions, especially given the political and workerist tendencies of some unions in South Africa. Ideally, teachers themselves should forge a professional identify through an independent professional association, which is not a teachers' organization/union. It is only in 1998 that such an association emerged for SA teachers, even though it struggled to assume effectively its role (see later for details).

Thus, by the early 1990s, teachers' attitudes, behaviours and identities were vastly different. SADTU's first task was to demand collective bargaining rights for teacher unions, continuing to rely on and promote a workerist/political form of trade unionism.

6.3 The Post-1994 Education Agenda and the Space for State-Unions Negotiations

The alternative vision and discourse promoted by the NECC was about a non-racial, democratic and participatory education system, based on the goals of equity, redress, democracy and quality for all (Govender, 2008, p. 151). Jansen (2002) indicates that the idea was to make teachers liberators who could empower students and be change agents for a democratic school system. By the early 1990s, SADTU demanded democratic forms of authority and a transparent, fair and negotiated inspection system (Interview, Gallie, 2 March 2009). However, it was uneasy about how to translate its demands into policies:

> Policies are not the same as demands. In forwarding policies, demands have to be balanced against realities such as costs, resources and national priorities. In the end, policy is a matter of negotiation and making compromises in the broader interests of the country as a whole. Our policy proposals will have to be placed on the negotiating table alongside others (Gallie, 2007).

By the early 1990s, the National Education and Training Forum (NETF) was formed by education departments, teacher unions, organizations of civil society and other parties (such as the private sector, NGOs, civics) interested in education reconstruction to discuss policy issues and reach some compromised agreements about post-*apartheid*

education. For the first time, opportunities existed for different interest groups to mandate their representatives to negotiate new education policy proposals.

The first group consisted of the 'enlightened' (*verligte*) *apartheid* bureaucracy, with the dominant Department of National Education (DNE). It produced an education strategy document (the 1992 Education Renewal Strategy), based on a rolling back of the state and greater marketization in education. The ERS criticized education bureaucracies for being too large, inefficient and remote from the public/their clientele and proposed that the national department retained major strategic decision-making powers, while other education powers became decentralized, with the state establishing partnership with the private sector and civil society organizations (Sayed, 1997, p. 26).

The second group was made up by the mass democratic movement led by an ANC/COSATU alliance and the NECC. The ANC policy initiative task team developed a document of 'what was educationally desirable' with a visionary policy framework (De Clercq, 1997). The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) produced policy options on various aspects of the education system for those in charge of education negotiations which resulted eventually in the 1993 ANC Lifelong Learning Policy Framework. NEPI argued for a centralized education department to balance the objectives of equality, redress and social justice as well as a democratic, responsive bureaucracy with participatory and consultative structures with civil society. More specifically, it pushed for centralization of norms and policies, democratization of educational governance and devolution of some education decision-making powers to the local level (NEPI, 1992, pp. 42-48).

In between these two groups were other actors with different needs and interests, such as NGOs, service providers and private sector organizations, keen on a more modern education system which could produce more knowledgeable, skilled and creative graduates. Because of the nature of the negotiated settlement, trade-offs were

inevitable between autonomy and control, centralization and decentralization as well as political compromises over educational goals and values.

By 1993, a new system of educational governance was agreed upon and enshrined in the interim and then final 1996 Constitution, which outlined the various roles and responsibilities of the national and provincial levels of educational governance. The national level was responsible for developing policy frameworks, norms and standards across the system and for the monitoring of policy implementation and education quality. The provincial level had policy-making powers, as long as it did not contravene the national legal framework, and the responsibility of policy implementation and service delivery, as well as allocation of posts, school personnel and finances, management supports to districts and provisioning to schools. The provinces in turn delegated some of their administrative authority to districts or circuits, who would administer and manage policy implementation and professional support with the local institutions. This education governance settlement was the outcome of negotiations and compromises between different parties, interest groups and civil society organizations. This illustrates how South African organizations and groups from different communities and interest groups came together to agree on the way forward. This chapter needs now to examine the shift that occurred between and in these different policy communities, organizations and/or interest groups in the post-1994 education period.

6.4 The State versus Unions' Role in Education Policymaking

With the emerging democratic dispensation of 1994, the new state and unions had to reposition themselves (see more detail in section 7.2). All teacher unions had to adapt and change their focus and strategies. On the one side, as mentioned before, there were the white-dominated and conservative unions, which had had not been part of political organizations or a collective bargaining set-up and had organized their members around professional issues. These teacher organizations, which either

regrouped into the National Association of Professional Teachers' Organizations (NAPTOSA), or into the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwyserunie (SAOU), continued with their focus on professional matters, including the protection of learners' rights, but were faced with a new dimension of participation and negotiation in the newly-legislated bargaining arena around teachers' working conditions (Govender, 2004). On the other side, the fast-growing militant African-dominated SADTU (with the largest teachers' membership — about 2/3 of the profession), saw issues of redress and equity as well as collective bargaining as high priorities. In an attempt to be a partner in policy-making, it also believed in a close political relationship with the ruling ANC party, as it was a member of COSATU and therefore part of the Triple Alliance (ANC, COSATU and SACP).

However, the mid-1990s' economic restructuring with the adoption of neo-liberal market-driven reforms and fiscal austerity measures and ambitious education policy reforms made SADTU become more interested in education policy-making around issues of equity, redress than around professional development. Its priorities became better working conditions and, through the 1993 Education Labour Relations Act, better bargaining powers with a formal education and labour relations council (ELRC), made up of unions' and employers' representatives. It tried to widen the ELRC scope to include all policymaking revolving around teachers' working conditions (Swartz, 1994). However, serious tensions soon developed within the ELRC between education departments and teacher unions, creating serious polarization and deadlocks in deliberations. The ELRC structure also created an inevitable distance between ELRC representatives and their constituencies, with some members not being fully aware of certain bargaining positions and signed ELRC agreements and their implications (Swartz, 1994).

6.5 Conclusion

The *apartheid* legacy of uneven teachers' provisioning and treatments, different teacher unionizations and professional identities laid the challenges of the post-1994 education

reconstruction. By then, space existed for various organizations and policy communities to participate in the development of new education policies to address the deep-seated school inequalities and poor quality. However, soon the state felt vulnerable and uneasy with the emerging new global and national socio-economic and political forces which attempted to influence its education agenda. One state strategy was to play down the influence of these new forces by co-opting various civil society organisations involved in education. On their side, the strong civil society organisations in education, teacher unions, were also keen to exclude other education organisations and become the main policymaking partner for education departments. As a result, education policymaking became the site of conflicts and polarised negotiations between two main stakeholders with rather different agendas and priorities.

Before examining the tensions in appraisal policymaking, one needs to understand or conceive of the post-1994 state and its education bureaucracy, as chapter 7 does.

CHAPTER 7

THE POST-1994 POLITICS OF TRANSITION IN EDUCATION: STATE, BUREAUCRACY AND EDUCATION POLICIES

The chapter examines how the reconstruction of an equitable quality education system was negotiated and fought over from 1994 onwards. It starts by examining the political and educational tensions and conflicts around the post-1994 state as it attempted to assert its authority and legitimacy. It argues that a state in transition was weak but that it also had to operate at the interface of an increasingly complex context of conflicting and demanding forces and interest groups, such as powerful international and national businesses, expectant civil society and militant trade unions. This is why the political analytical framework is appropriate in focusing on issues of power and power dynamics in the analysis of the nature and role of tensions, conflicts and compromises around the state. It shows how the nature and constraints of the post-1994 state and the surrounding politics were broadly a reflection of the various socio-political tensions and compromises, which were partly shaped by the negotiated settlement, the more vocal emerging interest groups as well as global trends.

It then looks at the post-1994 education bureaucracy as a key player in policy implementation and how it faced the challenge of winning administrative and political legitimacy by improving its professional delivery and policy performance. Relying on new conceptual tools of state capacities and stakeholder democracy in education, it argues that the education bureaucracy was part of a fragile state, lacking in strategic leadership and sufficient levels of ideational, political, implementational and technical capacities. As a result, the education bureaucracy did not manage to build a professional administration which could deliver and implement strategically demanding education policies and service delivery. What is not sufficiently realized is the need to enter into strategic partnership and build social capital, skills and meritocratic values and systems to improve its professional and administrative performance.

7.1 The South African State in Transition

In 1994, the new state was faced with major reconstruction and transformation of the economy and society and decided to do so through new policy mandates and priorities. However, there were multi-faceted challenges. It needed to build its internal capacity, expertise and resources to implement and monitor these policies while ensuring that service delivery continued uninterrupted. It was also expected to operate differently from the previous state and cater for the majority of the disadvantaged as well as act in, and for, a new democratic dispensation. But, before going further, a brief discussion on how the post-1994 state could be conceptualised is needed.

7.1.1 A theorization of the South African state

There are different theories of the state. Broadly speaking, the society-centred theories of the state conceive of the state in relation to other social interest groups. The liberal pluralists argue that the state is independent from, and a neutral arbiter mediating between, the different conflicting interest groups in society (Keane, 1989). The neo-Marxists argue that, because society consists of unequal power relations, the state is politically aligned and is the instrument of the capitalist class and its dominant fractions (Poulantzas, 1973). Other neo-Marxists argue that the state reflects the conflicting and contradictory interest groups in society.

In contrast, state-centred theorists argue that the state is relatively separate and autonomous from society and that its complex actions are partly the outcome of various socio-political conflicting interests but also the result of a state pursuing its complex and conflicting three-fold agenda. Offe (1984) and Dale (1989) argue that the state functions are to promote capital accumulation, its sustainability as well as gain legitimacy from the people it governs. This position acknowledges the socio-political class character of

the state but also emphasizes its relative/bounded autonomy from socio-economic interest groups to enable it to drive a long term development agenda, which is separate and distinct from the sectarian interests of civil society groups and the private sector. Evans (1992) argues that this relatively autonomous position explains how sufficiently strong and capacitated states become developmental states which often supplement and/or correct the sometimes problematic logic of the market. Dale (1989) adds that, beyond pursuing its capital accumulation function, the state must also bear in mind its political legitimacy function and constantly look for a way to strike a compromise between these two conflicting functions.

Some Africa-centred scholars (Rothchild & Chazan, 1988; Bratton & van de Walle, 1994) characterize African states as clientelist, or neo-patrimonial, states to refer to the national political elite of the ruling party favouring certain groups in exchange for their support. Neo-patrimonialism refers to the meeting of a patrimonial system with modern bureaucracy whereby resources are distributed based on a system of patrons-clients ties, or patronage, to cement loyalty to leaders (Fischer, 2006). Such states are usually weak states with little connection with their civil societies and poor administrative capacities and resources. Being such sites of powers and wealth, they are subjected to intense political contestations, plots and counterplots.

Other Africa-centred scholars (Mkandawire, 2001; Edigheji, 2005) prefer to use conventional conceptions of the state, such as the developmental state (Evans, 1992), and give them specific meanings in the context of Africa to explain the external (IMF and WB) and internal (weak national political élite and capital) factors which prevent these states from becoming developmental. In Africa, because of the powerful foreign interests in the economy, Mkawandire (1999) argues that development states need to win the support from indigenous capital to drive a national developmental agenda. Some South African scholars (Nattrass, 1994; Southall, 2006, 2007) saw in the post-1994 state the possibility for the emergence of a developmental state with a long term

growth and development agenda and attempts at black empowerment strategies. Other scholars questioned the South African 'state in transition' for not being strong and mature enough to gain a relative autonomy and drive a developmental agenda (Gumede, 2009), even if it aspires to do so (Mbeki, 2009; Dlamini, 2010). The post-1994 state has been described as keen to win national and international legitimacy (Jansen, 2002), assume and exercise its new responsibilities and powers (McLennan, 2000) to find ways of gaining relative independence from various powerful interests.

This study works with the conception of a state in transition which is not firmly constituted or mature enough to gain relative autonomy from other interest groups and act as a developmental state for the common good of society, mainly because of the difficulty of ruling by consensus and negotiated compromises. Finally, it is important to remember that the state is not a monolithic institution, as Dale (1989) argues, but consists of different sectors/departments with their own logic, influences and constraints. Each department is the site of different external and internal conflicts as various interests pursue their interests. Therefore, for example in education, the state has the challenge to develop and drive its own long term vision and strategies of what needs to be done, something that will depend on various social forces and nature of leadership.

7.1.2 New conceptual tools for the South African state

Southall (2006, p. xxxv) brings interesting conceptual tools in his study of the post-1994 South African state and its bureaucracy which he seems to derive from Africa-centred analyses of the state. He argues that the South African state has not managed to act and deliver as a developmental state because of a lack of state capacity, which he defines as encompassing four dimensions: the ideational, political, implementational and technical capacities. The ideational and political state capacities refer to the nature of the state and its legitimacy and political coherence, while the implementational and technical

state capacities are the most commonly referred dimensions of state bureaucracies. These analytical dimensions of state capacity are useful to understand the evolution and practices of the post-1994 state and its bureaucracy, which will be illustrated below by reference to the education bureaucracy.

Ideational state capacity

The concept of the ideational capacity of the state, or the state ability to strengthen its political legitimacy from the public, is helpful to understand the challenges faced by the post-1994 state and its bureaucracy. It was argued in the previous section that there are three different eras of this political legitimacy which had implications for the state education bureaucracy. In the Mandela era of reconciliation, the state and its bureaucracy had to be built and assume its roles and responsibilities. It was headed by relatively inexperienced people who did not trust the 'old' bureaucrats with the new government mandates and goals. There were attempts to change the way this bureaucracy did business by supplementing the traditional Weberian model of the bureaucracy, which expects public servants to comply with rules and regulations, with more participatory processes as well as new values and practices of collective leadership and accountability, to reflect the new political dispensation. However, the complexity of bureaucratic functions, dynamics and contestations put an end to this ideal.

The introduction of the GEAR economic strategy and its attendant fiscal austerity measures, at a time the poor delivery performance of the bureaucracy was evident, exacerbated and strained the legitimacy of the state and its bureaucracy. To counter these threats, during the Mbeki administration, new public managerialist structures, systems and tools were introduced to improve the bureaucracy's performance. However, such systems and tools could not easily be applied to a bureaucracy that was not yet well established. Also, by threatening the political loyalty culture and the view that the bureaucracy was a vehicle for class formation and upwards mobility, these new systems had little chance of being seriously implemented.

With the lack of delivery to the poor and the increasingly visible corruption of many provincial and local government officials, the ANC faction behind Zuma managed to mobilize and out-seat the other ANC faction loyal to Mbeki. However, after Zuma became ANC and then the country's president in 2009, little changed as far as bureaucratic performance and politicization of the bureaucracy and parastatals were concerned. The political loyalty culture and self-enrichment continued to thrive, this time with a new patron and even fiercer contestations and tensions within the ruling party and the Triple Alliance. Thus, the South African state was weakened by a declining ideational capacity and political legitimacy and its bureaucracy continues to be a site of deep political and social contestations for powers and resources.

Political state capacity

Southall's (2006) political capacity refers to the degree of *coherence* of state governance at the vertical (from national to local) and horizontal level (across departments). This capacity also remained weak in the post-1994 era as the bureaucracy found it difficult to achieve coherence with its constant reorganization and restructuring as well as its micro-politics. The two-tier decentralized education governance structure, which was a political compromise of the transition, was never fully functional in the context of an under-resourced and poorly qualified bureaucracy. A Task Team on Education Management Development (EMD) (DoE, 1996, p. 42) set up in 1995 to audit governance structures, identified the following main challenges: dysfunctional provincial structures, insufficient skilled people; poor clarity on roles and responsibilities within and between levels of management; inadequate management systems and procedures; inefficient and ineffective delegation of authority; crisis management's work ethos and an ambitious vision to drive delivery through a mix of old and new styles of management.

The idea of cooperative governance was not easy to translate into practice. In education, for example, when poor delivery became a source of major tensions and

conflicts, a culture of blame emerged, with each level pointing a finger at other levels. The DoE blamed the provinces which, in turn, accused the national department of too ambitious and unfunded policy mandates. However, senior education managers in KZN admitted that their work was characterized by having to:

- Always respond to crisis;
- Work in a top down organizational culture;
- Act as messengers for their provincial offices; and
- Be enforcers of regulation (Welton, 2001, p. 178).

Narsee (2006) and Ngoma (2007) reveal how the educational provincial bureaucracy did not work easily across different levels as each level was trying to be in control, spend its budgets and meet its performance targets, let alone work transversally or vertically with other units and departments.

Provinces also accused districts (or circuits) of poor performance with schools. In turn, districts explained that they often felt caught by contradictory demands made on them, with the national department expecting implementation of ambitious and unfunded policy mandates and schools expecting better resources and policy support. These education policies were more difficult for districts to implement in poorly performing and poorly resourced schools and teachers, as these struggled to be functional, let alone understand and implement the new policies (De Clercq, 2002; Narsee, 2006). In addition, some districts accused schools of not being committed to changes, either because of political resistance or inertia to change (NEEDU, DoE, 2009a).

Although smooth and conflict-free governance arrangements rarely exist, Elmore (1993) argues that the allocation of roles, powers and responsibilities to different governance levels should be broadly in line with their respective capacities and abilities to assume their powers. However, in post-1994 South Africa, such allocation of powers and responsibilities was a fragile political outcome, reflecting existing power relations in

society and not so much the respective capacities of different layers of the bureaucracy. This weak political state capacity exacerbated the performance problems of the bureaucracy, added to its micro-politics and undermined the technical and implementational capacity of the bureaucracy in various departments.

Implementational state capacity

The implementational state capacity, according to Southall (2006), refers to the material and physical capacity and resources to carry out the decisions taken by the state and ensure coherence and viability of state policies. Many provincial departments, especially those with rural areas, were poorly staffed and struggled with limited material, physical and infrastructural resources. In education, such material and physical constraints were doubly felt when implementing ambitious education policies in poor disadvantaged contexts.

Provincial and local bureaucracies did not show sufficiently strong leadership to supplement these poor resources with strategies of partnerships or alliances with other institutions or service providers. Such poor implementational capacity was not to change significantly with the different eras of bureaucratic re-organizations.

Technical state capacity

The technical capacity of the state, or the intellectual and organizational resources, refers to the personnel, social and intellectual capital of the bureaucracy. As mentioned earlier, the recruitment of new staff in the education bureaucracy was often undermined by ambitious affirmative action and redress policy targets or by a culture of political loyalty, which went against meritocracy and improved productivity. Many under-resourced provincial education departments could not always fill their vacancies, let alone employ appropriately skilled staff (Ngoma, 2007). Fleisch (2002) argues that the GDE, after its 2001 bureaucratic reorganization, continued to be marred by political infighting and the lack of competent strategic senior personnel. Even though

performance-based managerialism put some pressure on the education bureaucracy, the latter continued to be the subject of micro-politics and the absence of a strong human resource development strategy. This explained the lenient way in which performance management was used as well as the fact that competent technocrats were not found in large number in the provincial bureaucracy.

This weak technical state capacity could be strengthened by relying on outside partners and providers as well as useful networks. Spillane and Thompson (1997) argue about the importance of building 'human and social capital' to gain extra-professional capacity, better policy understanding, strategic and operational competences through partnerships and/or networks. They note:

> ...Developing social capital is key and involves changing the way people relate with each other in order to achieve goals that would not be possible in the absence of these social relations (Spillane & Thompson, 1997, p. 193).

Putnam (2001) also argues that today's institutions have to augment what he calls their social capital by networking and linking up with partner organisations with the capacity to provide the expertise and resources they themselves do not have.

At the level of the provincial bureaucracy, social capital means partnership to ensure schools have better access to outside sources of knowledge, expertise and resources (such as research institutions, universities, NGOS or other more capacitated schools). Fleisch (2002) mentions some effective GDE divisions and interventions with strong leaders which mobilized social capital to improve the unit's systems and performance. In a case study of a district (see chapter 11), it will be shown how some districts managers relied on NGOs to counter their lack of human and material resources. But, on the whole, districts did not access professional networks or other means to support their performance and delivery.

Thus, the lack of human, social and material resources, together with their difficult workload and policy challenges, explains the poor technical capacity of education

provincial and district offices, despite three eras of bureaucratic re-organisation. De Clercq's (2002) district research concludes that there is a need to strategically re-think district work by making them administrative units with the responsibility of identifying, quality assuring and coordinating school support through service providers for which they need to raise money.

7.2 The Negotiated South African State and Civil Society: the Politics of Compromises and Co-optations

The South African state had to negotiate a massive transformation, mainly because of the *apartheid* legacy of underdevelopment in many (black) areas of the economy and labour market and the nature of the negotiated settlement, but also because of global socio-economic trends and realities. From 1994 onwards, the state repositioned itself and in relation to other parties and interest groups, such as the private sector, unions and NGOs, which had themselves to rethink also how best to defend and advance their constituencies' interests under the new dispensation. Such a new constellation of forces putting pressure on the state was a new phenomenon which emerged partly from the anti-*apartheid* UDF-led mass movement against the strong oppressive *apartheid* state that was not tolerant of civil society organizations. It was also because of the rise of social movements in the western world in the late 1980s, with the emergence of the so-called post-modern 'knowledge society' or 'network economy' which are characterised by heterogeneity and unpredictability (Jongbloed & Goedegebuure, 2001) and where various stakeholders started to mobilize together, beyond the traditional class or racial lines, to pressurize the state around their interest groups.[8] This means that the post-1994 state had to position itself in relationship to many other organisations and stakeholders' groups.

[8] This valuable insight was pointed out to me by my supervisor, Professor Michael Cross.

At the same time, this new state was under pressure to assume its powers and authorities, to win legitimacy and face its huge political and socio-economic challenges. It had to rule and operate at the interface of many complex and powerful forces and organizations (such as private sector organizations, NGOs and non-politically affiliated community organizations) which pushed and lobbied to advance their interests, together with the negotiated compromises, constrained significantly this new state and contributed to its weak character and authority (McGrath, 2004; Sehoole, 2005). Many authors (Joffe, Kaplan, Kaplinsky & Lewis, 1994) argue that the fragile post-1994 state had no choice in the early days but to work closely with the private sector and civil society organizations, through corporatist tripartite structures, such as the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) (Joffe et al, 1994).

In addition, the state had to work with civil society to win legitimacy, assert its authority and execute its mandates. Friedman (2003) explains that a strong civil society is a potential threat to a relatively weak state, such as the South African state in transition. This explains why the first state strategy was to weaken the powers of civil society organizations by reducing their political agencies and demobilizing them through co-option (either of its leaders by offering political or departmental positions and/or through the Triple Alliance). Another strategy was to co-opt the NGOS by re-routing their overseas funding through the government and asking them to assist with some government delivery agendas in the far remote poor communities (Habib & Kotze, 2003). In addition, the state engaged different stakeholders and communities in various sectors of the economy and society in long consultative processes to develop a vision and policies. It also promised to set up various advisory councils or forums, made up of government and civil society organisations, some of which worked and others were non-starters. Many scholars have questioned the motives behind this state-driven consultative period, arguing that it was an attempt by the state to win legitimacy by appearing participatory and democratic but also to understand the positions and interests of various groups and communities (Habib & Kotze, 2003).

Faced with such co-option strategies, a few community organizations and NGOs continued to mobilize separately to pressurize the state to accede to their demands, such as civic organizations, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) (Habib & Kotze, 2003). Even though members of the Triple Alliance through COSATU, most trade unions continued to mobilize and reposition themselves, even though it took time to find a new leadership layer to replace those leaders who took up various political or departmental positions.

This explains why the post-1994 state started cautiously. It abolished *apartheid* legislation and replaced the fragmented racial government departments with unified government departments. It tried to forge a vision of a new socio-economic order and in education of a new system, by consulting widely over new policy proposals and frameworks. By 1997, the state decided on policies which were investor-friendly to attract foreign capital and amended its economic growth policies in line with neo-liberal global economic trend. The 1996 GEAR economic strategy replaced the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and was criticized for having introduced it unilaterally and downplaying the equity and social justice agenda (Chisholm et al, 2003).

In the education sector, the challenges of the post-1994 state can be concretely illustrated by examining departmental policies and how they reflect conflicts and compromises between various socio-political interests within and without the education department as well as examining how the education bureaucracy assumes its functions and responsibilities and develops its goals, priorities and capacities.

7.3 The Post-1994 Legislative and Policy Changes in Education: Between Symbolism and Reconstruction

Investment in education had always been high on the priorities of newly independent countries in the 1960s or 1980s, but, by 1994, education was seen as an even more important factor of growth for the global knowledge society. According to Kraak and Young (2001) and Castells (2001), education priorities for the South African education reconstruction in the 1990s were to find ways to produce a sophisticated, highly skilled, competent and educated workforce.

The main steps towards this consisted in legislative, policy and administrative reforms and replace the fragmented and discriminatory education system with a unified non-racial system and policy frameworks. Significant changes were introduced in different areas of the education system, such as curriculum and assessment, professional development and teaching and learning as well as organization and management of schools. Some of the important new legislation included: the 1995 *White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995), the *South African Qualifications Authority* (SAQA) Act of 1995, which stipulates the establishment of Education and Training Quality Assurance (ETQA) bodies; the *National Education Policy Act* (Act no. 27 of 1996; Government notice 82, Gazette no.20844) and the *South African Schools Act* (SASA) of 1997.

Chapter 3 reviewed various policy analyses which argue that the new state wanted to achieve de-racialization of the main education structures and processes and send a strong symbolic message of unity and reconciliation (Rensburg, 1999) as well as gain legitimacy from the electorate and the international community (Jansen, 2002, p. 199; Chisholm & Fuller, 1996). It also mentioned policy borrowing for curriculum (Spreen, 2001), school governance (Sayed, 1997), the NQF (Vally & Spreen, 1998) and higher education policy (Sehoole, 2005) to position South Africa in the globally competitive economy. In other words, many education policies were politically and economically and less educationally-motivated as they were far removed from the realities on the ground to change educational practices (De Clercq, 1997). The main weakness of many post-

1994 analyses, it will be shown, was to underplay the significance of the ambiguities and tensions in these policies and the resulting opportunities these create for various interest groups keen to further their interests.

After the visionary policy framework contained in the 1995 *White Paper* (DoE, 1995) aimed at a democratic and equitable education system which broke away from the previous system, more specific education policies were developed and finalized through long consultative discussions and fora involving various stakeholders. Other policies were formulated by special task teams made up of experts, stakeholders' representatives and department officials. The legislation pertaining to teachers' future role, work and competences was the 1996 interim *Norms and Standards for Teacher Education* which was formalized in 2000 (see chapter 8 for more details).

Next there was the 1993 Education Labour Relation Act (ELRA) to formalize the principle of collective bargaining in education between education departments and teacher unions to stabilize the education sector by bringing education labour relations in alignment with other labour legislation. This legislation recognized workers' (and teachers') rights to collective bargaining and strike action, making the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) a formal statutory body designed to provide bargaining and negotiation fora and mechanisms. With the passing of the 1995 Labour Relations Act (LRA), the ELRC became institutionalized as a democratic collective bargaining terrain where teacher unions could have an influence over some teacher-related policy decisions which related to teachers' conditions of service, professional status and development. Nine ELRC resolutions were passed from 1994 to 1996 to improve the functioning of the council. In its early days, the ELRC negotiated many agreements about conditions of service of teachers and from 1998 onwards, ELRC resolutions started to touch on professional issues. This bargaining achievement was partly the result of the alliance of SADTU-COSATU with the ruling ANC party, which was at its strongest and most visible in the post-1994 period as well as a reflection of the collaborative spirit of

the transition era. However, while there were advantages for teachers unions as they gain more space in the plays of power (French, 2009), there was the disadvantage, as Swartz (1994, p. 66) mentions, of defusing community political mobilization around educational issues and delinking it from union pressures to develop more equitable education policies.

Apart from ELRC policy agreements, the DoE introduced other educational reforms with little consultation or involvement of teachers and their unions. This was the case with the final curriculum policy, finalised with the publication of Curriculum 2005: Lifelong Learning through a National Curriculum Framework, which led to the 1997 Statement of the National Curriculum, Grades R–9 (DoE, 1997b) and the Whole School Evaluation Policy (2001). The curriculum policy was based on a radical shift from a content teacher-centred approach to a competence learner-centred approach to curriculum. As the OECD (2008, p. 296) report argues, there were serious problems with such policy:

> [Teachers] were now required to teach an altogether new curriculum and to exhibit a set of competences that the most highly skilled professionals anywhere in the developed world would find difficult to demonstrate. Major assumptions were being made about the capacity of teacher educators and teachers that were not based on reality.

As a result of this visionary framework of teachers as professionals, many other teacher-related policies were formulated which neglected to take into account the low academic expertise, the poor experience of professionalism or professional identities of the majority of teachers which were expected to acquire relatively quickly highly professional competences and attributes to implement these curriculum and assessment policies (Jansen, 2002). Robinson (2003) criticized teachers' expectations in the various teacher-related policies for being ambitious and not being matched by any form of action to make these realisable. These issues will be analysed in greater depth in relation to teacher development and accountability policy agreements in chapter 8.

Political policy scholars went further in their criticisms by arguing that, with such an unequal and under-resourced implementation South African schooling context, these

ambitious visionary policies amounted to a political choice in favour of the advantaged and privileged section of the education sector because these policies could more easily be accessed by the minority of privileged schools and teachers (Chisholm, Motala & Vally, 2003; Vally & Spreen, 1998). De Clercq (1997) argues that policymakers used the relative space in the post-1994 years to make ambitious policy choices with serious negative implications for the majority of schools and teachers.

By 1998, after a new policy shift occurred with the adoption of a neo-liberal agenda and GEAR (1996), most policy analysts felt justified to reassert their beliefs that the social justice agenda had receded far in the background of policymakers (Chisholm & Fuller, 1996). As mentioned in chapter 3, many political policy analysts developed a more sophisticated critical policy analysis by arguing that most new education policies were ambitious but also contradictory as they were the outcomes of deeper political tensions, conflicts and compromises of the transition era (Badat, 1995). Jansen (2001), Carrim (2001) and EPU (2005) agreed that the curriculum policy is contradictory as it treats teachers both as professionals with relative autonomy and as state employees who were expected to comply with bureaucratic regulations. It is this framework which will inform the next chapter as it analyses teacher-related policies and agreements which have relevance for the study of teacher appraisal systems.

7.4 Tensions and Challenges in Rebuilding the Post-1994 Education Bureaucracy

When dealing with state policies, the role of the bureaucracy is crucial. As mentioned in chapter 3, policies are influenced in their development and implementation by multiple agents, one of which is the bureaucracy, and especially the provincial bureaucracies, when dealing with policy implementation. The bureaucracy is part of the state but has different interests and agendas as it is made up of different sectors and levels which are all sites of internal conflicts with different agendas and interests of various factions within the bureaucracy (Dale, 1989).

The challenges of the post-1994 bureaucracy were of many kinds: apart from implementing new policies, it had to re-constitute itself, overcome the *apartheid* legacy and assume new responsibilities while delivering more efficiently to a wider public and coping with the new constellation of social and economic forces. This bureaucracy also had to reorganize the way it worked and functioned in a context of serious constraints of resources, capacity and expertise as well as political tensions. So, how did it do it? What broader external influences and forces exercise pressure on it? What kind of capacities did it acquire as it assumed its many different functions?

This section analyses the internal functioning of the education bureaucracy of the DoE and the GDE as well as the way they dealt with various challenges and tensions. It argues that it did not manage to assume effectively its roles and continued to face many different economic and socio-political forces, which continued to subject the bureaucracy to varied demands and contestations. In education, this was even worse because it is a highly politically and socially contested sector and is strategic for the reconstruction of the economy and society as well as the promotion of socio-economic mobility of individual groups (including groups within the bureaucracy).

7.4.1 The making of an efficient educational bureaucracy

Education governance arrangements enshrined in the 1996 Constitution made the national and provincial departments shared powers. The national level was responsible for developing policy frameworks, norms and standards across the system and had to monitor policy implementation and education quality. The provincial level has policy-making powers, as long as it does not contravene the national legal framework and has also the responsibility of policy implementation and service delivery. The provinces in turn delegate some of their administrative authority to districts or circuits, which manage policy implementation and administer professional support to schools.

Before operationalizing this constitutional arrangement, the post-1994 education bureaucracy had to move away from the *apartheid* bureaucracy to align itself with the emerging democratic dispensation, respond to the needs of disadvantaged groups and deliver on the equity and social justice mandates (McLennan, 2000). Fitzgerald (1995) explains that the aim was to transform the bureaucracy into a strategic professional institution, which reflected and promoted a culture and practices of non-racialism, social justice, equity and accountability to civil society. The priorities of the new senior bureaucrats included: to make the bureaucracy representative of the diverse population, align its culture and work ethos to the new democratic dispensation, and to drive greater equity and effectiveness in its support and monitoring work as well as deliver more effectively. This led to a multi-pronged strategy which was not without serious challenges.

The first strategy in rebuilding the post-1994 education bureaucracy was to drive a vision, values and practices associated with the new democratic dispensation. This meant unifying previously fragmented racially-based departments and establishing new organograms, something pushed through hierarchical bureaucratic authority structures and within the constraints of the 'sunset' clause, which guaranteed the jobs of the old bureaucrats of the *apartheid* era. The Ministerial Task Team Report on Educational Management Development (DoE, 1996b) set out the need to transform the fragmented bureaucracy and reorient its work to answer the needs of the majority. Significant challenges developed in merging the old racially divided education departments and in establishing a unitary non-racial bureaucracy with a different culture and way of doing things, especially in provinces with many different legacy departments (Fleisch, 2002).

The second strategy was to appoint senior bureaucrats committed to translate the vision, values and goals of the new dispensation. This led to the appointment of many former anti-*apartheid* activists, with little experience of large bureaucratic organisations. Feeling under threat, the new incumbents in the GDE appointed former

activist colleagues on their Strategic Management Team (SMT) to assist them (Fleisch, 2002). These senior bureaucrats and their trusted colleagues worked well with the new politicians and tried to deal with the conservative elements of the 'old' bureaucracy, who had been allowed to retain their positions with the 'sunset clause'. Sehoole (2005) mentions how former activists, now in senior positions in education departments, felt overwhelmed and threatened by some more experienced 'old' bureaucrats while struggling with those who did not subscribe to the new vision and mandates.

Bureaucracies need highly skilled bureaucrats or technocrats with the necessary expertise and knowledge of management systems, strategic, legal and operational competences. Many senior incumbents in government departments did not realise the importance of human resources and the need to retain some senior and middle level bureaucrats of the old regime who were efficient and expert technocrats, as these could serve under any political regime and had access to the institutional memory, which, as Sehoole (2005) notes, was key for many departments. Fleisch (2002) mentions that, in the GDE in the 1990s, the 'old' bureaucrats were the only ones who understood management information systems (MIS), systems, which were crucial in assisting with informed decisions. Good management systems could also assist in making staff account for their work and in monitoring the extent of greater equity and efficiency in service delivery. In addition, senior experienced 'old' bureaucrats could mentor or induct into their jobs the many new senior and middle officials to pass on the necessary skills to the new managerial layer and ensure a smooth transition. However, one of the main criteria for employing senior to middle officials was not their technical and managerial expertise and knowledge of bureaucracies, but political loyalty to the new ruling party and its vision and values (Mamphela, 2008).

Another tendency that developed among the bureaucracy is the view that the state bureaucracy was an opportunity for employment and gaining favours and tenders from members of the ruling party. This practice of using the state as a gateway to economic

power and resources mirrored what happened with the 1950s Afrikaner government, whose bureaucracy was used to create employment opportunities but also promote Afrikaner businesses. The bureaucracy became an important vehicle for the promotion of socio-economic advancement and opportunities for black businesses and access to international networks. Thus, the issue of political connections and loyalty among bureaucrats became increasingly strong, defeating any attempt to building an independent professional performing bureaucracy.

A third strategy was to shift from bureaucratic rule-compliant organisational structures, with their top down hierarchical lines of authority and narrow job definitions, to more participatory flatter departmental structures with new posts and broader job descriptions. McLennan (2000) argues that the flat cooperative governance model was believed to be more suitable in the new dispensation for balancing the relationship between managers, workers, governors and civil society stakeholders. The idea was to introduce participatory decision-making structures and decentralise greater authority to the lower administrative levels in an attempt to address more efficiently and democratically the needs of the disadvantaged and implement social justice programmes and interventions (Wooldridge & Cranko, 1995).

