IMPLICATIONS OF THE CURRICULUM AND ASSESSMENT POLICY STATEMENT ON TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

By

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Declaration

I, Theko Mokgohloa, Student number: 27645411, declare that this dissertation/report, which I hereby submit to the University of Pretoria for the degree Magister Educationis (MED), is my own and unaided work and has never been submitted for any other degree or exam at any other institution. I submit further that all the citations from existing literature were acknowledged by means of proper referencing.

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Dedication

I wish to convey my sincere thanks to God, the almighty, for having provided me with the courage, wisdom and willpower to travel this rough and taxing journey; to the extent that I was finally able to run the full course.

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Abstract

The post-1994 education system in South Africa, through Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and Outcomes Based Education (OBE) adopted an approach which allowed teachers considerable freedom in deciding on the learning content in the classroom. However, with the introduction of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in 2011, the goalposts shifted and new accountability regimes emerged. The CAPS policy advocated uniformity and standardization of curricula across all grades, thereby limiting teacher initiative and creativity. This study was informed by the interpretive paradigm, whereby individuals use their subjective experiences to construct multiple realities about social phenomena. As a result, an interpretive, qualitative method of research was used. The aim of this research was to understand the subjective experiences of primary school teachers as to how their professional autonomy is influenced by the introduction of the CAPS policy. A multi-site (multiple) case study research design and semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from participants. Purposive and convenient sampling was used to select two fee-paying schools and two non-fee-paying schools. Sixteen (16) participants, four per participating school, completed the sample. Content analysis was used to analyse transcribed data. The research found that the introduction of the CAPS policy severely compromised teacher autonomy in the classroom.

Key words: autonomous practice, professional autonomy, accountability, prescription, monitoring and control, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement, standardization

CERTIFICATE OF EDITING

31 October 2018

To whom it may concern

This is to confirm that I have completed the language editing of the dissertation **Implications of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement on Teacher Professionalism in Primary Schools** by **Theko Mokgohloa** (U27645411) to be submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree **MAGISTER EDUCATIONIS.**

Yours faithfully

Ailsa Williams

List of abbreviations

ANA	Annual National Assessments
ATL	Association of Teachers and Lecturers
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CASS	Continuous Assessment
CBD	Central Business District
C2005	Curriculum 2005
DAS	Development Appraisal System
DBE	Department of Basic Education
EPU	Education Policy Unit
IQMS	Integrated Quality Management Systems
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NIAF	National Integrated Assessment Framework
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
OFSTED	Office For Standards in Education
PM	Performance Measurement
PRP	Performance Related Pay
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SBA	School Based Assessments
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UK	United Kingdom
WSE	Whole School Evaluation

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

An important challenge that characterizes curriculum changes in education systems around the world is the fear of the unknown. Curriculum changes are often a result of changes in the socio-political and economic environment in the country (Hilferty 2008:54). In most cases, these changes are a reflection of a transition from one political system to another (De Clercq 2013: 14). The South African education system has passed through a transition from a disjointed education system to a cohesive national education system inclusive of all, as a result of the institutionalization of democracy. These changes, as it was to be expected, were likely to bring about levels of anxiety, uncertainty and expectations within the teaching profession and most importantly, improvement in the quality of teaching and learning.

Changes in political and economic power relations, in particular, have contributed to many education policy changes in education systems of countries around the world (Uiseb 2007: 71). For example, curriculum reforms in Namibia and South Africa were necessitated by the emergence of new governments, subsequent to the demise of discriminatory regimes. Other factors that are believed to contribute to changes in education policies are global changes in education.

Prior to 1994, South Africa's curriculum development practices and procedures were characterized by a process whereby curricula were developed at central level and then disseminated in a top-down manner to the level of implementation (Ngidi 2010: 11). Deacon, Osman and Buchler (2010: 99) point out that after the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, "*education policy in the South African education system adopted a self-confident and forward-looking stance that was poised to overcome the inequities of the past while at the same time laying foundations for a sound and globally competitive future*". Ngidi (2012: 2) stresses that *"the post-apartheid curriculum sought to emphasize outcomes rather than the content-heavy syllabus of the past and the assumption was that the content of the intended curriculum should not be centrally prescribed but developed by teachers against centrally prescribed outcomes*".

When comparing the curriculum reform process in Germany and South Africa, Chisholm (2010: 402) noted that the two countries pursued different approaches. While curriculum reforms in South Africa were focused on an outcomes-based education, curriculum reforms in Germany were focused on a competency-based education. However, both approaches stressed the advancement of expertise and appraisal in teaching and learning.

Marishane (2014: 368) explains that for teachers to be receptive to change depends on their ability to make sense of the policy. That is, curriculum change should appeal to the hearts and minds of teachers who are going to be affected by such changes. It is important, therefore, that teachers are actively involved throughout the change process, as failure to involve them in curriculum development provides challenges for the successful implementation of the curriculum. For example, Marishane (2014: 368) cites inadequate orientation, training and development of educators as having contributed to the unsuccessful implementation of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and Outcomes Based Education (OBE).

Oloruntegbe (2011: 444) contends that research has revealed that there was an apparent "*neglect or non-involvement of teachers in curricula innovations"* such as C2005 in the education system of South Africa. This gives an indication that the teacher's voice was either ignored or not heard in the planning of new curriculum designs. This argument, according to Oloruntegbe (2011: 444), explains why many curriculum improvements in Africa and other parts of the world were developed in a '*top-down'* manner, through *'power coercive'* or '*unilateral administrative decisions'*, and imposed in utter ignorance of the 'grassroots'. On the contrary, curricula innovations in many developed countries such as Australia, involve the collaborative efforts of all stakeholders, including the teachers.

Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 461) identify four periods of curriculum development procedure in the education system of South Africa post 1994. The period 1994 to 1999 represents an era when the legislative framework sought to redress the legacy of apartheid and transform the education system. According to Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 461), the main aim of this transition was to introduce a shift away from the past practices which were:

> *… dominated by public examinations, whose main function has always been to rank, grade, select and certify learners, to a new system that informs and improves the curriculum and assessment practices of educators and the leadership, governance and organization of learning cites*.

Continuous assessment (CASS) was used by way of a model for all assessments so as to direct a shift away from apartheid-based assessment practices (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 461).

The second period, from 1999 to 2004 was focused on the implementation of policy. However, there were problems pertaining to the implementation of the CASS model as educators complained about the complexity of the curriculum as well as the heavy workload associated with the assessment model (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 462). According to Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 462) the third period, from 2004 to 2009, coincided with efforts to improve quality through the use of the Assessment Policy 2007. This policy entrenched the CASS model by prescribing the number of assessments across different phases and subjects as well as new forms of recording and reporting through learner profiles and teacher portfolios.

Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 462) describe the fourth period (2009-2014) as the period focused on the improvement of education quality using accountability systems. For example, Action Plan 2014 spells out a subject-based accountability system by using a census-based Annual National Assessments (ANA) model in grades 1 to 6 while the National Protocol for Assessments in Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) replaces the CASS model with School Based Assessment (SBA) to record and report information on learner performance.

Marishane (2014: 367) explains that the pace of curriculum change in the South African education system went through four (4) stages which are represented in Figure 1.1 below. Marishane (2014: 367) explains that stage1 represents the unification of the curriculum from 17 racially and ethnically designated education departments into one National Department of Education. Stage two represents the introduction of "*Curriculum 2005 (C2005)*" and the "*Outcomes Based Education (OBE)*". Stage three witnessed an appraisal of Curriculum 2005 and an introduction of the "*Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS)"* in 2002. In the last stage the RNCS was

repackaged into the CAPS and ANA and coincides with the implementation of a long-term strategic plan known as Schooling 2025.

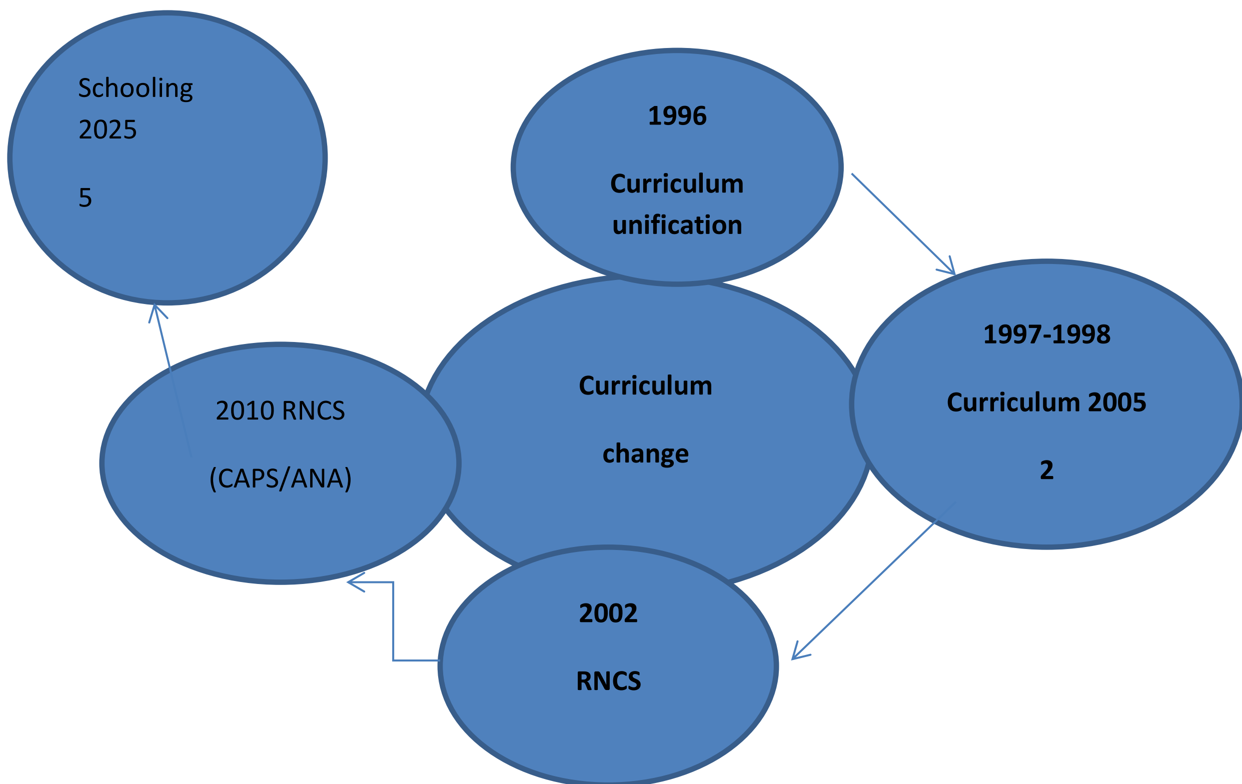

Figure 1.1: Curriculum change in South Africa since 1996 (Marishane 2014: 367).

The post-1994 South Africa provided a challenge to implement a new democratic dispensation that allows for the full participation of all its citizens, irrespective of race, colour or creed, in all aspects that impact on their lives. The education sector witnessed a transition from segregated schooling to a unified national department of education, (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 442). This is summed up by De Clercq (2013: 40) when she states:

> *After 1994, a new-socio-political and educational configuration emerged in South Africa with implications for teacher professionalization and social construction and state of professionalism. The 1994 White Paper on education and training outlined a vision of a transformed education system dedicated to better quality and to equity.*

According to Ono and Ferreira (2010: 59) *"the introduction of outcomes-based education (OBE) and Curriculum 2005 (2005) was an unprecedented curriculum policy reform in the history of South Africa*". In addition, Mosoge & Taunyane (2011:182) contend that *"the introduction of the new curriculum impacted directly on the teachers' work of teaching*". The changed curriculum sought to change the educator from curriculum implementer to curriculum designer. Consequently, teachers were forced to re-examine their professional identity in congruence with their new teaching environment, characterized by learner-centeredness (Mosoge & Taunyane 2011: 182)

The major shortfall was that teachers were not adequately trained to fulfil the aims of outcomes based education. Their inadequate training impacted not only on their capacity to deliver upon the objectives of a results centred education, but also on their ability to offer quality and professional practice. Drawing on Jansen and Taylor (2003), Ono and Ferreira (2010: 59) point out that, *"there was a huge gap between the aims of OBE and C2005 and what the majority of teachers had been trained for".* Lack of teacher professional development has been cited as probably the most important factor hampering the successful implementation of the curriculum as well as improvement in the quality of teaching, an essential element of teacher professionalism (Ono & Ferreira 2010: 59).

Curriculum 2005 (C2005) was introduced in South Africa with a clear-cut political programme because it was regarded as the educational route out of apartheid. C2005 was characterized by "*constructivism manifested in learner-centeredness, integration and outcomes-based education (OBE)"* (Pausigere & Graven 2013: 21). Other key principles of C2005 were noted as "*holistic development, participation and ownership, accountability and transparency, critical and creative thinking"* as well as "*achievement of quality standards"* (Pausigere & Graven 2013: 21).

According to Chisholm (2010: 408) C2005 and OBE represents a transition from teacher/educator-focused pedagogy to child/student-aligned pedagogy. Ngidi (2010: 1) explains that the Outcomes-based approach in school education means that the teacher has to play a role of a curriculum agent and developer than just conveying information. Spreen and Vally (2010: 41) state that C2005 was regarded by many as the foundation for revolutionising educational practice in the South African school system.

Pausigere and Graven (2013: 21) maintain that C2005 represented a shift from a "*content-based syllabus to an outcomes-based approach*". That is, students are responsible for their own development while teacher is supposed to abandon his/her role as a transmitter of knowledge and adopt the role of an enabler of knowledge acquisition, with autonomy to develop their own didactic schedules. Du Plessis (2013: 2) adds that OBE is a "*participatory, learner-centred and activity-based education*" that gives teachers enough freedom for creativity and originality in interpreting what and how to teach. OBE also makes use of specific outcomes, performance indicators and expected levels of performance (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 450).

According to Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 447), the OBE approach uses Continuous Assessment (CASS) as its assessment method. The CASS Model stipulates the number of assessment tasks to be completed and recorded for each school term (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 449). However, the assessment methods used in CASS soon became a challenge for teachers because they use an "*unnecessarily complicated approach to assessment*" and further that the mechanics of OBE assessment are complex while requiring a high level of competence among teachers as curriculum developers and assessors (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 449). Other problems associated with the unsuccessful implementation of C2005 and OBE are "*skewed curriculum structure that lacked alignment between curriculum and assessment policy*" as well as *"inadequate orientation, training and development of teachers"* (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 449, Shishi, Smit & Loock 2012: 112, Marishane 2014: 368).

Although Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and Outcomes Based Education (OBE) were introduced with the aim of improving the standards of classroom practice, Chisholm (2015: 409) stresses that it resulted in great confusion, frustration and demoralization among teachers. This could be attributed to the focus on outcomes and measurement rather than on the improvement in the quality of teaching and learning. Chisholm (2015: 409) adds that: "*the assumptions and expectations within curriculum 2005 of how teachers could and would change their teaching practice were argued to be out of touch with classroom activities".* These flaws and the impracticality of curriculum 2005 necessitated a review, which was constituted in 2000 in the form of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS).

Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 450) explain that the RNCS was introduced into schools in 2002 with the aim of streamlining and strengthening the implementation of C2005. According to Chisholm (2016: 409) the revised curriculum "*argued for a disciplined approach within the framework of a competency and standards-based curriculum".* In addition, Chisholm (2016: 409) explains that the outcomes in RNCS establish competences to be achieved while the assessment standards outline content to be taught. Unlike the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) in C2005, the RNCS policy does not stipulate the number and types of assessments required across different grades (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 451).

According to Grussendorf, Booyse and Burroughs (2014: 15, 16, 53) the RNCS curriculum is characterized by teacher flexibility in the design of learning programmes, the learner as the participant and negotiator of meaning as well as the achievement of goals, expectations and outcomes through learning outcomes and assessment standards.

Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 453) explain that although the RNCS policy retained CASS as an assessment tool, it also introduced new forms of reporting, providing a number of templates that report information as per the prescribed formal assessment for each term. All schools were also required to keep learner profiles, which serve as "*a continuous record of information that gives holistic impression of a learner and the learner's progress and performance".* The assessment policy also requires that teachers keep portfolios containing all documents related to assessment (planning, formal tasks developed, records of marks, etc.) and that these portfolios must be made available on request at all times for moderation and accountability purposes (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 454).

One of the major components of the RNCS model is the Assessment Policy 2007. According to Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 462) the Assessment Policy 2007 entrenched the CASS model by prescribing the number of assessments across different phases and subjects as well as new forms of recording and reporting (through learner profiles and teachers' portfolios). Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 464) point out that the National Senior Certificate (grade 12) examinations have been used as the accountability tool since early 2000, with the primary focus on the school or the school principal. The Assessment Policy 2007 requires that teachers keep portfolios of their work and that

these portfolios must always be presented for evaluation and control purposes as and when they are requested.

The revised curriculum (RNCS) also experienced its failures and criticisms and was abandoned in 2010 in favour of what became known as the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (Chisholm 2015: 411). Some of the problems associated with the RNCS are noted as "*teacher overload, confusion and stress arising from inconsistencies in the documentation and demands on teachers' time"* and learner underperformance on international and local assessments (Grussendorf, Booyse & Buroughs 2014: 11). The introduction of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement signalled another effort by the Department of Education to revise the curriculum.

1.2 Research problem and statement of purpose

According to Spreen and Vally (2010: 41) the CAPS policy provided a threat to teacher autonomy by creating what is referred to as the "*bureaucratic consumerist environment*" which entrenches accomplishment and realization rather than education and growth. Du Plessis (2013: 3) explains that the CAPS curriculum is a content-driven learning which allows little room for interpreting what and how to teach. In contrast, Hargreaves' (2000: 152) places autonomy and qualified discretion at the centre of teacher professionalism. The age of autonomous practice is defined by its opposition to the distinctiveness of teaching and the uncontested customs on which it is based (Hargreaves 2000: 161). According to this age, teachers have the discretion to select the best procedures for their own students/learners (Hargreaves 2000: 16). In addition, the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) (2012: 2) explains that "*teacher professionalism is about exercising judgement on curriculum, assessment and pedagogy".*

Despite the fact that teachers are constantly in pursuit of professional discretion in deciding how to engage with the instructional content in the classroom, the CAPS policy continues to undermine teacher professional autonomy and discretion by subjecting teachers to managerial control, performance measurement and accountability standards. The CAPS policy also affords teachers little space to use their professional judgement in designing their own learning programmes that are meant to satisfy different learner needs.

As a result, this research programme was intended to explore and comprehend the subjective experiences of primary school teachers in Polokwane primary schools as to how their professional autonomy was affected by the introduction of the CAPS curriculum. The study also aimed to compare how the professional autonomy of teachers from different contexts (fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools) was affected by the introduction of the CAPS policy. It was my intention to contribute to the development of theory and further research by reporting on the experiences of teachers about the impact of the CAPS policy on their professional autonomy and also suggest areas for further research.

1.3 Key research question and supporting questions

The key research question is as follows: *What are the implications of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement for teacher professionalism in Polokwane primary schools?*

In supporting the key research question, the research programme attempted to find answers to the following:

- How is teacher professional autonomy in Polokwane primary schools affected by the introduction of the CAPS policy?
- Does the introduction of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement enhance or limit the professional autonomy of primary school teachers?
- What do teachers perceive as the main obstacles towards professional autonomy after the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement was introduced in schools?

1.4. Rationale

The journey to this Masters' study was inspired by the work of Jansen (2001a & 2001b) and the Education Policy Unit (2005) regarding their views on education policy modifications in Southern African education after 1994. The education system in South Africa has experienced a spade of curriculum reforms since 1994, all of which impacted on the work of teachers. According to Uiseb (2007: 71), curriculum reforms in South Africa were deemed necessary following the election of a new government, subsequent to the demise of apartheid.

The introduction of the Outcomes Based Approach in the South African education system was intended to bring about changes that would free teachers from sustained supervision and prescription, and to advocate learner-centeredness and professional discretion. Spreen and Vally (2010: 43) explain that the perception among policy makers was that teachers could do away with prescribed study materials and instead create their own teaching programmes and educational resources. However, the use of quality assurances measures like the Integrated Quality Management Systems (IQMS) failed to achieve their intended purpose and instead strengthened bureaucratic monitoring and performance measurement (De Clercq 2013: 43-44).

Chisholm (2015: 409) explains that the RNCS advocated a disciplined method "*within the framework of a competency and standards-based curriculum*". Unlike in the CAPS, the RNCS does not stipulate the number and types of assessment required across different grades (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 451) but allows teachers flexibility in the design of their own learning programmes (Grussendorf, Booyse & Buroughs 2014: 15 & 16). On the contrary, Grussendorf, Booyse and Buroughs (2014: 58) argue that the CAPS policy presents an educational programme that is characterized by prescribed classroom activities thereby diminishing the role of the teacher to that of curriculum implementer.

