The impact of curriculum change on the working lives of rural teachers

by

Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

in the Faculty of Education

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Supervisor: Professor K E Weber

AUGUST 2018

Declaration

I, Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele, student number u15277110 hereby declare that this dissertation, "*The impact of curriculum change on the working lives of rural teachers,*" is submitted in accordance with the requirements for the Doctor Philosophiae degree at the University of Pretoria, is my own original work and has not previously been submitted to any other institution of higher learning. All sources cited or quoted in this research paper are indicated and acknowledged with a comprehensive list of references.

Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele

29 August 2018

Ethical Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	CLEARANCE NUMBER: **EM 16/10/03**
DEGREE AND PROJECT	PhD The impact of curriculum change on the working lives of rural teachers
INVESTIGATOR	Mr Shonaphi Mashele
DEPARTMENT	Education Management and Policy Studies
APPROVAL TO COMMENCE STUDY	14 December 2016
DATE OF CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	30 August 2018

CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE: Prof Liesel Ebersöhn

CC

Ms Bronwynne Swarts
Prof Everard Weber

This Ethics Clearance Certificate should be read in conjunction with the Integrated Declaration Form (D08) which specifies details regarding:

- Compliance with approved research protocol,
- No significant changes,
- Informed consent/assent,
- Adverse experience or undue risk,
- Registered title, and
- Data storage requirements.

Dedication

I dedicate this research to my wife Siphiwe, my children Blu-Shonaphi, Sly, Rhulani and Katekani, my late parents Repson and Bettie.

Acknowledgements

To God the Almighty for giving me strength when I was weak and for giving me courage when none was in sight during the difficult times of the project – Glory be to Thee from everlasting to everlasting.

My wonderful wife Siphiwe, you have been the missing piece in the puzzle of my life. You encouraged me to pick up the pieces of my trodden upon educational life and trudge ahead until the end. You are amazing. I owe it all to you. Many thanks – love remembers what we forget!

My inspirational supervisor Professor Everard Weber who encouraged me to burn the midnight oil in pursuit of this almost unattainable and always elusive goal of knowledge – we were on a journey of a thousand hills that had to be taken one step at a time, my sincere gratitude to this educational giant.

I am grateful to the participants in this research – you gave me your time, you shared your lived experiences and led me into understanding what it means to be a teacher in times of change.

I thank the Mpumalanga Department of Education and all the principals for giving me permission to conduct this research – what I learnt through this investigation will always be in my mind for all the days of my life.

I am deeply indebted to my sons Blu-Shonaphi and Sly, and daughters Rhulani and Katekani for understanding that there is no end to the journey of learning – you surely encouraged me to hug the middle of the continuum to achieve this milestone despite the challenges.

My partner Collen Manganyana, you were always ready to have long chats with me to bring my sanity back when I began to doubt it – many thanks.

Reverend Curtis Solomon Ndlovu – thanks for rekindling my desire to learn after many years of layoff, you gave me a reason to do so once again. I also thank the Thulamahashe Church of the Nazarene for its unwavering prayers during my times of need.

Special thanks to: Geoffrey and Zandile Ngonyama for being my pillars of strength in this venture; my siblings Jane, Gift, Ralph, Nicholas and Dudu for wishing me well; and my nephew Remind Matsane and my associate Patson Nyalungu – for making the journeys between home and the UP Libraries look short.

Finally, I am grateful to the staff of Bondzeni High School – you guys are fantastic. Thanks for all your encouragement throughout the years!

Abstract

Curriculum changes have been an ongoing feature of the South African education system for the past two decades. I investigated the impact these curriculum changes have had on the working lives of rural teachers. I reviewed the relevant literature to find out what has already been researched about the topic. Based on this, a conceptual framework was constructed to enhance understanding and analysis of empirical data. The key elements of the conceptual framework are theorised as teaching practices, identity formations, professionalism, work conditions and accountability.

Life stories of rural teachers who have been teaching in rural schools for the past twenty years were collected analysed and retold. Fifty-two rural teachers were interviewed and four of these were selected for in-depth analysis. In addition, classroom observations were carried out. The study found that the curriculum change that has taken place over the past two decades has reduced teachers' autonomy; it has viewed teachers as pedagogues who are in the teaching-learning situation to carry out other people's ideas; it has increased teachers' workload resulting in its intensification; and it has resulted in greater teacher accountability to education officials.

Keywords: rural teacher; working lives; curriculum change

Language editor

Joan Hettema

250 Troye St

Muckleneuk

Pretoria 0002

Date: 28 August 2018

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that I have duly edited a thesis for a ***PhD (Philosophiae Doctor)*** in Education Management and Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria: ***The Impact of Curriculum Change on Rural Teachers' Working Lives*** by Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele.

I have a **BA majoring in Latin and English from the University of Pretoria, (including subjects - Anthropology, History of Art and Zulu), Honours in English Language and Literature from the University of South Africa (UNISA), *Troisième Degré* in French from the *Alliance Française* and short courses in Mandarin and Russian**. Throughout my 37-year fulltime career working on publications and as a journalist and the more than twenty years since, I have been involved with the process of writing English, editing English or lecturing in the field of Media Studies, English for Journalism and Business English at various tertiary institutions (Tshwane University of Technology, Boston College, Damelin College, Rosebank College and College Campus) as well as **editing documents and theses for students at universities throughout the country.**

I have also served for the past ten years as a judge of corporate publications for the prestigious annual competition of the Publications Forum of South Africa.

Yours sincerely,

J A Hettema

Joan Ann Hettema (née Thies) 072-126-5174/ 012-440-4753

jhettema@absamail.co.za

List of abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ATP	Annual Teaching Plan
C2005	Curriculum 2005
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement
CASS	Continuous Assessment
CI	Curriculum Implementer
CPTD	Continuing Professional Teacher Development
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DSG	Development Support Group
EFAL	English First Additional Language
EMS	Economic and Management Sciences
GET	General Education and Training Band
HOD	Head of Department
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IQMS	Integrated Quality Management System
LOLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
MEO	Multiple Exams Opportunities
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NECT	National Education Collaboration Trust
OBE	Outcomes-based Education
PGP	Professional Growth Plan
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SBA	School-based Assessment
SIP	School Improvement Plan
SMT	Senior Management Team
SS	Social Sciences

Table of Contents

1. CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 Introduction

The post-apartheid South Africa has inherited a divided and unequal education system. Prior to the 1994 democratic elections the South African landscape had a racially-fragmented education system that had numerous departments that were characterised by unequal funding, different standards and curricula. This segregated educational system had an educational department for Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites (Rakometsi, 2008). The first democratically elected government had the enormous task of establishing a unified department of education to improve the attainment standards across the country through undoing what apartheid education had done over forty years. Because of the change from apartheid to democracy, curriculum change that was specifically aimed at levelling the playing field for the schooling system was introduced. There are many other educational changes that were made during the transition from the apartheid era to the democratic period[1].

The past two decades have witnessed several curriculum reforms in South Africa in attempt to address the segregation that was inherited from the apartheid era. These were changes that started from the introduction of Curriculum 2005 which was a radical shift from the content-based education to outcomes- based education (OBE). When OBE failed to deliver the expected results, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) was instated with the view of simplifying the complex language of OBE and to have a curriculum that had a clear structure (Maluka, 2015). The RNCS later became the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). The NCS was replaced by with current Curriculum Assessment Policy

[1] The changes include, *inter alia*, changes in school governance, curricula, the provisioning of school resources, and the marketisation of schools to increase their competitiveness.

Statement (CAPS)[2]. These changes were mainly intended to remove the racially-based apartheid curricula of the past and replace them with updated curricula that would serve the educational needs of South Africa (Jansen, 1998).

The democratic era has succeeded in reducing the number of education departments from nineteen to one but so far it has not managed to resolve the problem of socio-economic differences amicably. This means that the post-apartheid education system has not been successful in stimulating enough economic growth to reduce the gap between the rich and poor through creation of enough job opportunities to lessen unemployment rates. It has also not been successful in addressing the challenge of rural and urban education as separate entities. This failure is due to the fact that the problem has not been given the full attention it deserves since the inception of democracy but all along it has been seen as a problem that could be addressed through "pro-poor initiatives" that were thought to be enough to address the challenges of rural education (Department of Basic Education, 2018a).

In this project I discuss the trajectory that has been followed by the South African curriculum from the time of the British colonial rule to the current democratic era. This background helps one to understand that the curriculum reform agenda has been around for ages and it is not limited to one country, but it is a global phenomenon. The study explores how curriculum change has affected the working conditions of rural teachers and how it has impacted on their working lives. Additionally, I use the concept of teachers' work to understand how the changing conditions and curriculum reforms affect the circumstances of teaching. The nature of teachers' work has changed in recent decades and studies that have been conducted locally and elsewhere point that this change has continually pressured teachers. It has changed from a position where teaching was widely viewed as a profession that transferred knowledge from teachers to learners with no unduly pressure from those who are outside the profession, to a profession that is expected to be an extension of the economy and should work as such (Naidu, 2011; Weber, 2007a). As a result teachers' work has become more complex as

[2] These curricula are discussed in depth in paragraph 1.3 below.

their work has got more intensified as there are increased accountability demands that challenge them and their profession where there are increased performativity demands that are coupled with 'value for money' demands and the need to produce results in order to enhance economic activity (Day, 2012; Tye, 2014). Research that has been conducted in first world countries indicates that teachers' work has been intensified in the past few decades. According to many of the researches in those countries teachers work under deteriorating conditions, they suffer from work overload and they have reduced time for relaxation (Ballet, Kelchtermans, & Loughran, 2006; Day, 2012; Hargreaves, 1991; Naidu, 2011; Penrice, 2011). The work of teachers is also highly multifaceted and involves many tasks that they must carry out. These are, amongst others, common assessment tasks that are done at school cluster level and administrative responsibilities that are associated with the management of such tasks

1.2 Curriculum change

In South Africa, the change from apartheid to democracy in 1994 called for a radical transformation of society in general and education specifically. This educational change had to change society from one that was marked by racial inequities to one that provided equal education opportunities[3] for all its people regardless of race or gender. In the era prior to democracy the education system was marred by the division of the country along racial lines that saw blacks being ranked the lowest among the other racial groups and being given the most inferior form of education, Bantu Education[4]. The ultimate intention of curriculum change initiatives is to make a difference in teachers' competence in classroom curriculum content delivery and subsequently to improve the learning experiences of learners (Li & Ni, 2011). Teachers' competencies are often challenged by the everchanging

[3] A non-racial education system means that all racial groups are provided with the same education quality and this means that the different racial groupings have equal access to education opportunities.

[4] Bantu Education and the other educations systems that were introduced before, during and after apartheid are discussed in paragraph 1.3 below.

world that calls for teachers to keep on changing the way they do things in the classroom in response to the global changes. The source of these challenges are, among others, marketisation of schools, introduction of management principles and consumerism that are derived from the corporate world (Lindblad & Goodson, 2011). In the past the initial training that was provided to teachers would have been regarded as enough to take them through their entire teaching career, but things have since changed and teachers must navigate their way through a maze of curricula that keep on changing.

The ANC-led government did try to prioritise educational change through introduction of new curricula that were intended to take the focus from the racially-based content-centred curriculum to outcomes-based curricula that aimed at raising the standard of education. This move was not successful because the quality of education since this government took over has gone down and there are reports of a crisis in the education system because literacy and numeracy rates have plummeted (Spaull, 2013). The starting point in the present investigation is the acknowledgment of the fact that curriculum change is a phenomenon that is always associated with the educational landscape both locally and internationally. Curriculum change(s), curriculum restructuring, and curriculum reforms are three concepts that I use interchangeably in this study to refer to the changes that have taken place in the curriculum field in the country and elsewhere in the world in the recent past. These concepts are applied with no specific preference of one over the other. Curriculum change may be regarded as reform movement that takes place across the world where newly implemented changes are quickly taken from an education system in one part of the world, and applied in another to improve the schooling system (Goodson, 2014).

Considering improving a schooling system is one thing but succeeding in bringing improvement in a schooling system is another. The main objective of educational reforms is to overhaul education systems in such a way that they bring enhanced performances but this goal has been elusive to many systems in the world (Lamb & Branson, 2015). One reason for the elusiveness could be the fact that there is a gap between the planners of the reforms and the teachers that must implement them. It stands to reason that curriculum reforms that are to be successful do not

only have to focus on achieving the goals they want but they must also ensure that the teachers that are expected to implement the process of change are better prepared to meet the expected changes. This means that teachers be provided with the necessary training and resources that will be required for the success of the reforms. The onus lies on the policymakers to involve teachers in the processes of curriculum change that they are about to embark on so that the implementation processes go on smoothly with no hitches.

The introduction of changes to curriculum means that there should be change to the ways in which teaching and learning practices are carried out in schools and this, in turn, means that the management processes and strategies of schools are also affected. Schools operate within management frameworks that are attuned to certain policies and when reforms are phased in, they affect their operational contexts and as such they need to realign their ways of doing things so that they are in line with the new policies. Moreover, curriculum change means that the content that must be taught in the classroom changes as well, and that implies that the teacher must change his or her content knowledge to adapt to the demands of the new curriculum. It must be noted, however, that curriculum changes do not occur in a vacuum; the change in political climate and global economic trends influence curriculum reforms (Weber, 2008; Nevalainen and Kimonen, 2013).

The changes that are brought about are not always easy to carry out more especially in developing countries where the conceived reforms are often overtaken by events even before they are effectively implemented (Hattingh, 2008a; Vähäsantanen, 2014). Curriculum 2005, for example, was halfway through its implementation when a revised curriculum was introduced in the lower grades. The process of curriculum change often has many twists and turns and as a result it is often unpredictable. One important aspect of curriculum change is that it is about changing teachers' attitudes towards the new initiative and this is something that takes time. They should be given enough time to gain the self-assurance that they need to deliver the curriculum, and they should be supported adequately enough to ensure its success (Joseph, 2010). The Department of Education should, therefore, provide on-going support to teachers through curriculum support visits from the Department's curriculum support section. Teachers should also be

invited from time to time to content training workshops on reforms that are being implemented or are about to be implemented.

When teachers are faced with the reality of curriculum change, they get emotional about it and resist but as time passes they may change their negative attitude and support the initiative of change (Defise, 2013). In some instances, the problem of curriculum change is compounded by the fact that the initiators of the change lack a clear understanding of what should be done to ensure that the implementation is successful. This could be caused by the fact that these initiators may be from a political sector that has given them the mandate to effect change without necessarily equipping them with the technical know-how of the envisaged change. The proliferation of literature of curriculum change in the post-apartheid era in South Africa, as it is reviewed in this study, confirms this challenge. Curriculum change is by and large a politically-driven initiative which is introduced to an education system to address issues in the society, but it sometimes results in challenging teachers' identities and isolating them.

Teachers' willingness to accept or reject the changes is mediated by the nature of such changes and the social context within which they must be applied. Curriculum reforms are informed by the need to change and shape what learners must learn (März & Kelchtermans, 2013). While reforms are good, because they allow new and innovative ideas to be grafted into schools' educational practices, they often tend to overlook teachers' need to learn and adapt in order to use the new materials that come with them. Teachers are the cornerstones of the didactic triangle because they bring the curriculum content to learners, they work with their own understanding of the material to interpret what the central ideas are, and they are the ones who choose tasks and navigate instructional resources such as textbooks to design instruction (Evans, 2010).

The study takes teachers' contribution to curriculum change into serious consideration because without them there would be no effective curriculum delivery in the classroom. The success of any curriculum change, therefore, calls for the involvement of teachers in as many curriculum decisions as possible. Curriculum change is an integral feature of all education systems of the world,

including South Africa, and it has an impact on teachers' working lives. Curriculum change is perceived as a global model for preparing for the instability that is brought about by the ever-changing world that we live in and it is, therefore, ushering in something new and doing away with the old. "Doing away with the old", in this case, means building the new from the old ways of the past without reverting to what was not good in them and if this is done correctly, curriculum reforms will be successful.

The perception of embracing what is new and doing away with the old is taken by schools with the hope that they will attain more autonomy and freedom that will afford them the opportunity to improve the performance of their learners in creative and innovative ways (Lindblad & Goodson, 2011). Curriculum change is a product of negotiated sets of values, pressures and constraints that operate within particular structural arrangements that affect teaching contexts. Stated differently, the field of curriculum reform is a field of conflict and high levels of contestation between polarised forces that seek dominance over one another to transform knowledge into curriculum (Shay, 2016). It must be pointed out that curricula are never neutral and that they are an expression of certain points of view more especially of those who have the power to select the content to be learnt (Lonsbury & Apple, 2012). The actors in the policy reform processes involve themselves in an activity of addressing a problem in the education arena, be it from the past, present or future where knowledge from different sides is contextualised to produce curriculum (Shay, 2016). Curriculum change occurs for various reasons like when governments want to raise the standards of education and competitiveness or to address certain issues that policymakers are not comfortable with (Day & Gu, 2010).

Curriculum changes are made in response to demand for educational competitiveness worldwide and to restructure their schools to respond to the demands of the market (Czaplicka & Sohlberg, 2010; Schick & McNinch, 2013). The impact of the market-driven agenda on education systems is one dimension that indicates approaches adopted by democratic governments including some African countries like South Africa. Adoption of the pro-market education agenda increasingly leads to viewing of schools as a sub-section of the economy and they

are subsequently expected to toe the line of the demands of the corporate world. These changes vary in their nature from one country to another with regards to their content, direction and pace but they are known to bring about negative outcomes like increased work overload for teachers, ignoring of teachers' identities, giving a poor view of teachers and non-consideration of teachers' wellbeing and commitment. Serious curricular reforms are exciting because of the possibilities they bring about and their expectations from the teachers that must implement them (Kaniuka, 2012). Curriculum reforms are a global phenomenon that appeals to policy decision-makers and has the potential to change what teachers do and also who they are (Ball, 2003).

Curriculum change affects teachers' working lives, their working patterns and it also affects the parents of the learners because once it is introduced, it calls for the change of the ways of doing things (Adu & Ngibe, 2014). The various curricular reforms that have taken place in the South African education landscape have demanded a change in the way teachers did things in the classroom because each policy came with its own demands and expectations. It follows that at the heart of curriculum reforms there is identity change for teachers because once they are involved in it, their identities change and so does the way in which they have always done things. The change from content-based learning to outcomes-based learning, for example, changed the setup of the didactic triangle where the teacher was taken out of the centre and the learner was moved there instead. The teacher was originally known as the provider of knowledge and that was his or her identity within the triangle, but curriculum change gave the teacher a facilitator's role when the learner constructed his or her own knowledge.