However, the idea of a participatory and responsible bureaucracy was problematic in the context of the transition because it underestimated the advantages, logic and raison d'être of traditional bureaucratic structures. The Weberian theory of bureaucratic organizations is based on the belief that bureaucracies, irrespective of the political regime in existence, require standardized bureaucratic rules and procedures as well as hierarchical lines of command and accountability to operate efficiently and ensure similar delivery to the wider public. Also, before an attempt is made to go beyond these traditional structures, the bureaucracy had to have acquired a minimum of basic competences.

The fourth strategy, related to the previous one, was to introduce a different organisational culture and ethos which promoted participation, transparency, collective leadership, decision-making and accountability as well as consensus building and consultation with civil society stakeholders. This new ethos and culture were to challenge the old bureaucracy and its hierarchical controlling organizational arrangements. For example, Fleisch (2002) explains that the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) adopted a more participatory decision-making structure, known as the Broad Management Team, made up of key head office officials and directors of districts. This team was meant to operate like a 'family'with intimacy at the executive level and closeness with the clients. Fleisch (2002) explains that these new cultural and organisational values started to permeate GDE meetings and operations by the late 1990s. However, he adds that gaining legitimacy from the wider public was a great concern with new incumbents who did not have any experience at governing, something that eventually changed as they felt more in control to enforce their full authority.

On the whole, these strategies to rebuild the bureaucracy had some values and were necessary but they did not address directly the challenges of operating effectively at the interface of multiple strong, conflicting and competing interest groups. This was compounded by the fact that such a new state represented access (especially for the emerging black middle class) to social and economic resources and business opportunities which were not easily available without state or bureaucratic support. Finally, beyond the political and social level of contestations, the new bureaucracy struggled to come to terms with the bureaucracy's logic, systems and its basic technical, human and managerial requirements. This is why, by 1997, frequent complaints emerged from the public in most provinces about the poor delivery of social services, and education in particular, thereby threatening the bureaucracy's legitimacy. Thus, the young and weak post-1994 state and its relatively inexperienced bureaucracy did not

perform well with its policies and delivery programmes while under pressure from various groups with competing and conflicting interests.

7.4.2 Restructuring for a performing educational bureaucracy

By 1997, the national government commissioned an investigation of the reasons behind the poor managerial performance of the public service in all provinces. The Provincial Review (Public Services Commission, 1997) reported a serious lack of capacity, resources, organizational and management systems as well as unfunded national policy mandates. According to the Review, education departments lacked strategic thinking, decisive actions when driving the change process and policy implementation on the ground and operated in a 'crisis management' mode. Subsequently, a national Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) Education Sector Review (1998) reported that many provincial education departments confirmed publicly the provinces' poor management and human resource systems but added mismanagement of resources and personnel and corruption of some top officials (De Clercq, 2002). It was clear that the bureaucracy's performance remained poor and needed to be made more efficient and responsive by dealing with new managerial, administrative, financial and human resource development systems, structures and/or practices.

It is argued here that this reorganisation did not address the various socio-political pressures under which the bureaucracy operated. There were problems with the three strategies introduced in the public sector, 1) the new public management, 2) affirmative action and 3) politically loyal culture contain many tensions from within and between each other. This is because these strategies contained tensions in themselves as well as between each other.

The new public management and its tensions

By 1997, with a turn towards some neo-liberal market-based reforms, the state became committed to tight fiscal austerity measures and efforts to achieve efficiency gains in the whole public service. As a result, national and provincial departments went through another phase of systemic re-structuring. This reorganization emphasized a more responsive and managerially-efficient bureaucracy which could deliver on its mandates. Senior bureaucrats became dissatisfied with traditional bureaucratic arrangements, with their regulatory frameworks which enforced compliance and control. Since participatory processes had not shown much success on the ground, they turned towards examples of best practices in other countries, and in particular towards the new public management model which appears in the public sector of many countries, with its emphasis on greater efficiency and accountability.

This new public management model borrowed its concepts and structures from some of the private sector which had done away with hierarchical controlling organizational structures and replaced them with more flexible facilitative structures which centralized the strategic powers in the centre while delegating more administrative authorities to the lower levels (Fitzgerald, 1995). A few countries in the West adopted such model in the public sector with the state becoming known as a new 'regulatory state' (Neave, 1997) whereby the centre acquired greater regulative powers to steer at a distance as well as overlook and monitor the lower levels of the bureaucracy and some institutions in the society and economy. The new public management discourse came with a different balance between national and local control, between inflexible/flexible, and top down/bottom up system of governance. It emphasized the need to enhance the bureaucracy's managerial and financial efficiency and performance by relying on managerialist tools such as management by objectives, strategic planning, performance management, balanced score card, etc (Wooldridge & Cranko, 1995).

In education, to address provincial inefficiencies and improve service delivery of the bureaucracy, a reorganization of the internal management of operations was needed. In

line with the new public management model, consultancy firms recommended the adoption of tools such as strategic planning, balanced score card, performance management systems which were introduced in various national and provincial directorates and units. Strategic and development plans had to specify performance targets, activities as well as key performance indicators and measures. Such performance-based accountability would allow monitoring of performance and efficiency of various directorates/ units as well as individuals, with the view to developing support interventions to improve managerial and professional capacity.

In education, the DoE introduced a programme to improve service delivery and performance of provincial education departments. The Policy Reserve Fund (PRF) (DoE, 1999) encouraged provinces to re-examine their administrative and organisational arrangements by giving districts financial incentives (conditional grants) for the improvement of their managerial capacity and for sharing best practices (De Clercq in GDE, 2000a). Provincial departments held many workshops in 1999 and 2000 on how to develop districts/circuits' capacity and reconfigure their organisational arrangements (Mphahlehle, 1999; GDE, 2000a, 2001a) while donors and NGOs initiated support programs for districts/circuits in various provinces (DDSP, 2002). However, tensions between the national, provincial and district level remained.

Other instances of improving delivery can be found in Gauteng. In 1997, the GDE Restructuring team looked at how to develop a more professional and strategic administration to deliver higher quality service to the public (GDE, 1997). Private consultancy firms (UNICEF, Simeka, KPMG and Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC)) were hired and recommended more structural changes, and in particular the adoption of a flatter two-tiered system with head office playing a strong guiding and coordinating role while more administrative authority was delegated to districts. By 2000, a district matrix structure and performance management plans were in place to improve the work alignment and coherence of GDE head office and its districts. When it came to human

resources, it was decided to ask the existing personnel to do a self audit and identify their own skills and competences as well as the jobs they wish to take up in the newly designed structure (Fleisch, 2002). By the time the reorganization was finalized, various employees were allocated in posts for which they themselves felt they had not the appropriate competences, expertise and knowledge (De Clercq, 2002). Thus, this reorganization did not deal with the poor competences of some officials which needed major capacity building exercises.

The next 2002 GDE restructuring was equally problematic. To improve delivery and accountability, the provincial head office decided to strengthen its authority and decision-making powers as a strategic coordinating policy centre, while districts were targeted to become greater administrative and managerial implementing units. As a result, the post provisioning allocation changed with more senior jobs created at head office while districts were given comparatively fewer senior posts.

A few scholars (Narsee, 2006; Ngoma, 2007) analyzed the continued poor performance of the provincial education bureaucracy and identified as major problems the quality of human resources and the inability to put in place appropriate professional development programs. Research (De Clercq, 2002; Narsee, 2006) on the work of GDE district officials working with schools, such as the Institutional Development Support Officers (IDSOs) (or equivalent of district inspectors) and the curriculum advisers, confirm that many district officials lacked many competences, including a good understanding of the content of the policies to be mediated, how to monitor and support schools and teachers (Narsee, 2006). Many district officials acknowledged this state of affairs but blamed their own poor and inadequate training on these policies and on their job functions which consisted of 3/4 day-training workshops. However, there were also some district officials who did not have the potential or capacity to benefit much from professional development. This calls into question why and who appointed these poorly performing

officials or, alternatively, why better-qualified people did not apply, or were chosen, for these jobs.

By 2002, the public sector introduced some managerialist tools with the Performance Management and Development (PMD) system as an annual exercise for all civil servants. The Public Finance Management Act of 1999 had made heads of department and senior officials work on the basis of service objectives and performance indicators (De Clercq, 2002). Senior managers were now appointed with a contract specifying their performance objectives, targets and indicators, as well as financial rewards for reaching certain targets. In addition, the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), a rolling three-year planning and budgeting mechanism, also made departments link their budget and allocation of resources and expenditures to strategic objectives, programme targets, planning and performance measurements. As a result, Financial and Strategic Planning, as well as Quality Assurance and Educational Management Information System (EMIS) units appeared at national and provincial level to assist with monitoring the performance of various units.

These managerialist tools and practices owe their origin to developed western countries, known for their rather stable, long-established hierarchical bureaucracy. But, when applied to the bureaucracy of a state in transition, it was to encounter serious problems. It was not easy for a bureaucracy which was not fully operational vertically to add a new horizontal command and accountability structures. The second layer of horizontal authority structures which was designed to align the work of provincial head office and districts further strained the already struggling provincial hierarchical education bureaucracy. This is because district officials had already some problems in negotiating the standardized hierarchical line of command and now had to face the 'dotted line' or horizontal structures. De Clercq (2002) shows how these two forms of authority and accountability became a source of frustration for districts, caught between provincial head office and schools with relatively poor resources, competences

and skills. Narsee (2006) also shows that districts perceived the dotted line which linked their units to provincial head office as undermining of their plans and work priorities.

Because these restructuring attempts were not accompanied by, or did not facilitate, a large-scale human resources development plan, the problem of poor performance continued with many senior and middle management officials out of their depth and with little support in their new positions and functions. In chapter 3, it was mentioned that the use of structural reforms is based on a problematic theory of change which assumes that pressures, often associated with structural reforms, will force organizations and their staff to change their poor ethic and work attitudes. Yet, controlling measures alone are not the most appropriate measures because, as Walker and Stott (2000) argue, they demoralize organizations and their personnel who often perceive them as judgmental and discriminatory against struggling institutions. Instead, according to Elmore (2001), poorly performing institutions need, above all, access to appropriate support because of their inability to build their own capacity. Thus, quality support to build human and managerial capacity and resources should be mobilized and then appropriate structures designed to accompany the support strategy (Elmore, 1995). So, with the post-1994 educational bureaucracy, it was clear that the core issue to address head-on was human resources capacity.

Affirmative action: tensions in human resource deployment

The re-culturing and restructuring of the bureaucracy could not go far without serious attention to human resources and human capacity development. The quality of public sector human resources was poor, partly because of the *apartheid* legacy and the negotiated 'sunset clause' which guaranteed the posts of old bureaucrats. Another reason was the impact of ambitious affirmative action and other employment equity policies and plans which guided employment profiles in the public sector. Both the 1998 Equity Employment Act and the 1999 *White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service,* as redress measures, pushed for greater demographic representation and a

target of 50% of the managerial positions in the public service being occupied by black employees by 2013.

Because of the sunset clause, the only way to replace senior 'old' white bureaucrats of the old administration was to edge them gradually out of important positions. Voluntary Severance Packages were offered to many employees with valuable skills, competences and experiences and many left under the belief that the new organization did not value them or their skills. In the process, valuable institutional memory was lost and so were important skills and expertise in strategic and operational work, which should have been passed on to the next generation (Sehoole, 2005). Narsee (2006, p. 88) notes this detrimental effect in the case of the Gauteng provincial education department:

> The retrenchment of the majority of senior and middle management personnel in the 1995/1996 period contributed to the apparent lack of managerial skills experienced by provincials in the early stages of their organization.

Southall (2007, p. 8) questions the unrealistic target of affirmative action and employment equity in the public service given the lack of access to education and skills for years for the disadvantaged groups, which were known to suffer from major skill deficiencies. The 'representativity' target of equity policies led to some posts not being filled because of the reluctance to appoint whites who were the only appropriately skilled personnel available but who would have disturbed employment equity drive (*M&G*, 28/05/2010). Yet, there were also pressures for efficiency and delivery gains in the public service.

The various government departments negotiated differently this double objective of affirmative action and efficiency. A few departments (such as the SARS and a few others) revealed a better performance in the transition period because they retained, according to Mamphela (2008), some 'old' skilled and experienced bureaucrats to assist the new incumbents and put in place supportive systems and organisational structures. These departments were strategic and with leaders who knew how to strike an

appropriate balance between employment equity strategies, the recruitment and development of performing black employees and the retaining of 'old' bureaucrats with the needed high skills and competences.

However, in health, for example, Von Holdt and Murphy (2007; p. 317) examine the inadequate managerial and delivery capacity and poor functioning of health departments and hospitals. They argue that, in addition to heavy demands on the health sector, the health bureaucracy was dysfunctional, with low morale and overworked employees and a lack of effective management systems and information data. The centralization of powers at national level led to the disempowerment of local authorities and hospitals.

In a subsequent article, Von Holdt (2010) identifies the deep-seated reasons for the poor functioning of the post-1994 bureaucracy. He cites the ambivalence towards highly skilled and competent experts and the prevalence of what he calls the need 'to keep face', or the protection of incompetent officials who will look for scapegoats for the lack of delivery to the public (p. 4). In education, the record of poor delivery and performance, as well as the continued protection of poorly performing officials, is an indication of a similar trend in the education bureaucracy.

This protection fits with Elmore's (1995) argument about restructuring to improve the performance of the public service. According to him, structural reforms function to protect organizations' core business as the latter is not only spared but also protected by such reforms. Von Holdt (2010) goes further and concludes that the post-1994 bureaucracy is used for redress of past exclusion and oppression and as a key vehicle (like education) for class formation and career advancement for black incumbents, therefore looking up at their seniors rather than down at their constituencies. In short, the post-1994 bureaucracy became a site of powers and internal contestations.

In the end, as Southall (2007, p. 8) argues, there were serious long-term consequences to this 'short term strategy of middle class replacement through on-the-job affirmative action rather than...invest in human capacity over the long term'. Instead of privileging employment equity plans, the public sector could have tried to attract and retain potentially competent black officials supported by a well-funded human resource development strategy which addressed effectively the HR and affirmative action needs of many government departments.

The politically loyal culture: variations of tensions on the same theme

An important element to take into account, when evaluating the human resources capacity of the South African public service, is the growing culture of political loyalty among senior and middle level bureaucrats. Senior political appointees can be understood up to a point given the overwhelming task of transforming the political, social and economic system. Three periods of different political loyalty cultures can be distinguished under the three post-1994 presidents: the Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma eras, with their different tensions and implications.

The first post-1994 era, under Mandela, was not dominated to the same extent by this culture of political loyalty as it was a time of loyalty towards the ruling party versus loyalty to the old *apartheid* regime. For the bureaucracy, the challenge was to replace the old bureaucratic structures and practices by more participatory processes, collective leadership and accountability in line with the new political dispensation. However, the new incumbents realized how difficult it was to transform the way the bureaucracy functions. The introduction of the 1997 GEAR economic strategies and its attendant fiscal austerity constraints, together with the poor service delivery of the bureaucracy, put pressure on the bureaucracy to deliver under tighter conditions to address increasing problems of state legitimacy (or its ideational capacity).

Under the second era, from GEAR till the end of Mbeki's rule, it became clear that the legitimacy of the state and its bureaucracy depended increasingly on how it addresses the growing public dissatisfaction with poor service delivery and poor bureaucratic performance. Mbeki and its senior bureaucrats emphasized, soon after the 1999 elections, the need to focus on improved delivery (as opposed to policy consultation and formulation), especially in social service sectors.

Mbeki also decided to centralise key decision-making and strengthen the powers of the presidency. He did not surround himself with a wide range of advisers from different sections of society and maintained a tight hold over the cabinet and the top administration. He wanted loyal comrades whom he could trust (such as the anti-ARV health minister, Tshabalala Msimang) in key political and administrative positions; he had to approve the appointment of all senior officials of government departments (DGs) and parastatals and expected these people to agree or at least followed his directives as well as report directly to him. Mbeki is a determined forceful politician with a focused long-term vision of South Africa's restructuring and renewal within the whole continent, an agenda which he infused with a political ideology of African Renaissance. However, he is not known for team work and collective negotiating skills (such as those exercised during the CODESA process) or for encouraging widely different views or debates.

A narrower 'political loyalty' culture followed and was to impact deeply on the work and dynamics between government, the ruling party and the public service. The boundaries between the presidency, cabinet and senior bureaucracy slowly faded with many government ministers and senior bureaucrats feeling pressurized to toe Mbeki's line, even if they disagreed with some of its aspects, such as his non-negotiable view on HIV/AIDS and Mugabe. Top politicians and bureaucrats were not allowed to question some of Mbeki's puzzling views and directives, even if those departed from official ANC policies (as happened, according to Zuma's public acknowledgement, with Mbeki's stance against the HIV-AID link and the use of antiretroviral treatment). It could be

argued that the bureaucracy adopted tools and practices from the new public management model partly to drive the message that the bureaucracy was not about political loyalty but efficiency. However, these tools did not have a serious impact as many senior appointments continued to be made on the basis of political loyalty as opposed to high performance.

An important decision which strained the Triple Alliance was the adoption of the GEAR strategy which antagonized many people and organizations who were to be negatively affected by GEAR, which became known as the '1996 class project'. Even though GEAR was sold for its long term socio-economic and employment benefits, it did not lead to many new employment or small business opportunities for the majority. At the time, only small, well-connected elite, aligned to Mbeki, seemed to benefit from BEE policies. Thus, with the centralization of powers in a small administrative and political elite, Southall (2007, p. 18) argues that there was an 'increasing domination of the highest organs of the party by a technocratic… state elite … [which] engaged in a project of blatant accumulation'.

All this contributed to major discontent from a few individuals who had been close to Mbeki but fell into disfavour, but more importantly from unions, civil society organizations and some ANC elements who did not agree with Mbeki's policies and in particular its unilateral shift away from redress and redistribution measures in favour of market-related economic growth (Chisholm et al., 1999). These contradictory elements of the Mbeki era fuelled faction-fighting, leading to increasingly serious conflicts among the Triple Alliance. From 2004 onwards, popular and civil society protests increased against the lack of responsiveness from the local government, the lack of employment as well as the lack of democratic channels to question the political and bureaucratic oligarchy.

This widespread discontent, which culminated into a serious challenge to the political hegemony of the Mbeki ANC faction, shook the ruling party and led to a populist mobilization by unions and other community organizations. At that time, COSATU, the SA Communist Party, the ANC Youth League and some individual ANC members mobilized behind Zuma to challenge the Mbeki faction, which tried to pass better social welfare measures to regain some political legitimacy ahead of the 2007 ANC Conference. But it was too little, too late. With the growing unemployment, poverty and social inequalities, the lack of delivery to the poor as well as the corruption in local governments, the Zuma ANC faction represented the hope of something different in ANC leadership and policies. The 2007 Polokwane ANC conference saw the Zuma faction, with which many organizations had joined forces mainly to end Mbeki's rule, win, with a few new policies being adapted.

Zuma's victory at the 2007 ANC elections, and then the 2008 national elections, ushered a new political era in South Africa in that it opened up the post-1994 emerging political democracy, which some authors have called a form of 'populist democracy' whereby people are mobilized but only in the name of democracy and not necessarily for stronger democratic practices (Southall, 2006). No major economic and social changes from the previous era occurred, even if there were minor changes in the bureaucracy. A new, larger cabinet was formed, partly to acknowledge the various partners in the new alliance which Zuma soon found difficult to manage and appease as his allies wanted to push more strongly their interests and agendas. At government level, no new economic policies were introduced, especially with the need to manage the 2008/9 international financial crisis. A new centralized planning unit was created, the National Planning Commission (NP Commission), to offer new directions and coordinated/integrated planning. The government declared its commitment to strengthening accountability in the bureaucracy and local councils. Ministers were again made responsible for the appointment, work and achievements of their senior bureaucrats or managers and had to sign performance agreements which were to be monitored by a new central unit, the

Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (ME Commission). Parliamentary oversight committees were revived to keep the cabinet more accountable. Civil society was provided with new structured channels to the ME Commission to question the political and bureaucratic elite, as well as voice their discontent with various government departments which did not deliver what they are supposed to. Wide consultations and debates emerged again with many organizations suggesting how to improve administrative delivery and performance.

A 'no tolerance' attitude was again proclaimed regarding inefficiency and corruption in an attempt to re-build the political legitimacy of the ruling party and its administration among the public. However, in reality, it was more a continuation of what happened before, with little changes on the delivery, accountability and corruption front. The political loyalty culture continued unabated, even if it was another faction in the political and administrative elite. In some respects it became worse, with increasing exposures of corruption, manipulation and favouritism/nepotism among politicians and bureaucrats close to Zuma.

Throughout 2009/2010, angry popular local protests continued around poor service delivery but also increasingly against the continued lack of state accountability and corruption of politically connected officials and managers, who did not appear interested in addressing the plea of the poor. Soon, tensions grew and the Zuma government was unable to pacify and unite his various alliance partners which started to go their separate ways, revealing increasing divisions in ANC and in the Triple Alliance. By 2010, the political legitimacy of Zuma's government became under threat with its record of poor governance, over-politicization of the state bureaucracy and parastatals the enrichment of new black officials and politicians and, above all, a lack of visionary and focused leadership.

Thus, the rebuilding of an efficient bureaucracy encountered many challenges with its major strategies or responses: the introduction of new public management systems, affirmative action and a politically loyal culture. All three responses contain internal tensions but there were also tensions between the three, such as the inadequate human resource capacity, drive towards greater accountability and professionalism versus affirmative action and employment equity policies. This was made worse by a culture of political loyalty in the public sector. There were a few successful government departments, such as the SA Revenue Services, because they were headed by a strong strategic and professional leader with a vision, understanding of what human resources were needed to build an efficient professional bureaucracy and the introduction of tight managerialist operational systems. On the whole, what was needed were strategies to develop competent professional senior managers through better support and professional development plans and improved management systems to enhance the work and decisions of senior managers. However, on the whole, these strategies were not frequent in many divisions of the bureaucracy, and especially in the education bureaucracy at national and provincial level. The bureaucracy divisions which were not known for major gains in efficiency and professionalism were often the politically and socially contested sectors such as education, health, land and agriculture and home affairs compared with the financial ministry, the tax revenue service or even science and technology.

7.5 Conclusion

Sixteen years after being established, the post-1994 state and its education bureaucracy continue to be caught in tensions and conflicts in relation to its functions and exercises of powers, which restricted its various strategies to improve its policy implementation and delivery policy performance. Using new conceptual tools of capacities and state's relationship to other socio-economic forces, this chapter argues that the state and its bureaucracy were weakened by, and did not operate easily at, the interface of strong

political and social groups and organizations expecting a form of stakeholder democracy whereby the state consulted various stakeholders' groups involved in a particular area before making its decisions. Because such a state did not enjoy strong ideational and political capacities, the state had initially to accommodate various interest groups and produced relatively compromised education policies, which were the outcomes of a balancing act between different interest groups.

On the making of the new education bureaucracy, it is argued that strategies of new managerialism, affirmative action and a culture of political loyalty were not appropriate to build sufficient skills, professional expertise, relative autonomy and coherence to fulfil its delivery and policy role and mandates. Even today under the Zuma government, the level of professional competences and performance of the bureaucracy is still poor, and the latter continues to be subjected to pressures, populist and corrupt tendencies. Thus, the poor implementational and technical bureaucratic capacities, which prevail still today in education, did not improve much because of the lack of space to build a professional bureaucracy with strategic leaders capable of navigating and minimizing various difficult socio-political and educational tensions and contestations. What was needed was a strategic partnership to build its social capital, professional autonomy, meritocratic values and sophisticated information management systems to improve its professional and administrative performance.

The next chapter is now able to deal with the immediate factors and contestations which contribute to the evolution of appraisal policies from 1998 to 2003.

CHAPTER 8

APPRAISAL DEVELOPMENT: CONTESTATION AND NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES TOWARDS THE IQMS

With an understanding of the legacy and challenges of the post-1994 state bureaucracy and education policies, it is now possible to turn to the first appraisal policy and its contestations, strategies and agreements involving different stakeholders, and how these evolved from 1994 to 2003. This chapter provides a form of policy historiography and genealogy narrative of what came before, and what led to, the 2003 IQMS. It traces the policy changes by asking questions around what were the issues, and what has changed? Who is advantaged and disadvantaged by these arrangements and where/how did various stakeholders engage in struggle and negotiation over these issues? Using the political analytical framework which relies on three different forms of power in the policy process, this chapter examines mainly the first two powers: the exercise of power through the various legal power structures which assert the hegemony of the powerful groups as well as the play of power of various stakeholders (French, 2009), how their agendas clashed, coalesced and evolved over time, what were the negotiation strategies and compromises over various pieces of legislation and ELRC resolutions around appraisal and performance management.

It argues that the conflicts and contestations in this area of education policymaking came from a decision-making process which was based on a notion of stakeholder democracy (involving multiple stakeholders) but that this was gradually replaced by a more polarized set-up with only two main stakeholders: education departments and teacher unions. In the process the voices and interests of other groups, such as the private sector, civil society and professional organizations such as SACE, did no longer appear influential or powerful in the increasingly opposing positions of the two main stakeholders which could not resolve some deadlocked situations. As a result, no serious alternative or innovative proposals around teacher development, accountability

and appraisal for development and performance seriously emerged. Instead, ambiguous and fragile policy settlements were reached, leading to problematic implementation and unintended results.

As a result, it shows that, by 2003, issues of appraisal and its attendant notion of teacher professionalism continue to remain deeply contested (especially around the combination, sequence and alignment of teacher/school development and accountability) and resisted by teacher unions at the implementation phase.

8.1 Legislation towards the Appraisal Policy: Vision of Teacher Work and Status

To understand the first evaluation and appraisal policies and agreements, some education legislation and policies related to teachers have to be briefly reviewed. Chapter 7 reviewed the main post-1994 education policies such as the 1993 ELRA which made education departments and teachers' unions work together as partners in the new collective bargaining and negotiation mechanisms. The 1996 interim *Norms and Standards for Teacher Education*, revised in 2000 as the *Norms and Standards for Educators* (DoE, 2000), set out a vision to replace the old notion of teachers as technicians or workers transmitting a set syllabus with a more professional view of teachers as professionals with generic requirements in terms of knowledge, values and competences. This document mentions seven roles for educators as facilitators, assessors, reflective practitioners, researchers, managers, leaders as well as mediators of learning. Each of these roles is underpinned by a specific articulation of three different competences: foundational, pedagogical and reflexive competences. In fact, the *Norms and Standards* set out three different generic requirements for teachers in terms of knowledge, values and competences. There were occupational requirements concerning more directly the employer, education departments; academic requirements which reflected the desirable academic qualifications needed by new teachers (including the need to upgrade the majority of existing teachers) from tertiary institutions and

professional requirements which were the responsibility of the professional teachers' body, SACE. In that sense, the *Norms and Standards* reflect the few stakeholders involved in replacing the old notion of teachers as technicians or technical workers transmitting a teacher-proof syllabus by professional teachers.

These changes in the profile and status of the teaching profession implied that teachers (now called educators) had to change and think differently about their work and their identities as professional educators, working together on the basis of democratic principles and values. The *Norms and Standards* in turn influenced most other teacher-related policies and arrangements, such as, for example, the new Curriculum 2005, which outlines what teachers were expected to do and achieve in terms of the new curriculum.

Teacher unions agreed to this visionary discourse of teacher professionalism, hoping that adequate policy instruments, structures and processes would eventually be put in place to assist teachers to reach that goal. However, by promoting the vision of professional teachers with professional attributes, knowledge and competences, these policies were to strain significantly teachers who worked in poorly resourced schools (mainly SADTU and NAPTOSA members) and had a deficient academic education background because of the *apartheid* era. As many scholars mentioned (Barasa & Mattson, 1998; Jansen, 2001), these visionary teacher-related policies were problematic from not building from or not expanding on the realities on the ground. The majority of teachers who suffered from poor teacher education programmes could not envision the full meaning of OBE as they had to be supported first with stronger academic foundation through access to large scale upgrading teacher education programmes. In fact, many district officials noted very quickly that it was unfair or unrealistic to demand from teachers that they think of their new professional and occupational requirements developed in the *Norms and Standards* or that they implement the new curriculum and assessment policies without being provided with support to acquire basic academic foundation knowledge and competences.

8.1.1 Preparatory work on teacher appraisal

The teacher appraisal agenda was set by SADTU as a major priority for them by commissioning the Wits EPU in 1993 to design and pilot a development appraisal framework (with a detailed training manual) and test the viability of a more transparent developmental teacher-driven appraisal (Chetty, et al., 1993; Mokgalane, Carrim, Gardiner & Chisholm, 1997). It was conceived by SADTU as a redress strategy which would push the education departments to invest in the development of the poorly qualified and performing teachers.

Before appraisal could be negotiated, job descriptions and basic conditions of employment of teachers had to be finalised. The *Education Laws Amendment Act* of 1997 outlines the role of the Minister of Education in determining the job descriptions of different post levels against which educators could be legally appointed, promoted and appraised. The *Employment of Educators Act* (DoE, Act no.76 of 1998) establishes the terms and conditions of employment of educators and, most importantly, provided for the establishment of the South African Council for Educators (SACE), a semi-independent statutory body with representatives from education departments and teacher unions, to regulate the teaching profession. This SACE was an important professional body which had to develop (with and for teachers) professional standards, codes and values, something on which it did not manage to do sufficient strategic work to become separate and relatively independent from education departments and unions. As any professional council, SACE had to promote a vision of professional teachers through the development of norms and standards for the profession as well as forge a teacher professional identity and commitment towards better professional behaviours and practices. SACE started its work by focusing on various mechanisms and projects to promote the development of teachers as professionals. This was facilitated

by the provision of 80 compulsory hours per year of professional development for each teacher, as stipulated in the 1998 ELRC agreement[9].

The issue of appraisal was important for SACE as it is a means towards teacher development and could also be about issues of professional attributes and identities of teachers. However, it can also be about performance monitoring and management. By the time it was negotiated within the ELRC among education departments and unions, SADTU made its vision and strategy for teacher development prevail within the DOE as a key priority for redress. A former SACE official then (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009) explained that the idea was that the provisions of better teacher development was both a redress issue and something which will improve teachers' working conditions and status. DAS was also motivated on the grounds that it was important not to victimize black teachers for their *apartheid*-driven poor teacher education but allow them instead to drive their own development without inspectors or school managers to tell them what to do. As a former SADTU/former SACE policy adviser mentioned (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009):

> SADTU did not want to expose teachers for what they could not do for fear of making them yet again victims of apartheid education.

Thus, at that time, SADTU showed examples of incisive policy leadership as it had read the political and educational context in 1994 and wanted to empower its members (for more on union enabling policy leadership, see chapter 11). It did not see any necessary polarization between union demands for teachers' professional development and for better working conditions

9 There were many who argued that 80 hours (around 10 days) a year for PD was over-ambitious, given the difficult trade-off between teacher professional development and taking time off from teaching (TDS, 2009).

A task team made up of experts and representative of the main stakeholders was set up to produce a draft for a transparent teacher development appraisal framework, and was assisted by the Education, Training and Development Practices Project (ETDPP) description of educators' roles and competences (TDS, ELRC, 2009). After negotiations in the ELRC, the 1998 Development of Appraisal System, and an accompanying manual, was produced. The *ELRC resolution 4 of 1998* finalised a national system of Development Appraisal for all public schools, with various appraisal procedures, criteria and instruments for all educators. Such appraisal system was presented as an enabling policy agreement to promote an ongoing developmental process for educators, with transparent appraisal criteria, based on some flexibility to accommodate contextual diversities of educational institutions.

In addition, the *ELRC resolution 7 of 1998* specifies the workload for school-based educators and the *ELRC resolution 8 of 1998* stipulates the duties and responsibilities for office-based and school-based educators for each post-level. The latter defines the day-to-day duties and responsibilities of educators on the basis of their roles and competences, as outlined in the *Norms and Standards*, and provides job descriptions against which all educators were to be legally appointed, promoted and appraised. The *ELRC Resolution 8 of 1998* also lays the basis for the act which was to establish the South African Council for Educators (SACE) as a statutory professional body, with representatives from education departments and union representatives, in charge of regulating the teaching profession. In most of these agreements, there was an assumption that teachers could acquire or develop higher professional competences, values and knowledge to assume their new roles and work identities. However, subsequent department regulations, circulars and/or measures were remarkably silent on how to develop in teachers what was expected as well as how to change teachers from where they were at to what they had to become.

The surprising feature about these ambitious ELRC agreements, which is often ignored by education policy analysts, is that teacher unions agreed with these visionary policies and their discourse of teachers as 'professional educators' able to exercise great

professional autonomy. A then-SADTU negotiator (Interview, Govender 25 September 2009) explains:

> It was time for teachers to take responsibility for their performance, behave and be perceived as professionals as well as be supported in improving their teaching.

It was strange that unions with a majority black membership, such as SADTU and some unions regrouped under the umbrella of the National Association of Professional Teachers' Organizations (NAPTOSA) and with a majority of black members, embraced this discourse of teacher professionalism given the many poorly qualified teachers (unqualified or under-qualified) which, in 1998, still constituted around one third of all teachers (DoE, 2009b). Many teachers, according to Weber (2008), did not identify, embrace and/or own the vision in these teacher-related policies, which quickly pressurized, alienated and dispirited them.

However, in the context of the *apartheid* legacy, with its rather differentiated education system and serious quality problems in the majority of schools, it is important to understand why unions agreed to such ambitious teacher-related policies which could not easily be implemented, given the scarcity of resources and conducive, supportive conditions. Interviews with SADTU (former and current), NAPTOSA and DoE officials bought up interesting insights on this apparent paradox. The post-1994 dispensation led SADTU to change slightly its strategy on how to address the negative *apartheid* impact on black teachers and reconstruct a quality education system. Some of the SADTU leaders, more focused on the need to achieve the professionalization of all teachers, felt it was more strategic to fight for redress and equity in professional development (PD) by committing the DoE to a plan with meaningful developmental opportunities rather than continue demanding greater democratization and transparency in education structures and inspection (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009).

As mentioned in chapter 6, black teachers had been subjected to inferior teacher education provisions, mediocre in-service developmental opportunities as well as tight

and rigid bureaucratic controls and procedures without ever being allowed a say about their own needs and development priorities (Gallie, 2007, p. 96). In contrast, white teachers, even though they had to transmit teacher-proof syllabuses, were given some professional autonomy and better opportunities to develop professionally. This is why some SADTU leaders wanted a teacher-driven appraisal system which avoided a top down bureaucratic inspection system or a centrally-decided teacher development system whereby district officials monitor teachers' performance and decided on their development while not being sensitive to the *apartheid* legacy of a rather differentiated teaching force. As a former SADTU/former SACE policy adviser mentioned (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009):

> It was felt strongly that teachers should be assisted with progressive enabling policies which would redress the apartheid legacy and empower teachers… It was important to emphasize our aspirations about what teachers should be able to achieve...

This SADTU concern about black teachers not being humiliated was understandable and reminiscent of von Holdt's (2010) analysis of the post-*apartheid* health bureaucracy which, he argues, was rarely confronted directly about their poor performance to 'save face'.

Another influence on SADTU leaders in favour of teacher appraisal for development came from its own beliefs and experiences as former teachers in the *apartheid* days. Many teachers opposed to *apartheid* education knew, according to the ELRC general secretary (Interview, Govender, 25 September 2009), that they had to fight the discriminatory system collectively but also individually in their schools by being proactive and looking for ways of improving themselves as teachers. Many of these more proactive black teachers relied on their peers/comrades to identify their weaknesses and development needs to build their capacity and their learners. For these former teachers, teacher appraisal needed to be formalized and teachers should be asked to take responsibility to identify, with their peers, their strengths and shortcomings as well their professional development needs. The ELRC general secretary

(Interview, Govender 25 September 2009) argues that such appraisal would also produce a better diagnostic and ensure teachers own their PD needs.

By 1997, the ELRC asked again the Wits EPU to conduct a pilot exercise on teacher appraisal and develop an appraisal training manual (Mokgalane et al*.,* 1997*).* In these ELRC negotiations, SADTU was the main party to drive a transparent teacher-driven developmental appraisal system which would act 'as a transformative tool' to promote both redress and quality improvement in education (Gallie, 2007). The DoE went along, according to a former SADTU/SACE official (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009), hoping to add an inspection dimension in the negotiations, something which did not happen.

