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**POLICY AT THE CHALK FACE: A Case Study of the Implementation of the
Developmental Appraisal System in a Primary School**

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**A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the award of the**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this work has not been previously submitted in whole or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This case study attempts to develop an understanding of the impact the local context of the school has on policy implementation. It does so by examining the implementation of the Developmental Appraisal System (DAS) in a primary school.

Local context is conceptualised as the interplay between a schools structure, culture and micro-politics. This conceptualisation is developed through a review of literature on school culture, structure and micro-politics. The literature on policy implementation and teacher appraisal is also reviewed and issues pertinent to this study are highlighted.

This study argues that the policy text makes projections about the local context it enters into. The actual conditions in the school do not always match these projections made in the policy. This results in a mismatch between the policy projections and the actual conditions in the school. The approach adopted in this study is to provide an analysis of the policy text in terms of the projections it makes with regard to the school. This is compared it with a analysis of the data on the local context of the school in order to see if there is compatibility between the policy projections and the actual conditions in the school.

The study also argues that the policy implementation is enhanced when the policy provides the means or conditions of possibility for its own implementation. In the case of the DAS policy these means are limited since the policy only presents structural change, in the form of committees, to support its implementation.

The study concludes by suggesting that the success of implementation depends partly on the compatibility between the policy projections and the actual conditions in the school. Successful implementation also depends on the practicability of the policy and the extent to which there is coherence between this policy and other policies.

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION FOR THIS STUDY

Introduction

Much has been said and written about the radical overhaul of the South African education system through the introduction of a myriad of new policies since 1994. These include a new qualifications framework (NQF 1996), changes in the governance and funding of schools (SA Schools Act 1996), a new curriculum (Curriculum 2005, 1997), the Developmental Appraisal System (1999) and Whole School Evaluation (2001), to mention a few. Teachers and schools have been engulfed by a wave of new policies some of which introduced in an uncoordinated and fragmented manner, requiring them to implement several policies simultaneously. For most schools, policies were introduced in a piecemeal way. As they attempted to implement one policy, another was introduced. In many instances a clear sense of the big picture, of what it is that holds all the policies together and how they link with others, was lost. Furthermore, there have been policy 'collisions' between new policies and those they are intended to replace and in some ways certain policies impact negatively on the implementation of others (MacLaughlin 1998).

From the education policy literature (Ball 1994; Badat 1991) clear lessons emerge about the policy process i.e. that it is not linear from formulation to implementation. Each stage of the policy process is open to contestation and interpretation. The factors that impact on implementation are varied. These include, clarity of the policy, support for the policy, what kind of resources are allocated to it, and the extent to which there is congruence between the interests of policy formulators and implementers.

Many of the policies offer frameworks, but clear guidelines for implementation are not provided. The assumption here is that a framework creates the space for

schools and teachers to be creative and to shape the policy to their context. Although the vision for education espoused in many of the education policies is an inspiring one, the lack of clear implementation plans result in gaps between vision and reality. It is in these gaps that teachers are expected to operate.

Huberman (in Fullan 1992:7) cautions that

Implementation is a tricky business, even in the best of times. We are trying to change people's professional lives, while at the same time changing their stable working arrangements. We are doing it with practices unproven in the immediate context and in the name of outcomes we are not sure we can actually achieve.

This study focuses on the interface between policy and practice. It attempts to understand how the local context of the school (here defined as school culture, structure and micro-politics) impacts on policy implementation, specifically, the implementation of the Department of Education's Developmental Appraisal System (DAS).

Background

The Education Labour Relations Council's Resolution 4 of 1998 heralded a new system of educator appraisal in South Africa. Through the Personnel Administrative Measures (PAM) for educators¹ (Government Gazette No 19767) the Developmental Appraisal System (DAS) became a compulsory condition of service for all educators. The new system is a response to a previous inspection system that lacked legitimacy and had been rejected in many schools resulting in no form of evaluation happening in schools. Chetty et al. (1993) highlights the following as some of the criticisms against the previous system of inspection:

- prevalence of political bias;
- unchecked powers which inspectors wield;

¹ The terms educator /teacher appraisal are used interchangeably in the text. Educators also include office-based educators but the study focuses on school-based educators.

- teachers are kept on extended probationary periods,
- practice of one-off visits,
- abuse of patronage in cases of promotion and abuse of merit awards.

This form of inspection did not necessarily address the state of teachers' qualifications given that, within the system, many teachers were, and still are, poorly qualified, under qualified or unqualified. Even in progressive circles, concern was expressed about this lack of evaluation of teachers' work and the decline in the quality of education. Jantjes (1995) argues that the resistance to the traditional, judgemental form of evaluation was not because teachers didn't want to open their practice to scrutiny. Instead, teachers were calling for a system that is enabling, one that focuses on self-development. The argument here is that if teachers' professional development is important, appraisal should adopt a non-judgemental approach, encouraging the teacher to take responsibility for her/his own professional development.

Recognising the misgivings of the existing evaluation system and concerns about teacher qualifications, the new model of appraisal is a developmental/formative one rather than a summative one. Pym (1999) clarifies the difference between the two approaches in the following way. Summative appraisal focuses on product and is used in cases of dismissal, promotion or to confirm the appointment of teachers on probation. Formative appraisal focuses on the professional development of teachers and aims to build strengths, correct weaknesses and views teachers' involvement as central to the process.

The new formative appraisal system was developed and piloted in schools across the country. Some of the conclusions of the pilot study include:

- There is strong support for the nature and the process of the new appraisal system;
- The system makes a positive contribution to relations between teachers and school management and between schools and departmental officials

- Training is a central component of implementation
- It could be applied in a variety of contexts (Pym 1999).

With all its good intentions and possibilities outlined in the pilot study, the policy has not been implemented in most schools, and where it has, it appears to be happening in ways adapted to the school context. In terms of the implementation plan, the new system was to be introduced in to schools in January 1999 and reviews were to commence in April 2000. At the end of 2001, it seems that in many schools the implementation of the appraisal policy has not happened systematically. In some schools it has either been put on hold or implemented in ways strongly adapted to the individual school contexts. The provincial co-ordinator for the implementation of the Developmental Appraisal System in the Western Cape stated the following as some of the reasons:

- Low priority given to DAS at all levels
- Rationalisation and redeployment
- Misconceptions about the process
- Educators not understanding how the system works
- Resistance to DAS
- The cascade training model did not work well
- Inadequate promotion of the system

The policy assumes that a culture of openness, trust and collegiality already exists in schools. From my own experience of supporting schools with the implementation of DAS schools, teachers cite the nature of interpersonal relations as one of the obstacles to the implementation of DAS. It seems that in many schools relations are fragmented and characterised by a lack of trust. Together with lack of clarity about their roles, this has made it difficult to establish new structures e.g. staff development teams (SDT's) and appraisal panels that are supposed to facilitate the implementation of DAS. In many schools questions remain about the composition of appraisal panels, such as whether the principal should serve on the appraisal panel. Other concerns included whether teachers

will ask their friends to serve on panels and therefore produce skewed pictures of individual professional development needs. Then there are questions about who will appraise senior staff, including the principal. Underlying these factors is the question of trust, or the lack of it.

The policy further assumes that teachers are reflective practitioners and that a culture of evaluation, critique or interrogation of one another's work and collaboration exists in most schools. In my experience of many schools, a culture of openness and critical self-reflection does not prevail nor does a shared understanding of what constitutes good practice. Instead, a culture of defensiveness is prevalent in many schools. It is within this context that the new appraisal system needs to be implemented.

Teacher perceptions of the policy and its role in their professional development will impact on how it is implemented. In my work with teachers they express reservations about the policy as a form of social control. For many it is not clear how they stand to benefit from the policy. They see it as something that is done to them instead of one that makes it possible for them to take control of their own professional development as encouraged by the policy. Will teachers again be blamed for the lack of implementation or policy failure? Alternatively, should this policy be viewed in the context of rising managerialism in education and the fact teachers are being treated as technicians rather than professionals?

Rationale

I have been able to provide support to schools through my work in the Teacher In-service project The Teacher In-service Project is a NCEO located in the Education Faculty of the University of the Western Cape. TIP provides support to teachers, schools and other educational institutions through in-service courses and organisational development processes.

We have been providing support to schools in the implementation of new policies such as school governance, the new curriculum, teacher appraisal and quality assurance in addition to the other focus areas of our work. What became evident was that some schools were able to take policies, interpret them in their own context and implement them, while in other schools the implementation process has been difficult, slow or non-existent. In these schools, with the introduction of a number of different policies, many educators could not understand the links between different policies and how they are all part of a bigger process of educational and societal transformation. Through working closely with teachers and schools around curriculum implementation and management, it also emerged that many teachers were attending in-service courses for their own professional development, but saw no link between these courses and the appraisal policy schools were required to implement. My own interest was to understand what the factors are that play a role in policy implementation at the individual school, hence the focus of this study on the interface between policy and practice.

Purpose of the study

Studies on policy implementation make reference to the fact that you cannot have a blueprint for change because the contexts policies enter into vary. One needs an understanding of the 'localised complexity' (Ball 1994) to understand micro level policy implementation. Few however, provide an understanding of this 'localised complexity.' This study attempts through a case study of the implementation of the developmental appraisal system in one school, to further develop such an understanding further.

In exploring the local context I focus on three central elements of organisations. These are the culture, structure and micro-politics of the school, the interplay between them and how they impact on policy implementation. It is by beginning to understand the inner workings of schools, different as they may be, that we

might gain a clearer sense of the support that needs to be provided to schools in order to facilitate policy implementation.

A focus on school culture as an integral part of the school as an organisation is informed by an understanding that every school has a unique way of doing things. Some elements that constitute the school are similar for all schools but the way they play themselves out is unique to the individual school. Each school has a definite set of practices that impact on how any innovation is taken up. To understand how schools make meaning of and take ownership of an innovation, one has to understand these practices and how an innovation impacts on them.

Policy initiatives are not unproblematically translated into school practice. Rather they must be mediated through pre-existing institutional infrastructure; composed of groups and individuals, inscribed with each school's political culture (Mac an Ghail cited in Ball 1994:64)

For the purposes of developmental appraisal, one would have to look at current forms of interaction between teachers, what kinds of demands the policy makes, how people interpret the policy, and how they implement it. Questions about who serves on appraisal panels, how senior staff members are appraised, what happens to the information, and whether the process impacts on future promotion opportunities, are what teachers want clarity on before they commit to the process.

Since the policy is relatively new, this study will contribute to an understanding of how conditions within the school impact on the implementation of developmental appraisal specifically and will highlight areas for further investigation.

The approach adopted in the study is firstly to analyse of the policy text in terms of the assumptions or projections it makes with regard to the school. Secondly,

the data on the school context is analysed so that a comparison can be made between the projections and the actual conditions in the school.

Research Question

Main Question

How does the local context of the school impact on the implementation of the Developmental Appraisal System (DAS)?

Sub Questions

- What projections does the developmental appraisal policy make about the local school context?
- How does this compare to what actually exists in schools?
- How does the match or mismatch between the policy assumptions and the actual context impact on implementation?

Overview of the study

Chapter One outlines the background to and motivation for the study and identifies the key questions that drive this study. It raises issues regarding micro-level policy implementation and proposes the developmental appraisal system as a vehicle to explore micro level implementation.

Chapter Two outlines the literature review and the key concepts this study is built on. These are: policy implementation, teacher appraisal and school culture, structure and micro-politics as manifestation of local context. The interplay between school culture, structure and micro-politics is explored and links between these factors are further highlighted in the discussion on teacher appraisal.

Chapter Three outlines the research design and methodology employed, and the motivation for these. It uses a case study approach and outlines data collection strategies, selection of a research site and questions of validity.

In Chapter Four, the data is analysed and presented. In this case data is derived from interview transcripts, informal observations and field notes taken during the time of working with the school. Further data is derived from an analysis of aspects of the developmental appraisal policy

Chapter Five provides discussion on the findings, conclusions and recommendations for policy implementation.

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CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter aims, through a review of literature, to develop an understanding of the impact the local context has on implementation. It reviews literature pertaining to the factors that impact on education policy implementation and foregrounds issues such as the nature of policy implementation. The apparent gap between formulation and implementation and the interpretation of policy is also foregrounded.

The chapter continues to review the conceptualisation of local context in the literature and reviews teacher appraisal literature with specific reference to the factors that impact on the implementation of an appraisal system in schools.

The chapter concludes with the presentation of the conceptual framework that is developed on the basis of the review of literature outlined above.

Policy Implementation - 'defining the gap'

Although policy implementation is regarded as part of the policy cycle, it generally appears to be given the least careful thought in the process and even less is written about it, other than studies focussing on policy failure. (Grindle & Thomas 1991).

In policy debates a number of factors emerge as impacting on implementation. Those that are pertinent to this study are highlighted here. The issues discussed here include: the gap that exists between policy declaration and implementation, the role of local context and the re-contextualisation of policy, assumptions that are made in policy text about the sites policies are inserted into and the question as to whether some policies can in fact be implemented at all.

Policy declaration and implementation gap

Jansen (1999) states that declaring policy is not the same as achieving it. The fact that a policy is adopted doesn't guarantee implementation. Policy-makers seem to assume that the decision to bring about a change will meet enough goodwill and automatically result in changed behaviour on the part of those the policy is aimed at. The biggest challenge is turning the policy into a reality and in the process, the outcomes may be different from those intended.

Role of local context and re-contextualisation

McLaughlin (1998) argues that policymakers have very little control over the amount and the pace of change at local level, because these are determined by local level factors. This view is shared by Raab cited by Ranson(1995) who notes that policy is mediated at different levels, nationally, provincially, at district level and finally the school, and that sites don't 'clone ' each other. Policy is open to interpretation and re-interpretation at each level or site.

This view reflects a political approach to the policy process that is built on the premise that policy-making is the 'authoritative allocation of values' (Prunty cited by Kruss,1998). In this model, it is crucial to understand the power relations and the conflict and contestation that go with the policy process.

Underlying this approach is the notion that the policy-making process is not a linear one but that policies are open to re-interpretation and given different meanings in different contexts i.e. the context of text production, influence and practice. Ball (1994) refers to this process as the re-contextualisation of policy.

The focus of this study is the context of practice. It explores how the policy is interpreted and implemented at this level. Ball (1994) states that policy doesn't enter a social or institutional vacuum. It enters an existing set of social relations and will impact on power relations. Local conditions will determine how a policy is

received or taken up and this will differ from site to site. One cannot predict how it will be acted on or what impact it will have. Only when there is an understanding of the 'localised complexity' can one have a sense of how the policy might be responded to. Ball's argument essentially is that in each arena of practice members are not passive recipients of policy.