The interest in undertaking this research study was also influenced by the works of Hargreaves (2000), Sachs (2001), Lasky (2005), EPU (2005), Hystek and Lethoko (2001), Harley et al (2000) and Douglas (2005) which provided meaningful literature on teacher professional identity, professionalism and competing policy changes. Hargreaves (2000) provided important insights into the historical perspectives of teacher professionalism. As a result, I was motivated by the desire to place the dynamics in the South African education system in a particular age or ages in the four ages of professionalism.

As I became immersed in the concept of teacher professionalism, I soon realized that not many studies have been undertaken in the field of teacher professional autonomy. Where such studies have taken place they dealt with teacher morale after the introduction of the CAPS policy. Teachers were complaining daily about the level of monitoring and evaluation to which they were subjected and the deadlines they had to meet in order to comply with work output, trackers and pace setters. The fact that

teachers are supplied with a pre-determined content, assessment and lesson planning and do not have the authority to develop their own teaching programmes according to learner needs added to the frustration of the teachers. The aim of this research was therefore to bridge a gap in the literature and research so that teachers become aware of their professional identity and also to inform education authorities about the impact of curriculum policy changes on teacher autonomous practice.

1.5 Conceptual framework

The changes in the social, economic and political climate in the Republic of South Africa after 1994 have a seen a spate of curriculum reforms, all of which brought a different meaning to the work of teachers. A combination of two of Hargreaves' (2000) "*Four ages of professionalism and professional learning*", namely, the age of professional autonomy and the "*post-professional or post-modern age"* against the backdrop of Ronald Dworkin's (1967) "doughnut principle" provide insight into different phases through which the work of teachers can be defined as well as how professional autonomy and discretion is pitted against managerial control.

1.5.1 Hargeaves' (2000) "*Four ages of professionalism and professional learning"*

In order to help explain professionalism and professional autonomy in a didactic situation, Hargreaves (2000), used what he called four ages of professionalism and professional learning. The four ages are named sequentially as: the pre-professional age, the age of the autonomous professional, the collegial age and the post-porofessional age. Hargreaves (2000: 152) defines teacher professionalism as the improvement in the quality and standards of practice, central to which is teacher autonomy and professional discretion. Two ages of professionalism, the stage of the autonomous specialist and the post-modern stage, are applicable to this study.

1.5.1.1 The stage of the autonomous professional

The stage of professional autonomy was marked by a challenge to the individuality of teaching and the unchallenged practices on which it was founded (Hargreaves 2000: 161). According to De Clercq (2013: 35) the struggle for autonomy was initiated as a response to civil rights movements mobilizing against social inequalities in schools.

Hargreaves (2000: 161) explains that the age of the autonomous professional marks the era when teachers began to fight for their autonomy and pedagogical freedom.

1.5.1.2 The post-professional stage

The post-professional or post-modern stage is described by Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2050) as follows: *"This age is marked by a struggle between forces and groups intent on deprofessionalizing the work of teaching, and other forces and groups who are seeking to redefine teacher professionalism*". Hargreaves (2000: 168) explains that during post-modernity, teachers have had to contend with concentrated curricula and testing routines which have cut back the scope and sovereignty of teachers' classroom judgement, and market stimulated application from the business sector as well as structures of performance measurement and paper trails of monitoring and accountability.

1.5.2 Ronald Dworkin's '*doughnut principle'* (1967).

The relationship between decision-making autonomy and /or discretionary space and accountability is very well illustrated by Ronald Dworkin (1967: 32) who follows the following conceptualisation of discretion (decision-making power/autonomy):

> *The concept of discretion is at home in only one sort of context: when someone is in general charged with making decisions subject to standards set by a particular authority. It makes sense to speak of the discretion of a sergeant who is subject to the orders of superiors, or the discretion of a sports official who is governed by a rule book.*

Dworkin (1967: 32) maintains that discretion is like "*the hole in the doughnut*", and that it prevails only as a gap that is surrounded by constricting walls. Discretion is therefore not absolute but relative to the standards determined by others. The decisions made by individuals in an organization are guided by the authoritative standards determined by others.

1.6 Research scope

The research study involved four primary schools which were selected from Polokwane district (Limpopo). The schools were chosen purposively and conveniently in order to minimise the costs of travel. The participating schools were selected from

villages surrounding the city of Polokwane and within the city itself. When choosing these schools, I made sure that two of them were fee paying schools while the other two were non-fee paying schools. In this instance, I was able to compare the feelings and experiences of teachers from different contexts (fee paying and non-fee paying schools) about how their professional autonomy is affected by the institution of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS).

The fee paying schools were schools located in the urban areas in and around the Polokwane Central Business District (CBD), one from the inner city and the other from a suburban area adjacent to the city. The non-fee paying schools were chosen from two rural villages plus or minus thirty kilometres from Polokwane CBD. Each of the chosen schools provided four participants (the principal, the Head of Department and a level one educator) for the study. I used a snowball sampling technique to choose the participants. The total sample, therefore, consisted of sixteen participants (four per school).

1.7 Research approach

The study was based on an interpretive paradigm, where I concentrated on the subjective views and experiences of the participants. As a result, a qualitative, interpretive approach was used to conduct the research study. Through qualitative approaches, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the problem I was studying (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013: 9).

Due to the fact that I used four schools as my research sites, I adopted a multi-site case study research design. The use of different sites helped me to obtain data from the different contexts in which the participants find themselves (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013: 9). I was also able to compare the different contexts and experiences of participating teachers. Purposeful and convenient sampling techniques were used to choose the four research sites and the criterion was that two of them had to be fee paying schools while the other two were non-fee paying schools. Three participants were chosen from each participating school by using a snowball sampling technique, bringing the total sample to twelve.

1.8 Method of data collection

The data collection procedures involved the use of semi-structured interviews. These interviews were aimed at obtaining data about the experiences of primary school teachers as to how their professional autonomy is affected by the institution of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement and how teachers from different contexts perceive the influence of the CAPS policy on their professional practice. Through semi-structured interviews, participants were able to respond to closed and open-ended questions. By using semi-structured interviews I was also able to find first-hand data on the direct experiences of the participants (Briggs & Coleman 2007: 143, Vital & Jansen 2006: 22).

All the interview sessions were audio-recorded, using one-to-one conversations. I also wrote down notes of the participants' responses in a notebook. Each interview session lasted about forty-five minutes. After collecting data from the interviews, I transcribed the audio-recordings and notes of the interviews before conducting a content analysis. Because of the huge amount of data that needed to be processed, I based my data analysis procedure on a pre-determined set of themes and questions and then categorized the data according to these themes.

1.9 Outline of the research programme

The outline of the research study is as follows:

Table 1.1 The outline of the research study

Chapters	Sub-sections
Chapter 1: Research Proposal	➢ Background ➢ Research problem and statement of purpose

	➢ Research question and sub-sections ➢ Rationale ➢ Theoretical framework ➢ Research scope ➢ Research approach ➢ Method of data collection
Chapter 2: Literature review	➢ Introduction ➢ Teacher professional autonomy ➢ Managerialism: • Scientific Management • Markets and managerialism • New managerialism • New professionalism and New Public Management • Performance measurement ➢ Curriculum reform process in South Africa and Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement ➢ Theoretical framework ➢ Conclusion
Chapter 3: Research methodology	➢ Introduction ➢ Research method ➢ Research design and sampling ➢ Access to participants ➢ Interviews ➢ Interview protocol ➢ Data analysis and interpretation ➢ Ethical considerations ➢ Credibility and trustworthiness

	➢ Advantages and limitations of the research methodology ➢ summary
Chapter 4: Data presentation and discussion of findings	➢ Introduction ➢ Data presentation ➢ Discussion of findings ➢ Conclusion
Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations	➢ Introduction ➢ Conclusions ➢ Endorsements ➢ Proposals for further research

1.10 Concluding remarks

The primary objective of this chapter was to discuss the problem statement and statement of purpose, the rationale behind the research study and the theoretical framework directing the research study and included presenting the key research question. I also discussed the research scope, research approach and the methods of data collection. The problem statement revealed a contrast between the aspirations of the teachers who are in constant pursuit of professional independence and the state which uses centralised curricula to prescribe not only the content to be taught but the type of assessments to be used. In the next chapter, I am presenting an appraisal of the literature linked to the research topic as well as providing a more detailed discussion on the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The conception of the CAPS policy can be located within the curriculum reform process that started with the launching of the Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) and Curriculum 2005 (C2005). Changes in core curriculum approaches have direct implications for teacher professional autonomy because the teacher has to embrace the changes while in pursuit of his/her own professional judgement. In this literature review I will start by reviewing literature on the state of teacher professionalism and professional autonomy and then proceed to look at how managerialism and the marketization of education influence teacher professional identity. Lastly, I will discuss the curriculum reform process in the education system of South Africa that culminated in the introduction of the CAPS curriculum and how teacher professional autonomy is affected by the CAPS policy.

2.2 Teacher professionalism and professional autonomy

Before 1994, the education system in South Africa ensured that education was discriminated along colour lines, where the work of black teachers and white teachers was controlled differently. The authorities used a repressive system that treated black teachers as ‘mere workers to control’, while white teachers had limited professional discretion (De Clercq 2013: 38). In this repressive system, teachers were required to transmit a prescribed curriculum and syllabus without autonomous discretion.

In a survey on what teachers’ thoughts are with regard to teacher professionalism, a member of the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) remarked:

> *“To work with children, the chance to be creative in my work daily, to make learning fun and interesting, to help children* feel *cared for and supported at school – that’s professionalism to me” (ATL 2012: 2).*

In an effort to explain what teacher professionalism entails, De Clercq (2013: 32) makes a distinction between professionalization and professionalism. While professionalization refers to the nature of teachers’ work, professionalism is concerned with internal quality, authority, values and the autonomous practice of a teacher. That is, teacher professionalism is focused on the internal quality of teaching as a profession, and in the process enabling teachers to make autonomous decisions about teaching practices. In a similar vein, Muhamad and Jaafar (2015: 144) explain that

professionalism in teaching means that teachers should have a range of skills including study skills, teaching skills, assessment skills as well as communication skills and that teachers should also be knowledgeable, honest and respectful and act as role models for the society.

Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2048) also holds the view that teacher professionalism is associated with advancements in the quality of the provision of teaching and learning rather than the enrichment of class or prestige. Professionalism is characterized by a great measure of general and systems knowledge, alignment to societal benefits rather than self-regard, a great level of self-discipline through ethical conduct and a system of incentives which are symbols of work accomplishment. Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2048) considers teacher autonomy and professional discretion as the central features of teacher professionalism. Teachers as specialists should have self-directed decision-making sovereignties free from outside control. Therefore, the main aim of professionalizing teaching is to provide professional autonomy as opposed to organizational control. Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2048) sums it up by saying that professionalism in teaching is characterized by the "*respectability status of the occupation, improvement of service quality, achievement of high standards, self-control and professional autonomy".*

De Clercq (2013: 32) expresses a similar view to Dermikasimoglu (2010: 2048) and Mohamed and Jaafar (2015: 144) by suggesting that professionalism is a pedagogical concept that is centred in the internal quality of teaching as a profession, with its relative control in making autonomous decisions on teaching practice. Improvement in the quality of teaching and autonomy are therefore two of the main characteristic features of professionalism. ATL (2012: 2) explains that teacher autonomy is about exercising an opinion on curriculum, evaluation and instruction. That is, practitioners' expertise and autonomy ought to be recognized through enhanced freedom in curriculum improvement, student assessment and instruction.

Even though Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 185) identify autonomy in decision-making and curriculum development as the two most important qualities of teacher professionalism, they argue that they are hardly ever afforded to teachers. Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2049) expresses a similar argument to Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 185) by suggesting that teachers' professional status is limited because their

personal autonomy is under managerial constraint. Gamble (2010: 6) adds that the pursuit of professionalism in teaching leads to internal tension between autonomy to determine own standards and accountability as opposed to the norms set by the profession for its members. According to Morgado and Soussa (2016: 374) the school's autonomy has become "*just a legal mystification which has been used to legitimate the government's devices of control, rather than to free schools from accountability*".

Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2049) contends that teachers are constantly monitored by their superiors in terms of consistency of their performances and set standards. Teacher autonomy is often restricted by the education authorities directing and shaping their practices. Furthermore, teachers in public schools do not have a high level of authority over instructional content because decisions are not taken by them (Demirkasimoglu 2010: 2045).

Despite efforts to define teacher professionalism, Hilferty (2008: 53) and Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2047) agree that teacher professionalism is not a static phenomenon but evolves overtime and as such it can adequately be understood by taking into account sociological, educational and ideological contexts. Hiferty (2008: 53) and Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2047) contend that multiple meanings that are attached over-time, coupled with the differing points of view of rival stakeholder groups and interests makes it difficult to define professionalism from a single perspective. For example, Hilferty (2008:54) shows that traditionally, the meaning of teacher professionalism in Britain referedr to teacher autonomy in the curriculum domain. However, this version of teacher professionalism was later changed when the National Curriculum was introduced. This re-invented the state of teacher professionalism to one which sacrificed autonomy with increasing demands of state control in the curriculum. Similarly, curriculum reform in South Africa saw a shift away from the National Curriculum Statement's (NCS) approach which allowed the teacher flexibility in the construction of learning schedules to rigid and structured learning activities in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (Grussendorff, Booyse & Burroughs 2015: 14, 53).

Osmond-Johnson (2015: 4) makes a distinction between traditional notions of professionalism and teacher professionalism as a discourse of power and argues that

while traditional professionalism is related to the quality and nature of educators' work, professionalism as a discourse of authority attempts to direct the quality of teachers' work on their own initiative. Historically, government involvement in the teaching profession used to be distanced, where teachers were managed indirectly. However, from the late 1980's, the situation begun to change as the "*locus of control shifted and management of teaching became more direct, owing largely to neo-liberal agendas*" (Osmond-Johnson 2015: 4).

According to Osmond-Johnson (2015: 5) policy reforms in the United States resulted in the creation of legislation that enforced strict accountability standards such as performance related pay, new educator assessment measures, inflexible testing and recording, acceptable progress accounts, consequences for non-performing schools and state directed professional advancement. Osmond-Johnson (2015: 5) goes on to explain that the same conditions have been practiced in England, whereby accountability standards included "*external school inspections, merit pay, published league tables and standardized tests as a measure of teachers' performance*".

Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 187) explain that teacher professionalism in education exhibits a conflict between the state and the teaching profession (teachers). While teachers strive for autonomy in deciding on instructional activities in the classroom situation, the state wants to exercise control over teaching practice through the monitoring and evaluation of teacher performance. Mosoge and Taunyane (2012:187) provide two examples (Canada and Romania) where education reforms sought to undermine teacher autonomy. In 1994 Canadian authorities introduced accountability in schools coupled with specific curriculum frameworks and teacher manuals, while in Romania in 1990 the government introduced a comprehensive education reform programme that not only intensified teachers' work, but also the changed curriculum, examinations and teacher education.

De Clercq (2013: 33) explains that teacher professionalism can be defined either descriptively/normatively or through social construction. The descriptive function explains notions of professional expertise, autonomy, self-regulation and responsibility in work practices. At the centre of teacher professionalism is knowledge, autonomy and accountability. The normative aspect, according to De Clercq (2013: 33) is

characterized by the professional competences, behaviours and attitudes of teachers and is geared towards achieving the highest standards and improving service quality.

On the other hand, the social construction function states that teacher professionalism is a dynamic concept that responds to socio-economic and political conditions in a country (De Clercq 2013: 33). The social construction function has resulted in the struggle between 'managerial professionalism' and 'democratic professionalism'. Managerial Professionalism represents a regulatory discourse of the state intended to control teachers and their work while democratic professionalism is initiated by forces within the teaching profession as an occupational strategy to protect teachers against the dilution of their work practices (De Clercq 2013: 33).

De Clercq (2013: 34) explains that there are two broad teacher identities that are useful in understanding teacher professionalism. The first identity talks to teachers who are compliant and over-dependent on the state's understanding of teaching. This is known as a passive, compliant identity. De Clercq (2013: 34) adds that teachers with a passive identity regard themselves as state functionaries (workers) with limited power, authority or interest in controlling their work, resulting in a narrow form of self-serving teacher professionalism which does not recognise teachers' social agency but about controlling teachers' work conditions.

In contrast to passive identity, De Clercq (2013: 34) talks of an activist identity, where teachers engage with the state as '*independent proactive professionals committed to improving their practices and school education as a public good'*. In this identity, teachers are engaged inside and outside their work places in a struggle for better education, quality and equality. According to De Clercq (2013: 34) activist identity is a precursor to democratic professionalism.

The notions of passive and activist identity are corroborated in Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 187) where it is explained that teacher professionalism is presented as a struggle between teachers who view themselves as separate and autonomous from the state and those who serve the interests of the state without questioning. This coincides with the post-professional stage in Hargreaves (2000)' four ages of professionalism. This stage is characterized by the struggle between people whose intentions are to deprofessionalize teachers and those seeking to redefine teaching in a more positive way. Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 188) also distinguish between

‘managerial professionalism’; where teachers view themselves in terms of compliance to standardized external criteria and *‘democratic professionalism’*; which seeks to involve students, parents and other stakeholders in decision-making as well as making sure that teachers are regarded as being responsible and accountable for their work practices.

Whereas De Clercq (2013: 33) talks of democratic professionalism and managerial professionalism, Dermikasimoglu (2010: 2049) make reference to ‘*old professionalism’* and ‘*new professionalism’* whereby old professionalism relates to select membership, traditionalist practices, self-regard and external control while new professionalism (also known as transformative professionalism) is characterized by comprehensive membership, a shared principled code of conduct, collaboration and collectiveness, innovative orientation, is adaptable and receptive to change, self-directing and knowledge building. Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2050) concludes that new professionalism has resulted in a considerable antipathy towards teacher autonomy and instead focuses on practitioner control and accountability.

Hilferty (2008: 55) also makes mention of ‘*new professionalism’* and explains that new professionalism and market-driven education policies have resulted in teachers becoming deprofessionalized. New professionalism in education redefines the role of the teacher, where teachers submit to central control and direction of content, surveillance and monitoring of content. On the contrary, Hilferty (2008: 55) feels that teacher professionalism should involve a consideration where teachers are appreciated, dependable (trustworthy) and cherished by both government and society.

De Clercq (2013: 40) further demonstrates the importance of socio-political circumstances in the meaning of teacher professionalism by suggesting that *“after 1994, a new socio-political order and educational configuration emerged with implications for teacher professionalization and social construction”.* This socio-political order was a direct result of a spate of legislative policy changes that occurred in the South African education system that were intended to transform teachers from being perceived as workers to a construction of teachers as self-driven professionals, committed to the improvement of their practices. However, Hilferty (2008: 55) argues that the current market-focused education programmes and latest management

studies have resulted in teachers becoming more compliant to prescription and in the process becoming more deprofessionalized (Hilferty 2008: 55).

Gamble (2010:10) argues that professionalism can be presented in different forms as a continuum rather than as discrete categories. This continuum of teacher professionalism is represented in Figure 2.1 as follows:

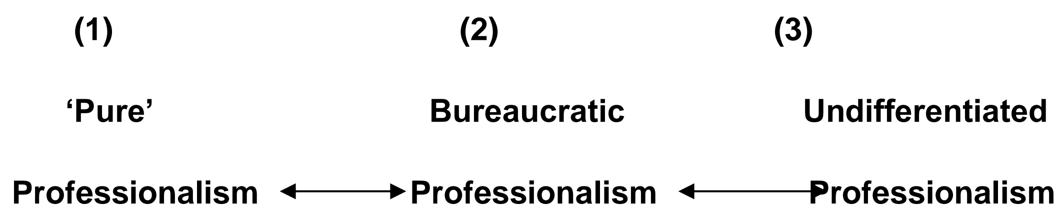

Figure 2.1: Gamble's Continuum of teacher professionalism

Gamble (2010: 10) explains that pure professionalism represents an internal tension between autonomy to determine one's own standards and accountability to the norms set by the profession. On the other hand, bureaucratic professionalism represents a tension between autonomy and professional authority. Gamble (2012: 12) sums up that despite the fact that the post-apartheid policy framework in the South African education system advocates or is inclined towards teacher professionalization, it contains contradictions and is not friendly to the realities of the teachers on the ground.

According to Osmond-Johnson (2015: 1) the emergence and infiltration of market-economics and conservative political programmes have progressively become the foremost drivers of scholastic reforms globally with implications for teacher autonomous practice. The result is that teachers are relegated to functionaries rather than professionals, where accountability measures bolster student attainment through the formation of viable educational markets. Osmond-Johnson (2015: 2) argues further that as a result of these constraining circumstances, some teachers organise themselves to fight for professionalism and an expanded role in the education reform process. The aim is to represent teacher ambitions for a formidable and inclusive form of professionalism befitting teacher autonomy.