The various teacher unions hoped that DAS would force the department to mobilize teacher support and training, from within and without the department, to assist teachers, and especially those who suffered most from the *apartheid* legacy, to become professionals committed to change the poor culture of teaching and learning in their schools and improve the teaching and learning (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009).

The main weakness of this redress strategy laid in its untested assumptions. Firstly, it assumes that the system capacity and resources existed and only needed to be mobilized to support teachers in their identified PD needs. Yet, policies and discourse around teacher professionalism are not sufficient to creating conducive conditions for continuous developmental and supportive work towards teachers, especially if human, social and financial resources are not there. Second, it was assumed that a school atmosphere or culture of mutual trust, collegiality and confidence among teachers can easily be created to make teachers open to outside assessment and allay their fears associated with appraisal exercises. As Barasa and Mattson (1998) argue, there were concerns that appraisal results would be used at a later stage by employers when deciding on possible future salary increases, promotion and/or redeployment. With the poor culture of teaching and learning characterizing many black schools since the 1980s

and continuing in the early 1990s, it was clear that SADTU was rather ambitious and unrealistic. Third, and more importantly, it under-estimated how difficult it is to change attitudes and behaviour of teachers so they can become agents of their own development. It expected teachers to negotiate a rather important change in their beliefs, attitudes and practices as far as expecting them to become authors, or at least drivers, of their own development.

It is argued here that, by pushing for a teacher-driven appraisal for development system, SADTU misjudged not only the lack of supportive capacity and resources required but also the deep-seated effects of the *apartheid* legacy. Teacher professional development is an important issue for unions to focus on to improve the bargaining and professional power of teachers. It is a multi-pronged issue which requires various interventions and programmes from different quarters, including teacher unions (Bascia, 2003). By putting so much hope in enabling progressive policies and underestimating the PD and change of teachers' attitudes, identities and behaviours, SADTU reveals its strengths and weaknesses: it was not experienced at strategies for building and enhancing their members' professional competences and attitudes but was better at fighting for the improvement of the material working conditions of its members (Govender, 2004).

Other unions, such as the National Union of Educators (NUE) and other minority unions which all came together to form NAPTOSA in 2006, had similar demands to SADTU but also an additional focus (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009). The NAPTOSA unions had a tradition of focusing on professional issues and the improvement of their members' professional knowledge, competences, attitudes and performance (Govender, 2004). By 1994, many of these unions were rather concerned at the poor culture of teaching and learning which had spread in so many schools after nearly two decades of anti-*apartheid* education struggle. A NAPTOSA official (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009) explains that the organization welcomed the idea of teachers improving their professional

knowledge, values and commitment and saw DAS and its guidelines from the training manual as important ways in which to identify teachers' lack of professional competences and knowledge. She also mentioned that NAPTOSA was aware of the importance of strong and continuous support and professional development and envisaged at the time a partnership between provincial departments and other competent service providers, including teacher unions, since many had experience and expertise in professional development programmes for their members as well as any other teachers (Interview, Muller, 25 February, 2009). Other minority teacher organizations, such as the Sud-Afrika Onderwyeis Unie (SAOU), also supported the call for better professional development, especially with the introduction of the new curriculum and assessment policies and mentioned that they organized their own professional development programmes for their members (Interview, Roux, 5 January 2009).

Teacher unions, and especially those with a majority black membership, hoped that DAS and its generated information on teacher development needs would force the department to address more systemically the need for teachers' professional development through 'appropriate policy instruments and strategies to support the implementation of the DAS policy' (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009). The difference between SADTU and the other unions is that the former expected education departments to lead with adequate funds and a comprehensive PD plan whereas NAPTOSA and other teacher unions decided to continue focusing on their own PD programmes as well as push for education departments and SACE to mobilize greater human, social and financial capital and resources to implement a system-wide professional development plan.

8.1.2 Strategies around the development of teacher professionalism

All unions seemed, thus, to have underestimated the system capacity to meet the challenges of a teacher-driven system of appraisal for development and as a result, signed the 1998 DAS ELRC resolution without thinking properly about its impact on teachers, and particular black teachers. However, the unions differed not on the issue of teacher professionalism but rather on how to develop it. While the less political and more conservative unions preferred to rely on their own developmental programmes and on SACE's work for the strengthening of teacher professionalism, SADTU seemed to ignore SACE professional standing and function by taking up the issue of teacher professionalism and bargaining directly with education departments and conflating the occupational and professional requirements in their bargaining. Yet, the idea of professional associations is for them to promote by various means the professional standards, values and behaviours of their members, independently of the occupational work requirements, usually left to agreements between employers and employees.

On their side, education departments had a different and more instrumentalist interest in a teacher professionalism discourse. Department officials never talked fully with one and the same voice but many wanted to see teachers improve their professional behaviours and work performance. They believed that teachers were among the main forces which contributed to, but also which could redress, the poor culture of teaching and learning and mediocre quality of schooling that continued to exist in so many black schools (Chisholm, 1999). Teacher professionalism was seen as an important discourse with which to impress the teaching force that schools had to run differently. However, it is worth noting that education departments did not push hard for SACE to acquire the resources and leadership needed to take on the task of setting up a professional association to protect and advance teacher professionalism. Instead, according to a then-NAPTOSA representative (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009), education departments were accused of trying to control SACE by appointing its board and driving a hard opposing line vis-à-vis the teacher unions. As a result, SACE became caught in conflicts and contestations between education departments and teacher unions,

organizing various PD workshops but, above all, neglecting its important task to work with teachers in schools or teacher clusters on the development of professional standards, codes, values and behaviours.

Another issue related to the appraisal vision of teacher professionalism is that it did not match the one embedded in other education policies (or aspects of policies) which undermines the status of teachers as professionals. For example, part of the curriculum and assessment policies made teachers, especially those who taught large classes, spend an inordinate amount of their time on paperwork and various bureaucratic tasks, which could be considered as a form of de-skilling. An ELRC-commissioned report on educator workload (Chisholm et al., 2005) revealed how poorly qualified teachers took so much more time than others to complete their administrative work, which made them sacrifice teaching time. The South African Schools Act (SASA) (DoE, 1997a) can also be seen as undermining the status of teachers by stipulating that school governing bodies (SGBs), with a majority of parent representatives, have the power and responsibility to recommend the appointment of school principals and teachers. Yet, appointment of staff demands often greater competences than what parents sometimes have to assess candidates' professional competences for a specific post. There have been many cases of principals complaining about poor appointments of teachers whose performance became their responsibility to improve (DoE, 2003). These principals argue that they were unfairly criticized for tolerating some staff's poor performance, even though the latter had not been the choice of the principals in the first place.

Why was there such poor alignment between some post-1994 education policies on the notion of teacher professionalism? It is possible that there were different views and interests within the DoE's senior bureaucracy regarding what teachers should do and how they should be assessed for development and/or for performance assessment. It could also be that some policy agreements, especially those involving ELRC negotiations,

were the outcomes of compromises between and within education departments and unions, and not the result of rational thinking about how these teacher-related policies fitted in with others. Given the existence of different agendas around teacher professionalism by education departments and teacher unions, any agreement reached about teacher-related policies was fragile.

Beyond the occupational requirements specified in these policies, a strategy was needed to deal first with the necessary academic teacher development and second with the building of a professional ethic and behaviours. The first strategic component required large scale quality teacher development for teachers' academic content and pedagogical knowledge. Districts understood that the academic educational needs of teachers, which had been pointed out by many research studies (Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999), had to be addressed[10] *before* they could assist teachers with the implementation of the sophisticated curriculum and assessment policies. Tertiary education institutions were the ones in charge of upgrading teachers' academic qualifications (with ACE diplomas or B Ed Hons degrees), although they also complained about the difficulty of providing appropriate support to these in-service teachers doing their diplomas and degrees because most teachers lacked basic foundational or disciplinary knowledge, let alone reflective competences. Yet, it is commonly accepted that the wider the gap is between existing teacher knowledge and competences and the required knowledge and competences that training should target, the greater is the risk of failure (Gauthier & Dembele, 2004).

Regarding the second strategic component of teacher professionalism, it was the responsibility of SACE to develop with teachers various mechanisms to promote a professional code of ethics, standards and behaviours among teachers, something which still did not show much progress by 2008.

10 By 2009, it was recorded that more than 30% of teachers did not have sufficient academic qualifications to teach the subjects and levels they were in charge of.

Armed with a more complex understanding of the various forces, compromises and strategies needed to make teachers autonomous or collegial professionals in line with the ambitious post-1994 teacher-related policies, it is time to turn to a more detailed analysis of the first teacher appraisal system introduced in South African schools.

8.2 Appraisal for Development: the 1998 DAS Policy

The DoE presented the 1998 DAS policy as the first piece in the reconstruction of quality assurance measures aimed at improving and assuring the quality of school education. DAS claims to facilitate the personal and professional development of individual educators and improve the quality of teaching practice and education management through the introduction of the principle of lifelong learning and development (ELRC Manual for Development Appraisal, 1998). It was a transparent stakeholder-driven appraisal targeted at educators and office-based educators which represented a break from previous South African teacher evaluation exercises. This peer appraisal or evaluation for development was informed by the 1996 *Norms and Standards* (which was slightly re-designed in 2000). DAS expected educators to identify, with their peers, their areas of strength and of development through a professional growth plan (PGP) indicating their areas of improvement or development needs. It assumes and promotes the ambitious idea of teachers, as reflective practitioners, identifying and prioritizing their development needs.

DAS guided teachers in their appraisal with a list of core, optional and additional criteria, the latter two having to be discussed with the school-based appraisal panel and agreed to by the Staff Development Team (ELRC Manual for Development Appraisal, 1998). By having negotiable criteria, the appraisal process was meant to be flexible and adaptable to educators given their different school context. Educators' competences were also broadly formulated to allow for contextual diversity. As Barasa and Mattson (1998)

note, this lack of precision gave educators the space to interpret and negotiate in their context the balance between accountability and autonomy.

Using a political analytical approach, it is important to examine its assumptions, how contested and legitimate this policy was, what tensions and space it opened up as well as how issues of teacher professionalism and teacher development were addressed.

8.2.1 DAS assumptions, possibilities and constraints

As mentioned earlier, DAS had a historical and political context, fraught with contestations among and between education departments and unions. Education departments were keen to root out the poor culture of teaching and learning existing in many schools through greater monitoring measures over schools. Beyond tighter regulative measures to restore discipline and accountability among teachers, the department needed an audit of all schools and teachers to be able to report on the state of affairs in the school system; monitor the implementation of the curriculum and assessment reforms and decide on how best to allocate scarce resources (Ministerial briefing to NEEDU, August 2008). Teacher unions were more interested in redress and fairness for black teachers who needed meaningful opportunities to develop and be part of education reconstruction. It is these different interests (or policy agencies) which were reflected in the final DAS document. Unions won the principle of a transparent negotiated appraisal for development with some allowance for contextual diversity. Education departments saw appraisal as the beginning of a monitoring process over teachers and ensured that what it considered important performance standards for teachers were included in the instrument.

As a result, DAS embodied some compromises between government officials, unions and teachers (Barasa & Mattson, 1998; Gallie, 2007) which led to tensions in the document. On the issue of teachers becoming professionals, some scholars (Barasa &

Mattson, 1998, p. 69) argue that, because most teachers did not have strong academic and professional competences and behaviours, 'they should acquire these competences and behaviours **before** they can be required by policy'(our emphasis). Otherwise, they argue, DAS will be perceived 'as prescriptive, unreasonably demanding and punitive, rather than supportive and developmental'. This argument is similar to the one about professional development having to be provided before accountability was demanded. SADTU argues still today that, with the relative under-development and poor quality of the education system inherited from years of *apartheid* neglect, teacher development was the priority no.1 which the department tended to sideline (SADTU, May 2009). Many teachers complained that support from outside their schools was non-existent (Barnes, 2003).

According to Gallie (2007), the DAS document was vague about a system-wide professional development strategy which would mobilize all resources and capacities to support the teachers' serious development needs. Indeed, if DAS made teachers identify genuinely their PD needs, the big question was: where would meaningful professional development opportunities come from and how could these be sustained? This could only be addressed by the DoE putting in place a viable strategy for the funding and provisioning of system-wide professional development, something that was certainly not in place in 1998 and would take another 10 years before being addressed.

There were other tensions in the DAS policy which tried to move from a bureaucratic to a professional approach to teacher development. By asking teachers to identify themselves through personal and collective reflection, the DAS forms and processes were ambitious. They require teachers to have reflective competences and a commitment to continuous professional learning which most South African teachers were not familiar with or had not practiced in the past because of the lack of opportunities for meaningful development. The problem with the appraisal instrument is that it was partly borrowed from other countries, such as New Zealand (NZ) and

Australia (Interview, Chanee, 21 April 2009). These had more developed education systems with a different legal, professional and institutional setup. In NZ and Australia, schools were financially and managerially more autonomous and teachers were better prepared academically and professionally, as well as had experience with conducting evaluation. However, most black teachers in South Africa did not possess or practice reflective competences as well as showed some defensiveness when it came to implement these ambitious curriculum and assessment policies which were foisted onto them by education departments, not equipped with sufficient resources and capacity to support teachers. The only way to follow up and support this required appraisal reflection was to adopt a backward mapping approach (Elmore, 1979/80) which could have asked implementers close to schools (districts and school management) what teachers needed to grow into behaving and reflecting in a professional manner. However, such implementation approach was unknown to or against the new education bureaucracy who was rather hierarchical and authoritarian.

It also assumes that teachers could acquire relatively easily a positive attitude, competence and commitment to conduct genuine self-reflection and identify accurately their priority development needs (and professional growth plan), based on their diagnosed strengths and weaknesses (Barasa & Mattson, 1998, p. 69). Yet, most teachers felt insecure and defensive at the idea of exposing their weaknesses in particular, as they struggled with their teaching, let alone the new curriculum and assessment implementation. In addition, most teachers and their union, SADTU, did not see themselves as responsible for their learners' poor achievements on the grounds that learners' results were strongly influenced by their socio-economic background and attitudes, as well as by inadequate school resources and unclear national policies (SADTU, 2005; Ryan, 2007). For example, a SADTU provincial official explains poor school performance as follows:

> Poor school performance is not a teacher problem but rather a systemic problem, which includes teachers, school, district, the department and policies (Limpopo interview, October 2007).

Thus, to abolish the old controlling top down bureaucratic inspection system and replace it with an appraisal system for development was a major advance but the professional form of appraisal recommended (self- and peer-appraisal), the instrument and competences it relied on (reflective teacher competences) and the departmental support capacity it assumed were unrealistic and inappropriate in the context and realities of most schools.

8.2.2 DAS implementation tensions with teacher support

The implementation of DAS was also problematic. As was above-mentioned, the key issue was the poor PD follow-up support from the department, which made teachers feel that the department was more interested in appraisal than development. According to a few research case studies (Barnes, 2003; Gallie, 2007), teachers complained that the department did not provide access to genuine development support, including on the meaning and implementation of curriculum and assessment policies. Research on GDE districts (De Clercq, 2002; Narsee, 2006) also shows that districts tend to use a forward mapping implementation approach which consisted of monitoring policy implementation rather than supporting teachers to learn how to change their behaviours, practices and attitudes to what the curriculum policy intends for them to do. In addition, provincial departments and districts faced serious demands without having the capacity or expertise to meet the developmental needs of schools and teachers and without developing better strategies to find alternative ways of providing such support (see later for this).

DAS review workshops were held in 1999 and 2000 at national and provincial department level to rethink teacher appraisal. For example, the 2001 GDE strategic planning workshop agreed with the DoE's conclusions that the DAS problems came from 'policy, training and operational' constraints (Mathula, 2004). The policy constraints

referred, *inter alia,* to the complicated paper-work and time-consuming DAS procedures, the lack of ownership and unclear roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders. Among training constraints were problems of lack of material and human resources, including poor cascade-model of training, and the operational constraints included competing departmental priorities, lack of school communication and capacity, lack of human resource database and the absence of tangible incentives to develop (Mathula, 2004). Thus, these implementation problems illustrate the meaning of the forward mapping implementation approach adopted by education departments.

The lack of support capacity and planning became a major source of conflict between education departments and unions. SADTU accused education departments of tolerating serious incompetence from their provincial and district officials who did not have the expertise or experience of supporting schools and teachers (M&G, 3/10/08). More importantly, SADTU (2005; Mogkalane et al., 1997) argued that the department lacked the will and commitment to provide teachers with support by developing a teacher development policy framework, plan and strategy to redress past inequalities with a strong continuous professional teacher development system.

What was the record of the DoE in laying down a foundation for a teacher development policy framework? In 1996, a Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP) reported about the promotion of teacher professional autonomy and agency:

> Teachers must be empowered to become autonomous, flexible, creative and responsible agents of change in response to the education challenges of the day. (DoE, 1996c, p. 13)

COTEP led to the revised 2000 *Norms and Standards for Educators*, which was the first policy framework to regulate what teachers needed to possess and how they should be trained. The *ELRC resolution 1 of 2000* stipulates 80 hours per year for professional development, outside of working hours. By 1998, SACE was set up to coordinate and manage a large-scale teacher professional development program (Interview, 7

November 2008). Then, in 2003, a Ministerial Commission into Teacher Education and Development finalised its work and it took another four years for the finalisation of the National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development (NPFTED) (DoE, 2007a) (see chapter 12 for a detailed analysis).

Thus, despite numerous departmental work committees on teacher development, (TD) progress around a TD policy and provisions was slow. This could have been compounded by the fact that professional teacher education and development is a provincial competence and the DoE does not have any jurisdiction over the badly funded and poorly staffed provincial and district offices. It could also be because of the reluctance to decide where funds could come from and, more importantly, who should be in charge of coordinating teacher development and support. Was it a DoE responsibility, did it depend on an ELRC agreement between employers and employees' representatives? How should the professional association, SACE, be involved if teacher development was to be linked with the promotion of teacher professionalism? Was the DoE was sufficiently committed to a teacher development policy implementation plan and strategies which depended on greater capacity and expertise in PD? The answers to these questions were to become clear as further developments were to emerge.

8.2.3 PD strategies to improve teacher professionalism

It was clear that to sustain the discourse of teacher professionalism around DAS, a system-wide professional development plan and effective support strategies were needed. The PD needs were massive in that teachers needed professional pedagogical content knowledge and competences, but also greater professional values, beliefs and behaviours which made teachers committed to professional growth and lifelong learning (Cohen, 1995; Wenger et al., 2000). Teachers, and especially poorly educated and disadvantaged teachers, had to be convinced and/or motivated of the importance

of becoming professionals, committed to improving their practices for enhancing their learners' learning.

It is surprising how, in the late 1990s, little public debate took place around different PD models, strategies and plans to implement these aspirational teacher-related policies. The main challenge was how to assist teachers to negotiate a radical shift from their responsibilities and identities as workers or civil servants to those of self-driven professionals, committed to continuous learning and improvement of their practices (Harley & Parker, 2000). This shift was especially demanding for black teachers whose work, practices and attitudes were profoundly shaped by years of *apartheid* discrimination. As Morrow (1989) puts it, most black teachers suffered from an inadequate teacher education system, a culture of obedience to authority, and over-dependence on outside assistance for what and how they had to teach. Thus, an appropriate theory of change was needed to alter these passive attitudes and beliefs among teachers and empower the latter with more pro-active attitudes, a sense of agency, professional identity and commitment.

Thus, the conflict between education departments and teacher unions was not over the vision or discourse around PD and teacher professionalism but rather over the 'how and what' of effective teacher support strategies. However, behind these issues of teacher monitoring and development lies the more important core issue of how to build and expand teacher professionalism. This is where a third party, SACE, had to come in with its responsibility of fixing and promoting professional standards, ethics and identities among teachers. However, from its beginning, SACE confined its work to coordinating in-service education opportunities, organizing workshops and producing materials to support teachers in identifying their professional development needs (SACE, 2005). It also decided to use its accreditation of teachers in a pragmatic manner by giving a license to all teachers for the duration of their working lives, as opposed to an accreditation which had to be renewed periodically (every five years). According to a

former SACE official (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009), SACE took the decision to register and license all teachers on the basis of their paper qualifications (diplomas/degrees), irrespective of their quality, on pragmatic and political grounds. The accreditation of teachers for their knowledge, competences, ethics and performance conduct in schools, which often prevails in many professional bodies and councils, was not perceived as appropriate at that time because it would have victimized, yet again, the disadvantaged black teachers who had received a poor pre-service and in-service teacher education.

This decision and other activities were to weigh heavily on SACE's future work regarding teacher professionalism. SACE could have set its goals on promoting a serious dialogue with teachers as what was needed to build and expand on their professionalism. It could have organized, independently from education departments and teacher unions, workshops amongst different kinds of teachers (divided and fragmented by their history, education and expertise) to develop a shared meaning of teacher professionalism and how to defend and advance it at school level. It could have then been in a position to develop the appropriate mechanisms to shape this identity of teachers as professionals.

This also explains why the two main stakeholders were allowed to move into this space of teacher professionalism by negotiating over policies, such as DAS and the new curriculum (Barnes, 2003; Gallie, 2007). The department and its education support system did not manage to fund and organize a redress PD plan to assist disadvantaged teachers to become professionals (SADTU, 2008, Mail and Guardian, 3 October; ELRC, TDS, 2009). With the lack of teacher developmental support on the ground and the slow and problematic implementation of various teacher-related policies, cracks started to appear in the fragile alliance between education departments and unions (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009).

The majority of teachers struggled and became defensive as the new policies were introduced in schools (Jansen, 2001). However, there was a minority of teachers, in ex-model C schools and in black schools, who bought into the idea of strengthening their pedagogical content knowledge and competences and developing a teacher identity of active professionals with professional values, standards and ethics. However, other teachers from ex-model C schools showed themselves reluctant to learn how to adapt their teaching strategies and methods to their increasingly diversified learner population, arguing that it was not their call but the responsibility of their learners who were less prepared or less supported by their home environment. As Ryan's (2007) research shows, some teachers in ex-model C schools blamed their learners' poor achievements on circumstances beyond their control, such as learners' under-preparedness, lack of fluency in English, lack of motivation to learn or difficult home circumstances which militated against their performance at school.

For teachers in poorly resourced black schools, the challenge was more complex. Research on curriculum implementation reveals how most of these teachers struggled with their content/subject matter but also with an understanding of the logic and sequence of the ambitious new curriculum policy (Jansen, 2001). Adler and Reed (2002) and Marneweck (2004) showed, in their classroom research, that these teachers could not cope with the demands of curriculum and assessment policies and continued to teach and work in the same way as they did before the OBE curriculum. They often made cosmetic changes and wrongly used group work as learner-centred pedagogy (Jansen, 2001). In addition, many teachers became demoralized because of their poor school environment and the inadequate material and professional support from the department (Jansen & Christie, 2000; Curriculum Review Committee Report, DoE, 2001; Narsee, 2006). They felt unfairly treated by a department which claimed to be committed to redress but did not assist them in practice, especially with their demanding new policies (Gallie, 2007; Narsee, 2006). As a result, many of these teachers

did not think of how to advance their professional values and identities nor were they provided with opportunities to do so by SACE.

Thus, years of inadequate teacher support to develop basic knowledge and competences together with few opportunities to develop the professional values, attitudes and identities needed to learn and grow in implementing the new policies, explain the poor professional commitment existing among most teachers who did not feel they were directly responsible for the poor quality schooling and their learners' poor achievements (Fleisch, 2008, PIRL, 2008).

8.3 Shifting from Professional Development to Performance Management

The honeymoon of consultations and agreements between education departments and teachers' unions was short-lived. With Kader Asmal as the new Minister of Education in 1999, a tougher stance emerged to address issues of policy implementation and delivery in education. This was well captured at a 1999 GDE conference, when T-shirts were distributed with the slogan: 'The education of our children shall no longer be negotiated' (GDE, 2000a). By then, Jansen (2004) argues:

> The stage was set for making teachers accountable as professional actors within public schools that in large measure still bore the unmistakable marks of instability from the 1970s onward.

Such position reflected the greater assertiveness of education departments. By the late 1990s, as Fleisch (2002) argues, provincial education departments had acquired more confidence and authority and felt more legitimate at tightening their control and exercising their monitoring powers over schools and teachers. It also reflected various efficiency measures being introduced at the time in the public sector, as the ANC government had adopted the 1996 GEAR programme and tighter fiscal austerity. As mentioned in the literature review, this period of 'economic efficiency' was close to neo-liberal market measures which pushed for a 'leaner' state and greater

'performativity' in the public sector. In education, this new managerialism made the DoE tighten its regulations over staff and the teaching profession, insisting on greater efficiency and productivity in policy implementation and delivery (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009). The Minister often expressed publicly his frustrations with the on-going deficient quality schooling, the poor culture of teaching and learning in many schools and the lack of teacher professionalism and accountability. The relationship between education departments and unions became more antagonistic and the ELRC negotiations became characterized by more distinct and firmer opposition positions.

8.3.1 Towards greater control and accountability

The national and provincial departments had been keen to introduce a new school inspectorate. Initially, they had hoped that the DAS system would incorporate a component of teacher inspection to assist them to understand how to deal with the poor culture of teaching still prevailing in many schools after 1994. But, as the ELRC negotiations over DAS proceeded, education departments realized that inspection could not appear within the DAS, which emphasized above all redress and development of teachers (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009).

The DoE needed a better monitoring system to gain a picture of the performance of the whole school system as well as more effective quality assurance and accountability measures. This was felt to be important because accountability had fast disappeared from the system since the 1980s (Interview, senior officials, 27 October 2008). The DoE was increasingly worried about the continued poor quality education system: [beyond access, equity and redress] 'the issue of quality cannot be sidelined' (DoE, 2001, p. 39). In addition, as mentioned by a senior official (oral submission to MinCom 27 Oct 2008), the DoE needed to assume the monitoring powers it was allocated by the 1996 *National Education Policy Act (NEPA)* (no. 27 section 3 (4)(I)). With SASA decentralising certain managerial powers to school management and governing bodies, the DoE also had to

monitor what schools did and produced. Some international consultants, in particular from the UK, advised the DoE on the formulation of a school evaluation system and policy, and this without any consultations or dialogue with teacher unions, according to a former SADTU official at the time (Interview, senior official, October 2008).

The National Policy on Whole-School Evaluation, in 2001 (DoE, Government Gazette, Vol.433, No. 22512, 2001), claimed to assist education departments build strong, stable and robust schools, with a conducive institutional culture, to produce a stable and well-qualified teaching force (see next chapter for a detailed analysis of the *WSE policy*). Its purpose was to:

- inform the national government, provinces, parents and society in general about the performance of schools and the standards of learners' achievements against nationally agreed criteria;
- provide substantiated judgments about the quality of education to inform decision-making, policies and planning within the province and at national level;
- identify key factors that, if developed, will improve school effectiveness; and
- lay a basis for school improvement through a process of internal and external evaluation and the identification of good and problematic practices.

(DoE, 2001, p. 39)

Thus, instead of consulting SACE on how to introduce a developmental form of school and teacher monitoring which could promote greater teacher professionalism, the DoE decided to go it alone. Soon, teacher unions and teachers developed negative attitudes towards the *WSE policy* partly because it had been introduced unilaterally but mainly because of the way WSE supervisors implemented it. SADTU accused the department of giving financial priorities to the implementation of the WSE policy over that of DAS, as schools were not provided with adequate support and professional development opportunities. It also pointed out that many WSE supervisors continued to adopt the

same fault-finding attitude as the old inspectors, a direct contradiction to the developmental spirit of the WSE policy (SADTU, May 2002). By 2002, SADTU called a departmental moratorium on the WSE implementation, encouraging its members to boycott the WSE process and refuse supervisors access to schools (SADTU, August 2002). Many WSE supervisors (especially in Gauteng, where SADTU was strong) did not manage to visit unionized schools and do classroom visits (Interview with SADTU, 21 February 2009). They also discontinued their evaluation of other schools where SADTU was not dominant, for fear of antagonizing the other unions.

Reflecting on the WSE implementation, the GDE acknowledged that there had been flawed consultation, poor advocacy, inadequate implementation management processes as well as less tangible issues, such as school apathy, resistance and fear of victimization, bad-faith negotiations and lack of trust (Mathula, 2004, p. 10). Up to the time of writing, most SADTU-affiliated schools continue to boycott the WSE supervisors

This tense mood did not deter the DoE to push, through the ELRC, evaluative performance management monitoring measures which were to lead to rewards and/or bonuses. The *ELRC Resolution 3* of 2002 on the Performance Management and Development System (PMDS) stipulates how to evaluate and measure the work performance of all public servants (and not educators as such) against pre-specified goals with the possibility of salary increases as rewards for good performance. The DoE was keen to introduce a performance-oriented discourse and culture to improve individual public servants' awareness and understanding of their work objectives and performance standards expected of them (ELRC, 2002). This form of bureaucratic performance-based accountability, with detailed performance areas/agreements based on performance indicators and criteria, was introduced at various levels of the education governance system.

On their side, teacher unions were pressurized by their members to push for a new form of annual merit awards for teachers to replace the old automatic annual notch increase (which had been abolished around 1984). They wanted a performance bonus system, especially since teachers did not fall under the ELRC *Resolution 3* of 2002, which provided salary progression and rewards for public servants, and not institution-based educators (Interview, Abilhak, 2 July 2009).

The DoE used this opportunity to negotiate a new Performance Management System (PMS) for educators at the ELRC. The strategy was to incorporate in an educator performance evaluation a low-stake annual incentive with some salary increases and grade progression. According to Abilhak (Interview, 2 July 2009), the unions demanded in return that the performance evaluation system for educators be fair and transparent and a basis with which to improve the quality of teaching and education management. The *Employment of Educators Act* of 1998 was amended to stipulate relevant work and performance standards for educators. The *ELRC Resolution 9* of 2002 *and Resolution 1* of 2003 outline evaluation procedures, processes and performance standards for institution-based educators, in terms of the Schedule 1 of the 1998 *Educators Employment Act* which allowed the Minister to stipulate performance standards for educators. The *ELRC Resolution 3* of 2003 stipulates the protocol and instrument process to guide the observation of educators in practice (namely lesson observation). An interesting difference from the 1998 DAS is that the 2003 *ELRC Resolutions* did not provide a flexible list of core/optional and additional criteria from which educators could choose to take account of contextual diversity, and specified 12 compulsory performance standards. Most of these new administrative measures and agreements on performance management and appraisal were peppered with concepts and terminology borrowed from the new public management discourse.

SADTU was opposed to the language of performance-based accountability in the 2002 PMDS which it associated with a form of neo-liberal managerialism (Interview, Lewis from SADTU, 21 February 2009). However, it did not oppose performance management schemes per se,

especially if these involved increased remuneration for educators, because it was a long standing principle among SADTU to participate in any schemes leading to salary increases for their members, many of whom suffered from poor pay (Interview, SADTU, 21 February 2009). NAPTOSA also favoured performance management schemes, as long as it was done professionally and promoted a form of professional accountability (Interview, NAPTOSA, 25 February 2009). By 2003, education departments and unions agreed on a performance management and evaluation system which partly met the interests of both parties.

However, the relationship between education departments and teacher unions was seriously strained. The major tension was around this discourse of teacher *professionalism* and its associated teacher-driven development and at the same time the seemingly opposite intention of subjecting teachers to *increasing bureaucratic* accountability or controls over what they produced and did. In other words, teachers were expected to be reflexive professionals while being forced to account in a standardized bureaucratic manner. These double-edged decisions regarding teachers' responsibilities led to further tensions in the relationship between education departments and teachers.

Problems emerged more visibly with the implementation of these monitoring exercises, presented by the department as 'laying the basis for better development opportunities'. However, many teachers experienced these exercises as unfair and rigid bureaucratic controls designed to expose their poor performance, without understanding their deeper causes, and in particular the effect of inadequate departmental support with demanding and unrealistic policies (DoE, 2007c).

The last piece in the monitoring 'puzzle' of the DoE was the evaluation of the effectiveness of the whole system as far as its transformation goals of equity, redress and quality were concerned. In line with the *Assessment Policy in the General Education and Training Band (Grade R to 9) and ABET* of December 1998, the DoE developed the 2003 *Systemic Evaluation Framework* to evaluate the system's progress towards its key

transformation goals and the performance of the learners. As the Framework (DoE, 2003, p. 7) explains, there will be 'periodic evaluations of all aspects of the school system and learning programmes, which shall occur at Grades 3, 6 and 9... on a nationally representative sample of learners and learning sites', using a comprehensive questionnaire distributed to learners, teachers, parents and district officials. The document also mentions that, after each evaluation, 'the Minister of Education, after consultation with the Council of Education Ministers, will release a national report card on the performance or health of the system' (DoE, 2003, p. 7). The assessment of the health performance of the education system was to be done through an evaluation framework of twenty-six (26) quantitative indicators covering the following:

a) The context in which teaching and learning take place;
b) The human and material inputs available;
c) The quality of teaching (and learning) processes and practices; and
d) The quality of the outputs (outcomes) of the education system.

8.3.2 Renewed negotiations towards the IQMS

The next move in school evaluation and appraisal came when unions and their members, especially those regrouped in NAPTOSA, complained about the unnecessary duplications and complexity of evaluation schedules and activities for schools and teachers to navigate in-between (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009). After five years of negotiating and amending various legislative and bargaining agreements, the system had become cumbersome for those concerned as there were so many different exercises on appraisal for development, performance management measurement and school evaluation with a focus on teaching and curriculum implementation. Teachers were evaluated differently for different seemingly unrelated purposes. This is why it was decided to streamline these exercises and adopt a system which could integrate all these systems (DDG Interview, 12 February 2009).

The DoE was also keen on consolidating the various reports of different evaluation exercises to acquire a better picture of the performance and development needs of schools and teachers across the country (DDG Interview, 12 February 2009). It wanted to preserve the existence of a low stake appraisal system which could identify and punish the 10% poor schools and teachers while rewarding (with a small salary increase) the majority of teachers (Interview, DoE Director, 2 July, 2009). The DoE's controlling agenda remained more dominant than the unions'. Having agreed that a school/teacher monitoring is part of professional development strategy and should be combined with a reward system, they agree with the notion of educators' performance standards being the same for the development appraisal and the performance management appraisal (Interview, SADTU and NAPTOSA, 21 and 25 February 2009).

Thus, like the 1998 DAS and the 2002 PMDS, the IQMS was the outcome of long negotiations and contestations in the ELRC between the chief negotiators of education departments and unions as they had both their specific agendas for the educator component of the IQMS. SADTU believed that any agreement involving salary or grade progression should not be boycotted because of some of their members' poor salaries and other unions were keen on more professional development. The Department believed in the need to have a low stake appraisal system which could identify and punish the 10% poor schools and teachers while rewarding with a small increase the majority of teachers (Interview, DoE Director, 2 July, 2009).

A small team of representatives of education departments and teacher unions (consisting of Dr Abhilak from the DoE, Mrs Ncube and Dr Lewis from SADTU, Ms Muller from NAPTOSA, and Mr Delpoort from SAOU) finalized the IQMS document. The *2000 Norms and Standards for Educators* was a non-negotiable vision but also a starting point for discussion of the contested area of evaluation instruments and performance standards. The SADTU representative said (Interview, 21 February 2009):

> It made sense to start with a vision of teachers and where we want to get. However, in the negotiations over what to evaluate, the differences started to emerge and it became

> clear that the DoE had other priorities it tried to push the need to monitor the implementation of policies. Unions were wearied about this because we knew the problems that were caused by the lack of departmental support offered to teachers.

The NAPTOSA representative added (Interview, 25 February 2009):

> We started our discussion with a rational approach of using the norms and standards. However, the contestation became fierce over the exact formulation of the instruments and performance standards that what was eventually agreed upon was sometimes not in line with the norms and standards or not exactly what we had in mind in the first place. The major area of conflicts had to do with the widely different contexts and conditions existing in schools and among educators.

In August 2003, the *ELRC agreement 8* of 2003 was signed, consolidating into one system the three separate systems of DAS, WSE and PM. A more unified system was in place conceptually, but interestingly enough their management remained separate, with the school and educator components being managed by separate directorates/divisions of the provincial education administration. This means that different management structures, the WSE provincial supervisors and district officials, monitor and moderate the scores of school and educator evaluations respectively. In addition, there were systemic evaluation results, processed by the national directorate of quality assurance. The challenge became to compile a comparative analysis of all schools', educators' and learners' performance by ensuring that the consolidation and integration of results from different departmental divisions give a comprehensive picture of all schools.