Localised complexity appears at the most basic level to be comprised of values, beliefs, histories, purposes and interests held, and not always shared, by people in particular settings. Since these differ from site to site the policy text can never prescribe the meaning that is made and how the policy is implemented. Policy is re-interpreted and in the process some sections are selected, rejected, ignored and recreated to suit local conditions. This process also involves contestation as different interpretations and interests compete before policy is finally implemented.

Others such as Jansen (1999) and De Clerq (1997) support Ball's theory and add that the failure to grasp the role of local context is exacerbated firstly, by a lack of understanding of the change process. Secondly, policymakers are often not sufficiently informed about the complexity of the system the change enters into. Schools are complex systems and most policies attempt to change teachers' behaviour without necessarily changing teachers' understandings about their practice. This requires tapping into teachers' values, beliefs and assumptions that shape understanding. But teachers' own belief systems don't operate in a vacuum. Teachers' own beliefs, motivations and actions are further embedded in a larger social and political context that mediates their responses to policy (McLaughlin 1998). In most cases the policy requires a measure of interruption of existing values and beliefs and practices.

This focus on local complexity is what goes missing in a rationalist approach to policy-making where policies are seen as a set of blueprints, developed by experts but to be implemented by people on the ground. Experts develop policy,

and practitioners, who are, in some cases, possibly in a better position to articulate what will be required to implement policies, are not involved. De Clerq (1997) argues that what happens is that policies are written in obscure language, lack clear implementation details, and don't take into account the complexity of the change process.

According to Jansen (2001) a further complicating factor is the rate at which policy-makers assume change should happen, resulting in unrealistic time frames for implementation. The process of implementation itself is lengthy. Curricular innovations, for example, could take up to ten years. What one then does in the early stages of implementation is more likely to be providing a critique of policy intent rather than implementation. Other than looking at the resources allocated for implementation, different interpretations and responses to the policy will impact on the rate at which it is implemented, if at all.

Implementability of policy

For each policy formulated a question that is raised in the literature is whether it is in fact implementable. No policy-maker would want to acknowledge, believe or wilfully formulate a policy that cannot be implemented. In her analysis of different kinds of policies, De Clerq (1997) categorises them as substantive, procedural, regulatory, material, redistributive and symbolic and argues that most of the new education policy documents are symbolic, substantive or redistributive. Jansen (1999:89) goes as far as to argue that much of post-apartheid policy-making has been of a symbolic nature. He states that:

Politicians have invested heavily in the symbolism of politics rather than the substance of change as the post-apartheid state attempted to mark the shift from apartheid education to something else, and do not deal with the substance of change.

In the case of the new curriculum, policy-makers did not necessarily take into account the resources and support that would be required to implement policies.

Instead, there was an assumption that an appeal to the goodwill and some level of patriotism on the part of teachers would carry the implementation. Fullan and Miles (1992) recruit the notion of substance over symbols when they argue that education reform is as much a political as an educational exercise. Understanding political rhythms sometimes sheds light on why many reforms are of symbolic nature. It is only when symbols and substance work in congruence that they become powerful forces for change. Substantive change requires hard work on the ground and a real sense of how this reform could be implemented.

Policy Projections

Finally, policy projects images of the ideal subjects, values and practices. It projects representations of identity of the subjects of policy either as ideal learner (Jacklin 2002), student (Maton 2002) teacher or institutional culture as seen in appraisal policies. According to Ranson (1995) policies are oriented to change and provide public intent of transforming practice according to ideal values. Policies therefore challenge 'taken for granted assumptions and practices in organisations by providing a future orientation rather than an inherited routine and tradition.' (p.439). But it is exactly these taken for granted assumptions and practices in which actors are embedded that makes the implementation of a new policy difficult. DeClerq (1997) states further that policies make assumptions about what exists within the sites the policy has to enter into. What the policy projects is, in most cases, very different from what currently exists in practice. Not only do policies contain assumptions about the different contexts they enter into, they also make assumptions about teachers, their work and work cultures in a local context. This very often results in a mismatch between what the policy projects and the reality in the school or the local context into which policy is inserted.

Conceptualising Local Context

Earlier in this chapter attention was drawn to the importance of local context in policy implementation in the literature. While the influence of the local context on policy implementation is acknowledged in policy debates, few provide an understanding of the local context and how it impacts on implementation. What follows is an attempt to construct a description of the local school context on the basis of a reading of relevant literature.

McLaughlin (1998) argues that adoption of a policy shouldn't be the most important goal for policy implementation. Instead a process of adaptation should be aimed for, where the policy is modified to suit local realities. Hence, the contention of this study is that an analytical description of local context will help to build an understanding of how it impacts on policy implementation.

The understanding of local context developed in this study is that it is comprised of school culture, structure and micro-politics and the interrelationship between these facets of school life.

School Culture, Structure and Micro-politics

Dalin (1998) states that no one theory of organisation is sufficient to address the complexity of organisations. He highlights four main perspectives i.e. structural, humanist, political and symbolic perspectives and indicates that lately, integrated theories have been developed in an attempt to understand the complex nature of organisation. In the following section three different approaches emphasising school culture, structure or micro-politics, are foregrounded. What emerges from the literature is that, while conceptually each approach can be viewed independently, overlaps occur between these different approaches. This study doesn't attempt to develop an integrated theory but tries to clarify the overlaps that exist and explain the interrelationship between the concepts. The study therefore works across the three approaches.

School culture

Many authors (Dalin 1993; David Hargreaves 1999; Maehr & Midgely 1996; Sarason 1982; Stoll 1998; 1999; Stolp 1994; Taylor 1999; Beare 1989; Guskey 2000 and Prosser 1999) writing about school culture make reference to ethos, the story, myths, rituals, ceremonies, traditions, practices, norms of behaviour, values, beliefs, purpose and the vision of schools, but few provide a comprehensive understanding of school culture. From the different emphases in the literature is evident that a clear and consistent definition of school culture is lacking. Instead multiple meanings are ascribed to culture. Prosser (1999) indicates that, since there is no single meaning of culture, meaning is assumed in most cases and rarely articulated.

Some authors emphasise *beliefs, values and norms* in their understanding of culture. Guskey (2000) explains that on this level an understanding of school culture could include shared meaning and understanding of teaching and learning and professionalism. Others view organisational culture as the *behaviour* or the *daily practices* in the organisation. It is the reality of school life 'the way we do things around here' as Deal and Kennedy (cited by Stoll 1998) explain.

As with management concepts and practices that have entered the education discourse, the notion of culture has also come to education from the workplace to 'provide direction for a more efficient and learning environment' (Stolp 1994). Citing Geertz, he explains that culture represents 'historically transmitted *patterns of meaning*' and these patterns of meaning are expressed both explicitly in symbols, and implicitly, in taken for granted beliefs. This is also referred to in the psychoanalytical understanding of organisations as conscious and unconscious, the visible and invisible elements of organisation and the written and unwritten rules (Dalin 1993). Much of the culture seems to be implicit. Stoll (1999) cites Schein who argues that the essence of school culture is

the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by the members of an organisation, that operate unconsciously and that define in a basic 'taken-for-granted' fashion an organisation's view of itself and its environment (p.33).

It is this particular aspect of culture that makes it difficult to explain since only what is on the surface is visible. Stoll (1998) therefore suggests that it is only through breaking a school's 'unspoken and non-rational rules' that you begin to understand its culture.

Authors such as Dalin (1993) and Hargreaves (1994) make further reference to interactions between people and the nature of *social relations* in an organisation. A focus on the culture of the school requires a focus on the different constituencies and groups in terms of how they relate and interact and draws attention to how individuals function in a group. In his analysis of organisational culture Dalin (1993) maintains that you change the culture of the school by changing people. He therefore argues for strategies that work at individual, group and inter-group levels. In this regard he draws on the work of Hodgkinson to describe school culture as 'appearing' at three levels as follows:

- Trans-rational level: values based on beliefs and on an ethical code
- Rational level: values grounded by social context, norms, customs and expectations. These relate to the stated objectives as well as the norms, rules, regulations, policy, curriculum, ceremonies and daily practices.
- Sub-rational level: values are experienced as personal preferences, feelings and affective behaviour. These relate to teacher autonomy and the power of the individual. (Dalin 1993: 97)

Dalin (1993) argues that most schools show values through the norms, their rules and regulations, the curriculum choices they make, their daily practices, ceremonies and traditions. In many cases teachers' personal preferences guide their own behaviour and are expressions of their own values. A strong belief in

the collective or team will find expression in the way teachers share ideas and resources and are a support to each other. Conversely, a strong belief in individualism will be evident in the isolation and fragmentation in a school.

Christie (1998) proposes another way of looking at culture and argues that culture itself is not a social force with causal attributes, it is not the cause of problems, it is the context, the 'lived experience' of people. The process of establishing a culture is also not unproblematic. It involves questioning and a contestation of values, beliefs and assumptions and results in a process where dominant ideas emerge as the school culture. Consequently, subcultures based on language, gender, political or professional affiliation may develop which in turn influence teachers' relationships and understandings of pedagogy and perceptions of their practice. These ultimately find expression in different forms of association and interaction or teacher cultures within the overall culture of the school.

Teacher cultures

Hargreaves' (1994) notion of teacher cultures offers a framework that helps to explain the 'lived experience' of teachers. For Hargreaves teacher identity and approaches to development are shaped through the patterns of interaction in the school. Therefore the school culture emerges from these patterns. Hargreaves' framework moves away from dichotomising social interaction as individualistic or collaborative. Instead it broadens the possibilities for teacher social interaction.

Hargreaves (1994) distinguishes between the **content of teaching cultures** which he describes as:

the substantive attitudes, values, habits, assumptions and ways of doing things that are shared within a particular teacher group or teaching community. It is seen in what teachers think, say and do.

(p.166)

Hargreaves emphasises the **forms of teaching cultures**, which he describes as:

forms of association and patterns of relationship between members of the culture. It is through the form of teaching culture that the contents of different cultures are manifested. (p.166)

In this framework he proposes that values and beliefs are changed through either an initial or parallel shift in the way teachers behave and relate as colleagues. This framework is illustrated in the table below.

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Hargreaves' framework identifies four forms of teacher cultures summarised in the following table.

Forms of Teacher Cultures	Characteristics
Fragmented individualism	Isolation and protection from outside interference
Collaborative culture	Sharing, trust, support central to daily work, joint work and continuous improvement all based on the needs of teachers.
Contrived collegiality	A strong top-down approach characterised by compliance, strategies for contriving and controlling it, an emphasis on administrative procedures, and an implementation orientation rather than a developmental-orientation.
Balkanisation	Certain subject groups or departments in a school work together well, have strong group identity and promote and protect the interest of the group. Often prevalent in secondary schools with subject departments working well as teams but not functioning effectively within the broader school community

Andy Hargreaves (1994: 238)

Hargreaves attempts to provide a different understanding of teacher individualism and isolation. Teacher individualism isn't always an expression of a psychological deficit or 'threatened self-esteem'. Instead it is also a response to the social and physical organisation of the school. He supports this by providing three possible permutations of individualism, namely, elective individualism where the person prefers to work alone; strategic individualism as a result of, for example, increased workload and constrained individualism, where physical layout, procedures and regulations make collaboration difficult (Hargreaves: 1993). Individualism and isolation are thus not only attempts by teachers to avoid situations that will bring into question feelings of self worth and teacher defensiveness. Instead, they are also adaptive strategies on the part of the teacher in response to increasing workloads and other demands placed on teachers.

On the other hand teacher collaboration and collegiality are often presented as the panacea to teacher isolation in schools. But, says, Hargreaves (1994), collaboration is difficult to achieve and not everything that poses as collaboration is actually what it seems to be. It is within collaborative initiatives that the micro-politics of the school plays itself out. True collaboration can only be that which is spontaneous, voluntary and based on what teachers need and want. Anything that is compulsory, instituted by management, or forced by policy will result in what he calls "contrived collegiality"

In his critique of Hargreaves' framework Williams et al. (2001), argues that Hargreaves' category of contrived collegiality is not a helpful one and instead, proposes structural collaboration. This is based on the belief that, in some instances, structured collaboration serves as a bridge between isolation and developing collaborative cultures. Williams et al. (2001) argue that by intentionally creating time and space for people to work together new ways of working and possibly a new culture could emerge.

Collaboration as it occurs in the category Hargreaves defines as 'balkanisation', is described as both a unifying and a divisive force. It is unifying because teachers develop subgroups or subcultures in their subject areas because they are able to work together within this group, they form attachments with each other and the group becomes a source of identity. However, because such groups are often unable to work with the rest of the staff they can become divisive. Balkanisation is therefore often characterised either by a level of competitiveness, promotion of self-interest, protectionism of groups' ideas and resources; or in some cases, these subgroups can be marginalized by the rest of the staff. Even at this level, the micro-political nature of schools would have to be understood.

The relevance of this framework to the implementation of an appraisal policy is that it provides a sense of what forms of association exist in schools. Instead of labelling teacher cultures in extremes of isolation and collaboration it provides a typology of forms of interaction. One might find that in a certain department teachers work more collaboratively and are able to critically reflect on each other's work while in the rest of the organisation a strong culture of isolation prevents implementation.

This study will raise the questions whether collaboration is a sufficient or only a necessary precondition for policy implementation and when does a culture of collaboration support policy implementation. Hargreaves does not address these questions.

Structure

Many attempts to change or improve schools seem to target change at a structural level. These include changing the way time is structured, changing the management structure, adding new roles and responsibilities, creating new posts within a school or changing the structure of the curriculum. Structural change

appears to be more popular based on an assumption that it is easier to bring about structural change than cultural change in organisations.

Cuban (1990: 77) defines school structure as:

The formal and informal goals used to guide funding and organising activities, including such things as who has authority and responsibility for governing the schools and classrooms; how time and space are allotted, how subject matter in the curriculum is determined; how classes are organised, how the different roles of teachers, principals and superintendents are defined and how such formal processes as budgeting, hiring and evaluating are determined and organised.

Hargreaves (1999) distinguishes between physical structure and an organisational and social structure. Physical structure relates to issues of space, how it is used and allotted and an organisational structure that defines roles and responsibilities, the organogram and time allocation. It is here that Hargreaves highlights the link with organisational micro-politics and locates the issues of authority, status, influence and distribution of power. For Hargreaves structure forms the underlying architecture of the culture of an organisation.