Similar to observations by Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 188) and De Clercq (2013: 33), Osmond-Johnson (2015: 4) explains that teacher professionalism is constrained within democratic and managerial framings. Managerial framings reduce the role of teachers in the educational procedure to enforcers and catalysts of change, while

democratic professionalism views the work of teachers as incorporating the characters of teachers as front-runners, supporters and change managers. In managerial framings, the teacher's discretion and classroom expertise is traded for "*teacher-proof curricula, narrow accountability measures as well as standardized teacher competences" (Osmond-Johnson 2015: 6).*

In order to emphasize the significance of teachers as change agents and not mere implementers, Osmond-Johnson (2015: 7) suggests that teachers should become '*transformative professionals'*, where they contribute to the excellence of instruction, campaign for impartial policies that challenge the existing state of affairs and where their success is not judged solely on student performance in standardized tests. Transformative professionalism ensures that the gap between superiors and sub-ordinates becomes blurred, and in the process allowing teachers to participate enthusiastically in the stimulation of educational transformation and social change (Osmond-Johnson 2015: 7). Hilferty (2008: 57) also suggests a notion of transformative professionalism which increases the role of the educator outside the teaching and learning situation. Osmond-Johnson (2015: 14) concludes that teachers as professionals should pursue self-directed learning opportunities, be autonomous and engage in collaborative activities with other professionals.

Hilferty (2008: 58) stresses the influence of market-economics in shaping teacher professionalism by stating that *"neo-liberalism is based on the assumption that market forces are an efficient means of creating conditions for freedom of consumers, for allocating resources, generating diversity and providing the form of flexibility the changing world order requires".* The ultimate aim of neo-liberal policy in education is therefore a complete marketization of schooling through the institution of a market-driven system of education, cost-efficiency, accountability and performativity.

While studying the influence of policy-making on educator professional autonomy in Australia, Hilferty (2008: 58) found that "*economic interests dominate content and process in education"*, with the result that on the one hand education administration became more decentralised, while on the other hand there has been intensified programming of curricula, strengthening of educator answerability and an emphasis on the results of instruction. This scenario has become a feature of many countries' education systems, including South Africa and it is known as '*managerialism*'.

2.3 Managerialism

Managerialism is defined as *"the devolution of school management and the centralization of educational* governance *through tighter controls of curriculum and assessment*" (Hilferty 2008: 59). It is concerned with accountability, economy, efficiency and effectiveness. According to Hilferty (2008: 59) managerialism strives to position educators as obedient supporters (and enforcers) of a competency-founded, outcomes-focused instruction which tallies functionally to the work situation

Managerialism is described in Lynch (2014: 1) as "*the organizational arm of neo-liberalism, designed to realize the neo-liberal project through institutionalizing of market principles in the governance of organizations*". Managerialism in education reveals itself in the form of measurement, surveillance, control and measurement, all of which are "*antithetical to the caring that is at the heart of good education"* (Lynch 2014: 6). When applied to education, managerialism is against professional autonomy of teachers and instead emphasizes monitoring and evaluation of performance. Hilferty (2008: 59) established that managerialism has resulted in strengthened capacity through demands for enhanced certification to prove efficiency such as outcome testimonies and reports and obligatory examinations.

The following sections present a review of literature on managerialism from different perspectives, namely: scientific management, markets and managerialism, new managerialism, new professionalism and new public management as well as performance measurement.

2.3.1 Scientific Management

The origins scientific of management can be traced back to Taylor's principles of scientific management (Taylorism) and the search for efficiency in the work place (Nzewi 2013: 6). According to Nzewi (2013: 7), scientific management is concerned with the systematic monitoring and measurement of work procedures towards greater efficiency in organizations. Presenting a similar view, Myrick (2012: 11) explains that scientific management involves the systematic application of scientific methods to problems of management in the interests of higher industrial efficiency. It is a system

through which there is conveyance of private sector practices to the public domain, central to which is accountability and responsibility.

According to the proponents of scientific management, there has to be a clear distinction between the role of management and that of workers (Nzewi 2013: 10). That is, in order to achieve efficient outcomes, organizations must ensure that there is centralized authority as well as bureaucratic accountability (Ireh 2016: 3). Scientific management, according to Nzewi (2013: 10), argues against initiative and incentive management, where workers are left to source and develop their own approach to doing work and instead maintains that it is the management's role to design, develop and improve work procedures.

Scientific management supposes that work procedures must be fully planned by management and that workers should receive complete instructions describing the task to be performed as well as the means to accomplish the task (Nzewi 2013: 12). According to Ireh (2016: 7), teachers are expected to follow the methods prescribed by their superiors because they are not capable of determining such methods themselves. In order to make sure that work procedures are accomplished, management uses work study and measurement (Nzewi 2013: 14). The aim of work study is to help in the improvement and redesigning of work procedures to simplify work. According to Nzewi (2013:14) the application of work study is dependent on the establishment and maintenance of monitoring controls which ultimately helps in the recording and analysis of work, which are essential tools of work study and measurement.

According to Nzewi (2013: 17) when work procedures are applied to the delivery of public services like education, they should be based on efficiency and compliance. Efficiency means that there must be optimum utilization of resources towards the final product while compliance ensures that practices and processes conform to laws and set standards. Despite the merits of work procedures in scientific management, Ireh (2016: 7) argues that the influence of scientific management has dehumanized the relationship of educators and students to the didactic situation by alienating them from their own creativity and intellectual curiosity.

2.3.2 Markets and Managerialism

According to Hystek (2007: 493) managerialism means that everything falling under the authority of the manager should be controlled through management tools and techniques. That is, managerialism relates to an exclusive emphasis on management at the expense of other factors, such as people and context, and instead considers measurable outcomes according to pre-determined standards. Berkel and Knies (2013: 3) maintain that the bureaucratic relationship between administrators and educators has had a detrimental effect on professionals and professions resulting in the deprofessionalisation of teaching. Despite the fact that managerialism has jeopardized traditional forms of professionalism, Berkel and Knies (2013: 3) argue that it can open up opportunities for forms of new professionalism.

Managerialism implies the transferal of alignment in public professional establishments such as schools, towards market ethics (Berkel & Knies 2013: 7). Stevenson and Wood (2013:43) show that education policies, responding to market reforms, have led to a reduction in public spending, which intensified teachers' work while the perceived pressure to perform better in transnational coalition charts has tightened the attention on classroom instruction. Stevenson and Wood (2013: 43) argue that these developments are a result of the neo-liberal drive towards systemic privatization, which leads to a refashioning of teachers' work.

Stevenson and Wood (2013: 43) go on to explain that the need to exercise influence around what happens in schools and how educators perform in their classrooms is a central tenet of education reform policy influenced by the market. According to Stevenson and Wood (2013: 43) business influences and managerial tendencies have blended to successfully and fundamentally restructure teachers' encounter of work in England after the coalition government in 2010. Similar education reforms were experienced in the Republic of South Africa after the introduction of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in 2011 with the institutionalised prescription of curricula and the measurement and evaluation of teachers' work (Grussendorf, Booyse & Buroughs 2014: 11).

Markets and managerialism complement one another to influence teachers' work, in the process regulating the work of teachers in the classroom situation. In an effort to hold schools accountable for the education they provide, a national inspectorate, known as the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) was established in

England, with the core responsibility of evaluating all schools against a common framework (Stevenson & Wood 2013: 43). OFSTED's inspection judgements, according to Stevenson and Wood (2013: 46), depend greatly on the performance of schools in standardized assessments with the test records being a key pointer of school excellence. Schools which do not meet the set objectives are then placed under powerful inspection by OFSTED and are likely to be handed a warning to better their performance or be assigned in exclusive quotas.

In the South African context, Annual National Assessments (ANA) are used as the key mechanism to improve quality through assessment, monitoring and supervision (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 456). According to Pausigere and Graven 2013: 30), ANA tests assist in determining strengths and weaknesses in the teaching and learning as well as providing information for school-based interventions. The Department of Basic Education (DBE) also used the TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) 2011 outcomes to test grade 9 learners' performance in Maths and Science (DBE 2015: 10). Matriculation results, for example, have also been used as a measure of school performances and sanctions. Citing a comment by the Directorate of the National Department of Education, Hystek (2007: 498) explains that schools which performed poorly in matriculation results have been threatened with closure or being put under administration.

Marketization of education, according to Stevenson and Wood (2013: 4), has forced schools to direct their strengths on maximizing results or profits in order to maintain market standing. It is envisioned that, the strengthening of market dynamics will put an added burden on educators to upgrade test figures and for educators to make this the focal point of their occupation. As a consequence, Stevenson and Wood (2013: 50) point out that the escalation of market influences on teaching has led to teachers adopting unethical educational procedures in order to optimize market operation and status by using, for example, admission criteria to tilt their learner populations to the benefit of their results in high-level interests testing.

Stevenson and Wood (2013: 53) conclude that methods of marketization and managerialism are strung together by accounts of failure, disintegration and panic, which in turn have a bearing on educators' knowledge of work while providing an environment within which educators operate.

2.3.3 New Managerialism

According to Lynch (2012: 89) the whole notion of new managerialism can be attributed to global capitalism and argues that nation states of the world are not autonomous but are subservient to global capitalism in an increasingly visible way. The result is that; global capital frames national priorities with the result that national educational policies become affected. Lynch (2012: 89) explains that the power of global capital as the *modus operandi* of public policy can be understood by its influence on public service management and that the influence of global capital on education policies led to what is referred to as new managerialism in education. Ntshoe, Higgs, Higgs, and Wolhuter (2008: 393) also emphasize the influence of globalization on education by arguing that the forces of globalization and the increasing influence of the markets have encouraged public institutions to look for entrepreneurial sources of revenue.

Lynch (2012: 89) regards new managerialism as a management strategy for neo-liberalism with the sole purpose of institutionalizing market principles in the governance of all institutions. Lynch (2014: 1) defines new managerialism as the organizational arm of neo-liberalism which is used as a governance tool to realize the neo-liberal project through the institutionalization of market values in the administration of public institutions. It involves prioritizing private sector standards of effectiveness and output in the management of public organizations, assuming that private sector practices are superior to public sector practices.

According to Ntshoe et al (2008: 393), globalization has led to the emergence of three interrelated concepts in public institutions, namely: corporatism, new managerialism and academic capitalism. Corporatism explains the tendency of public institutions to emulate the values and ethics of the corporate world while new managerialism refers to the manner of trying to impose and categorize managerial techniques on to the public sector and also includes the supervising of usefulness and efficacy through the evaluation of results and personal work accomplishments.

Ntshoe et al (2008: 394) defines new managerialism as a new public discourse that is:

> *…based on an objective search for efficiency, effectiveness and excellence, with assumptions about the continuous improvement of organizations. This set-up encourages team work, the introduction of targets and the intrusive monitoring of efficiency and effectiveness.*

New managerialism is not a neutral management tool, but rather a political venture or strategy that heralds a recent form of governance that delivers an exclusive nature of moral commitment for businesses and establishments modelled on organizations, incorporating schools and colleges (Lynch 2014: 4) . The influence of scientific management on new managerialism is highlighted by Lynch (2014: 3) who suggests that both of them prioritize usefulness and efficacy over other standards in work institutes.

New managerialism is presented in Lynch (2014: 4) as a neo-liberal project that is based on the supposition that the market is the principal manufacturer of cultural judgement and significance and that answers to societal troubles and the organization of societal transformation can better be realized through the utilization of market judgement and market processes. Lynch (2012: 90) explains that new managerialism directs organizations on results that are determined in terms of market pointers which every so often disregard contributions or means. According to Lynch (2014: 2) the emphasis on outputs is accomplished through calculated scrutinizing of worker performance and the reinforcement of self-evaluation through prevalent use of performance markers, league charts, goal-setting and programming. According to Lynch (2012: 86) multicultural agencies such as the World Bank and the European Union operate within and without nation state boundaries to influence among other things education. These organisations operate as "*thinly disguised surveillance procedures that bring about a new market instrumentalism in education under the guise of independent expertise*". The Annual National Assessment (ANA) tests as well as Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in South Africa are used as performance indicators both locally and internationally and for benchmarking purposes (DBE 2015: 10, 15).

It is further argued in Lynch (2012: 90) that new managerialism was not only disseminated through the lines of neo-liberalism but was also distributed systematically from the private to the public sector as a form of authority, involving the

incorporation of market standards and practices into the control of the public sector. It is a system of governance that emphasizes strategic planning, is performance-led and is where measurement takes centre stage. Another characteristic of new managerialism is that it involves the introduction of the new technology of performance indicators that are only measured in what can be counted, thereby challenging established practices among professionals that include the professional autonomy of educators. The relentless out-put led monitoring undermined the care and nurturing dimensions of teaching and learning due to their immeasurability within the confined time frames of performance indicators (Lynch 2012: 90).

According to Lynch (2012: 90) the impact of new managerialism was felt in the United Kingdom (UK) where evidence suggests that teachers found themselves increasingly driven by a culture of performativity, where only what counted on the rankings mattered. On the other hand, students who could not enhance their rankings often became devalued, most notably those with learning differences. Lynch (2012: 96) describes the learner/student under the market-led system as an "*economic maximiser, governed by self-interest*", while schooling becomes just another usable product and the consumer is held responsible for his or her own choices.

Stevenson and Wood (2013:50) explains that new managerialism derives mainly from private sector practices, which are powered by a focus on goal-setting, performance assessment and the use of inducements and penalties to compensate fitting performances and to punish unacceptable behaviours or what is believed to be modest performance. At the level of the school, educators experience managerialism basically in the form of goal-setting and performance appraisal, all of which are progressively underlined by testing (Stevenson & Wood 2013: 51).

Deem (2010: 10) defines new managerialism as relating to philosophies about the facilitation of procedures, standards and routines drawn from the private sector of the economy to the administration of organizations involved with the delivery of public services and to the tangible use of these technologies in public funded organizations. The concepts of new managerialism are grounded simply on an unbiased search for proficiency and effectiveness through staff appraisal, the measurement of employee performance and outcomes as well as peer regulation. Teacher appraisal and performance measurement are key principles of the Integrated Quality Management

System (IQMS) in the education system of South Africa and are intended to enhance and monitor the performances of schools and teachers (De Clercq 2008: 12).

Anderson and Cohen (2015: 3) mention that new managerialism is often described as new public management or Neo-Taylorism, where new public management represents a transition from rule-governed, managerial, routine management to a results-based, consumerist, corporate classic management. Anderson and Cohen (2015: 3) stress that new managerialism is characterized by the introduction of markets in public organizations, categorical standards and operation measurement, a greater emphasis on outcomes as well as an elevated standardization of practices.

Lynch (2012: 97) concludes that new managerialism in education serves to diminish the capacity of the teaching profession and to relegate teachers to casual labour in order to push down expenses.

2.3.4 New Professionalism and New Public Management

According to Anderson and Cohen (2015: 1) new professionalism is a product of market-based reforms of public education, which are responsible not only for shaping education policy and curriculum but also for influencing teachers' self-recognition as specialists in educational practice. As systems of education worldwide are captured into a market environment, reward and usefulness, the professional images of educators become redesigned. Anderson and Cohen (2015: 2) argue further that these market and managerialistic reforms are characterized by:

> …*audit or performance culture, work intensification resulting from an increase in the compliance requirements of high-stakes measurement, testing, data-driven management, and teacher evaluation systems.*

Anderson and Cohen (2015: 3) contend that new professionalism has an impression of schooling that not only devalues teacher professional judgement, but also commoditise and commercializes teaching through a new education industriousness, new systems of governance, control and self-control as well as the introduction of competitive markets. New professionalism represents a change from notions of affiliation, collaboration, judgement and conviction to accumulative degrees of managerialism, control mechanisms, appraisal and performance measurement. It is essentially a consequence of a transferal of private sector rationalities and judgements

into the public section and the substitution of the principles of public services with the authority of the market and results-focused external responsibility and answerability (Anderson & Cohen 2015: 3).

When new systems of governing and managing such as new public management infiltrate associations and personalities, they develop what is known as *'governmentality'.* This is a concept used by Anderson and Cohen (2015: 4) to refer to a transfer of market-focused select procedures into the public sector, when parents, students or teachers are emboldened to think not as a resident, but rather as an end user who makes preferences among a range of commodities. Anderson and Cohen (2015: 4) go on to make a distinction between '*organizational professionalism'* and '*occupational professionalism'*. In organizational professionalism (professionalism from above) professionals are increasingly managed and monitored. On the other hand, occupational professionalism refers to professionalism '*from within'.*

Organizational professionalism relates to a decline in the autonomous practice of educators and in the command of one's occupation through the application of professional judgement and the intensification of influence by administrators in work establishments (Anderson & Cohen 2015: 4). This control is characterized by outward systems of control and culpability processes, standardized work procedures and what is sometimes referred to as '*steering from a distance'*. In an effort to emphasize the impact of external control of education and professionals, Anderson and Cohen (2015: 4) argue that even though a debate about teacher autonomy and decentralization of power is at times used to advance present-day reforms in education, such autonomy is extraordinarily restricted and is often part of a plan to tighten up insecurely connected arrangements.

Stevenson, Carter and Passy (2007: 3) point out that new professionalism has resulted in new forms of performance management and differing forms of classroom organization and in the process has challenged teachers' established forms of working. Some of the characteristic features of new professionalism are accepting accountability, improving skills and knowledge, anticipating change as well as focusing on professional development (Stevenson et al 2007: 3).

Anderson and Cohen (2015: 5) clarify that under new public management, authority is being disseminated upwards through the centralization of policy over study

programmes and schooling using high-rewards assessment and managerial influence. As a consequence, the locus of control is shifted from professional judgement to regulation using guidelines that escalate managerial professionalism from the top and lessen work-related professionalism from inside the establishment. According to Anderson and Cohen (2015: 5), new public management puts teachers and administrators in a situation where they must consider commercial and test-focused systems of culpability for discretion instead of their professional schooling, organizations or alliances. As external forms of accountability take control, professional judgement becomes narrowed while role expectations become expanded and intensified (Anderson & Cohen 2015: 5).

Reporting on the widening scope of teacher roles in the United States (US), Anderson and Cohen (2015: 5) argue that the new public management has resulted in the expansion of educator accountabilities, which include enhanced prospects of partnership beyond the didactic situation, rigorous coherence to new programmes and teaching obligations, and the gathering and examination of appraisal records. They add that even though added role anticipations have at times magnified teacher proficiency, it has simultaneously reduced teachers to operating within an inspectoral background that requires being answerable to values and principles that were developed without their involvement or participation.

Anderson and Cohen (2015: 5) further explain that the latest demands to contest have brought about a new consumerist professional that requires educators and heads of schools to become more spirited within marketwise situations in the public domain. In order to illustrate the permeation of the new entrepreneurial spirit and atmosphere in public schools, it is argued that the task potential of school managers has turned out to be more industrial as they are more and more required to interact with a chain of dealers and advisers offering them anything from professional education facilities to information storage and managing (Anderson & Cohen 2015: 5).

Resistance to new public management and neo-liberalism in education has led to what Anderson and Cohen (2015: 16) refer to as '*advocacy professionalism*'. This type of resistance was experienced in Chicago, when teachers stood against organizational and neo-liberal transformations that were systematically deskilling teachers and shutting down institutions of learning in communities earning a lower income.

According to Stevenson (2010: 3) managerial forms of accountability view teacher unions as problematic because they are capable of organizing resistance to disciplinary and controlling measures. "*Their traditional defence of teacher autonomy ensures that they seek to challenge attempts by the state to tighten control and encourage conformity"* (Stevenson 2010: 3).

Stevenson (2010: 5) explains that the fragmentation of education systems around the world as well as the infiltration of competitive pressures has to do more with undermining teachers' collective power and preparation for privatization than with providing any incentive to raise standards. As a way of demonstrating the level of teacher resistance in England, Stevenson (2010:6) cites an example of two teacher unions who joined forces in a boycott of standardized tests. This action is argued to have liberated teachers and children from a system that has encouraged a narrow and usually joyless pedagogy, focused overwhelmingly on teaching to a test.

A similar situation was experienced in South Africa in 2015 when some teacher unions objected to the writing of ANA tests. Annual National Assessments are designed to operate as a yardstick to measure the progress made against targeted interventions and programmes (DBE 2016a: 8). The main reason behind the rejection of ANA tests was that the tests are written annually, thus leaving no space to remediate. This situation necessitated a review of ANA testing which was eventually redesigned as the National Integrated Assessment Framework (NIAF) and is due to begin in 2018 (DBE 2016a: 9).

2.3.5 Performance Measurement

Makamu (2014: 105) describes performance measurement as "*a process of evaluating how well employees perform their jobs when compared to a set of standards and then communicating that information to employees"*. It involves principles employed by administrators "*to plan, direct and improve the performance of employees in line with achieving the overall strategic objectives of the organization"*. According to Makamu (2014: 105) there are three elements that are important in determining employee performance: goals, measurement and assessment.

On the other hand, Mosoge and Pilane (2014: 2) explain that performance measurement is a feature of culpability methods whereby educators in the school

setting are supported by their managers to reach expected specifications. Performance measurement is a "*collection of numerical values according to specific rules and procedures intended to evaluate behavioural characteristics and work outputs of teachers in order to determine the extent of deviation from required performance standards*" (Mosoge & Pilane 2014: 6). According to Mosoge and Pilane (2014: 2) the proponents of accountability systems in education believe that it will trigger teachers to reach advanced heights of accomplishment thus guaranteeing the best methods of instruction. Performance measurement is different from managerialism in that it is people-orientated and is aimed at improving educators so as to turn them into productive professionals who can match up or surpass the benchmarks expected of them (Mosoge & Pilane 2014: 5).