The IQMS claims to be an appraisal instrument for the whole school system because school and teacher evaluations will reveal the contribution of district or provincial officials in monitoring and supporting school/teacher performance. But the IQMS does not directly monitor district, provincial or national officials. Public servants fall under the Public Servants Act and have their own evaluation measures in the form of the 2002 PMDS (Narsee, 2006). It is worth noting, however, that these performance evaluations are managed from within the department and do not involve independent or outside evaluators/moderators or even less the schools when it comes to ascertain their services to the clients.

The DoE did not have jurisdiction or monitoring powers over provincial and district officials, something which frustrated the DoE (Interview, DoE DDG, January 2009), especially since its impact and performance depended on the provincial implementation performance. The DoE attempted to impact on provincial and district offices by encouraging them to re-think the effectiveness of their structures and delivery performance. However, it took nearly another decade for the DoE to come up with the 2008 national regulations on district norms and standards (DoE, 2008a) which gave the DoE some influence on district and provincial performance.

There are no doubts that today's accountability measures for the educational bureaucracy remain weak, compared to what exist for schools and teachers. Public servants fall under the Public Servants Act and the 2002 PMDS which stipulates their performance evaluation measures. However, these processes are managed from within departments and do not involve any independent outside evaluators or moderators, let alone schools, when it comes to assess the quality or impact of their services to schools. Because of this unbalanced accountability, schools and teacher unions find it unfair to be the only ones to be blamed for the poor learners' performance, when education departments are responsible for problematic policies, policy implementation and school support. Ladd (2007) found this unfair feature of education accountability systems in many countries. However, it was not only unfair and unbalanced accountability that led to grievances among schools but also cumbersome controlling bureaucratic forms.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter explained the context of production of appraisal and evaluation policies (or a policy historiography and genealogy narrative) that led to the 2003 IQMS, by focusing on different appraisal and political negotiations and contestations between various stakeholders in a system of participatory policy decision-making, based on the notion of

stakeholder democracy. However, this stakeholder participation in education reconstruction did not last and was soon reduced to only two stakeholders: education departments and teacher unions. As a result, the vision of teacher professionalism, initially endorsed by education departments and teacher unions, led to increasing strains with the implementation of related procedural and substantive teacher policies (such as curriculum 2005) which put greater pressure on teachers, and even more on the less qualified teachers of less resourced schools.

While an initial cooperative relationship existed between these two main stakeholders around DAS, different agendas, interests and negotiation strategies led gradually to a more antagonistic climate. The DoE became frustrated by its lack of control and decided to introduce unilaterally various quality assurance policies which re-asserted its authority and bureaucratic control over schools and teachers, a form of paradox given other departmental emphasis on schools and teachers having to act autonomously and professionally. In the process, school evaluation or teacher appraisal exercises leaned more towards performance-based monitoring, reflecting the growing dominance of the department's controlling agenda at the expense of the unions' developmental agenda.

The harsher economic and political climate of the late 1990s was compounded by tensions in the relationship between education departments and unions as their agendas became increasingly different. Faced with a tense situation, teacher unions did not manage to develop creative practical negotiation strategies to counter education departments' controlling agendas and put back teacher professionalism high on the agenda. Instead, they relied on familiar strategies of protest actions and boycotts of the implementation of school and teacher monitoring exercises. By 2002, however, the education department agreed to re-negotiate a new more credible evaluation and appraisal policy, which combined notions of development and accountability. This new round of negotiations led to the 2003 IQMS, which is analyzed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE IQMS: ITS CONTENT, TENSIONS AND CONTESTATIONS

This chapter and chapter 8 both address the third sub-question of this study on the tensions and opportunities teacher appraisal policies produced. They do this by providing a policy genealogy narrative about the IQMS policy settlement and its various educational and political tensions. While the previous chapter examined the exercise and play of power, this chapter examines only the legal and symbolic exercise of power (and not the power play), as reflected in the discourse and content of the IQMS document. It is thus a critical policy document analysis of the IQMS aim, process, instrument, different tensions and their likely impact on the school system, while it also analyzes the context of the policy in terms of unevenly resourced and unevenly capacitated education system with its differentiated forms of teachers' work and competences as promoted by the demanding new curriculum.

The political approach to policy analysis is useful in revealing the social construction and political contestations around the IQMS which was meant to resolve some tensions but only by creating new ones, making the IQMS another unstable fragile policy settlement which had to be re-conceptualized by 2008/9. However, this chapter also uses aspects of the rational approach to understand the coherence in juxtaposing two different appraisal purposes, based on different assumptions. On the one hand, the IQMS aims to strengthen teachers as professionals on the grounds that teachers are committed to improve and be the authors of their own development and, on the other hand, it aims to monitor teachers as workers who are perceived as needing tighter bureaucratic accountability. In the process, space is created for stakeholders to develop mediating strategies to manage and, in some cases, exploit the opportunities created by these educational and political tensions.

Thus, with the use of these two analytical approaches, this chapter shows that the IQMS is fraught with educational tensions which are inherent in any appraisal system (see chapter 2) as well as political tensions which come from negotiations, contestations and compromises. It shows how the IQMS purposes, instruments and performance standards reflect compromises between different forces and, as a result, how the monitoring forms are not aligned with the professional teacher support forms.

9.1 The IQMS Policy Aims and Analytical Framework

The IQMS policy declares its aims to be:

- to identify specific needs of educators, schools and district offices for support and development;
- to provide support for continued growth;
- to promote accountability;
- to monitor an institution's overall effectiveness; and
- to evaluate an educator's performance.

(IQMS Training Manual, DoE, 2004, p. 1)

It is a QA policy, which monitors schools and teachers across the system for development and for performance management and represents an attempt to integrate different aspects of a quality assurance system by combining in one system three existing evaluative components, namely the WSE policy, DAS and PM. However, this resulted from a few compromises about the instruments and procedures which also produced different tensions.

On the WSE and its impact on schools, there are a few post-graduate M Ed and PhD research studies (Lucen, 2003; Jose, 2003; Ramaisa, 2004; Rimisati, 2006; Silbert, 2008). Ramaisa (2004) and Rimisati (2006), relying on a positivist rational approach to policy analysis, do not situate the WSE policy in its historical and politically contested context

and do not question the WSE claim that it promotes both school monitoring and school development. As a result, these studies don't capture fully the dynamics, tensions and challenges involved in the policy implementation process. Lucen's (2003) and Silbert's (2008) studies, in contrast, provide an interesting critical analysis of the WSE policy and its implementation in schools but without analyzing sufficiently its complexities, tensions and challenges, which are the sources of most of the problems in the policy process.

On the IQMS implementation, there are a few research studies (Naidoo, 2006; Hariparsad et al., 2006; Class Act, 2007) but most of them rely on a problematic positivist analytical approach. Taking for granted the IQMS form and content, they focus on its implementation constraints by conducting a rather simplistic neutral analysis. The DoE-commissioned research on the IQMS implementation (Class Act, 2007) is the only one which examines some of the tensions and inconsistencies in the instrument itself and explains how these are partly responsible for the unreliability of the IQMS scores.

The political approach to policy analysis assumes that schools and departmental units are not neutral institutions but sites of power relations, subjected to micro political as well as institutional conflicts between groups. This means that uneven power relationships between stakeholders with different interests manifest themselves in the IQMS document. Their different views revolve around different understandings of the meaning of good school and good teaching in different contexts, as well as the sequence of development and accountability.

For conceptual clarity, the analysis of the IQMS content will distinguish its two components: the WSE school component and the educator DAS and PM component.

9.2 The WSE Component

An examination of the tensions and contradictions in the aims and content of the WSE component will assist in understanding why it remains a controversial exercise.

9.2.1 Origin, aim and content of the WSE component

The school component of the IQMS, the WSE, aims to initiate a process of school improvement and quality enhancement through a partnership and collaboration between supervisors, schools and support services at one level, and national and provincial governments at another (DoE, 2001). The idea is that, because school improvement is the responsibility of provincial education departments as well as schools, these different levels have to work well together to improve the performance of the school system. However, an examination of the WSE content reveals that it is less about school improvement and more about monitoring schools' quality across the system and the implementation of national policies.

The content of the WSE component comes from the 2001 WSE policy which was introduced unilaterally by the DoE to have a mechanism in place to gain an overall picture of the effectiveness of all schools — including the support work provided by the district and school management (DoE, 2001). The 2001 WSE policy content was partly influenced by the UK inspection system. For the development of the policy and the training of WSE supervisors[11], the then-national DoE directorate of Quality Assurance was advised by UK consultants with experience with the UK OFSTED system. The New Zealand evaluation also influenced the DoE with its school-based form of appraisal, whose framework and guidelines are designed by the national Ministry for the double purpose of development and performance management (Education Act, 1989). In NZ, principals are therefore expected to develop and implement their school appraisal but have a serious weakness, according to Sinnema (2005), in that most of them avoid focusing directly on the improvement of teaching and learning. Many South African scholars (Spreen, 2001; Vally & Spreen, 1998; French, 2009; Sehoole, 2005) have

[11] The Gauteng Department of Education named its first school evaluation division: OFSTED!

analysed the likely impact of the different South African education policies borrowed from countries with a much more advanced and mature education system with higher professional competences. They also accused policymakers of not having paid sufficient attention to some of the negative impact they had in their own setup. They criticized the ways these policies were not analysed for the negative impact they had in their own setup and were poorly adapted to the local context with the result that they were to cause serious tensions and challenges, especially for the weakest and least performing parts of the education system.

The WSE policy has nine standardized performance areas, covering the following school inputs, processes and outcomes:

- basic functionality;
- leadership/management and communication;
- governance and relationships;
- quality of teaching and educator development;
- curriculum provision and resources;
- learners' achievements;
- school safety, security and discipline;
- school infrastructure; and
- links with parents and the community. (DoE, 2001, p. 5)

The difference between this 2003 WSE and the 2001 WSE policy is that there is now integration between the school and educator component through the 4th school performance standard, the quality of teaching and educator development, which consists of lesson observation (usually a sample of four randomly chosen classes of 'gate' subjects) and relies on similar criteria than those spelt out in the educator component of the IQMS (DoE, 2005b; DoE, 2004). The observation was also to be done by the WSE supervisor together with a member of the teacher's DSG.

Each of the nine areas is measured according to specific assessment criteria, and has to be backed up by stipulated forms of evidence. There is a six-point rating scale presented as a rubric and the school ratings are moderated by the district office. The grading system is used to quantify the evaluative information contained in the evaluation reports and assist supervisors to agree on their judgments. It stipulates six categories:

No rating = Not possible to give a rating because of some information missing

Rating 1 = Needs urgent support, well below average, very low standard and quality

Rating 2 = Needs improvement, or unsatisfactory, below average

Rating 3 = Acceptable, or broadly typical, average, in line with expectations

Rating 4 = Good, above average, high standards and quality

Rating 5 = Outstanding

The WSE policy also mentions that the evaluation has to take account of the school's context as 'schools in disadvantaged areas, for example, must not be disadvantaged in terms of whole school evaluation' (DoE, 2001, p. 4). The principle is to use the particular circumstances of the school as the main starting point of the evaluation.

The evaluation is supposed to be done with the assistance of districts/ circuits. Schools do their own yearly self-evaluation and use it to lead to a school improvement plan (SIP) which is made up of the nine WSE performance areas, with the 4th standard on the quality of teaching and educator development, reflecting the aggregation of all educators' PGPs. The SIPs are then used by districts/circuits to develop a District Improvement Plan (DIP), for which the province needs to secure funds. Schools should also submit their self-evaluation and ratings, as well as their SIP and other relevant school documents, to the provincial office in charge of Whole-School Evaluation. Provincially appointed supervisors in turn visit schools on a three-to-five year cycle. After familiarizing themselves with the schools' relevant documents, a team of four or five supervisors use the same nationally agreed evaluation schedule to assess and rate

the schools' areas of strength and improvement as well as make recommendations, which schools should incorporate in their next SIP (DoE, 2001, p. 8).

Thus, this school monitoring appears relatively bureaucratic in its procedures and steps, judging from the DoE document and guidelines on the WSE. It is interesting to note that, with the SIPs, districts and senior management are now formally accountable to schools for the support the latter have identified (SADTU, 2005). However, school and district improvement plans have also to be realistic and based on cost effectiveness or viable cost implications. With these formal improvement plans which stipulate explicitly 'who should do what to whom', districts and schools are for the first time in a relationship of reciprocal accountability since they both have to account to, and be supported by, another level of the system. In this way, all the different levels of the school system (national, provincial, district and school) are involved in taking stock of their respective performance and reflecting on how to become more effective. Such transparent evaluation process could, in theory, break off the vicious cycle of continuous blaming which is standard practice among education stakeholders.

9.2.2 The WSE educational and political tensions

Because of its multiple purposes and the inevitable contestations around the school evaluation form and instrument, the WSE component contains significant tensions. On the basis of the literature reviewed on appraisal and South African education challenges, I want to retain five main tensions and discuss their possibilities and constraints which a strategic leadership could exploit and use.

Tensions and problems in performance areas

The main tension comes from the WSE selection of evaluation areas, which reflect the multiple purposes behind evaluation. In selecting nine (9) evaluation areas, the DoE claims these are a reflection of the areas identified in the 1999 Tirisano campaign

designed to guide the future development of education in South Africa (DoE, 2001). These areas also send a message to the wider public about what is considered to be the main characteristics of effective schools. Yet, in reality, because these areas are the product of some compromises between different interests about effective schooling in a highly differentiated school context, they were not the most relevant for schools to focus on to improve their performance and teaching and learning. For example, some areas (such as basic functionality and curriculum) are intended to assist with the monitoring of policy implementation but are not necessarily the most relevant for effective schools and good teaching and learning.

After a 20-year legacy, the school effectiveness literature identifies factors which are associated with high school performance and learners' achievements. This research school has been internationally influential in informing templates for school evaluation instruments by pointing to similar factors of effectiveness:

- Professional leadership.
- Purposeful teaching.
- A focus on teaching and learning (maximizing learning time, academic emphasis, focus on achievement).
- Conducive learning environment.
- Shared vision and goals.
- Positive reinforcement: discipline and feedback.
- High expectations of educators and learners.
- Pupils' rights and expectations.
- Monitoring progress of learners and school performance.
- A learning organization.
- Home/school partnership.

(Sammons, Hillman & Mortimore, 1995)

In Victoria, Australia, for example, a drive to raise educational standards adapted these eleven characteristics and gave priority to: professional leadership, a focus on teaching and learning and purposeful teaching. The School Effectiveness research also suggests that the quality of teaching and learning, the school's leaders and the capacity to improve should be at the heart of whole school evaluation. Inspections in the UK currently include some classroom observations of lessons involving the principal or other senior staff and the inspector, who considers the quality and accuracy of the educator's observation. In this sense, inspection is de-personalised as far as possible, focusing on *teaching* rather than *teachers*. Furthermore, wherever possible, processes such as teaching and leadership are evaluated in terms of their impact on learning achievement rather than for their own sake. Schools, which use the same criteria for self-evaluation, are becoming increasingly adept at this.

An examination of the WSE nine performance areas reveal that some areas reflect the insights of the School Effectiveness literature while others do not. Some of the sub-areas or breakdown of areas can also be questioned. For example, it mentions the area of leadership and governance which it then breaks down into only these four criteria:

- The school's vision and mission statement, aims, policies and procedures.
- The leadership at various levels in the staffing structure, for example the principal and school management teams.
- The extent to which the staff and school community as a whole understand those intentions and carry them out.
- The extents to which the policies and procedures help the school attain its aims and improve.

So, there is nothing about the style and focus of leaders (participative, bureaucratic, instructional and transformational). The reference to the school mission, policies and procedures, and their implementation, is not sufficient to assess whether these create a

conducive environment for teaching and learning. The issue of 'basic functionality' is broken down into four sub-areas:

- the school's policies and procedures;
- the level of absence, lateness and truancy of learner and procedures for dealing with them;
- learners' response to the school's provision; and
- the behaviour of the learners.

Yet, a functional school is surely more than this discipline and policy implementation and should include the level of managerial authority, teachers' commitment, behaviour and attitudes.

There are other problems with the listing of the nine areas as they send a poor message for supervisors with a 'tick' mentality. There is no reference to how these areas relate to one another, or which areas are more important and why. The School Improvement literature (Henneveld & Craig, 1996) emphasizes the importance of each school to identify its own development issues that need to be addressed first. This means understanding which area are priority areas, something not easily done by supervisors faced with this list of nine areas. The nine evaluation areas are not ends in themselves but a means through which to identify what is most important to improve the core business of schools, namely teaching and learning. In the real world of schools, each area impacts on other areas while only some impact directly on the school's core business of teaching and learning.

Hopkins and McGilcrist (1998) argue also for the importance of understanding the relationship between various school and non-school variables and their impact on teaching and learning to decide on the path to improvement. They do this by developing a diagrammatic representation of three concentric circles of different sizes. At the centre of the smallest circle is teaching and learning or learners' achievements; the

second middle circle is made up of factors known to affect directly the teaching and learning process; and the wider outer circle has factors which indirectly affect teaching and learning but directly affect the factors of the middle circle. In this way, Hopkins and McGilcrist (1998) hope to guide the analysis of the most important SI factors that have to be identified.

These complex evaluation dimensions require inspectors/supervisors with rigorous attitudes and professional competences to understand the insights of the school effectiveness and school improvement literature in their own country as the first one points to the most important school and non-school factors associated with high school performance while the second reveals how to identify appropriately the different schools' dynamics and micro-politics as well as the deeper causes needed to confront to address their areas of weaknesses (Matthews & Sammons, 2004).

Another issue when dealing with school evaluation is to avoid the one-size-does-fit-all solution given the contextual diversity and heterogeneity of the school population in South Africa. Poorly resourced schools find a standardized instrument unfair to them and are likely to interpret them differently in their context to take account of their poor infrastructure, inadequate resources and disadvantaged learners' communities, which all contribute to some of the lower learners' achievements. As Thrupp (1998) argues, one of the main reasons behind poor learners' inadequate results lies with the social and political constraints faced by poorer communities. The inevitable different interpretations in assessing certain areas point to the need to identify and defined these areas in a clearer way. In this regard, an interesting improvement in the UK OFSTED 2003 inspection was a focus on a new area, beyond the examination of what the schools identify has to be done in their specific context around the standard achieved, quality of provision, efficiency and effectiveness. It added then how effective the previous year's improvement strategies were. Thus, the 2003 OFSTED evaluation aimed at the identification of key issues for action but was also a reflection on the effectiveness of

previous measures put in place to bring improvement (OFSTED, 2003) in the hope of building some lessons from the past.

Tension of bureaucratic and professional accountability

A second tension in the WSE concerns the way the latter articulates with other forms of school accountability. In South African schools, the traditional bureaucratic school accountability is the main form of accountability which focuses on school compliance with departmental policies (especially the new curriculum and assessment policies), bureaucratic rules and regulations. However, according to many district officials, such bureaucratic accountability has no teeth. Taylor (2002) and Fleisch (2002) confirm that poorly performing schools are usually not responding to traditional form of external or internal bureaucratic accountability. The traditional bureaucratic form of school accountability is always necessary but not sufficient especially since, over the past years, schools have been expected to change and adapt to the new social and economic demands and the demands of the profession. As a result, bureaucratic accountability is often supplemented by other forms of market, political and/or professional school accountability. The DoE and provincial departments have not promoted professional accountability but rather a form of market and public/political accountability, as schools are made to account to parents and the market which today exist for parents to change their children to other schools if they want. As a result, some schools in poor townships lost a number of learners to the point of threatening their viability and post establishment numbers, whereas a few better performing schools have gained enrolment which has seriously overcrowded their facilities (Fleisch, 2006).

So, how does the WSE accountability work and articulate with other forms of school accountabilities? The WSE component adds another form of internal and external bureaucratic accountability over nine pre-specified performance areas. It attempts to promote a form of internal accountability and does not make schools directly accountable to the WSE supervisors, as these do not have direct authority over schools.

In fact, the WSE exercise could be said not to involve districts which are there to monitor and enforce their own form of accountability onto schools. At the most, the WSE exercise sends a message to schools and districts about the priorities to be focused on in each school but without stakes or risks attached, even if schools with the assistance of districts do not act on the WSE recommendations.

The WSE asks for a yearly school self-evaluation or a specific form of internal school accountability. But this was not the professional/ collegial type (Darling-Hammond, 1989) which directly encourages a culture of school inquiry and collective reflection among stakeholders. Yet, the first step for the development of effective school accountability is the building of strong internal organizational capacity (Newman, King & Rigdon, 1997). It is interesting to note in this respect that a recent Ministerial committee report, *Schools that Work* (DoE, 2007b), mentions that school change depends on building schools' internal organizational capacities in terms of teaching and learning, management and leadership, as well as a sense of agency (DoE, 2007b, p. 9). Since most South African schools did not possess such strong internal organizational capacity, it would have been more productive to work first at building schools' organizational capacity, which would have then led to more effective internal school accountability.

Tension of bureaucratic versus school-driven support

A third tension relates to how school support links with the WSE and school self-evaluation in particular. The SIPs specify improvement priority needs in nine evaluation areas, which are then meant to be supported by the school and its district. This school-driven demand for support is a major departure from previous practices when districts were the ones to identify (often unilaterally) the priority school support.

However, there is an assumption that schools are sufficiently equipped to identify their genuine priority development needs with evaluators with the required professional expertise and training. Such evaluation expertise does not exist or is not imparted at

the moment in most South African public schools, which lack the professional knowledge and expertise to reflect on themselves, let alone identify and plan appropriately for their priority development needs, judging from the experience with the SASA-stipulated school development planning (something similar but different from the SIPs) (Xaba, 2006). SWOT analysis or any other school development planning process is not a genuine and helpful practice in many schools. Some school principals are known to develop their SDP themselves to comply with the SASA regulations and often do not see the relevance of using it to unite and mobilize the various school stakeholders around a common vision and development strategy. As Xaba (2006) mentions, the SDP is more often than not a one-off compliant exercise rather than a tool which becomes organic to the school development strategy. The same problem is likely to develop with school self-evaluation and the compilation of the SIP.

Even if well identified, this support is not often available or fully relevant to the schools, if one looks at the many previous unsuccessful support interventions (ELRC, TDS, 2009). South African schools' demand for support is also huge, partly because of the need for redress, but also because of the demands from complex policy changes, which strain the majority of poorly resourced schools (Carrim & Sayed, 1997; Sayed & Jansen, 2001; Kgobe, 2007). All schools, whether well performing or struggling schools, have long complained that district support is not adequate (and something non-existent), as officials are more concerned at monitoring schools' policy implementation (De Clercq, 2002; Narsee, 2006). Hopkins et al. (1995) argue that a similar situation prevailed in the UK, even if, paradoxically, inspection aimed at assisting the schools struggling most.

Thus, the WSE exercise generates expectations for high quality relevant support. Yet, this is not a task which districts can meet, especially given their scarce physical, financial and human resources. Support could also come from donor-funded NGOs or other private providers and training institutions. Taylor (2007) researched the poor impact of most donor-funded improvement projects in terms of positive changes which produce

long-lasting genuine improvements in learners' results. According to him, only functional schools can benefit from effective NGO support interventions because the NGOs do not have any authority over the less functional schools, which do not show any internal capacity or managerial authority. What these schools need is a departmental intervention to stabilize them and restore their managerial authority and commitment to improve.

Given the poor system capacity to support schools, De Clercq (2007) argues that district leaders should rethink what they are good at in terms of school support while delegating to other providers and partners the support they cannot provide. Districts are well placed to compile their schools' support needs and identify, coordinate, quality assure and manage their schools' access to support by engaging in partnership with outside providers and partners. It is interesting to note here that the recent 2009 TD summit encourages education departments, unions, NGOs and other providers to come together to agree on how to create synergy and maximize the respective advantages of different providers of school support and development.

Tension in the balance between school support and accountability

A fourth tension is around the balance between school support and accountability. The WSE understands that there should be a sequence of school support and accountability, which introduces an interesting form of reciprocal accountability between schools and districts. The formative school evaluation is there to inform districts and school management of the support required and the summative evaluation gives feedback on what happens in the interval period in terms of improvement of the school's priority areas. According to senior DoE managers who believe in this balance of support and accountability, they believe that the WSE component does not seriously enforce school accountability as it does not contain high stakes. As a result, schools are inspected but do not act on the WSE recommendations (Senior DoE officials Interview, 27 October 2008).

At the level of the support dimension, school inspection or external evaluation is said to provide a basis for a process of school improvement. Yet, many authors (Hopkins et al., 1995) are sceptical about this, arguing that too often the purpose of school evaluation is to gain information about the uneven performance of the schools and this requires a standardized evaluation instrument, with pre-specified performance areas and explicit criteria to be able to compare and contrast schools throughout the system. Many scholars (Wise et al., 1986) question that evaluation, relying on a standardized instrument, can capture appropriately the school-specific conditions and priority challenges. In contrast, school evaluation FOR improvement is different as it tries to identify school-specific priority problems with a school-customized instrument, with indicators negotiated and agreed upon by all stakeholders (for ownership and legitimacy) to reflect the specific context and conditions of the school. Such instrument should reveal the deeper dynamics and underlying causes of school performance with the view to mobilising the whole school to develop and own its improvement strategies. In that sense, according to Hopkins et al. (1995), these two forms of school evaluations should not be combined in one system because they both have a different purpose, logic and instrument.

Too often, school evaluations do not ensure follow-through support, making the WSE lean more heavily towards accountability than support. Indeed, after schools learn about their strengths and weaknesses, they need to know that such exercise will lead to appropriate school support to trust, or invest energy in, these evaluations. If WSE supervisors are not professional in their reports and if the district does not manage to provide schools with high quality support, schools are likely to perceive the WSE as yet another controlling monitoring process. In fact, many schools and teacher unions have accused the WSE of being only an additional layer of bureaucratic school monitoring which does not lead to any better school support (NEEDU, oral hearings, October 2008).

The longer-term credibility of school evaluation depends mainly on the provision of follow-up support and guidance, especially for schools in desperate need. This is why effective school evaluation has to identify the most important enablers and barriers that are inside but also outside the school's control. In Britain, many new strategies were put in place to ensure that outside support followed inspection:

- assessment of the performance of the local authority;
- follow-up visits by an external evaluator after a set period of time to assess the extent to which recommendations have been implemented and the factors which enabled or acted as barriers to this; and
- increased use of experienced and effective principals as mentors or buddies to those facing significant challenges.

(Interview with Matthews, 4 January 2009)

For the schools with a poor evaluation record, a HMI was expected to visit every six months until these schools were deemed to have improved to a satisfactory level.

Thus, the WSE could assist in laying a basis towards school improvement if both WSE supervisors and district officials are capacitated to do their work properly. It is clear that the balance between school support and accountability remains an area of contestations between the main stakeholders.

Tension of external and internal school evaluation

The fifth and last WSE tension derives from the level of legitimacy and credibility of school evaluation. The principle of evaluation should not only be accepted by all stakeholders but it must also be credible, professionally fair and contextually sensitive. In the hope of generating such credibility and legitimacy, many school evaluation systems combine internal and external evaluations. School self-evaluation has several advantages. As McBeath (1999) argues about the UK and Scotland inspection, schools are best placed to reflect on the quality of the work they do, to decide on the evidence

needed to make judgments on the activities and performance of the school and to identify areas and strategies of improvement. It can also mobilize school partners to work and reflect together on how to improve. But, while school self-evaluation generates school ownership, it can also be complacent and play down the schools' more difficult challenges (Grubb, 2000), especially if the schools are defensive and struggling to improve their performance.

External evaluation, which is based on criterion-based assessment, can verify and enrich school self-evaluation through a more professional and objective evaluation process, as long as it is professionally conducted and based on firm evidence. However, because external evaluators can suffer from a superficial understanding of the deeper dynamics and contextual issues specific to each school, Grubb (2000) recommends that internal and external evaluations be combined but not sequentially because there is rarely a good synergy between the two teams. Instead, external expert(s) or evaluators should be brought into the internal evaluation team for a short time period. Although this can be an expensive and human resource-intensive process, the combination of internal and external evaluators capitalizes on the respective strengths of both teams as well as provides an opportunity for school-based staff to be mentored into developing a professional evaluation expertise. Another possibility is to co-opt a representative of the school staff onto the inspection team and/or have joint lesson observations by the inspection team and the principal or other senior staff to build the internal school capacity for evaluation (Matthews, Interview, 4 January 2009). A variant of this model is used in South African supervision by ISASA with independent schools (see later).

9.2.3 Assessing the WSE component

The problematic content of the WSE and its five major tensions suggest that conflicts were bound to surface in the implementation phase. These tensions have to be confronted by all inspection systems while a few others come from the lack of adequate

local adaptation of inspection policies borrowed from more sophisticated education systems. These tensions and ambiguities have to be managed, contained and/or exploited effectively by WSE supervisors, school and district leaders to ensure that the school evaluation exercise is genuine and helpful in gaining a detailed assessment of the state of schools to develop appropriate support strategies. Examples of this will be provided in chapter 11.

This analysis reveals that the WSE is caught by contradictory purposes and treatment of schools. On the one hand, it aims to encourage the development of a genuine culture of school self-evaluation and internal accountability for development which treat schools as having the professional commitment to evaluate themselves for development. This position is more palatable and reflects the interest of schools and teachers. But, on the other hand, it appears not to trust schools to evaluate themselves and it provides them with a standardized monitoring system which is reminiscent of bureaucratic control, which cannot easily be applied flexibly and take account of the specific context of the schools. It therefore does not treat schools as professional institutions which can interpret the standardized schedule and give it meaning in their context. This position reflects the interests of education departments which needs control and information on how schools are doing.

Thus, these contradictions create tensions which were bound to develop further in the implementation phase. The key is to work out whether and how these two apparently opposed purposes and interests of the main stakeholders can be reconciled. A possible way forward will be illustrated in the case of the GDE QA directorate and its leadership (see chapter 10).

9.3 The Educator Component

The IQMS educator component is now analysed in its content, tensions and assumptions about teachers, their development and accountability.

9.3.1 Origin, aim and content of the IQMS educator component

The IQMS is informed by Schedule I of the Employment of Educators Act, No. 76 of 1998 whereby the Minister is required to determine performance standards for educators in terms of which their performance is to be evaluated. The IQMS educator component comes from the combination of the Development Appraisal System (DAS) and Performance Measurement (PM), renamed in 2008 Performance Management and Development System (PMDS). Whereas the DAS component aims *inter alia,* 'to evaluate educators' performance' with a view to 'identify[ing] their specific needs for support and development'(ELRC, 2003, p. 1), the aim of PM is 'to evaluate individual educators for salary progression, grade progression, affirmation of appointments and rewards and incentives' (ELRC, 2003, p. 2). In that sense, the IQMS combines educator development appraisal and performance appraisal (or appraisal for accountability). These two systems aimed to resolve the previous tensions of using different performance standards for development and performance management. It now proposes to work with the same conceptualization of effective educators which is based on the same 12 performance standards to evaluate teachers' work and performance.

The first four performance standards, applicable to all educators, relate to classroom observation, and the other eight assess professional issues outside the classroom:

a) Classroom teaching, through the following four standards:

1) The creation of a positive learning environment.
2) Knowledge of curriculum and learning programmes.
3) Lesson planning, preparation and presentation.
4) Learner assessment.

b) Other professional and school development activities, through the following:

5) Professional development in field of work/career and participation in professional bodies.

6) Human relations and contribution to school development.

7) Extra-curricular and co-curricular participation.

8) Administration of resources and records.

9) Personnel.

10) Decision-making and accountability.

11) Leadership, communication and servicing the governing body.

12) Strategic planning, financial planning and EMD.

(IQMS document, DoE, 2004, p. 16-17)

The first seven performance standards apply to junior post-level 1 educators, while the post-level 2 HoDs are subjected to all but the last two, and the principals and their deputies to all twelve (ELRC, 2003). The IQMS document borrowed their performance areas from the PMDS's 12 performance standards rather than from the 1998 DAS and its flexible criteria which accommodated contextual diversity. This represented therefore a more prescriptive bureaucratic accountability than was suggested in DAS, which had more guidelines than prescriptions.

There was a four-point rating scale for the rubric which a representative of the DoE, involved with the IQMS drafting (Interview, FSDE Director, 2 July 2009), mentions was a strong push by the unions and SADTU in particular which wanted to limit the range so that it would not discriminate against their members working in a poor context.

Teachers are expected to start with their own self-evaluations with the appraisal instrument, which is then verified by their own development support group (DSG), consisting of their senior management and one chosen staff colleague. This evaluation, which records teachers' strengths and areas in need of development, serves as a baseline to inform their personal growth plan (PGP). All teachers' PGPs are consolidated

by the Staff Development Team (SDT) into an Educator Improvement Plan (EIP) whose implementation and training is the responsibility of the district office. The EIPs are then incorporated into the School Improvement Plan (SIP) as one of the nine areas of the WSE school performance areas. At the end of the year, the summative educators' evaluation is completed and educators are given an overall score, which will be considered for a salary rewards and/or grade progression. Because of the potential problems of reliability and lack of objectivity in the evaluation scores, an IQMS moderation was added in 2008 to ensure that educators' scores were moderated internally by the principal or SMT as well as externally by the circuit/district managers, assisted by the subject advisors (IQMS moderation instrument, DoE, 2008c).

The educator component has a formative and summative teacher appraisal, the former being the base line appraisal for development, to be used to inform the professional growth plan, and the latter being the summative performance appraisal, which assesses the progress which educators make after receiving the professional support, from their DSGs and/or district. In that sense, teacher' unions, and SADTU in particular, won the principle of educator support *before* performance appraisal to redress the legacy of unequal teacher education (SADTU, 2002). Otherwise, it was a relatively bureaucratic monitoring in its content, procedures and rules. Not only does it involve red tape but it was also cumbersome to do and to communicate to the district and then for the district to get funding from the province to be able to initiate the required PD activities.

9.3.2 Coherence and tensions in the educator component

On the basis of the literature reviewed on teacher appraisals, educational and political tensions were identified, with the major common appraisal tension being around how to combine appraisal for development and performance management. Many teacher unions have resisted the links between teacher evaluation for performance rewards and for improvement, arguing that the link is tenuous and that teaching as a craft does not

lend itself to easy and quick scientific measurement and solution. Countries which have combined these two kinds of appraisal have come up against such difficult implementation challenges that some decide to keep them separate and managed by separate authorities (Bartlett, 2000; Sinnema, 2005). Teacher evaluation for performance management is usually done by school management and inspectors, whereas evaluation for development is done by those in charge of professional support for teachers.

From the literature, four main sets of tensions are identified in the educator component.

Tensions and problems in performance areas

The first set of tensions comes from the selection of the 12 performance areas and their underlying assumptions about teacher effectiveness. These performance standards were not the result of rational discussions but rather the outcome of tough negotiations between different teacher organizations and education departments. These 12 standards combine input and process items as well as one outcome-based item (learner achievement). The choice of certain performance standards (and their measurement criteria) reflects partly the various agendas of the DoE regarding policy implementation and teacher accountability and much less the situation in the classrooms.

Looking at the aspects of teachers' work on which these performance areas focus, it seems that the factors most focused on by the teacher effectiveness research are ignored. These factors include content and pedagogical content knowledge, time on task, use of textbooks and materials, conducive relationship between teachers, learners and teaching materials (Interview with Matthews, 4 January 2009). Effective appraisals do not only focus on teachers and teaching practices but also on how these impact on learners' attitudes and learning progress, with items such as impact on learners' motivation or responses to teaching and learning.

However as the literature explains, a most valuable appraisal focus should be on how to improve teachers' practices and learners' learning. This requires testing teachers' reflective competences. Many researchers (Tabachnich & Zeichner, 1991; Darling-Hammond, 1989; Shulman, 2002; Katz et al., 2003) argue that effective professional development for teachers promotes inquiry into teaching and learners' learning. The translation of this into an appraisal schedule would be to include items which ask teachers to reflect on their practices and activities with a view to improving them. There are indirect and direct probes into learners' learning (Sinnema, 2005, p. 19). Indirect probing refers to questions about how teachers' practices or activities promote and maximize learning opportunities among their learners. Direct probing will go further and ask how teachers' practices or activities achieve better learners' outcomes, an issue which has always been rather sensitive and contested by teachers on the grounds that they are not the only mediators of learning in their schools. The other important dimension of promoting reflection and inquiry into teachers' practice is that it challenges appraisal exercises which are more task-oriented than process or outcomes-oriented. It is not about teachers' activities per se but about whether teachers' activities impact on learning or even better learning outcomes.