Curriculum change not only changes the way things are done in schools, but they also change the teachers who implement it. These expectations and demands therefore call for a change of culture. The notion of cultural change, as Shirley (2015, p. 246) explains, "necessitates greater attentiveness not just to how individuals behave, but also how they think". The introduction of OBE, for example, meant that there should be change from teacher-centred to learner-centred approaches, a shift from examinations-orientated to approaches that focused on continuous assessment (Weber, 2007) and this change did not come easily to the

implementers of the curriculum hence the report that there was mimicry in some schools. Curriculum reforms call for thoughtful changes in the reputable methods and approaches to teachers' work because they demand that teachers must acquire new information, skills, attitude, and assume more responsibilities to improve the quality of their teaching (Alshorfat, 2011). The demands that are brought about by curriculum reforms change what it means to be a teacher and they also change implementing teachers' identities and their relations with one another. Curriculum changes therefore tend to search for what Ball (2003, p. 217) calls the "teacher's soul" through new demands and ways of doing things. This is generally problematic to teachers because these changes tend to challenge their values in the classroom when they figure out how they are going to respond to the performativity demands that often come along with them.

Because of these profound changes and the unpreparedness that often accompanies them, teachers find themselves trapped between the tried-and-tested ways that they have always used in teaching and the new ways that are brought in by a new curriculum (Mouton, Louw, & Strydom, 2012). Undoubtedly, poorly managed reforms have the potential of disturbing teachers' work and the conditions of teaching and learning in schools. Curriculum reforms lead to the intensification of teachers' work and that subsequently results in the wearing away of their autonomy, challenging their personal and professional identities in the process (Day & Smethem, 2009). Teachers' personal and professional identities, and their autonomy are key elements that constitute what teaching is all about. The absence of one of these elements in the teaching-learning situation will affect the teaching environment negatively and it will not operate the way it is supposed to operate.

South Africa's curriculum reform initiatives are often implemented without success because the authorities ignore the environment in which the change needs to take place (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). An educational system that has to have successful curriculum reforms needs to be a system that builds belief on the elements of professional expertise, judgement and commitment, without which such reforms will not occur smoothly no matter how intensively they are promoted (Goodson, 2010). It is doubtful if the reforms in South Africa have been based on these

cornerstones when one considers the pace with which the changes have been made and the challenges some of the curricula like OBE (Outcomes-Based Education) faced. The curricula were introduced one after the other and none of them were implemented over a long period of time without being revised, except for CAPS which is currently in place. The quick succession of the curricula was problematic because teachers had to be trained in the implementation of the new curricula every time a new one had to be introduced.

The success of curriculum reforms is, on the other hand, dependent to some extent on the obligation which teachers have to society in general and the extent to which teachers are willing to implement such reforms (Hooghart, 2006). Any attempts that are made to bring about curriculum change must be communicated with teachers so that they support such a move because if they are not informed about such changes, they may resist them. It would be naïve of policymakers to think that curriculum reforms are implemented by teachers as expected because they use their experiences to navigate their way through curriculum reforms (Bantwini, 2010). A system that leaves teachers out of the policy decision-making process will always have serious challenges when it comes to the implementation of curriculum reforms because these are the stakeholders that need to make sense, internalise and implement them. The changes that are introduced to an education system are mainly meant to cleanse it from deficiencies that have been identified and to improve its effectiveness. Policymakers should, however, consider the level of difficulty of the curricula being implemented and whether they require changes in teaching or assessment approaches (Joseph, 2010).

This consideration should be made because curricula that have complex language, like it was the case with OBE, will be difficult for teachers and learners to understand and they will not be successful. Unfortunately, curriculum changes that are introduced tend to bring about distrust in teachers' professional judgements about what and how to teach and they further lean more on increasing teacher surveillance to ensure that there is compliance to the change rather than increasing teachers' self-reliance (Day & Gu, 2010a). Highly unionised education systems, like that of South Africa, are likely to face resistance towards changes than compliance if approaches to curriculum implementation are more focused on

compliance, rather than implementation with willingness and understanding. Curriculum change in South Africa is stuck between non-change, symbolic change and failed implementation as identified by Jansen (2001). A typical example of non-change occurs where teachers try to comply to policy demands that are made by policymakers but fail to effect change because there is no support structure that promotes the change of teaching practices in classrooms.

Curriculum change is likely to be successful in situations where there is clear explanation for the change and where teachers are given enough training on the incoming curriculum. Policy symbolism tends to characterise the South African education landscape where policymakers introduce new policies to satisfy political agenda instead of addressing the educational problems that exist in real life (Chisholm, 2005; Harley & Wedekind, 2004). Symbolism is meant to condition people's mindsets to create an impression that things have changed whilst they remain unchanged. The introduction of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) was the first curriculum change made in the post-apartheid era and it could be regarded as a good example of a symbolic policy. It was more concerned with playing the political tune[5] than redressing the educational inequalities of the previous era. The downside of such policies that are politically-driven is the fact that they go for policies that are congruent to what they want to believe instead of those that address the challenge with problems that exist in the real world (Kraak & Young, 2001). Curriculum 2005, which was well-known as OBE, may also be seen as one policy that was associated with implementation failure due to the numerous problems that were associated with it.

In situations where there are tensions between the policymakers' and the implementers' understanding of the reasons for change and how the changes should be realised, the envisaged change will be unsuccessful. If these tensions are not taken into consideration the envisaged change will create mistrust between teachers and their employers (Dilkes, Cunningham, & Gray, 2014). In the case of the first post-apartheid curriculum change in South Africa, the tensions were

[5] The curriculum change was meant to be seen as solving the disparities that were created by the white minority government in the past era of apartheid.

created by the poor training of teachers, the use of complex language in the new curriculum and the incongruities in the provision of resources in schools for the new curriculum. Rural schools were amongst those that were disadvantaged by the curriculum changes in terms of resources and the challenges of teaching in such areas. The investigation is not only interested in exposing the impact of the curriculum change on rural teachers' working lives over time but also to suggest possible solutions to address its consequences and implications in the schooling system.

1.3 The trajectory of curriculum change in South Africa

Educational change, just like any other change, is a fiercely contested terrain for all those that are involved because there are many groups that have interest in education and the outcome of such change determines how classroom practices are carried out in school contexts. In this section of the research I deliberate on the history of curriculum change in South Africa with the intent of understanding how this has shaped the trajectory of the various curricula that have been introduced. For the purposes of this investigation I will divide the history of educational change in the education system of South Africa into three periods viz. pre-apartheid, apartheid and post-apartheid.

It is impossible to talk about curriculum change in South Africa without mentioning the apartheid system that shaped the way in which curriculum processes were carried out in the country. When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 under the British colonial rule education was mainly provisioned for whites where British curricula were taught. During this time the education for blacks was under the control of missionaries that originated from different parts of the world and as such the schooling system had disparities in terms of the provisioning of resources. It was only after 1922 that provincial departments of education financed public and mission schools. They exercised control over the curricula that were offered and the teachers that staffed those schools (Chisholm & Chilisa, 2012). Missionary education set its focus on converting the people into Christianity and it mainly taught Christian education curriculum. This curriculum, unlike that of the

provincial departments of education, geared itself towards equality of the different race groups in South Africa. The provincial departments of education, on the other hand, offered curriculum that prepared blacks towards becoming subordinates of white people in the South African society.

In 1948 the Afrikaner Nationalist Party took over the reins of political power and introduced the apartheid system that discriminated against Africans. The apartheid regime instituted the Bantu Education Act, Act 47 of 1953 that saw the introduction of two education systems in the country, one for the Europeans and the other for the Africans (De Wet & Wolhuter, 2009). The latter was an inferior schooling system for Africans which had a curriculum that aimed at teaching them how to become servants of the whites and it was under-resourced. The former was elite education that was reserved for Europeans and it was well funded and resourced. During the apartheid era the education system was dominated by ethnic divisions and racial discrimination that led to the establishment of many education departments (Eeden & Vermeulen, 2005). People often wonder why such a policy was introduced and why it had so much support. Various reasons can be given for apartheid, although they are all closely linked. The basic idea behind apartheid was that the Afrikaner race was supposed to be superior over the other races and this had to be maintained in the state of apartheid (separateness).

This was the curriculum philosophy that was predominantly in place throughout the apartheid era and it was only repealed when the Government of National Unity came into power in 1994. Education was seen as a vocational task to Christianise the population and to bring about the supremacy of the white race over the other races. Being a teacher during this time must have been difficult because teachers' work, apart from playing an educating role, also meant that it had a religious role to fulfil. Education policy changes in South Africa may be traced back to the 1950's where they were, according to Chisholm & Chilisa (2012, p. 374), "more or less continuously disruptive, attended by massive repression for three decades after the 1950s." They argue that this pattern of change continued until after the first democratic elections in 1994. Teaching under apartheid was stressful and it negatively affected teachers' working lives hence the resistance to apartheid by both teachers and learners alike. The working conditions for teachers were

unbearable and schools became places of mass mobilisation against the education system that undermined the human dignity of the African people.

All the forms of curriculum change in South Africa prior to the 1990's must be placed in the context of apartheid, its racial discriminating policies and the resistance to them. The inferior education for Africans that I referred to above came to be known as Bantu education and it was in place for almost five decades where it created limitations to black people's land, their lives and education until 1994 when a negotiated Government of National Unity took over and the black people of South Africa gained their freedom (Chisholm & Chilisa, 2012).The freedom gained was freedom to change the curriculum to suit the socio-economic demands of all people in South Africa regardless of their race, creed or colour. The curriculum under apartheid was characterised by rote learning, teacher-centredness and learner passivity. Generally speaking the Bantu education curriculum never encouraged learners to be active in their own learning and it did not promote critical thinking (Nakabugo & Siebörger, 2000).The era of apartheid and Bantu education is regarded as a "history of oppression, violence and inhumanity, and of resistance and opposition''(Chisholm & Chilisa, 2012, p. 374). Weber (2006, p. 6) reveals the following attributes about the apartheid era education:

> *…there was limited, undemocratic participation: no interest group or stakeholder participation; little bureaucratic accountability and transparency; policies were bureaucratized and implemented top-down; uncoordinated, duplicative policy functions were common*.

The situation described by Weber in the extract above has not changed much after seven decades although apartheid has been abolished and a democratically elected government is now in its place, this brings back to mind the saying: "the more things change, the more they stay the same." The assumption is that there are things in the society that are deeply-rooted and difficult to remove although on the surface they may appear to have been removed. That said, I must point out, that the ANC-led government has had many victories in the education sector since it took over but some of its educational reforms that are highlighted in this research

project have failed. There is still limited participation of teachers in the development of curriculum change programmes and policies are still implemented top-down. One monumental success of the ANC-led government achieved was the scaling down of many education departments that existed during the apartheid era to become one. The quick succession of curriculum changes within a short span of time from OBE to CAPS was a clear indication of an education system affected by systematic failure where the quality of education dropped below that of the neighbouring countries (Feldman, 2016). A study conducted over a seven year period indicated that South African Grade Six learners had a poor performance in literacy and numeracy when compared with other learners from Africa (Spaull, 2013).

The student uprising in 1976 fell within the period of three decades of repression where the students, amongst other things, demanded curriculum change from apartheid education to an envisaged education system called “People’s Education” which never materialised except that it was successful as a mobilising tool (Harley & Wedekind, 2004). The People’s Education agenda was subsequently dismissed because it was not comprised of policies that laid a clear foundation for the development of future policies (Christie, 2006). The following extract by Samoff (2008, p. ix) sums up the trajectory of curriculum change in South Africa.

> *Soweto students reject Bantu Education. Schools become staging grounds for the struggle against apartheid. Activists, researchers, and communities collaborate to develop new education policies. Curriculum reforms are grounded in neighbourhood discussions…Over several decades education in South Africa was at the centre of the struggle to end apartheid and transform society…Jump to the present. On the usual measures, much of the education system does not do well. Schools struggle to maintain quality...Assured they are being empowered, teachers see innovations as imposed and unmanageable and regard national and provincial education departments with suspicion, distrust, or worse*.

Any discourse on educational change in South Africa must consider the historical background within which such change took place. It must also acknowledge the

fact that the damage caused by many years of colonial and apartheid rule cannot be overturned overnight by a democratic government that has been in power for only two decades. Samoff acknowledges the catalytic role played by the June 1976 uprisings and moves forward to the post-apartheid era. He points out that there is still poor quality in the education system today and he also indicates that teachers' views about the educational change that has taken place so far are not affirmative. This gives an indication that the system will need some time to rid itself of the legacy of its recent past and even more intent from all stakeholders to make it operate smoothly towards a better performance.

It must be pointed out, however, that since a democratic government took over in 1994 progress has been made in attempting to address the educational inequalities that were inherited from the past era (Weber, 2008b). From 1994 there was a paradigm shift In South Africa from the education system that was inherited from the content-based education system of the apartheid era to a learner-centred Curriculum 2005 (Young, 2001). It is also important to note that the transition from the old to the new system was largely contested because those changes involved people's lives and their careers. The old education system put emphasis on exams, textbooks and learning-content delivery by the teacher whilst the new system was characterised by active learning, the teacher became a facilitator and learners were to be assessed on an ongoing basis.

As it stood the policy discussions that were in place in the post-apartheid era looked like they were going to uphold the upper hand that the privileged had over the non-privileged in terms of education quality (Christie, 2006).The newly elected democratic government introduced a White Paper that made proposals for the development of a new curriculum which would be founded on the need to address the inequities of the past (Mabusela, Ngidi, & Imenda, 2016). This move was a further indication of the new government's intention to move away from the apartheid education which had become obsolete because of its inclination towards the interests of the minorities.

The reform trends of the 1990s were not unique to South Africa but they were a worldwide phenomenon that affected countries like the United States of America,

Japan, United Kingdom, New Zealand, and other developed and developing countries (Weber, 2007). The change was further necessitated by the country's need to improve the quality of its education and to adapt to changing times. The curriculum changes in South Africa did not only follow globalisation trends but it coincided with the change of government which warranted that the inequalities of the past be addressed hence the introduction of curricula that were, in Weber's view, aimed at linking the schooling system, the workplace and the economy (p. 287). The new education system was a clear departure from the apartheid system of the past that had focused on preparing the African learners to serve and become subordinates of the population of the country.

There is a generally upheld view that the initial curriculum change in South Africa after the first democratic elections was a political project that was meant to address the social ills of the past rather than uplifting the educational standards and a result it is argued that it has been unsuccessful as a pedagogical venture[6] (Harley & Wedekind, 2004). Put differently, the move for curriculum change was a way of overhauling Bantu Education and because of the desire to cut off ties with the past, the process of transition was abrupt instead of being gradual (Chisholm & Chilisa, 2012).

The final curriculum was a product of compromise that emerged from fierce contests in the curriculum debate that saw the "apartheid government's curriculum renewal strategy; civil society and labour's people education for people's power" adopt a constructivist approach to curriculum (Maodzwa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012, p. 126). The notion of fierce contests between policy participants aligns well with Weldon's (2009) assertion that "in South Africa, political settlement was reached after hard fought negotiations between representatives of the apartheid regime and the liberation movements" (p. 177). She further argues that the direction and stride of curriculum change are intermediated by the terms that settled the conflict. The adoption of a constructivist approach to curriculum change in South Africa

[6] The reform initiative in South Africa failed in terms of achieving its goals in education because it was done with the intention of quickly dealing with the racial inequities of the past without due consideration for the possible consequences.

was motivated by the desire to improve learners' critical thinking skills and to lessen their dependence on teachers who had traditionally been providing knowledge to them. This new approach meant that they had to learn how to construct meaning through their interaction with others in order to achieve the intended learning outcomes. The constructivist approach, therefore, requires that teachers should develop the skills that learners need in the classroom in order to facilitate their learning successfully (Cooper, 2007). The post-Apartheid curriculum reforms did not consider the need to develop teachers' skills to embrace their new role as facilitators in outcomes-based education, hence its failure.

Curriculum is the buffer zone between policymakers' beliefs and their space for

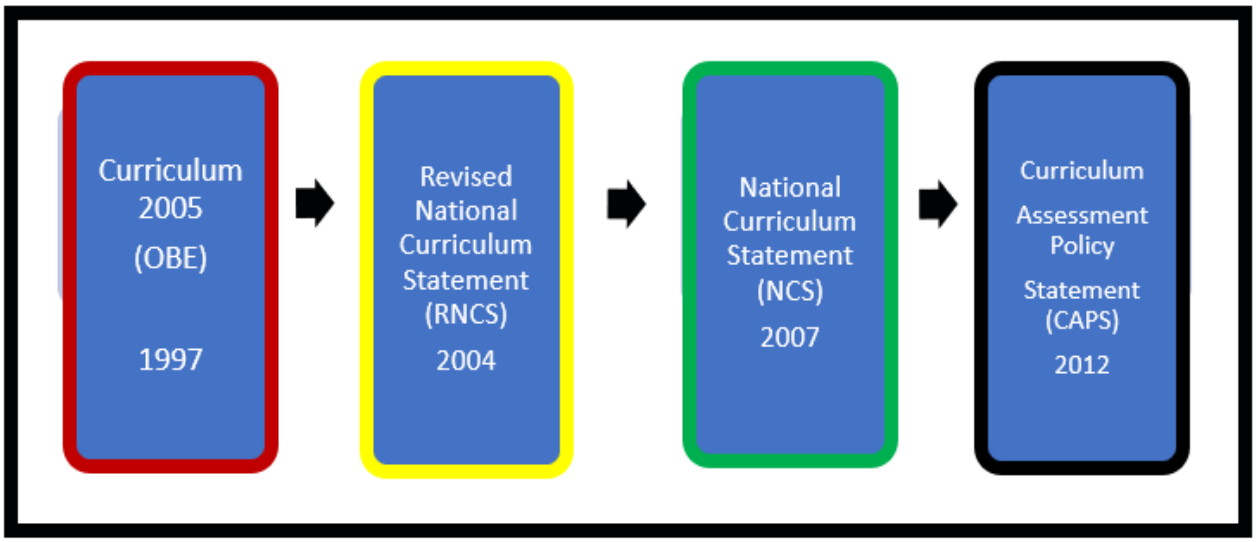


Figure 1.1 South African curriculum timeline since 1994

contention with other policy actors about the curriculum change that must be effected (Stoffels, 2008). Curriculum is, therefore, a result of a contest between various political groups that are bent on the desire to have their views reflected in the school curriculum as demonstrated by their hard fought effort to win this domain (Chisholm, 2005). Figure 1.1 is an illustration of all the four curricula that were introduced in South Africa after the first democratic elections in 1994.