The spotlight on performance evaluation procedures in the public sphere today owe its influence on new public management standard which puts substantial prominence on the management of outcomes (Odhiambo, Chisikwa & Agak 2012: 286). This approach helps school managers to use performance measurement to assess, regulate, guide, inspire, encourage, focus, and perfect instruction in school situations. Furthermore, performance measurement is used to generate knowledge concerning resources, performances, production, results and influence. According to Odhiambo et al (2012: 286) performance measurement uses performance pointers for regulation, self-evaluation, constant progression and management valuation.

Stevenson and Woods (2013: 46) explain that performance measurement is regulated through the market mechanism, which makes available the resources through by which certain conduct of teachers is either compensated or penalized. They also add that marketization of education forces schools to concentrate their strengths on increasing productivity in order to maintain business standing (Stevenson & Woods 2013: 49). In the same breath, Stevenson (2010: 2) adds that marketization has resulted in the need to maximise worker productivity by seeking to either depress wages or increase output or both. That is, the need to get more from less.

Intensification of the market mechanism is applied with the aim of placing additional strain on educators to better their test marks, which should ultimately become the focal point of their work practices (Stevenson & Woods 2013: 50). However, Stevenson and Woods (2013: 50) argue that the need to improve test scores have led to teachers

adopting questionable scholastic activities so as to maximise market prominence and standing, by for example, using their admission criteria in a manner that only students with higher potential are admitted. This will advantage schools in high stakes testing.

Stevenson et al (2007: 3) note that performance management and performance related pay (PRP) were introduced in British schools. However, teachers were opposed to this development, arguing that it made little difference to classroom practice and instead increased the bureaucracy needed to provide evidence of performance. Stevenson (2010: 5) cites an example in England, where teachers, through their unions, worked together to boycott standardized tests. They argued that an output-led system encouraged narrow and usually joyless pedagogy which was focused mainly on teaching to a test.

A teacher appraisal and performance measurement model was introduced in South Africa in 2003 as a form of the Integrated Quality Management Systems (IQMS). The IQMS system brings together different forms of monitoring and appraisal, namely: whole school evaluation (WSE), development appraisal system (DAS) and performance measurement (PM) (De Clercq 2008: 12). Through the IQMS, performance measurement is applied by assigning scores to teacher performance in relation to set standards.

Mosoge and Pilane (2014: 4) argue that the focus on performance measurement has neglected the commitment to developing human capacity and skills. Linking IQMS with salary improvements distorts its development purposefulness and significance. On the other hand, De Clercq (2011: 17) adds that "*the IQMS content is fraught with tensions and leans more towards school and teacher accountability and quality control".* While the IQMS aims to strengthen teachers as professionals, committed to improving their own development, it also aims to monitor teachers by adopting a deficit approach which perceives teachers as needing tight bureaucratic accountability and control (De Clercq 2011: 17).

Managerialism and infiltration of market practices in education have permeated education reforms in many countries' education systems and is manifested in the curriculum reforms that took place in South Africa after 1994. Though the post-1994 curriculum reforms in South Africa were aimed at improving the condition of instruction, they could not escape the influence of the global market environment which placed

productivity at the heart of education delivery using minimum resources. Central to the global market environment which escalated managerialism, is performance measurement, bureaucratic control and limited teacher autonomy.

2.4 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)

According to De Clercq (2013: 47) CAPS provides a very specific manner by which to achieve learning outcomes in the hope of helping teachers struggling to implement their own learning programmes. The CAPS specifies the learning content for each assessment standard, methods of teaching and examples of good teaching practices. Grussendorf, Booyse and Buroughs (2014: 58) explain that the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement is a pre-determined education agenda with prescribed instructional activities, thereby diminishing the significance of teachers to a mere curriculum implementer. The suggestion is that educators are more suited to levels of implementing pre-designed classroom programmes than to being allowed the freedom to formulate and adapt classroom practices to meet diverse learner requirements.

Grussendorf, Booyse and Buroughs (2014: 58) suggest that clearly formulated learning programmes, as in CAPS, would empower educators to dedicate their energies to providing competent service without having to worry about designing their own programmes. To show the essence of the CAPS curriculum, Grussendorf, Booyse and Buroughs (2014: 57) state the following:

> *The CAPS is based on the conflicting assumptions about teacher expertise. The overt assumptions are that teachers cannot, or should not have to develop their own teaching plans, and thus they are provided with these. This suggests that the CAPS assumes that teachers do not have the expertise (or time) necessary to develop their own teaching programmes.*

The problem with the above assumptions is that while CAPS dismisses teacher initiative and expertise in engaging with curriculum matters, its successful implementation is dependent on teachers' knowledge, skills and expertise (Grussendorf, Booyse & Burroughs 2014: 57).

Du Plessis (2013: 1) explains that the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) is not a new learning programme but an adjustment to the National Curriculum

Statement (NCS) that is concerned about what to teach and not how to teach. It differs from the NCS and OBE policy in that it is more content-based than outcomes-based and as a result, it is associated more with traditional methods of teaching. According to Du Plessis (2013: 3) CAPS emphasizes a content-driven learning which allows little room for interpreting what and how to each while using week by week lesson planning. The National Protocol for Assessment for grades R-12 replaces the CASS model with School Based Assessment (SBA) which outlines the number of assessments to be completed during a given time period. In addition, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) provides directives on the amount of time to be spent on every theme as well as the content to be wrapped up. (Du Plessis 2013: 7)

Marishane (2014: 371) also shares the argument that the CAPS curriculum comes with prescribed lesson plans, content and assessment. (See Du Plessis 2013: 3 and Grussendorf, Booyse and Buroughs 2014: 58). According to Marishane (2014: 371) many teachers feel that the prescription of content leads to a mismatch between assessment and textbook content, because most textbooks are not content-based. The mismatch between plans, content and assessment and classroom practice leads to confusion among teachers leading to a contradiction between curriculum policy and the daily practices of teachers.

Pausigere and Graven (2013: 22) explain that the CAPS curriculum strives for standardized curriculum requirements across the country while aiming to enrich the awareness and student accomplishment in mathematics and language learning. Therefore, CAPS strives to make sure that teachers in the education system of South Africa interpret the curriculum similarly without attaching individual initiative in interpreting the curriculum. Over and above these, the CAPS policy stipulates the subject matter and proficiencies to be imparted, while following a precise sequence and pattern (Pausigere & Graven 2013: 22, Du Plessis 2013: 3, Marishane 2014: 371, Grussendorf, Booyse & Burroughs 2014: 58).

Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 441) show that the CAPS policy was accompanied by changes in assessment techniques. While the RNCS model used Continuous Assessment (CASS) as its assessment and moderation tool, the CAPS policy uses School Based Assessment (SBA). Furthermore, Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 465) contend that the CASS model privileges official assessment over unofficial evaluation,

thus encouraging a discourse of recounting and keeping records rather than using classroom assessment to improve teaching and learning. The SBA is presented as a compulsory component for progression and promotion in the different phases with clear prescriptions regarding the percentage that SBA contributes to the end-of-year mark of learners (Kanjee & Sayed 2013: 459)

According to Kanjee and Sayed (2013: 456) it is through Action Plan 2014 that Annual National Assessment (ANA) is proposed as a key mechanism to improve quality through assessment, monitoring and supervision. This plan argued for the establishment of *"transparent and fair procedures to incentivise good teaching in monetary but also non-monetary terms, and to deal with under-performance, both through support and discipline*" (DBE 2010: 59). Action Plan 2014 also argued for strengthening teacher accountability using points based system to monitor teacher development.

According to Pausigere and Graven (2013: 30) Annual National Assessments (ANA) are intended to operate as analytical tools to identify avenues of strengths and weaknesses in a classroom situation, to provide evidence for school-directed mediations while affording educators benchmarking knowledge and a set of data that can be used to inform the learning and teaching of literacy and numeracy. Pausigere and Graven (2013: 30) show that the policy's argument behind the use of ANA tests is that:

> … *a common national curriculum framework and periodic mass testing of learners enables centralized monitoring and homogenization of educational practices, thereby creating performance indicators for accountability, transparency and efficiency.*

However, in 2015, teacher unions began to voice their displeasure with ANA and threatened not to participate in the writing of ANA (DBE 2016: 9). Teacher unions complained that the abuse or misuse of ANA results led to comparing the performance of schools performances which in turn led to a number of undesirable practices such as competition between schools and teaching to a test. The other problem was that ANA took place annually, thereby leaving little room for teachers to remediate (DBE 2016: 15). According to Action Plan 2019 (DBE 2016: 8), the impasse around ANA resulted in its revision and it is now known as the National Integrated Assessment

Framework (NIAF). NIAF uses summative assessment of all learners in selected grades; systematic evaluation after every three years as well diagnostic tests that are intended to assist teachers identify and remediate learning gaps.

De Clercq (2013: 47) concludes that the main challenge with the CAPS policy is that it is viewed as a state sponsored and expedient attempt to prescribe what has to be taught and how to teach content, thereby under-emphasizing the need for teachers to acquire greater intellectual and reflexive knowledge. Furthermore, De Clercq (2013: 47) argues that the CAPS policy has resulted in "*greater regulation and intensification of teachers' work and assumptions of a compliant teaching force that had to be tightly monitored*". As a result, CAPS "*risks frustrating competent teachers wanting to protect their autonomy, while making less competent teachers more dependent on the state's curriculum and assessment practices" (De Clercq 2013: 47)*.

The review of the literature reveals that the South African education system could not escape the influence of managerialism and market-economics in the shaping of the curriculum reform process after 1994, culminating in the institution of the CAPS curriculum in 2011. The infiltration of market dynamics in education and in particular CAPS, brought about increased performance evaluation and control, bureaucratic culpability and an attention on the results of education (IQMS, Action Plan 2014 and 2019 through ANA and NIAF), thereby transforming the role of a teacher as a change agent to that of a recipient and implementer of prescribed curricula and having to teach to a test instead of enriching the value of classroom instruction. The result is that the professional autonomy of teachers is sacrificed as they are expected to perform their duties against established standards.

2.5. Conceptual framework

According to Hilferty (2008: 54) teacher professional identity is affected by changes in the socio-economic and political climate in a country at a particular time. Hargreaves' (2000) four ages of professionalism provides insights into different phases through which teacher professionalism can be understood and defined. The 'doughnut principle' of Dworkin (1967, 1978) also sheds light on the nature of professional autonomy and discretion. Two of Hargreaves' (2000) four ages of professionalism are particularly applicable to this study. The 'doughnut principle' of Dworkin (1967) also sheds light on the nature of professional autonomy and discretion.

2.5.1 Hargreaves' Four ages of professionalism

In order to help explain the state of professional autonomy and judgement, Hargreaves (2000) used what he called "*four ages of professionalism and professional learning*". The four ages of professionalism according to Hargreaves (2000: 153) are the pre-professional stage, the stage of professional autonomy, the stage of collaborative professionals and the post-professional age. Many nations around the world are engaged with these phases though not necessarily in the same order (Hargreaves 2000: 153).

Hargreaves (2000: 152) explains that teacher professionalism is the improvement in the value and standards of practice and at the same time suggests that teacher autonomy and professional discretion are at the centre of teacher professionalism. Hargreaves (2000:152) stresses further that autonomy is the most crucial element that distinguishes professionals from workers (proletarian work). However, it is noted that discussions around teacher professionalism were to be lost to managerialistic and market-based initiatives in education (Hargreaves 2000: 152). To this effect, teacher professionalism has assumed several connotations over the years as a result of the ever changing circumstances.

2.5.1.1 The age of the autonomous professional

"The age of professional autonomy was marked by a challenge to the singularity of teaching and the unquestioned traditions on which it was based" (Hargreaves 2000: 161). According to De Clercq (2013: 35) the struggle for autonomy was initiated as a response to civil rights movements mobilizing against social inequalities in schools. Hargreaves (2000: 161) explains that the age of the autonomous professional marks the era when teachers began to fight for their autonomy and pedagogical freedom. Teachers felt that they had the privilege of selecting the best methods for their own learners.

Large scale unionism that emerged in South Africa prior to and after 1994 could be credited to the fight for autonomous practice in education. Teacher autonomy was seen as central to attaining the professional status in education lacking in the pre-professional age. Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2049) adds that this "*is a stage when teachers gained a considerable pedagogical freedom*". The conception of the

outcomes based approach is aligned to this phase as teaching became learner-centred with teachers as facilitators.

2.5.1.2 The post-modern professional

Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2050) explains that the post-professional or post-modern stage is characterised by two rival groups: on the one hand there is the state while on the other is educators and their union partners. While the state is intent on deprofessionalizing the work of teaching, teachers want to redefine teacher professionalism. Hargreaves (2000: 168) adds that this is a period of the marketization of education resulting in the de-professionalization of teaching. Post-modernity is characterized by "*electronic and digital evolution in communications, leading to instantaneous, globalized availability of information and entertainment"* (Hargreaves 20000: 167). Hargreaves (20000: 168) explains as follows:

> *Market principles have become embraced so strongly by many governments, that schools have been rationalized, cut-back, made more economically efficient, less of tax burden and set in competition against one another for 'clients'.*

De Clercq (2013: 36) argues that during this age when education departments began to adopt a form of managing teachers using new forms of monitoring of teachers' work, performance management, narrowly conceived standardized curriculum frameworks and/or prescribed content knowledge, and that teacher responsibility included new regimes of performance-based accountability, which placed high demands on teachers, often without the corresponding support and resources to meet their needs and their changing classrooms. In addition, Hargreaves (2000: 168) explains that during post-modernity, teachers have had to deal with:

> … *centralized curricula and testing regimes which had trimmed back the range and autonomy of teachers' classroom judgment, and a market inspired application from the corporate sector, of systems of administration by performance management (through targets, standards, and paper trails of monitoring and accountability*.

This stage is associated with the institution of the CAPS policy in the education system of South Africa where teachers have to deal with pre-determined content and

assessment as well as performance measurement and accountability standards. In this instance, teachers' autonomy in choosing curriculum content is restricted while the monitoring and measurement of teachers' work reigns supreme.

2.5.2 The 'doughnut principle' of Dworkin (1967, 1978).

The concept of discretion is often represented as being situated at the centre of all professional functions (Wallender & Molander 2014: 1). Professionalism in this sense is seen as the *'discretion to make decisions about clients'*. Both Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2048) and De Clercq (2013: 32) agree that teacher professionalism is a process that enables teachers to make autonomous decisions over teaching practices. When applied to education, it implies that teachers as professionals should be able to decide on the best pedagogical service to children in the classroom.

On the contrary, Dworkin (1967: 32) argues that the concept of discretion only applies in special contexts. To explain this, Dworkin (1967: 32) uses the metaphor of a '*hole in a doughnut'* by stressing that the hole exist only as an area that has been left open by the surrounding belt of restriction. Wallander and Molander (2014: 1) explain that the belt of restriction refers to the standards and rules set by various authorities and furthermore that discretion does not simply imply autonomous decision-making but rather "*an area where one can choose between permitted alternatives of action on the basis of one's own judgements*". According to Dworkin (1967: 32), discretion should be understood as a relative concept. "*It always makes sense to ask, discretion under which standards? or discretion as to which authority*?". Discretion is therefore mirrored by the context in which it occurs. This means that teachers, in their pursuit of autonomous decision-making in classroom practice, will always be subjected to some form of control. Teachers can only use their own discretion and judgement within predetermined standards set by the education authorities.

According to the '*doughnut principle'*, the concept of discretion is only applicable when the decisions that a person makes are subjected to the standards set by a particular authority. A person would have delegated powers to make decisions that are subjected to the standards set by a particular authority (Dworkin 1967: 32). When applied to education this means that for teachers to make pedagogical decisions, they are guided by the standards determined by the education authorities. Whenever teachers seek autonomous decision-making in classroom practice, they will always be subjected to

some form of organizational control. Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 185) and Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2049) mention that teachers are not entirely autonomous because their personal freedom is always under constant supervision and that teacher autonomy is restricted by the education authorities that direct and shape their practices.

The '*doughnut principle'* suggests that even in situations where individuals make their own decisions, they do so as part of the hierarchical order that is structured in such a way that some have more authority (Dworkin 1967: 32). Wallander and Molander (2014: 3) add that the concept of autonomy does not necessarily highlight not interfering and authorization to use discretion but instead the capability to make sound judgements. The '*doughnut principle'* can also be associated with what Ball (2003: 217) referred to as '*self-regulating regulation'* or '*controlled de-control',* where the state provides a new general mode of less visible regulation of teachers and teaching. "T*eachers are re-worked as producers/providers, educational entrepreneurs and managers and are subject to regular appraisal and review and performance comparisons*".

2.6 Concluding remarks

The literature review has shown that teacher professional autonomy is a contested territory between education authorities (state) and teachers. Teachers want to have professional discretion in deciding on the methods that are best suited to their classroom situations without supervision and prescription. On the other hand, the state wants to control the work of teachers through monitoring and measurement tools, thereby subjecting teachers to bureaucratic accountability. The literature review has also demonstrated how the influence of the market and private sector practices have permeated the education systems of many countries resulting in market based teaching (results) and bureaucratic control. As a result, the CAPS policy has adopted market as well as managerialistic principles which are used to provide teachers with a pre-determined curriculum which has to be followed without fail as well as performance measurement tools to help evaluate and manage the work of teachers. I also discussed the conceptual framework in detail. In the next chapter, the research methodology employed in gathering and analysing data is presented and discussed.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this section, the various methods of enquiry employed in trying to answer the primary research question are discussed. I also discuss the research approach that was used and why I chose this approach. The chapter also describes the research design, sampling techniques, interview strategy, analysis of data and interpretation methods used in the study. Attention is also given to ethical considerations as well as the trustworthiness of the data collected.

3.2 Research paradigm

A research paradigm is a reflection of the "*researcher's beliefs about the world that s/he lives in and wants to live in. It constitutes the abstract beliefs and principles that shape how the researcher sees the world and how s/he interprets and acts within that world"* (Kivunja & Kuyini 2017: 26). According to Kivunja and Kuyini (2017: 30) among the dominant approaches to research paradigms in educational research are a positivist and interpretivist or constructionist approaches. This research study employed an interpretivist approach.

An interpretivist approach seeks to understand the subjective world of human experience (Kivunja & Kuyini 2017: 33). According to Kivunja and Kuyini (2017: 33) an interpretivist approach:

> *"… makes an effort to 'get into the head of the subjects being studied' so as to speak, and to understand and interpret what the subject is thinking or the meaning s/he is making of the context. Every effort is made to try and understand the viewpoint of the subject being observed, rather than the viewpoint of the observer. Emphasis is placed on understanding the individual and the interpretation of the world around them".*

The research study was directed by the interpretive model which allowed me to concentrate on the subjective views and experiences of participants. The study was influenced by the belief that individuals, through their experiences, interpret social phenomena differently and that their views are personal and subjective (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013: 26).

3.3 Research method

Since the research study concentrated on studying the subjective understandings of teachers as to how their autonomy is affected by the introduction of the CAPS curriculum, it was conducted within a qualitative, interpretive approach.

Cresswell (2007: 36) explains that qualitative research is:

> … *a situated activity that locates the observer in the world and consists of interpretive, material resources that make the world visible. Qualitative research* is *an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world where researchers study things in their natural settings*, *attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them*.

Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2013: 16) mention that one of the benefits of using qualitative methods of research is that they help the researcher to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomena being studied. The study relied on the subjective views of participants based on their personal experiences about the phenomena being studied.

3.4 Research design

A case study research design was used to collect data from the participants. Zainal (2007: 2) defines a case study method as a research design that allows the researcher to intimately interrogate the data within a specific context. According to Zainal (2007: 2) case studies *"explore and investigate contemporary real life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships".* The importance of using a case study research is further emphasized by Briggs and Coleman (2007: 143) who declared that it takes place "*where the action is, taking testimony from and observing the actions first hand*", thereby enhancing the reliability of data collected. Zainal (2007: 5) adds that the main disadvantage of using

case studies is that they use a smaller number of subjects which makes it difficult to make credible scientific generalizations.

Four primary schools in Polokwane district were identified and used as research sites. As a result, a multi-site or multiple case study research design was employed. Multiple case studies are employed when the research study involves more than one single case (Zainal 2007: 3). According to Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2013: 9) multiple case study research designs are helpful in that they allow the researcher to collect data from different contexts in which participants find themselves. That is, the study helped me to find a variety of responses to one phenomenon as well as comparing different contexts and experiences of participants. Despite the benefits of using multiple case studies, they can be enormously expensive and time consuming to implement (Zainal 2007: 3)

3.5 Sampling methods

The four primary schools that served as research sites were chosen purposively and conveniently so as to reduce the costs of travel. The criteria for choosing the four participating schools was informed by the fact that at least two of them are fee paying schools while the other two are non-fee-paying schools. This selection criterion was used in order to understand and compare the experiences of teachers working in different contexts while also seeking to obtain an unbiased view of teacher experiences. As a result, I identified and selected two fee-paying schools within a ten kilometre radius of the Polokwane Central Business District (CBD) and two non-fee-paying schools from rural communities surrounding Mankweng Township.