Other criticisms are that performance standards do not reflect a task which teachers spend increasingly more time doing; administrative and portfolio work for learners' continuous assessment records. Some performance standards are so broadly and vaguely formulated that it will lead to subjective interpretations. For example, what is 'a conducive learning environment' given the many school poverty contexts? The 'professional development' standard, which specifies engagement 'in professional development activities which demonstrated …willingness to acquire new knowledge and additional skills' (DoE, 2005a, p. 33), problematically assumes that teachers' identification of their development needs is a true reflection of what they need to do.

The most controversial problem, however, is how to take account of contextual diversity of school environments and assess how teachers adapt to their school and learners' context. In this regard, an interesting 2005 HSRC report on Educator Workload (Chisholm et al., 2005) states that, with the large classes of many black schools, teachers were faced with more administrative and supervision work, especially with the continuous assessment of learners, and the time spent on record keeping and assessing of learners' portfolios instead of teaching (p. 108). Given the state of the socio-economic conditions in rural and poor areas, black teachers also had to spend a lot more time on pastoral care (Chisholm et al., 2005, p. 113).

Finally, the standard 'learners' achievements', a familiar proxy for teachers' performance, is also controversial. Teachers resent this tight link between learners' results and teacher performance because of the many non-related teacher factors which impact on learners, a point supported by research on performance-based accountability systems (Ladd, 2007). Teachers complain that this item sent a wrong message and implies that education departments feel that the blame of poor learners' achievements should be put on teachers mainly, as if they are the main reason behind these results.

Tension of teacher bureaucratic versus professional accountability

A second set of tensions derives from the addition of this new form of bureaucratic teacher accountability. Previous attempts to hold teachers accountable never had any teeth as teachers are not really accountable to district officials (Narsee, 2006). However, this educator component makes teachers account for certain aspects of the work which are now more privileged than others.

It could be argued that, by requiring teachers to do a self-appraisal, followed by their DSG appraisal, then externally moderated by the district, the IQMS promotes a mild form of internal professional accountability. But, without the training opportunities and

support as well as a conducive school culture and environment, such professional accountability is controversial in South African schools because it assumes that teachers are professionals who are open to their colleagues and HoDs, committed to improve their practices and competent enough to know how and what to improve. Several research studies (Marneweck, 2004; Chisholm et al., 2005; JET, 2005; Gallie, 2007) show that many teachers are not reflective or professional teachers who master their subject and pedagogical knowledge. This notion of teachers, working together to diagnose and account for their practices so as to improve them, was exposed by Marneweck (2004) in her study of the implementation of OBE in rural primary schools. She analysed a two-year NGO curriculum development intervention with teachers of six poor schools in Limpopo, which generated a strong sense of teacher agency and commitment to improve. However, because these teachers struggled with basic foundational knowledge and professional competences to implement effectively the new curriculum, their collaborative team work, spirit and commitment misled them as they shared poor practices and reflected poorly on how to improve. She warns against the dangerous assumption that teachers require short term support to act as professionals, who can reflect effectively on how to improve their practices. Chisholm (2001) confirms that, eight years after the outcomes-based Curriculum 2005 policy was revised to become the 2006 National Curriculum Statement (NCS), many teachers still struggle to implement effectively the outcomes-based curriculum challenges.

It is therefore difficult to believe that internal professional teacher accountability could be strengthened, unless guided and assisted by strong school leaders and outside experts. Otherwise, this internal accountability will create, as Sayed (2004) argues, serious tensions among teachers who will collude to comply rather than use these opportunities to strengthen their professional competences.

Tension in support capacity

A third set of tensions revolves around the support provided or available to teachers for their identified development needs. It is commonly acknowledged that many interventions, whether from the districts or NGOs, have failed to make a significant and long-lasting impact on struggling teachers, as was mentioned by Taylor's (2007) research. Formal teacher education programmes offered by tertiary institutions are also questionable for not addressing concrete practical needs of practicing teachers in their classrooms.

On their side, teachers blame the district and ambitious educational policies for underestimating the demands of the new policies on their work and for not providing meaningful support (Narsee, 2006). They complain that districts are more interested in having workshops on how to implement policy than organize the PD which addresses teachers' identified development needs. The IQMS is also accused of being incomplete and letting provincial departments off the hook, as the latter are never made to account publicly for their lack of professional capacity at supporting teachers.

There exist some innovative effective departmental interventions such as mentoring and supporting teachers on–site, with the appointment at post level 2 or HoD level of (only some) competent master or senior teachers. With the pending Occupation-Specific Dispensation (OSD) agreements, it is hoped that such posts will be adequately staffed. Other strategies used by a few districts (such as the one of our case study) include working with outside partners and service providers (i.e., social capital) to provide teachers with high quality training (see chapter 12).

Another possible form of teacher support has emerged recently in the form of more detailed written support materials or workbooks for teachers to assist and guide them with the existing curriculum and assessment policies. Believing that there will never be sufficient human capacity to support under-qualified teachers, some educationists are now arguing for a form of didactic support to make up for their lack of professional

knowledge and competences. Schollar (2008) developed and tested his own detailed teacher materials to guide them at a particular grade by providing a series of lessons, aligned learning activities and assessments. His evaluation of the programme in a few schools over three years indicates significant improvements in learners' results when teachers relied on this support material over at least three months, compared to teachers who did not have access to such material (Schollar, 2008). Other educationists (French, 2009) have also argued that more research should be done on these detailed workbooks for teachers and the DoE has moved in that direction by preparing, at the end of 2009, a tender for service providers to complete such teachers' workbooks for 2010.

Despite the lack of human capacity in the education system to meet the huge demand for professional development, unions have insisted on a nationwide plan and strategy for the development and re-professionalization of education personnel, something that was supported by all stakeholders at the teacher development summit in July 2009. This is in line with the unions' belief that teacher support should precede accountability.

Tension of appraisal for development versus appraisal for performance management

The last major set of tensions is the combination of appraisal for development and for performance measurement in one system. The educator component specifies that development should occur first (formative evaluation) and be followed by accountability (summative evaluation). By using a common appraisal instrument for both, it was hoped to align teacher development and accountability to one another, as they would be based on a similar understanding of teachers' role and responsibilities. The effectiveness of teacher appraisal ultimately depends on the legitimacy and credibility it carries with the main stakeholders. However, a few problems arise with this combination.

The first risk is that support or accountability dominates the other. Faced with development and performance management, different stakeholders react differently.

Performance management is definitely on the agenda of both education departments and unions. Education departments are interested in performance management in the form of a low stake appraisal system (such as the IQMS) to provide a good monitoring mechanism to identify the worst (or 10%) performers while giving a small increase to the majority (Interview, DoE Director, 2 July, 2009). They also believe that it will sell better to teachers and their unions if it is associated with development opportunities. On their side, SADTU believes that any agreement involving salary or grade progression should be accepted in principle.

A second risk in combining in one appraisal for development and for performance is that it asks the same people (school management and district officials) to play players and referees at the same time, thereby undermining the objectivity and reliability of the appraisal process. The other related tension is the use of a common standardized instrument which assists education departments to compare teachers' performance across districts and provinces, while it undermines those who want a more contextual and flexible instrument which could identify the real priority obstacles to better teacher performance in different contexts.

9.4 The IQMS and Subsequent PD Strategies

The two main stakeholders agreed that the success of the IQMS would depend on an effective PD strategy. Already in 2001, the DoE (2001a, p. 80-1) and teacher unions had identified the PD priorities across the system:

- Immediate orientation to the new curriculum (NCS) through a cadre of trainers who will use a model to orient all teachers.
- Continuous professional development of teachers with a focus on knowledge, skills, values, assessment strategies and resources for each learning area.
- Redirection or training of some teachers in new learning areas or others with a shortage.

- Involvement of higher education institutions, teacher unions and NGOs.
- Training of District personnel for more effective school-based support and monitoring.
- Accreditation of short and long term professional development as well as 80 hours set aside for professional development.

It is known that education departments, together with higher education institutions and other service providers do not have sufficient human, material, social and financial capacity to upgrade and re-train so many un-qualified, under-qualified and poorly qualified teachers. In addition, there was no PD framework to guide them and make them work together. A policy framework for Teacher Education and Development had been a concern of the Ministry of Education since it appointed in 2003 a Ministerial Commission to look into a teacher education framework. After extensive research and consultative work, the Commission submitted its report and recommendations in 2005. By 2007, or another 10 years after the COTEP document, the DoE finalized the *National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development* (NPFTED) (DoE, 2007a) which was to give impetus and greater coherence to a quality teacher education system.

The NPFTED aims 'to provide an overall strategy for the successful recruitment, retention, and professional development of teachers and, 'to equip the teaching profession to meet the needs of a democratic South Africa in the 21st century' and, 'bring clarity and coherence to the complex matrix of teacher education activities, from initial recruitment and preparation to self-motivated professional development' (DoE, 2007a, p. 1). It specifies that teacher education consists of two complementary systems: Initial Professional Education of Teachers (IPET) and Continuing Professional Teacher Development (CPTD) which refer to all activities that address the life-long learning needs of educators. These, in turn, are underpinned by a support system for teacher education and development. It acknowledges the DoE statutory responsibility for planning, funding, and monitoring teacher education and development (DoE, 2007a, p.

22) as well as creating an enabling professional development environment (DoE, 2007a, p. 18), and also expects teachers to be pro-active autonomous professionals, taking ownership for their professional development needs. Recognizing the fragmentation, poor quality and impact of many continuous professional teacher development (CPTD) provisions, it recommends the setting up of a national CPTD system, which combines incentives and obligations, to improve learners' achievements by supporting the process of continuing professional development, by revitalizing the teaching profession and rewarding those who commit themselves to these goals (DoE, 2007a, p. 21).

SACE, with the support of the DoE and PEDs, was given overall governance, coordination and management responsibility for the implementation, management and quality assurance of the CPTD system. The DoE wants to devolve the task of organising, coordinating and quality-assuring teacher professional development to SACE and will oversee and monitor the funds which it would make available (Interview with DoE DDG, January 2009).

In contrast, teacher unions insist that the DoE should not wash its hands of the responsibility of implementing a nation-wide PD plan and programme. They want an implementation strategy with clear roles and responsibilities for all stakeholders. NAPTOSA mentions that the DoE plans to outsource PD to service providers were tantamount to admitting the failure of district officials to provide access to meaningful support to schools and teachers. The ball was therefore back in the DoE's court.

9.5 Conclusion

The chapter uses aspects of the political and rational analysis to reveal serious tensions in the stakeholder-driven IQMS policy. There are educational tensions, linked to the ambiguities of appraisal *per se,* and political tensions, associated with the compromises reached by stakeholders with different appraisal purposes and interests. These tensions

range from the appraisal schedule and its selected performance standards; the choice and balance of school/teacher accountability and development; the capacity to support teachers' development needs; to the combined appraisal for development and performance management. The most controversial aspect lies in the latter tension, with its bureaucratic processes to monitor school/teacher performance (as opposed to broad guidelines to adapt to different school contexts) and its professional forms of support.

The educator component is also an unstable compromise which tries to combine two strategies based on different perceptions of the role of teachers. On the one hand, it expects teachers to be (or gradually become) professionals committed to share and improve their practices and be the authors of their own development but, on the other hand, it adopts a deficit approach which sees teachers as needing tighter bureaucratic accountability over different aspects of their work.

With these tensions and the absence of a strong departmental capacity building strategy to ensure schools and teachers have access to effective support; the IQMS appeared to most teacher unions and teachers as a form of quality assurance relying on a rather rigid controlling bureaucratic approach. It was perceived as an assertion of DoE powers over schools and teachers, which privileges means over ends. Also, because of widely differing school contexts and many poor schools not providing fertile grounds for genuine teacher appraisal, the IQMS risked accentuating the gap between poorly and well functioning schools, worsening the already poor attitudes, morale and commitment of poor schools towards improvement.

However, by studying the tensions, this chapter hints also at the space created by the IQMS which opens up interesting opportunities which could be exploited with creative mediation strategies at the implementation phase (or the power-play). This is what the next chapter, chapter 10, explores with its focus on the policy implementation role of the bureaucracy and examples of good mediation practices.

CHAPTER 10

POLICY ROLE OF THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL BUREAUCRACY AND ITS IQMS MEDIATION CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES

The next three chapters examine the fourth sub-question of this study on the role and mediations strategies of education departments and unions regarding the IQMS implementation. This chapter focuses on the implementation role of the educational bureaucracy. The first part of the chapter examines the broad policy responsibilities and leadership challenges facing the provincial bureaucracy and its districts, with their different powers and authority. Using aspects of the political and interpretive approach to policy analysis, it analyzes the research findings on the views of various levels of the education bureaucracy regarding the IQMS and its implementation. It argues that their agendas, interests, beliefs and constraints in relation to the IQMS shape strongly its reading of IQMS and its tensions to exploit the opportunities to further their agendas.

The second part, also relying on the political and interpretive approach, illustrates how a few pockets or divisions in the GDE bureaucracy developed leadership strategies necessary to make the best out of IQMS implementation work. It illustrates the meaning of policy mediation and leadership (or the power-play) by presenting a policy genealogy narrative to illustrate how a provincial and district division used its policy leadership role to strategize and mediate the IQMS policy processes. It examines how a provincial bureaucracy understood the IQMS tensions and how this influenced its mediation and negotiation strategies. More specifically, it examines how a strongly-led GDE directorate and district understood and positioned themselves to work and develop IQMS mediation strategies which managed to minimize tensions and contribute to the improvement of the school system.

It argues that a strong policy leadership and agency in the education bureaucracy requires a deep political and educational knowledge of policy context and content to

navigate power dynamics and exploit the opportunities created by evaluation/appraisal policies' tensions. After winning the buy-in of many different stakeholders, it develops mediation implementation strategies which can promote the good of the education system. In that sense, this chapter shows how a focus on policy leadership and agency can improve policy analysis knowledge.

10.1 The Policy Challenges of the Provincial Education Bureaucracy

In chapter 7, it was explained how difficult it was to develop a professional bureaucracy after 1994, given the political, human and organisational challenges the new state faced during the political transition. Additional analytical tools were used to understand the political context and alliances in this transition era as well as the problems various strategies caused for the new bureaucracy, namely political loyalty, affirmative action and the manipulative use of state positions to access control to powers, resources and/or tenders which was a frequent recurrence among some bureaucrats in the first 10-15 years. These circumstances explain why most of the post-1994 bureaucracy struggled to improve its policy implementation and delivery performance and improve what Southall calls the state's political, technical and implementational capacities.

To translate the visionary post-1994 educational policies in a climate of austerity and fiscal constraints, provincial bureaucracies were expected to play a major role in mediating policy implementation so it reflected the policy intentions aimed at the common good of the education system. The Provincial Review (1997), which assessed the performance of national and provincial departments, criticized provincial departments for assuming poorly their policy responsibilities and delivery functions while also criticizing the national level for un-funded policy mandates and the formulation of ambitious policies which were unrealistic for the implementation context, capacity and resources. Senior bureaucrats in the provinces needed above all to develop adequate policy implementation strategies and options, under a situation of

scarcity of financial and human resources, including the absence of rigorous large scale research and information systems to capture the main problems on the ground (Fleisch, 2002). So what exactly occurred at provincial level?

Policy literacy and expertise was also poor in most provinces and districts. As Sehoole (2005) mentions, education departments lacked knowledge, competences, resources and understanding of the complexity of the policy context and policy process. They did not know how to plan and implement effectively education policies. What they also lacked was policy leadership. The latter requires political and educational knowledge, an understanding of the ambitious policy intentions as well as the identification of their tensions and ambiguities in their content and theory of change. It also needs a vision, what to prioritize in it, when, how as well as with what additional resources. It needs a kind of adaptive leadership (Heifetz, 1994) to understand how to change people's attitudes and beliefs and render them more pro-active towards change. With such knowledge and assets, this bureaucracy could use its discretionary powers to combine its existing school work with the numerous national/provincial mandates by incorporating the best of the policy mandates into their existing work. It also could develop mediation strategies which minimized policy tensions and exploited the opportunities these created to make the policy enabling and promote, not the sectarian interests of stakeholders but rather the common good of an improved education system.

Without such policy leadership, implementation has little chance of impacting on the ground in the way it was intended. A poor policy leadership in the bureaucracy with no vision, deep knowledge and resources cannot make its organization receptive to policy changes and distil the good/enabling from the bad/constraining policy aspects and therefore cannot effectively mediate policy implementation.

De Clercq (2002) and Narsee (2006) note, in their research on GDE districts, that many district senior officials lack such policy agency or leadership. According to them, the majority implement policies by acting as a post office, literally passing down policy prescriptions in a forward mapping to schools. Not having sufficient policy leadership and capacities, these senior officials tended to focus on the work that is monitored by head office as these appeared increasingly in performance management goals of district units. In addition, such district officials were often overloaded, under-resourced, under-trained for their work and unable to develop work priorities and strategize around policy implementation.

Before examining and illustrating concretely the mediation strategies of the provincial education bureaucracy, it is vital to locate them by understanding the views and positions of education bureaucrats on the five main IQMS tensions mentioned in the previous chapter and explain how these tensions were the subject of conflicts and contestation which opened space and led to specific implementation strategies.

10.2 Views of the Bureaucracy on the IQMS Ambiguities and Tensions

The five main appraisal tensions revolve around:

1) The purpose and content of appraisal;
2) How the policy conceptualises teachers' work;
3) The advantages of internal versus external evaluation;
4) The balance of accountability and support; and
5) The combination of appraisal for development and performance management.

10.2.1 Appraisal purpose and content

The appraisal purposes are usually multiple and found at the beginning of the policy document, in lofty statements or in the media but they often transpire more accurately in the kind of items included in the evaluation schedule. However, the choice of

performance areas is often, and was in the case of the IQMS, the product of negotiations from constituencies with different interests as education departments are bound to see the IQMS purpose and performance areas differently. This explains why these areas can clash and causes contradictions or ambiguities in an appraisal policy.

The DoE did not hide its primary interest in having access to a full audit of schools as well as a data management system which allows analysis and comparison of schools' and teachers' performance across the country. As senior officials mentioned at a briefing meeting to the MinCom (27 October 2008):

> We do not have a fully manageable system which gives us an idea of the performance of the system as a whole; we do not have an understanding of the reasons for school bad performance, whether it is caused by some internal school factors or by external provincial level reasons. In fact, we can say there are no comprehensive monitoring, let alone independent evaluation of the system and its problems.

Provincial departments are also interested in monitoring schools and teachers to get an account of whether policies are implemented and what impedes the improvement of the quality of schooling. The comparison of schools is not on their mind and they find the use of comparative scores of schools and teachers destructive. As senior officials of the Limpopo department said to the MinCom (Interview, October 2008):

> This obsession with comparison of school performance along the IQMS standardized schedule has a similar consequence as the league tables in the UK. By rating schools of different contexts along one scale, schools of disadvantaged contexts are victimized and this makes our job at provincial level much more difficult because we have to attend to the fallout from this rating by reassuring the school communities. This is not the way to try and improve schools' performance and that is how we view the IQMS. As it is now, it is discouraging everybody.

The use of a standardized appraisal instrument was seen as problematic by a Limpopo provincial director who argued:

> The use of one uniform evaluation schedule for all schools, which face different resourcing in different school communities, leads to a dangerous categorisation of schools: those schools with low scores and the usually well resourced performing

> schools with high scores. This scoring sends then a rather problematic message to the communities about which schools to avoid which is something that we then have to cope with and explain to them not to remove their children.
>
> (MinCom oral hearings, October, 2008)

On the detailed performance areas, some district officials believed that the IQMS was problematic by not focusing directly on the quality of teaching and how learners react to the classroom teaching as these were key issues in assessing the quality and impact of teaching (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009).

Schools were concerned at the superficial, or lack of, acknowledgement of the contextual diversity in South African schools by the policy which only mentions the need to take some consideration of schools' context when assessing the various performance areas. The Class Act report (2007, p. 10) notes that, in practice, appraisers pay lip service to contextual differences and performance standards tended to dictate rather than reflect the context. These contextual factors will continue to be a subject for further conflicts with the use of a uniform standardized evaluation instrument.

On the whole, the DoE agenda was well reflected in the IQMS school and teacher instrument and as a result, it tended to specify performance areas derived from a forward mapping approach to monitor curriculum policies. These areas were not fully accepted by unions and schools. The department's main disappointment after the first round of IQMS returns was over the manipulation of school and teacher scores which often reached the top scores of 3 or 4, irrespective of these teachers' learner results (Class Act, 2007). This was especially the case with struggling schools because they deliberately manipulated the IQMS standardized schedule which they did not find fair to them and their context.

Aware of these complex implementation issues, the DoE HR directorate in charge of the IQMS decided in 2008 to revise and add some educator performance standards, such as learners' achievement and how to factor more explicitly the context of schools in this

evaluation (ELRC agreement no.1, 2008). It wanted to stop schools from over-interpreting evaluation areas in their context and manipulating scores. It was aware that, while some schools complied with the performance areas, many others manipulated scores, either by exaggerating the influence of context or because of profound differences of interpretations (Interview, DoE Director, 7 November 2008).

10.2.2 Underlying conception of teachers' work

School and teacher evaluation should ideally be based on a realistic conception of what teachers should do so as not to send wrong messages or discourage teachers who feel that the evaluation schedule expects them to have been heavily trained to fulfil the new work expectations. As mentioned in chapter 9, the IQMS is a statement of intent about teachers doing professional work and being committed to reflect and grow through continuous professional development. This was in turn translated in the educators' performance areas. As a result, this teacher appraisal appeared as victimizing struggling teachers with poor learning environment, poor subject and pedagogical knowledge and poor departmental support. As a Limpopo provincial official mentions (MinCom oral hearings October 2008):

> In well-resourced schools, a positive learning environment means posters on the wall and desks in a round circle with teachers knowing well and circulating to assist on the whole disciplined learners to understand, a notion which fits in with what the curriculum policy promotes. However, in poorly resourced schools, there are major teaching challenges when teachers are faced with peeled off painted walls, just enough space to move without disruptions in-between the overcrowded classroom and learners who arrived at school hungry, tired by their long early morning walk and sometimes traumatised by the community background they face every day. This is a major reality for teachers and their so-called 'pastoral care' role in these schools.

Effective training was indispensable and yet the provisioning was not obvious. District officials complained that they faced two problems. Some, usually struggling, teachers shied away from training workshops because they were overwhelmed, defensive and feared the changes while other teachers did not benefit from district-led 'OBE' workshops as they rather needed upgrading on their poor subject and pedagogical

knowledge (MinCom, oral hearings October 2008). They agreed that the ambitious curriculum and assessment policies were discriminatory of poor schools with inadequate human and financial resources and demoralized teachers with a poor understanding of how to do what they were expected to do.

Yet, despite the different contexts of varied schools, the DoE wanted provincial departments to devise better ways of supporting teachers (through some effective mediation strategies) to become curriculum developers and deliverers, learning facilitators committed to improve their teaching practices and learners' achievements. Provincial officials said they hoped that the implementation of these ambitious policies would gradually improve over time and that the teacher support functions on teacher-diagnosed developmental needs would gradually bear fruit (MinCom, oral hearings October 2008).

10.2.3 Internal versus external evaluation

The DoE initially pushed the idea of school self-evaluation to promote evaluation as a habit and responsibility as all schools needed to reflect together on how and what to improve. However, some provincial officials were more sceptical (MinCom oral hearings, October 2008):

> This idea of being in charge of one's own evaluation does not work and is premature for our schools now because they need a lot of guidance about what they need to change and improve to be better learning institutions and to teach more effectively. Too many teachers are defensive and will be tempted to hide their lack of competences and commitment behind the unrealistic government policies and the lack of adequate support from districts.

Also, in KZN, department officials mentioned to the MinCom (oral hearings, October 2008) that, in this phase of reconstruction and given the legacy of poor professional development, teachers are bound to think of appraisal primarily in terms of pay increases. This is confirmed by the DoE-commissioned IQMS implementation review

(Class Act, 2007) which reports serious problems of unreliability in many educator scores.

Another issue mentioned by WSE supervisors was the culture of blame in the education system. Some GDE WSE supervisors mention (Interview, 6 March 2009) that:

> Many schools and teachers overestimate their performance and those of their colleagues because they do not want to face to their own shortcomings, and prefer to be perceived as victims in blaming the poor performance of their learners on everything else but themselves.

District officials felt that the problem came from a kind of negative 'solidarity' culture in schools because teachers were defensive and collude with one another as they did not have experience of showing support towards one another and commitment to improve. Also there was a lack of professional expertise for rigorous peer assessment and little experience of appraising and criticizing each other's practices positively. As district officials mention (Interview, District Director, 3 November 2009):

> School staff does not often want to judge harshly other colleagues or even subordinates because they do not know themselves what is better teaching or because low scores have negative consequences for their colleagues or for them who will then also be judged negatively later on.

Given that many schools did not have conducive conditions to conduct effective internal evaluation, WSE supervisors were expected to verify these through their external evaluation. The DoE was concerned with obtaining more reliable scores through external evaluators. However, the existence of these two internal and external evaluation teams caused tensions. District officials warned that it was difficult to moderate down teachers' scores as teachers and their DSGs often complained that they knew they did the best under circumstances of poor school contexts, ambitious reforms and inadequate departmental support. The DoE was also aware that, by requesting district support for teachers lead to improved performance, district officials were called to act as referees and players at the same time. Aware that the IQMS monitoring intentions could be undermined by schools and districts as well as fail to give an

accurate comparative picture of the state of schools nationally, the DoE appointed in mid-2008 a layer of around 90 DoE IQMS moderators to ensure that the IQMS process was fair, reliable and genuine across all provinces and districts (DoE, 2008c). These moderators were to report directly to the DoE on the IQMS implementation in different provinces. However, it is not clear at the time of writing that such national moderation could impact on the IQMS implementation processes in all provinces and schools.

Another issue linked to school evaluation is that schools felt unfairly treated through these evaluations which never encompassed or covered the very districts and departments involved in supporting and monitoring schools. Some provincial officials were aware of the interdependence of the various levels of the education system, as a Limpopo official explains (MinCom oral hearings, October 2008):

> School performance cannot only be assessed by its teachers because schools are part of a circuit/ district, districts are part of a province and provinces are part of the national department which has introduced demanding school policies, which often become unfunded mandates at provincial level.

Thus, the co-existence of internal and external evaluation teams created tensions in the IQMS, as it did in many other inspection systems. These could only be minimized through sensitive handling and serious training of both kinds of evaluators; or also by bringing in one school evaluation team some external experts, but this was so cumbersome for the departments with their poor capacity.

10.2.4 Balance of accountability and support

By making the summative evaluation occur *after* district and school support was provided to schools and teachers, the IQMS was constructed to ensure that support preceded accountability. However, education departments were more interested in tightening school accountability which, according to them, was traditionally weak and in some cases had been non-existent for decades (Senior DoE officials, MinCom oral hearings, 27 October 2008). Apart from secondary schools, which account for their final

matriculation results, schools do not account seriously for their results, for what their teachers do or do not produce in their classrooms (since few classroom visits take place) or for what district officials ask them to do on behalf of the department.

PEDS and IDSOs (equivalent of district inspectors) explained that schools and teachers did not respect or take seriously their accountability to the department, ever since inspectors disappeared from their schools in the 1980s. District officials complained that they did not have much authority over schools, compared to the previous '*apartheid*' inspectors, because they did not have the powers to discipline or pressurize teachers to work harder but could only pass their critical observations higher up and that there was rarely a speedy response from the province (MinCom oral hearings, October 2008). So, for many district and provincial officials, the IQMS re-introduced some potentially greater school and teacher accountability, although the stakes involved in the IQMS evaluations were rather low (nothing for schools and a low 1% salary increase).

Some provinces, such as the Western Cape and Gauteng, decided to tighten up the accountability component by using the 2003 and 2006 systemic evaluations of learners' results at selected grades (3, 6) to verify the IQMS scores. They also identified problematic schools and mounted special pressure and support intervention programmes for these, starting with the 1999 EAZ and others in other provinces. However, few of these programmes produced effective support and sustainable improvements, as many of these struggling schools continued to lose learners as parents exercised their choices and moved their children to better schools (or the exercise of greater public school accountability).

On the support front, the demand was huge, partly because of the *apartheid* legacy but also because of demanding curriculum and assessment policies. The PEDs were aware of the high demands for support but there was a variation in the quality of support and

support capacity in different provinces/districts. In some better resourced and more strategic districts, effective support teams existed with a certain level of professional competences and commitment and assisted by strong educator development centres with whom they had struck some partnership to provide quality support.

In districts with serious lack of human and material resources as well as capacity problems, a culture of blame tends to exist; making people at different levels of the system refuse even partial responsibility towards the poor performance of the school system. Many districts officials mentioned that their support often fell on some deaf ears because few teachers were really committed to change and use what they were taught or trained on, because they were not interested in changing their practices. They argued that many teachers and their unions adopted a rather passive attitude towards change and PD and were rarely pro-active in initiating their own workshops or networks to develop themselves. These worked with the assumption that education departments had to do everything for them. Some former SADTU leaders shared this view (Interview, Gallie, 3 March 2009) while others criticized the passivity of current teachers. They mentioned that, when they were teachers in the *apartheid* years, they were forced to develop personal motivation and some form of pro-activeness to survive their difficult teaching circumstances (Interview, Govender, 25 September, 2009).

Some district officials also mentioned that school support was often inadequate for teachers as the majority still struggled with basic issues of poor subject and pedagogical knowledge, let alone new curriculum demands. In these cases, district-led curriculum training support did not address the priority needs of teachers. These district officials also complained that their superiors' expectations of them were biased towards their policy monitoring and compliance work in schools rather than their school and teacher support. As a curriculum adviser said (MinCom oral hearings, November 2008):

> Some teachers lack the basic knowledge that teachers should have when they are appointed. One wonders why the SGBs recommended them for appointment. We are not the ones who can remedy to this and assist these teachers as they really should go back to college.

The DoE recorded the following developmental needs of teachers:

- The teaching profession consisted of an heterogeneous population, divided by race, different teacher education systems and school resources and capacities;
- The level of teacher professionalism was rather low among many teachers who perceived themselves as civil servants rather than independent professionals committed to take responsibility for learners' performance;
- Most new teacher-related reforms assume ambitiously that most teachers are independent and pro-active professionals or that they can easily reconstruct themselves as such;
- Many teachers needed significant professional assistance and work to reconstruct their professional identity and engage positively with the new curriculum policies (DoE, 2007).

As mentioned in chapter 9, it took until 2007 for the DoE to pass the National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development (NPFTED). It was supposed to produce a concrete plan and strategies for a Continuous Professional Teacher Development (CPTD) system, something that has been done in writing with SACE (DoE-SACE, 2008b).

It is however important to mention here that, because all provinces and districts are overloaded, insufficiently equipped and capacitated to assume their school support work effectively, there is a need for districts to exercise policy leadership (or power-play) and strategize about new ways of providing schools with access to quality support. One possible solution (adopted by the district under case study – see next section) is to assess their comparative advantages in relation to other support providers and focus on what they do best while delegating to other quality providers what they do not do well. Districts could then continue to capture their schools' and teachers' needs and categorize the key problems and development needs of each school. They could then

identify the strengths of various other service providers and quality-assure as well as facilitate their training work to schools in their districts. This involves districts developing 'social capital' and networks to work with partners which can enhance their capacity (De Clercq, 2002).

10.2.5 Appraisal for development or for performance management

The last main tension in the IQMS document concerns the combination of appraisal for development and for performance management in one system. Because teachers know that the data collected for their development are also part of the chain of data used to decide over their compensation and advancement, some are likely to be cautious of the appraisal (whether formative or summative). District officials mentioned how the reward dimension can often dominate the minds of teachers (MinCom oral hearings, November 2008):

> Teachers are very dissatisfied about their low salaries and the IQMS offered them an opportunity to get a raise, even if it is a meagre 1%. In fact, when the IQMS was introduced in 2005, all teachers received this 1% increase after their first base evaluation. This encouraged and reinforced teachers' perceptions that the IQMS is about bonuses or salaries' increases.

Some district officials did not agree that the low stakes in the IQMS educator component was seriously affecting teachers' appraisal exercises. The DoE agreed that the IQMS was not conceptualised primarily to be about performance bonuses but saw it rather as a mechanism to identify roughly the 10% worst performers in the system (Interview, DoE director, 2 July 2009).

The other problem in the combination of using the same district authorities in charge of teacher support and monitoring was that district officials could be tempted not to be rigorous in acting as referees and players at the same time. Indeed, there was sometimes collusion between some schools and district officials who endorsed teachers' high scores to avoid drawing attention to their poor record of school support (MinCom

report, DoE 2009a, p 31). But collusion was not in the school component as the WSE supervisors did the monitoring but without the responsibility of supporting schools as this was for district officials to do, using the WSE report recommendations. As a DoE director notes (Interview, 7 November 2008):

> The WSE is not as controversial as the IQMS educator component. This is because it is not done by the same people since it is the district which is supposed to support schools and teachers. The other reason is that the school evaluation is not about individual evaluation or rewards and does not involve sensitive and controversial things such as classroom visits by outsiders.

The MinCom report (DoE, 2009a, pp 35-39) mentioned that, in practice, what is desirable is an effective, balanced and aligned system of school and teacher support and accountability which did not necessarily require an integrated system of teacher appraisal for development and accountability. In fact, the accountability component could be better conducted by an evaluation body, such as NEEDU, that was independent from the education departments and assessed both schools and the support work of department officials.

Thus, education departments expressed qualified support towards the IQMS document, as well as noted some of its tensions and contestations which were difficult to manage or minimize. However, a senior government official (DoE DDG Interview, January 2009) argues that there are important common objectives between education departments and unions reflected in the IQMS because they both share the same departure point — that school evaluation and teacher appraisal should work for improvement. He agreed that there are a few conflicts or differences among education departments and unions but felt that these were amenable to rational resolutions. Such a view does not seem to be shared by teacher unions (see next chapter for their views).

10.3 Provincial Bureaucratic Capacities and the IQMS Policy Work

This section turns to an analysis of the policy leadership (or power-plays) that exists in pockets of the GDE department to understand what is needed to strategize around appraisal tensions and exploit the opportunities created.

By 2003, the political capacity of the state was still weak (as referred to in chapter 7), with poor communication and coordination of policy work between the DoE and the provinces. Often, the new education policies appeared to be unfunded policy mandates which provinces found difficult to implement as they did not have the resources and suffered from poor implementational and technical capacities.

Beyond this and in the case of various evaluation policies such as the 1998 DAS, the 2001 WSE policy and the 2003 IQMS, the first implementation problem was that education departments had no detailed planning and implementation strategies. By the time the 2003 IQMS was finalised, there was no budget line for the IQMS. The DoE did not have a unit responsible for the IQMS coordination and management which made it add these IQMS responsibilities to already stressed directorates. The teacher appraisal for development component was coordinated by the DoE's human resources and planning directorate, while the DoE QA directorate coordinated the school evaluation (Interview, DoE Chief Director, 11 February 2009). With the WSE policy, the unavailability of central grants to fund provincial WSE units meant that supervisor posts took time to be advertised and then filled in most provinces (especially in Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Western Cape) (Interview, DoE senior officials, 27 October 2008). In addition, the supervisor training and training handbooks for schools were also inadequate as they dealt principally with the technicalities and not the underlying issues associated with school evaluation. WSE supervisors were appointed late and by 2006, only 1025 WSE provincial reports were submitted to the DoE, Quality Assurance directorate, with most of them coming from Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, North West, Mpumalanga and Northern Cape (DoE, 2007c).