In this sub-section of the chapter I give the historic timeline of the education policies that were in the South African educational arena since 1994. Curriculum 2005, which was rolled out as Outcomes-Based Education (OBE), was the first in a series of curriculum reforms that were introduced in South Africa in the

democratic era. It was introduced in 1997 and it was an attempt by the newly elected government to cleanse the education system of its links with apartheid. The curriculum faced many problems from the time it was introduced. The problems ranged from the complex language it used, its failure to address economic problems, wrong assumptions about teachers that were employed in South African schools, to trivialisation of curriculum content in the education system (Jansen, 1999). Other factors that led to the downfall of OBE were insufficient resources, poor culture of teaching and learning in schools and teachers who were not well-qualified to teach (De Wet & Wolhuter, 2009). During the OBE era curriculum content was underspecified by the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and this resulted in different forms of assessment and standardisation in schools. It was during this time that the DBE lost its plot and allowed the curriculum to drift away from the emphasis on basics like arithmetic, reading and writing which resulted in some learners reaching university without full command of the skill of reading in some instances. Adu (2014) argues that the Department of Education should take teachers on board when formulating any curriculum that they will implement because they are the custodians of its implementation, and he further contends that there should be piloting of new curricula a year or two before releasing them for actual use in schools to test their validity[7].

This would solve some of the problems that are realised when curricula are halfway through their implementation process and they either must be revised or removed before they are fully implemented as was the case with C2005. OBE was further criticised for, *inter alia*, increasing teachers' workload through increased assessment requirements; curriculum overcrowding where teachers were expected to teach subjects with no extra resources; preparation of learners' and teachers' portfolios; and the marking, recording and reporting requirements of learners' work was thought to be tedious (Chisholm *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore,

[7] The reasons for excluding teachers in curriculum change are not mentioned in the literature of curriculum reform but one possible reason could be the fact that policy is regarded as a sphere for politicians and not teachers.

according to Jansen (1998), OBE failed because it had wrong assumptions about the teaching contexts of South African schools and their educators.

OBE was also seen as a curriculum that was introduced to redress the problems of the past apartheid era rather than being aimed at bringing equal access to education to all races in the country, hence it was in many ways not fully equipped for success. Teachers, on the other hand, were not sufficiently trained for its implementation. Overall, OBE was riddled with many flaws and it also had challenges regarding its implementation in schools. OBE was drawn from some of the most advanced education systems in the world[8] and it was hoped that its introduction to the South African educational landscape was going to place South Africa among them (Umalusi, 2014).

What its proponents ignored was the fact that it had failed in many of those countries where it had been implemented before it was brought to South Africa (Mouton, Louw, & Strydom, 2012). It was subsequently replaced in the lower grades from 2004 before it could finish running its course in 2005. These changes were unprecedented, and they left one question unanswered: what was the reason for the introduction of many curricular changes within such a small space of time? The initiators of such changes probably ignored the fact that any form of educational change needs to take into cognisance the fact that changing classroom practices need to be properly explained to the teachers and other people who will be responsible for the implementation processes.

Moreover, the anticipated change must be backed up by proper capacity building that takes the local context into account (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008). This means that the initiators of any policy innovation must consider the key mechanisms of implementation and how they are going to monitor the success of the implementation plan and come out with means and ways of dealing with the curriculum's unintended consequences (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). It must also be pointed out that curriculum change does not necessarily mean that teaching practices automatically change in the classroom as Stoffels (2008) noted, these

[8] The origins of OBE are linked to the UK, USA, New Zealand and Australia (Jansen, 1998).

are hard to change because teachers have to abandon their teaching methods, pedagogical viewpoints and classroom management strategies, and embrace new ones[9].

Curriculum 2005 was introduced in 1997 and it was replaced by the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) in 2004. The RNCS was introduced to deal with the gaps that were identified in OBE. The RNCS mainly focused on simplifying the difficult language that was used in OBE and it was also designed to make the curriculum more user-friendly within the outcomes-based framework (Chisholm, 2005). The RNCS also sought to address the problem of under-specified curriculum content that had been a challenge with Curriculum 2005 and as a result, it was more specific of the content that was to be taught in the classroom. This curriculum was implemented in 2004 and it reached its final stages of implementation in 2008 (Kokela, 2017).

The RNCS was later revised and it became the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) in 2007 when all the recommendations of the Ministerial Review Committee were implemented. The NCS was implemented until it was superseded by the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) from 2012 (Mabusela et al., 2016; Mouton, Louw, & Strydom, 2013). The NCS was mainly criticised for its work overload, confusion, demand on teachers' time and its association with poor learner performance in Mathematics, Science and Literacy (Umalusi, 2014). The RNCS and NCS were basically two sides of the same coin but the latter was a slightly modified version of the former.

The RNCS/NCS was mainly introduced to deal with the many complexities that were realised in the implementation of OBE and to make it friendlier to teachers by doing away with all the hindrances that made OBE to be implemented unsuccessfully. The implementation of NCS brought about the realisation that the confusion that was associated with OBE was still not resolved and there were indications that there was still curriculum overload in the education system. When

[9] Changing from an old system to a new one should not be a problem, but it becomes a challenge when this is done frequently like it was the case in South Africa.

the NCS was reviewed and measured against other education systems in the world it was found to be low in terms of producing the expected standards of education and it was removed.

An important difference between OBE and CAPS is that the former did not specify all the content that had to be taught in the classroom and the onus lay on the teacher to add other content that was related to the content that was being taught at a given point in time. CAPS on the other had was specific in terms of the content that had to be taught and it even prescribed the weeks on which it the content in question was supposed to be taught. The DBE specified some content in some subjects in NCS, like Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) and it simplified the jargon that teachers had to grapple with in OBE (Bantwini, 2010). CAPS which was implemented from 2012 to 2014, was designed to build on the NCS. It was intended to build on the preceding curriculum but also to update it whilst aiming to give a "clearer specification of what is to be taught and learnt on a term-by-term basis" (Department of Basic Education, n.d.). It was also designed with the intention of reducing the burdensome administration responsibilities that teachers had to deal with and to reduce the ambiguities that were related to the curricula that came before it.

CAPS is premised on the supposition that learners that come from poor households acquire knowledge much better if they are given structured learning content in the classroom. The CAPS approach dictates that the curriculum should be taught in at a particular pace and it is sequenced in a way that teachers can follow with ease. This approach is based on the assumption that South African teachers have a weak content-based curriculum knowledge and a such should be given scripted lessons that are easy for them to teach (Feldman, 2016). CAPS was also designed to deal with the problem of poor education quality which was not resolved by the previous curricular innovation but its highly structured nature threatened teachers' autonomy, their professionalisation and it also had the potential of deskilling them[10] (Kokela, 2017).

[10] The concepts of autonomy, deskilling and professionalisation are discussed in Chapter 2.

The introduction of CAPS was a further attempt by the DBE to improve the education system and it is a curriculum that comes from a standards-based reform mentality which encourages the teaching of the same learning content across the board (King & Zucker, 2008). The latter curriculum is still in place with its definite content specification for classroom teaching although the current Minister of Basic Education contends that there should be another change of curriculum because many learners are not coping with the current academic curriculum. Training for CAPS, just like in the case of all the previous curricula that were introduced after 1994, was inadequate and it varied from no training at all, two hours to three days (Du Plessis, 2013).

She further contends that CAPS was implemented prematurely before all teachers had received training and some teachers complained about the lack of textbooks for CAPS at their schools. It is already over two decades since the post-apartheid curriculum changes were made, and four curriculum changes have already been made but still the Department of Education has not got its act together. This means that the DBE has not yet adopted the right kind of curriculum that addresses the socio-economic needs of the South African society. The DBE is now aware of the fact that it has to slow down the pace of curriculum change and it has acknowledged the need to focus on what needs to be taught and learnt in the classroom (Umalusi, 2014).

Teachers, more especially rural teachers, face the burden of teaching new curricula with no textbooks whilst they must grapple with new teaching content in which they have received little or no training at all[11]. The introduction of a series of curricula in the South African landscape to redress the inequities of the apartheid education system has been problematic because it has challenged the implementers of those curricula. Eliminating the inequities of the apartheid past from the South African education system is a serious challenge and it has

[11] The difference between urban-township teachers and rural teachers is that the former are found in close proximity to urban centres and they have better access to facilities but the latter work in remote areas with few or no facilities.

consequently led to some people concluding that the government has thrown in the towel relating to the post-1994 educational agenda (Feldman, 2016).

By and large the ANC-led government has succeeded in scaling down the number of education departments from 19 to 1 and it has also managed to bring uniform curricula to all schools across the education system, but it has brought an education that has failed dismally in uplifting the quality of education in South Africa. The extent to which the curricula that were effected since 1994 affected rural teachers' working lives was the central objective of the present research project.

1.4 Rural teachers' working lives

'Working life' refers to the part of a person's life when he or she does a job or when the person is at work. In this investigation the definition is stretched to include anything that relates to the amount of time teachers spend doing their job when compared with the amount of time they spend with their families or enjoying their downtime. Stated another way, 'working lives' in the context of the current research refers to all work-related and non-work-related areas of teachers' lives because work and non-work related aspects of a teacher's life influence one another (Erdem, 2014). The concept of 'teachers' working lives' encompasses ways in which teachers deal with changes in their general well-being, engagement and commitment to their profession (Alshorfat, 2011, p. 58). Curriculum change is a worldwide phenomenon that occurs in response to social, economic, financial, cultural, and technological developments that take place in both developed and developing countries. These changes are generally conceived by policymakers and cascaded down to schools for implementation at the grassroots level.

The implementation of these reforms is carried out by teachers every time they are introduced. The study investigates how these reforms affect the working lives of the teachers that implement them from time to time. The success or failure of the curriculum reform process is dependent on the teacher because he or she is an essential part of the didactic triangle that triangle that I have already spoken about.

Problems that teachers encounter in their personal lives can affect their commitment to their work as they try to strike a balance between their lives at school and their lives at home (Day & Gu, 2010). It is very important to understand teachers' working lives and factors that impact them because if these are better understood, policymakers would use the information in planning for future curriculum changes. Teachers experience several curriculum reforms in the lifespan of their careers. They adapt to these reforms, but not much is known about the variations they cause in their working lives, and how these changes affect their efficiency as this information would be beneficial to teachers, school management and all stakeholders in education (Day, 2008).

The changes that affect rural teachers' working lives in many different ways range from physical exhaustion, heavy workload, emotional stress and strained family relationships (Zipin, 2002). Other factors that affect teachers' working lives are health issues, family support and demands, learner characteristics, site-based leadership, responsibilities, educational policies and government (Sammons *et al*. 2007). It must be pointed out, however, that the effect of the changes in the foregoing sentence are not unique to rural teachers but they are mentioned here because the study focuses on rural teachers. The reforms tend to create an environment in which teachers are expected to endorse pedagogies that are not necessarily the best way to achieve their teaching goals and as a result they are stressed (Valli & Buese, 2007). Consequently these teachers are be placed at the risk of being regarded as agents of the state who are ever ready to comply to changes that are brought by policymakers and they effectively become technicians (Penrice, 2011).

There is not much research that has been conducted in terms of rurality as lived experience that affects rural educational matters (Nkambule, Balfour, Pillay, & Moletsane, 2011). Rural teachers' lives are difficult because of the need to balance their lives at work and at home which tends to downplay their commitment to their classroom teaching. Despite their commitment to the teaching profession, rural teachers are challenged by the pressure put on them by policymakers' who constantly change the curriculum due to everchanging global demands on

teacher's work. Rural teachers' working lives are about teachers' daily experiences of working with learners that are hungry and coming from poor backgrounds.

Teaching contexts count in the working lives of teachers because they determine the path in which teachers' pedagogical practices are delivered in the teaching-learning situation. The teachers' working lives are tested by their working contexts even before curricular changes are taken into consideration. The tests manifest themselves in the form of adversities that these teachers face that range from lack of internet, overcrowded classes, lack of electricity, poverty, neglect, poor facilities and so on. Beyond the working contexts the teachers are expected to deliver quality results from teaching curricular that were designed with urban settings in mind. The implementation of a curriculum that is designed for urban schools in a rural context is problematic because the learning outcomes of the teaching activities will be incongruent with the goals of such activities. As a result, such curricula will get nowhere near to addressing the challenges teachers face in those areas. These conditions require that teachers increase their optimism and commitment to apply their pedagogies effectively so that their learners benefit from their practices. The teachers are further tested by the fact that parents give them the responsibility of improving learner performance without considering what it takes for them to deliver the expected performance. The research emerges from my desire to gain understanding of what curriculum change does to teachers who already work under intensifying circumstances in the quest to produce good results.

Although I interviewed fifty-two teachers, for the purposes of this project, I narrated stories only four teachers' stories. All the respondents' qualitative were analysed and findings given but the four teachers were interviewed three times instead of once and they were observed as they carried out their duties on a regular basis. The selected teachers' stories were written as narratives in separate chapters in this research investigation. Each narrative from the four teachers has its own theme that is based on one of the five that emerged from the collected data. I carried out the research with the view that deep within these teachers, decades of curriculum change may have possibly impacted their working lives and I hoped that their life-histories would reveal it in these teachers' narratives. Additionally,

pedagogical changes are difficult when they are introduced by some people and implemented by others (Maskit, 2011). Policymakers are the people who introduce these changes, but they are implemented by teachers who are not involved in their conception. This implies that the implementation of the changes is likely to be misconstrued. These teachers are generally viewed as change agents who simply implement curricula in schools but reality dictates otherwise and implementation is a process that is contested by various policy actors.

1.5 Contextualising the study

The Department of Education seeks to provide quality education equally to all learners but it is not successful in this regard because of the vast disparity between the learning and teaching conditions of urban[12] and rural schools (Mafora, 2013). It is a point for serious concern to note that more than 20 years have passed since South Africa got its democracy but a rift still exists between rural and urban schools in terms of their access to facilities and other utilities that are required for them to produce good performances (Feldman, 2016; Taylor & Shindler, 2016). The disparities in terms of resourcing rural and urban schools play a determining role in the success or failure of reform demands because schools in under-resourced contexts are unlikely to implement these demands successfully.

The South African schooling system is unitary in its approach as it has rural and urban schools teaching the same content although they operate under different conditions. Rural schools, as opposed to urban schools, are still characterised by insufficient resources, serious shortages of teachers, learner absenteeism and low educational performances and high rates of learner dropouts (Department of Basic Education, 2018b). The Department of Education does not acknowledge the existence of rural education as a separate entity, but the fact of the matter is that there are schools that offer education in rural areas and these schools are under

[12] "Urban" in the context of this study refers to all built-up areas and townships.

the same rules and regulations that govern all the other schools in the country[13] (Gardiner, 2008). It follows that these schools are subjected to similar standards and performance expectations despite their disparities. This approach to the rural-urban school situation is problematic because the schools cannot offer similar performances due to the dissimilarities between their contexts and as such they should be treated differently.

It remains unclear why the Department of Education does not want to treat rural and urban education as separate entities (Gardiner, 2008). He argues that a "one size fits all" curriculum disregards the realities and lives of the people as these cannot be addressed by policies that are designed for everyone and brush aside the "specific needs of South Africa's rurally-based citizens and their schools" (p. 9). This approach to education is problematic as it tends to overlook the harsh realities that rural teachers face in their working lives as they deliver the curriculum[14].

There is a great difference between the conditions of rural and urban schools, and the learning and teaching experiences they undergo differ significantly. Rural areas are characterised by poverty, underdevelopment, insufficient classrooms, limited access to basic services like electricity and proper sanitation and many other socio-economic challenges that influence rural teachers' work (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Gardiner, 2008; HSRC, 2005; Mafora, 2013). Working in rural schools is more difficult and demotivating than working in urban schools due to poor living and working conditions (SADTU, 2015, p. 1). Teaching in a rural setting must be one of the most serious challenges that teachers may ever have to grapple with in their working lives as the following statement by one pre-service teacher that was interviewed in Australia demonstrates:

[13] Both groups of schools are governed by the South African Schools Act of 1996 and the other policies that are related to it.

[14] The concepts of rurality and rural education are dealt with under operational concepts in paragraph 1.9 below.

> *I really don't want to teach in a rural and remote setting. I have heard that the schools have no resources, it's lonely and I like to have a social life. I haven't been more than 20 minutes from the coast in my life. I wouldn't have a clue what to expect. I wouldn't want to go…because I might hate it and be stuck there for four weeks"* (Hudson & Millwater, 2009).

The teacher in the preceding extract expresses his or her unknown fear about rural settings and he or she fears that he or she might be stuck in a rural school for 'four weeks'. Based on the literature on rurality that I have already cited and discussed, the teacher's fears may not be far-fetched, but it remains to be seen whether these kinds of fears surface when interviews are held with rural teachers in the current investigation. Other factors that encourage teachers to shy away from rural areas are geographic isolation, remoteness from family and lack of the amenities provided by urban centres (Mafora, 2013). The literature on rurality in different countries indicates that rural contexts are challenging. This study intended to capture stories of people who had been in South African rural schools for twenty years or more. 'Rural', according to Ebersöhn & Ferreira (2012), is associated with poor infrastructure, limited resources and backwardness. Despite all these adversities that I have referred to, rural teachers must work hard to produce the performance that is expected from them by the DBE.

The rural teachers in the study have faced the difficult working conditions for all these years due to the love they have for rural learners. Balfour, Mitchell, & Moletsane (2008) correctly point out that rural areas have challenges that have been in existence for many decades, but they are never given serious consideration in the many curricula that have been implemented in South Africa. There is research evidence that suggests that there is a conflict of interest between the working lives of rural teachers and the restructuring initiatives that aim to change these missions (Lindblad & Goodson, 2011).