Fee-paying schools are perceived to be associated with the use of modern technologies, manageable classrooms, well-resourced classrooms and highly skilled personnel, all of which could influence their perspectives on the impact of curriculum changes. On the other hand, non-fee-paying schools are concentrated in rural communities, are under-resourced with regard to material and human resources, over-crowded and have poor facilities. The participants' views and perceptions regarding teacher autonomous practice could be influenced by these differing contexts.

The sample consisted of four participating teachers from each of the selected schools, bringing the total sample to sixteen (16). The smaller sample was helpful in obtaining a deeper understanding of the problem being researched. Upon giving permission for the study to be conducted at their respective schools, the principal of each participating school was asked to participate in the study. The principals of participating schools were further asked to nominate one Head of Department (HOD) and two experienced members of the staff (at post level one) to be part of the study. A snowball or chain sampling technique was therefore used.

3.6 Gaining access to participants

Before commencing with my research study, I submitted an application to the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria for an ethical clearance to proceed with field work. After being cleared to commence with the research programme, I wrote a letter to the Head of Department of the Limpopo Department of Education asking for authorization to launch a research programme at the chosen schools.

After obtaining the go-ahead from the Limpopo Department of Education, I wrote letters to all the principals of the chosen schools requesting access to conduct a research study at their respective schools. The letter explained the nature of the research in full, what I wanted to achieve by the end of the research as well as ethical concerns. The letter also communicated to the principals the sampling technique that was going to be used.

Upon being granted permission to conduct a research study at their schools, all prospective participants were asked to sign letters of consent wherein they agree to participate freely and voluntarily in the research. All matters of ethical concerns were explained to the participants before they signed the letters of consent. Once the participating teachers gave their consent to participate in the enquiry, I made arrangements to meet each of the participating teachers on the date and at the time that suited them. No interviews were scheduled to take place during school hours and all arrangements were made for after working hours. It was not easy for all the participants to honour the agreed dates and time and as a result appointments had to be rescheduled time and again until it was convenient for all the parties. As a result, it took me six months (from April 2017 to October 2017) to complete all the interviews.

I also made sure that each participant was provided with the interview schedule well before the interviews, so that they could have time to be familiarise themselves with the questions and prepare adequately. The interview schedule also mentioned the suggested length of the interview.

3.7 Interviews

Alshenqeeti (2014: 40) defines an interview as follows:

> *An interview* is a *conversation whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meanings of the described phenomena*.

An interview is an '*extendable conversation'* between two or more people with the aim of obtaining a deeper understanding pertaining to a particular phenomenon to which interpretations and meanings can be attached (Alshenqeeti (2014: 40)

Due to the fact that this enquiry is exploratory, I used semi-structured interviews in order to obtain data about the teachers' understanding of how their autonomy has been affected by the introduction of the CAPS policy. These interviews were also focused on exploring how teachers from different contexts experienced the introduction of the CAPS curriculum. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed participants to respond to both closed and open-ended questions. As Vithal and Jansen (2006: 22) explained, semi-structured interviews help to get the most direct experiences of participants while also enabling the interviewer to obtain first-hand data (Briggs & Coleman 2007: 143).

Before the interviews could be conducted, all the principals of the chosen schools were asked to sign letters that gave permission for the research study to be conducted at their respective schools. Upon receiving permission, the participating teachers were requested to show their intention to willingly and voluntarily contribute to the study by signing letters of consent.

The participating teachers were given a copy of the interview questions before being interviewed so that they could familiarise themselves with the questions before the actual interviews. Prior to being interviewed, all participants were asked to complete a

short questionnaire wherein their biographical information was recorded. The biographical information included their age, experience, post level and highest qualification. The interview was designed in such a manner that I was able to pose follow-up queries based on the main question. All the interview sessions were audio-recorded, using one-on-one conversation. I also took notes of the participants' responses in a notebook during the interviews. The audio-recordings and notes were later reconciled and used in data transcription and analysis. Each interview session lasted about forty-five minutes.

3.8 Interview protocol

The interview protocol detailed all the steps followed during the interview process.

The first section of the interview protocol contained the following information:

- The nature and rationale of the research programme
- Procedures to be followed in collecting data
- Matters of ethical concerns, e.g. privacy, anonymity and voluntary participation
- The duration of the interviewing process

The second section of the interviewing process sought to establish the contexts under which the participants and their schools operated. As a result, the participants' biographical information and the schools' demographical information were recorded. The biographical and demographical information included the age and gender of each participant, their level of qualification, the post level occupied by each participant, the participants' years of experience in teaching and the quintiles within which their schools fall.

The next section of the interview protocol was based on the actual interview questions and included discussions on the following topics:

- Participants' understanding of teacher professionalism and professional autonomy.
- The participants' pursuit of professional autonomy.
- The participants' experience of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement.
- How the CAPS policy influences teacher professional identity and autonomy.

- What participants perceive to the main challenges of the CAPS policy with regards to autonomous practice.
- The benefits of the CAPS policy to professional practice.
- How teachers balance the demands of the CAPS policy against the pursuit for autonomy.
- Participants' views on the monitoring and evaluation of teachers' work in the CAPS policy.
- The participants' views on the CAPS policy providing a common national framework for teaching and assessment.

The last section of the interview protocol involved the closing of the interview where I thanked the participants for having taken their time to voluntarily participate in the interview. A copy of the interview protocol is attached as Addendum A.

3.9 Data analysis and interpretation

According to Flick (2013: 5) data analysis in qualitative research is a process of classifying and interpreting linguistic (or visual) material in order to make statements regarding "*implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-making in the material and what is represented in it*". Qualitative data analysis can also be described as a process of reducing large amounts of collected data in order to make sense of them. This process involves organizing data, reducing data through summarization and categorization and identifying patterns and themes (Kawulich 2004: 97). I firstly transcribed the voice recordings and notes of the interview and then conducted a content analysis of the transcribed data.

During the transcription and content analysis processes, I listened to the audio recordings several times while also taking down useful notes from the recordings. I wrote down a summary of what each participant had to say during the interviews. Thereafter, I compared the notes that I took during interviews with the summary that I made from listening to the audio recordings.

Elo and Kyngas (2007: 107) describe content analysis as "*a process of analysing written, verbal or visual communication messages".* Content analysis may also refer to "*counting the frequencies and sequencing of particular words, phrases or concepts in order to identify key words or themes"* (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell 2005: 40).

When analysing the data, I was confronted with huge amounts of data which I had to process and reduce to manageable levels. As a result, I based my data analysis procedure on a pre-determined set of themes and questions and then categorized the data according to these themes. I studied the participants' responses to each question and made comparisons with the aim of finding consistencies and differences between the responses of individual participants as well as between participants from different schooling contexts.

I also identified themes that occurred more often in the participants' responses and attached them to relevant categories. By identifying common patterns, connections and relationships between different categories, I was able to come up with my own interpretations with regard to the analysed data. These interpretations formed the basis of my findings.

I also made a horizontal comparison between participants from the same post level and school context and thereafter I compared teachers' perspectives in the same post level from different contexts. I also made a vertical comparison (perspectives of teachers from different post levels within a similar context as well as from different contexts). The aim was to determine whether there were agreements or differences in the perspectives of teachers within similar contexts and from different schooling environments.

3.10 Ethical considerations

Ethics in research is concerned with '*what is good or right'* and anything that is bad or wrong is considered to be unethical (Hammersley & Traianou 2012: 78). In undertaking this research, I dedicated all my energy to safeguarding the participants' interests and ensuring that they did not suffer any harm, in whatever form (physical or emotional), in the process of gathering data. This data collection procedure involved close interpersonal and working relationships with participants and as such matters of ethical concerns and care were very crucial to effective data collection. As the principal instrument of the research, I established close working relationships with all the participants. I knew all but four of the participants, making it easy to form meaningful working relationships. Participants are more likely to offer reliable data when they trust the relationship between them and the researcher.

Before starting with the interviews, I requested permission from the principals of all selected schools to conduct research at their sites. Upon receiving permission, I wrote letters to all the prospective participants asking them to give their informed consent to participate freely and voluntarily in the study. According to Hammersley and Traianou (2012: 114) obtaining consent is necessary on the grounds of respecting the autonomy of the participants. In the letters of consent, the nature and purpose of the research was explained to them. The consent form indicated clearly to the participants that their contribution to the study was out of free will and that they could withdraw from the research at any point during the procedure of collecting data. Participants were also handed an interview schedule, so that they could be familiarise themselves with the questions that they were going to face during the interviews.

The principle of no harm in an interview process means not exploiting the participants, not publishing material that can inconvenience them and not revealing information they might find embarrassing (Rubin & Rubin 2012: 89). I promised all the participants that the data provided through the interviews would be reported as honestly and fairly as possible.

The anonymity of participants is very important in a research process. To ensure anonymity of participating teachers, I promised to protect the participants by not revealing the identity of their schools or their names. Instead, I used a coding system where numerals are attached to schools, e.g. School 3. Post level categories were attached to educators, e.g. PL1 educator in School 3. As a measure to ensure that the data collected remained as confidential as possible, I promised the participants that no one would gain access to either the recorded or the transcribed data and that no one would get to listen to the tape recordings.

3.11 Credibility and trustworthiness of data

The researcher has the important task of ensuring that the data collected during interviews is as trustworthy and dependable as possible. As I result, I made the necessary efforts to make sure that the data I collected was a reflection of what the participants said without adding any personal biases. According to Hamilton and

Corbett-Whittier (2016: 135) accuracy of data refers to the degree to which the findings of the research are accurate and reliable

After the transcription of the interview data, I took steps to verify its authenticity with the participants. This is known as '*member checking'* (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013: 136). Participants were given the transcripts of the interview data to confirm or deny the researcher's conclusions. Key points provided by the participants were summarized and given to them for verification purposes. Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2013: 136) explain that giving participants an opportunity to verify their inputs is "*an important strategy to reinforce the trustworthiness of the research as any inaccuracies or misinterpretations can be picked up before the final stage of analysis is reached".*

3.12 Advantages of the research methodology

One of the major benefits of using qualitative methods of research is that it helps in obtaining an in-depth analysis of the phenomena under consideration (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013: 16). The use of natural settings and face-to-face interactions with the participants qualifies the researcher to obtain a greater awareness of the issues that are under investigation, which ultimately helps in answering the main research question.

According to Alshenqeeti (2014: 42) one of the most important attributes of a qualitative interview is that "*it offers researchers the opportunity to uncover information that is probably not accessible using other techniques such as questionnaires and observations"*. This is largely because during interviews the researcher can rephrase or simplify questions so that the interviewee can develop a better understanding of what is being asked. This ensures that more appropriate answers are given and recorded. Another advantage is that when interviews are recorded, there will be an accurate reporting of the interview.

Interviews in qualitative research involve one-on-one conversations, where the researcher is able to obtain '*first-hand data'*, observe both verbal and non-verbal cues and get the most direct experiences of the participants. This gives more meaning to the data provided (Briggs & Coleman 2007: 143, Vithal & Jansen 2006: 22). By using a multi-site case study research, I was also able to explore the perspectives of teachers from different contexts, which enabled me to make meaningful comparisons.

3.13 Limitations of the research methodology

One of the most limiting factors of an interview process is that it is time consuming (Alshenqeeti 2014: 41). Qualitative research involves "*engaging in a complex, time-consuming process of data analysis through the ambitious task of sorting through large amounts of data and reducing them to a few themes"* (Cresswell 2007: 41). The data gathering process took much longer than I had originally anticipated and as a result I was unable to meet my predetermined timelines. I had determined a work schedule that defined the whole research process, including conducting interviews. The biggest problem was that it was very difficult to arrange interviews as per my predetermined work schedule. I made arrangements with individual participants on the dates and times that suited them as long as it was outside schooling hours. However, these arrangements had to be rescheduled time and again as a result of the participants being committed to some other issues. As a result, some interview sessions had to be rescheduled to accommodate the participants.

Of all the participants, the principals were the most difficult to secure an appointment with as they were often away from school on account of one or more issues. Most significantly, the principals from non-fee-paying schools were the most difficult to find as per the agreed schedule. At one school, it took me a whole month to finally secure an appointment with one of the participating principals.

Another disadvantage of a qualitative interview is that it generates large quantities of data (Alshenqeeti 2014: 41). It took me a long time to transcribe all the interview data and as Alshenqeeti (2014: 41) explains, it could take approximately six to seven hours to transcribe a one hour interview. This had a negative impact on the finalisation of the interview report.

Participants were provided with an interview schedule ahead of the actual interview so that they could familiarise themselves with the questions and prepare accordingly. Despite having taken this step, it seemed as if some participants were hearing the questions for the first time during the interviews. This resulted in interviews taking longer than expected as I had to explain the questions clearly so that the participants could provide well-thought-out answers. On the other hand, some participants were not at ease with the use of audio-recordings and had to be assured time and again that their participation would be treated with confidentiality.

3.14 Concluding remarks

This chapter illustrated the research methods and approaches, data collection strategies and sampling techniques used to collect data from the participants. Qualitative methods of research were used to explore and interpret participants' subjective experiences about the topic under consideration while semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. The chapter also explained the sampling procedures used to select the research sites and participants. The method of data analysis and the interpretation thereof were described. Lastly, the chapter outlined how matters of ethical concerns were dealt with, as well as the steps taken to ensure that the data collected could be trusted. In the next chapter I am presenting the data and a discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this section, the research data is reported in the form of situated and general descriptions based on the responses of each participant. A brief demographic description of each school is provided, as well as a brief biographical sketch of each participant in order to help contextualise each case. A more comprehensive account

of the data based on the central themes covered during the interviews follows thereafter.

Data analysis and interpretation was based on the transcription of data obtained from the interviews. Content analysis was used to transcribe and analyse the data recorded during the interviews. As mentioned in Chapter 3, content analysis was used to identify frequencies of particular words, phrases and topics in order to generate underlying themes to the study (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell 2005: 40). Categorizing data into different themes was utilized so as to reduce the large volume of data into manageable and workable proportions. The themes identified in the data were to some extent guided by the questions in the interview schedule. The interviews were based on thirteen questions and the responses were grouped into six central themes and represented the thoughts, perceptions, feelings and experiences as expressed by each participant. These are:

- Teacher autonomy and managerial control
- Teaching and learning programmes
- Monitoring and performance measurement
- Diversity and differentiated teaching and learning
- Teacher involvement in the curriculum
- Professionalization or deprofessionalisation

Even though the themes are going to be discussed separately, they are not entirely distinct but relate to one another and may overlap at times. A full discussion of the issues raised follows the presentation of the data.

4.2 Demographic description of participants and participating schools

School 1 is a non-fee-paying school situated in a rural setting. It relies solely on funding from the Department of Basic Education as determined by the Norms and Standards for School Funding. The school has seventeen classrooms and the majority of the learners are in the foundation phase. There are thirty-three educators in total, which includes a principal, two level three educators (deputy principals), four level two

educators (heads of departments) and twenty six level one educators. The total number of learners is one thousand three hundred and thirteen (1313).

In School 2, which is also a non-fee-paying school, there are seventeen educators, which include a principal, one deputy principal and three heads of department. It has a learner enrolment of about five hundred and eighty learners. It is a rural school and is wholly funded by the Department of Basic Education through the Norms and Standards for School Funding. The school is dominated by learners from poor families.

School 3 represents a fee-paying school situated close to the Polokwane city centre. It is a public school which receives funding from the Department of Basic Education. On top of this funding, the parents make a monthly contribution of R350.00 towards the school fees. Fund raising schemes are also organised at the school as a measure to supplement the funds provided by the government. The school has an enrolment of about one thousand and fifty learners (1050) from grade R to Grade seven (7). There are twenty eight (28) educators who were appointed by the Department of Basic Education and four (4) educators who are paid by the school governing body (SGB). The school has an average of 32 learners per class.

In School 4, the learner enrolment totals one thousand and thirty-two (1032) with twenty-eight educators (a principal, one deputy principal, three educators at the level of head of department (HOD) and twenty-four educators at post level one). It is a fee-paying school which relies on funding from both the Department of Basic Education (as determined by the Norms and Standards for School Funding) and school and maintenance fees paid by parents. The school also employs assistant educators in the foundation phase classrooms.

The demographic profile of the participating educators is presented in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1 Demographic information of participants

Participant	Gender	Qualification	Experience	Designation
P1	M	B.A, B.ED	21	Principal
P2	F	B.ED Honours	21	HOD
P3	F	SPTD, ACE	13	Educator

P4	M	B.A(ED), B.ED	26	Principal
P5	F	B.ED	22	HOD
P6	F	B.ED (ECD)	25	Educator
P7	F	B.A, B.ED	27	Principal
P8	F	B.ED (Foundation)	22	HOD
P9	F	SPTD, B.A	20	Educator
P10	M	B.ED (Management)	24	Principal
P11	F	B.ED	23	HOD
P12	F	B.ED (Foundation)	22	Educator
P13	F	JPTD, ACE	21	Educator
P14	F	JPTD, B.ED Foundation	20	Educator
P15	F	SPTD, B.ED Honours	18	Educator
P16	F	SPTD, B.ED Honours	21	Educator

4.3 Presentation of the data

4.3.1 Teacher autonomy and managerial control

De Clercq (2013: 32) describes educator professionalism as an idea that is centred around the internal value of educating as a profession, with its relative control in making autonomous decisions on teaching and practice. According to ATL (2012: 2) teacher autonomy "*is about exercising judgement on curriculum, assessment and pedagogy*". On the other hand, managerial control or managerial professionalism represents a regulatory discourse of the state to control teachers and their work (De Clercq 2013: 33). Managerial professionalism can be linked to what Anderson and

Cohen (2013: 3) call new professionalism, which represents "*a shift from notions of partnership, collegiality, discretion and trust to increasing levels of managerialism, bureaucracy, standardization, assessment and performance review"*. Similarly, Gamble (2010: 10) explains that teacher professionalism is characterized by an internal tension between autonomy to determine own standards and accountability to the norms set by the profession. This is in line with Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle* which suggests any discretion to use own judgement is constrained by the surrounding wall of restrictive measures.

Interviews involving educators from Schools 1 and 2 reveal that the introduction of the CAPS policy has compromised teacher autonomy and choice of instructional methods because they are required to "*follow policy documents as well as workbooks provided*". According to an educator from School 2, teacher autonomy means that teachers need to have freedom of action when they teach and explains as follows:

> *The CAPS should work as a guideline; as a teacher I need to be innovative and use my own techniques to educate my children, whilst focusing on their different abilities.*

The second educator from School 1 suggests that with the CAPS policy, teachers are forced to stick to the curriculum without deviation. This is articulated by the teacher as follows:

> *Teachers' professional discretion is limited while they have to follow directives from the Department of Education. As a teacher I have taken a back seat and find myself following the directives from the department.*

This is supported by the second educator from School 2 who shares a similar view that the Department of Basic Education is dictating what is taught in the classroom and that the teachers have no say in the design of teaching and learning programmes.

An educator from School 1 noted that the CAPS policy requires high professional standards and high content knowledge and skills which are often lacking in teachers. Hargreaves (2000: 152) explains that teacher professionalism relates to the improvement in the quality and standards of practice.

Educators from fee-paying schools (Schools 3 and 4) express the same view as expressed by teachers from non-fee-paying schools by suggesting that the CAPS policy has provided a platform where teachers are not entirely free to decide on learning programmes, but rather are expected to follow the dictates of the Department of Basic Education. One educator in particular said that teachers are simply there to implement someone else's designs. Despite a recognition that teachers have to contend with predesigned teaching programmes, educators from fee-paying schools go a step further and suggest that teachers should decide on appropriate activities and then adapt them to the CAPS policies. In this regard an educator from School 4 commented as follows:

> *Teachers should use their skills to devise suitable teaching methods, but in doing so they should be directed by policy.*

The struggle for autonomy as expressed by educators from non-fee-paying schools is consistent with Hargreaves' (2000) *four ages of professionalism and professional learning* which maintains that teacher professionalism is linked to the advancement in the standards and value of service central to which is teacher autonomy and professional discretion (Hargreaves 2000: 152). Teachers should be able to use their own professional judgement in deciding on the best pedagogical service. This corresponds with Hargreaves' (2000) age of the autonomous professional.

On the other hand, views expressed by educators from the participating fee-paying schools that teachers can decide on the best pedagogical practice but within the dictates of policy, can be aligned to Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle* which holds that people are free to use their own judgements but that these decisions are subject to accountability standards.

Commenting on how teacher autonomy is affected by the CAPS curriculum, a head of department from School 1 said the following:

> *The professional independence of teachers has been taken away from us. All we do is what we are told, even how and when to do it.*

This is echoed by a head of department from School 2 who believes that the CAPS policy has taken away teacher independence through prescription of policies that teachers must follow.