After these WSE reports were analyzed for their reliability and validity in 2007, it became clear to the DoE that these poorly completed WSE reports did not allow a proper analysis and synthesis to give a comprehensive picture of the state of quality in all schools. This was partly due to inherent problems in the WSE policy content, and in particular of its performance areas, but also because of the way some WSE reports were compiled[12]. After the 2003 Systemic Evaluation was introduced and implemented, the useful statistical findings on the poor literacy and numeracy of learners could not be linked to, or consolidated with, the WSE report findings on school performance, an exercise which would have yielded important comparative statistics for the DoE.

Districts, which had to introduce and monitor the schools' IQMS implementation as well as verify educators' scores, were not given additional posts or money for IQMS work, as this was added onto their responsibility. The district IDSOs, already responsible for monitoring and assisting school management to improve, were now to monitor the IQMS school scores as well as organize support to school staff in terms of their PGPs and SIPs. The Class Act report (2007) noted the lack of capacity and resources at different levels of the system, although such capacity varied across provinces and districts. It noted the poor district ability at providing on-going professional development and support to schools, something that was essential for the schools to buy-in the principle and practice of school evaluation (Class Act, 2007, p. 68).

Provincial education departments did not have trained personnel in evaluation to deal effectively with IQMS monitoring work. There were never much professional evaluation expertise at district and school level and this had not really been improved since the implementation of the 1998 DAS (Mathula, 2004). According to the DoE-commissioned report on the IQMS implementation (Class Act, 2007), districts poorly understood the IQMS processes and procedures (such as how to develop PGPs and analyse them for the

[12] The author worked in 2007 for the DoE QA directorate in compiling an overall review of these WSE reports (DoE, 2007).

SIP, or how the SIPS could be incorporated in the DIP). This was due to the poor provincial training which limited itself to a few technicalities about the evaluation instruments and forms. The IQMS training document (DoE, 2004) was poorly designed and consisted of steps to follow for the filling of IQMS appraisal forms, and was cumbersome, poorly written and difficult to understand on one's own (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009). The training itself, based on the ineffective cascade model, was poor and of short duration with 2-3 days (Class Act, 2007, pp. 53-54).

Thus, the provincial educational bureaucracy had to mediate the complex and controversial IQMS policy but, on the whole, its IQMS policy literacy was poor, as it was never fully educated about the policy intentions, content, tensions and implementation challenges. It therefore presented serious challenges for districts to manage the main tension between school/teacher accountability and development, especially if they did not develop adequate policy literacy and leadership. However, pockets of provincial department units existed with some policy literacy and leadership which managed to strategize around its IQMS implementation work (power-play).

The next section uses the political and interpretive analytical approaches to examine what was involved in exploiting the opportunities created by the WSE and IQMS policies and their tensions and in enabling policy actors to buy-into these policies and work towards common interests while playing down their difference of interests. It explores how senior IQMS provincial implementers used their knowledge to cope with various political, educational and resource contextual problems through strategic decisions which delivered a win-win solution with, as well as some kind of buy-in from, various stakeholders. It shows that such policy leadership is an important explanation for why policies implemented in comparable sites, with similar combinations of resources, political and educational interest groups, have such different dynamics and impact on the ground.

10.3.1 GDE QA policy leadership planning and mediation strategies

Policies do not implement themselves and needed education officials with the required knowledge and competences to translate policy intentions into operational actions (Schofield, 2004). This detailed narrative of two case studies illustrates Gale's (2001) notion of 'enabling agency' by showing how one GDE division and one district, both known for their strong leaders, position themselves and mediate the WSE and IQMS policy work to ensure that their intentions of assisting with schools' and teachers' improvement were translated at their organizational level. Key attributes and assets are identified to understand what made these bureaucrats strategic in their IQMS mediation strategies or power-play.

PEDs were more aware than the DoE of the serious challenges in organizing and providing meaningful support opportunities for the more dysfunctional schools and teachers. Unlike other provincial departments, the GDE had set up a Quality Assurance (QA) division as early as 2000 after the then MEC for education, Ignatius Jacobs, initiated a 1999 intervention programme for poorly performing schools, known as the Education Action Zones (EAZ) intervention. The Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) (as it was initially called) was renamed the Standards in Education and Strategic Policy Development division which fell under the GDE Educational Planning, Policy Development and Evaluation directorate. Adopting the slogan of 'Good Practice for Public Confidence', this QA division was set up in line with other QA policies. Its task was to work on the activities linked with legislation, such as the 2001 WSE policy, the 1998 Further Education and Training Act, the 1998 Assessment Policy and the 1995 South African Qualifications Authority (GDE, 2001b). It therefore had to monitor and evaluate educational standards across the province, including benchmarking organizational performance and levels of learner achievement as well as facilitating a systemic approach to the development and implementation of education policies (GDE, 2001b). Its other responsibilities were to coordinate and allocate resources for the Whole School

Evaluation, systemic evaluation and targeted school support interventions, such as the Broad Management Team school effectiveness initiative, especially if districts needed more resources and skills to do research and data analysis to provide an overall review of provincial schooling (GDE, 2000b).

This QA division was dynamic and pro-active in ensuring that the WSE and IQMS implementation was enabling. It first engaged with the performance areas, with issues of the balance between accountability and support, and the relationship between internal and external evaluation. The challenge was to take decisions and develop mediation strategies which worked towards school and teacher monitoring for development. As mentioned before, SADTU called for a departmental moratorium on the WSE implementation and urged its members to boycott the WSE process by refusing supervisors access to their schools (SADTU, August 2002)[13]. The QA chief director, Mr Mzwai, decided to turn this boycott, which prevented its division from doing their work, into an opportunity to strengthen its division's work on the WSE policy. He wanted to infuse its staff with his vision of greater school accountability for improvement and asked them to ensure that their future WSE work translated this vision and goals of school accountability for development. He enabled its WSE supervisors with greater WSE policy literacy by using their 'free' time (since they could not visit most schools) to develop implementation strategies that would maximize the chance of the school monitoring exercise to contribute to school development.

The division held internal workshops, and divided its staff into nine sub-groups to examine one WSE performance area each to educate the division about the issues involved in this performance area, and how to strategize to mediate this area in schools as well as propose ways in which WSE reports could be designed to assist future school improvement interventions. This work enabled the division's staff members to think

[13] This boycott explained that only 80/90 school reports were produced each year from 2002 to 2005 (DoE, 2007).

creatively and in a non-technical way about the WSE implementation work. Out of this process, a detailed provincial handbook was produced, specifying steps to be followed in the assessment of the performance areas in schools. This handbook became very popular and inspired a few other provincial departments to use it (Interview, GDE Director, 6 March 2009). The current director of the GDE QA division mentioned proudly that the planning work done to guide the WSE policy work also inspired and motivated the WSE supervisors in the province as well as inspired other provinces which continue now to use their handbook (Interview, GDE Director, 6 March 2009).

The WSE supervisors felt that the WSE schedule omitted some key aspects of schooling, such as learners' learning experiences and teachers' pedagogical content knowledge, which are central indicators of school performance, according to inspection scholars (Matthew & Sammonds, 2008). These areas were crucial for South African schools, with many research studies (Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999) exposing teachers' poor subject and pedagogical knowledge, which made district support work with teachers so heavy and time-consuming, if done properly (Narsee, 2006). Even though bound by national policy guidelines, the QA division decided to add an explicit reference to teachers' subject and pedagogical knowledge to the performance area 'quality of teaching'.

The division also felt that the nine performance areas were not all as important but that they should be prioritized according to their influences on learners' achievement (Interview, 6 March 2009). It decided to privilege the quality of teaching and educator development, curriculum provisioning and school infrastructure over the others. This meant that the provincial WSE handbook regarded some performance areas as more directly influential on learners' achievements while the other areas were seen as more peripheral or indirectly influential. The handbook specified that school reports should be informed mainly by the WSE supervisors' assessment of the performance areas with a stronger relationship with learners' achievement (GDE WSE handbook, 2004), an

important conceptual addition, which shows how knowledgeable the division had become about its understanding of school improvement factors.

In addition to this interpretation of, and slight change in, the performance areas, the division also re-structured its organizational structures to be aligned and reflect the division's work with schools and districts. According to the current QA director, the Western Cape WSE directorate also replicated their division's organizational model to improve its work efficiency and effectiveness (Interview, GDE Director, 6 March 2009).

On the issue of district school support, the QA division was aware of the poor district support capacity and performance. WSE supervisors mentioned that a GDE head office capacity audit revealed that many of the newly appointed district Institutional Development Support Officers (IDSOs) and curriculum advisers were not sufficiently qualified for their positions:

> Some district officials are not taken seriously by school staff when they come to schools because of their lack of experience and expertise. Principals and heads of department do not respect and work well with these district people especially if they hear that they do not have at least 10 years of school experience. IDSOs should all have worked as school managers and curriculum advisers as HODs (Interview, GDE Director, 6/03/2009).

WSE supervisors mentioned that the poor impact of district school support had to be localized in the discriminatory context of *apartheid* teacher education which did not provide a strong academic foundation from which black teachers could be upgraded and re-skilled. As mentioned in chapter 6, many black teachers suffered from under-qualification and/or did not have sufficient subject and pedagogical knowledge to teach at the level they taught. In addition, the demanding curriculum and assessment policies had stretched district officials and teachers alike as none of them had been properly educated and trained into the new curriculum.

This QA division understood the need for districts to find partners to assist with in-service teacher training and support. Asked about non-governmental teacher

development providers, WSE supervisors said that they did not believe universities were the appropriate institutions to work with districts in this area. They argued that some teacher colleges should have been retained, as they did a much better job than universities (Interview, GDE supervisors, 6 March 2009). A former SACE official also criticized universities for teaching student teachers in a too generic manner, assuming that most student teachers would find work in well resourced school environments, leaving those who were to work in poor schools with less relevant practical skills and competences:

> On the whole, most education faculties teach student teachers what they need as professionals, understood too often as what they need to work in functional and well resourced schools, leaving those who end up working in poor schools with little relevant skills and competences (Interview, former SACE, 3/03/2009).

WSE supervisors argued that the best form of in-service teacher support consisted of quality short courses (organized or quality assured by districts), targeted at specific school work issues and offered by providers with a strong teaching expertise:

> Four to six weeks - short courses, focusing on specific teacher challenges, are often most effective at imparting the relevant basic teaching skills and competences. Teachers also need re-training or upgrading as the world around them changes at a rapid pace. For example, today's learners are very different and more difficult to engage with and teachers need to be assisted in this regard through quality providers (Interview, GDE WSE supervisors, 6/03/2009).

The QA division's sophisticated understanding of districts' challenges for teacher support shows its political and educational knowledge of the problems and challenges of various teacher training organizations and providers. These issues concerned the WSE supervisors, not because they were directly involved in teacher or school support but because they realized the importance of getting teacher support right if their job of school monitoring was to be effective and developmental.

The QA director agreed, however, that district accountability was also important to bring in. In 2008, the GDE launched yet another school intervention programme targeted at some of the worst performing schools in the province (a sample of 35

schools and their districts was retained). In pushing for district accountability, these districts were asked to start with a focus evaluation audit of these schools and formulate specific outcomes for their school support programme. The QA division motivated then for the district schools' audit to use the WSE reports and in particular on what these had identified as the three most urgent school performance areas. District directors had to develop performance targets and indicators in these three performance areas, making them account on these as part of their annual performance contract agreement (Interview, GDE WSE supervisors, 6 March 2009). In that sense, the QA division managed to integrate its WSE work with district school support work.

On the issue of tensions between internal and WSE external evaluators, WSE supervisors explained that their division developed some simple strategies to improve the reliability and complementarity of these two evaluation scores and reduce their discrepancies. The provincial handbook was one such strategy to minimize the gap between the two reports. However, when it transpired that school scores were rarely backed up with evidence, the QA director demanded that WSE supervisors and school principals justified their assessment ratings with substantial evidence (such as learners' books, assessment tasks and scores). Another strategy was to make WSE supervisors compare the WSE scores with learner results produced by the GDE systemic evaluation, something that revealed a frequent poor correlation between the two (Interview, GDE WSE supervisors, 6 March 2009).

Finally, on the main tension of the IQMS combination of appraisal for development and for performance management, the QA division explained that they went on international visits to learn from other inspection systems in the UK and Australia what could assist with effective school monitoring for development. It learnt that the legitimacy of WSE evaluations was dependent on its developmental impact (Interview, GDE WSE supervisors, 6 March 2009). This was felt to be particularly important for South African black schools with their long experience of previous oppressive controlling

inspection practices (Chetty et al., 1993). The then-QA chief director insisted that school monitoring did not appear to schools as a surveillance and control exercise but rather as a developmental and redress exercise (GDE, 2001b). The WSE supervisors also recognized the problem of district officials acting as referees and players (as teacher monitors and development actors), but they argued this did not happen in the case of school monitoring as the supervisors were school monitors and district officials were in charge of school support work.

This vignette of the QA division work on the WSE reveals how the divisional leaders exercised their 'enabling agency' in working towards school monitoring being a developmental exercise for schools. It shows it possessed the political and educational knowledge to understand the WSE context and different interest groups as well as the educational tensions of the policy. This pro-active QA leader developed mediation strategies and activities which were supportive of its vision of school monitoring for development and led to more buy-in from various stakeholders involved in school support (districts, schools and service providers). It enabled its staff and their work performance by making them experience new ways of working together and develop creative mediation strategies for their WSE policy work in the hope of benefitting more than a few stakeholders with sectarian interests. Acknowledging the potential and limitations of various institutions involved in school support, the QA division wanted their work to impact on districts involved in school support to minimize the gap between what WSE supervisors did and what districts did. Thus, a strong policy leadership needs vision, knowledge of various enabling and constraining factors, understanding of the main policy tensions and school needs to be able to make strategic decisions which exploit the opportunities created by the policy, such as improving its staff work performance and impact on schools. In that sense, the leaders hoped that they could improve the chances for the policy of school monitoring to work towards development.

However, the ultimate impact of the QA division mediation work in schools was not assessed in this study as needed research on how districts responded to the QA WSE school monitoring work, and whether greater vertical alignment (Fuhrman, 1993) resulted between head office and districts at the level of their respective school monitoring work for development. This is why it is useful now to turn to an examination of how districts relate to the WSE/IQMS implementation work.

10.3.2 District strategy and work with the IQMS

Pockets of IQMS leadership and quality work also exist at district level. This study focuses on the Ekurhuleni South district, with its 190 schools and 7,000 educators and where, in January 2007, a new district director was appointed to turn around the district performance (Interview, District Director, 3 November 2009). The decision to select this district for this empirical work was motivated by the need to illustrate pro-active IQMS district leadership. This was the only district mentioned favourably about the IQMS work by teachers at the Teacher Development Summit (TDS) in July 2009. It has an interesting director and a dynamically-run Educator Development Centre (EDC) (or former Teacher Development Centre). As it happens, it is also a district targeted as a pilot district for the 2009 GDE newly formulated turn-around district strategy. The district director and HR manager in charge of the EDC were interviewed at length about the conditions necessary for districts to perform effectively. They were then asked about the district IQMS work as well as the IQMS tensions and their mediation strategies.

District leadership and resources

The district director and HR manager were strategists determined to mobilize and harness resources and capacity to improve organizational performance. They understood what constituted the main conditions for districts to perform better: management systems and self-driven competent staff (Interview District Director, 3 November 2009), while the HR manager emphasized the value of data management

systems in capturing schools' profiles and processing their development priority and needs. This data system was also useful in making EDC managers deliver, and account for, what they had to do. Initially the staff was weary of this, but gradually experienced the value of this link between a data management system and the improvement of organizational performance as this became a useful guiding exercise for their work (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009).

The district director and HR manager also mentioned the importance of passionate and committed professional staff. They figured out that staff needed some autonomy or freedom to take initiatives (and risks) and devise creative strategies to improve their unit's, or their own, performance (Interview, District Director, 3 November 2009). The director was careful not to restrict his staff by pushing his own views and he adopted a facilitative and empowering leadership style. When asked in 2007 to act as Chief Director at the provincial head office, he agreed, saying he could do it for a while because he could manage the district by remote control:

> To manage the district from the GDE office was possible because strong structures and teams are in place. All I had to do was to let district managers do the work, facilitate and monitor it (Interview, District Director, 3/11/2009).

Beyond the staff being encouraged to use their discretionary powers, managers were expected to plan as a team and work with other education stakeholders, such as unions, community structures, councils and political parties. The district director also had a good working relationship with the QA division at head office and was eventually recruited by head office in 2009 as Chief Director: Districts.

Thus, it is clear that these senior district managers had strong organizational knowledge to create a conducive working environment for their staff who could work responsibly and creatively to solve problems. But how did this knowledge translate into decisions and strategies which exploited the opportunities provided by the IQMS to drive school monitoring for development?

District IQMS views

It was important for districts to understand fully the IQMS intentions and content because they were expected to play an advocacy role and generate large-scale 'buy-in' for the IQMS (DoE, 2004). A DoE commissioned research reveals that most districts and schools did not understand adequately some of the IQMS processes and procedures (such as how to develop Professional Growth Plans (PGPs), incorporate them in School Improvement Plans (SIPs), or how to feed SIPS into a District Improvement Plan (DIP) (Class Act, 2007). But how did this district then use power-play to respond to the IQMS policy and navigate around its tensions at the level of performance areas, the balance between accountability and support and the combination of appraisal for development and for performance management?

The district leader agreed more with the policy intentions of the IQMS, compared to other policies such as curriculum and assessment policies, because the latter were criticized for expecting teachers to behave as autonomous professionals, even though they needed serious support interventions before they could do this. It complained that teachers struggled to implement these demanding policies and that districts were not resourced and capacitated to bridge the gap between what most teachers did and what the policies expected them to do (Interview, District Director, 3 November 2009).

According to the director, interventions by the district were often resisted by teachers who use the policy language of professionalism to prevent district officials from intervening or monitoring their problematic curriculum practices and learning programmes. The director was also aware of the political and resource constraints faced by his district in implementing the IQMS exercise. District curriculum workshops were not intensive or practical enough to provide teachers with the knowledge and competences needed to implement the new policies (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009).

On the IQMS purpose of teacher monitoring, the director agreed that it was important to make the district develop better teacher improvement interventions. However, prior to the 2003 IQMS, his officials were not allowed by unions to do classroom monitoring on the grounds that it was too punitive and was never followed up by meaningful support. Thus, the only chance to break this deadlock was for the district to provide meaningful teacher support, but also to be allowed to do classroom visits. This is why the director welcomed the opportunity created by the IQMS agreement to improve the district monitoring of teachers for development, even though the WSE reports were also good at providing some information to inform school improvement programmes (Interview, District Director, 3 November 2009).

The director and HR manager mentioned a problem with the IQMS content as the instrument was not user-friendly and the performance standards did not touch on some of the major teaching shortcomings of teachers. This was found out because district officials who reported back from their teacher monitoring work often pointed out the lack of teachers' content knowledge, such as phonics, reading and numeracy, which was a priority for the district to address before the new curriculum could have a chance of being implemented in these schools. Yet, no IQMS returns mentioned this crucial aspect of teacher performance. Also, of all courses organized by the EDC for teachers, those on these topics had always been the most popular (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009).

The director was also aware of the need to enhance district capacity to deliver effective teacher support. If a win-win situation needed to emerge between the unions and the district, the latter had to ensure that teachers receive meaningful support.

On the IQMS combination of developmental appraisal and performance management appraisal, the HR manager did not see a conflict of interests. She argued that the 1%

increase was too small to sidetrack teachers when identifying their PD needs and that most teachers would produce a genuine appraisal of their needs to the EDC *if* they were provided with well targeted effective support (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009).

District IQMS planning and mediation strategies

When it came to the IQMS implementation in schools, the director signalled to its officials and schools that the IQMS was seen as a key priority for identifying teachers and schools' development needs, and that these assessments were to be followed by relevant support. He urged schools and IDSOs to produce authentic IQMS returns and submit them timeously to the district. However, it became evident that some teachers manipulated their scores which often bore little correlation with their learners' results. Here again, the district director understood the pressure on teachers to account for their learners' results as there were other factors contributing to these poor results but decided purposefully to avoid an unnecessary polarization between the district and teachers. He initiated a stakeholder dialogue between teachers and parent communities, where he made parents listen to teachers about their hard work with difficult learners and poor working environments while schools had to explain to parents why teachers' IQMS scores were not correlated with their learners' results. Here again, the director hoped for a win-win situation between parents and teachers who would avoid manipulating again their IQMS scores.

On the need to enhance its district support capacity for schools and teachers, the director knew it needed extra funding and outside partners, such as NGOs, to supplement its resources and capacity to deliver school and teacher support. Although districts have a budget for their school activities, extra funds and outside partners would provide them with greater flexibility in their work because these extras were not subjected to bureaucratic rules and regulations which often delayed district initiatives (Interview, District Director, 3 November 2009). In that sense, the district has what

Yosso (2005) calls 'navigational capital' to manoeuvre around bureaucratic rules and procedures and exercise agency within institutional constraints.

Using his previous district experience of working with NGOs, the director was aware of dangers associated with partnering with other service providers which had their own agendas and priorities and accounted first to their donors and not their partners or beneficiaries. Hence, he argued, districts need their own work plans and priorities before entering into any partnership with outsiders, to ensure their work was not hijacked (Interview, District Director, 3 November 2009). As Fleisch (2003) explains, successful district partnerships are those negotiated on districts' terms.

The HR manager valued the flexibility and choice secured from funds sourced from outside of the district to enable the EDC to organize and deliver quality teacher development courses/workshops. She explained that the EDC asks teachers for a modest financial contribution for their courses[14] to secure better quality facilitators, with educator expertise and teaching experience in the particular area needed. This, together with the information management system on schools' profiles and teachers' needs, allowed the EDC to organize effectively well targeted high quality professional development courses on teachers' priority issues (Interview, District HR manager 26 November 2009).

Thus, this district leader used a form of 'social capital' to compensate for what it did not have to secure greater credibility from its schools. Putnam (2001) argues that today's institutions have to augment or enhance what he calls 'social capital' by networking and linking up with partner organisations with the capacity to provide the expertise and resources they themselves do not have. Social capital for schools takes the form of partnerships with NGOs and other accredited service providers or teacher clusters with

14 According to the Public Finance Management Act, districts are not allowed to raise funds or put a levy on courses offered to schools.

effective teachers leading curriculum, assessment, teacher or management development workshops.

When it came to delivering on teachers' PD needs, the EDC manager explained that its data management system captured efficiently schools' PGPs and SIPs. With this information, she allocated different teams to various PD needs and demands. One of the priorities was to focus on HoDs and principals and develop their in-school monitoring and evaluation competences. It was seen as strategic to build the capacity of HoDs and principals so they could act as school instructional leaders to monitor their staff, act as mentors/coaches and support staff development (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009).

Curriculum advisers, IDSOs, Education Auxiliary Services (EAS) and/or labour relation district officials were asked to do on-site support on school-specific needs. Schools with similar needs were clustered to be addressed by expert teachers or others in the particular training demand. The EDC was left in charge of organizing courses requested by the majority of teachers, the most popular in the IQMS returns being around assessment, discipline, learners with cognitive barriers, financial management and planning. Using its data capturing system, the EDC would cluster schools of similar needs and invite them to the EDC to attend courses with effective facilitators where teachers would share their best practices. It also had to ensure that high quality facilitators and service providers could supply them with high quality training courses. The EDC always tested the training facilitators as well as demanded some previous educator work background (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009).

This is why additional funds were needed and secured by charging participants a modest fee for any course/workshop they attended; something strictly speaking is against the PFM Act. This extra finance was valued to enhance the district capacity to support schools and teachers and therefore to win a certain legitimacy and credibility among its

schools and teachers. In addition, it gave some flexibility to the EDC as these funds were not subjected to long bureaucratic procedures and delays.

All these were strategies designed by the district in the hope of delivering better teacher support but this research did not verify, through interviews with schools and teachers, whether this was the case. However, the HR manager mentioned positive post-course evaluations, done after three/four months to assess what participants gained from the course and whether they managed to implement back at school so that follow up workshops could be organized (Interview, District HR manager, 26 November 2009). The HR manager felt that another proof of success was that every year more teachers requested these EDC courses and never objected to contributing from their own pockets (or schools' pockets) as they found them relevant and helpful.

It is clear that the district leader has an understanding of the difficult political and educational context and interest groups with which it operated when it came to teacher monitoring for support work. It also understood the best IQMS policy intentions and saw opportunities for working towards teacher monitoring for development. It also understood the tensions and challenges of the IQMS policy and its implementation as well as the need to overcome its own constraints of poor support capacity and resources. On this basis, it took strategic decisions to deliver more effective support to schools and win teachers over, not only to the IQMS policy but also to a better relationship with parents and the district. In the process, the district hoped the IQMS exercise would enable its officials and their partners, as well as schools.

Thus, this illustrates how district leader, with a good political knowledge of context, policy tensions and contested areas, departmental and school needs, took strategic decisions in the hope of making the best from the opportunities created by the IQMS. In doing so, the district leader intended to achieve a win-win situation for most stakeholders involved: department, NGOs, schools and teachers.

10.4 Conclusion

The chapter explains the policy mediation role played by the education bureaucracy and argues that leadership is needed to develop the necessary strategies to build its capacity for more effective policy implementation work which will, in turn, improve its legitimacy from schools. It then reports on the findings of two case studies of departmental policy leadership and their mediation strategies at various stages of the IQMS policy processes. The case studies show how the political and interpretive approaches to policy analysis can be combined to supplement the other's insights into the policy mediation role of implementers.

It illustrates the kind of leadership knowledge, approach and decisions needed to minimize contested areas and achieve more satisfactory stakeholders' buy-in into the policy. The leader has to have a vision of what it wanted to achieve with this policy; it should understand the political and education context, the various contestations around the policy and the priority needs of schools and teachers. On the basis of this, it takes strategic decisions to ensure stakeholders could be enabled. Thus, 'enabling policy agencies', or leadership, refer to those who attempt to translate the complex and at times ambiguous intentions of the WSE and IQMS policies into mediation strategies and actions to develop sufficient buy-in and support by various stakeholders of the policy. But, further empirical research work is needed at school level to assess the impact of such policy leadership and mediation strategies on schools and whether the IQMS did produce some of what the district hoped to achieve.

These two case studies point towards the importance of developing more effective policy leadership and strategies at departmental level which can minimize the gap between policy intentions and practices and contribute to improving the chances of better teaching and learning in South Africa's schools.

It is now important to provide a similar analysis on what teacher unions and other union-related organisations say and do about the IQMS and how they manage to exploit the opportunities created by the policy tensions to advance the interests of their constituencies and the school system as whole, something that the next chapter addresses.

CHAPTER 11

POLICY ROLE OF TEACHER UNIONS: IQMS VIEWS AND MEDIATION STRATEGIES

This chapter examines in greater depth the policy role and strategies of teacher unions after 1994 as the latter had to shift their focus, some to negotiating for better working conditions, to shaping teacher-related education policymaking through consensuses achieved in the ELRC (as mentioned in chapter 6) and others focusing more on ways to acquire better professional competences and status. It traces how, in the last decade, teacher unions assumed their policy-making powers and responsibilities through some form of alliance with the government and whether this compromised their influence or agendas in terms of their goal of an appropriate nation-wide professional development plan and system to advance their members' interests and differentiated needs.

The second part of this chapter uses the interpretive analytical approach to illuminate Gale's (2001) notion of 'agency', as it applies to teacher unions faced with various QA education policies. It analyzes teacher unions' views on the IQMS and its main IQMS tensions and issues of teacher accountability, development and appraisal. It argues that the agendas, interests, values and constraints of different teacher unions shape strongly their respective reading of, and response to, the IQMS and its tensions. Compared to the early 1990s, teacher organizations did not show as much policy mediation leadership in countering education departments' agendas around teacher development, and in particular around the IQMS. They did not strategize effectively on how to promote the long-term interests of heir members and improve teacher professionalism in the broad sense of the term. This was partly because of the differentiated nature and quality of their membership, but also because of their increasingly polarized relationship to education departments (with no other stakeholders' groups, such as SACE) and their poor leaders, resources and/or social capital at promoting teacher professionalism. Most unions also lack strong adaptive policy leadership to assume an influential policy

role and contest education departments' agendas (play of power) as well as navigate inherent policy tensions and adapt their policy strategies (power-play) over time.

What was required was more than an engagement with labour laws and the state's agenda but rather sophisticated strategic and analytical knowledge and skills in policy development and implementation as well as in how to build better teacher professionalism. In the case of QA policies, a refined analysis of their tensions and the embedded power relationships was needed to develop ways in which teacher accountability for development could be secured.

11.1 Teacher Unions' Role in Education Policymaking

Since 1994, the state has recognized the participation and influential role of teacher unions in education policy, had the view that teacher unions should be concerned with broader issues of contestation with the state over its authority over the school system (Ozga & Lawn 1981; Govender, 2004). SADTU's stance was most aggressive compared to other unions. It fought to protect and advance the interests of their predominantly black members who were in need of serious redress measures to counter the *apartheid* legacy and their poor working conditions while the other more conservative unions were concerned about issues of school efficiency and performance as well as school management, discipline and learning environment.

By the mid-1990s, a new form of unionism emerged with what Govender (2008) called 'instituted teacher unionism', which works at two different levels: fighting for better working conditions and participating in policymaking with the state. The idea was to advance the services and professional status of teacher members, as well as promote leadership in the educational debate and their vision on educational reforms. However, policymaking meant participation in some policy decisions as well as being consulted for buy-in during the development, and even more importantly for the implementation, of

other education policies (such as curriculum policies). The unions' direct contribution to policymaking was framed by the newly established ELRC which bargained over various conditions of service, career progression, but also included issues of professional development and accountability.

There have been a few studies of the contribution of teacher unions to the post-1994 education policy process, with various authors arguing that many unions found it difficult to adapt to a new relationship to the state and straddle between advancing their members' working interests and contributing to the reconstruction of the education system. By the late 1990s, the strengthening of union organizational basis became increasingly dependent on unions' contribution to policymaking and to the improvement of teachers' conditions of service. But this relationship between teacher unions and education departments at the ELRC level was ambiguous, underpinned by different ideological allegiance and a reflection of the politics of compromise. In the early days of education policymaking, it appeared as if education departments and teacher unions had a similar vision about some education reforms for a better status for teachers. Soon, however, differences emerged as to how to get there, given different constituencies, mandates and legacy.

Teacher unions positioned themselves differently in the policy arena, depending on the level and functioning of their organizational structures and on the nature of their policy leadership and membership. NAPTOSA and SAOU preferred to use their access to policymaking to promote the professional status and learning environment of their members, which included professional development and accountability issues. Govender (2008) explains that policy participation by teacher unions provided them with a new and needed experience of policy learning as policymaking became increasingly expert-driven.

SADTU (as well as many other civil society organizations) had been weakened by a loss of many top leaders to political positions as well as to senior posts in education departments, according to Swartz[15] (1994). One of its first moves was to change some positions and strategies by moving from its focus for greater democratization of the education system to measures for redress and professional development for their members (Interview, former SADTU/former SACE official, 3 March 2009). This is illustrated by SADTU's leading role in various ELRC agreements, including the 1998 DAS agreement and in forcing education departments to suspend in 2002 their agenda of teacher monitoring and accountability, a victory which was to be undermined subsequently. On the issue of teacher professionalism, a long-serving SADTU official (Interview, SADTU Lewis, 21 February 2009) acknowledged that the professional focus of SADTU suffered since 2000, partly because of the loss of strong leaders with SADTU professional portfolios and because the more defensive collective bargaining emphasis developed after education departments moved onto the offensive from 2001 onwards. Indeed, by the turn of the century, education departments managed to assert their authority and push through stricter QA monitoring policies and mechanisms, which put unions on a back foot and once again tested them and their leaders as they had to re-think their policy and bargaining strategies.

11.2 Unions' Role and Position towards Professional Development

As mentioned before, there was some consensus among education departments and unions concerning the vision of the professional role of teachers which should underlie the formulation of teacher-related policies such as the 1998 DAS and the 2003 IQMS (see more on this in chapter 8). There were some disagreements and conflicts around the means to get there and, in particular, the sequence and pace of professional development and accountability as well as the responsibilities of education departments

[15] Swartz, who was a SADTU deputy-general secretary prior to 1994, was appointed GDE deputy director general in 1994 and subsequently DG of the WC Education Department.

towards an appropriate nationwide professional development plan and provisioning system.

The DoE believed that teachers should assume the responsibility of, and act increasingly as, professionals in identifying the kind of professional development needed (as stipulated in the IQMS appraisal), while teachers and their unions believed they could only do this after receiving adequate continuous professional development (PD) (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009). Thus, there was a tension between education departments and teacher unions regarding PD. As mentioned in chapter 8, unions criticized the DoE which had not shown much commitment since 1998 to the setting up and strengthening of the desperately needed PD system for teachers, accusing it of spending much more time, energy and money on a refinement of its teacher monitoring and accountability system (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009). On its side, NAPTOSA was more interested in putting in place a system based on partnership with PD providers, with their different comparative advantages, to ensure a multi-pronged PD approach.

SACE was also under the spotlight in terms of its legitimacy and credibility, with some impatience among some of its board members who resigned. NAPTOSA (NAPTOSA Interview, 25 February 2009) objected to the right of the Minister of Education to be responsible for SACE top appointments on the grounds that it jeopardized its independence. Several well-respected educationists, who served on the SACE board, mentioned the poor capacity (lack of adequate human and financial resources), strategies and deliverables of SACE in its first decade of operations, and decided to resign, partly in protest at the poor functionality of SACE (Interview, 3 October 2008).

SACE never became very visible and influential with teachers and their organizations. After their initial teacher accreditation from SACE, most teachers never contacted or were contacted by SACE (MinCom oral hearings, October, 2008). SACE appeared to

focus mainly on the implementation of its professional code of conduct as well as the organizations of workshops to orient teachers towards how to diagnose their professional development needs. SACE did not have much authority or influence on teachers, partly because SACE did not have high profile work or campaign involving many teachers about teacher professionalism or teacher professional identities but also because it was decided to accredit teachers once and for all at the beginning of their career (unlike teacher professional bodies in other countries which asked teachers to renew their licence periodically). This decision was a negotiated compromise between education departments and teacher unions, with some unions arguing that a periodic re-accreditation of teachers would victimize disadvantaged teachers who received poor training in the *apartheid* days and still did today with the implementation of ambitious policies with provincial departments which did not have the capacity to provide meaningful support teachers.

With the passing of the 2007 NPFTED, SACE became vested with greater responsibilities with the planning, coordination, quality assurance and management of the new continuous professional development system for teachers (DoE, 2007a and 2008b). A SACE-DoE task team was set up in 2008 to devise an implementation strategy for this new system of Continuous Professional Teacher Development (CPTD). This led to a design document, which translated in greater detail the NPFTED principles, protocol and various management roles for the implementation of the CPTD system. At the 2009 Teacher Development Summit, many teacher unions argued that this CPTD system appeared too cumbersome, bureaucratic and not practical or realistic. NAPTOSA felt that a better alternative would have been to focus on how to enhance the system capacity to deliver appropriate PD by identifying and establishing strong partnerships with various other service providers (NAPTOSA, 31/06/2009).

With this commitment to a new CPTD, SACE's future role and responsibilities are bound to be taken up with PD responsibilities. Yet, it is argued that much work remains to be

done on forging better professional identities, values and sense of professionalism with, and for, teachers.

11.3 Teacher Unions' Views and Mediating Strategies on IQMS Tensions

This section analyzes the research findings on unions' views and mediating strategies on the IQMS and its five main tensions and conflicts or contestations. The five already mentioned appraisal tensions are:

1) Purpose and content of appraisal;
2) Ambiguities about the conception of teachers' work;
3) Advantages of internal versus external evaluation;
4) Balance of accountability and support; and
5) Combination of appraisal for development and for performance management.

11.3.1 Appraisal purpose and content

Since 1997, teacher unions have declared their interests in using evaluation or appraisal policies to develop teachers and their professionalism. They hoped that DAS would make teachers identify their development needs, and then be made accountable for their improved performance. However, by the 2003 IQMS, teacher unions pushed for certain performance areas above others to advance their members' interests and ensure that learners' performance was not made the responsibility of teachers. The first appraisal did not link their performance to their learners' attainment because teachers were frustrated by the lack of tangible redress impact in their schools as well as the lack of adequate professional support from the department.