Micro-Politics

Ball (1987) argues that micro-politics highlights the dynamics of power and control in organisations. He shares Hoyle's view that micro-politics draws attention to the conflictive 'dark side' of organisational life or the organisational underworld. Although a micro-political analysis challenges the traditional consensual view of organisations, Blasé & Anderson (1998) argue that it shouldn't be limited to the dark side of organisational politics. They state that micro-politics can have both a conflictive, adversarial side and a cooperative and

consensual side. They propose an inclusive definition of micro-politics and states that:

Micro-politics refers to the use of formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organisations .In large part, political actions result from perceived differences between individuals and groups, coupled with the motivation to use power to influence and /or protect. Although such actions are consciously motivated, any action, consciously or unconsciously motivated, may have political significance in a given situation. Both cooperative actions and processes are part of the realm of micro-politics (Blasé 1998 p. 545).

Micro-politics is essentially about conflict and contestation as a result of conflicting goals and interests in organisations. It is in the organisational structure where patterns of behaviour such as contestation around issues of power, control, domination i.e. the **micro-politics** becomes evident. Micro-politics is apparent in the way information is shared, how resources are allocated, how roles are defined, the manner in which leadership is exercised in the school, how meetings are conducted, the manner in which promotions are made in the school. Micro-politics is further evident in the extent to which shared meaning is developed around values, beliefs and philosophies, or the extent to which dominant discourse shapes behaviour. An outflow of this would be the development of subcultures and group affiliation either as result of race, gender, language, subject specialisations or other networks, which in return provide status, authority, control, power, influence and promotion in organisations.

Micro-politics can thus be a positive force in educational change, but can also hinder change. Efforts such as the shifts towards site-based management and shared governance, participatory decision-making and empowerment are stated as examples in literature of ways in which the issues of power and politics have been incorporated in a positive manner. But micro-politics has also hindered the

process of change. This is particularly evident in principals' responses to notions of shared leadership and democratic and participatory processes in schools. Micro-politics is not limited to school leadership though. Teacher-teacher relationships is also an area in which micro-politics operate negatively, especially when individuals or groups compete for scarce resources, fear losing classroom autonomy through interference of others and sometimes have conflicting understandings about roles and decision-making processes in school.

The interrelationship between culture, structure and micro politics

Within organisation studies and school improvement literature, the debate around the interplay between culture and structure continues. The way change is understood will influence the possible areas for change targeted and whether the emphasis should be on organisational re-culturing or restructuring.

Drawing on the work of Fullan and Elmore, Guskey (2000) argues that all efforts to improve schools must take into account the idea that the organisational culture is more likely to maintain the status quo than to change it. Efforts to change organisational cultures through regulation and structural reform such as site-based management have also not been successful because they 'modify surface features while leaving deeper cultural issues intact' (Guskey 2002:151).

Bertram (1999) draws on examples of studies where changes in the curriculum or the way the school day is structured were implemented based on the assumption that such efforts would result in changes in teaching practice and ultimately impact on student learning. She concludes that for educational change to be sustainable it has to address the underlying assumptions, values and beliefs of teachers.

Hopkins cited by Bertram(1999) on the other hand, argues that the separation of structure and culture is not helpful since they are interdependent and stand in a dialectical relationship to one another. Any attempt to focus solely on the culture

of the school is in itself problematic. This view is supported by Hargreaves (1994) who raises some of the limitations of a cultural perspective on educational change. One of the traps of a cultural perspective is that it can lead to the romanticising of organisational culture and fails to bring to the surface that all beliefs, values and assumptions are grounded within routines or structures. It follows that there are vested interests within structural arrangements that will be threatened by the introduction of a new way of working. This is often overlooked in cultural analyses of organisations. Organisational culture doesn't exist independently of structural arrangements. It is, according to Hargreaves, framed by structures that are not neutral. A new culture cannot be established without understanding the existing structural arrangements, the extent to which they support the new emerging culture, and how to deal with possible opposition from those whose interests appear to be under threat.

The argument therefore is that it is not helpful to choose one over the other but to find a way of exploring the interdependent, dialectical relationship between structure, culture and micro politics in educational change. Structural change is appealing because it appears to make it possible for one to see visible change happening. But in order for these changes to have any effect in an organisation, it is important to understand the existing culture of the school and how micro politics within the school can jeopardise the institutionalisation of an innovation. In this regard, Bertram (1999) draws on the work of David Hargreaves to explain the dialectical relationship between structure and culture. Hargreaves (cited by Bertram) argues that:

Institutional cultures (beliefs and values) stand in dialectical relationship to their underlying architecture (organisational structure). A structural change often has culture consequences; a shift in culture may alter social structures. (1999 p.23)

David Hargreaves (1999) explains the interrelationship between culture, structure and micro-politics in the following manner. Culture is characterised by values,

beliefs and assumptions, (mental elements) which inform behaviour, practices rituals and ceremonies (behavioural elements). Change happens through changing behaviour since it is easier to do than to change someone else's values and belief systems. It is through *doing* differently that underlying beliefs and values are challenged. This is based on the assumption that people tend to adjust their beliefs, attitudes and values in line with their changed behaviour and that these become the seeds from which a new culture germinates. Hargreaves continues to explain that the changed behaviour then needs to be supported by appropriate structures in the organisation because it is thought that structure forms the underlying architecture of culture. It is within the organisational structure that issues of authority, status, influence and distribution of power, the micro-politics, are located.

Although I support Hargreaves' exposition of the relationship between culture, structure and micropolitics I don't agree completely with Hargreaves' description of cultural change. It is most likely easier to target behavioural change in teachers than to change their values and beliefs but these cannot happen independently of each other. A change in behaviour must simultaneously encourage teachers to explore own values, beliefs and assumptions that inform their behaviour. It is this interrelated view of culture, structure and micro-politics that is adopted in this study.

Teacher Appraisal

The following section of the literature review explores some of the central factors that impact on the implementation of an appraisal policy as portrayed in the literature. It further examines, in line with Ball's (1994) proposition of policy as discourse, the broader discourse that frames teacher appraisal and the extent to which this particular discourse facilitates or inhibits implementation.

This section starts with an overview of different approaches to appraisal and the underlying philosophies of each. It continues to explore the motivation for appraisal and highlights factors that impact on implementation and concludes with a summary of key ideas raised in teacher appraisal literature.

The writers on teacher appraisal can be divided into those who aim to facilitate implementation (Hopkins 1990, Evans and Tomlinson 1989) and those that explore the underlying philosophy of teacher appraisal (Ball 1994, Hartley 1992, Walsh 1987, Turner and Clift 1988). The debates around teacher appraisal appear to focus on the purpose, the place of judgement and whether summative or formative / developmental models are proposed within appraisal practice. Different approaches to appraisal are informed by different underlying philosophies and implementation practices. Further issues impacting on implementation include: the involvement of teachers and the extent to which they have ownership of the process, concerns about issues of power and control that underlie the appraisal philosophy, the clear shift towards performance management, the emphasis on teacher accountability, and locating teacher development within the context of meeting organisational goals.

Approaches to appraisal

Teachers' responses and attitudes to appraisal and its implementation are linked to the appraisal model that is used. Evans and Tomlinson (1989) and Walsh (1987), examine teachers' responses to two forms of appraisal, formative and summative. Negative teacher perceptions are generally linked to summative assessment, where appraisal is linked to accountability, as opposed to formative where the focus is on development of teachers. These, according to Gunter (2001) are informed by different philosophies that underlie approaches and the implementation of teacher appraisal evident in appraisal research, each holding

a different value system about teachers' work and the purpose of schools. An instrumental view locates teacher development within broader organisational development and meeting organisational goals. It argues that teachers need to be held accountable and performance has to be reviewed and defects remedied. A humanistic view argues for teacher involvement, and the importance of teachers taking ownership of the process. Wragg cited by Gunter argues:

It should be done with emphasis on peer support. Teachers should play a central part and be given time to watch each other's lessons, at all levels In other words it should be collegial rather than competitive (p.84)

A more critical view proposes teaching and learning as a means to overcome social injustices and is particularly concerned with power issues that underlie appraisal systems and practice. This view is concerned with the way, for example, in which gender issues may be further entrenched by an appraisal policy instead of challenging them.

In summary the different approaches, models or philosophies regarding teacher appraisal can be divided into two groups, (a) approaches that view appraisal as developmental, formative, participative and humanistic characterised by an emphasis on teacher involvement and ownership of the process and (b) approaches that view appraisal as summative, judgemental, instrumental or managerial and characterised by a top down approach and an emphasis on accountability.

Accountability

Ball's (1994) notion of 'policy as discourse' argues that policy cannot be separated from the broader discourse that frames it. In this view, policies should not be viewed in isolation but as part of a set of related policies, all of which emerge from a particular discourse. It is the broader discourse that sets limitations in terms of what can be said about a policy. And in the case of teacher

appraisal Hartley (1992) and Walsh (1987), argue that it needs to be located within the search for accountability and efficiency in the education system. In the UK this has meant a greater emphasis on performance management and linking appraisal to performance related pay (Gunter 2001).

Teacher professionalism and teacher autonomy

Debates on appraisal further question the shift towards accountability and the extent to which appraisal aids teacher professionalism or impacts negatively on professionalism and teacher autonomy. Here views also relate to the model of appraisal that is used, and the extent to which it inhibits or enhances professionalism.

Hoyle (1986), Hartley (1992) and Bell (1988) argue that the move towards accountability erodes teachers' autonomy and professionalism. The crucial question with regard to appraisal is whether it enhances professionalism of teachers or whether it leads to the deprofessionalisation of teachers. According to Hoyle, any form of professionalisation implies an increase in skill, commitment and knowledge of the practitioner. A managerial, hierarchical approach is more likely to deprofessionalise teachers since teachers are viewed as bureaucratic functionaries. Their professionalism is 'restricted' since the bureaucracy does not leave space for diversity. It promotes certainty, sameness and standardisation. Hartley (1992) therefore believes that if professional status depends on standardisation and certainty, teachers' standing in society might shift, but their professional discretion will be eroded.

Hoyle (1986) argues that a participative model provides greater possibility for professionalisation as it focuses on the ongoing professional development of teachers, encourages collegiality and peer support. However, he warns that even the participative model might pose a constraint to teachers' autonomy. This is because a participative model is more intrusive –teachers are asked to expose their practice. So, although both forms of appraisal constitute limitations on

teacher autonomy the participative model could be viewed by teachers as a greater threat. This process requires of teachers a shift from a culture of isolation and individualism to one of accountability to peers.

Teachers' concerns about what this might mean is evident in a study done by Bell (1988). In this study, teachers articulate fears that, besides appraisal possibly changing their working conditions, they are also suspicious that appraisal might be an attack on the autonomy they have in their classrooms. The nature of teaching is such that the teacher controls what happens within her/his classroom, free from external influence. Appraisal impacts on the activities of the individual classroom and would threaten this 'jealously guarded privilege' argues Bell. Teachers also expressed the feeling that through appraisal they might place themselves in a vulnerable position. The process would require them to indicate areas of their professional life they are experiencing difficulty with but such an admission would influence future promotion and 'diminution of their professional esteem' Bell (1988:18).

Policy Intent

There is agreement on the need for the purpose of appraisal to be clarified right from the outset, as this will influence the way that teachers perceive it and their willingness to implement it. After more than twenty years of teacher appraisal in the UK, the purpose of appraisal remains a contested terrain (Gunter 2001). Bartlett (2000) traces the historical development of teacher appraisal in the UK from an initial emphasis on professional development to improve teaching, to the introduction of performance appraisal in line with shifting government macro economic policies and a greater emphasis on the management of education.

Williams (1990) in a study focussing on teacher attitudes towards appraisal indicates that teachers support appraisal insofar as they are clear on its purpose.

Teachers in this study were willing to support appraisal if it meant getting rid of incompetent teachers, facilitating promotion and identifying areas for development, but expressed some reservations if it was used to check up on people.

Dual focus

Debates in appraisal literature also focus on whether summative and formative approaches can be combined into one form of appraisal. The question asked is whether their purposes are compatible or mutually exclusive? Bell (1988) proposes that if the two are combined and if the emphasis is on accountability, then it must have a developmental aspect to it. Evans and Tomlinson (1989) provide an opposing view and argue that you cannot have both in one system. There is an inherent contradiction between a system used for accountability and for personal development. A developmental model needs to be implemented in an atmosphere of openness, honesty, trust and confidentiality. This, they argue, would be undermined if accountability measures were linked to a formative approach.

Pym (1999) writes extensively about the dual focus of an appraisal system, on the basis of her own study that explored the implementation of such a system at a school. From the study, it appears that where both purposes are intended, there generally is a bias towards one. In some instances, the emphasis swayed strongly towards accountability. In others the lack of accountability (a developmental emphasis) is used as a possible avoidance strategy for sidestepping actual problem areas. She cites Fullan (1991) who argues that 'accountability and improvement can effectively be interwoven but this requires great sophistication'. She concludes that in her own study the efforts to develop ownership through a non-threatening process resulted in teachers not having to account for or to challenge their own views. Conversely, the focus on accountability also explains the discomfort staff members had with the process.

Appraisal and Institutional context

The literature on teacher appraisal is clear that teacher appraisal cannot be divorced from organisational appraisal and an understanding of the institutional context it enters into. Harley (1999) proposes that teacher appraisal be done in a whole school context and be suited to the conditions within that particular institution.

Reay (1998) states that appraisal impacts on power relations in the school in significant ways. However, the extent to which it shifts power relations is questionable. This again appears to depend on the appraisal model that is adopted. A managerial model is more likely to entrench existing power relations in the school. Burgess (1989) argues that if senior and middle management in schools are responsible for appraisals it will raise issues of power, specifically because of the authority that goes with these positions, the access that managers might get to information and how it could be used in future promotion reviews. This kind of approach might also neglect teachers' expertise in classroom practice because of its managerial bias. In the study conducted by Bell (1988), teachers also raised suspicions about the ability of senior management to carry out appraisals. They feared that the appraisers might focus on past problems or professional relationship differences and that this could impact on future prospects.

Burgess (1989) highlights the gender questions inherent in the managerial model. While women constitute a larger proportion of the teaching corps, relatively few are heads of schools. In this model the appraisers are most likely to be men which will result in the 'reproduction of male perspectives in the school' (p.29). This view is echoed by Gitlin and Smyth (1988) who conclude that in this model the existing gender imbalances would be 'solidified and reproduced' (p.107). These studies don't make reference to gender difference in perceptions and experience of appraisal.

Reay (1998) argues further that an emphasis on accountability and efficiency has not only impacted on teachers' work but also on teacher interaction. Work relationships become more individualised and competitive and less collaborative. Referring to Hargreaves' notion of 'balkanisation' of teacher interaction, she points out that there seems to be an inherent contradiction in a policy underpinned by a greater demand for efficiency and return on investment that requires greater competitiveness in practice on the one hand and tries to build collegial relations on the other.