According to the principal from School 1, teacher autonomy is limited in the CAPS policy because teachers have to follow prescribed curricula, pace setters, work schedules, assessment plans and workbooks. A similar view is held by post level one educators and heads of departments from Schools 1 and 2. However, both principals from Schools 1 and 2 (non-fee-paying schools) also expressed the opinion that teachers' work needs to be constantly monitored.

Heads of departments from Schools 3 and 4 (fee-paying schools) feel that teachers should be afforded professional autonomy, as one head of department from School 3 said:

> *It gives teachers freedom to decide on teaching and learning activities.*

However, the educators from these two schools say that teachers find it difficult to be truly autonomous in their practice because they are forced to implement a policy developed by others. This is articulated by a post level one educator from School 4 as follows:

> *Teachers carry out tasks developed by knowledgeable professionals*.

A post level one educator from School 3 adds that the CAPS policy affects teacher autonomous practice because:

> …*their work is constantly monitored*.

While acknowledging the prescriptive nature of the CAPS, a head of department from School 4 feels that teachers should not be stereotyped as mere implementers of the CAPS policy but instead should be expected to use the guidelines provided by the CAPS policy to devise own means of classroom instruction. A head of department from School 3 adds that teachers should maintain their own teaching methods which they think are appropriate for effective teaching and learning.

Both the principals from Schools 3 and 4 agree that teacher professional autonomy has become compromised as a result of the introduction of the CAPS policy. However,

they believe that teachers should be flexible and use their own interpretations and innovations in deciding what is best for their learners. In a similar vein, the principal from School 3 said:

> *Although teachers follow prescribed work, they should be creative, especially in the choice of teaching materials*.

Teachers, while following the dictates of policy guidelines, should also be adaptive and creative.

The heads of departments from Schools 1 and 2 concur with a post level one educator from School 2 by arguing that the CAPS policy requires high professional standards:

> …*which are unfortunately lacking in our primary schools*.

According to these educators, teachers lack content knowledge and skills to effectively implement the CAPS policy.

Comments by the principals from the participating fee-paying schools (Schools 3 and 4) show that they are not dismissive of the fact that teachers should have a say in deciding what children should be taught, but that in applying self-judgement, they should acknowledge that every autonomy calls for accountability. In this regard, the principal from School 4 expressed the following view:

> *There is no autonomy without authority*.

When asked about his authority in the choice of instructional content, a head of department from School 3 commented as follows:

> *Policy only serves as a guideline, otherwise I decide on how to teach and can deviate if the method is not workable or conducive to the children*.

A head of department from School 4 added that teachers should be able to plan activities to be done in class as well as to decide on resources to be used and not rely solely on policy stipulations. A similar view was expressed by a post level one educator from the same school.

The struggle for autonomous practice and independent decision-making is explained in Hargreaves' age of the autonomous professional, when teacher autonomy was seen

as being vital to attaining professional status in education. This is a stage when teachers wanted to command sizeable pedagogical freedom (Hargreaves 2000: 161, De Clercq 2013: 35, Demirkasimoglu 2010: 2049)

In a similar vein, the principal from School 3 said:

> *Although teachers follow prescribed work, they should be creative, especially in the choice of teaching materials*.

Teachers, while following the dictates of policy guidelines, should also be adaptive and creative.

There are similarities between the comments made by the principals from Schools 3 and 4 and the arguments expressed in the *doughnut principle* of Dworkin (1967: 33) where it is suggested that even in cases where individuals make their own decisions, they do so as part of a hierarchical order that is structured in such a way that some individuals have more authority and furthermore that the decisions that people make on their own are bound by the standards set by the authorities. In this case, 'the authorities' refer to heads of departments and principals at schools, circuit and district offices in addition to provincial offices and departments of education at national level. Similarly, Wallander and Mollander (2014: 1) add that discretion; according to Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle* does not simply imply autonomous decision-making but "*an area where one can choose between permitted alternatives of action on the basis of one's own judgements*".

4.3.2 Teaching programmes

Du Plessis (2013: 3) holds the view that the CAPS policy is a content-driven learning approach which allows little room for interpreting what and how to teach while using week by week lesson planning. Supporting this view, Marishane (2014: 371) explains that the CAPS policy comes with prescribed lesson plans, content and assessment and that this prescription leads to a contradiction between curriculum policy and the daily practices of teachers. According to De Clercq (2013: 47) the main challenge with the CAPS policy is that it is viewed as a state sponsored and expedient attempt to prescribe what has to be taught and how to teach content, thereby under-emphasizing the need for teachers to acquire greater intellectual and reflexive knowledge. With the CAPS policy, educators function more at the rank of implementers of a prearranged

schooling agenda (Grussendorf, Booyse & Burroughs 2014: 58). De Clercq (2013: 47) adds that the CAPS policy runs the risk of making less competent teachers more dependent on the state's curriculum and assessment practices while at the same time frustrating competent teachers who want to preserve their autonomy.

The participants were requested to provide a narrative of their understandings of the CAPS curriculum and how it affects their teaching practice. In this regard, an educator from School 1 responded as follows:

> *The CAPS policy is nothing significant but a change in terminology from learning areas to subjects*.

The same educator suggests that everything in the CAPS is programmed while leaving no room for interpretation. The second educator interviewed in School 1 holds the opinion that the CAPS policy provides particulars on what educators need to impart to students (learners) in a classroom situation, as well as what and how to evaluate learners in the classroom. According to this participant, the CAPS policy provides textbooks, lesson plans and forms of assessment.

> *The Department of Education decides on the learning content and the pacing of classroom activities*, said the participant.

One of the main challenges of the CAPS policy identified by an educator from School 2 is that teachers have to follow a programmed policy on teaching and learning thereby limiting their initiative. According to this participant, the methods of assessment are also prescribed. An educator in School 2 agrees that the CAPS policy consist of predesigned assessment methods which the educator must follow. On the other hand, this educator's colleague in School 2 is of the opinion that the CAPS policy has simplified teaching and learning, with its only problem being that it emphasizes quantity over quality. A principal from School 1 shares a similar view by arguing that the problem with the CAPS policy is that it uses programmed teaching plans as well as methods of assessment, which limit teacher initiative in deciding on suitable teaching strategies suited to different learner needs.

When asked to comment on his experience of the CAPS policy, a principal from School 3 responded by saying that:

The CAPS policy is characterized by prescribed curricula, prepared lesson plans and the use of pace setters. Monitoring of teachers' work has become easier under CAPS and our work as principals is to oversee that teachers do their work as expected.

In contrast, educators from Schools 3 and 4 expressed positive feelings about the CAPS policy by arguing that it encourages critical thinking among teachers and learners. While agreeing that the CAPS policy is content-focused, teacher-centred and accompanied by prescribed curricula, lesson plans and moderation of teachers' work, an educator from School 3 points out that teachers should use the work schedules provided to prepare teaching and learning content. The same educator feels that the CAPS policy, though restrictive, is fulfilling and makes it easier to manage teachers' work. A second educator from School 3 agrees that the CAPS policy comes with predesigned lesson plans but argues that the predesigned learning programmes encourages independent study while shifting the emphasis away from the textbook to technology-based learning. An educator from School 4 echoed a similar view by suggesting that prepared lesson plans help teachers in the classroom and added:

Teachers know what to teach and what to assess.

The same educator suggests that even though the teaching methods are directed by policy, teachers need to be creative enough to come up with their own strategies for their lessons.

While a head of department from School 2 regards the CAPS policy as being user-friendly and measurable, a head of department from School 1 feels that the CAPS policy has caused 'chaos' in schools and has become a 'nightmare' for many teachers. When asked to elaborate on the statement, the participant responded in the following manner:

Teachers can no longer think for themselves but are dictated to by CAPS, have to follow pace setters and predetermined work output while as HODs we have to moderate these tasks.

The views expressed by the head of department from School 1 are aligned to the struggle by teachers for autonomous decision-making in their daily practice and

pedagogical freedom. This is referred to as the stage of the autonomous professional (Hargreaves 2000: 161).

Educators and heads of departments from Schools 1 and 2 are in agreement that the CAPS policy, through the use of pace setters, helps teachers to know what they are expected to teach. Pace setters guide teachers on what to teach and when.

Two educators from Schools 3 and 4 respectively share a common view with educators and heads of departments from Schools 1 and 2 by stating that the policy documents in the CAPS give guidance on what to teach as well as on the assessment methods to be used. A head of department from School 2 added that the CAPS policy simplifies assessment and the use of relevant resources while encouraging collegiality among teachers. However, a principal from School 1 offers a somewhat contradictory view and argues that the CAPS policy is good in the sense that:

> …*it encourages monitoring and assessment.*

When asked who has the authority in the choice of instructional content and teaching materials, all educators (Schools 1-4) mention that policy guidelines under the CAPS policy determine what teachers should teach in class and at what pace. However, an educator from School 4, while acknowledging that teaching programmes under the CAPS policy are predetermined, argues that teachers should not solely rely on these policy documents, but should be able to adapt the prescribed policies to suit the contexts of the learners as well as applicable resources.

The prescription of programmed teaching methods and monitoring of teachers' work as expressed by participants finds relevance in the post professional age in Hargreaves' (2000) *four ages of professionalism and professional learning*. De Clercq (2013: 36) explains that this a stage when education departments introduced a form of managing teachers using new forms of monitoring of teachers' work, performance measurement, standardized curriculum frameworks and/or prescribed content knowledge.

4.3.3 Monitoring and performance measurement

Performance measurement is described as "*a process of evaluating how well employees perform their jobs when compared to a set of standards and then*

communicating that information to employees" (Makamu 2014: 105). According to De Clercq (2013: 47) the CAPS policy "*has resulted in greater regulation and intensification of teachers' work and assumptions of a compliant teaching force that has to be tightly monitored"* (De Clercq 2013: 47). Mosoge and Taunyane (2012: 187) explain that the search for professional autonomy has resulted in a conflict between the state and the teaching profession because the state wants to exercise control over teaching through the monitoring and evaluation of teacher performance. The post professional age in Hargreaves' "*four ages of professionalism* and *professional learning"* show that the state had a role in deprofessionalizing the work of teachers through the marketization of education (Hargreaves 2000: 168, Demirkasimoglu 2010: 2050).

Commenting on the challenges of coping with the demands of the CAPS policy, a head of department from School 3 said that:

> …*with the introduction of the CAPS curriculum, teachers thought they were doing away with the old teaching methods.*

Post level one educators from Schools 1 and 2 liken the CAPS monitoring system to the school inspection used in the pre-1994 era. According to one educator (post level one), the monitoring system is intended to humiliate and deprofessionalize teachers. A post level one educator from School 2 suggests that monitoring should not be used as a witch-hunt but rather as a support system.

An educator from School 3 argues that under the CAPS policy, monitoring and teacher evaluation is designed in such a way that teachers follow similar pace setters so that it could be easier to control work coverage. The use of pace setters serves the primary function of keeping track on the amount of work the teacher covers so as to be compliant with departmental standards. An educator from School 4 adds that the monitoring of work coverage is not only rigid but involves too much paperwork, thus limiting contact time with learners. However, this participant suggests that for teachers to cope with the system, they need to be creative and hardworking.

The perspectives of post level two educators (HODs) from Schools 1 and 2 are the same as those expressed by post level one educators in their schools, where one head of department insisted that the CAPS monitoring system shares some

characteristics of the past inspection system with the only difference being that the use of terminology has changed from inspection to monitoring. In this regard, a head of department from School 1 commented as follows:

> *In practice, monitoring and inspection mean one and the same thing*.

A head of department from School 2 added that the CAPS system requires a lot of monitoring of formal and informal tasks, curriculum coverage, work output, lesson plans, lesson presentations as well as feedback to learners.

Significantly however, the principals from Schools 1 and 2 hold a different view to the one expressed by their colleagues on the lower post levels in their schools by sharing an opinion that the monitoring system under CAPS is not designed as a fault-finding mission but to support teachers so that their work can improve. The principal from School 1 explains that teachers are informed in time about when monitoring is going to take place so that they can be well prepared.

A head of department from School 4 identifies the following as the challenges of the CAPS policy: preparation of work schedules, lesson plans, the use of pace setters, the control of work output and curriculum coverage. This participant feels that under the CAPS policy there is more emphasis on work output and lesson planning. All the principals interviewed from fee-paying schools (schools 3 and 4) mention that it places too much emphasis on work output, while requiring teachers to prepare work schedules, lesson plans and follow prescribed pace setters.

The emphasis on output is well documented in performance measurement where it is explained that numerical values are attached according to specific rules and procedures with the aim of evaluating the social attributes and work performance of teachers in order to establish the degree to which teachers have deviated from stipulated benchmarks of performance (Pilane & Mosoge 2014: 6). Evaluation of teachers' work and performance measurement form a major part of Hargreaves' post professional age. Hargreaves (2000: 162) argues that during this stage the state weakened teacher formations through legislated changes that restricted their scope of decision-making and subjected them to centralized curricula.

According to a post level one educator from School 3, the only similarity between the old inspection system and the monitoring system under CAPS is that they both involve

the control of teachers' work. Post level one educators from Schools 3 and 4 agree that under CAPS, officials do not come unannounced, thereby giving teachers ample time to be prepared. A post level one educator from School 4 adds that the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS), as an appraisal instrument, is actually intended to develop educators instead of destroying them. When asked to provide an opinion on the monitoring system used in the CAPS, a head of department from School 3 responded by saying:

> *If you do your work, you would not worry about being monitored. Only teachers who are lazy and do not do their work properly would complain about their work being controlled.*

All the participating principals agree that even though the CAPS policy is restrictive to teacher autonomy, it has made it easier to manage and control teachers' work Heads of departments from fee-paying schools (Schools 3 and 4) share the view that the monitoring instruments used in the CAPS makes it easier to manage teachers' work. A similar view is expressed by both their principals that the CAPS policy simplifies the monitoring and control of teachers' work. These principals share the view of their heads of departments and educators by pointing out that the CAPS policy is different to the old inspection system because teachers are made aware of what is going to be evaluated and when. A principal from School 3 feels that control of teachers' work is necessary so that the teachers take their work seriously and furthermore, that the CAPS monitoring system is more supportive than judgemental. In this regard the principal from School 4 shows his support for the monitoring and evaluation in schools through the following statement:

> *Workers need constant supervision. It happens in every industry.*

In particular, a principal from School 4 (fee-paying school) believes that the control of teachers' work brought about by the CAPS policy is good because teachers need to be constantly monitored. According to this participant:

> …*autonomy means that teachers can do as they like.*

The views expressed by the principals interviewed in both fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools and in particular a principal from School 4 concur with arguments expressed in Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle* which suggest that individuals

cannot be left to make decisions alone without administrative control and the evaluation of performance.

4.3.4 Diversity and differentiation

Okun (2012: 238) describes diversity and diversified learning as follows:

> *Each child comes to our classroom with a wide array of differing experiences outside of school; they demonstrate different talents, favour a variety of different learning styles, etc. Diversity refers to all of these differences and more; including but not limited to race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, age, physical abilities, religious beliefs, political beliefs, or other ideologies*.

Diversity therefore means that teachers should have the ability to respond to students' diverse needs by designing teaching and learning activities in a way that suits differently-abled children. On the other hand, differentiation means "*changing the pace, level or kind of instruction to meet individual needs, styles and interests*" (Fourie & Hooijer 2015: 2).

An educator interviewed in School 1 suggests that the CAPS policy does not cater for children with different learning abilities. As a result, it is often difficult to reach out to all learners due to the similar methods of assessment. The time allocated is also noted as not being enough to conduct differentiated teaching. This participant argues that it is unrealistic to expect teachers to use differentiated teaching and learning within a short period of time and as a result *slow learners* are left behind. This educator from School 1 is supported by his/her colleague who also suggests that teaching programmes in the CAPS are not designed to cater for all the individual needs of learners. Similarly, an educator from School 3 has a different opinion and believes that the CAPS policy does not fully cater for diverse learner needs. It does not cater for learners with different abilities and furthermore, where such improvisation can be made, there is a serious shortage of remedial teachers. This is supported by a comment by a head of department in School 2 that suggests that the CAPS policy is not entirely open to addressing differentiation in classroom teaching and teacher initiative by saying the following:

Teaching should not make everyone think alike but develop learners according to their abilities through differentiation of activities. Every learner is unique. It is killing the nation.

According to this educator, teachers should be able to plan the activities to be done as well as the resources to be used in order to cater for all learners.

While agreeing that differentiated learning is difficult to achieve in practice, an educator from School 2 holds the view that the CAPS system was actually intended to provide equal opportunities for all. This participant noted that it is difficult to conduct inclusive activities and differentiated learning in overpopulated classrooms and added:

As a teacher, I find it difficult to address all learner needs.

This participant from School 2 goes on to suggest that study materials should be structured in such a way that they are suited to different learner environments because uniformity of learning programmes is detrimental to addressing all learner needs.

An educator in School 4 agrees with the views expressed above by suggesting that teachers should assess learners according to their strengths while using appropriate resources. This educator's colleague in School 4 expressed the following opinion:

The CAPS policy provides for inclusive teaching but it is difficult to achieve because children do not learn at the same rate.

According to this participant, children possess different abilities and need special attention. Teachers should therefore use their skills to adapt teaching strategies and methods to suit everyone. This educator also notes that overcrowding in many 'black' schools prevents teachers from identifying and addressing diverse learner needs. Principals in School 2 and School 3 also suggest that teachers should be able to plan for diversity by designing, preparing and using instructional materials and activities that are suited to different learner environments.

An educator from School 3 holds a different view and suggests that assessment in the CAPS does cater for 'low order, middle order and high order questions', while simultaneously addressing inclusivity and differentiation. This participant explained as follows:

Teachers should use the predetermined lesson plans to draw up lesson preparations that are creative and fun for everyone while making use of suitable resources. Teachers should also be able to design their own activities and resources suitable for their environment and learners.

The question of catering for learners' different needs and abilities arises because the CAPS policy is thought by some participants to use a common approach to the exclusion of learners with different abilities and in the process limits teacher independence in designing learning programmes according to individual learner needs. This argument reveals a fight by teachers for autonomous practice (the age of the autonomous professional in Hargreaves's (2000) *four ages of professionalism and professional learning*. It also shows that there is an element of restriction and constriction towards making autonomous decisions in teaching practice (Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle*).

4.3.5 Teacher involvement

Marishane (2014: 368) explains that for teachers to be receptive to change depends on their ability to make sense of the policy. Curriculum change should appeal to the minds and hearts of the teachers who are going to be affected by such changes. Inadequate orientation, training and teacher development are cited as some of the reasons for the unsuccessful implementation of Curriculum 2005 and outcomes based education (OBE) (Marishane 2014: 368). Likewise, Oloruntegbe (2011: 444) argues that most curricular innovations in Africa were developed in a 'top-down' manner, ignoring teacher inputs.

All the educators interviewed in Schools 1 to 4 assert that the conception of the CAPS curriculum did not adequately involve teachers, and that teachers only served as recipients of a predetermined policy. The general view is that teachers should be involved from the beginning of the curriculum development process so that they can be co-owners of any change process. According to an educator from School 3, teachers should not only be given instructions to implement the curriculum but should also be consulted during the conception stage.

An educator from School 4 also feels that it is difficult to successfully implement the CAPS policy because teachers were not included when the policy was conceived. According to this educator:

> *…teachers are regarded as implementers of policy, while their input is disregarded when designing such policy.*

A head of department from School 2 adds that:

> …the *CAPS should not be structured as a one-size-fits-all system, where teachers are not consulted*.

Another factor that is identified by the majority of participants as contributing to teachers having difficulty in successfully implementing the CAPS policy is the lack of sufficient training in the CAPS. Educators in all participating schools (fee-paying and non-fee-paying) agree that many teachers have received minimal training in the CAPS and they therefore view the policy as having been imposed on them which then affects their autonomous practice. An educator from School 3 attests to this argument by suggesting that:

> …*teachers are only given instructions to implement the curriculum*.

According to an educator from School 4, sufficient training is necessary so that teachers understand their role. This educator's colleague in School 4 explained this point as follows:

> *We need more training and more workshops. There is no way that a teacher can master CAPS requirements in a three day workshop*.

A lack of proper consultation with educators regarding the conception of the CAPS points to the top-down relationship that exists between education authorities and teachers as well as the hierarchical power-base that is invested in policy makers. Hargreaves (2000: 168) explains that during post-modernity, teachers have to deal with centralized curricula that sought to diminish teacher professional autonomy in classroom judgement.

4.3.6 Professionalisation or deprofessionalisation

An educator in School 1 suggests that the CAPS policy has deprofessionalized teaching as a professional practice because:

> …*teachers have to do what they are told to do. I do what someone tells me to do.*

In a similar vein, an educator in School 2 holds the view that the CAPS has turned teachers more into workers than professionals because they do not have the freedom to select their own instructional methods. At the same time, they are subjected to performance standards through work moderation, curriculum coverage and a results-orientated teaching programme. In School 3, an educator agrees with these views by suggesting that the CAPS policy has changed teachers into workers because they are denied autonomy to use their own inputs and methods in classroom practice.