Unfortunately, South Africa generally lacks research-based information that deals with education in rural areas (Nkambule, Balfour, Pillay, & Moletsane, 2011). The current study was carried out in a rural context where several curriculum changes have been effected already but nothing has been done in terms of curriculum to

consider the circumstances that rural areas must contend with regularly. The difficulties that I mentioned earlier that characterise rural areas also affect the context in which teachers implement curricula in times of curriculum change. Consequently, the diversity that exists in rural schools in terms of their geographical location, their learners' backgrounds and their learning styles exacerbate rural teachers' working conditions (Nkambule *et al*., 2011).

South Africa has conditions of both First and Third World countries and these differences clearly separate rural and urban areas. It is unfortunate that more than two decades have passed since the ANC-led government took over political power in South Africa but rural areas still remain backwards in terms of education and development (HSRC, 2005). The country has rural and urban areas that have teachers that teach the same content to learners under different contexts and urban areas are associated with affluence, better facilities, access to the internet, and so forth.

SADTU (2015) contends that it is more difficult and demotivating to work in rural schools than in urban schools due to the poor living and working conditions and teachers who work in these schools feel disadvantaged and they always consider migrating to urban areas. The rural-urban divide pattern also indicates that the quality of education in South Africa is inequitably distributed where the majority of learners either attend rural or township schools and these receive education of inferior quality due to the challenges I mentioned above (Taylor & Shindler, 2016). Arguably, it is difficult for these teachers to deliver the expected performances in the classroom in these contexts, nor do the frequent curriculum changes that they must often deal with make their working conditions easier.

The teaching-learning environment is a dynamic centre of activity where the teacher encounters a learner with learning content and such encounter produces learning after a process of engagement between the two parties. It is very difficult, however, to assess whether learning has taken place in the context of curriculum change. The study focused on curriculum change as experienced by teachers who work under rural contexts. It explored the lived experiences of these teachers under the challenging circumstances. It used the narratives of rural teachers who

had undergone a series of curriculum reforms since the inception of the democratically elected government in South Africa to gain understanding into these teachers' working lives.

I hoped to gain insight into the rural teachers' experiences when they encountered learners with the changes and to further understand how these impacted on their working lives. The main question of the research was: What are the lived experiences of rural teachers in curriculum change? The research, therefore, aimed at getting insight on how the series of curriculum reforms that these teachers underwent had affected their working lives. The teachers' narratives would allow for a deeper understanding of what curriculum change does to teachers who work in challenging contexts (rural areas).

The literature that is reviewed provided a foundation for grounding the themes of these teachers' stories as they relate their experiences in a period spanning over two decades. I conducted the research under the impression that the changing contexts that teachers face on a day-to-day basis have an impact on their lives and the reforms have some effect on the implementers. In other words, the represented narratives that are given will hopefully be revelations of what years of mandated top-down curriculum change does to teachers.

1.6 Statement of purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of curriculum change on the working lives of teachers in rural schools. Curriculum change initiatives that take place in different countries aim to, *inter alia,* improve productivity and the social wellbeing of those countries (Fenwick, 2011). Although there is an established consent in the literature of curriculum change that teachers are the most central factor in carrying out curriculum research, not much is known about the impact that these changes have over the implementing agents' working lives. Such initiatives focus on their intended purposes and tend to ignore the effect that they have on the working lives of the teachers that implement them. Curriculum reform requires time and energy to take place, and it has an impact on the lives of teachers (Van

Veen & Sleegers, 2006). The changes that are introduced to the teaching field affect teachers' effectiveness, motivation, commitment and their resilience in the profession. The purpose of the research project was to get a clear understanding of the impact of these changes on rural teachers whose time and energy are required to ensure that curricula changes are implemented successfully.

It was my intention to get working life stories being voiced by the real people who lived them. Stories of teachers' lived experience are created and re-presented by researchers as a means of capturing complex work situations so that the readers of those stories can learn from them (Cortez, 2010). Writing the teachers' stories would possibly illuminate deeply entrenched issues and by so-doing the information emanating from the study would help to encourage and retain teachers who undergo similar changes in other educational contexts (Taylor, 2013). This research project paid special attention to rural teachers' stories of change in relation to the impact of the change on their working life circumstances.

Rural teachers that were involved in the study had been implementing a series of curriculum changes in the post-apartheid era and as such I wanted to know how these changing working conditions had impacted on their working-life contexts. It is my understanding that rural teachers' practices are not carried out in environments that are unaffected by curriculum reforms and other contextual factors, these factors as a matter of fact have a share of the impact on the working lives of the teachers. The investigation used narrative interviews to research how teachers navigated their way through curriculum change throughout their teaching years.

Based on the South African literature of curriculum change that I reviewed, this approach may not have been used before to investigate the life-histories of teachers in the South African rural context. Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience where there is cooperation of the researcher with research participants where stories are lived, told, relived and retold about their lives (Clandinin & Connely, 2000). Curriculum change is critical in a teacher's working life because it requires that he or she make a decision on how to respond

to it and their response to it in turn determines how it impacts on their working life (Day & Gu, 2010).

I listened to rural teachers' stories with the intention of representing their accounts of their lived experiences amidst curriculum reforms. Re-presenting refers to the process of reorganising the stories into a particular chronological sequence so that they have a beginning, middle and an end (Creswell, 2013). I used the narrative inquiry approach to understand the impact of the change through the lens of teachers who have experienced numerous curriculum changes in their working lives. The investigation has biographical narratives of how teachers have dealt with the reform innovations that have been introduced recent years in their teaching career.

1.7 Research questions

The research question was: What are the lived experiences of rural teachers in curriculum change?
To investigate the above question more effectively the question was further broken down into the following sub-questions:

- What do rural teachers say about curriculum change in schools over the past two decades?
- What are the working conditions under which rural teachers work in times of curriculum change?
- What are the teaching practices that affect the successful implementation of curriculum change?
- What do rural teachers say about their work?

1.8 Rationale

Education reforms that have taken place in South Africa are in line with globalisation. Globalisation refers to the opening of local and national perspectives to a broader outlook of an interconnected and interdependent world (Sahlberg, 2010). Teachers' work has also been affected by these trends and there is a proliferation of literature on teachers' work in developed countries that talks about how teachers' work has been affected by the global changes. The literature mainly has focused on contexts that relate to those developed countries and have little or nothing to do with developing countries. South Africa has poor communities in both rural and urban areas that are affected by globalisation.

There are not many studies that have been conducted in South Africa on the impact of curriculum reform on teacher's work in general and very few studies have targeted teachers' work in rural schools. This is the premise that I took in moving forward with the current investigation. The research was done on the impact of these educational (curriculum) reforms in poor rural settings in South Africa in order to gain in-depth understanding of what it is like to be a teacher under those circumstances.

1.9 Operational concepts

1.9.1 Curriculum change

Curriculum change refers to the process of altering the content and arrangement of what is being taught in the classroom to meet the demands of the changes in social settings (Chunmei Yan, 2012). The success or failure of the implementation of curriculum change is largely dependent on the context of teaching and the teachers' understanding of the change and their willingness to collaborate in the process of change.

1.9.2 Rural teacher

'Rural' refers to a geographic area that is found outside towns and cities. In this investigation I use the word to refer to an area that is characterised by illiteracy, underdevelopment and poverty (Nkambule *et al.*, 2011). Rural areas have come to be expected to have backwardness like dilapidated buildings, limited access to libraries, overcrowding, no electricity and so on. Rural areas are therefore isolated from the rest of the country and almost always forgotten or neglected when it comes to development initiatives (Vantuyle & Reeves, 2014). For the purposes of this investigation 'rural teacher' is used to refer to a person who helps others on their path of knowledge, competencies and value acquisition in places that are underdeveloped, poverty stricken and found outside cities and towns.

1.9.3 Rurality

Rurality is a collection of forces, agencies and resources that are apparent in the lived experiences and social processes in which teachers and stakeholders in the community are changed (Balfour *et al.*, 2008). This operational concept includes all aspects of what is entailed in 'rurality' that play an important role in this study's conceptualisation of rural teachers' working lives.

1.9.4 Rural education

Rural education refers to education that intends to improve the standard of education in rural areas and suggest strategies that will deal with their challenges like closeness to education institutions, poverty, neglect, facilities, and so forth (Department of Basic Education, 2018b; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012).

1.10 Outline of the study

CHAPTER ONE – GENERAL ORIENTATION

Chapter One gives a general background to the investigation, the research questions and the rationale for the investigation. The research project is introduced and contextualised. The research field is demarcated and the research design and methodology that are envisaged for this inquiry are briefly charted. A preliminary review of the study which guides the theoretical framework of the investigation is presented.

CHAPTER ONE – LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter an extensive literature study on the impact of curriculum change on rural teachers' working lives is discussed. The literature review is done to relate the present study with other studies that have been undertaken in a similar field and to look at gaps that exist in the current literature of curriculum change in order to research further using the chosen narrative approach. Moreover, the review of literature assists in providing more information on the identified themes when applied to rural teachers' work.

CHAPTER THREE – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides the road map that was used on my path of search for answers to the questions posed in Chapter 1. This is done through giving details of the research design which entails the research methodology used in the investigation. This ends with a discussion of how the analysis will be done and how the findings will be presented.

CHAPTER FOUR – DAVID'S STORY ABOUT DEPROFESSIONALISATION

In Chapter Four the transcript of the interview with David is analysed with a view of understanding how curriculum change has affected his working life. David's narrative of the deprofessionalisation of teaching is presented.

CHAPTER FIVE – JOHN'S STORY ABOUT TEACHERS AS TECHNICIANS

In Chapter Five John's interview is analysed in order to gain insight on how the reforms in curriculum over his working years have impacted on his working life. A presentation his narrative and the analysis of the story of teachers as technicians is made.

CHAPTER SIX – JAMELA'S STORY ABOUT INCREASED ACCOUNTABILITY

A presentation of the narrative and analysis of the story of increased accountability in teaching. The chapter deals with the accountability demands that Jamela faces in the era of curriculum change and surveillance from education authorities.

CHAPTER SEVEN – WENDY'S STORY ABOUT INTENSIFICATION OF TEACHERS' WORK

A presentation of the narrative and analysis of Wendy's story of the intensification of teachers' work. This chapter exposes how Jamela's work has been intensified through her exposure to continuous curriculum change that has subjected her to pressure to subdue to initiatives that originates externally.

CHAPTER EIGHT – DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

The chapter detailed the procedures that were followed in collecting the research data. The emerging themes from the data are presented and discussed. The four teachers' narratives are contextualised in relation to the whole study.

CHAPTER NINE – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The chapter gives a summary of the research is project. This is done through a synthesis of how the research design was carried out. A summary of the research findings is given by way of drawing conclusions of the research project. The significance of the research is outlined. Finally, recommendations for future research are given

1.11 Summary

In this section of the investigation I have the focused on the introduction and general orientation of the study. The concept of curriculum change as an ongoing global trend was introduced and linked to the concept of teachers' work. Teachers' work and how it has been affected by these trends is well-documented in the developed countries of the north, but it has been neglected in the developing countries of the south. South Africa has settings that reflect characteristics of the north and the south, and both have been affected by the global changes in educational trends. The trajectory of curriculum change was initially discussed from a global perspective where it was looked at in relation to both rich and poor countries and later, I turned the spotlight on local changes.

Education systems across the globe undergo some changes from time to time in response to changing political and social contexts to make themselves more efficient. I further dwelt into the history of curriculum change in South Africa from the era of apartheid and Bantu Education and the resistance against it during the 1976 June uprising. Moreover, I got to the post-apartheid where several radical changes were made to the curriculum to do away with the education system of the past starting from the most radical OBE in 1997 to the latest highly structured CAPS in 2012.

The latter policy is a direct opposite of the former because it is over-specified in terms of the content to be taught and what teachers should do in the classroom. Despite these swift moves in addressing the problems of the political past, its

legacy still lingers in the education system through poor education quality in schools, more especially in rural schools. Education policy change is used by societies that are still in transition to break away from the past like it is the case in South Africa. The study was contextualised through a discussion of the conditions under which rural teachers apply curriculum change under deprived settings where the Department of Education makes no differentiation between rural and urban education.

These teachers experience increased work intensity due to poverty, lack of essential resources to carry out their teaching and subsequently their classroom practices become impoverished. I discussed curriculum change and the reasons that necessitate it including those that cause it in South Africa in the post-1994 period. The purpose of the investigation which centres around the impact of curriculum change on rural teachers' working lives was presented. The research questions that underpin the study were introduced and the rationale of the study was given.

2 CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The current discourse on curriculum change both at local and international levels has mainly hinged on the fact that the change has eroded the autonomy of teachers (Lindblad & Goodson, 2011). In this chapter I discuss the changing nature of teachers' work, the five emergent themes from the literature on teachers' work and curriculum change. Finally, a conceptual framework of the study is given, and this is done with the purpose of establishing a context for interpreting the findings of the investigation. Educational changes are a global process that affect many countries across the globe including South Africa.

Although curriculum changes affect teachers from both rural and urban settings the study focuses on how the former group's working lives are affected by such changes. Rural teachers' working lives are part and parcel of the lived experiences that teachers grapple with when they encounter waves of curriculum change. These changes must be studied to gain more knowledge on how to tackle them going forward. In the chapter I use the review of literature to develop a clearer conceptual understanding of curriculum change and its dynamic relationship with teachers' work. I use the concept of teachers' work to understand how the changing landscape together with curriculum reforms affect the circumstances of teaching.

2.2 The changing nature of teachers' work

The world of teaching has changed drastically over the last few decades due to the change of the nature of work teachers have had to do. Curriculum reforms have shifted their focus from teaching to learning and there has been demand for evidence of this learning. This move has basically transformed schools from being

centres of teaching learners to institutions that transmit knowledge and the new trend has negatively affected teachers' work (Stone-Johnson, 2016). This means that schools have become institutions that have their focus on transferring knowledge from teachers to learners rather than being interested in building their knowledge in depth. The current reform trends have also seen curricula being increasingly scripted and teachers are cast into a mould of standardised teaching in response to the evidence-based accountability demands.

The work of teachers is an intricate activity and it involves an extensive variety of tasks where the number of tasks increase with the changes that are introduced. These tasks get more sophisticated because of the need to measure and analyse data that relate to learner performance, and the need to manage increased educational expectations in classrooms (Valli & Buese, 2007). The changes that teachers face from time to time in their work environments affect their working lives. Teachers find themselves in a situation where they must react to external demands that are imposed on them by global trends that affect their teaching where they find themselves having to constantly adjust to new demands.

Teacher's work has now been linked to the goals of the industrial work and consequently the nature of their work[15] has been affected by increased work intensity (Easthope & Easthope, 2000).This means that the changes that they encounter are taken through various filtering mechanisms that are based on their understandings until they make decisions on how to deal with them. The nature of teachers' work has, therefore, changed over the years and many studies (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2009; Ballet et al., 2006; Hargreaves, 1991; Penrice, 2011; Schick & McNinch, 2013; Shacklock, 1998; Valli & Buese, 2007) indicate that educational tendencies from all levels locally, nationwide and transnationally have subjected teachers to enormous pressure.

What compounds the challenges that rural teachers face is the changing nature of the society from which their schools draw their learners (Day & Gu, 2010). This is a society that has learners that come from disadvantaged families where there is

[15] What the teachers do at school daily.

little or no income, a society that has child-headed families, and a society that has limited or no access to facilities like libraries and the internet. Due to the changes that teachers experience in their professional lives their sense of commitment and resilience is always put to test and the outcome of such tests determines their ability to manage them throughout their careers. The way in which change impacts teachers' practice settings and their ability to commit to teaching varies from one teacher to the next, and the context in which such changes take place should be taken into consideration because contexts matter. This means that that the impact of curriculum change that is experienced in the teaching-learning environment will vary from one teacher to the next. According to many of the researches in developed countries, teachers work under deteriorating conditions, they suffer from work overload and they have reduced time for relaxation (Ballet *et al*., 2006; Day, 2012; Naidu, 2011; Penrice, 2011).

This gap in the literature that exists in developing countries like South Africa calls for an investigation to gain in-depth understanding of the change that has taken place in in the teaching contexts of poor countries that are far away from development. The present research is underpinned by my quest to know what it means to be a teacher and the act of doing the job of teaching in rural areas where "teachers are workers, teaching is work, and that work is organized and subject to workplace controls" Connell (1985) (as cited in Shacklock 1998, p.177). Teachers' work involves a number of intricately linked structures where teachers participate in an employment relationship, organise their work in such a way that it gives meaning and satisfaction, and create value through curriculum delivery in the classroom (George, 2009). The concept of teachers' work which is used throughout this research project refers to the nature, contexts and conditions of teaching which include new processes, and new ways of work (Weber, 2007). In other words, teacher's work encompasses all the factors that teachers must deal with within a school that embraces practices, knowledge, relationships, and all ethical considerations that take in all the roles and responsibilities of a teacher.

Teaching has become a job like any other and it has been analysed in terms of skills, careers, professional ethics, performance evaluation, job satisfaction and so on, but it has different characteristics from other forms of work because it deals

with the construction of the human being that man should be (Bras & Goncalves, 2013). This construction is done through the interaction of a teacher with a learner in the classroom situation where the teacher conveys his or her pedagogies to the learners. The teaching-learning situation keeps on changing and these changes affect teachers' working lives as they are always expected to adjust to them (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008).

Furthermore, these changes that tend to happen all the time under strong mandates render teachers powerless to resist or challenge (Valli and Buese, 2007), and in the process they make teachers' work to be "complex, emotional and intensive" (Sammons, Day, Kington, Gu, Stobart, & Smees, 2007). The ever-changing nature of teacher's work that is brought about by curriculum reforms means that the teacher's role keeps on changing all the time to adapt to such changes. Teachers do not always undertake these reforms inactively but they have to proactively cope with them through understanding and interpretation (Ballet *et al.*, 2006).