There are obvious differences in the two models explored in this review. The formative approach generally appears to be the more positive one. What emerges from the policy implementation and teacher appraisal literature is how context sensitive it is. Appraisal is viewed as context sensitive since it raises issues of power and control in schools and in many cases entrenches them. It further requires a shift in teacher interaction from isolation to collaboration that could undermine teachers' classroom autonomy, place them in professionally vulnerable positions and impact on future prospects. This makes an understanding of the local context and its impact on teacher appraisal crucial to this study.

Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework developed here outlines the approach to the study and how the key concepts, drawn from the literature review, will be used.

Local context and policy implementation

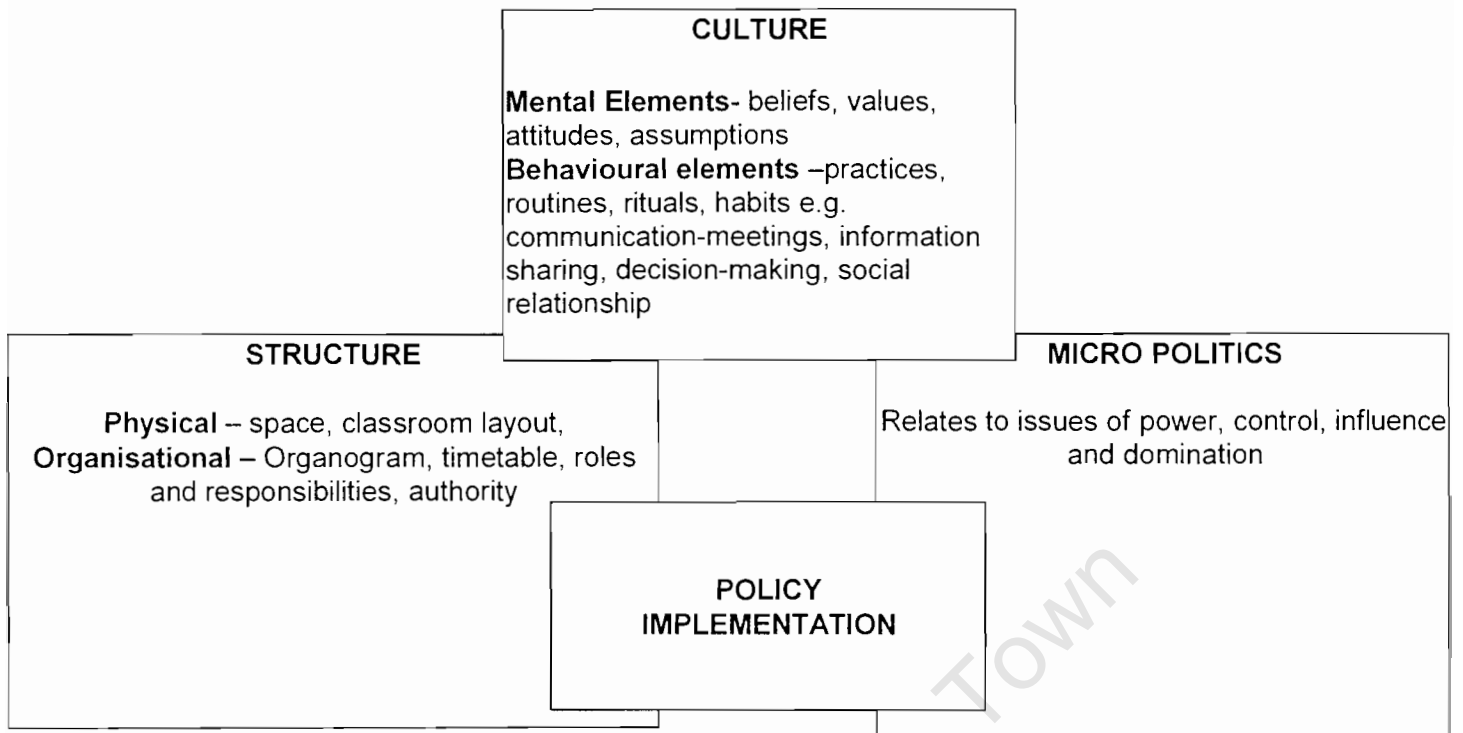
Individual policies are framed and influenced by broader policy debates and are inserted into different local contexts. Each one, impacts on implementation. It is the impact of the local context that is of particular concern to this study. Policy in itself cannot change practice. It sets in place the conditions of possibility that may or may not always match the local context into which it is inserted. In order

to understand the impact of the local context the interplay between an organisation's culture, structure and micro-politics has to be examined.

Organisational culture is the combination of values, beliefs, assumptions and philosophies that are manifest in the behaviour, practices and patterns of interaction in an organisation. Organisational cultures are changed through parallel processes of changing behaviour and challenging the assumptions, beliefs and values that underlie behaviour. Organisational structure refers to that which exists either in the form of a physical structure or organisational structure. It provides the underlying architecture for culture but is also shaped by the culture. Organisational structure and relationships give rise to organisational micro-politics. Organisational micro-politics foregrounds issues of power, control and authority and how these are used in the school. Organisational micro-politics as an expression of conflicting interests impact on policy implementation.

University of Cape Town

Diagrammatically the conceptual framework can be represented in the following way;



This conceptual frame attempts to clarify the difference between these concepts in the following way. It presents culture as established patterns of behaviour that are informed by beliefs and values and are not necessarily structurally explicit in the organisation. Structure refers to that which is already in place in the organisation, either physically or organisationally for example the school timetable and forms part of the organisational architecture. Micro-politics refers to the enactment of control and influence in the organisation and has a strong interest base.

What emerges further from the conceptual framework is that some issues, for example gender or interaction in meetings, do not fall neatly in one category only but can in fact straddle categories. While strict boundaries cannot be forced or maintained, clarification of the categories foregrounds different facets of school

life. It provides one with different lenses to analyse school life. The argument forwarded here though is that no single one category captures a comprehensive understanding of schools. If only one is used it doesn't capture the full extent of the inner workings of school life. Different lenses can thus be overlaid to provide this fuller picture.

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CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study aims to understand how local context impacts on policy implementation, specifically the implementation of the teacher appraisal policy. Local context here is understood to include organisational culture, structure and micro-politics. Given the understanding that local contexts differ, a case study approach was deemed the most appropriate research strategy to understand one school's implementation of the DAS policy. The rationale for this is explored in this chapter. The research site is also discussed, and a brief description of the school is provided.

The chapter goes on to discuss data collection strategies employed, which in this case were primarily interviews, informal observations and documentary evidence. The chapter concludes with a discussion of issues related to validity.

Case Study Approach

Since this study focuses on the impact of local context on policy implementation, a case study approach was deemed to be the most appropriate research strategy for this study

My choice of case study as a research strategy is informed by an understanding that policy enters different sites and will not always be interpreted or implemented in the same ways. Instead, it is open to interpretation and re-interpretation and is adapted to suit local conditions. This process will differ from site to site. My motivation for adopting a case study approach is that it will allow me to focus on a specific school's attempt to implement the developmental appraisal policy and highlight what is unique in the school's implementation process. This idea is underlined by Stake (1994) who explains that a case study 'draws attention to what can be learned from a single case' (p.236).

Bell (1987) indicates that a case study approach provides opportunities to develop relationships between a number of variables that one could otherwise not do in a survey, for instance. She argues that a case study provides a useful study of an organization, and it raises micro-political issues and patterns of influence in a particular context.

Yin (1989) in his analysis of research strategies identifies three possible conditions that impact on the choice of a research strategy. These include 'the type of research question, the amount of control the investigator has over actual behavioural events, and the focus on contemporary phenomena' (1989:13). He categorises case studies as exploratory, explanatory or descriptive. Exploratory case studies, in most instances, respond to 'what' questions and provide opportunities for further exploration.' Why' and 'how ' questions by contrast, indicate explanatory studies. Stake (1994) offers a different categorization of case studies as: intrinsic, instrumental or collective. Intrinsic case studies aim to develop a better understanding of a particular case, as opposed to instrumental ones which aim to provide insight into an issue or lead to the refinement of a theory. Collective cases studies are instrumental studies extended over several cases.

Yin (1989) further defines a case study as an empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context; the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident and multiple sources of evidence will be used.

One of the key criticisms levelled at case studies is that the findings are not generalisable to a population of cases. Yin (1989) argues however, that although case studies are not generalisable to populations, they are generalisable to theoretical propositions. Since this study also operates from the premise that schools are unique and different and the way they implement policies will differ, the aim of this study is not to conclude with generalisable empirical findings.

What the study may shed light on is a conceptualisation of 'localised complexity' referred to in policy literature and how this shapes micro-level policy implementation.

Another criticism levelled against a case study approach is that it lacks rigour and the validity of case studies is sometimes questioned. This relates to the possible bias on the part of the investigator. In this study multiple sources such as interviews and documentary evidence in addition to informal observations and my own field notes will be used to enhance the validity of the study.

Research Site

Case Selection

Stake (1994) indicates that the proper selection of a case is crucial to the outcome of the study and an understanding of the phenomena under investigation. Choice is influenced by the case that seems to offer greatest opportunity to learn. Marshall and Rossman (1995) provide a useful rationale for choice of research site. An ideal site is identified as one where entry is possible, there is high probability that a rich mix of processes, people, programs, interactions and structures of interest are present, the researcher is likely to build trusting relations with the participants in the study and data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably ensured.

Two key factors have influenced my choice of research site. The existing relationship I have with the school grants me easy access to the school. The support I have provided to the school over a term, during their initial explorations into appraisal policy makes the site not only appropriate to my topic but also an ideal site to conduct the research.

The Site

Success² Primary School (hereafter referred to as 'the school') is a co-educational primary school located in a poor, socio-economic, peri-urban area where problems such as unemployment, crime and violence are rife. The school draws learners from the immediate local community, and the surrounding farming community and informal settlement. Many of the teachers are not resident in the area and some travel up to 140 kilometres daily. The school has previously had a good reputation as an academic school but this appears to have changed and learner numbers have dwindled resulting in a large number of teachers leaving during the rationalisation process. The school has now become one of the smaller primary schools in the area with approximately 400 learners and fifteen teachers.

In the beginning of 2001 the school underwent a shift in leadership. The new principal was a member of staff and prior to his appointment was viewed as the de facto leader of the school. Although the previous principal was not involved in staff development he did not stand in the way of teachers involvement in projects with external organisations. The new principal was actively involved in projects and staff development, and continued to share the teaching load in the school.

Between 1998 – 2001 the school was involved in a primary school in-service support and whole school development project over the last four years. During this time, different staff members have been involved in in-service courses and site-based support to individual teachers, classroom support and whole staff sessions. These have ranged from curriculum support, organizational support and assistance with policy implementation of which the appraisal policy is one. As a member of a school development support organisation I have worked with some staff members in courses and have provided school-based support on a number of occasions on different topics, including teacher appraisal.

² A pseudonym

In terms of the official implementation plan, schools had to implement the appraisal policy from the beginning of 1999. By June 2001 this school as well as many others had not implemented the policy. The school approached my organisation to provide support with the implementation of the policy. The support process lasted for one term until the end of September 2001. In November 2001 I negotiated the possibility of doing my research in the school and the data collection took place between November and December 2001.

Data Collection

The key areas of focus in this study relate to the interconnectedness of organisational culture, structure and micro-political patterns and the impact they have on local level policy implementation with specific reference to the developmental appraisal policy. This study only explores the implementation of the developmental appraisal policy as it relates to educators. It does not include office-based staff. Data collection strategies thus aimed to gain insight into the way the school had been implementing the appraisal policy. **Semi- structured interviews, observation, and content analysis** of key documents were my key data collection strategies.

Interviews

Interviews were used to gain insight into teachers' perceptions of the school's culture, particularly social relations, views on professional development and how the appraisal policy connects with this. In- depth interviews were done based on the broad categories of questions that have been developed for the study (see Appendix 1). After completing the interviews, they were transcribed and returned to interviewees for verification, especially sections where interviewees were quoted directly.

I piloted the interview questions with the principal and one of the staff members in a primary school in the same geographical area as the research site. This

proved to be an invaluable process as it provided feedback on whether the questions were able to provide the kind of data I was seeking, and led to the adaptation of the interview questions.

In this study most of the teachers were Afrikaans speaking but a were comfortable communicating in English. However, although the questions were in English, they were translated into Afrikaans to reduce the possibility of misunderstanding. This made verification of data even more crucial to avoid the loss of important nuances in the process of translation and transcription of interviews.

The Sample

The staff of the school is comprised of fifteen educators. A cross section of the staff from the Foundation Phase, intermediate phase, senior phase, management team and the school principal were interviewed since this was likely to provide a sense of how different teams worked together, and perceptions of relationships across the school.

Interviewees

In this study, the sample aimed for was a representation of a cross-section of the school. This included teachers from each of the phases, the school management team and the principal. Initially a sample of six staff members was projected, but an actual sample of five interviewees participated in the research. One of the teachers, who was instrumental and influential (as the interviews show) in the school withdrew from the interview process. She explained that due to work pressures she was not able to set aside time for the interview.

Both Foundation Phase and intermediate phase interviews were **group interviews**. Teachers requested joint interviews because they knew one another well, had very good working relationships and wanted to act as support to one

another. Fontana and Frey (1994) state that although the skills required to do group interviews are not very different from individual interviews, group interviews pose their own challenges. While they take the stress around the interview away for the interviewees, the interviewer must keep certain people from dominating, encourage quieter or seemingly disinterested ones to speak, and make sure that the topic gets covered. Because of my existing relationship with the school and prior experience of working with the teachers I was able to conduct the group interviews successfully.

The interviews covered broad areas of policy implementation and social interaction in the school. They focussed on understandings of the appraisal policy, its history, purpose and intentions, views on and feelings about the policy and how the school had gone about implementing the policy. In terms of social interaction the interview focussed on the nature of relationships in the school, how work is structured and the extent to which these enabled or hindered the implementation of the policy.

These formal data collection strategies were supplemented by informal observation during my day-to-day interaction with teachers as part of the development work done at the school.

Documentary Analysis

The use of documentary evidence was initially not one of my data collection strategies. As I proceeded to work with literature and while conducting interviews it became clear some of the requirements put forward in the policy document were different from the reality in the school. I then decided that it would be valuable to compare the prerequisites outlined in the policy document to the actual conditions in the school.

Duffy (1987) divides documentary evidence into primary and secondary sources and explains further that documents provide witting and unwitting evidence.