Contrary to the comment by the principal from School 4 that workers need constant supervision, only two participants, a principal from School 2 and an educator from School 4, regard themselves as both a worker and a professional because they are supposed to balance the search for autonomy with prescription. An educator from School 4 had this to say:

> *I am a professional but in a controlled environment*.

Ball (2003: 217) commenting on Dworkin's (1967) doughnut principle, argues that many education policy reforms are indeed processes of re-regulation instead of de-regulation. These new forms of control are referred to as '*controlled de-control*'. It means that even though teachers can make autonomous decisions in the classroom, they do so under organizational control.

The data indicates that the participants generally regard themselves as professionals. The following quotations attest to this:

> *I fulfil my teaching responsibility guided by stipulated framework*, a head of department from School 2.

> *I direct and manage my classroom and decides what to assess in relation to policy documents*, an educator from School 4.

> I am a professional, not stereotyped but flexible and adaptive, a head of department from School 3.

Comments by participants from fee-paying schools show that even though they take important decisions regarding their classroom practice, these decisions should be consistent with departmental provisions. Despite being concerned about the spate of monitoring mechanisms and prescription brought about by the CAPS policy, the majority of the participants still regard themselves as professionals rather than workers. Five participants out of the sixteen interviewed regard themselves as workers. Three of the four educators who believe that the CAPS policy has relegated them to workers are from non-fee paying schools. Significantly, the comment made by the principal from School 4 that workers need constant supervision shows the participant’s support for monitoring and evaluation in schools.

This is in line with Hargreaves (2000)’s post-professional stage which indicates that education authorities are moving towards the exercise of greater control over the work of teachers through monitoring and performance-based accountability while according to Dworkin (1967)’s doughnut principle, the freedom that is given to teachers to use their own judgements is limited by authoritative control measures.

Despite being concerned about the spate of monitoring mechanisms and prescription brought about by the CAPS policy, the majority of the participants still regard themselves as professionals rather than workers. Only five educators out of the sixteen interviewed regard themselves as workers. Three of the four educators who believe that the CAPS policy has relegated them to workers are from non-fee-paying schools.

4.4 Discussion of findings

There is a general agreement among post level one educators and post level two educators from Schools 1 and 2 that the introduction of the CAPS policy has largely compromised teacher professional identity and autonomy by prescribing what teachers should teach in class as well as the teaching strategies to be used. According to these participants, imposing predesigned teaching and learning programmes has relegated teachers to recipients and implementers of a predetermined policy. The data obtained from Schools 1 and 2 reveals one common thread: the CAPS policy seeks

to limit professional discretion on the part of teachers as to how teaching and learning is conducted in the classroom and instead imposes predetermined syllabi, assessment criteria and work schedules. Despite the negative effects of the CAPS policy on teachers' autonomy, principals from Schools 1 and 2 share a feeling that the monitoring of teachers' work is necessary so that teachers can function effectively.

The above findings find expression in the pre-professional age of Hargreaves' (2000) *four ages of professionalism and professional learning* where it is indicated that teachers are expected to deliver prescribed curriculum content with limited professional judgement.

Educators from Schools 3 and 4 are also of the view that as a result of the CAPS policy, teaching practice is constantly under surveillance and has to follow predetermined curricula. On the other hand, there is a general agreement among post level two educators from Schools 3 and 4 that teachers should not be hindered by the CAPS guidelines but instead should use them to develop their own instructional methods (professional discretion) in their teaching practice.

The data indicates contrasting views held on the one hand by educators from Schools 1 and 2 and on the other hand Schools 3 and 4 with regard to the influence of the CAPS policy on teacher autonomy. While all the educators interviewed feel that the CAPS policy takes away teacher autonomy in engaging with instructional content in the classroom, about fifty percent of the participants from Schools 3 and 4 (4 out of 8) are not despondent but feel that teachers can negotiate a way to use the CAPS policy as a guideline while developing their own methods suited to their classroom. This view complies with Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle* which implies that there is room for teacher autonomous practice and that this autonomy is subject to the policies governing teaching and learning in the classroom.

At the same time, there is general agreement among the principals interviewed that the monitoring of teachers' work is necessary to ensure that teachers function effectively. This view subscribes to new professionalism, which simply put, means autonomy within the confines of authority and performance measurement. This relates to answerability procedures where educators in the schools are helped by their managers to achieve the expected values and principles.

There is a marked difference in the perceptions of the teachers from Schools 1 and 2 and those of the teachers from Schools 3 and 4 concerning their experience of the CAPS policy. The teachers from Schools 1 and 2 (especially post level one educators) show little understanding of the CAPS policy and what is expected of them and consider themselves to be the unquestioning implementers of centrally determined curricula. On the contrary, the educators from Schools 3 and 4 are enthusiastic about the changes to the CAPS policy and that it can easily be implemented through a positive attitudes and creativity.

There is general agreement amongst the participants that the CAPS policy comes with prescribed teaching plans, work schedules, lesson plans, assessment plans and monitoring measures, which the teacher has to implement without fail. It can also be noted that all post level four educators (Schools 1 - 4) take kindly to the monitoring mechanisms brought about by the CAPS policy, because as stated by one principal: "*It has made it easier to control teachers' work*". This can probably be ascribed to their role as managers.

According to the data provided by all the participants from Schools 1 and 2, there are four main challenges associated with the implementation of the CAPS policy:

- The CAPS policy comes with programmed systems of instruction and evaluation which are imposed on teachers
- The successful implementation of the CAPS policy requires high professional standards and high content knowledge, which is often lacking in teachers.
- There was an apparent lack of teacher involvement and insufficient training in the CAPS.
- Working within a common curriculum framework, physical and demographic concerns makes diversified and differentiated teaching and learning difficult.

Among the challenges and concerns noted by educators from Schools 3 and 4 are:

- Exclusion of teachers in the formulation of policy
- By using a common framework for all learners, the CAPS does not consider the diverse needs of learners
- There is too much emphasis on work output (performance measurement and control)

- The CAPS curriculum limits professional discretion due to its prescriptive nature.

On closer analysis, nine (9) out of the sixteen (16) participants (about 56%) from Schools 1 – 4 noted as a challenge of the CAPS policy the fact that it is characterized by predetermined teaching and assessment methods, while seven (7) out of twelve 12 participants (about 44%) expressed the opinion that the CAPS policy uses a common curriculum framework, which makes it difficult to cater for diverse learner needs successfully.

All the participants interviewed (from Schools 1- 4) mention as the benefits of the CAPS policy the use of pace setters, which as one head of department argued, simplifies teaching by guiding teachers on what to teach as well as the assessment methods to be used. Heads of departments from Schools 3 and 4, and all principals from Schools 1-4, probably by virtue of their being in management positions, feel that the CAPS policy makes it easy to control teachers' work.

On the question of the authority of the teacher in the design of instructional content, the data collected from the participants reveals a stark contrast between the perspectives of the teachers from Schools 3 and 4 (fee-paying schools) and that of those from Schools 1 and 2 (non-fee-paying schools). The majority of teachers interviewed in Schools 1 and 2 (particularly post level one educators) view the CAPS policy as having taken away all their freedoms in engaging with the instructional content to the extent that they cannot adapt policy guidelines to devise own teaching strategies in line with different learner needs. On the contrary, the teachers from the fee-paying schools are of the opinion that educators should have the ability to adjust their teaching practices to match different learning situations.

Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle* is suited to the adaptation of teaching practices to policy requirements. Applying the *doughnut principle* to the implementation of the CAPS curriculum, teachers can use their own judgement and discretion as long as this judgement and discretion is exercised within the standards and boundaries as determined by the education authorities.

Another trend that can be observed from the data is that the level of acceptance to predetermined teaching and learning programmes and limited autonomy increases as

the level of accountability in a hierarchical order increases. This may be ascribed to heads of departments and principals also having to perform a management role and that the determined teaching and learning programmes associated with the CAPS curriculum makes it easier to monitor and control the teaching and learning processes in a school. The data also indicates contrasting perspectives of participants from fee paying schools and those from non-fee-paying schools.

The perceptions of the majority of teachers interviewed from Schools 3 and 4 (5 out of 6) differ sharply with the feelings of post level one educators and heads of department from Schools 1 and 2 with regard to their view on the monitoring system used in CAPS. While educators from Schools 3 and 4 commended the monitoring system because it provides direction to the teachers' course while at the same time developing them, educators from Schools 1 and 2 feel that the system is aimed at embarrassing teachers through the constant supervision of their work. There is a sense, particularly amongst post level one educators that the monitoring system under the CAPS policy is intended to undermine teacher autonomy by subjecting teachers to performance measurement. The post-professional age in Hargreaves' (2000) *four ages of professionalism and professional learning* shows clearly that this is the age characterized by performance measurement, monitoring and accountability.

The feelings expressed by the majority of the teachers in Schools 1 and 2 can be aligned to the age of autonomous professional in Hargreaves' (2000) *four ages of professionalism and professional learning' ;* where educators are in constant pursuit of autonomous decision-making in their pedagogical practice. In contrast, the majority of the teachers from Schools 3 and 4 express views similar to those expressed in Dworkin's (1967) *doughnut principle* where teachers have to make autonomous decisions guided by the rules and standards of the education policy. In this case, teachers interpret the predesigned curricula to suit their own classroom environments.

Despite being concerned about the spate of the monitoring mechanisms and the predetermined teaching and learning programmes brought about by the CAPS policy, the majority of teachers from participating schools (about 56%) still regard themselves as teaching professionals rather than workers. Only five participants (31%) out of the sixteen interviewed regard themselves as workers. All five educators who believe that the CAPS policy has relegated them to workers are from non-fee paying schools. Two

of the participants (13%) regard themselves as being semi-professional because as they put it, they are supposed to balance the search for autonomy with organizational control.

4.5 Concluding remarks

The main objective of this section was to represent the data collected from sixteen participants (educators) from four different schools which operate in different contexts. In presenting the data, I also integrated the consistencies between the data collected, the conceptual framework and the existing literature on the topic of the study. The data provided several themes which are central to answering the research question. As a result, the presentation was based on these themes. The findings were discussed based on the data provided. In discussing the findings, I compared the data from all post level one educators, heads of departments and principals, using their different contexts and post levels as the basis of my analysis. In the next chapter I will be presenting my conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The object of this inquiry was to study and understand the subjective experiences of primary school teachers in Polokwane schools as to how their professional autonomy was affected by the introduction of the CAPS curriculum. The study also aimed at comparing how the professional autonomy of teachers from different contexts (fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools) was affected by the introduction of the CAPS policy. It was therefore my intention to report on the experiences of teachers on the impact of the CAPS policy on their professional autonomy.

In this chapter I discuss my conclusions, propose recommendations and provide directions for further research. The chapter also contains reflections on the value and limitations of this study and the advantages of the research approach used.

5.2 Summary of findings

The views expressed by the majority of the participants suggest that the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) through intent or otherwise, has served to weaken teacher professional autonomy and discretion through interacting with the teaching and learning situation by subjecting teachers to pre-designed teaching and assessment programmes and accountability standards. The use of what the majority

of the participants perceive to be predesigned learning programmes and classroom activities could be understood to relate to the pre-professional age in Hargreaves' (2000) four ages of professionalism. According to Hargreaves (2000: 154, 155), during the pre-professional age, students were taught through standardised and specialised curricula while the transmission of teaching was accepted as an undisputed sense of what classroom instruction was supposed to be. Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2049) adds that during this age "*teachers were only expected to carry out the directives of their knowledgeable superiors".*

Similar to views expressed by Hargreaves (2000: 154) and Demirkasimoglu (2010: 2049), Grussendorf, Booyse and Buroughs (2014: 58) explain that the CAPS policy serves as a pre-determined instructional programme comprised of prescribed teaching and learning activities which diminish the role of teachers to mere curriculum implementers. According to this explanation, the CAPS policy suggests that educators lack the know-how necessary to design own instructional programmes and as a result are supplied with teaching and learning programmes.

On the other hand, the participants' views of the CAPS policy can also be attached to the age of the autonomous professional in Hargreaves' (2000) four ages of professionalism. This is a stage when teachers aspired for autonomous decision-making in classroom practice. Hargreaves (2000: 152) concurs that teacher professionalism should be characterised by autonomy and professional discretion.

The use of accountability standards in the CAPS, as suggested by some of the participants, relates positively to Dworkin's (1967) *'Doughnut principle*', which maintains that teacher professional discretion and autonomy is exercised within managerial control measures and regulatory restrictions. Even though educators can use their own judgement in discharging their professional function, they are subject to accountability standards as determined by the authorities.

There is a general agreement among all the participants that the CAPS policy has contributed to diminishing the role of teachers in interpreting and adapting their teaching programmes as they deem suitable. The data provided by some participants has also shown that the CAPS policy has taken away teachers' independence and freedom in engaging with the curriculum content. Post level one educators, on whom classroom duties are assigned, are the ones who feel the ultimate burden of

overseeing the implementation of policy. It is not surprising that most of these participants are of the opinion that the use of what they view as prescription of policy undermines their professional judgement and independence. This supports Du Plessis's (2013: 3) contention that the CAPS policy emphasizes a content-driven learning which allows teachers little room for interpreting what and how to teach. Demirkasomoglu (2010: 2049) refers to the pre-professional age in Hargreaves' (2000) four ages of professionalism when arguing that teacher autonomy was severely restricted while teachers had to follow a prescribed curriculum without question. However, it was during Hargreaves' (2000) stage of the autonomous professional that teachers began to relentlessly pursue greater pedagogical freedom in the classroom.

An interpretive research approach allows multiple realities to be constructed through the interpretation of social phenomena (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013: 26). The findings indicate that clear lines of distinction exist with regard to views expressed by individual participants as well as the contexts in which individuals find themselves. Individual educators from the same school or context experience the influence of the CAPS policy on teacher autonomy differently. This is because individual teachers' perception of social phenomena is shaped by their subjective and personal experiences, regardless of the context from which they come. Teachers rely on their subjective experiences to form an opinion about social phenomena.

Dworkin's (1967) '*Doughnut principle'* suggests that in every practice, organizational control is in the hands of the authorities who set standards for the workers and that these standards must be adhered to. In order to maximize this function, managerial control is bestowed onto others to make sure that organizational objectives are maintained. It is not surprising, therefore, that the teachers' perspectives on the influence of the CAPS policy on teacher autonomy changes as one move up in the schools' hierarchical positions. In this case, the data provided has suggested that the majority of the educators in management positions (heads of departments and the principals) are more tolerant about diminished teacher autonomy and the increased accompanying control of teachers' work. As teachers climb up the hierarchical ladder, they become more concerned with management issues than day-to-day interactions with teaching and learning in the classroom. Principals, in particular, would be more inclined to accept control measures as articulated in the CAPS policy because they are the ones to ensure that the monitoring and evaluation of teachers' work is

implemented without fail. According to Prinsloo (2016: 2), a principal is a departmental representative who has a duty to implement the policies of the education department. The Employment of Educators' Act 76 of 1998 (2016: 21, 32) also confers on principals and heads of departments in schools a responsibility to control and supervise the work of teachers. Ndungu, Allan and Emily (2015: 11) add to this by explaining that principals play a big role in monitoring and evaluating the teaching and learning process.

Unlike departmental heads and principals, teachers are the principal agents of the implementation of policy and as such are caught in the conflict between their desire for autonomous practice and the state's prescriptive and control measures. Teachers feel the ultimate burden of policy implementation and it is towards them that performance measurement and accountability is directed. These expressions find relevance in the post-modern age in Hargreaves' (2000) Four ages of professionalism by suggesting that it is an age when teachers dealt with a unified curriculum and challenging routines that had reduced educators' autonomous practice and initiative as well as systems of performance measurement and paper trails of monitoring and accountability (Hargreaves 2000: 168). Just as Dworkin's (1967) '*Doughnut principle*' suggests, teachers' desires for autonomous decision-making in classroom practice is constrained by a surrounding belt of control standards and regulatory measures.

The perspectives of teachers in Schools 1 and 2 (non-fee-paying schools) differ to some extent from the experiences of teachers in fee-paying schools (Schools 3 and 4). There is a sense of acceptance among the educators from Schools 3 and 4 of the changes brought about by the CAPS policy despite their admission that it compromises teacher autonomous practice. This could be credited to the fact that they have access to new developments in education given the material resources at their disposal. Demographic factors such as manageable classes in most fee-paying schools could also contribute to the ability of teachers to engage more profitably with the demands of the CAPS policy than their counterparts in non-fee-paying schools, which are often overcrowded and lacking in essential resources. Compared with the opinions of teachers from fee-paying schools, teachers from Schools 1 and 2 (particularly educators at post level one) are more apprehensive about the impact of the CAPS policy because they feel that their professional independence has been taken away from them. The arguments presented above serves to suggest that the

contexts in which teachers operate, as well as the position they occupy in the school hierarchy impacts how their perceptions of the influence of the CAPS policy on teacher autonomy are shaped.

The findings suggest that the CAPS policy does not adequately cater for the diverse needs and abilities of learners. According to the views expressed by some of the participants, the CAPS policy uses a common national curriculum framework for teaching and assessment, thereby neglecting the most important function of accommodating diversity and differentiation in the delivery of teaching and learning. Diversity simply means designing instructional methods and practices with a view to creating distinctive educational encounters to meet the diverse needs of learners. According to Dixon, Yssel, McConell, and Hardin (2014: 112) diversification means that teachers need to adjust both curriculum and instruction for various groups of students. Using a common framework for all learners means that teachers cannot address all the individual needs of learners who are on different levels of competence. Learners in a classroom situation possess different abilities and as a result cannot all be taught and assessed in a similar manner.

The monitoring and evaluation system used in CAPS has been found by the majority of level one educators to be a hindrance to their pursuit of professional autonomy by subjecting them to constant checks and moderation procedures. The arguments expressed by post level one educators refer to the stage of the autonomous professional and the post-professional stage in Hargreaves' (2000) *four ages of professionalism and professional learning*. During the age of the autonomous professional, teachers fought for autonomy and pedagogical freedom because they thought that they should have the privilege of selecting better approaches for the learners without accountability checks (Hargreaves 2000: 161). De Clercq (2013: 36) explains that during the post-professional age, education departments adopted a way of managing teachers using new forms of monitoring teachers' work, performance measurement and content knowledge. The '*Doughnut principle'* of Dworkin (1967), by implication, agrees that the teacher's professional discretion in the classroom is not absolute but subject to managerial and regulatory control.

On the other hand, all the principals were generally of the opinion that the monitoring system has made their job of managing their subordinates better and fulfilling.

Principals, as departmental representatives, are obligated to use monitoring tools provided by the CAPS policy to monitor and evaluate the work of teachers in their respective schools. The National Protocol for Assessment Grade R – 12 (Department of Basic Education 2011: 7) establishes a line of accountability between teachers and the school management team (SMT) by prescribing that teachers must maintain a teacher file for all subjects taught and that this file must be made available for moderation to the SMT at all times. The SMT, which include both the principal and the heads of departments, has a delegated responsibility to monitor and assess the work of teachers in the classroom.

Generally the participants in the participating fee-paying schools are of the opinion that the pursuit of professional autonomy can be attained even within monitoring constraints. Even with the monitoring and evaluation of their work, they can still use their creativity to adapt learning to suit all learner needs in the classroom. They regard monitoring as a tool to make sure that they do their work properly and according to policy requirements and not as something that is intended to limit their pedagogical freedom.

Despite the fact that all the participants agree that the CAPS policy has contributed negatively to their ability to have autonomous decision-making in interacting with curriculum content, the majority of the participants still regard themselves as professionals rather than workers. On the other hand, some participants (especially post level one educators from non-fee-paying schools) consider themselves to be workers rather than professionals given what they believe to be an imposition of learning programmes by the department of education on their professional practice thereby undermining their desire for autonomous decision-making and judgement.

5.3 Recommendations

According to Oloruntegbe (2011: 444) the majority of improvements related to curriculum in Africa and in some parts of the global world were developed "*top-down*", through "*power coercive or unilateral administrative decision*" and imposed in utter ignorance of the '*grassroots'*. Reflecting on the education system of South Africa, research has shown that there was apparent disregard or non-participation of educators in curricula improvements (Oloruntegbe 2011: 444). Although consultations with teacher unions were conducted, the actual implementers of policy (the teachers)

were not sufficiently involved in the conception and formulation of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS).

Marishane (2014: 368) explains that for teachers to be receptive to change depends on their ability to make sense of the policy. Curriculum change should appeal to the hearts and minds of teachers who are going to be affected by such changes. Teachers are less likely to interact profitably with curriculum change if they feel isolated (Marishane 2014: 444). Marishane (2014: 444) illustrates this point by the following remark by a participant in his research when asked about their preparedness to engage with the new curriculum:

When change in the curriculum is made, we only hear about it late after people who are not even the teachers have already captured it from the media. When change comes, those who are affected should be the first to know. Why do they expect us to implement change when we do not have the necessary information? (Marishane 2014: 370).