On the whole, the literature that I review in this section of my research paints a clear picture of how the combined effects of the changing nature of teachers' work lead to the continued deterioration of the teaching profession. It also indicates that the teaching profession is under serious attack by forces of the market that undermine teachers, devalue professional principles, reduce teachers' autonomy and change their professional identity (Lundström & Holm, 2011). The changes that teachers grapple with on a day-to-day basis tend to reduce the attractiveness of the teaching profession to potential candidates to the field because they make teaching a job that has to be endured instead of being enjoyed (Teleshaliyev, 2013).

The pressure to implement a host of new policies in social settings that are affected by poverty and inequality calls for the need to look at the links between education and social change over time and to "address its consequences in all its ramifications" (Chisholm, 2004, p. 24). The change in the nature of teachers' work therefore suggests a change in the teacher's professionalism which in turn calls for flexibility and compliance that leads to their proletarianisation (Day & Smethem,

2009). Resistance to these innovations would be seen as challenging the authorities whilst accepting them with no questions leads to proletarianisation of the teaching profession.

A closer look at the literature of curriculum reform indicates that teachers are increasingly viewed as curriculum technicians who are on standby in the teaching-learning arena to receive curricula and use them towards producing good learning outcomes in the classroom (Comber & Nixon, 2009; Evans, 2010; Leaton Gray, 2007). Stated differently, teachers are pedagogical technicians who have no ideas of their own, but they are in the educational arena to be told by policymakers how to carry out mandated curriculum reforms with no meaningful contribution. This view is problematic because what it means is that teachers lose their autonomy to make their own decisions in the teaching environment as they strive to satisfy accountability demands that are imposed upon them from outside in a top-down manner. The teachers-as-technicians notion in an era of curriculum change and performativity redefines teachers' roles in the teaching-learning arena and ends up challenging what it really means to be a teacher.

Additionally, these demands from outside increase the work intensity for teachers in complex ways that challenge their identities as professionals and consequently their teaching practices affect their professionalism. The review of literature is broken down into the following sub-headings for further discussion: teaching practices, formation of identities, accountability, work conditions, professionalism in teaching, and teachers' work intensity. These sub-headings are further explored below in order to ground curriculum reform in literature and to deepen the understanding of what it means to be a teacher in an era of curriculum change**,** It must be stated, however, that these sub-headings are not separated by watertight boundaries and the discussion based on these includes many references across them.

2.2.1Teaching practices

Teachers are of central importance in the teaching learning situation and their opinions should matter, but when curriculum reform is introduced their contribution is ignored (Vähäsantanen, 2014). During curriculum change, teachers are given the responsibility of unpacking such changes and presenting them as pedagogical activities in the classroom (Troudi & Alwan, 2010). These changes put them under pressure as they carry out their daily practice, but they must maintain the smooth running of their classrooms (Kelchtermans, 2009). These changes ignore the important role that teachers must play in the conception and implementation of the curriculum. The practice of ignoring teachers' contribution to curriculum design and only expecting them to implement the changes relegates teachers to technicians. The changes also challenge the teachers' teaching practices and may lead to negative emotions on the part of the affected teachers (Defise, 2013). In an education system where teachers are seen as technicians, they are expected to carry out ideas and orders of those that are in position of authority in a mechanical and an unquestioning manner (Klerk, 2014). The concept of teachers-as-technicians upholds teachers as technicians who are in the school to perform specifically defined tasks within schools as mandated by policymakers (Evans, 2010). Teaching is viewed as a technical activity bound by curricula guidelines. Teaching is therefore seen as technical activity that does not require cognitive ability because curriculum decisions have already been predetermined by others for teachers (Milner, 2013). Stated another way, teachers are neither regarded as thinkers nor intellectuals who can make meaningful contributions to curriculum reforms and they are therefore overlooked (Johnson, 2004).

Viewing teachers as technicians means that at the level of the school staff there can be no teachers who can adapt or develop learning content that suits their school contexts unless it is introduced from outside and delivered to teachers to implement. That said, it means that the possibility of implementing curricula in a manner that was never intended by the policymakers looms large at all times (Bumen, Cakar, & Yildiz, 2014). This is likely to happen because teachers are not given the consideration, they deserve in curriculum matters and they are therefore

likely to implement curricular innovations incorrectly. The view of teachers as technicians follows the notion that ideas that are to be put to practice are generated and internalised by others and carried to other contexts for implementation. When teachers are technicians, they cease to be people who generate knowledge through designing the curriculum but they become compliant technicians who deliver content that has been designed elsewhere (Goodson, 2014).

Under such circumstances teaching is an activity that is driven by externally-driven initiatives that brush aside the role of the teacher in the teaching-learning situation. Teachers are seen by policymakers as people who are ever ready to implement policies or changes that are introduced without their participation, but this is not the case, they should be consulted if such changes are to go well. The view of teachers as technicians makes teachers to be more accountable[16], compliant and governable to the authorities rather than seeing themselves as people who generate knowledge in the schools where they work.

This notion of teachers being technicians holds true for the South African context because all the curriculum changes that were made in the post-apartheid era, starting from Curriculum 2005 to CAPS were done with minor involvement of teachers, and overall teachers only became involved in the implementation phase. One reason that is often advanced for leaving teachers out of policy decision-making is that teachers would act out of self-interest and advance their personal plans instead of pursuing the policymakers' agenda. This view clearly puts teachers in a position where they are expected to carry out their contractual obligations rather than being there because there is a relationship of trust between them and the policymakers (Court & Neill, 2011).

The exclusion of teachers by policymakers from designing curriculum limits the success of its implementation because knowledge of how it should be implemented successfully is confined to the designers. If teachers were involved, the chances implementing correctly would be broadened. As a result, teachers are

[16] More answerable to policymakers.

challenged in some instances in abiding by the curricular expectations in terms of implementation because they receive one curriculum that is implemented in different ways (Bumen *et al.*, 2014). Teachers are more than the technicians that they are perceived to be, they do an intellectual activity that requires that they deal with learners that must be led into the next generation, and that calls for people who can adapt to situations through demonstration of dynamism that is unequalled.

This is a kind of situation where teachers are deprived of their tried and tested skills in curriculum content delivery and learner assessment, and subjected to increased work intensification, carrying out plans that have been designed by departmental officials (Apple, 1986). When curriculum changes take place, teachers are expected to produce compliant patterns of behaviour like technicians or workers in a factory whilst they are not involved in the development of such curricula (Weber, 2007a). Teachers are the most important resource there is for the success or failure of a new curriculum (Potenza & Monyokolo, 1999).

Thus, they play an important role in building, managing and enhancing learners' lives (Loughran & Kelchtermans, 2006). This important role should never be looked down upon. Teachers' conditions of work should be changed to allow them to participate in education as intellectuals and as people who need to enhance learners' knowledge, not merely as the technicians and implementers of someone else's subject knowledge and pedagogy (Comber & Nixon, 2009). If teachers could take part in curriculum reforms as designers, there would be better curriculum fidelity, delivery and understanding of how things should be done at school level. As it stands, teachers lose control over their work when individuals cease to plan and control a large portion of their work because it has been removed from them and centralised (Apple, 1988).

The government reduces public funding for schools and takes control of certain functions from schools so that they remain accountable to it (Zipin, 2002). School staffing in South Africa, for example, is controlled from a central point where schools are expected to improve their efficiency with less human resources as they are expected to work with reduced teacher-learner ratios that are provided

annually through post establishments. The taking of controls from the hands of teachers originates from the corporate world where companies are expected to work and produce more with less in response to the forces of the market.

Schools are expected to carry out their teaching strategies in the way the government and market forces want them to. Pedagogy in schools is modelled in such a way that it reflects partnerships between schools and business. Schools are, therefore, encouraged to become more accountable and to increasingly uphold entrepreneurial world values that care about giving better value for money in their approach (Tye, 2014). The accountability demand put on schools that has been brought about by using curriculum tracking tools that are designed by private organisations like the National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT) has taken control out of schools and left teachers as implementers of the innovations. Schools in Bohlabela District in Mpumalanga Province are currently under the collaboration between the DBE and the NECT.

This trend that has come about with curriculum change has pushed teachers to the side-lines of the teaching-learning situation and it has relegated them to being mere spectators. Policymakers create an assumption that teachers cannot make their own pedagogic decisions in their teaching contexts without being told what to do and such assumptions do not only turn teachers into technicians but "technicians without the necessary conceptual and content tools" (Badugela, 2012, p. 12). The kind of technicians that Badugela refers to are teachers who have been affected and confused by the curriculum reform agenda to a point that they are no longer sure about what to do in the classroom situation due to the excessive control that they have been subjected to in the classroom situation.

When teachers are seen as technicians rather than experts in the teaching field, they are expected to implement new curricula without attempting to adapt them to school and classroom conditions as professionals (Bumen *et al.*, 2014). When this happens the curricula that are introduced to schools are often poorly implemented and result in a host of unintended and undesired outcomes (Day, 2012). Teachers simply find themselves in a situation where there is a new curriculum they have to

implement without ever being engaged beforehand about this change (Harley & Wedekind, 2004).

They are forced to adopt and implement new curricula that are imposed on them without being thoroughly prepared. It must be expected, however, that any form of change should bring some challenges that they need to deal with as they come face-to-face with bad habits and attitudes in themselves and others (Lieberman & Miller, 1999). When OBE, for example, was about to be rolled out to schools, teachers were invited to workshops in order to be informed about how to apply the new curriculum which was being implemented by the Department of Education but they did not take part in the process of policy formulation (Baxen and Soudien, 1999).

Even in the ushering in of the CAPS the same procedure was used. When teachers are left out of policy formulation, like it has been the case in South Africa, they become more obedient to policy directives and less willing to contest the process because of the limited nature of options that they must contend with during the implementation stage (Leaton Gray, 2007). Bantwini (2010) contends that meanings are important in understanding how curriculum reforms take place in the classroom because they guide teachers as they try to find their way through newly introduced curricula. He further argues that teachers' present contextual factors will determine the way teachers receive, perceive and interpret a new curriculum.

Teachers are the sole agents of curriculum change in the classroom and they therefore must be won over into the reform process because implementation of any reform involves a behavioural change and approach (Hameed, 2013). Furthermore, it is disheartening to note that South African teachers' roles and responsibilities in educational reform are confined to that of people who pass on the concept of the new curriculum to a wider audience (Baxen & Soudien, 1999). South African teachers, therefore, may typically be a good example of being technicians because they are left out of curriculum development processes. When marginalisation of teachers takes place in curriculum implementation, it affects the

fidelity of implementation of such curriculum initiative negatively because the teachers lose track of how the change processes are supposed to be carried out.

Samoff (2000) asserts that South African teachers are generally perceived to be technicians who are given curricula they least understand or support to implement and as a result they work in situations that do not enhance their professionalism but deprofessionalise it. He further contends that teachers subsequently fail to implement curricula as intended by the policymakers and they streamline the curriculum focusing on examinations with minimal accountability. An ideal approach to the situation would be for teachers' role to be changed from people who execute politically-driven initiatives to people who design curriculum for their learners (Tang, 2011). This means that teachers should distance themselves from their imposed roles as technicians and start executing their duties and responsibilities in such a way that their pedagogies yield the expected performances of learners. Teachers may overcome this challenge through improving their agency where they get more in involved in activities that affect their work, become part and parcel of educational reforms and negotiating their identity as professionals (Vähäsantanen, 2014).

2.2.2 Identity formations

2.2.2.1 Teacher identity and professional identity

It is difficult try to define or understand teachers' identities because they are intricate and embedded within the social fibre of teachers' lived experiences. 'Identity' is meaning that one attaches to oneself or the meaning that is attached to a person by others that gives a person the feeling of who or what they are. Identity formation is a continuing process that involves the understanding and making sense of lived experiences as one goes through them and interacts with others (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000). In other words identity is not innate or something that is tangible, but it is something that is acquired during one's whole life through one's 'transactions with the environment' (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop,

2004). Teacher identity refers to the continuing development of a teacher's self-understanding of the working conditions that make up his or her teaching context (Johnson, Down, Le Cornu, Peters, Sullivan, & Pearce, 2012).

Developing one's identity as a teacher is a difficult process more especially for teachers who are still new in the teaching profession because it includes the meanings the teachers attach to themselves and these new teachers engage is a sense-making processes of constructing their teacher identities that are mainly shaped their interaction with other people (Beijaard *et al.*, 2004). The way they understand themselves is a reflection of their identity and this identity is relational because it involves the understanding of their relationships with learners, colleagues and stakeholders (Kelchtermans, 2009).Teachers' identity plays an important role in how they conduct themselves in the face of curriculum reforms more especially when it comes to their attitudes towards the envisaged change. Identity is not static but it keeps on changing and it keeps on being reconstructed all the time (Reeves, 2007).

Professional identity, on the other hand, is a broader concept than teacher identity. It refers to the key aspects of the teacher's professionality that include subject content knowledge, their perceptions of teaching and their understanding of teaching as work (Beijaard *et al.,* 2000; Lee & Yin, 2011)[17]. Curriculum changes have an impact on teachers' identities because they change what the teachers used to do and bring new content into the teaching field thus affecting the intricate relationships in the teaching-learning situation (Lee & Yin, 2011). Curriculum reform encompasses social interaction, gains, losses, and emotions that may bring out negative outcomes like confusion and anxiety to the teaching arena. These outcomes tend to challenge the identities of teachers that are expected to implement them. In some cases the challenge on the teachers' professional identity is so serious that they lose it when they fail to acclimatise to the changes and they quit (Defise, 2013). Understanding teachers' identity in curriculum reform is important because teachers are deeply involved in their work and the extent to

[17] In this study the concepts 'identity/identities' shall be used to refer to teachers' 'professional identity' and not 'teacher identity'.

which changes are implemented in the classroom affects their level of commitment and their identities. Because of the foregoing elements, curriculum changes in education systems have become a source of many discussions regarding teachers' work and their identity (Naidu, 2011).

Changes in curriculum tend to attract even the attention of people who are not into policy making, hence the criticism of such changes (Kraak & Young, 2001; Naidu 2011). Teachers operate in contexts where they are not afforded the latitude to shape their work identities and subsequently their work is significantly undervalued. Curriculum reforms also pose a significant challenge to teachers' professional identity, emotions and existing notions of professionalism despite their good intentions because they fail to acknowledge the importance of teacher wellbeing[18] and commitment (Gu, 2013).

Trying to understand a teacher's identity is a difficult exercise if one considers that a teachers' identity is shaped by an environment that is riddled with policies and curricula that keep on changing. Fortunately, teachers are people who have committed themselves to bringing about change to learners' lives and the society at large (Winter, 2011). As it stands, teachers' identity depends on their establishment of good relationships with their learners rather than dwelling on issues like curriculum design although they affect their teaching practices (Comber & Nixon, 2009; Massat, 2013).

Teachers, therefore, assume identities of people who create relationships with their learners, and they expand this identity to represent everything they have come to associate with 'teacher'[19]. Furthermore, teacher identity has to do with the way teachers define themselves in relation to the organisation they work for, that

[18] 'wellbeing' refers to the state of teachers' happiness and satisfaction with their working conditions. Teachers' wellbeing mainly relates to how they define themselves as professionals and how others define their professionalism (Biesta *et al.*, 2015).

[19] This refers to the image of a teacher that has come to be accepted and expected in the society in line which what the society thinks a teacher should be and the role he or she must play (Lee, Huang, Law, & Wang, 2013).

is, the way they commit themselves to its activities and the pride they take out of working for it (Baleghizadeh, 2012). Teachers' reaction to curriculum reforms is largely determined by whether they feel the reforms threaten or reinforce their professional identity, if they feel reinforced by the reforms they will embrace them, but if they feel threatened by the reforms they are likely to reject them (Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006). A teacher's identity is closely associated with what they assert themselves to be and the subject they teach. Subsequently, the way they carry out their pedagogical obligations will reflect their unmistakable identities as teachers. A teacher's professional identity comes into existence where the conditions are developed out of respect, mutual understanding and communication. Such conditions must be negotiated, lived and practised because they do not come naturally to all teachers but once they come to know about them and information about them is shared with others, they will make a noteworthy contribution to teachers' work (Sachs, 2001).

Teachers derive their professional identity from the ways they see themselves as authorities in subject content knowledge, specialists in instructive knowledge, and didactical professionals who are in the teaching-learning situation to assist learners to grow into responsible adulthood (Beijaard *et al*., 2000). That said, teachers should be ready to recreate their professional self after change has taken place because curriculum change is an ongoing feature of the teaching profession and teachers' repositioning is key. The professional identity of teachers in the face of educational reforms was examined in this inquiry.

Teachers are increasingly being expected to follow directives and become compliant operatives and disregard the histories, professional cultures and practices (Smyth *et al*., 2000), and teaching has become something different from what it was decades ago. In the past teachers had the authority and freedom to make choices about their own teaching with little or no control from the authorities, but things have changed and teachers are now limited in what they do (Klerk, 2014). When teachers are faced with new demands they try as much as possible to cope with them so that their status of being 'competent' teachers is not tarnished (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008). The changes that have taken place in

teaching have shaken the teachers' identity and have left it with some unanswered questions[20] that I hope to answer through the current inquiry.

Personal, situational and social factors, and professional factors are three factors that affect the professional identity of teachers, and these are realised and constructed through teachers' practices as they carry out their tasks (Lee *et al.*, 2013). These three factors are different (disparate) but they act together in the interactions that shape up a teacher's professional identity in the teaching-learning environment. Professional identities of teachers are, amongst others, shaped by learner characteristics, staff collegiality and personal health issues (Sammons, Day, Kington, Gu, Stobart, & Smees, 2007). Teachers' sense of identity is influenced by contextual factors in their workplace and it is also affected by the kinds of interventions they need to accommodate during curriculum reforms. Policy makers who develop curricula need to consider their impact on both teachers' roles and subsequent unintended changes that may come with the implementation of such reforms (Valli & Buese, 2007). Teachers therefore develop their identities in line with the meaning that they attach to their emotions and feelings about the processes of curriculum change. The curriculum reforms that are almost always of external origin tend to extend teachers' role in the teaching learning arena, and in the process, they challenge teachers' professional identity threaten to take them out of their established comfort zones.