Witting evidence provides what the original author had intended to convey, whereas unwitting evidence refers to other things, such as underlying assumptions that can be inferred from the document.

The main source of documentary evidence is the Developmental Appraisal System contained in the Personnel Administrative Measures (PAM) for Educators (Government Gazette No. 19767). Aspects of this document will be analysed to highlight what projections the policy makes, the assumptions embedded in them and to explore whether there is a match between policy projections and this school's reality. This document outlines the nature of the developmental appraisal system and the structures and administrative requirements for implementation. It further outlines an implementation timeline and a training manual to support implementation. It was developed through Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) and the National Department of Education in consultation with Teacher Unions.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

In this chapter the data will be presented and analysed. The first set is an analysis of the appraisal policy document contained in Chapter Three of the Personnel and Administration Measures (PAM) of the Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998. The second set includes data collected through interviews, (informal) observations and field notes I took during the period of my research at the school.

A layered analysis is attempted meaning that a range of questions are brought to bear on the data set. First, the different steps in the appraisal process and the school's implementation of the policy are outlined. This is followed by an analysis of the projections the policy text makes about the kind of schools and teachers required to support implementation. This provides the backdrop to the next part of the analysis that links the requirements of the appraisal policy to an analysis of the local context (*school culture, structure and micro-politics*) presented in the conceptual framework. An analysis of these components is done in order to make comparisons between what the policy projects and what actually exists in the school.

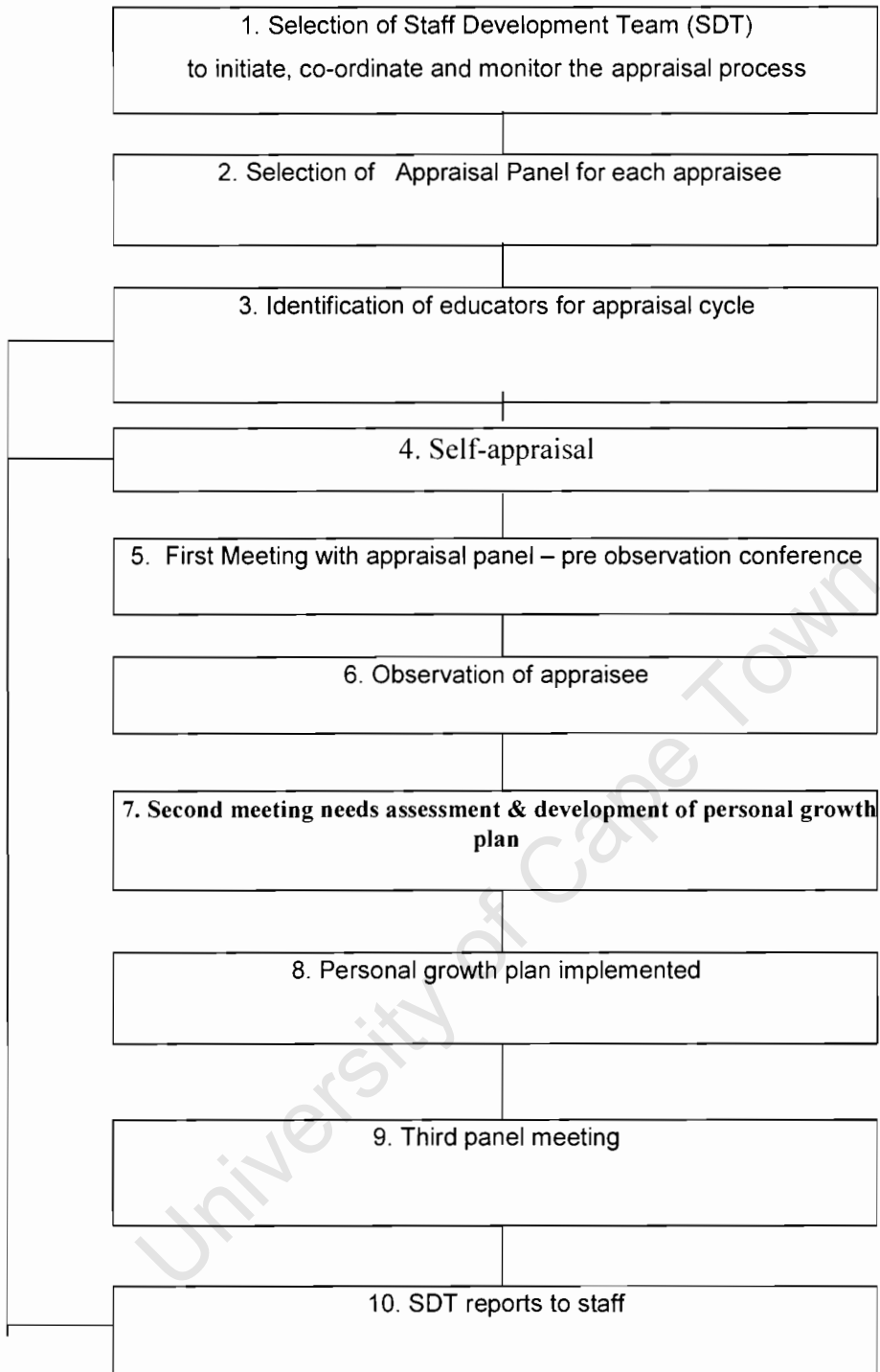
The Appraisal Process outlined in the Policy Document

In terms of the policy as outlined in Chapter Three of the Personnel Administrative Measures of the Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998, each school elects a staff development team that will take responsibility for managing the appraisal process in the school. Each staff member elects her/his appraisal panel, participates in the process and has access to the final appraisal report that is written. Each teacher is required to go through a process of self-appraisal

that helps the individual teacher to highlight his/her strengths and identify weaknesses. This is followed by a series of appraisal meetings with the panel, including classroom observation. A Personal Growth Plan is developed for each teacher, where after an appraisal report is drafted for each teacher and staff development activities would be decided upon. This process can be done in cycles and schools may choose to change the staff development team or appraisal panels before the next appraisal cycle.

University of Cape Town

The following provides a graphic illustration of the different stages/steps in the appraisal process.



Policy Projections

This section is based on a content analysis of the Developmental Appraisal System (DAS) which is contained in the Personnel Administration Measures of the Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998. It aims to identify projections and assumptions in the policy document about the kinds of organisations and teachers deemed necessary for the implementation of the policy.

The text describes the organisation as one where there is a democratic climate, openness and trust and where a learning culture that incorporates teacher learning, exists. It promotes the idea of workplace learning and suggests that the school is the primary site for teacher development. In this regard the document states (Chapter 3:40)

The primary responsibility for development lies with the educators and the primary site for development is the workplace.

The document identifies four requirements which must be met in order to achieve the aims of developmental appraisal. These requirements are:
democratic organisational climate; a learning culture at institutions;
commitment of educators to development; openness and trust
(Chapter 3:40).

The text further projects collaborative cultures where teachers work with others in their grades or phases, where collective problem solving happens and where peers can rely on one another for professional support and critique. It makes projections about the teacher as a person who believes in the notion of life-long learning, who reflects on her/his practice, who is introspective about his/her performance and who opens her/himself to critique from colleagues and learners. The document describes the process of collaboration as:

Educators working together to assist in problem solving e.g. teachers taking the same grade or educators from different institutions involved in teaching particular learning field or educators consulting with the Support Services of the education department (Chapter 3:41).

Although the document indicates the necessity for collaborative organisational cultures and for teachers who hold and display the beliefs and behaviours indicated, it makes no mention of how these cultures and behaviours are created where these don't exist. These issues, and the extent to which the training schools received from the education department are explored later in the chapter.

Preparation for Implementation

In the text, the training of teachers, or even officials for that matter, is seen as a necessary step to prepare and to support the implementation of DAS at school. Prior to the implementation of DAS in Success Primary School, in 1999, the principal and a teacher attended a one-day training session facilitated by the education department where the new policy was outlined. The purpose of appraisal was explained and the implementation process was explained at the training session. In addition, the new structures that need to be put in place to facilitate implementation were outlined. Schools were provided with a training manual and an implementation plan that would to be used back at their respective schools.

The process schools were supposed to follow included the following elements:

- A discussion of the developmental appraisal system and how this differs from the previous inspection system
- A discussion of the purpose of developmental appraisal and how it fits into the career time-line of a teacher

- The development of the structures that would have to be put in place.
- The development of an implementation plan or the appraisal process mentioned earlier in this chapter.

The teachers, who attended the initial DAS training session in preparation for implementation in 1999, described the training as inadequate and equated it with a policy announcement rather than training for implementation. They also pointed out that their attempts to implement the policy as outlined above proved difficult. This was mainly because the process itself is complex, cumbersome and difficult to administer and manage in the school. The training did not prepare teachers for achieving a match between the prerequisites for example the organisational culture, collaboration, and teachers as reflective practitioners, and the actual conditions that exist in the school.

In the next section an analytic description of the implementation of the developmental appraisal system in the school is presented.

Appraisal Implementation in the School

In this section an overview of the actual implementation process, as it unfolded in the school, will be provided. It will also illustrate how the school diverted from the outlined process in their attempt to implement the policy. Early in 1999 the school started the process as outlined in the policy document. The school elected a staff development team, teachers selected their appraisal panels and self-appraisal took place. The next step required appraisal panels to meet and for classroom observation to take place. At this point, the implementation came to a halt and meaningful implementation stagnated. One of the reasons cited by the teachers was that they did not necessarily hold the same views of what the different criteria outlined would mean in practice. It would therefore be difficult to start with classroom observation if teachers did not share the same views of what good classroom management, for instance, meant in practice.

Early in 2001, however the school undertook to implement the policy in ways more manageable and appropriate to its context. This was as a result of pressure from the education department for the implementation of the policy. The local circuit manager allowed the school to implement the policy in a manner that was manageable. In the middle of 2001 the school requested support from an outside agency to assist with the implementation of the policy. Their need was for the agency to develop shared understandings of the different criteria against which self-appraisal and peer appraisal would have to happen. Although the appraisal criteria were provided, panel members did not have a shared understanding of what these criteria meant in practice. Moreover, the principal felt that the training they received did not equip them to develop this shared understanding.

The school proceeded to identify the criteria they wished to work with. In this way, they diverted from the policy and developed a collective needs analysis. They prioritised two criteria they wished to work on (instead of thirteen, for teachers, indicated by the policy). After a fair amount of contestation, they developed their own indicators for each of the prioritised criteria in addition to those provided as part of the DAS instrument. Once the school decided on the criteria, for example, classroom management and learner evaluation, they proceeded to define a process of developing a common understanding of how these would be translated into practice. During this process, they developed shared perspectives on different aspects of classroom management, what constituted good classroom management, views on discipline and learning by challenging one another's views and beliefs. The indicators were then compared with the official policy document. In all instances, the teachers' own indicators were closely connected to the official criteria and in some instances went beyond it. This was compiled into a document entitled: Developing Criteria for Classroom Observation (See Appendix 2)

The principal commented on this process:

One of the things that helped was that people could come together and determine jointly what the common needs are. You didn't have to feel that you were exposing your weaknessesso they were more open to collectively express their needs.

The teachers explained that they had a better understanding of the policy. They were also reviewing the structures set up to facilitate the appraisal process and the process itself to find ways in which to implement it more effectively.

The principal stated:

We haven't done much around implementation other than to try it the way the department explained. We have stagnated. Now I think the teachers have a better understanding of what it entails, we'll start the first cycle, or maybe do all teachers in the same cycle. What we have to do is to review the appraisal panels chosen by the teachers, not to use my buddy but to make sure that my panel can help me. Our main aim is to familiarise ourselves with the process...It can't all happen at once.

Although the school had engaged in developing a shared understanding of appraisal criteria in the hope that this would facilitate peer appraisal and the meeting of appraisal panels. Towards the end of 2001, when I did the research implementation had still not moved any further than the process outlined earlier. Limited implementation was thus still evident months after the intervention.

The appraisal processes outlined in the document, the preparation undertaken by the school and process of implementation by the school provide the context for the next level of analysis. This includes a description of the local context comprising structure, culture and micro-politics.

Local Context

In this section the implementation of DAS in this school will be analysed in terms of the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two. Each facet of local context i.e. school culture, structure and micro-politics will be examined.

Structure and school culture are analysed in relation to three areas, namely, the situation prior to the implementation of DAS in the school, the actual policy prerequisites and how the school responded to these prerequisites. This format is only applied in the discussion of structure and culture.

The DAS policy makes no mention of micro-politics and there are thus no policy prerequisites in this regard. The analysis of micro-political issues will therefore only deal with the conditions that existed in the school at the time the research was undertaken. This includes issues such as leadership style, positional power and gender.

Structure

In the conceptual framework structure is described as comprising of a physical structure and an organisational structure. Physical structure is evident in the layout of buildings and how space is allotted. Organisational structure refers to how time is structured and how roles and responsibilities are structured, defined and outlined in the school's organogram.

Organogram

In 2001, prior to DAS, the staff consisted of fifteen staff members of which the majority were female. Like all primary schools in the General Education and Training Band, the school had a conventional structure consisting of a management team and the different phases, namely the Foundation,

Intermediate and Senior Phases. All the Foundation phase teachers were class teachers while most of the Intermediate and Senior Phase teachers were subject specialists. The school management team was comprised of three members, a principal and two heads of department.

Although the DAS policy does not fundamentally change the existing structure of the school the policy requisites superimpose new structures. Schools have to elect a staff development team to manage the appraisal process in the school. This is also in addition to a number of new structures required by all the other new policies also being introduced. One of the conditions of the appraisal policy is that the principal serves on this team, while all other staff members are elected. In addition, each teacher has to elect an appraisal panel of three members comprising of a peer, a senior staff member and a union representative or a person with particular expertise, from another institution.

The school responded by electing a staff development team consisting of volunteers that are spread across the different teams and phases and included the learning support teacher. The presence of the principal on this team did not appear to raise any difficulties in this school.

These structures appeared to be unsustainable in the school. All staff members had selected their own appraisal panels. Two issues emerged in relation to the appraisal panels. Firstly, most teachers chose friends to serve on their panels and not people who, in the principal's view, would necessarily provide critical feedback. The formation of appraisal panels was thus based more on personality and relationships than position or professional respect. Secondly, the policy was introduced when there was a high turnover of staff and this impacted on the implementation process. Due to rationalisation, a number of teachers left the school and new panels had to be selected. The principal saw this as an advantage because by this time the staff had a clearer understanding of the aims of the policy and the role appraisal panels can or need to play.