It is important therefore that teachers are adequately involved throughout the change process, because failure to involve them in the curriculum development will make the successful implementation of the curriculum challenging. Teachers should also be asked to provide input about matters that affect them rather than being subjected to implementers and deliverers of predetermined policy.

Inadequate orientation, training and development of educators contribute to their being unable to successfully implement policy. Training and the development of educators helps to equip them with substantial skills and knowledge to confront curriculum changes confidently. Ono and Ferreira (2010: 59) explain that teacher professional growth is one of the fundamental aspects in most educational reforms around the world. According to Ono and Ferreira (2010: 60) the correlation between educational restructuring and teacher professional growth is a mutual process. Educational transformations that exclude educators and their professional growth are doomed to fail.

Professional development of teachers in the CAPS, just like in Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and Outcomes Based Education (OBE), involves short training courses for teachers, who are in turn expected to impart their know-how and expertise to other

educators (Ono & Ferreira 2010: 61). It is therefore important that any curriculum reform process should be accompanied by a thorough training of those who are responsible for the ultimate implementation of curricula rather than using a ‘cascade model” of training educators.

Grussendorf, Booyse and Burroughs (2014: 58) explain that the CAPS policy is a pre-determined learning programme with prescribed instructional activities, thereby diminishing the significance of the teacher to a mere curriculum implementer. The CAPS strives to guarantee that there is a common understanding of teaching and learning programmes in the education system of South Africa without individual initiative in interpreting the curriculum (Pausigere & Graven 2013: 22). The CAPS curriculum therefore limits teacher professional discretion in adapting classroom instruction to satisfy the diverse aspirations of students.

In an effort to explain the importance of caring for diversity and differentiation in classroom instruction, Dixon, Yssel, McConell and Hardin (2014: 113) explain as follows:

> *To differentiate instruction is to recognize students’ varying background, knowledge, readiness, language, and preferences in learning and interests, and then to act on that knowledge responsively in planning content dimensions, process dimensions and product dimensions.*

It is therefore important for teachers to try and adapt their teaching methods in order to satisfy students’ differing abilities in the same class with the aim of maximising individual competence in the learning process (Dixon, Yssel, McConell, & Hardin 2014: 113)

Based on the above explanations, any curriculum development should not be rigid but rather allow for flexibility so that those who interact on a daily basis with learners, the teachers, are able to adapt their classroom instruction to suit different learner needs. Teachers should be afforded space to use their creativity and professional discretion to decide what is best for their learners.

Since 1994, the curriculum reform process in South Africa has transformed from C2005 and OBE, through the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) to the CAPS curriculum. Any education policy change impacts directly on the work of

teachers and their professional identity. These constant policy changes have had a negative impact on teacher professional practice, to the extent that teachers became frustrated and in the process lost their professional identity. In OBE and RNCS for example, there was no rigid prescription of curricula, but it all changed with the introduction of the CAPS policy. I suggest therefore that teachers should be afforded plenty of time to adapt to newly-established policy transformations before any new one is introduced.

This research indicates that the accountability systems of the CAPS policy are welcomed by the educators in senior management positions but not necessarily those tasked with implementing the curriculum. Educators at lower levels of the hierarchy struggle with the proper implementation of the curricula because they feel that their professional expertise is being ignored and instead they are being asked to submit to bureaucratic accountability. Any curriculum design should thus strive to maintain a balance between a pursuit for autonomous practice and prescribed accountability standards and regulatory frameworks. While the work of teachers should be controlled, it should not be done under strict surveillance. Teachers should be afforded opportunities to engage with the classroom content in a manner that will benefit the learners not the authorities. According to Hargreaves (2000: 161) teachers should have the freedom to select the processes and procedures that are suited to their learners. Teachers perform well when they feel their professional expertise is being valued. With strict surveillance and prescription, teachers feel that their professionalism is being systematically eroded.

5.4 Significance of the research study.

This inquiry is intended to make a significant contribution to the development of theory and further research by reporting on the experiences of teachers about the impact of the CAPS curriculum on their professional autonomy and also makes suggestions for further research. Though the results of the findings of the inquiry cannot be generalized to the broader population, for example he whole of Limpopo province or South Africa, they can used by education authorities and policymakers to determine areas in which changes in education policy may affect teacher professional practice and where possible, inform future policy formulation initiatives.

The study also provides suggestions for further research that can be pursued on the basis of this study. Important areas have been identified that need to be investigated further. It therefore provides a platform upon which further enquiry and discovery could be pursued.

5.5 Advantages of the research approach used

One of the major benefits of using qualitative methods of research is that it helps in obtaining an in-depth analysis of the phenomena under investigation (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013: 16). The use of natural settings and face-to-face interactions with participants enabled me to obtain a richer awareness of the matters that are being researched, which ultimately helped in answering the main research question. Interviews in qualitative research involve one-on-one conversations, where the researcher is able to obtain '*first-hand data'*, observe both verbal and non-verbal cues and get the most direct experiences of participants; thus giving more meaning to the data provided (Briggs & Coleman 2007: 143, Vithal & Jansen 2006: 22).

Cresswell (2013: 73) explains that a case study research does not only involve the use of single bounded systems but can also include multiple bounded cases. By using a multi-site case study research, I was also able to explore the perspectives of teachers from different contexts, which enabled me to make meaningful comparisons without attaching a biased view of teachers' experiences. According to Gustafsson (2017: 11) the benefits of using a multi-site or collective case study research are that the investigator has the ability to analyse data within each situation and across different situations and that the evidence generated from a multiple case study research is strong and reliable. In addition, Bengtsson (1999: 2) argues that multiple case studies make it easy to compare and contrast the results from each case with the results from other cases and results in more robust conclusions from the study.

5.6 Limitations of the study

According to Cresswell (2013: 75) among the limitations of using a multiple case study approach is the fact that it is extensive because it draws on multiple sources of information. Cresswell (2013: 76) explains further that the use of multiple sources waters down the whole assessment and that as more cases are studied, the less the

depth in any situation. The result is that multi-site case studies fail to produce a better theory than single case studies.

The research study was also limited in the sense that it was difficult to arrange interviews as per the predetermined work schedule. Although appointments were made with participants, the actual interview depended on the availability of the participants on the agreed date and at the agreed time. As a result, some interview sessions had to be rescheduled to accommodate the participants. Taking these inconveniences into account, the interview process took a long time to be completed.

Multiple case studies can also be enormously expensive and time consuming (Gustafsson 2017: 3). Although the research sites were chosen with the intention of minimizing travel costs, it was actually very time-consuming trying to arrange appointments from one school to another so that participants were not inconvenienced. In addition, the data analysis procedure meant that I was faced with a huge pile of information that needed to be processed. Sifting through all the information in order to reduce it to a manageable level consumed a lot of time and in the process affected the completion of the study.

5.7 Directions for further research

The research study is confined to the perspectives of primary school teachers about the influence of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) on teacher professional autonomy. It does not incorporate feelings and perceptions of teachers in a particular phase in primary schools. For example, an inquiry might be effected to establish the feelings of foundation phase educators as to how their professional practice is affected by the CAPS policy. The research can also be extended to secondary school teachers to determine how their professional autonomy is affected by the introduction of the CAPS policy.

One of the problems with the CAPS policy according to the findings of this inquiry is that it fails to tackle the subject of catering for diversity and differentiation in the classroom sufficiently. Further studies could be conducted to determine how best to manage diversity and differentiation in the classroom in line with the CAPS policy. Even in the event that teachers would want to devise teaching strategies to cater for learners with different learning abilities, they are constrained by overcrowding in some

classrooms. A study should be conducted in order to compare how diversity can be handled in, for example, no-fee-paying schools as opposed to fee-paying schools. Further studies can also be conducted to determine the feasibility of adequately addressing diversity and differentiation in the classroom using the CAPS policy.

The CAPS policy uses monitoring and evaluation mechanisms that are intended to make sure that teachers, as professionals, conform to the set accountability standards. A further study should be directed to investigate and establish the degree to which these accountability standards are effective in relation to the CAPS requirements. Alternatively, the investigation could be reduced to determining the influence of accountability standards in the CAPS on teacher professional autonomy.

This inquiry is also focused on comparing the perspectives of educators from different contexts. A further research could be used to determine the perspectives of teachers from a single context, e.g. rural primary schools or fee-paying schools.

As the findings of the research has shown that school managers take kindly to accountability standards that come with the CAPS policy, it is suggested that a study be undertaken regarding the perceptions of primary schools principals, for example, about how teacher professional autonomy is affected by the introduction of the CAPS policy.

Lastly, lack of proper teacher development programmes has been identified as an important factor inhibiting the successful interaction and implementation of the CAPS curriculum and which ultimately impacts on the professional autonomy of teachers. It would be proper to investigate the feasibility of instituting a proper teacher appraisal model which will bring teachers on par with curriculum changes and how to adapt to those changes. As De Clercq (2013: 43) noted, the teacher appraisal model used in the CAPS policy, the Integrated Quality Management Systems (IQMS), has failed to achieve its intended purpose and instead strengthened bureaucratic monitoring and performance measurement.

5.8 Conclusion

The driving force behind this research was to investigate the tension between education authorities (state), who seek to undermine teacher autonomy by prescribing the content to be taught as well as putting in place accountability measures to ensure

compliance on the one hand, and teachers, who strive to have autonomous decision-making in the classroom on the other hand. More specifically, the research sought to understand the subjective experiences of primary school teachers as to how their autonomy was affected by the institution of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). As a result, the study was conducted within an interpretive, qualitative approach. A multi-sites (collective) case study research design and semi-structured interviews were used to obtain research data from the participating teachers.

This research indicates that in general, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) has resulted in diminished professional autonomy of teachers in interacting with classroom content while at the same time accountability measures have increased. The study concludes by suggesting avenues that could be explored for further research.

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Addendum A

Interview protocol

Hello! My name is Theko Mokgohloa. I am a MEd student at the University of Pretoria. I am pursuing a research on the implications of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement on teacher professionalism in Polokwane primary schools. The research study is intended to understand teachers' personal experiences of the CAPS curriculum and how their professional practice is affected as a result. The purpose of this interview is therefore to learn about how your professional practice as a primary school teacher is affected by the introduction of the CAPS curriculum. I would like to thank you for agreeing to honour the invitation to participate in the research. The interview should take about 30 to 45 minutes. Please note that there are no right or wrong answers and that every input that you make would contribute to the success of the research. I would like you to feel comfortable to say whatever you think about the topic. If it is okay with you, I will be tape-recording our conversation since I may not be able to write down everything that you say. You are further advised that whatever you say during the interview will

remain confidential, meaning that only you and I would be aware of your inputs. Should you, for whatever reason during the interview wish to withdraw, you are free to do so. Your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary.

We will start the interview with personal questions:

1.1 How old are you? .... years
1.2 Note the gender of the respondent. M F
1.3 What is your highest qualification? ....
1.4 Which position do you occupy at the school? ....
1.5 How long have you been teaching?..
1.6 Is the school fee paying or no fee paying? ....
1.7 If fee paying, how do raise your fees? ....
....

2. Can you give a brief overview of how you find teaching to be after the introduction of the CAPS curriculum?

3. What is your view of teacher professional autonomy or professional discretion?

4. Describe your experiences of the CAPS curriculum and how it affects teacher professional autonomy in the classroom.

5. According to your experience of the CAPS policy, does it in a way enhance or limit teacher discretion in the classroom?

6. How positively do you think the new CAPS curriculum has affected your teaching practice?

7. What do you perceive as the main challenges towards attainment of autonomous decision-making in the classroom after the introduction of the CAPS curriculum?

8. What authority do you have in the choice of instructional material and activities in the classroom?

9. In your opinion, who decides on the learning content and pacing of classroom activities after the introduction of the CAPS curriculum?

10. Do you think the curriculum changes in the form of the CAPS policy were justified? If the answer is yes, say how? If the answer is no, why do you think they were not necessary?

11. Do you have a clear understanding of the role you are expected to play in line with the CAPS curriculum? If no, what do you think should have been done to prepare teachers to implement the CAPS curriculum with ease?

12. It has been suggested in some quarters that the new curriculum reforms in the form of CAPS is a perpetuation of the old inspection system in the pre-1994 era where teachers' work was continually monitored and under surveillance. What is your take on this statement?

13. According to Pausigere and Graven (2013: 30), the CAPS curriculum seeks to ensure that there are similar interpretations of curriculum across the country, leaving little room for interpreting what and how to teach. What do you have to say about this statement?

14. Given the responses above, do you consider yourself to be a worker or a professional?

15. Finally, is there anything else that you would like to add?

Closing the interview

Once more, I would like to thank you for having taken your time to participate in the study voluntary. I promise to send you transcripts of the interview so that you confirm or deny the responses.

Addendum B

Letter to Limpopo Department of Education

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Education

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

Mokgohloa T.A

6733 Clam Street

Emdo Park

Polokwane

0699

06.02.2017

Head of Department

Limpopo Department of Education

Dear Sir/Madam

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY IN POLOKWANE DISTRICT

I am currently enrolled for a Master's degree in Education Management and Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria. As part of the requirement for completion of the degree I must undertake a research study in the field of Education Management and Policy Studies. The title of the proposed research study is: ***The implications of Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement for teacher professionalism in Polokwane Primary schools.*** The primary aim of this study is to explore and understand the subjective experiences of primary school teachers as to how their professional practice is affected by the introduction of Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). The study seeks to obtain insights from primary school teachers regarding their experience of the introduction of the CAPS curriculum and how it affects their autonomy to decide on the best instructional practices for their children.

Four primary schools from Polokwane district will be chosen as research sites with the criteria being that two of them are fee paying schools while the other two are non-fee-paying schools. The data collection procedure will involve conducting semi-structured interviews with three participants from each chosen school, bringing the total sample to twelve. Of the three participants, one would be the Principal, the other a Head of Department and the third one an experienced member of the teaching staff. All in all, the sample will be made up of four principals, four Heads of Department and four educators.

The interviews will be conducted outside normal teaching hours as I am employed full time as an educator and to make sure that the data gathering procedure does not interfere with teaching and learning activities of the participating schools. Participants will be asked to determine time and venue convenient to them. Each interview session would last about 30 to 45 minutes. Data collection is intended to commence at the beginning of the second term of 2017 and would be completed in a month's time.

All the participants would be asked to sign a consent letter wherein they give their consent to participate in the research study. A consent form will address issues of ethical concerns while also indicating to the participants that their participation in the research study is entirely voluntary. All participating schools will be asked to give permission for the research study to be conducted at their sites.

1. DECLARATION BY THE RESEARCHER

1.1 I declare that all statements made by myself in this application are true and accurate.

1.2 I promise to submit copies of the research report to the Limpopo Department of Education upon completion of my studies.

Signature: ……………………………………….

Date : ……………………………………….

2. DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

2.1 I declare that: (Name of the researcher) …………………………………………

2.2 Is enrolled at the institution to which the undersigned is attached.

2.3 The researcher is aware of the conditions of conducting research in Limpopo schools.

2.4 I will ensure that after completion of the research degree a copy of the research report will be sent to Limpopo Department of Education. Failure to submit the report may result in permission being withheld from both the student and the supervisor in future.

2.5 Name	
2.6 Title	

2.7 Institution	
2.8 Faculty/Department	
2.9 Telephone	
2.10 E-mail address	
2.11 Signature	
2.12 Date	

Yours Faithfully

Theko Mokgohloa

Cell: 079 068 3557

E-mail: theko20.tm@gmail.com

Addendum C

Permission from principals of participating schools

The Principal

.... school

Dear Sir/Madam

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

I am currently enrolled for a Master's degree in Education Management and Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria. As part of the requirement for completion of the degree, I should conduct a research study in the field of education management and policy. The title of the proposed research study is: *Implications of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement on teacher professionalism in primary schools.* The study seeks to draw on the experiences and perceptions of teachers about how their professional practice is affected by the introduction of the CAPS curriculum.

The data collection procedure will involve conducting semi-structured interviews with four participants from your school. You as the principal, upon granting permission to conduct interviews at your school, shall be expected to participate in the interview. You are further asked to nominate one Head of Department (HOD) and two experienced members of the staff to participate in the study. All the participants shall decide on the venue and time of the interview. Each interview session would last about 30 to 45 minutes.

Kindly note that your choice and that of your school to participate in the study is entirely voluntary and that once you have given your permission and that of your school to participate in the study, permission for your participation will be sought from the Limpopo Department of Education.

You are hereby assured all the information obtained during the research study will be treated as confidential, and access to the raw data obtained during the interview will not be shared with anyone. At no stage in the research process will your identity, that of the other participants and your school's identity be revealed. A coding system will be used to refer to the names of schools participating in the study, e.g. teacher 1 in school A. To ensure that the researcher has used the exact information provided by you as participants, you shall be afforded an opportunity to confirm or deny the researcher's transcripts.

This research study presents you and your school with an opportunity to contribute to the debate on the influence of policy making on teacher professional practice and professional autonomy as well as contributing to further research on the subject under

study. If you agree to allow your school to participate in the research study, please indicate by completing a consent form at the end of this letter.

Thanking you in anticipation

Mr Mokgohloa Theko	Mr Andre du Plessis
Student researcher	Supervisor
University of Pretoria	University of Pretoria
theko20.tm@gmail.com	duplessis.andre@up.ac.za
0790683557	0832046060

CONSENT FORM

I ……………………………………………… the principal of ……..

agree to give permission to the student researcher, Theko Mokgohloa, to conduct a research study on the implications of the CAPS curriculum for teacher professionalism at the above-mentioned school.

I understand that the participation of my school in the research study is dependent on the granting of permission by the Limpopo Department of Education. I further declare that I understand the nature and purpose of the research as explained to me by the student researcher as well as the consequences and benefits of the school's participation. I also understand the methods of data collection and the researcher's attempt to ensure confidentiality and integrity of the information he collects.

………………………………….. ……………………………..

Signature Date

Addendum D

Letter of informed consent

Mr. / Mrs. …………………………………

Dear Sir/Madam

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CAPS CURRICULUM FOR TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM IN POLOKWANE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

I am currently enrolled for a Master's degree in Education Management and Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria. As part of the requirement for completion of this degree, I have to undertake a research study in the field of education management and policy studies.

The title of my proposed study is "*Implications of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement on teacher professionalism in primary schools".* I will be conducting semi-structured interviews to all chosen participants in order to collect the required data. I feel privileged to invite you to participate in the study so as to contribute to the attainment of the overall objective of the research project: exploring and understanding the subjective experiences of primary school teachers as to how their professional practice (autonomy) is affected by the introduction of the CAPS curriculum. This would go a long way in providing valuable data on how curriculum reforms in the form of CAPS influence teachers' work and practice.

I will be glad to assist in whatever way to help you understand the nature of the research and what your responsibilities are as a participant in the study. The data collection procedure requires that I conduct semi-structured interviews with a school principal, a head of department and an experienced educator from your school. Included herewith is a copy of a preliminary interview schedule that will be used during the interview process.

Kindly note that your participation and that of your school in this research is entirely voluntary and that you are free to withdraw from the research study at any stage as you deem necessary. Once you have indicated your consent to participate in the study, I will seek permission from the Limpopo Department of education to conduct the research.

I wish to assure you that the information you are going to provide during the research study will be treated with utmost confidentiality and that no one will have access to the transcripts of the interview, not even the Department of Education in Limpopo. I further promise to ensure that your identity shall remain anonymous. That is, you and your school shall not be referred to by name at any stage in the research study. In order to ensure credibility of the data collected, you shall be provided with a copy of the transcript whereby you confirm or deny the transcribed data.

I promise to provide you with a copy of the research report containing my findings and recommendations on teachers' perceptions of how teaching practice is affected by the introduction of the CAPS curriculum at the end of the research project.

This study provides you and your school to be part of the research that is aimed at providing meaningful insights into how teachers' work is affected by the CAPS curriculum and whether it has enhanced or derailed teacher professional judgement in the execution of their duties. If you agree to participate in the study, please indicate by completing a consent form at the end of this letter.

Thanks for the attention

Yours in service of education

Mr Theko Mokgohloa

Student Researcher

University of Pretoria

E-mail: theko20.tm@gmail.com

Cell: 079 068 3557

Mr Andre du Plessis

Supervisor

University of Pretoria

E-mail: duplessis.andre@up.ac.za

Cell: 083 204 6060

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Education

Fakulteit Opvoedkunde
Lefapha la Thuto

CONSENT FORM

Voluntary participation in Master's degree research project - University of Pretoria

I.. Principal/HOD/Educator attached to .... school hereby agree to participate in the research

study on the implications of the CAPS curriculum for teacher professionalism as explained to me by the student researcher, Mr Theko Mokgohloa, who is currently enrolled for MEd degree at the University of Pretoria.

I understand that my own participation and that of my school is dependent on the granting of permission by the Limpopo Department of Education.

I further declare that I understand, as it was explained to me by the student researcher, the nature and purpose of the research study as well as possible consequences and benefits derived from my participation. I also understand the methods of data collection as proposed by the researcher as well as the means through which the student researcher will attempt to safeguard confidentiality and integrity of the information he/she collects

Signature Date

……………………………………… ………………………….