2.2.2.2 Formation of identities in South African curriculum change

The intervention on the teaching arena through curriculum reform creates new demands on teachers as they have to reconstruct their professional identity every time the curriculum is changed (Bras & Goncalves, 2013). With each new curriculum change that came to the South African education system in the past two decades there has been a change in teacher identities. When OBE was introduced in 1999, for example, the teacher's role identification changed from that

[20] These are questions about what their identity is and what their expected identity should be in times of curriculum reforms.

of being a presenter of information to a facilitator who helped learners to acquire knowledge as it was learner-centred and no longer teacher-centred as was the case with the curriculum that it replaced (Hattingh, 2008).

OBE was grounded on a premise of constructivism that states that learners must actively construct their own knowledge by attaching what they were taught to what they knew before and interacting with the learning environment and with other learners (Cooper, 2007). OBE therefore relegated the teacher to the background in favour of the learner, a new identity that teachers had to contend with. The curriculum therefore delegitimised teacher knowledge and practice and demanded that teachers begin as if from a new slate (Chisholm & Chilisa, 2012)[21]. The newly phased-in CAPS that replaced OBE from 2011 gives little room for interpretation of what must be taught and how it should be taught (Du Plessis, 2013b), and above all it does not assign a clear role for the envisaged teacher. The above statement indicates that in the highly structured and content-based CAPS the teacher assumes the identity of a knowledge provider. CAPS is designed in such a way that all schools in South Africa that do the same subject teach the same content during the four school terms of the school calendar. In CAPS teachers do not have the autonomy to assess their learners' prior knowledge to move from the known to the unknown, but they must follow the learning programme as designed by the Department while in CAPS the teacher is given content-specific guidelines on how the learners are to be assessed (Umalusi, 2014).

This leaves the teachers with little or no room to apply their professional knowledge on how they can assess their learners. This new identity of teachers as implementers of the curriculum confirms the technical nature of their work and the fact that teaching is highly deprofessionalised. Comparatively speaking, CAPS allows teachers to set their own identity in the classroom more than OBE which positioned them as facilitators. In CAPS the teacher has the role of providing the highly prescriptive content to learners in the classroom and he or she has somewhat returned to the centre of the classroom with the identity of a knowledge

[21] This relegation of the teacher to the background meant that the OBE teacher assumed the new identity of a facilitator who assisted learners as they constructed their own knowledge.

provider although he or she does so within the confines of the structured curriculum. The teacher has once again assumed the traditional identity of teaching learners, instead of facilitating, and this done through the means of providing predetermined knowledge. The situational nature of teachers' identities that changes with curricula is problematic because it creates uncertainty and tension in the teaching arena. Moreover, the professional identity created in CAPS tends to lean backwards towards the image of an African teacher that is a technician as created by apartheid (Hoadley, 2018). That said, the new professional identity of teachers (CAPS) takes teaching away from professionalisation because it restricts their autonomy.

2.2.3 Accountability

Literature on curriculum reform talks a lot about accountability in human services professions like education and nursing in order to increase productivity (Comber & Nixon, 2009). The education reform agenda in all countries across the world calls for accountability in terms of performativity and achievement of learning outcomes (Joubert, 2016). It is good to hold teachers accountable for what they do but before that happens, they should be properly appraised on the issues that they will be held accountable for. If they are to be answerable for the correct implementation of the curriculum, they must be trained in the implementation of the curriculum so that they do so correctly and adhere to the standards set for its implementation (De Clercq, 2008). Moreover, this training would ensure that there is quality delivery of the new initiative. When teachers are held accountable for such standards that have been set the quality of teaching will be better (Maphosa, Mutekwe, Machingambi, Wadesango, & Ndofirepi, 2012). The demands made upon schools and teachers in this regard by the employer are the 'accountability' I refer to in this the study.

The changing nature of teachers' work means that teachers' roles also keep on changing in response to the demands of the work. The majority of the changes in what teachers do daily are an outcome of additional control measures that have been exerted over teachers through some changes in curriculum, assessment,

teaching and school management strategies (Penrice, 2011). Curriculum changes that have been applied in South African schools in the post-democratic era have aimed at measuring assessment of learners with a view of rendering teachers and schools accountable to authorities for learner performance but critics of these reform initiatives believe that increased accountability demands have a negative outcome in terms of learner performance (King & Zucker, 2008)[22].

The curriculum reforms put emphasis on assessment and evidence-based accountability that are demanded from schools. Measures like these tend to subject teachers to unwarranted pressure that add stress to their working lives. It follows that increased control leads to increased reporting, increased accountability demands and increased administrative tasks. Teachers are faced with excessive regulation through heightened evaluation measures that are motivated by demands for answerability (Ballet *et al.*, 2006), thus teachers appear to be faced with a situation whereby they have greater responsibility for their work but less authority over the manner in which their work is carried out. Accountability is not a neutral concept but a politically charged entity that needs certain measurable tasks to be performed whilst it "closes down thinking" (Smyth, 2006). This means that teachers are given limited autonomy over their work because they are expected to be in charge, but the authorities reserve the right to have control over how these teachers must do their work. Teachers should be accountable to the learners that they teach in the classroom through giving them quality instruction in the classroom. Basically, these teachers should be responsible for deciding how to teach the curricula to the learners without being subject to pressure from outside.

The call for performativity in schools has given rise to more accounting and auditing cultures for schools and it has subsequently led to resources being allocated and withdrawn according to performance. Silva & Herdeiro (2013) correctly point out that curriculum reforms have changed the nature of teachers' working lives by putting more emphasis on performativity and accountability

[22] Learners leave school without mastering the ability to read or perform simple mathematical calculations; schools produce learners who are not skilled enough to succeed in the workforce.

instead of their professionalism. Once there is emphasis of performativity and accountability over and above teachers' professionalism, teachers will be given little or no room to exercise their know-how in these times of curriculum reform. The stress on teacher accountability transfers the onus of effective schooling onto teachers whilst the state remains with the regulatory and monitoring role (Morley & Rassool, 2000). Under such circumstances where teachers feel like they have no full control over what they do (limited autonomy) they will not be willing to commit themselves fully to the course of curriculum reform.

The demand for accountability and widening of social responsibilities for teachers has resulted in increased surveillance of teachers' work (Naidu, 2011)[23]. Furthermore, teachers complain about their time being constrained by heavy workloads and increased accountability through more formal reporting and documentation. Teachers continue to have less opportunity to contribute their grounded professional expertise to policy changes that are increasingly regulated from above through escalating accountability regimes (Zipin, 2002). Recent trends in school policies have seen a significant increase in accountability demands in rich countries where performance and competition are placed over continuous school improvement resulting in impoverished teaching practices that trigger exam-oriented methods (Falabella, 2014).

The accountability demands that schools face in times of curriculum change tend to support the tendency of ignoring teachers' voices whilst listening to voices of politicians who do not fully understand and appreciate the realities of classroom life (Biesta, Priestley, & Robinson, 2015). Accountability policies that are based on performance in tests create strains between schooling for knowledge acquisition on the one side and education that is pushed by the desire to be efficient on the

[23] Some of the social responsibilities that teachers contend with at this time and age of curriculum change are supervision of the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP), monitoring, monitoring learners living with HIV-AIDS, protecting learners against violence and crime, policing schools against drug and substance abuse. These social responsibilities add extra workload to teachers are already overburdened by ongoing curriculum reforms.

other (Sahlberg, 2010). Furthermore, accountability demands have the potential to undermine teachers' classroom practices as they try to conform to them.

In South Africa, in Mpumalanga Province, the predominantly rural schools that do not produce the expected results are subjected to excessive pressure from outside in the form of constant inspection and the associated monitoring visits by departmental officials. The perceived need to perform sees schools being subjected to unwarranted compulsion to up standards of the so-called 'underperforming' schools through target setting and other measures. In Mpumalanga Province, for example, schools that are classified as underperforming are named and shamed and they are subjected to accountability measures that include being made to write numerous school improvement plans (SIP's) to various authorities using different templates.

Apart from submitting the countless SIP's they are invited to a myriad of meetings where they are expected to account for their poor performance and to assure the panels in those meetings that they are going to improve their performance. Throughout the year that follows the year of underperformance the school is invited to conferences that are intended to give it extrinsic motivation in the name of 'sharing good practices.' Schools' response to accountability pressure is demonstrated through improved performance in their results and it is a moot point whether this is happening in schools in Mpumalanga, but this point is outside the scope the present investigation. What these accountability measures overlook are the realities that come with the socio-economic and socio-cultural challenges of the rural settings under which these schools operate. These schools face all sorts of challenges that are encompassed by the aspect of rurality ranging from poverty, poor infrastructure, under-resourced schools, isolation, disease, neglect, backwardness to marginalisation.

The exam-oriented accountability regimes that are expected of teachers have undesirable consequences in schools like learner passivity, inability to apply one's knowledge in real-life situations and inadequate levels of learners' well-roundedness in the society (Yan, 2015). The inflexible culture of marketised accountability and performativity has contributed a lot to the lack of deep trust in

teachers' professional status, decision-making and ability (Gu, 2013). The idea of accountability is that teachers are not highly motivated in their work and that being more motivated increases their chance to improve their teaching hence the use of incentives to penalise or reward teachers (Curren & Kotzee, 2014).

Accountability is part and parcel of what Gowlett (2015, p. 160) calls "the most recent wave of managerial audit pressures facing schools" which push schools to be accountable through "a variety of pseudo-business practices" where teachers are subjected to regular performance appraisals that go with incentives if the person that is being appraised has performed according to expectation[24]. The increased accountability has the undesired effect of causing teachers to leave teaching for some other jobs (Ladd, 2009). Accountability has, on the other hand, made it difficult for rich countries to attract new teachers and keeping them once they have joined the profession (Le Cornu, 2013). When teachers are subjected to accountability measures due to the pressures they receive from external sources, their creativity in the classroom is reduced and they are emotionally burdened by these demands (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2009).

The preceding statements are a clear indication that accountability demands do not create a good environment for attracting new teachers to join the profession. IQMS (Integrated Quality Management System) is a good example of a tool that is deliberately aimed at monitoring teachers' performance and increasing teacher accountability in the South African education system. This tool attempts to achieve accountability through developing teachers professionally while it tries to improve their efficiency (Joubert, 2016). The downside of the IQMS is that teachers feel that it is an additional burden to the already overloaded work that they have and there are also claims that teacher morale is being negatively impacted by the tool (Buthelezi, 2005).

[24] Incentives that are given to teachers are in the form of trophies and certificates that are awarded to teachers at prestigious functions that are held at national, provincial, regional, circuit and school level.

It is through this tool that teacher performance is assessed so that good performers are identified and acknowledged through rewards and incentives and poor performers subjected to development in terms of the integrated framework for teacher development. External moderators who visit schools to do lesson observations are viewed with suspicion by some teachers in schools, are refused access to observe lessons of teachers, and in some cases they are turned away from schools (Department of Basic Education, 2012). The IQMS combines in one an instrument of monitoring and for performance management and this defeats its purpose as it strains the delicate relationship that exists between teachers, their school-based appraisers and district appraisers (De Clercq, 2008).

The government has brought the IQMS as a tool that tries to strike a balance between teacher union's demands that the accountability tool should serve both as a human resource development and accountability tool and as such it has "tried to be all things to all people" (Weber, 2005, p. 68). It is debatable if this tool has managed to get South African teachers to improve teaching and learning. Results in South African schools are among the lowest in the world. This probably due to a poor culture of teaching in schools. These results influence teachers' values and attitudes negatively towards any form of performance monitoring (De Clercq, 2008).

In times of relentless accountability schools are put under surveillance, evaluated, and ranked according to quantifiable and comparative set standards like Grade 12 results. Schools are therefore pressured to compete in order to be given first preference by parents and, at the same time, to compete in terms of departmental performance grades in order to place themselves favourably when pitted against other schools (Connell 2009; Falabella, 2014). These are external forms of accountability that have become increasingly "high stakes" in the education system given the fact that a school's reputation is linked to its performance based on these measures (Keddie, 2014, p. 2) and as such result in the ever-increasing external surveillance and policing of schools. Calls for schools to account and the procedures involved tend to stretch policymakers' control of teachers' work and working lives and impact directly on how they carry out their daily activities (Ballet and Kelchtermans, 2008; Zipin, 2002).

2.2.4 Professionalism in teaching

The policies of deregulation and standards-based accountability that have been applied in schools in the name of school improvement, according to Mathis & Welner (2015), have partnered to promote an era of deprofessionalisation in teaching. They argue that accountability policies have given latitude to other routes to access the teaching-learning situation. Such alternative ways have, in the South African context, given leeway to organisations from the corporate world to enter the education arena and deprofessionalise teaching[25]. Hargreaves (1994, p. 15) aptly sums up the professionalisation-deprofessionalisation issue when he asserts, “The rhetoric of professionalism simply seduces teachers into consorting with their own exploitation.” This means that the notion of professionalism is used to make teachers accept to take part in their own manipulation by those that in authority.

Teachers have some considerable autonomy to determine their classroom practices, but they function in a context where there is a power struggle between the school, the local authority and the state and this affects the way their professionalism is put into practice (Stevenson, 2007). Teachers should be given the freedom to carry out their teaching practice in a way that they have been trained to as professionals but as things stand, they are not given autonomy over their work. Teachers’ freedom is whittled in subtle ways like increased levels of assessment and control that make them to account continually through tedious reporting procedures (Leaton Gray, 2007).

When deprofessionalisation sets in, teachers find themselves ‘lost at sea’ as they face the reality of being unable to practise their hard-earned professional expertise because it is relegated to the background in favour of scripted lessons (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). Policymakers exercise control over what teachers do and how they do it through continual curriculum change that introduces structured curricula

[25] It must be noted that there are no alternative routes into medicine or law and as such people must follow the conventional means of entering these fields, this has not been the case in education

that restricts teacher autonomy. The literature of curriculum change abounds with laments over what Apple (2013, p. 925) calls the “loss of respect for the professionalism of educators”. This means that professionalism has changed from what it has been to something else. When teachers are deprofessionalised they feel like their autonomy is threatened and that they have not been successful as professionals. This also implies that there is wasted effort on the part of teacher-training institutions who prepare teachers to become true professionals who carry out their tasks diligently.

The teaching practice is based on professionalism that is informed by specialised knowledge that is applied to teaching as opposed to common sense knowledge and this should be treated as such. Professionalisation refers to strategies that provide a professional character to teaching based on the quest for self-control and autonomy that provides the overall motivation for teachers (Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012). Teachers feel comfortable with carrying out their professional duties and making their own decisions as they have always done. This perception of independence creates in them a feeling of being in charge of the didactical arena and, as such, they do not feel guided by directives from external actors (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008). Subsequently if teachers value such decisions that they make, a perception of possession and professionalism will prevail on their part. Deprofessionalised contexts are characterised by the unprecedented undermining of teachers’ creativity and the diminishing of their identity status. It is unfortunate that professionalism can be used in a dual way as George (2009) correctly points out, first it may be used to control teachers’ work and second it may be used to manipulate teachers to believe that as good professional they are expected to accept curriculum changes without question.

Such manipulation, in turn, allows for the intensification of their work. Any belief system that attempts to take teaching away from its grounding and exclude teachers from the inherent decision-making processes that teaching entails creates a loophole for deprofessionalisation of teaching (Slater, 2013). What should be regarded as professionalism for school teachers has become a bone of contention between formations that contest what teacher professionalism should entail and those that argue that teaching is not a profession (Sachs, 2001). The

extended regulation over the curriculum content and actual teaching practice poses a serious challenge to the professionalisation of the occupation, consequently teachers see teaching as being externally driven with increased demand for accountability on the one hand whilst there is reduced autonomy on the other (Evans, 2010).

Teachers operate under imposed contexts instead of being allowed to apply their professional judgement. The way in which CAPS is structured favours teachers that are inexperienced but it restricts creative teachers who like to utilise their freedom in the classroom in full (Du Plessis & Marais, 2015). In CAPS teachers have no voice in the content they teach in class, they have no control on how they teach it and they also have no choice on when to teach it. CAPS teachers must contend with highly specified subject content with specified pacing that follow weekly outlines. Additionally, its execution and the provision of textbooks remain a challenge. Innovations like CAPS with its highly structured content structure as demonstrated in the foregoing discussion tend to turn teachers into technicians, intensify their work, impoverish teaching practises in the classroom, reduce teachers' autonomy and they, therefore, deprofessionalise teaching.

The teacher is a participant who unwittingly embraces deprofessionalising trends in her teaching probably because of professional inadequacies. It is deprofessionalised because the teacher' professional activities are downgraded to the level of implementing curricular mandates that are commissioned by others and it is also deskilling because the teacher has lost the skill of planning and selecting curriculum content. Curriculum reforms are associated with changing employment settings and professional outlooks, and this means that matters of teacher expertise and their identity are being put under scrutiny at both the levels of curriculum design and implementation.

Professionalism in teachers' work is a malleable factor that is a key factor in the battles over teachers' professional selves, the hierarchical order of management of their work, and the relations of authority that exist between them and their employers. Teachers have some considerable autonomy to determine their classroom practices, but they function in a context where there is a power struggle

between the school, their local authority and the state and this affects the way their professionalism is put to practice (Stevenson, 2007). There is a loss of professional autonomy, responsibility and judgment as they lose control of the work when their decision-making powers for classroom activities are taken away from them (Comber & Nixon, 2009). In the teaching profession one may identify teachers' professional status in two ways, namely, a position that points towards professionalisation where the profession is deregulated and teacher autonomy is in place, and a position that points towards deprofessionalisation where teachers' professional expertise is not taken into consideration because of increased control and supervision (Norrie & Goodson, 2011).

The ideologies of professionalism have strong influences on how teachers view their work and their professional identities as employees because these play a fundamental role in their knowledge regime about their work in schools and beyond. When deprofessionalisation sets in it renders teachers governable rather than autonomous in the sense that their task is to implement decisions from policy decision-makers and not to think for themselves about how to carry out their normal classroom activities and assessment (Leaton Gray, 2007).

Teachers no longer have the autonomy to choose the content they want to teach like they used to in the past because the profession is being deprofessionalised (Fischman, 2016). Teachers' working contexts are deprofessionalised by the need to increase learner performance where they find themselves caught in a situation that calls for the truncation of their professional judgement (Stevenson, 2007). CAPS, for example, has been designed in such a way that elements of the curriculum are delivered in a particular way and within specific timeframes. Innovative teachers may find this approach restrictive and deprofessionalising because the structured curriculum does not afford them the opportunity to plan classroom activities their own way.