The IQMS performance standards focus on curriculum delivery, learning environment (which indirectly monitor curriculum implementation) as well as what is taught, rather than what was going on in the classrooms. The unions did not like the four other IQMS

classroom-based standards[16] because these were phrased in a way that was more about policy monitoring than about what teachers did, or ought to do, to improve their classroom work and practices (ELRC, TDS, 2009). Some teachers mentioned that:

> The performance standards are strange: for us, the educators' evaluation instrument appears more about the implementation of the new curriculum and our professional standards while the WSE instrument is about monitoring SASA and curriculum policies. Yet to improve teachers' performance, it is important to understand what we struggle with most in the classroom, even if it is beyond the policies. (MinCom, October 2008)

Unions and teachers wanted the IQMS performance areas amended and be made more teacher-friendly and closer to their actual teachers' work challenges (ELRC, TDS, 2009). Teachers have also repeatedly mentioned that these classroom standards were cumbersome, not user-friendly and without sufficient relevance or links to the major classroom challenges (TED, 2009). Other performance standards were also criticized by an IQMS school coordinator (Interview, DoE Director, 7 November 2008):

> There are many things which contribute to the school and teacher performance which is not captured by the IQMS performance standards. For example, the criteria for school leadership do not emphasize the importance of instructional leadership and improvement of the capacity of teachers to motivate each other as well as learners to improve teaching and learning. That is what is important.

SADTU complained about the absence of serious consideration of the many non-school factors that were beyond teachers' control and impact on the learning environment, such as the nature and poverty of the school community, the under-resourced schools, the unfunded policy mandates and poor school support from provincial departments. There were also complaints about the fact that the IQMS focused only on school and teacher performance and not directly on the whole school system (including districts and education departments). SADTU wanted a performance area to target explicitly departmental support available to the school and its teachers, as viewed by them. A SADTU official mentioned (Interview, 21 February 2009):

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[16] These were: 1) creation of a positive learning environment; 2) knowledge of curriculum and learning programmes; 3) lesson planning, preparation and presentation; and 4) learner assessment.

> It is clear that teachers need a lot more support from the department and yet the IQMS makes teachers scapegoats for the lack of performance of the department as a whole. It is high time for the department to devise and monitor an effective professional development plan and system which is monitored.

Many schools and teachers also felt that context was not acknowledged properly in the document and it was not clear how to interpret this. As the Class Act report (2007) reveals, schools did not acknowledge the context in a similar manner, especially since given the heterogeneous school environment and teacher population which influenced differently school and teacher performance. At a Gauteng IQMS review workshop early in 2006 (GDE, 2006), teachers and principals had already complained that the IQMS did not acknowledge the variety of ways in which poor schools made the work of teachers so difficult. The fact that these teachers were the ones who rarely received meaningful human and material support from the districts made it much worse. Because the IQMS did not factor in sufficiently the strong influence of the socio-economic context, teachers felt legitimate in giving themselves high scores compared to their learners' achievements, something that districts did not accept as an excuse.

Teachers and their unions also were suspicious of the different weight attributed to the different performance standards. They argue that some teachers were much better or weaker at certain key performance areas and not others, and that some areas were of a higher priority than others for effective teaching. However, the appraisal schedule did not mention which areas were most important.

Beyond the validity and reliability of these performance standards, SADTU (2005) opposed individual classroom observation by outsiders and HoDs, on the grounds that teachers of poor schools continued to struggle with such difficult teaching conditions and demanding new curriculum policies without district support. This lack of direct teacher monitoring, which has a long history, makes South African teachers amongst those in the world to be least subjected to any serious form of teacher monitoring. Teachers felt that supervisors showed the same punitive and unhelpful attitudes in their

feedback to teachers but, beyond that, there was no amount of quality appraisers who could change the deep mistrust between unions/teachers and education departments as they each blame each other for the poor performance of the system.

Many teachers had no experience of collaborative and conducive school culture with a commitment to focus on how to improve teaching and learning. Yet, this is what characterized the few resilient schools which managed to raise their performance beyond expectations. As the 2007 Ministerial report on *Schools that Work* notes, as well as the evidence submitted by some principals to the MinCom oral hearings (October 2008), a sense of collective agency and active leadership were key factors in motivating these schools' teachers to improve their practices and performance.

Thus, teachers' and unions' concerns about the IQMS performance standards reveal a rather defensive struggle to protect their interests as teachers by questioning the selection and measurement of the IQMS performance standards. There was some objective validity in their concerns, especially those about how un-user-friendly the nature of classroom standards was. These reflected a forward mapping approach to the understanding of teacher performance standards and could have benefitted from a closer inspection of what teachers did, were expected to do and could do.

11.3.2 Ambiguities over conceptions of teachers' work

As mentioned in chapter 9, the IQMS assumes indirectly that, through its performance standards and their sub-criteria, teachers can reflect professionally and together on their practices and needs. The underlying issue of the IQMS for the teacher unions was that it was constructed on the basis of what teachers were expected to do with the new curriculum. SADTU was divided over this (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009). One group, made up of the education component of SADTU which was committed to improve their members' PD (Interview, Govender, 25 September 2009), believed that

the new curriculum with no syllabuses allowed teachers to develop their professional competences and autonomy by selecting and contextualizing the curriculum in the school context. However, this group assumed that departmental support would develop teachers so they could make the best of the curriculum (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009). This group saw the old DAS and the 2003 IQMS would make teachers be pro-active and drive their own development, by using the opportunity to identify for the first time their own PD needs and not respond to the district or school management's directives about PD.

The other SADTU group was concerned about the huge leap that the new curriculum and its constructivist pedagogy expected teachers to assimilate. It was more realistic and doubted that support would be provided in the short term for their members to operate and implement effectively the new curriculum policies in their classrooms (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009). This group felt that it was more strategic to focus on bread and butter issues for their members, especially given the nature of their poorly qualified membership (which they believe was a pre-condition for teacher professionalism), than on professional development and status. It is interesting to cite what Shalem and Hoadley (2007, p. 19) explain in terms of the conditions faced by an average black teacher in a township school:

> In schools that have variety of learning material, media and computer resources, small classes, administrative and teachers' assistants, extra mural coaches, subject and social services specialists; in schools where parents belong to generations of middle class families and spent time with their children - teachers are required to do less transformative work for their wage ... These teachers expend their effort on monitoring their learning environment and they generally comply with the management requirements of the IQMS. In conditions of acute child poverty; poor health; large classes; school violence and intimidation; poor modern teaching facilities, poor access to social and governance expertise; misalignment between a curriculum and common sense about what good teaching is about; poor quality training; public shaming about poor results; and lack of public respect and trust, these teachers are highly stressed, their morale is generally very low and press reports suggest high levels of psychological burnout and stress. In this class of teachers, there is high level of absenteeism and as the week progresses more of instructional time is curtailed.

The SADTU group pushing for the development of teachers as autonomous professionals won the day with DAS and in the negotiation of the 2003 IQMS. It is important to note here that its understanding of teacher professionalism was limited to acquiring professional competences and not professional behaviours and values. Hence, instead of challenging directly the ambitious curriculum and other QA policies with such departmental poor capacity for their embedded ambitious assumptions, it confined its criticisms to the poor departmental implementation strategies, and in particular the lack of movement to improve PD support provisioning and quality (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009). Yet, the IQMS exercise put many black teachers under unrealistic pressures when they had to evaluate their work performance. SADTU did not foresee how teachers would respond to the IQMS exercise and ratings in a rather un-professional and manipulative manner. According to the Class Act report (2007) on the IQMS implementation in schools, school and teacher interpretation of the performance items was very different from what was intended, especially in poor black schools. What SADTU could have done was to guide teachers on their professional conduct and behaviours but this was not something that SADTU would ever take up, preferring to accuse the department of not fulfilling its side of the bargain.

This explains how the IQMS was a fragile policy settlement with implementation likely to encounter serious problems of reliability and professional conduct. It is clear that, although stakeholders agreed on a vision of teachers as professionals, its translation in schools, and in particular in the interpretation of some IQMS performance areas, made unions quite inflexible and keen to protect the immediate interests of their constituencies by not taking up the unreliable IQMS results but rather blaming the department for not providing meaningful professional support to teachers. One alternative was to use SACE or other professional bodies to push for a more comprehensive conception of professionalism in addressing constructively these policy implementation problems.

11.3.3 Internal versus external evaluation

Teacher unions and schools broadly supported the principle of self-evaluation but for somewhat different reasons. It was important for schools to own their evaluation exercise and acquire the professional competences for objective judgment, self-criticism and sound reflective competences. Many teachers, though, feared their HoDs would use their position as internal evaluators to remind their juniors of their seniority and assert their authority rather than genuinely assess them. There was still a big issue from the *apartheid* legacy about a lack of trust and respect by teachers towards authorities, principals and heads of departments, some of whom were poorly qualified for their jobs. As one teacher mentioned (Oral Hearings to the MinCom, November 2008):

> How can I be assessed by my HoD who does not even have a Hons degree, like me, and who has never been formally trained to understand the new philosophy and pedagogy of the OBE system? He is bound to underrate me.

In such context and culture of distrust and lack of collegiality, internal evaluation and the ability to assess objectively a colleague or subordinate was seen suspiciously by most teachers, although some schools which had already practiced such internal evaluation did not have any problems. Another issue was noted by a teacher (ELRC, TDS, 2009):

> It is difficult to assess genuinely your colleagues... there is a problem when observing a lesson because it is difficult to understand the reasons for the problems in the classroom because these are often due to a combination of teaching, difficult learners and inadequate support materials.

Unions and teachers also had problems with external evaluation or moderation which they knew education departments would privilege over the internal evaluation. They were suspicious towards external evaluators or moderators. Many teachers argue that external evaluators' attitudes had not changed from the *apartheid* inspectorate days. In addition, teacher unions and teachers, from under-resourced schools with learners from poor communities, contested the extent to which their school context should be

factored in the evaluations and did not trust the supervisors to understand this (Oral Hearings to MinCom, November 2008):

> WSE supervisors and districts always want to lower our scores but they do not understand our difficult conditions and the work put in to make the schools and teaching functional. They always seem to have in mind a notion of performance which they get from other better resourced schools.

The Class Act report also mentions schools were unhappy with district verification of their scores on the grounds that they were not teachers themselves and did not understand the school and classroom specific issues and dynamics in a poor environment with demanding new policies. In fact, teachers and their unions had some doubts about the professional judgment of WSE supervisors and district monitors who did not receive adequate training to acquire the needed expertise and competences to identify teacher development priorities as well as their obstacles and enablers.

This could explain why SADTU refused the principle of districts and WSE supervisors doing classroom observation visits. NAPTOSA was not against classroom observation of teachers *per se* as long as it was done professionally to identify the areas in which teachers need assistance and development. However, because of SADTU boycott of WSE supervisors, NAPTOSA felt obliged to follow suit not to appear to endorse the WSE supervisors' visit in only NAPTOSA-affiliated schools (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009).

11.3.4 Balance of accountability and support

Because the position of teacher unions was that teacher accountability could only be introduced after teacher support was provided, they insisted in the IQMS sequence of development before accountability. SADTU and black teachers have a history of blaming the departments for not doing their job effectively and systematically pushing teacher accountability without taking responsibility of providing teachers with the support needed. SADTU had already accused the department in 2002 of being more interested

in controlling teachers than developing them, and in putting more resources and efforts in the 2001 WSE policy implementation rather than the 1998 DAS (SADTU, 2005). SADTU felt it important to move on redress developmental measures for their teacher members and especially for the department to improve their school support for the implementation of the new curriculum and assessment policies. Yet, they complained that district officials did not have the appropriate knowledge, competences and expertise to do their jobs (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009; TED 2009). They even went as far as questioning the lack of transparent criteria and procedures in the appointment of district officials.

Schools also complained about district officials who were overly concerned with school monitoring and much less interested with, or able to, providing them with proper assistance and support. They did not believe that these officials could respond any better to their identified needs, even if they had access to them through the IQMS returns and their PGPs and SIPs (Oral hearing to the MinCom, November, 2008). Principals noted that district monitoring reports were often poor and revealed their poor capacity and work performance (Oral hearings to the MinCom, November 2008):

> With so many demanding reforms, we do not get adequate assistance from districts which tend to give orientation-type training for two or three days and expect such training to cascade and reach everyone in the school. This is totally unrealistic and unacceptable because what is needed is on-going high quality support which districts cannot provide.

Teachers also complained about the impractical and inappropriate district support (Oral hearing to the MinCom, November, 2008):

> Most of the time, the training on OBE is theoretical and orient you to the principles of OBE. It is a totally different thing from what we need to introduce OBE in our classrooms. This is because we are faced with overcrowded classrooms and poor infrastructural and equipment facilities. OBE requires proper resourcing and support, two things that do not exist in our schools.

NAPTOSA agreed with the poor district support but they decided instead to organize its own training workshops to assist with the new curriculum and assessment policies. In

fact, they argue that their PD workshops should be eligible for the SETAS training funds (TD summit, July 2009). The NAPTOSA official argued that the districts do not think creatively and 'out-of-the-box' about PD. What was needed was for all providers/organisations to contribute to PD, according to their expertise and location (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009). NAPTOSA believed that they have a role to play in providing some PD courses, where they have strong expertise, and that they should motivate teachers to commit themselves to lifelong learning and the improvement of their performance. It believed that education departments, with SACE, should coordinate, finance and manage the provisions of quality support to schools by enhancing their capacity to support schools as well as by contracting out such support to other providers in a way that is sustainable and ongoing (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009).

SADTU was not as interested in contributing to PD but preferred to fight the DoE on its procrastination in developing a concrete plan and specific guidelines for a system-wide teacher professional development plan. A SADTU official noted:

> The department never substantially engaged with, or mobilised resources for, a large scale professional development plan. Teacher support materials and textbooks are also lacking in many schools. Surely, you cannot blame teachers for not improving their performance under these conditions (Lewis, 21/02/2009).

It is common knowledge that most schools need more meaningful support opportunities as well as better infrastructural resources and teaching materials. One important form of support which has not been properly designed by education was more comprehensive and professionally designed teaching materials to support their curriculum delivery and teaching practices, something that the existing Minister, Ms Motshegka, at the time of writing, has promised to produce. This important point about more detailed curriculum content started to be introduced with the 2006 NCS for the FET phase and more recently with the publication of the review report on the NCS (DoE, 2009a). However, the key is to develop different kinds of appropriate curriculum

materials for different teachers, test them and then produce the successful ones to scale.

Thus, on the whole, unions and teachers continue to demand more adequate support and resources to assist meaningfully schools and teachers, with some unions pushing for different providers of PD being allowed to offer what they have a comparative advantage in, and motivate teachers to accept lifelong learning. Other unions, such as SADTU, do not seem to want to engage directly in meaningful PD for their members, an interesting difference revealing their rather passive stance on the promotion of PD, as well as teacher professionalism.

11.3.5 Appraisal for development and for performance management

Teacher unions were largely behind the first development appraisal, DAS, which did not get properly implemented for different reasons. One reason was the poor departmental capacity to follow up school evaluations or appraisals with meaningful support. Another reason behind DAS's lack of implementation success was broader. Many teachers felt that any form of genuine professional development undertaken by teachers should be rewarded, pushing for DAS, an appraisal for development, to combine a performance management appraisal. A SADTU official (Interview, 21 February/2009) confirmed that the importance of introducing some form of salary increases in the new 2003 IQMS, because teachers were legitimate in expecting financial rewards for harder work and professional development. Teachers' frustrations with their poor salaries had been simmering and culminated in the 2007 three-week-long strike for better salaries. Against this background, it was no surprise that teachers and their unions decided to sign the 2003 IQMS agreement because it integrated appraisal for development and for performance management.

Thus, many teachers were not motivated to develop and strengthen their professionalism as an end in itself, something which professionals are often interested in doing because it improves their professional practices and competences. Such improvement will in itself strengthen teachers' positions and jobs vis-a-vis their employers (Bascia, 2003). Most South African teachers and their unions did not appreciate this bargaining position but reverted easily to defending their immediate interests and working conditions without being able to see their long-term interests as professionals.

However, the integration of these two appraisals in the same system also confused teachers who became tempted to manipulate their PD needs to qualify for monetary rewards, according to a SADTU official (Interview, 21 February 2009). As a teacher also puts it so clearly:

> The IQMS asks us to choose between development or money, and today, we, teachers, will not hesitate: we will take the money (ELRC, TDS, 2009).

Thus, there appears to be a kind of 'catch 22' position in relation to PD for teachers. Without rewards attached to PD, there was not enough motivation for teachers to embark on genuine PD exercises and, with rewards attached, teachers were no longer interested in identifying genuinely their PD needs for fear of not qualifying for monetary rewards. Some unions argue that this conundrum was a legacy of *apartheid,* of the lack of appropriate PD experienced by most teachers as well as their relatively poor salaries for increasing work expectations (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009). This issue of a drive to improve professional performance was to remain unmanaged by unions in dealing with their negotiation strategies with education departments.

Another problem linked to the combination of two forms of appraisals in one system, was the standardized appraisal instrument used because, according to the NAPTOSA official (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009), it contradicted lessons learnt against the adoption of a 'one-size-fits-all' solution. This is also supported by the school

improvement literature which mentions that each school and teacher needs to select its own specific priorities by using an evaluation schedule which reflects its particular dynamics and concerns. This is why teacher unions and most schools preferred the idea of selecting some appraisal items out of a range of nationally specified ones. Many teachers mentioned that greater flexibility should be allowed to apply the standardized instrument to their school-specific context.

Finally, on the issue of districts being made to act as players and referees, a SADTU official (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009) recognised the problem of teacher performance data being collected and assessed by the same authority/units responsible for responding to teachers' identified development needs. Teachers were also aware of subjective evaluation judgment but emphasised that:

> There is a problem in expecting districts to both support and monitor teachers. What is needed is for outsiders to check with us about the kind of support we receive from districts (Oral hearings to the MinCom, November 2008).

11.4 Teacher Unions' IQMS Mediation

It is clear from the above that teacher unions welcomed aspects of the IQMS policy on the belief that it protected or advanced their members' interests. However, the unions and teachers did not fully buy-in into the IQMS in the way education departments expected them to do, after signing the 2003 ELRC agreement. They continued to contest its ambiguous aspects and did not think that the IQMS opened up PD opportunities which they could exploit to forge greater professionalism in their members. They were also quick to blame education departments for not keeping their side of the bargain and not improve the IQMS implementation by funding, planning and organising meaningful PD arrangements. In fact, SADTU actively derailed the IQMS implementation in schools.

Thus, it is clear that teachers and their unions were not motivated to mediate the IQMS implementation to ensure that teachers could benefit from it. SADTU and other unions' position and negotiation strategies remained the same as with the 1998 DAS negotiations. After the unsuccessful DAS implementation, many teacher unions continued to emphasize the poor records of education departments in terms of a nationwide professional development system and integrated plan. Instead, SADTU encouraged its teacher members to use the IQMS to secure well-deserved monetary rewards.

It is argued that, during the course of this study, instances of policy enabling agents among teacher unions were not be found. Most teacher unions remained passively defensive in their responses and strategies around the IQMS. The ELRC bargaining set up made it difficult for them to think beyond their sectarian short-term interests (Moe, 2002) existing in the IQMS.

Yet, teacher unions could have used and mediated the IQMS exercise so as to identify the serious PD gaps for their teacher members as well as to make some creative proposals on how IQMS opportunities could be exploited to improve their members' professionalism. However, the development of such strategies required strong strategic union leaders which embrace long-term professional interests of the teachers as well as short-term opportunities offered by the IQMS in that regard.

It is now important to turn to the IQMS implementation in schools in 2005 and its developments up to today, something the next chapter attempts to do.

CHAPTER 12

IQMS IMPLEMENTATION AND ITS EVOLUTION: A POSSIBLE BREAKTHROUGH WITH SACE?

This chapter analyses how the IQMS implementation at school level brought to the fore the many tensions experienced and mediated by the two main stakeholders. It does this by examining how mediation strategies managed the five main tensions through various negotiations and compromises as well as how the 2003 policy document was amended and continues to change because of these tensions. It identifies five tensions, namely 1) purpose and content of appraisal; 2) conception of teachers' work; 3) advantages of internal versus external evaluation; 4) balance of accountability and support; and 5) combination of appraisal for development and for performance management.

In response to the fourth sub-question of the role and mediation strategies of stakeholders, it argues that mediation strategies were not successful at making the best of the IQMS for the two main stakeholders. There was not sufficient buy-in and contestations continued despite various proposed IQMS amendments since 2005. It contends that, compared to the education bureaucracy, the union policy leadership did not fully exploit the space created by the IQMS tensions to improve their members' interests as well as the school performance. In fact, teacher unions did not seem able to sustain policy leadership after the 1998 DAS, as they never strategized around the IQMS to ensure a positive impact on their members and their professionalism in the form of a better form of teacher accountability *for* development. The problem in establishing a more solid appraisal for teacher development and higher professional standards was that negotiations were limited to education departments and unions only. Yet, the task of advancing teacher professionalism and meaningful professional teacher development provisions should be the responsibility of professional associations and educationists which should lead and guide these other two main stakeholders.

12.1 Tensions in Purpose and Content

There were different agendas behind the IQMS which were reflected in the various items of the appraisal instrument as stakeholders negotiated hard for certain areas and not others. It was about obtaining comparative data on the whole school system, monitoring school quality and policy implementation across the system as well as identifying the major school and teacher aspects which needed support. But whose interests dominate at various moments in time?

On the whole, it did not provide reliable information on the strengths and weaknesses of the school system. This is partly because it ignored some important items too sensitive to teachers, such as how learners respond to teachers and learn in the classroom or how teacher performance impacts on learners and their learning. In addition, schools and teachers re-interpreted or mediated the meaning of some appraisal items, such as school leadership or basic functionality in a way that was different from what WSE supervisors assessed (DoE, 2007c).

The DoE proposed in 2008 some changes with its Draft Employer Amendment of the ELRC (no.1 of 2008). The learner achievements' performance standard was amended to ensure that teacher scores would "broadly correlate with learners' performance" (ELRC, 2008), in an attempt to prevent teachers with learners with poor results from being given high scores. The DoE also agreed that context should allow teachers to adjust their scores by one additional point for one year — as long as they explained with evidence how contextual factors affected their work (ELRC, 2008). This was based on the unrealistic assumption that districts would set up special intervention measures to address the problems by the next year:

> If no improvement occurs among [struggling] teachers the following year, then the IQMS appraisal exercise will indicate through the SIP whether the district assisted (or not) the school and its teachers in addressing their weaknesses in their particular identified evaluation areas. This is how the IQMS assesses more than the schools and teachers (Interview, DoE Director, 7/11/2008).

This small concession did not satisfy unions and teachers who demanded a list of criteria from which schools could choose depending on their contexts (ELRC, TDS, 2009). Teacher unions continued to hide behind the many other factors contributing to the poor performance of learners and were unable to propose alternative ways in which to assess teacher performance. One way was to use the value added measure of learners' results, something that could be done with sophisticated — and expensive — management information systems. Another way was to use learners' results for diagnostic but not for summative purpose so that teachers could reflect on their learners' results and attempt to improve their teaching practices, as Katz et al. (2003) suggest. However, this would have required a change of attitudes towards learner results by both education departments and the schools towards an understanding of their diagnostic value.

Pockets with strong departmental policy leadership decided to re-arrange and adapt some performance items (as mentioned in chapter 10). For example, the GDE QA assurance division decided to relate some performance items to one another and privileged their impact on learning achievements. It also privileged some teacher items, such as teacher knowledge and competences to teach reading and numeracy for professional development courses.

During the 2008 NEEDU MinCom, it was widely suggested that the validity and legitimacy of the IQMS-generated data should be improved by making appraisal items more simple or teacher-friendly. The Teacher Development (TD) summit of July 2009 also recommended performance standards which were more relevant to the core business of teaching and learning. The NEEDU report and the TDS commission reports argued that these items be rooted in classroom practices to produce better diagnoses of what were the key challenges facing teaching and learning issues.

However, these NEEDU recommendations and TDS resolutions had to be negotiated in the ELRC as this was part of its scope. There were few guarantees that more valid performance standards could be agreed upon. An ELRC official warned that the problem is that the ELRC chief negotiators were not directly involved in and supportive of the TD summit and had a reputation for being out of touch with their constituencies and challenges on the ground (Interview, Govender, 25 September 2009). In that sense, the negotiation for better appraisal items remained unpredictable through the ELRC, given the antagonistic position of the main stakeholders and the absence of strong IQMS policy leadership to navigate effectively this IQMS tension.

Ideally, such deadlock could be broken outside of a bargaining council as the latter should not be negotiating such issues. It is a professional body/association which should work with teachers (and their organisations) at enhancing teacher professionalism. However, the locked-in negotiations between government and unions do not augur well for the possibility of intermediary professional organisation(s) to take the lead on how to promote teacher professional development and professionalism.

12.2 Tensions over Conception of Teachers' Work

Ideally, the appraisal system should be aligned to the nature of teachers' work and their professional status to avoid major tensions. But it was important for the main stakeholders to agree on a conception of teacher status and professionalism beyond a vision but in the way the IQMS exercise could reflect. This is because, despite this shared conception (Interview, DoE Director, 7 November 2008; SADTU Lewis Interviews, 21 February 2009 and Muller, 25 February 2009), education departments felt justified in expecting teachers to provide a genuine and professional reflection of their strengths and weaknesses while at the same time tightening their bureaucratic controls over teachers. On their part, unions wanted to shelter their members from a tight bureaucratic accountability which could expose their members' poor performance on

the grounds that education departments were not serious at improving teachers' professional development system (SADTU, 2005).

The DoE procrastinated on its planning of a CPTD system and programmes until later in 2008 and appeared more interested in setting up yet another evaluation unit (called NEEDU) to strengthen bureaucratic monitoring over schools and teachers, in response to the latter's manipulation of the appraisal exercises (MinCom Oral Hearings of the DoE, 27 October 2008). In return, SADTU (but to a lesser extent other teacher organizations) neglected the challenge of capacitating their members to identify their priority development needs and promote better professional practices and attitudes. NAPTOSA remained committed to its PD workshops and called for all PD service providers and experts to come together and agree on how they could work and complement one another in the PD field (Interview, Muller, 25 February 2009).

Thus, the two main stakeholders are still much divided over the means by which teachers' professional standards, practices and behaviours can be enhanced through appraisal, suggesting here again that an intermediary professional association, focused on improving teaching and learning, should take the lead over this challenge.

12.3 Tensions of Internal versus External Evaluation

The main stakeholders understood the comparative advantages of external and internal school and teacher evaluation but were also aware of the tension between the two. There was little trust or respect between the two, with the one accusing the other of not evaluating properly school and teacher performance. In addition, school stakeholders had serious doubts about both internal and external evaluation because of the poor quality and professionalism of these evaluators.

One way to minimize the tension between internal and external evaluators and build their respective professional evaluation expertise was seriously considered by the Independent Quality Assurance of South African Schools (IQASA), an organisation with a good record in developmental school evaluation. Its evaluation approach combines internal and external evaluators in one team to benefit from one another's comparative advantages. IQASA recognised the importance having a professional evaluator spend a few months in the school to become part of its evaluation team and guide or train school-based evaluators towards a rigorous and constructive evaluation. These professional evaluators remain also in the school for a few months after the evaluation to act as mentors and resource to assist the school in the implementation of evaluation recommendations. This system may be too expensive for a national system (Interview, IQASA Director, 21 November 2008). Another possibility is proposed by the NEEDU Mincom report (DoE, 2009a, p. 37) with the appointment of expert external evaluators outside of the DoE who could gain respect and legitimacy from all stakeholders by being independent, professional and rigorous.

Finally, school evaluation, whether internal or external, is often undermined by the un-conducive school culture, attitudes and practices of the majority of schools, and especially disadvantaged black schools, which have never known or experienced significant levels of teacher solidarity, collegiality and commitment to improve their practices. For internal or external school evaluation to find conducive conditions of openness and genuine reciprocal trust in South African schools, genuine measures of high quality school support will have to be forthcoming at the same time.

This leads to an examination of the next tension around the balance between accountability and support.

12.4 Tensions between Accountability and Support

The existing forms of school and teacher accountability and support were far from satisfactory for the main stakeholders, even though they had different views and proposals on these issues (TDS, DoE, 2009).

12.4.1 Teacher accountability

Teacher unions and teachers continued to dismiss the departmental call for greater school and teacher accountability on the grounds that teachers should only account for what they were given support on. Their stance was for reciprocal accountability between education departments and schools. However, departments realised that the IQMS form of self-monitoring was not reliable and adequate for their needs and therefore looked for other monitoring mechanisms. By the end of 2007, the ANC national conference and the 2007 NPFTED Act proposed to set up a quasi-independent body, the National Education Evaluation and Development Unit (NEEDU) in charge of school evaluation. The idea came from international visits to the US, Mexico and the UK, all countries with independent assessment or inspection units (Interview, Govender, 25 September 2009). A five-month-long Ministerial Committee (MinCom), under the chairpersonship of Professor Jonathan Jansen, reviewed the existing monitoring systems and investigated the viability, status, objectives, functions and authority of such a body (GG, August 2008). According to a DoE director, there was also dissatisfaction in the DoE about the work of the DoE and PDE monitoring units (Interview, DoE Director, 2 July 2009).

By January 2009, the MinCom Report (DoE, 2009a, p. 36) recommended the setting up of a NEEDU unit with the following responsibilities:

1. To provide the Minister of Education with an authoritative analytical account on the state of schools and on the status of teaching and learning.
2. To monitor the different levels of school support (districts, provinces and the national department) and the extent to which there is considered action on how to improve these interventions.

3. To employ only the most skilled professionals drawn mainly from education, but also supporting professions (the management sector) as credible and effective evaluators, managers and turnaround specialists.
4. To absorb the Whole School Evaluation function as it currently stands, while the IQMS function continues as an ELRC agreement operating under the authority of the Department of Education.
5. To recommend that the two IQMS educator functions of appraisal for performance monitoring and appraisal for development should not be done and verified by the same people, whether within the school and the district.

(DoE, 2009a, pp. 64-66)

SADTU, who had not been directly consulted about the setting up of such a body (on which one of their representatives sat, with limited pro-active attitudes), rejected yet again the DoE's idea of teacher monitoring because it understood it mainly for accountability and not for development (Interview, Lewis, 21 February 2009). SADTU's official response to the proposed NEEDU was:

> It adds yet another layer of bureaucracy for teachers and schools to cope with. Increased monitoring and inspections – if not linked to a positive programme of teacher development – will lead to further demoralisation of the profession (SADTU statement, the Star, 19 May 2009).

It criticized the MinCom report for continuing 'to sideline teacher development, carrying on the tradition of the last 10 years. It commended, however, the report when it agreed that school and teacher evaluation was rarely followed up by meaningful support and that all levels and sectors of the education system should be monitored and account for their performance. At the time of writing, the CEO position was filled by the former chair of the UMALUSI board so he could establish NEEDU as a quasi-independent legal monitoring agency (DoE, 2009a, p. 31) which would take over/moderate the Whole School Evaluation Policy as well as contribute to the external evaluation of individual educators interested in progressing on the Occupation Specific Dispensation (OSD) of educators' career advancement path.

The idea behind the 2008 OSD framework was to motivate teachers to improve their practices and learner performance by introducing a higher stakes system with a dual

career-pathing model for educators and office-based educators which would 'systematically increase salaries after pre-determined periods, based on specific criteria such as performance, qualifications and competencies, scope of work and experience'(*ELRC resolution 1 and 2, 2008*). Such incentive system was to motivate teachers in a way that the IQMS did not, since the latter was designed as a mild form of performance management system, with a small salary increase for most teachers. The OSD was intended for highly performing teachers to qualify for an 'accelerated' salary or career progression as long as they subjected themselves to outside evaluators who recommend their progression. These teachers had to prepare a portfolio of evidence of good teaching and good teaching materials which included learner performance as a criterion (in section 5.1.3.6). Fewer than 50% of educators were expected to qualify for progression, even though there is evidence that this was tie up with the money available in the DoE budget (DoE, 2009b). The unions demanded that the reward money should not be constricted by the budget but informed by teachers' performance and merit.

This DoE focus on an improved teacher and system monitoring has to be contextualized within the continued poor quality outcomes of the school system as confirmed by research findings (PIRL, 2006). The ANC-dominated Triple Alliance moved that education departments, schools and unions should take more responsibility for, and address, the main issues undermining the system performance. This could also explain why the MinCom on NEEDU (DoE, 2009a, p. 42) brought in this notion of reciprocal accountability, since the IQMS had failed on this reciprocal accountability between districts and their schools. The report recommended that the accountability net stretched right across the system:

> Proposals for new systems of accountability must of necessity account for performance at all levels from the teacher, to the principal, to the governors, to the district, provincial and national department authorities. While the teacher is undoubtedly the most important influence on learning in the classroom, the extent to which the act of teaching is nested within other supporting contexts cannot be overstated.

12.4.2 Teacher professional support

On the side of professional support and system capacity, the issue remains unresolved. The literature on PD confirms the crucial importance of providing ongoing high quality support, tailored to the specific needs of different schools and teachers (Elmore & Burney, 1990). One way of alleviating the often inappropriate or inadequate support is to start acknowledging that education departments do not have the best people and resources to provide schools with high quality ongoing support (De Clercq, 2002). Not only do districts suffer from poor material and financial capacity to adequately support school management and teachers, but they also have officials, such as circuit inspectors and curriculum advisers, without the necessary knowledge, competences or experience necessary to support effectively schools and teachers in their work challenges.

The two main stakeholders did not think creatively on how to address this important issue of strengthening professional support capacity. Only pockets of schools and district divisions have come up recently with a smarter and more strategic way of addressing this issue. School networking with quality service providers or NGOs is a strategy adopted by many resilient schools in South Africa. The Ministerial Committee on *Schools that Work* (DoE, 2007b) mentioned that the most resilient schools do not have a strong relationship with their district officials but have strong support from NGOs or from networks of school managers and teachers from other similar schools. These schools mentioned that schools had to identify first their development needs before approaching any partners as well as ensure that the partnership empowers them and builds specific internal capacity.

Another example of such networking or partnership was described in chapter 11 with a district enhancing its internal capacity and resources to support more effectively its staff as well as its schools. As Putnam (2001) argues, 'social capital' is built through networking and linking up with other organisations with the capacity to assist with expertise and resources which organizations do not have themselves. Districts need partnerships with other high quality support service providers with the expertise and

experience they do not have. This quality exists in more effective schools with teachers who could showcase or teach other similar teachers about best practices in school leadership or classroom work. Another possible source of social capital exists in NGOs and other qualified service providers which could be contracted in to impart their educational expertise by training school HoDs or district officials.

However, the DoE strategy decided to go the route of an elaborate continuous teacher development system (CPTD) in following the recommendation of the 2007 NPFTED. This rather traditional response to the PD challenges matched the bureaucratic system of prescriptive rules and regulations but did not deal with the main issue of enhancing or mobilizing the support capacity that was needed and may exist in different quarters.

The DoE/SACE task team produced a CPTD document in 2008, which proposed that teachers earn 150 PD points per three-year cycle from five different PD activities: self-chosen, school-led, employer-led qualification programmes and other programmes offered by NGOs, teachers unions, community-based and other approved providers. It also provided criteria for endorsement of professional development programmes/ activities as fit for purpose and of good quality, with SACE managing the CPTD quality assurance, with the possibility of appointing at a later stage assurance bodies, and the CHE and the ETDP-SETA in charge of registering the formal qualifications (DoE, 2009b).

The 2008 SACE-DoE CPDT task team identified several implementation risks for which solutions were needed before embarking on this CPDT system. Some of these were:

1. Funding of the CPTD system may not be sustained.
2. Unions may oppose aspects of the policy. Disputes or industrial action may affect the pace of implementing the system.
3. Backlogs in school infrastructure, resources and administrative support, and teachers' workloads may inhibit the take-up of CPTD.

4. The self-identified needs of teachers may not correspond with those identified by employers or with research findings.
5. Providers may not have the capacity to support teachers' PD needs.
6. SACE may not have the capacity to manage the CPTD system.
7. The Departments of Education may not have the capacity to support the CPTD system for their employees. (DoE/SACE CPDT report, 2008b).