Timetable

Prior to DAS, the school had a regular staff development slot on the timetable. Dismissal time for Foundation Phase learners was earlier than the rest of the school and this facilitated collaborative planning and sharing in the Foundation Phase. Most afternoons were taken up with extra-mural activities, attendance of in-service courses run by the education department, working on a project the school is involved in, or working on collective curriculum planning done as a cluster of schools in the geographical area.

Briefing meetings of approximately 15 minutes were also held every morning. They were kept short so that they did not cut into teaching time. These meetings were mainly to share information rather than of a discussion nature. Formal staff meetings were held at the beginning of the term. There was only one staff meeting per term; other meetings happened as the need arose. Most of the phase, learning area and school management team meetings happened more informally because of the sizes of the teams. These were not structured into the timetable.

The policy requires a series of meetings of the appraisal panel. It also includes classroom observations. The meetings, according to the policy, must happen outside of teaching time. Classroom observation, though, is intended to happen during normal teaching time.

Although the school allocated a regular afternoon slot for staff development they had difficulty in structuring time to discuss policy documents generally and to implement the meetings and classroom observations required by the appraisal process. This is because, logistically, it had been difficult to structure time for classroom observations to happen. It required panel members to be released from classroom duty and supervision to be arranged for their classes. This has proven difficult because the school didn't have extra teachers to draw on.

Furthermore, they spent a Saturday at school to familiarise themselves with the DAS system and used a weekly staff development session to continue this process, but found this to be insufficient and not easy to sustain.

Physical Structure

Prior to DAS, each of the phases is allocated a row or block of classrooms in close proximity to each other. This is done primarily to facilitate movement between lessons.

The staff room was not used as a communal space. When not teaching, teachers congregated in different groups and in spaces in the school other than the staff room. The Foundation Phase teachers or the teachers who smoke had their own room where they socialised during intervals and this appeared to be a completely acceptable form of socialising in the school. The staff room was used as a space to get business done yet the physical appearance of the staff room was such that it invited socialising and sharing.

The policy assumes that the spatial arrangements in schools are such that they can facilitate informal sharing and collaboration.

In this school, the spatial practices were not conducive to sharing and were inconsistent with the expectations of the policy. They became inhibiting factors to informal sharing and observation required in the policy implementation and certainly did not facilitate the process.

School Culture

As discussed in the conceptual framework, school culture here refers to the values, beliefs and assumptions that underlie practices or behaviours in the organisation. The two facets of shared *values* and *beliefs* included in this analysis relate to purpose and priorities in the school and monitoring of teacher performance.

In addition to shared values and beliefs, organisational behaviours and practices are identified as other key areas in the culture of the school. In terms of organisational behaviours and practices, the patterns of interaction are analysed.

Shared Values and Beliefs

Within the school a central set of underpinning values relate to a strong Christian religious ethos in the school. This ethos is manifest in a ritual of shared devotions that take place every morning. This ritual plays an important role in unifying the staff and setting the tone for the day. It further informs the patterns of interaction and micro-politics which will be discussed later.

Purpose and Priorities in the school

All the interviewees agreed that their priority in the school prior to DAS had been to develop an academic culture. They further stressed the importance of acting in the best interests and the holistic development of the learners. Although there were different emphases in relation to academic culture, there was consensus that their aim is to develop a culture of learning, and that teachers should work towards the success and progress of the school. Certain interviewees felt that in some cases, personal and organisational visions had not been articulated in a way that a clear sense of purpose and mission was evident. Some teachers viewed their involvement in extra-mural activities in the school as more important than academic responsibilities in the school.

The appraisal policy outlines a broad aim of facilitating personal and professional development to improve the standard of teaching practice and management in schools.

These shared values were consistent with the policy in prioritising the standard of teaching. Although teachers articulated views of improving the success and progress of the school they did not see the appraisal process as a means to

achieve this. Teachers limited the appraisal process to the individual teacher and did not make the link between teacher improvement and school improvement.

The interviewees did, however, agree that the aim of the policy is to enhance the professional development of teachers. They further agreed that if the policy can meet this aim, it would be advantageous to the teachers. They hoped that it would develop teachers and lead to their empowerment but they did not see how the appraisal system could be used to improve management in the school.

Monitoring Teacher Performance

The appraisal policy brought about a shift away from the previous inspection system but teachers still held strong views about the inspection system and this led to resistance to the new appraisal system

All the interviewees shared negative experiences and perceptions of evaluation and inspection in schools. As is the case in many other schools, no form of evaluation was taking place at the school. The principal indicated that in terms of his own workload, classroom visits and evaluation had not been priorities for him.

The policy is emphatic about the difference between this new, developmental approach to appraisal and a judgemental evaluation system. It stresses the importance of teacher empowerment and the participation of all in the process. The appraisal policy spells out the developmental nature of the appraisal system, and asserts that the process is to be open and transparent. It requires the involvement of individual teachers in the process. The appraisee should engage in a discussion with the appraisal panel and recognise that relationships between teachers and their appraisal panel have to be developed.

Appraisal is still viewed by teachers as casting judgement on their teaching, and exposing the teachers' shortcomings to others. Fears regarding the power of the

appraiser continue to exist. Fear and anxiety are also related to classroom observation. With reference to their colleagues observing their teaching, teachers felt that for many, this system was not any different from the previous one. In their interpretation of the policy, teachers still perceived appraisal as a once off event for which teachers could 'window dress' instead of an ongoing professional development process. These factors all relate to the negative history of evaluation in schools. The following statements illustrate teachers' feelings about these issues:

In the past it was not something one looked forward to. You were nervous, you thought people would come in to criticise you. You feared the process and the evaluator was in a powerful position to destroy you as a teacher. If the new process is open and transparent, and I have a say in what needs to happen This will help. (Foundation Phase Teacher)

Similarly to other schools, implementation was slow..... teachers are scared especially if other teachers have to come into their class to observe. They worry about that..... Even when they chose their panels, you could see that they didn't choose people who could help with their development. Instead, they chose friends. (Principal)

Behaviours and Practices

This section discusses patterns of interaction that are informed by values and beliefs. Patterns of interaction are discussed in the context of the structural arrangements in the school. Four sets of patterns of interactions are analysed. These are patterns of social interaction in and between departments, patterns of interaction in meetings and patterns of interaction in relation to decision-making and patterns of isolation and collaboration

Patterns of social interaction in and between departments

In this section, patterns of social interaction are separated into informal and formal patterns of interaction. Informal patterns of interaction refer to friendship groups. Formal patterns of interaction reflect on the way the staff work together in the structured phases, teams or departments, including the management team. It explores relationships within and between phases or teams

Informal patterns of interaction

All the interviewees referred to the strong culture of sharing in the school. This was evident in the way teachers share workshop ideas and resources. The Foundation Phase teachers indicated that much of their time is spent in informal conversations about teaching and learning. Teachers further indicated that they knew who to get support from and felt free to approach colleagues for assistance. What they had not managed to do was to observe one another's teaching.

A Foundation Phase teacher made the following comments in this regard:

We work together well.... we share a lot and talk about our work with one another. Sometimes I will go to the group and show an example of my work to see if they would want to do it in the same way. Even the subject advisor commented on the quality of our work. It is neat, there is almost uniformity in our work

Generally relationships are said to be good; teachers said that they had 'nice sports' together. The principal played a positive role in trying to build collegiality. The teachers compared their relationships to those in other schools that they feel are in worse situations than they are. They noted that in some other schools relationships have broken down, disputes around promotion posts are frequent and these issues impact negatively on teaching.

In spite of the view that there was an ethos of collegiality and co-operation, concerns were expressed about the level of trust, openness and willingness to express criticism among the staff. The principal and Intermediate Phase teachers indicated that there was not enough openness amongst staff members. Teachers were very careful not to hurt one another's feelings, and in the process, the difficult issues were never dealt with. An atmosphere of politeness prevailed in relationships in the school.

One teacher expressed this in the following way:

You can't always express what you are feeling because you may end up hurting someone's feelings.....We are not at the place we can be honest with each other. You see if I tell my colleague the pen is white, she'll know that it is not so, but will not disagree because we don't want to hurt feelings..... We are not open with one another. We have nice sports but there are niggling issues.

Formal patterns of interaction

Formal patterns of interaction are examined in relation to the various phases or teams. This includes the Foundation Phase, Intermediate and Senior Phases and Management Team.

Foundation Phase

I wish to highlight patterns of interaction in this section. Although issues related to the use of positional power are mentioned here they will be explored more fully in the section dealing with micro-politics.

There was a strong sense of identity within the Foundation Phase and the teachers worked together well as a team. They saw themselves as marginalized, although not intentionally, from the rest of the staff. They did joint planning, shared plans to ensure continuity between grades and supported one another.

The team had a history of close working relationships and had often sat in on one another's lessons to observe and learn. This had changed since the implementation of rationalisation when staff numbers were reduced, class sizes increased and they only had one teacher in each grade. These developments made this level of sharing difficult to sustain.

The Foundation Phase teachers shared a communal space that was separate from the rest of the staff. They were also not very active or vocal in staff meetings. A senior phase teacher represented them on the management structure. No one in the Foundation Phase was involved in the formal management of the school. They appeared to have a good relationship with the senior staff member to whom they reported and described her as resourceful and supportive.

The Foundation Phase teachers and principal mentioned issues of confidence and esteem and how these impacted on their participation in the school. When they worked in their own team these issues did not appear to be a problem, but in the broader staff group the Foundation Phase teachers were silent and felt that they were silenced too, as the following statement illustrates:

Foundation Phase teacher –

Sometimes, when I want to say something, I wonder whether I'll be able to articulate it, will I say it properly, will they laugh at me? Will what I say, make a contribution, will it be right?..... Its not only a confidence issue, we've made proposals before but they are not taken into account.....next time I refrain from making proposals

Intermediate and Senior Phases

The Intermediate and Senior Phase teachers were subject specialists and did subject teaching as opposed to the class teaching that characterised the Foundation Phase. Teachers thus identified more strongly with the learning area (subject) within which they worked than with each other in phase teams. Most of

the joint planning happened in their learning areas. Intermediate Phase teachers indicated that, although they liaised closely with their colleagues in the same learning area, they knew that they could request assistance from other teachers in the phase, if it was necessary.

Management Team

As stated earlier in this chapter, the management team was comprised of a principal and two heads of department. The principal and one of the heads of department (HOD) had very good professional and personal relationships and, between them, took care of the management responsibilities and steered development in the school. They shared most of the workload in the management team and the involvement of the second head of department appeared to be negligible. The principal expressed doubts about the other, less active HOD's interest, commitment and responsibility. The management team did not meet frequently, mainly because it was small, but also because the principal and the active HOD made decisions informally. All the interviewees made reference to the role of the active head of department who carried influence and authority in the school.

Different views of the relationship between the management team and the staff existed in the school. The principal described it as a mutually open, critical and constructive relationship. There was consensus that authority and influence in the school lay in this team. This was manifest in the ways decisions were made. Some teachers felt that in many instances, decision-making was not shared in the school. Policy implementation was steered by the management team, and in most cases, was done strictly within the framework of the education department's guidelines. One of the Intermediate Phase teachers indicated that in many instances the policies received from the department were prescriptive, cumbersome and difficult to understand. Nevertheless, they were compelled by the management team to adhere to these prescriptions even if they had found easier, less complicated ways of implementing such policies.

The implementation of the developmental appraisal system was one instance where the management team diverted from the education department's policy guidelines. This was only done after the circuit manager encouraged them to implement it in a way that was most manageable to the school.

Two requirements for implementation outlined in the policy document are that the DAS must happen in a democratic organisational culture in an atmosphere of openness and trust and that the process itself should be transparent. Furthermore, colleagues are supposed to assist one another in reviewing their performances and identifying professional development needs.

Patterns of interaction have not changed in response to the demands of the appraisal policy. However, shifts in relationships have occurred in response to the implementation of the new curriculum but this shift has not enabled the implementation of DAS

Patterns of interaction in meetings

Morning briefings were held daily. The purpose of the briefing meetings every morning was mainly to share information, report back on other meetings or workshops, and set time aside for collective devotions. The morning devotions seemed to be a strong element in building collegiality in the school.

Formal staff meetings were held at the beginning of each term. The infrequency of formal staff meetings was connected to the small size of the staff and the fact that they had a number of informal meetings. In staff meetings plans, activities, excursions and other matters were shared and teachers took on responsibility for certain activities.

The teachers described the staff meetings as unproductive. The meetings followed an agenda and minutes were kept. The principal believed that meetings

were held in a democratic fashion. Meetings were however described by staff as one-sided, because the principal always chaired them and the same people always spoke. This was consistent with communication patterns in the workshops held at the school at the time I was supporting the school with the implementation of the policy and in the meetings I had with the staff to discuss the research. The Foundation Phase teachers indicated that they did not speak much in the staff meetings. This was related to their own levels of confidence and their perceptions that their views had previously been dismissed or discounted. This experience impacted on their participation in meetings. Some of the other reasons cited for the lack of participation during staff meetings appeared almost strategic on the part of the staff. The less they participated, the sooner the meetings could end and non-participation further ensured that responsibility for certain tasks was avoided.

Other than team meetings, there were no other meetings where individual teachers could talk about their roles, performance, plans or their own developmental needs.

The policy requires a series of appraisal meetings to take place for each appraisee during a cycle. The nature of these meetings is to be participatory and transparent. In these meetings, the appraisee and the panel are required to discuss various stages of the process, develop shared understandings of the criteria and instrument, discuss observations and come to joint decision about the teachers' developmental needs as well as the final appraisal report.

Although all staff members have appraisal panels, none of these panels have met. Teachers completed their self-appraisals, but the process was not taken any further in the school. The manner in which these meetings will be conducted or the extent to which they may mirror staff meetings in the school, could not be ascertained as no such meetings took place before or during the data collection period. The extent to which appraisal meetings will happen in a democratic and

constructive manner, open to the expression of professional difference, is questionable. There is a strong evidence of a tendency toward building consensus to mask conflict and to silence dissent in the school.

Patterns of interaction in terms of decision-making

Different views existed about decision-making in the school. The management team viewed themselves as consultative and believed that they sought the views of teachers before decisions were made. On the other hand, teachers indicated that some decisions were made without consultation with the staff and that the management team's influence ensured that certain views would be taken into account in decision-making. Foundation Phase and Intermediate Phase teachers expressed discontent about the way they were sometimes compelled to take on certain activities to serve the interests of the school.

Foundation Phase teacher

There are many times when they make proposals and when no one expresses their views the proposal is accepted. But there are times when we are not consulted about certain decisions and then we are unhappy. Sometimes we ask for a meeting or we just let it go and carry on with our work.