Teachers are often pressured to teach towards ensuring that learners produce a good performance in examinations without allowing them to rely on their professional judgment (Milner, 2013). They are increasingly put under the control and supervision of managers with the ultimate aim of getting results that are

compared with other schools' without taking the teachers' professional expertise into cognisance (Lindblad & Goodson, 2011). The neoliberal regime is suspicious of professionalism and it distrusts teachers (Connell, 2009), and furthermore, it requires schools to make themselves auditable.

Professional issues that teachers face have been on the rise in recent years and they had the consequences of greater expectations from the social front and a reduced social status whilst, on the other hand, they had been expected to be answerable to educational authorities due to constant curriculum reform (Keogh, Garvis, & Pendergast, Diamond, 2012). The neoliberal forces have succeeded in reducing teachers' professionalism through application of deprofessionalising pressures that have relentlessly eroded and diminished the professional status that teachers once had by fostering compliant attitudes among them (Fischman, 2016). Neoliberalism is an ideology that believes that schools must be competitive in order to satisfy mark-driven initiatives (Endacott, Wright, Goering, Collet, Denny, & Davis, 2015; Lambert, Wright, Currie, & Pascoe, 2015). Neoliberalism is therefore an approach that believes that a market-oriented approach in education is the sole means of enhancing a country's education standards and economic growth (Tang, 2011).

The deprofessionalisation of teaching with its tenets of deskilling, increased auditability and unpreceded accountability have a direct impact on the working lives of teachers that are exposed to them on a regular basis[26]. Teachers feel comfortable with carrying out their professional duties and making their own decisions as they always have done. If this can be allowed to happen the teachers will value such decisions that they make, and they will take ownership of such decisions. In South Africa, in a quest to improve Grade 12 results in schools, teachers are expected to follow programmes that are designed by provincial departments of education. The teachers are expected to implement the programmes as they are without deviation. This a typical example of how teachers

[26] There are various ways in which teachers' working lives can be impacted e.g. stress, anger, anxiety, uncertainty, burnout, tensions confusion, guilt, shame, creation of doubts about teacher's own capabilities etc.

are deprofessionalised as they comply with decisions of policy makers that deprive them of the opportunity to make professional decisions that affect their practice. In some cases, circuits introduce mandatory programmes like morning studies, weekend classes and collaborative teaching that are to be followed by teachers in order to improve results without giving individual teachers the autonomy to plan their own programmes that suit their situations.

Elsewhere, teachers are placed under rigorous supervision, disciplined according to how they have performed on league tables that are used to measure their performance (Day & Smethem, 2009). Results-driven teaching limits teachers' autonomy as they are expected to direct their teaching endeavour towards attaining good results instead of teaching them knowledge and ultimately being good supersedes doing well. Deprofessionalisation of teaching takes the focus away from teaching the learner in totality to a role where teachers are subjected to the wider objectives of government that put emphasis on raising performance targets in a narrow range of 'core' subjects (Stevenson, 2007, p. 236).

Deprofessionalisation of teaching occurs when education policies constrain teachers' work and challenge their professional autonomy (Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012). Increased work intensity goes together with deprofessionalisation as teachers are not perceived to be doing one particular job but executing a series of mandated technical tasks. Teachers' leeway to be in full control of their classroom contexts has given way to the forces of deprofessionalisation that have made their didactical actions to be increasingly narrowed to effecting decisions made by policymakers and others (Naidu, 2011).

The forces of performativity place emphasis on narrowed measurable outcomes in the teaching arena and they tend to limit teachers' creativity towards high levels of professional pedagogical competence. Of late, schools are provided with books that have scripted lesson plans that teachers must use in the classroom. SMT's are invited to workshops to be taught about the importance of using scripted lesson plans and how they should assist the DBE in gathering data on the usage of such lesson plans. These materials form part and parcel of prescriptive centralised curricula that are becoming a common feature in the South African

educational landscape that create a weighty sense of deprofessionalisation among teachers.

2.2.5 Teachers' work conditions

The conditions under which teachers work have waned considerably to a point that external-driven alternatives have led to the intensification of their work. Intensification occurs when teachers, more and more, are exposed to outside pressure where a lot must be accomplished with no additional time allocated and with minimal resources (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008). Increased work intensity happens to be a typical example of the most concrete ways in which the workers' rights of educated workers are worn out and it leads to the reduction of teachers' leisure time. Teachers' work is generally regarded as being intensified when pressures accumulate, and when external control and surveillance increase whilst the conditions of work fail to cope with the change.

There is a shift in the work relations that used to exist between government and teachers where the government drives its initiatives top-down in an increasingly less consultative way whilst aiming at improving performance by intensifying teachers' work (Zipin, 2002). When a new curriculum is implemented it comes along with new expectations that increase the intensity of teachers' workload that they must carry in addition to what they had originally (Johnson, 2004). Intensification of teachers' work is strongly linked to the accountability demands of performativity which call for increased effort and time devoted to executing tasks.

Schools have been linked to the market where performance is a key factor and as such, they are expected to perform to satisfy the authorities. The intensification of teachers' work is a product of what Lundström & Holm (2011, p. 194) call the "colonisation of teachers' time by way of continued top-down implementation of changes". This means that teachers' relaxation time is taken by the tasks that teachers must do after work like marking assignments, projects or doing any work-related task during their spare time. There are many sources of intensification in teachers' work and teachers do not experience intensification the same way. The

intensification that is brought into schools is mediated by individual teachers through their experiences and socio-cultural filters and subsequently what one teacher regards as intensification may not necessarily be felt as such by another (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008). Externally driven initiatives that teachers contend with that extend their teaching roles tend to reduce teachers' control over their work and intensify it in unprecedented ways. Contrary to common belief, the intensification of teachers' work in the name of improving the quality of education through more work and responsibilities affects the quality of results negatively (Ballet *et al.*, 2006). Intensification of teachers' work, in some cases, is worsened by overlooking their working conditions and claiming that teaching is a calling or a noble profession with unintended outcomes such as increased workload (Loughran & Kelchtermans, 2006).

Increased overload that affects schools may also be caused by budgetary constraints that see schools being under-resourced in terms of staffing where they are given low post establishments due to low enrolments. Under such conditions teachers must teach more subjects and in some cases out-of-field teaching becomes prevalent. The increased demands that come as consequences of increased accountability expectations and decreased support for changes that are brought about by curriculum change add to the work intensification that teachers experience whilst increasing pressure on their personal welfare (Froese-Germain, 2014).

The impact of intensification of teachers' work does not take place in a simple straightforward way where a policy that is being implemented goes directly to affect a teacher, but it is always mediated and negotiated by the teachers who implement it (Ballet *et al.*, 2006). The consequences of curriculum reforms manifest themselves as increased work intensity for teachers and these erode teachers' autonomy while at the same time they challenge their professional identities (Day & Smethem, 2009). Work intensification means that teachers must direct their efforts on tasks that must be done and devote less time to doing the core business of teaching.

One example of intensification of teachers' work that is influenced by changing work conditions is the recent introduction of the 1+4 Teaching Model for South African schools where the Department aims to improve learner performance in Mathematics in Grades 8-9. Mathematics teachers are expected to report at selected centres every Monday where they are taught skills for teaching Mathematics. The programme includes collaborative planning for the week for all schools within a cluster. The remaining four days of the week are used for implementation. Schools are instructed to do their timetabling in such a way that Mathematics in the two grades is only taught from Tuesday to Friday. This programme, despite all its good intentions, disorientates schools in such a way that they must redo their timetabling in order to accommodate it and this creates serious challenges for schools.

In Mpumalanga Province, schools that are deemed to have 'under-performed' in the previous year's Grade 12 results attract the attention of the provincial education department and for the whole year their work as teachers is intensified through increased control and surveillance, increased number of tests and never-ending moderation of tasks. To overcome challenges like these it is suggested that schools as organisational structures that have principals as their heads should take a buffering stance to make teachers cope with turbulent policy environments (Ballet *et al.*, 2006). Furthermore, they argue that principals must ensure that their schools and the staff are duly protected from unrealistic anticipations by outsiders like politicians and policymakers.

Teaching is being changed to become proletarianised where teachers are seen as workers in industry rather than professionals. Subsequently, teaching is deprofessionalised and intensified, and schools no longer serve as autonomous institutions that equip learners with knowledge to interact with society. The concept of teachers' work is seriously affected by the changes that teaching has faced in recent years where their autonomy over their work and their status as professionals are challenged by application of ideas from the industrial and business worlds to the teaching field (Weber, 2007).

To sum up, the foregoing review is based mainly on literature from rich countries where teachers' work has been extensively studied. In the case of poor countries of the south the available literature tends to be sketchy and it warrants further research. The literature says very little about the impact that curriculum reforms have on the working lives of teachers when their work is intensified through changing work conditions, accountability demands, teaching practices, professionalism, identities and marginalisation. The literature does, however, indicate that curriculum reforms result in lack of commitment, motivation, resilience, effectiveness, poor teacher-learner relationships, low self-esteem and negative sense of professional identity (Day, 2008). The literature on teachers' work gets even sketchier when one attempts to conduct a study of the impact of curriculum reforms from the perspective of rural teachers' work in South Africa.

In relation to these factors that I discussed above, the concept of 'teachers' work' has not been applied from the point of view of rural teachers in South Africa. Changing work conditions, accountability demands, teaching practices, professionalism, teaching practices, identities are part of the concept of teachers' work that I intended to apply to real people in South Africa in a real-life situation and to find out what the impact of curriculum change has been on them. l used the narrative approach to get the data on how these factors impacted the working lives of rural teachers. The life histories and narratives that emerge from the research will hopefully bring more understanding to the problem. The project seeks to build insights from the teachers' prolonged stay in the teaching fraternity through their stories. The investigation of the topic through the themes that emerged from the data of the interview respondents will hopefully throw more light on the impact of curriculum reform on the working lives of rural teachers from the grassroots (bottom) upwards.

2.3 Conceptual framework of the study

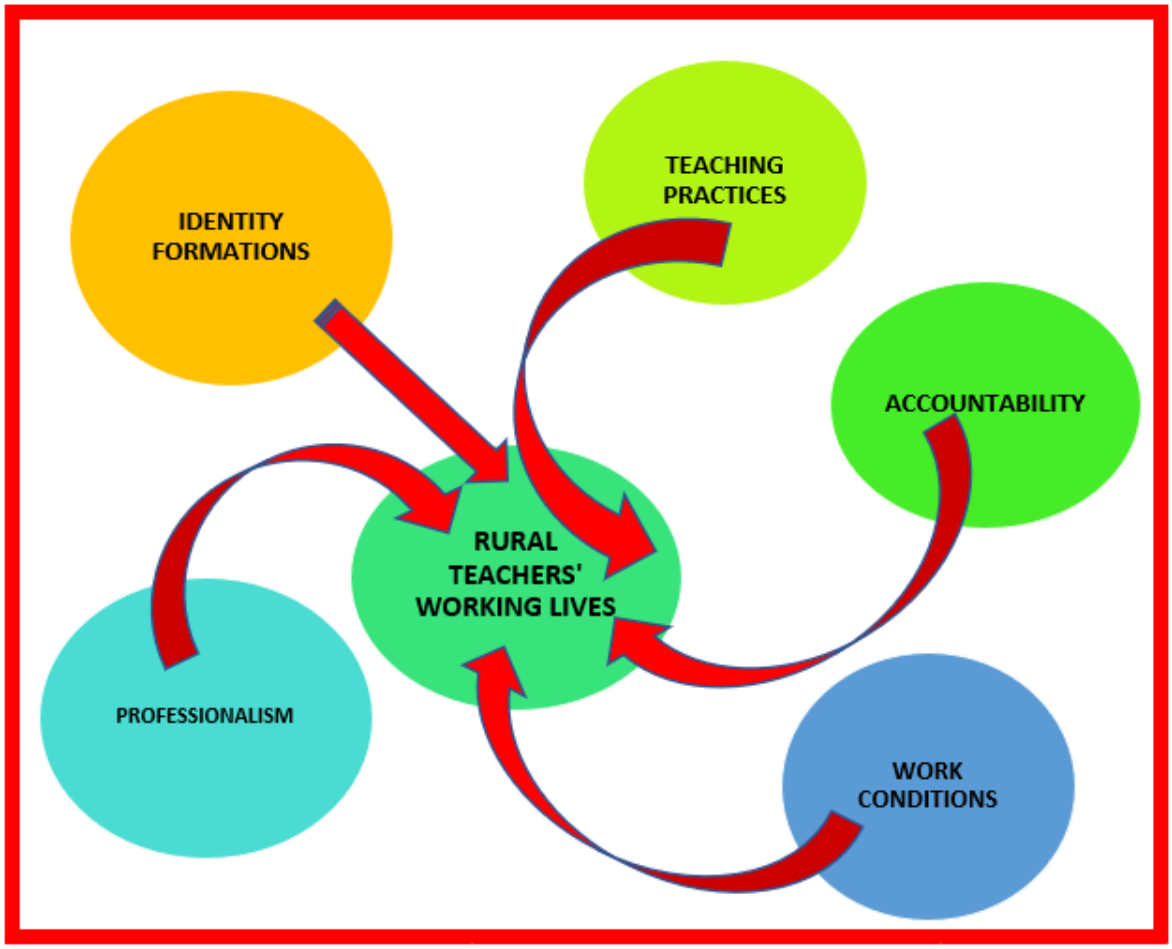


Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework of the study

A conceptual framework explicates either schematically or in narrative form the key variables or elements a researcher intends to study and the assumed connections among them (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). In other words, a conceptual framework is the researcher's understanding of how the various key factors within the investigation interlink with one another and it therefore serves as a road map towards analysing the collected data. The conceptual framework offers the researcher an opportunity to construct his or her own worldview about the phenomenon under investigation (Adom, Hussein, & Agyem, 2018). A study's conceptual framework is constructed by doing extensive literature review on a theme of interest that gives the researcher some ideas for conceptualising the study. The present study as illustrated in Figure 2.1 had as its objectives the

examining of rural teachers' working lives as they go through curriculum reforms that give rise to changing working conditions that lead to a wide range of outcomes that emerge as the review of literature continues. In this investigation the concept of teachers' work was used as a point of departure into the path of understanding how teaching has changed over the years and understanding the factors that have contributed to the change and the outcomes thereof. Rural teachers' work is at the centre of the forces that affect their working lives.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter I reviewed literature on curriculum change in line with the changing nature of teachers' work. The nature of teacher's work is affected by the ever-changing contexts in which teaching takes place. These changes affect teachers' working lives as they must adapt their pedagogies to accommodate the changing circumstances that are always brought to the teaching profession by curriculum changes. Curriculum changes on the other hand, are initiated by policymakers' attempt to respond to globalisation that has affected countries in the world, both rich and poor.

I argued that the literature on the changing nature of teachers' work is mainly from rich countries of the north whilst little has been written on poor countries of the south. Teaching practices, identity formations, accountability, professionalism in teaching, and changing work conditions are factors that I used to deepen the study's understanding of how curriculum change affect the working lives of rural teachers. It was revealed through literature that teachers are in the teaching-learning situation as people who are expected to deliver curricula that are formulated by policymakers without being expected to make contributions to their formulation, hence becoming technicians.

Teachers carry out their pedagogical responsibilities in contexts that that threaten to exclude them from shaping their identities. These contexts, unfortunately, ignore the importance of teachers' wellbeing. The literature also revealed how teachers are subjected to accountability demands from neoliberal forces, with their

corporate world mentality of the market, that show a deep distrust of teachers' professional judgement. Moreover, these forces retain control and monitoring over schools whilst creating an impression of improved schooling under heightened surveillance.

The deprofessionalisation of teaching through policies that constrain teachers' work and limit their autonomy was highlighted through the literature review. It further became apparent that teachers' expertise is not taken into consideration because of increased supervision and control over teachers' work. The intensification of teachers' work revealed that teachers' roles and responsibilities are extended without additional time to handle them. Intensification is worsened by the demand for teachers to execute decisions made by others, additional workload, increased accountability demands and introduction of initiatives top-down in a non-consultative way. Finally, the conceptual framework of the study was given.

3 CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the research design as well as the methods that I used to answer the research questions of the study. It must be pointed out that there is no single approach that is regarded as suitable for conducting research, there are many approaches and the choice of a research method made by a researcher is governed by the purpose of the research being conducted and the paradigm chosen. The researcher plans in advance on the credible, practicable and legitimate means of getting answers to his research problem through a balancing act of weighing possibilities that will get him or her to his or her desired destination (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). I selected teachers that have been teaching for the past two decades or so as the most viable option to give answers to the research questions in this enquiry. These teachers have lived curriculum change in their schools and they are better placed to give information about curriculum change in teaching through their experience.

3.2 Research design

A research design is an overall plan that a researcher chooses in a research undertaking to effectively address the research problem. The research design is the logical part of an enquiry that deals with how the evidence he or she wants to collect will be gathered (Yin, 1994). The research design therefore covers more aspects than the research method although the method is included in the design. Within a research design that a researcher uses, he or she decides in advance whether he or she will use a quantitative, qualitative or a combination of the two approaches on his or her path of finding answers to the research questions posed. It is therefore a structured framework or blueprint of how a researcher intends to conduct the research moving from the philosophical assumptions to specifying the

choice of respondents, data gathering techniques and the data analysis to be done in order to answer the research questions (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). The research design of the study is outlined below.

3.2.1 A qualitative approach

Generally, there are three research approaches that are used to conduct research viz. quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. These are approaches that represent various points of a continuum with the quantitative approach on the one end and the qualitative on the other. The mixed methods approach is in the middle of the other two because it includes some of their elements. A loose distinction between the quantitative and qualitative approaches is that the former uses numbers and the latter uses words. I chose the qualitative approach for the current study. Qualitative research is a broad methodological approach that studies human actions from the perspective of providing answers to social and behavioural science research questions (Salkind, 2018).

In this qualitative study I set out to understand how curriculum change has impacted the working lives of rural teachers who have implemented it over a period of more than a decade. In qualitative research the researcher aims at getting a better understanding of the research phenomenon under investigation through first-hand experience, truthful reporting, and the quoting of actual conversations (Antiwi & Hamza, 2015). Additionally, a qualitative research project that is properly conducted has the unrivalled advantage of adding more information to the body of knowledge on the subject under investigation than any of the other approaches, and it makes the researcher to be well-versed with information (Salkind, 2018).