A pilot study was then conducted to test the conceptual design and workability of the planned management systems and emphasized the following main issues (CEPD, 2008):

- The scope of the activities that teachers are currently undertaking do not necessarily address teachers' needs as expressed in their professional growth plans, or have much bearing on schooling or the improvement of learning.
- The majority (87%) of PD work is to be initiated by the PDEs and there are other providers, including universities, private consultants, schools, NGOs and unions.
- The management and planning structures and systems needed for the implementation of the new CPTD system are not in place, including the management staff and ICT support systems at school level, something that worries most schools.

The pilot study concluded with the following main recommendations:

- The implementation of the CPTD should NOT be rushed. The capacity to administer the system nationally involves serious capacity building exercises in both SACE and the DoE.
- Needs analysis must be done around the issue of the quality of PD programmes currently being offered as well as with regards to the type of support teachers really need and from where.
- Management and ICT systems are required at district level, and extensive human resources capacity-building to support the CPTD programme at school level.

The DoE introduced this CPTD system to the Teacher Development Summit (TDS) to canvass support from various stakeholders, such as the PEDs, teacher unions, universities, ETPDs and SETAS. In July 2009, the TDS produced a signed declaration of guiding principles for a nation-wide teacher development strategy and system. By August 2010, the DoE has just published for comment its final draft for a (ambitious) new, strengthened, integrated plan for teacher development. But the question remains as to what extent did the TDS manage to harmonize stakeholders' views and commitment towards the DoE-proposed CPTD system and, more importantly, how will it mobilize and quality-assure various providers of teacher development so as to provide teachers with meaningful opportunities to learn? Teacher unions are still sceptical as to how such CPTD system could address the lack of system support capacity and resources and impact significantly on schools and classroom practices (Interviews, Lewis, 21 February 2009; Muller, 25 February 2009).

It is interesting to note that, when confronting the problem of adequate teacher support, very few strategies came from education departments or teacher unions concerning the production of appropriate and professionally-designed teaching materials which is an alternative way of supporting teachers' curriculum delivery and teaching. This was an obvious alternative in conditions of support capacity scarcity but not one which deals directly with the support many teachers needed to improve their content and pedagogical knowledge. The existing Minister of Education, Ms Motshekga, decided to commission another review of the NCS which led to recommendations about the production of detailed workbooks for each learner (DoE, 2009c) as well as a new formulation of OBE through detailed Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS). The development and distribution of more detailed teacher curriculum support materials was also mentioned by the Minister but not yet produced at the time of writing. This textbook strategy is a small remedy to counter the shortage of human capacity to provide curriculum and assessment support to teachers. Thus, by 2010,

more than 10 years after the introduction of new curriculum and assessment policies, amendments of the curriculum and assessment policies are still being made.

On the balance between accountability and support, it looks as if education departments are moving on the planning of a CPTD system and plan but with no concrete prospects of implementing, something which will be problematic given that the poor system support capacity has not been addressed effectively. No creative solutions on this support issue have been seriously proposed by any stakeholder party on a significant scale. It appears as if teacher unions have vacated this space to put pressure on the DoE to lead and the obvious body, SACE, has not come up with anything different from the DoE's CPTD.

12.5 Appraisal for Development or for Performance Management

The combination of appraisal for development and performance management in the same system causes inevitable tensions as the one risks overshadowing the other. At implementation level, tensions crystallize around the common standardized appraisal instrument for the formative and summative appraisals. Although the same instrument assists the comparative monitoring purpose, it presents problems when schools have to identify their priority development needs without being able to factor in their specific context and school dynamics. In addition, the standardized appraisal instrument advantages the well resourced schools and will more easily reward teachers of these schools. This is why teacher unions and teachers demand a better formal acknowledgement of school context as well as some flexibility so that the common appraisal instrument can assist the developmental purpose. The DoE is reluctant to move away from the standardized instrument and has only mildly acknowledged contextual factors.

Another problematic issue not effectively resolved in the combination of teacher appraisal for development and for accountability, is the reliability of schools' and teachers' scores. There is high subjectivity involved in internal appraisers' work, as the latter want to protect their colleagues and district officials act as both referees and players, with the possibility of collusion between them and the schools, especially with the former being tempted to endorse teachers' scores to prevent drawing attention to their problematic school support (MinCom, DoE, 2009a, p. 31). This means that professional and quasi-independent evaluators should monitor schools and teachers as well as the work of district officials in charge of school and teacher support.

Thus, the viability of the IQMS combining two appraisals is seriously at risk. At the 2009 TDS, two positions emerged. The one, favoured by stakeholders interested in the developmental aspect, was that appraisal for performance should be dropped temporarily to concentrate on improving the effectiveness of appraisal for development, and ensuring that adequate development opportunities were provided for schools and teachers and generate sufficient legitimacy towards the concept of appraisal (ELRC, TDS, 2009). The second position, favoured by the DoE, was to retain the IQMS as an appraisal for performance management or a low-stakes system, designed primarily to identifying and dealing with the bottom 10% poor performers while rewarding the 90% with a small salary increase. The development of PD strategies could then become the subject of separate arrangements from the performance management function (Interview, DoE Director, 2 July 2009). In the end, the TDS agreed to the vague 'rebranding' of the IQMS with some separation between appraisal for development and for performance management, leaving the ELRC bargaining chambers to settle the details (TDS report, ELRC, 2009). Whether ELRC negotiators will act on this TDS recommendation is uncertain at the time of writing, especially as the internal dynamics in the ELRC have a logic of their own and can become disconnected from their constituencies' demands (Interview, Govender, 25 September 2009).

There is no doubt that appraisal negotiated in an ELRC set up cannot but privilege the performance management dimension, especially with the poor system support capacity. That is its function. However, the issue of appraisal for development should not be given to the ELRC but should be led and dominated by a professional body, such as SACE.

Thus, this trajectory analysis of the IQMS policy changes from 2007 to 2009 reveal attempts to manage some tensions of the 2003 document but without being able to minimize them. Education departments continue to focus on how to introduce QA measures which can monitor school and teacher performance and they also subscribe to this strategy of developing a meaningful PD system. On their side, teacher unions continue to resist new QA monitoring structures and bodies, on the grounds that it is more urgent to deliver a more effective PD system for their members. At the time of writing, it is clear that there is not solid consensus or convergence of strategies among the two main stakeholders on the issue of teacher monitoring for development and accountability. Unless strong and decisive policy leadership develops among the main stakeholders, with creative strategies which include quasi-independent experts and other providers, the policy settlement around school and teacher monitoring for development and performance management is a long way from being found.

12.6 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the IQMS implementation and its five main controversial tensions are concerned. Because the tensions became more manifest and acquired heightened dimensions at the implementation stage, it was important for implementing agents, such as education departments and unions, to exploit productively the opportunities created by these tensions. However, this was not to be and no strong professional associations or educationist intermediaries could come in and lead the process. This is why the two main stakeholders still have not agreed about the way forward, although

there are suggestions to reformulate or rebrand the IQMS by taking away its developmental dimension and giving it to SACE to manage and coordinate.

As the IQMS is being re-negotiated, there still seems to be a lack of strong leadership and strategies to manage the main tensions of, and relationships between, appraisal or evaluation for development and for teacher accountability. By allowing appraisal to remain a stakeholder issue, subjected to bargaining and compromises between two main stakeholders (education departments and teacher unions), the future of the important task of improvement of teacher and school performance remains bleak.

It is therefore argued that teacher development and higher professional standards requires a professional arena with professional associations which can work with, and consult, employers and teachers to develop strategies for the sustainable development of teacher professionalism, professional values and identities and this for the good of the school system as a whole.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSION

MAKING SENSE OF APPRAISAL TENSIONS, POLICY ANALYSIS, POLICY LEADERSHIP, AND MULTI-METHOD POLICY RESEARCH

The study started with daring commitment to extend the debate on policy analysis beyond what had almost become a convention in the South African policy analysis arena. This was reflected in the choice of questions, the epistemological and theoretical angle and the research method. As will be shown in this chapter, the results at all these levels are beyond my own expectations. Colliding with the traditional pattern in South African policy studies — critical analysis of policy texts and processes, evaluation of the effectiveness of policy implementation, etc. — the study explored how the evolution of teacher appraisal policies can be explained by examining the post-1994 policy context of uneven power relationships around education, the main influences in 'educational policy politics' as well as the changes over time in the policies and in the dominant interests, as manifested in appraisal policy processes. This study attempted to unravel complex and contradictory policy processes, with different constructions and contestations by policy communities and their leadership who tried to exploit the space and opportunities created.

Appraisal policies were selected, partly because of the researcher's interest and working experience with them but also because these policies are the product of stakeholder negotiations and mediations. Epistemologically and theoretically, the analysis of the evolution of teacher appraisal policies since 1994 was also to test a new angle of policy analysis and add to policy knowledge in South African education, which was found somehow to be too static and unable to explain fully the continuously changing policy negotiations and strategies of different stakeholders. It seems to me as if scholars of education policies in post-1994 South Africa, who rely

on a political analytical approach, underestimate some dimensions of policy power, preferring to confine their analyses to the collective contestations by various interest groups and the shifting terrain and discourse of educational policies towards the dominant groups as well as its negative impact on the already disadvantaged. The keywords in this analysis are: conflict, contestation, negotiation and mediation, which denote the complexities of exercise of power, power play and the play of power between stakeholders, policy makers and the state bureaucracy. The study hoped to bring to focus in particular the role of policy leadership as the main form of power-play in the policy process which needs analysis in terms of its potential and limitations as well as on conditions required for positive leadership strategies to be exercised at different stages of the policy process.

The epistemological contribution of this study brought up the need to adopt an eclectic approach combining aspects of the political, interpretive and rational analytical approaches to understand how the different policy powers are exercised and play themselves out over time in different policy processes. This kind of analysis reveals new dimensions of policy analysis:

- Policies have several contexts of production, implementation and practice and are discourses and texts which are the outcomes of power dynamics and contestations. These educational policy politics work with and produce further tensions in policy processes, which are always changing as conditions and circumstances change.
- Policies are interpreted and mediated by various agencies which read and respond to policies through the interaction of their knowledge, beliefs, interests, and strategies towards the policy signals.

Methodologically, by doing a longitudinal analysis of appraisal policies over the past 10 years, the complexities of policy and policy implementation were explained as a

constant dialectic between discourse and text, between structure and agency, between positive and negative leadership and mediation strategies, with all their different possibilities and impossibilities, contradictions and spaces. Furthermore, the main thrust of the study is its multi-method approach, which allowed for the effective combination of conventional strategies such as literature review, documentary analysis and interviews with somewhat neglected strategies such as direct and indirect interaction and engagement with stakeholders through participation in workshops, review teams, etc. which stretched the boundaries of triangulation and validation of data by providing new insights over a longer period of time into data analysis and interpretation.

13.1 Key Theoretical Insights from the Study

There are several insights which emerged from this trajectory policy study, some of which were informed by the theoretical framework while further concepts emerged in the process of data collection and analysis. It is therefore appropriate to summarize the insights gained around issues of appraisal, policy analysis, multi-method research, post-1994 policymaking in a stakeholder society, policy powers and policy leadership**.**

Context, constructions and tensions in appraisal systems

Appraisal is best understood as an exercise which involves monitoring for development and monitoring for performance management as well as a tricky standardized appraisal instrument as well as an alignment in forms of teacher development and accountability. It is inherently difficult to balance these dimensions as well as ensure their relevance for various school contexts with specific teachers' realities and different levels of competences, professionalism and

commitment to promote learners' learning. The extent of these tensions can be measured through the rational analytical approach.

However, appraisal is also a socially constructed and politically contested exercise which reflects the outcomes of bargaining and compromises between employers' and employees' groups, each committed to negotiating and ensuring that aspects of appraisal advance their interests. Thus, appraisal is influenced by context, constructed through contradictory processes and contested in its implementation.

At the core of an effective appraisal is its credibility and professional legitimacy as well as its flexibility or ability to evolve and adapt in response to changing conditions or contexts. Without a tradition of trust and openness among stakeholders, agreement around appraisal is bound to be a fragile settlement with a short life span with inherent tensions and conflicts which implementation will accentuate and eventually lead to further negotiations, mediation and adaptations.

Coming to grips with complexity in appraisal policies: the need for eclectic analytical approaches

Current policy analysis approaches have failed to address the increasingly complex domain and gap of policy-practice in an era dominated by the interplay of conflicting agendas and interests of various policy communities. It is therefore argued that an eclectic approach to policy analysis is the best explanatory approach. The political policy analysis, with its conceptualization of various policy powers, is useful in conceptualizing of policies as the subjects of contestations and various adaptation and mediation strategies by policymakers and implementers. This perspective draws attention to the importance of the policy context, content and implementation as well as their respective tensions and contradictions and the ways these are managed and mediated by policy agency and leadership at different stages of the policy process. Aspects of the rational policy analysis allow an understanding of the

extent of contradictions and tensions in policy processes. The political and cognitive interpretive approach can capture the meaning, views and strategies of various policy agencies over the policy text and the continuous contestations and adaptations as these agencies interpreted and mediated the policies.

The choice of these analytical constructs around appraisal and policy analysis assists in revealing how and why a stakeholder-driven policy, such as appraisal in post-1994 South Africa, remained a fragile settlement which continues to be negotiated and contested by its two main stakeholders: education departments and teacher unions.

Value of the not-so-conventional research method approach in policy research

Policy research has to capture and explain 'the complex interplay of identities and interests, coalitions and conflicts within the processes and enactments of policy' (Ball, 1997, p. 270). People's responses and actions in policy are not mechanistic or simply constructed but are the outcomes of many interests, identities and relationships with others. People and interest groups behave or react to policies and their substantive issues in a multiple different ways which cannot be reduced to one consistent behaviour or action. This is why th**is** trajectory study benefitted from multi-dimensional research methods which gathered, documented and analysed the multi-faceted relational issues (between stakeholders) embedded in policymaking processes. The use of workshops, task teams and other forms of engagement with stakeholders are not often used as 'conventional' strategies for testing ideas and data validation in policy research in South Africa. This is because their significance has not been yet recognized in standard practice of social and educational research.

Insightful evidence about the way evaluation and appraisal were constructed, interpreted and mediated over this period was made possible through triangulation of data which involved formal research instruments (such as interviews and

document analysis) as well as various discussions and activities with stakeholders, such as oral hearings, review teams, seminars, conference, and written evidence over a period of two years**.** In using such multi-method approach, this study provided the opportunity to test some of these techniques with rather interesting results.

The data were analyzed and interpreted to identify patterns of policy contestations, negotiation and mediation strategies which assisted in theorizing further the policymaking processes and politics around appraisal as well as the role and limitations of policy leadership. The evidence assisted in constructing what Gale (2001, p. 385) calls the policy historiography and genealogy narratives of appraisal polices. It illustrated and explained 1) how different policy positions, and the issues they articulate within their practices, were constructed and negotiated; 2) how policy compromises, settlements and changes embodied some positions more than others, with some interest groups becoming more influential at a particular stage of the policy process; and 3) how the positions and strategies of the main policy stakeholders changed from 1994 up to today**.**

In addition, this multi-method approach also relied on deductions from the theoretical framework about what to explore and understand in relation to policy processes as well as inductions as the data gathered fed back, complemented and enriched the initial theoretical framework. Indeed, the data revealed new angles and constructs which the initial conceptual framework did not allude to. For example, it brought to the surface the construct of post-1994 stakeholder society and its influence on the way appraisal policies were initiated and negotiated. As a result of this combination of deductive and inductive approaches, a fuller understanding of the complex negotiations and bargaining strategies developed by education departments and teacher unions was reached as well of the changes in the appraisal policy process over time.

Education and appraisal policies in the era of stakeholder society

The anti-*apartheid* struggle ushered in an era of stakeholder democracy and politics which manifested itself, *inter alia*, in a participatory approach to policymaking. The study illustrates how the post-1994 state struggled in such an environment as it attempted to reconstruct the education system. Not only did it have to formulate new education policies by consulting various conflicting interest groups and assessing their relative strength and weight but it also had to do business and operate in a different manner as well as reorganize its own educational bureaucracy with little institutional memory resting with the new bureaucrats who were faced with those of the old regime. This bureaucracy had to cope with many internal tensions while at the same time operate at the interface of complex political and socio-educational forces at a national and international level, which put complex conflicting demands on the state. Such stakeholder-driven era put serious pressure on the relatively new and hardly constituted state and its education bureaucracy which, as a result, tried to control or keep at a distance these various interest groups in the hope of asserting its own relative autonomy and developmental agenda.

What emerged from the data analysis in terms of the historical and political factors and conflicts that influence appraisal policies, one of the main sub-question of this study, is that the 1998 DAS appraisal system was negotiated through consultation and participation of various stakeholders with a similar vision about the need to enhance teacher professionalism and teacher development through redress PD measures. However, the state felt incapacitated by continuous stakeholder intrusion and contestation as the latter advanced their competing political discourses and interests. As a result, it attempted to assert its authority, co-opt some civil society organizations and reduce their participation in policymaking. This explains why various stakeholders were pushed to the margin of policymaking and the education policy bargaining became restricted to education departments and teacher unions, a

stakeholder which was difficult to ignore, given their organisational strength in the sector and the existence of the ANC-dominated Triple Alliance. Teacher unions, in turn, used their privileged position to condone and work for the exclusion of other stakeholders involved in quality education. This exclusion prevented professional associations and expert educationists from being present, even though their input was desperately needed to enhance teacher professionalism and identities in the post-1994 school system and, in particular for the scope of this study, to assist in how appraisal could feed into teacher and school improvement. This study argues that the contestations around appraisal became much too political because it was the subject of negotiations between employers and employees' representatives only - two stakeholders with a legacy of approaching the treatment of teachers and teacher development in a rather political manner.

It is difficult to imagine how such negotiations between them could become de-politicized in the future. What is rather suggested here is that appraisal for development, together with other measures designed to improve teacher performance, is predominantly a professional issue which should involve professional bodies and associations. These are best placed to guide and lead the debate on how to strengthen the professional status, identities, beliefs and practices of teachers with the capacity that exists in the education sector.

By 2002, evaluation and appraisal policy agreements started to lean increasingly towards greater school accountability and teachers' control with the lines of conflicts becoming more pronounced between education departments and teacher unions, with their different conceptions and agenda behind their notion of teacher professionalism. By the time the 2003 ELRC agreement was signed, it was clear that the IQMS document was the outcome of political compromises with serious tensions in its content with its awkward mix of bureaucratic and professional accountability and development and its problematic combination of appraisal for

development and for performance management. This fragile policy settlement continued to be contested by these two opposing interest groups at the time of writing.

Leadership, exercise of power, power play and play of power among education departments in the IQMS negotiations

In trying to understand different IQMS contestations, negotiations and mediation strategies, a multi-dimensional approach to policy powers was crucial. The exercise of power (usually found in the policy discourses and structures) and the play of power (found in the collective agencies and struggles between different interest groups) are often mentioned and reflected on in political analyses of policy but what is often underexplored or ignored is the power-play or policy agencies and leadership. The focus of this study was to explore the meaning of this enabling policy leadership as agencies which exploit the opportunities created by policies to develop buy-in and mediation strategies which can benefit various stakeholders.

This was done by analyzing the level of policy agency among the two main stakeholders: the education bureaucracy and teacher unions. Two cases of policy leadership at the GDE level and in one of its districts were done to elaborate on the meaning of policy leadership as those who are knowledgeable about the political and educational context, interest groups and tensions around the policy, as well as to be able to develop effective strategies to exploit and mediate the opportunities created by policy. For this, it mobilizes the necessary resources and capacity to create an enabling environment for policy processes and achieve sufficient buy-in from various stakeholders by ensuring that policy processes benefit them as well as promote the improvement of the school system as a whole. Effective mediation is about promoting positive changes in stakeholders' values, beliefs and practices around a policy reform. Finally, policy leadership adapts and revises its strategies once a policy settlement showed serious cracks down the implementation chain.

However, this is not to say that such policy leadership is widespread in the education arena among stakeholders. The education bureaucracy still acts in a strongly top down manner and teacher unions have not developed a sufficiently wide range of creative policy strategies to exploit policy opportunities for better teacher development and professionalism. Equally important, these main stakeholders managed to exclude other professional stakeholders from developing and negotiating strategies around appraisal.

Negotiating for or against one's interests: the role of policy leadership and agency in teacher unions

The changing nature of teacher union activism in the post-1994 era had considerable impact on the policy-making arena and in particular the appraisal policy evolution. The new form of instituted teacher unionism adopted by teacher unions aimed to protect and advance their members' interests at the bargaining and policy-making level**.** As mentioned before, b**y** pushing appraisal in the ELRC negotiations, teacher unions prevented the independent and professional voice of teachers' professional associations from being heard and yet the task of the latter was to promote, with and for teachers, greater teacher professionalism, status and identities. Subsequently, unlike in pockets of the education bureaucracy, the study did not find examples of teacher unions with a sufficiently strategic policy leadership to mediate positively these appraisal policies to strengthen their members' long-term interests. Indeed, to enhance teachers' professional identities and status can make them more indispensable to their employers and therefore in a stronger position to secure better working conditions. Instead, teacher unions developed rather defensive appraisal mediation strategies shaped by their desire to protect their members' short-term interests. However, there are some positive changes at the horizon with some unions, such as NAPTOSA but also SADTU, launching recently some initiatives to support teacher professional development.

13.2 Conclusion

This trajectory policy study and its emerging insights have some significant implications at the level of appraisal, policy analysis and research studies.

Appraisal is a people-mediated exercise with some aspects which do not belong to the negotiation and bargaining arena. These aspects are linked to issues of teacher professionalism and should therefore involve professional associations which, in South African education, are not sufficiently independent from education departments and teacher unions to make their voice heard. Such professional associations should be strengthened and do more professional work amongst teachers to ensure and enhance their professional status, practices, beliefs and values.

Policy analysis has to unravel the various power dynamics and 'policy politics' which manifest themselves in exercises and plays of powers as well as power-play to understand the ways in which policy processes are constructed, contested and mediated at different moments of time. The concept of policy leadership and agency is particularly useful because policies, as discourses and texts, are not only constructed, contested and negotiated in different ways but they are also mediated and adapted by agencies in context. Because most policies have enabling aspects, they open up space which can be exploited by policy leadership. Thus, a thorough policy analysis has to examine the socio-political context, the various interest groups and their relational character and conflicts over time, as well as their contestations, negotiations and leadership mediation strategies at particular moments of time. The concept of policy leadership is also useful in explaining why certain policy processes differ so much in some contexts and not in other similar ones.

However, what is also important to assess, and this has not been assessed in this study, is the impact of such policy leadership on the ground and on the people who are the ultimate targets or beneficiaries of such leadership mediation strategies.

13.3 Recommendations for Further Research

More trajectory policy analyses are needed, using an eclectic policy analysis to capture the various dimensions of policy powers, conflicts and mediations as well as understand the changes in the policy intentions, content and impact over time.

Two main areas need further research. Firstly, this study points to the need to focus on the impact of strategic mediation decisions and processes of policy leadership. The assessment of enabling policy agencies in the development and implementation phase should incorporate their impact on those who are the targets of policy mediation strategies as these do themselves interpret and respond in various ways and forms of agencies. Such research will assist in presenting a fuller picture of whether policies achieve some of their best intentions and whether enabling mediations can themselves be re-interpreted and adapted by other policy actors with different policy interests or agendas.

Secondly, an important area of research is the development and evolution of the main South African professional association for teachers, SACE. It is important to understand its potential and limitations in assuming its role of promoting, leading and strategizing in a professional manner how to forge, with teachers, greater professional identities, values and practices.

A trajectory policy analysis with a multi-pronged conceptualization of policy powers and agencies will contribute to further policy research work as well as policy knowledge in South African education.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

FOCUS OF OPEN-ENDED SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Discussion around themes related to IQMS tensions

Profile

Explain briefly what was your involvement with the development and/or implementation of DAS and/or the IQMS.

Appraisal Policies

1. What is the aim behind evaluating schools and teachers? Are there different aims/purposes?

2. What do you think of the performance standards chosen? Are there relevant to what teachers do and what is needed for improving teaching and schooling? explain

3. What do you think teachers should account for to the DoE?

4. What is so difficult, do you think, about following up the evaluation with adequate support of schools and teachers?

5. What do you think about combining monitoring for development and monitoring for performance management in SA today, what is needed for this to work out effectively?

6. Do you think both internal evaluation and external moderation are needed? Explain advantages and disadvantages of each

7. Do you think high quality and expertise of evaluation exists at school and departmental level

Semi-structured individual interviews for elite respondents

A. Profile

Details of background in education, job position and responsibility, in particular in relation to appraisal systems and policies.

Details of involvement in negotiating or resisting aspects of the appraisal policies

B. Context and IQMS content

1. Have you known a form of school-based appraisal for development in school (before IQMS)? What did it do, by whom, why and how useful was it in schools?

2. Should teachers/schools be evaluated internally or externally? explain

3. What is more important: teacher appraisal or school evaluation or both?

4. What do you understand the aim of the IQMS to be in reality?

5. Do you think these aims are legitimate/important and explain for whom. Do you think the IQMS was an improvement on previous appraisal systems?

6. Do you know why it was decided to integrate DAS and WSE and PM into the IQMS?

7. Do you think it is feasible for the IQMS to combine appraisal for devt and for performance management in the same process/instrument? Is it more about accountability or support or both?

8. Do you think these performance standards for teachers are crucial to an effective teacher?
Do you think the focus on these standards will assist in improving teaching and learning?

9. Do you think other standards could have been more useful and effective? Explain

10. Do you think teacher self-appraisal is an effective method for motivating teachers to improve?

11. Do you think the PGP can be done by all teachers and how useful is it to improve teacher performance?

12. What are the most interesting aspects in the content of the IQMS? and the most difficult/controversial aspects in the content of the IQMS? What do you think about the procedures/processes involved in the IQMS?

13. What were the initial responses from your organisation about the IQMS?

14. What are the most contested issues about the content of the IQMS? Explain how these could be resolved? What could be improved in the content of the IQMS?

C. IQMS implementation

15. How was the IQMS introduced to you and with what kind of training?

16. What are the main implementation challenges? How do you deal with them?

17. Explain the different responses of principals/SMTs to the IQMS? Do you think school management mediate effectively the IQMS in their schools? Explain their challenges?

18. Is the IQMS implementation differently implemented in schools and has it improved since 2005 and how?

19. How are the PGPs and SIPs produced by different schools? Do you think these are good tools to monitor improvement?

18. What do you think is needed for the IQMS to be effectively implemented in schools?

19. What kind of schools implement well with the IQMS and why?

20. What kind of schools struggle or only comply with the IQMS and why?

21. What kind of schools manipulate their submission of IQMS forms? What can be done about this?

22. What is the follow up support supposed to be provided to teachers? distinguish school and district support

23. What is the most frequent kind of professional devt provided by the district after the IQMSs? over what? Who delivers it and how?

24. Do you better/more appropriate professional development can be delivered? Explain how

25. If you could amend the IQMS, what would you change or recommend?

Semi-structured individual interviews for district/school staff

Profile

Details of background in education, job position and responsibility, in particular in relation to appraisal systems and policies.

Teacher professional development

1. Does professional development assist in motivating individual teachers, in developing them and the school as a whole? what else can do this?
2. What support do teachers need? Do they have access to such support and how could it be improved?
3. What are two best recent experiences of PD? Who initiated it and focusing on what? Explain aims, approach, providers and impact of this PD on your practice?
4. What are two worst recent experiences of PD? Who initiated it? What for? Explain its aims, approach to support, how relevant, what did you learn for your practice and who were the providers of this training?
5. Do you think school-based or outside-based PD opportunities are best and why?

Teacher monitoring and accountability

1. What do you think teachers should be monitored on? By whom and why? What criteria would you recommend need to be used to assess teachers' work?
2. Do you think teachers should account? to whom and how? For what they do or what they produce?
3. To whom do teachers account? Over what and how?
4. Who else do they account to? Do all these accountabilities cause problems? Explain.
5. Do teachers monitor their own progress or performance with learners and how?
6. What do you think is the best form of accountability and why?
7. What are the difficult aspects of teacher monitoring/accountability? How is this resolved/minimized?
8. What are the positive aspects of teacher monitoring/accountability? How is this achieved?

Teacher appraisal for devt

1. Does any form of school-based appraisal for performance management exist in schools (before IQMS)? Explain how it worked, how it was useful and how teachers reacted?
3. What form of external appraisal have teachers experienced? How useful is this? explain
4.What has changed with teachers since the introduction of the IQMS?

IQMS content

1. Do you believe a system of teacher appraisal is necessary at national level?
2. What is more important: teacher appraisal or school evaluation or both?
3. Do you think teacher appraisal for devt and for performance management should be combined in the same instrument?
4. What are the most interesting issues in the **content** of the IQMS document? and the most difficult/controversial issues in the content of the IQMS document?
5. Do you agree with the four plus three performance standards for teachers? What do you think of the sub-criteria?
6. Do you think by focusing on these standards (and their sub-criteria) teaching and learning can improve? Explain.
7. Do you think other standards could be added/ suppressed?
8. How do you understand the value and benefits of a PGP and is this difficult to do?
9. How do you understand the value and benefits of a SIP and is it difficult to do?
10. What do you think about the bureaucratic procedures involved in the IQMS? Could they improve and how?

IQMS implementation in schools

1. What are the IQMS main implementation challenges? How does school managt and teachers react to it?
2. How did the district/principal introduce and motivate for the implementation of the IQMS? What kind of training was available?
3. Are the structures in place to conduct IQMS exercises? What are the challenges in these structures?
4. How does the IQMS process occur? Are teachers and DSGs doing it in a genuine manner? Explain what is needed for this to happen.
5. Do schools send the IQMS returns to district and what does district input is?
6. What kind of follow-up support is given within the school and from outside? Explain
7. How do you think the IQMS exercise affect schools and teachers ?
8. Do you think the IQMS could benefit schools and lead to more professional development? Explain how.
9. If you could amend the IQMS, what would you recommend? If you could replace it, what kind of system of appraisal would you recommend?

Appendix B: List of people interviewed

- DoE

  Mr Firoz Patel: DDG of System Planning and Monitoring (12 February 2009)

  Mr S Padayachee: Chief Director of Human Resources Planning (11 February 2009)

  Director of Whole School Evaluation/QA

  Mr E Rabotapi: Director of Human Resource Planning (7 November 2008)

  Dr H Narsee: Director of Policy and Monitoring (2 July 2009)

  Dr V Abhilak: Director of HR but presently HR manager Free State director (2 July 2009)

- GDE:

  Mr A Chanee: Chief-director of System Planning and Monitoring (21 April 2009)

  Mr M Nkonyane: Acting District Chief-director/District 12 Director (3 November 2009)

  Ms A Baile: Human Resources Manager, District 12 (26 November 2009)

  Ms Helen Mogkotsi, Director of QA (6 March 2009)

  Mr R Misser, Dr F Nel and Ms N. Fourie: WSE supervisors (6 March 2009)

- Unions:

  Ms S. Muller: NAPTOSA Senior Executive Officer (25 February 2009)

  Mr H Hendricks: NAPTOSA Executive director (25 February 2009)

  Dr J Lewis: SADTU Research Officer (telephonically) (21 February 2009)

  Dr M Gallie (as former SADTU executive member) (2 March 2009)

  Mr S Roux from SAOU (5 January 2009)

- SACE member: Dr M Gallie (as former SACE) (2 March 2009)
- ELRC general secretary: Mr M Govender (25 September 2009)
- Two expert educationists: Professors Jonathan Jansen (November 2008) and Peter Matthews (January 2009).
- Independent Quality Assurance Association CEO: Ms Sue Gardiner (21 November 2008).

Appendix C: Request for Permission to Interview Respondents

School of Education
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag X3
Wits 2050

September 2008

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW YOU FOR MY STUDIES

My name is Francine De Clercq from the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, currently reading for a Ph D in Education (Policy, Planning and Management) with the University of Witwatersrand. As part of my studies, I am conducting a research entitled: **"Appraising Teacher Appraisal Systems and the Role of Implementers"**.

This letter therefore serves to invite you to participate in this research project through an interview which will last about 45 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be audio- taped to ensure an accurate record of the interview and this information will only be seen by me and no-one else.

Confidentiality will be ensured by keeping the respondents anonymous to the fullest possible extent. Pseudonyms will be used in place of real names of people and institutions. The raw data will be analysed by the researcher only. They are not meant for public consumption and will be destroyed upon completion of the research report. However, the report may be made available to relevant institutions upon request, which may limit the degree of confidentiality in one way or the other. The data collected and your name and school will be linked by me only. In case the findings from the study are to be published, your personal information that may lead to someone guessing your identity will be removed.

Please note that your participation in this study is voluntary. Therefore if you decide to withdraw your participation you will not be prejudiced in anyway.

If you accede to my request, please complete and sign the attached consent forms to indicate your willingness to participate in the study.

Yours faithfully

Francine De Clercq

Appendix D: Subject Information Sheet

SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET ON THE NATURE OF THE RESEARCH

I am a Ph D student at the School of Education, at the University of the Witwatersrand and I am doing research on teacher appraisal and the role of implementers in the Gauteng province.

The aim of this study is to examine the teacher appraisal and accountability procedures used to improve instructional practices. My research project is entitled: **"Appraising Teacher Appraisal Systems and the Role of Implementers**".

This is a qualitative case study aimed at understanding how teacher appraisal works, how it appraises and why as well as how it impacts on teachers' motivation, professionalism, teaching and learning, relationship with colleagues and superiors, and practices. The report will conclude by recommending a way forward for large scale systemic teacher appraisal process. It therefore proposes to investigate the following broad questions:

1. Origin, purpose and form of teacher appraisal
2. Tensions and contradictions in teacher appraisal and its implementation in school
3. The role of agency in mediating teacher appraisal to improve teachers' practices
4. Impact on teacher professional knowledge, competences, and morale
5. Impact on teacher working relationship and the teaching and learning process
6. The Way forward

To this end, a combination of empirical evidence through interview and document analysis as well as current literature around teacher appraisal will be utilized.

Participation in this interview is completely voluntary and will be greatly appreciated. Confidentiality will be ensured by keeping the respondents anonymous to the fullest possible extent. Pseudonyms will be used in place of real names of people and institutions. The raw data will be analyzed by the researcher only. They are not meant for public consumption and will be destroyed upon completion of the research report.

Yours faithfully

Francine De Clercq

Appendix E: Consent forms

NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OFFICIALS CONSENT FORM

I, _____

(position) am aware of the aim and broad research questions of this research on **"Appraising Various Teacher Appraisal Systems and the Role of Implementers"** as well as of its data collection processes.

I give consent to the following, with the understanding that strict confidentiality is observed and assured.

- Being interviewed

  Yes ☐ No ☐

  Tick the appropriate box

Signed with your initials…….. Date …….

DISTRICT OFFICIAL/ SACE OFFICIAL CONSENT FORM

I, _____

(position) am aware of the aim and broad research questions of this research on **"Appraising Various Teacher Appraisal Systems and the Role of Implementers**" as well as of its data collection processes.

I give consent to the following, with the understanding that strict confidentiality is observed and assured.

- Being interviewed

  Yes ☐ No ☐

  Tick the appropriate box

Signed with your initials…….. Date …….

SCHOOL AND UNION OFFICIALS CONSENT FORM

I, _____

(position) am aware of the aim and broad research questions of this research on **"Appraising Various Teacher Appraisal Systems and the Role of Implementers**" as well as of its data collection processes.

I give consent to the following, with the understanding that strict confidentiality is observed and assured.

- Being interviewed

  Yes ☐ No ☐

  Tick the appropriate box

Signed with your initials…….. Date …….

Appendix F: Data Categories for content analysis

On the basis of the conceptual framework, thematic constructs and coding were developed, such as the main appraisal tensions (around performance standards; teachers' work; accountability, development) as well as the tensions in the policy context, content and implementation. The idea was to identify the policy conflicts but also the space or opportunities created by appraisal policies.

The data collected via the multiple sources were first grouped and arranged per theme to enable a structured presentation. The initial analysis looked for and identified trends and differences among the various stakeholders in different periods of the development and reformulation of appraisal policies.

The on-going data analysis process then brought up new thematic constructs which emerged from the data but were not expected from the reviewed literature, such as policymaking under stakeholder democracy as well as the role of education department, unions and professional teacher association in appraisal.

These deductive and inductive approaches enrich the piecing together of various narratives and the broader and specific picture about this trajectory analysis of appraisal from 1998 to 2009.

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