The school displayed a strong drive towards building consensus. Behaviour in the school could be described as compliant and non-confrontational and conflict was avoided. The school prided itself on the fact that they were aware of schools that were in worse positions than this school. Also, during the process of rationalisation and the filling of new posts, they did not experience the kinds of disputes that prevailed at other schools.

Teachers indicated that on the surface, things were all right but there were niggling issues. If these could be taken care of, the school would be in a much

better position. The Intermediate Phase teachers agreed that teachers' work together well around the actual teaching and learning task, and that the underlying, niggling issues were viewed as secondary to the primary task of providing good teaching and learning.

Although the policy makes no clear statements about decision-making processes, guidelines are implied in some of appraisal process requirements. For example, the policy states that appraisal needs to happen in a democratic climate in the school. It should also be practised in that way during appraisal meetings where the appraisee and the panel are expected to engage in frank, open, honest discussions about assessment observations and emerging strengths and developmental needs.

Since the appraisal panels had not met, decision-making at this level had not taken place. However, teachers clearly had concerns about how this would work. Although interviewees agreed that they work together well as a staff, there was a perception that there were underlying issues that got in the way of an open, democratic, collegial culture in the school. Furthermore, when the issues of openness and trust were referred to in the interviews, interviewees had difficulty responding to them, as illustrated by the following statement made by the principal.

It is not so much about trusting one another, I'm not sure if it is about trust..... in terms of appraisal, people have fears regarding trust.....I think it is only human. People will probably talk if something was observed in a class and didn't work. This is what people fear.

The school attempted to build collegiality and the principal played a leading role in this process. This was not done only in response to the demands placed on them by DAS, it was also part of a broader attempt to build unity amongst the staff.

Patterns of Isolation and Collaboration

The notion of collaboration emerges as one of the central elements of the appraisal policy. In this school the patterns of isolation and collaboration were shaped by both the rationalisation policy and the new curriculum and not as a result of the appraisal policy. These two policies had contradictory effects in terms of isolation and collaboration in the school. The reduction of staff as a result of the rationalisation policy increased feelings of isolation and, conversely, the introduction of a new curriculum created a need for teachers to work together.

All the interviewees indicated how they had previously attempted to work much more closely with each other. With the rationalisation process, the staff has become smaller, class sizes had increased, fewer classes per grade existed, or there were fewer teachers teaching the same subject. This made working with colleagues directly linked to their own area of work difficult. An increased workload and consequent lack of time also made spontaneous collaboration difficult.

In spite of these difficulties, the introduction of a new curriculum created a need for teachers to work together. The collective planning in phases and learning areas was thus driven by a need and desire in the school to make sense of the new curriculum. The overall feeling in the school was that they have shifted away from teacher isolation. The school sets aside time on Friday afternoons to do collective planning. Staff members meet in phase or learning area groups to do collective planning of work schemes for the term, or share activities, ideas and resources. It has been difficult to adhere to this time and on occasion, other events have replaced the collective planning sessions. Teachers view the process positively, as illustrated below.

Intermediate Phase teacher

We used to come from workshops with the understanding that if planning is going to work in the school, everyone must be involved. Now it is much better, you don't sit there in a corner struggling to make senseit has been very helpful, also to get ideas, resources and so on from colleagues..... You also feel more open to ask for help.

The school has subsequently become involved in a cluster of four schools where a similar process of joint planning is followed. Teachers from the different schools take responsibility for sections of work and develop learning programmes which they share with colleagues back at school.

The policy highlights the need for collaboration both between teachers at a school, but also between teachers from different schools. In terms of the policy teachers should work collaboratively with other teachers in the same grade or learning area. It also encourages schools to work with teachers from neighbouring schools and to draw in the Support Services of the education department.

The school has responded positively to both requirements of internal collaboration and collaboration with other schools. Teachers indicated that, in some ways, the school had shifted from working in isolation to a process of collaborative planning. This was as a result of the new demands made by Curriculum 2005 and not so much a response to DAS. The teachers had not managed to observe one another's teaching. However, the presence of collegial relationships in the school was illustrated by the fact that teachers were able to do a collective needs analysis in deciding which criteria they wished to focus on for their own form of DAS.

In terms of the earlier discussion of patterns of social interaction, some form of collegial relationships did exist in the school. There was informal sharing that

happened but in most cases collaboration was structured to deal with the demands of the implementation of a new curriculum and did not happen spontaneously. Collaboration also did not happen evenly throughout the school. The Foundation Phase teachers found it easier to collaborate in their own team. Similarly, Intermediate phase teachers identified strongly with their subject area and would do collective planning with teachers in their subject area and not necessarily within the phase or the whole school. Very little interaction appeared to happen across the different phases or subject areas in the school.

Finally, while the school operated in a collegial manner, interactions were generally of consensual nature that did not facilitate the expression of professional difference.

Micro-Politics

An analysis of the micro-political nature of an organisation attempts to uncover contestation in the school as manifested in terms of power relations, control, domination and conflict within the organisation and its structures. Micro-politics relates to the way roles and responsibilities are defined, decisions are made, and staff meetings are conducted. Some of these issues were raised in the presentation of patterns of interaction in school. In this section the emphasis is specifically on the use of positional power, gender issues and who has authority and influence in the school.

In the following sections these aspects are explored. Although the DAS policy outlines the kind of organisational culture that will support the implementation of the policy, it makes no reference to questions of power and power relations in schools and the impact this might have on implementation. There is an implicit assumption that, since teachers are involved in an open and transparent process, this will do enough to deal with potential micro-political issues in the school.

The next part of the analysis does not follow the same structure that focuses on policy prerequisites and the school's response. Instead, significant micro-political issues that impact on policy implementation are discussed.

Leadership style

The manner in which leadership is exercised is one of the key areas normally explored in a micro-political analysis. As described earlier, the management team of the school was comprised of a principal and two heads of department. The principal and one of the HOD's had a close relationship and shared the leadership in the school. The role of the HOD was negligible. Teachers described the leadership style of the principal as democratic, collegial, supportive and encouraging. He was also described not abusing his power.

The principal described himself as equal to the staff. He maintained a philosophy that leadership should be shared since they were all involved in the education process. He had been in this role for less than a year, taught mathematics to two classes, and thus maintained a connection with the classroom and an understanding of the pressures teachers work under. This approach gained him the respect of the staff. In terms of his role as a head of the school there was an expectation for him to be firmer and assert himself more in his role. This is illustrated in comments of an Intermediate Phase Teacher:

The principal is a very receptive and approachable person. He has the ability to solve problems in a pleasant manner. He understands what teachers are experiencing, he has empathy, he is very caring and doesn't set himself apart from teachers. But sometimes I wish that he will take a stand and tell teachers how he feels things should be done, but not become a dictator.

Although the principal held the formal leadership position and authority in the school it seemed that one of the heads of department had more influence and

was viewed as a support and resource to others in the school. This HOD's influence was based on knowledge, experience and efficiency and she therefore had a fair amount of control over the daily running and development of the school. Contrary to the principal's democratic style, this HOD was viewed as authoritarian and not able to share power. Yet the different styles did not appear to be in tension and appeared to be compatible.

The principal further played an important role in building consensus and a strong religious ethos in the school. While this religious ethos was intended to build a caring and unifying environment, it had the effect of inhibiting contestation and the expression of professional difference.

Positional power

One of the issues highlighted in the school was the passive role of the Foundation Phase teachers. As mentioned previously, none of the Foundation Phase teachers were part of the formal management structure of the school. Their was overseen by one of the HOD's who spoke on their behalf and represented the interests of the phase. Teachers generally described this relationship as collegial and supportive but the Foundation Phase teachers felt they had no voice.

All the interviewees referred to the lack of confidence amongst the Foundation Phase teachers. Two divergent perspectives were raised in this regard. On the one hand, interviewees, including Foundation Phase teachers, perceived their lack of self-confidence as a personal issue. But the Foundation Phase teachers went further and highlighted practices in the school that had impacted negatively on their self- confidence. Foundation Phase teachers referred to instances where they felt their views were dismissed and this stopped them from contributing to discussions. This perpetuated and entrenched the position and the perception other teachers held of the Foundation Phase teachers as the quiet, non-critical

teachers who lacked self- confidence. Consequently, the leadership that existed in the Foundation Phase was not harnessed and empowerment did not happen at all levels in the school.

The exercise of positional power in the school led to some tensions. An Intermediate Phase teacher's comments illustrate this:

I feel that people who create these feelings in the school are of senior rank/ position. I feel like a little girl down here. I can't open my mouth because if we start an argument, I'll be the loser. I'm not sure if I'll get the support of others if I raise a difficulty. It is supposed to be democratic and it's my right to express my view, but that culture is still here at the school.

Intermediate Phase teachers also expressed views that power was not shared in the school and that not enough was done to empower every teacher in the school. An Intermediate Phase teacher said:

I don't think all teachers are empowered in this school. Give everyone an opportunity... the weakest person must be empowered... when the principal leaves, others should be able to step in... You can't keep the power in one place, others may not agree, but I don't think the power is shared here.

Dissatisfaction was also expressed with regard to the use of positional power in the distribution of roles and responsibilities. The Intermediate Phase teachers expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which certain responsibilities were assigned. They felt no review was done to ascertain whether all were happy with the responsibilities or to ensure that responsibilities were shared or rotated.

They expressed the view that with some activities in the school, seniority in the school influenced who got involved in certain activities. Nevertheless, teachers complied with decisions that forced them to continue to be involved in activities

even if they disliked them. They were motivated by a belief that their actions should be in the best interests of the school.

Some of the underlying tensions related to perceived inequalities in the school. Teachers expressed the perception that some people were able to 'get away' with more in the school. They felt that people were not treated equally and that workloads were unequal. In addition, the perception existed that power was not shared but was centralised in the management team in the school. The notion of shared leadership and empowerment of all was thus not evident in practise and existed only at the level of rhetoric in the school.

Gender related issues

Two gender-related issues are discussed, namely promotion and participation in meetings.

Promotion

While the majority (ten) of the staff members were women and only five were men, two of the men held senior positions. Although women were not excluded from senior positions when the posts for principal and deputy principal became vacant, women did not apply. Furthermore, questions existed about the commitment and competence of one of the senior teachers who applied for the position of deputy head, yet none of the capable women applied. In spite of this the female teachers recognised the abilities of other women on the staff and encouraged them to apply for senior positions. One of the Intermediate Phase teachers indicated that she encouraged the only woman on the school management team to apply for the positions of principal and deputy principal:

I told Ms X.... to apply for these positions as she has all the qualities ... The one thing she has to learn is to share the power, but she has the drive and the vision.... I explained to her that it is not about friendship. She is also entitled to apply for the position of

principal or deputy principal. She is strong and has the right qualities.

Participation in meetings

Men generally are more active in meetings. Men did most of the talking, dominated discussions and there was an absence of the women's voice in staff meetings. The women who participated in meetings had either been at the school longer than others, had been in the profession longer, or held seniority in the school.

Conclusion

In this chapter the data collected was presented. It outlined the situation in the school prior to the implementation of DAS, the requirements of the DAS policy and how the school responded to these. The one area not explicitly addressed by the policy is the underlying micro political tensions that may exist in the school and how this will impact on the implementation of the policy. This did not change as a result of DAS. Instead the DAS policy entered the current micro-political set up in the school and has in fact not made the school more democratic, transparent or shifted positional power in the school.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study set out to explore the impact that the local context of the school has on policy implementation, using the Developmental Appraisal System (DAS) as an example. As the study unfolded it became clear that there is a dynamic interaction between the policy and the local context. This meant that factors in the local context, namely structure, culture and micropolitics, as well as the policy itself would have to be explored in terms of how they impact on each other.

This study has argued that the DAS policy makes projections about the context into which it is inserted. In the case of Success Primary School however, there were tensions between what the policy projects and what actually exists in the school. The policy proposes interventions aimed at establishing conditions of possibility for the implementation of the policy, but these are limited to structural change in the school. The local context of the school encompasses more than organisational structure. Local conditions pertaining to culture and micropolitics also either enable or inhibit the implementation of DAS.

This particular case study suggests that the impact of local context on policy implementation might be considered in relation to the tensions between local context and what the policy projects

Policy Projections

A key finding relates to the notion of policy projections, which in this case refers to the underlying assumptions and the conditions which the policy expects to exist in the school to facilitate its implementation, and the mismatch that occurs between what the policy projects and the actual conditions in the school. The

DAS policy presents the ideal conditions that would have to be in place in a school to enable its implementation. It makes projections about the kind of organisational culture, the nature of interaction between teachers as well the kind of teacher that would facilitate and support the implementation of the appraisal system. The policy requires democratic organisational cultures and reflective teachers who work in collaborative and collegial relationships and are open to critique. It represents schools as places where the philosophy of life-long learning is upheld and where learning takes place.

The policy attempts to institute collaborative teacher behaviour. However, it does not address the values and beliefs that underlie collaborative relationships, nor does it address what would have to be done to bring about new behaviours.

The policy further requires teachers to be open to feedback from colleagues and willing to collectively create and support staff development opportunities for one another. Ultimately, these attitudes and behaviours should result in improved teaching practice and management of schools. But the means to achieve these attitudes and behaviours are either not provided by the policy or are insufficient where they are provided.

Conditions of Possibility

A second key finding to emerge from this study relates to the extent to which the policy creates the conditions of possibility for its own implementation which here refers to the means the policy puts in place to support its own implementation. The DAS policy falls short in this regard since the conditions of possibility outlined are limited to the creation of new structures such as the staff development team and the appraisal panels that are required to support implementation. The policy omits to put in place conditions of possibility for cultural and micro-political change in schools.

Although the policy puts in place new structural arrangements in schools, in the case of Success Primary School these had very little effect in this school. In this school the structures were created but never became fully operational. A number of factors accounted for this. These ranged from concerns about the constitution of the panels to the lack of training to help panel members fulfil their role. The issue was complicated further by the numerous other structures the school had to set up to implement other policies. Multiple new policies each generated new structures such as committees. This resulted in a lack of coherence between the policies and between structures. In this school the curriculum was viewed as priority and the implementation of other policies viewed as secondary to the implementation of the new curriculum. Moreover teachers did not see the link between the new curriculum, their own professional development and the new DAS policy.

The impact of other policies such as rationalisation resulted in a high turnover of staff and made the appraisal panels and the staff development team unsustainable. While these structures outlined in the policy were put in place, they failed to come into operation in the school. None of the appraisal panels met and the staff development team was able only to arrange an initial information session with the staff.

Although there were concerns about these structures, some of the real difficulties with the implementation of DAS revolved around the constraints the school faced with regard to the demand on its existing resources in terms of time, space and class size. This impacted on the workload of teachers. Given the existing day-to-day functioning of the school and the lack of clear, tangible and immediate benefits that the policy seemed to provide, the school also found it difficult to prioritise classroom observation and appraisal meetings in its current operations.

Cultural Change

As I indicated earlier, the DAS policy makes projections about democratic, collegial cultures that facilitate critical self-reflection in schools. However, the policy makes no mention of how these cultures can be created where they do not exist in schools.

The study highlights the complexity of cultural change in schools. Such a process requires dealing with the values, beliefs and assumptions that inform behaviour, practices and patterns of interaction in a school. It also provides evidence of how the micro-political nature of the organisation gives rise to a particular culture. All these aspects require attention if sustainable change is to occur in schools.

In the case of Success Primary School, there was a semblance of democracy. All teachers had the opportunity to participate in discussions and decisions about workload, school functions and other matters. However, teachers often refrained from participation in order to avoid responsibility. The policy requires a form of democracy that goes beyond superficial participation to joint responsibility. This was not present in Success Primary School.

Patterns of Interaction

This chapter, and the study as a whole, views the patterns of interaction in the school as crucial to the implementation of the DAS policy. The DAS policy is premised on the principle of collaboration in schools and the nature and quality of relationships are central to the way the DAS policy is implemented. But a nuanced description of collaboration is required, one that shifts from describing the absence of spontaneous collaboration as isolation and recognises a range of different forms of collaboration.

There was evidence of structured collaboration throughout Success Primary school, for example in the collective curriculum planning sessions conducted in the school. There was also evidence of balkanisation in the Foundation Phase. There were also instances of individualism that appeared to be strategic, in response to increased workloads and greater demands that were made on teachers' time. Individualism or isolation in this school could be partly attributed to workplace conditions: teachers simply did not have the time and space in their schedules to work together.

While there were structural conditions in the school that made collaboration difficult, the process was hampered by the absence of shared values or commitment to purposes and priorities in the school. Teachers agreed their purpose was to enhance learner achievement but did not see how teacher development in general, or the DAS policy in particular, would help to achieve this purpose. Thus the DAS policy was not perceived as a priority in relation to learner achievement.

Micropolitics

From the perspective of the policy, the ideal organisational culture for the implementation of DAS is a collegial, democratic culture characterised by trust and openness to critique and feedback. In this school it appeared as though the underlying micro-politics shaped the existing culture in the school and impacted negatively on the open, trusting relationships required for the implementation of appraisal.

A public and hidden transcript could be identified in the school and the micropolitics of the school can be described in relation to these transcripts. In the public day-to-day life of the school, relationships were good, teachers got on well and there was a supportive and caring culture. But this did not reveal the underlying feelings that existed about power, decision-making and leadership, for

instance. A strong religious ethos that encouraged caring and compassion masked the fact that not all voices were heard and dissent and professional differences were not expressed. There was a strong drive towards consensus, compliance and non-confrontational behaviour. A general air of politeness existed and conflict was avoided since it was viewed as detrimental to the school. Yet, there were concerns about the use of positional power in decision-making, to protect interests and to get others to comply, even where policy implementation was concerned.

In a publicly supportive and caring environment teachers were not willing to observe one another teaching. Teachers did not view this unwillingness to be observed as indicative of a lack of trust and openness. Publicly teachers said that they could trust each other but in fact there was not sufficient trust to accommodate implementation in terms of observation. Teachers still feared exposing their vulnerabilities; they feared that whatever would be revealed would not remain confidential in the school.

Unequal gender relations contributed to the lack of trust in Success Primary School. Although there were fewer men than women on the staff, men continued to dominate in terms of position, influence and participation in meetings. Existing inequalities were entrenched and women were relegated to stereotypical roles of caring and nurturing in the school. Structurally women were under represented in the management of the school. The subordinate status of the Foundation Phase teachers indicated how stereotypical roles and views of women were perpetuated in the school. The DAS policy does not challenge any of the micro-political issues of voice, gender relations or how positional power is used in the school. However, these factors impact directly on the implementation of a policy premised on democratic collegial relations.

Leadership Style

The leadership style of the school management is central to micropolitics in the school. In this school two particular styles emerged each impacting on the micropolitics in the school. The principal's approach to leadership leaned strongly towards an interpersonal style. He focused on personal interaction and believed in and encouraged face-to-face communication, responded to individual requests from staff members and was viewed as approachable and accommodating. Characteristic of this style of leadership were the informal communication networks that were sometimes used to make decisions. The principal's accommodating nature, ironically raised feelings that unequal relationships existed, that some colleagues were not doing enough, had influence over the principal and were allowed to 'get away' with too much. This was particularly evident in the principal's relationship with a senior staff member (HOD) whose leadership approach was more authoritarian. Ironically, she also had more influence in the school and could determine what kinds of activities the school would take on or not. A hierarchy had also developed in terms of decision-making and in some instances, where the staff felt the need for consultation, bilateral decisions were made between the principal and this senior staff member. This exclusive way of making decisions went against the spirit of the appraisal system that requires an open and transparent atmosphere in the school.

Policy Content and the broader Implementation Process

This study focused primarily on the impact the local context has on the implementation of DAS. However, it has emerged from the study that there are some issues inherent in the content of the policy itself, and the manner in which it was introduced that impacted negatively on implementation. Thus there is a

dynamic interaction between policy content and the local context. The study identified three factors in terms of content and procedures of the DAS policy that impacted on its implementation.

Formative and Summative Approaches

A history of punitive inspection practices in education has had a negative impact on the perceptions of the new, developmental system in this school. The DAS policy is thus a good illustration of policy collision. Teachers in Success Primary School still viewed appraisal as a judgemental process where the teachers exposed their shortcomings or weaknesses and therefore placed themselves in vulnerable positions. Teachers' past experience of the power of inspectors to determine an individual's future in the teaching profession had left a legacy of teacher anxiety about the perceived power of appraisers. In this school appraisal was still equated with judgement. Teachers feared a possible negative report might result in diminished professional esteem and impact on future promotion opportunities. Thus, although the policy is intended to be formative it was perceived as summative in this school. The perception that the appraisal system focuses solely on weaknesses and teacher deficit results in continued mistrust about the appraisal system. This complicated 'buy-in' and the development of ownership of the process.

Specification of the steps for the Appraisal Process

Another aspect of the policy that impacted on implementation in the school was the specification of steps for the appraisal process itself. The appraisal process outlined by the policy is cumbersome, time-consuming and administratively difficult to manage. The process demands an immense time commitment from individual teachers and the school. The organisation of time and space for meetings and classroom observation remains a problem especially in a school with a small staff like the one in this study.

Pressure and support

One of the factors foregrounded in school improvement literature is the need for both pressure and support in the implementation of innovations. This means that schools must have support at their disposal but should also be aware of pressure and sanction. In the case of the DAS policy it appears that both support and sanction were inadequate.

The initial training teachers in Success Primary School received to implement DAS in their school was insufficient and did not prepare them for the complexity of the change process the policy demanded. The appraisal policy appeals strongly to intrinsic motivation, goodwill and professionalism on the part of the teacher. It calls on teachers to take responsibility for their own development. But this is done in the absence of a broader plan for educator development, or any form of career path for teachers. The onus currently rests on the individual teacher or school to take forward the responsibility, which might prove difficult, especially in the absence of capacity and resources in most schools.

Teachers did not have any real sense of what the education department wanted to do with the information gathered through the appraisal process. At the level of the school there was insufficient momentum to carry the implementation process. The school instituted a process of developing shared understanding. However, the process stalled in the face of deeply held attitudes that were in tension with the policy. A lack of follow-up support and very little or no pressure from the education department contributed to incomplete implementation. This, in turn, gave the impression that the DAS policy is merely symbolic.

Conclusion

This study set out to understand how the local context of the school impacts on policy implementation. It argues that a dynamic relationship that exists between the policy text and local context. Policy texts make projections about the ideal

school. These conditions pertain not only to not only to structure but also organisation culture and micropolitics. Successful implementation also depends on the practicability of the implementation of the policy itself, the coherence between this policy and other policies and coherence between the structures emerging from multiple new policies.

Incompatibilities between the policy and local conditions can be addressed at the level of the school itself but only if the school achieves a shared sense of how the policy contributes to shared purposes in the school. In the case of the DAS policy, this was not achieved.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Understanding policy/ policy intention

- What is your understanding of the developmental appraisal policy and what it aims to do?
- What do you think about this policy and how does it challenge you as a teacher/ principal?
- Do think your colleagues are clear on what this policy means and what the aims are? Why?
- What do you think the education department aims to do with this policy?

Policy and professional development

- How will this policy make a difference to you as a teacher?
- How do you think this policy will make a difference to the way teachers work in your school?

Institutional context

- Explain what is happening in your school regarding the implementation of the appraisal policy.
- Who is mainly responsible for the implementation of DAS? How is the process managed in your school?
- How do you feel about the way you have/ are implementing the appraisal system?
- Do you have any concerns or questions about this?
- What are the factors (individual and organizational) that help /hinder the implementation of the policy?

The next section looks more closely at how you work together in your school.

Include following preparatory section for self--- sense from a lot of teachers that relationships among the staff play a crucial role in implementation of DAS.

Patterns of interaction

- How would describe relationships between colleagues in your school?

- How do teachers relate to one another informally? Do you interact socially (within context of school activities)?
- Do teachers work together /not, on what basis does this happen, and how does it happen?
- Is there any form of sharing happening? How does it happen? What do colleagues share about?
- Is time set aside for teachers to work together? How does it happen?
- In the workshops some teachers indicated that appraisal may not work because of trust. How strong do you think the trust is between different staff members?
- What helps or hinders trust building in your school?

Subcultures

- How do the different departments /sections/ phases function in your school ?
- How would you describe the department / phase or team that you work in predominantly?
- Do you work as a team? How do you work together? Who takes the lead in the phase meetings? What are your meetings like? If there is sharing, what is the nature of sharing?
- How would you describe the relationships between the different departments?
- Is there any department that appears to have a leading /dominant role or has more power and influence in the school? Why
- Are there cliques in the school? On what basis are they formed and how do they work?
- Think about the different meetings e.g phase, grade, learning area or staff meetings that are held in your school. How would you describe the interaction in these meetings? Who does most of the talking? What roles do different people play?

- How would you describe the relationship between the school management/school principal and the rest of the staff?
- How do the relationships in your school influence the way the work gets done, in your class, grade, phase or the whole staff?
- I know that the whole staff can't always be involved in all decisions. Generally how would you describe the decision-making process in your school? Those that concern whole school/ your phase / or issues related to your classroom practice
- How do you feel about communication in your organization?
- How is information shared in your school? In the whole school, in your grade phase or other teams that you are part of? How do you feel about it? .
- What would you consider as some of the values (things believe people in / view as important that are shared by members) of your staff
- How many of these things do you consider as a priority in the school?

Concluding

- Is there anything that has emerged in your school around the appraisal policy that I have not covered?
- Do you have any other questions, comments or observations?

Additional questions specifically for the principal

- What do you think are the education department's expectations about the implementation of this policy?
- In many schools teachers have concerns about the appraisal of the management team and principal? Is that the case here? If so, how have you dealt with it?
- Are you aware of how this process links with other developmental processes and policies currently under discussion in the education department?

APPENDIX 2: EXTRACT OF SCHOOL'S CRITERIA FOR CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

CRITERIA FOR CLASSROOM OBSERVATION:

1. Effective Classroom Management

Focus: To develop Criteria for classroom management
To compare these with the DAS criteria
To develop a shared understanding of the Criteria
To do self assessment against these
To use the criteria during classroom observation

Criteria for Good Classroom Management

- Thorough preparation and planning
- Motivation of learners
- Developing a sound relationship with learners
- Positive attitude towards learners
- Encouraging learners
- Variety of teaching strategies
- Effective learning and teaching
- Thorough and ongoing assessment
- Optimal use of time and good time management

Discipline:

- Set rules
- Teacher is consistent
- Teacher is responsible
- Teacher acts as role model
- Mutual respect between teacher and student
- High standard of behaviour between teacher and learner
- Learners are involved in the setting of rules
- Teacher uses tact, does not accuse learners
- Good classroom organisation leads to good discipline

Motivation of Learners

- Non-discriminatory
- Avoid biting comments
- Constructive criticism
- Acknowledge Learners contributions
- Praise where requires
- Build intrinsic motivation
- Allow child to learn at his/her pace
- Avoid personal offensive remarks
- Inspire your learners

Classroom Atmosphere

- Interesting activities
- Must challenge learner
- Encourage Learners
- Use range of teaching aids
- Create a pleasant learning environment

Planning and Preparation

- Teacher does micro, meso and macro planning
- Teachers do joint planning
- Access necessary resources
- Keep WCED policies in mind
- Take learners background, interests , abilities into account
- Plan for individual; cases

Use of Teaching Aids

- Use what we have ,
- Improvise
- Use specialists in and outside school
- Make use of media centre

Time Management

- Punctuality
- Marking and administrative work after school
- Continuous assessment and record keeping
- Fit extra-mural activities in
- Set an example
- Be organized and responsible
- Arrange private meetings and appointments for after school or during holidays
- Keep meetings short and to the point

APPENDIX 3: LETTER REQUESTING ACCESS



1 September 2001

The Principal and Staff
Berzelia Primary School

Re: Research

Dear Colleagues

Once again, thank you for allowing me to do the research towards the completion of my thesis in your school. I will continue to provide the in-service support to you around the areas you have identified.

Please allow me to share some of the detail around the research. The study tries to understand how schools work with policy. I am interested to get a sense of your **views on the teacher appraisal policy and how your school is working with the policy.** The research is not intended to evaluate you, your colleagues or your school. It aims to tell the story of how you've implemented the policy and what your views are on it. The research will take the form of interviews and observations. The interviews will be approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour long. I hope to record these interviews and will have them transcribed later. I will verify information with you especially in cases where you'll be quoted directly. The information provided will be confidential and be used for the purpose of the research only.

I would also like to observe the interaction in the school and will appreciate it if I can observe staff meetings, grade, learning area or phase meetings. I do not intend doing classroom observations of individual teachers.

I'm hoping to complete the interviews before the end of the term, if possible and I'm completely prepared to fit into your programme. What I will need from the school is a list of teachers willing to be interviewed and a convenient time for this to happen. Furthermore I would like to ask permission to observe some of the meetings outlined above. This could require spending more time during the day in your school.

Please let me know how this suits you and feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Yours sincerely

Signed by candidate

Mandy Barnes