I interviewed fifty-two rural teachers with the main aim of understanding curriculum change through these teachers' experience. Qualitative also aims to understand how the research participants derive meaning from their environment and how this meaning influences their behaviour. The stories that these teachers shared with

me deepened my understanding of how they make sense of the situation they find themselves in. Qualitative research is an approach that attempts to understand how people handle their real-world settings and what these people think about the different circumstances in their everyday lives (Yin, 2016). In other words, qualitative researchers believe that first-hand experience of the phenomenon under investigation produces good data. Qualitative research is descriptive, applies reasoning and uses words and it also aims to get the meaning, feeling and describes a situation (Rajasekar, Philominathan, & Chinnathambi, 2006, p. 9). Qualitative data focus on events that occur naturally in natural settings and they give an understanding on what real life is like (Miles *et al.*, 2014; Morrison, 2012), furthermore the fact that they are collected over a period of time[27] makes them suitable for studying history which is a key element of this research.

The understanding of the social aspects of life is done through using words as data for analysis instead of numbers. In other words, qualitative research is interested in answering the questions "about the 'what', 'how' or 'why' of a phenomenon rather than 'how many' or 'how much', which are answered by quantitative methods" (Brikci & Green, 2007, p. 2). Qualitative research tends to aim at accuracy and getting information on the everyday realities of the social phenomenon under investigation rather than generalising the findings. The current investigation was intended to inquire about teachers' work in terms of curriculum change and report it as truthful as possible without attempting to make generalisations.

Stated differently, the research would provide textual descriptions of how teachers have experienced curriculum change in schools. The research also involved spending some time at the research site with the participants and in the case of the current investigation the state of 'being there' was fully enriched by my observation of participants. Apart from this observation, I conducted one-on-one

[27] The data collection process may occur over weeks, months and years.

interviews with them over a long period of time to get better understanding of the narratives of their working lives. I chose the qualitative approach as a suitable method for undertaking this research because the research approach allows the researcher to explore the understanding and meaning that research participants attach to their world. This approach allows the researcher to make his or her own interpretations of the meaning of the data without necessarily requiring a computer programme to do it for him or her. This approach also allowed the researcher to be "much a part of the research process as the participants and the data they provide" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 4). Furthermore, it also increased trust in the researcher's ability in working on a project like the current one.

Qualitative research is an interpretive research approach that deals with the understanding of people, words, documents or other non-numerical data from relies insiders' views to provide answers to research questions (Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2015). Because the interpretive paradigm is an integral part of qualitative research it was integrated in the project. The interpretive paradigm was applied in the literature review, data collection, analysis and interpretation sections of the study. Interpretivism, also known as 'interpretivist' consents that a researcher should contextualise the areas of the study to create understanding of the social and historical context of the studied area, thus interpretivism integrates human interest into a study (Myers, 2008). Qualitative research is basically concerned with stories and giving of people's own opinions and understandings and this is one reason in particular that made me to choose the approach because it would allow me to listen to teachers' subjective account of curriculum change.

This approach was also chosen because the data are textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue in the words or expressions of the research participants themselves. Qualitative research has the following important characteristics: data are collected from the site where the issue under investigation is experienced by the research participants; the key instrument of data collection is usually the researcher himself/herself; and usually gathering data in multiple ways like using an observation protocol, examining documents or interviewing participants over time (Creswell, 2014).

Drawing from this assertion, I was the key collector of data for this research through participant observation and interviews. My involvement in this inquiry provided new ways of understanding the world and the world that rural teachers find themselves in (Swinton & Mowat, 2006). This research, due to the way in which it deals with people and their experiences of the world, had to be conducted in an ethically defensible manner. My involvement in the investigation through qualitative research enhanced my understanding of what meaning teachers attached to their working lives in the real life-worlds, their views and perspectives about curriculum change (Yin, 2016).

It also contributed to my insight into existing and new concepts that help to explain social thinking and behaviour. In other words, it deepened my understanding about what rural teachers do and think when they interact with changing curricula from time to time. Lastly, it allowed me to understand the phenomenon of curriculum change from the perspective of the research participants I involved. My application of qualitative research also revealed the advantage of constituting arguments about everyday lives, understandings and experiences of research participants in their particular school contexts (Mason, 2002). Collecting data through interviews with rural teachers helped me achieve the ultimate goal of qualitative research, which is, describing and understanding human behaviour rather than explaining it (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

In other words, qualitative research describes 'the ways people in particular settings come to understand, account for, take action and otherwise manage their day-to-day situations' (Miles *et al.*, 2014, p. 9). An important aspect of qualitative research is that it is frequently oriented towards narrative where stories are told, as told by the four rural teachers in this inquiry, as important sources of information but not as meaningless personal anecdotes (Swinton & Mowat, 2006). The narrative approach, one type of qualitative research approach, is an investigation in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives (Creswell, 2014). The current investigation uses the narrative design as a path of providing answers to the research question and it is discussed in detail below.

3.2.2 A narrative approach

Why do narrative research? Narrative/life history approach is a research approach that has inquiry and data collection that try to retain a narrative-like quality that exists in social life (Neuman, 2011). The approach emphasises the inner experiences of individuals and their connections with changing phases throughout their lives (Floyd, 2012). Rural teachers are at the centre of this investigation and their stories are told through the narrative approach employed in this research. In other words, the general purpose of this research was to provide greater insight into the nature and meaning of individual lives or groups of lives (Erben, 1998). In this approach the researcher collects and tells about selected individuals' lives and writes narratives about their experiences or activities (Creswell, 2012).

The use of narrative inquiry is an attempt to understand people's lived experiences and how these experiences have unfolded over time in different social contexts. I selected the narrative approach because it gave me an opportunity to trace elements of human lives that I would like to understand and the approach links exceptionally well with the qualitative approach. In the narrative approach people tell the stories of their lives, and the researchers make these stories into life histories. In life history research, researchers study and analyse how people talk about their lives, their experiences, events in life and the social context they inhabit (Goodson & Numan, 2003). Using the narrative approach enabled me to develop life histories of how curriculum changes have affected the lives of rural teachers. The themes that emerged from the literature review were used in developing the conceptual framework of the study and these themes were identity formations, work conditions, professionalism, accountability and teaching practices.

In the investigation process I got to know how people's stories are structured and how they work. Moreover, the narratives that I dealt with helped me as a researcher to describe, understand and explain important aspects of the world (Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou, 2013). I learnt, for example, that curriculum reform has good intentions from the policymakers but they but end up bringing

negative outcomes to teachers like increased workload, increased accountability demands, time constraints, change fatigue, and deprofessionalisation of teaching. Narratives are an essential means of making sense by humans as there is an important link between humans and the stories they tell (Squire & Andrews, 2013).This means that people relate stories that are linked to their lives and as such they cannot be separated from the stories that they tell. The stories that were told offered me an opportunity to gain insight into the lived realities of specific teachers.

There are different kinds of narrative approaches to research like oral histories, life histories, collections of personal artefacts, biographies, stories and autobiographies. The kind of narrative research that is applied in this investigation is the life-story approach. The life-story approach was chosen because it gives 'a distinctive lens for exploring restructuring and welfare reform' in order to understand 'how their lives and knowledge have changed over the years' (Goodson, as cited in Norrie & Goodson, 2011, p. 13). This approach links well with the interpretivist paradigm because its key feature is understanding through the processes of interpretation of the information that is available, and this is the route that I followed in carrying out the research. The life history narrative approach has the additional advantage of giving a detailed description of teachers' lives so that there is a better understanding of social change (Rahamah, Bakar, & Abdullah, 2008). Moreover, the life history approach yields a wealth of data because very often, open-ended questions with little directives, are used by researchers to get depth and detailed information. The research is based on personal narratives that are experience-centred where several teachers were interviewed about the same phenomenon of curriculum change that they have gone through. For the purposes of the study "narrative approach" refers to the life history approach that I chose for the current investigation and it excludes the other types of narrative approaches that are used in qualitative research.

The research has four selected teachers' life stories told to get an understanding of what curriculum change does to people who experience it from the inside. Although there were four teachers' stories that were narrated, I made cross references to the other teachers' stories. There are forty-eight whose stories were

not selected for narration, except for the cross referencing. One outstanding feature of this approach is that it aims at describing and explaining the life stories of a few people rather than to make generalisations of a wider population (Goodley, Lawthom, Clough, & Moore, 2004). Curriculum policy changes have not considered what impact those changes have had on rural teachers and I hoped to get answers to this problem through the current research project.

The narrative approach deepened my perspective of what it has been like for the teachers in rural contexts to work under such curriculum changes. The narrative approach uses the words of individuals to focus on the lives of individuals as told through their stories. Stated differently, a narrative design is a qualitative study that is used when a researcher wishes to 'describe the lives of individuals, collect and tell stories about these individuals' lives and write narratives about their experiences' (Creswell 2012). Narrative inquiry 'is a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus' (Preissle, 2001), it is therefore a way of understanding people's experience. The narrative inquiry acknowledges that life is made up of pieces of narratives that are 'enacted in storied moments of time and place, and reflected upon and understood in terms of narrative unities and discontinuities' (Preissle, 2001). It takes the assumption that the best way of understanding a person's life world is to understand it from his or her own perspective (Fouché & Schurink, 2011).

Holstein and Gubrium (2002), taking it further, confirm the centrality of the narrative approach and argue that it would be difficult to share people's personal experiences using a different approach. 'Understanding teaching requires that we pay attention to teachers both as individuals and as a group, listening to their voices and the stories they tell us about their work and work lives' (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007, p. 359). The use of the narrative approach also helps the researcher to understand teachers' lives within the context of where they teach.

The life stories that participants tell in narrative studies inform researchers about how things have been, how they have changed over the years and how these changes have affected their lives (Patton & Cochran, 2007). The narrative

approach has recently become a popular approach in studying teachers and learners in their educational settings and it aligned well with the present study because it was about studying rural teachers in rural settings (Creswell, 2012). The approach requires, *inter alia*, that there should be trust and openness in the researcher-participant relationship, sincere collaboration between the researcher and the participant, both the researcher and the participant's voices should be heard but the storyteller must have a full voice, and tolerance of ambiguity (Cortez, 2010). When applying this approach a researcher is expected to move forward and back in time in a quest to understand other people's lives and in the case of this investigation, I went through the collected data in this manner to come with answers about teachers' working lives (Clandinin & Connely, 2000, p. 50).

Swinton & Mowat (2006) assert that the telling of stories, their accurate recording, transcription and analysis produces legitimate, rigorous and valid form of knowledge that informs us about the world. The narrative process was comprised of the following procedure: interviewing of fifty-two teachers who were willing to share their stories from twenty-seven research sites (schools); selection of four teachers' stories; interviewing them three times more; observing them as they carried out their duties of teaching in their natural settings; and analysing their stories[28]. Apart from being ready to share their stories, these individuals have been in teaching for a period of twenty years or more. The telling of stories is a two-way process between the one who tells the story and the intended audience, but as tellers tell their stories about their lives they are revealing their identities that they want the recipients to know (Riessman, 2003). While I interviewed the research participants and recorded the interview sessions, I was forming initial impressions about their lives because through those interviews I was getting inside their lives.

The research participants' stories are re-presented in such a way that the original sense of the participant's integrity and humanity are preserved through the use of the actual words spoken (Cortez, 2010). Additionally, the re-presented stories give

[28] The procedures followed in scaling down the number from fifty-two to four are explained in detail in paragraph 3.2.1 below.

information about the values, belief and experiences of the rural teachers and how they interpreted the curriculum reforms that have been part of their working lives in the past twenty years.

3.2.3 Interpretivist paradigm

A paradigm is a set of beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality which deal with the nature of reality and the relationship between what is known and unknown using particular methods of seeking answers to research questions (Neuman, 2011; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). Barker, as cited in De Vos, Fouché, & Delport (2011, 513), defines paradigm as a viewpoint or worldview that's based on people's philosophies and theories of the social world. Interpretivism is a perspective that is mostly used in qualitative research and it therefore 'an established, elaborated and adapted research paradigm for this type of research' (Goldkuhl, 2012, p. 136).

In interpretivism people's interpretations and understanding of social phenomena and thus, their interpretations, allow for different perspectives as they are seen through the lens of the people under investigation (Matthews & Ross, 2010). An important epistemological assumption of the interpretive paradigm is constructivism which assumes that the knowledge and truth that human beings perceive are constructed by individuals and their communities (Swinton & Mowat, 2006). Constructivism is grounded in the idea that reality is a product of one's own creation, in other words, everyone's perspective is filtered through their world of experiences and personal belief systems (Cortez, 2010).

Qualitative research is based on the study of phenomena in their natural settings, attempting to make sense or interpret them in terms of the meaning people attribute to them (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). The interpretivist paradigm is based on the following assumptions: human life can only be understood from within; social life is a distinctively human product; the human mind is the purposive source of meaning and the social world does not 'exist' independently of human knowledge (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). Although the paradigm assumes that life can only be understood from within (total immersion in a setting) it does, however,

support use of interview methods that explore people's individual and collective understanding of social contexts and processes (Mason, 2002). Thus, interviews are one of the methods that can be used to gain access to the people who are within those settings to understand them better. The interpretive design resists the use of an external form because a person must be understood from within and anything that comes from outside is seen as the viewpoint of the observer rather than the person directly involved (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). Figure 3.3 is a representation of the interpretive paradigm.

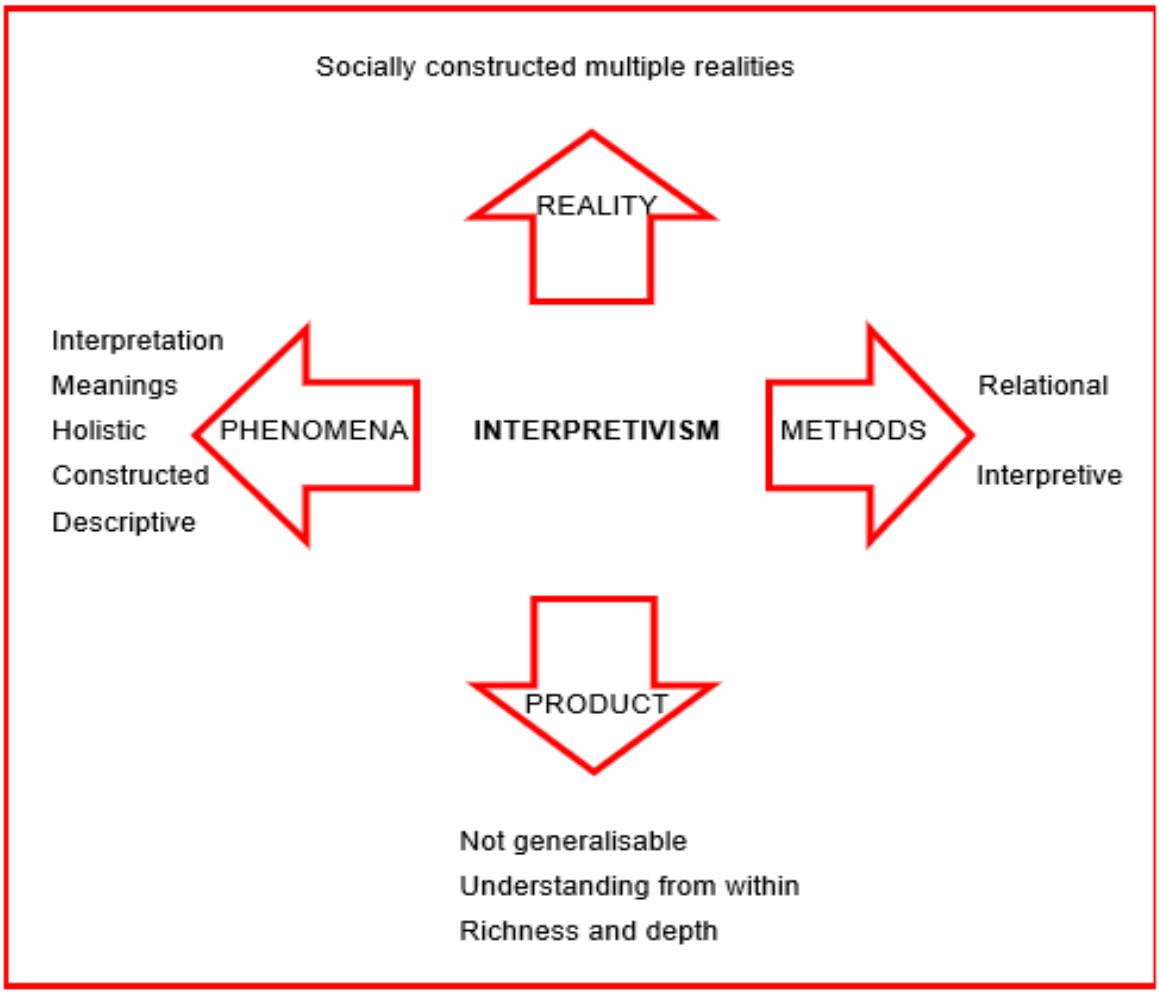


Figure 3.1 Representation of interpretivism (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b, p. 61)

Interpretive research aims at understanding how members of a social group endorse their participation in social processes and how they give meaning to their

beliefs, intentions and actions (Goldkuhl, 2012). Interpretivists prefer to interact and to have dialogue with the participants under investigation in order to understand the social world from the subjective people attach to it (Wahyuni, 2012). In other words, the paradigm is holistic in nature and seeks to understand how people understand and attach meaning to daily life (Fouché & Delport, 2011). Goldkuhl (2012) further contends that in interpretive research both the research participants and researchers are interpreters and co-producers of meaningful data this implies that data generation is therefore a process of socially constructed meanings by researchers and participants.

3.2.4 Interviews

Data collection in this inquiry was done through qualitative interviews (the concepts 'qualitative interviews' and 'interviews' are used interchangeably in this inquiry). A qualitative interview occurs when a researcher asks one or more participants general, open-ended questions and records their answers (Creswell, 2012). In an interview the researcher gets into direct contact with the interviewees and asks them questions relating to the research problem. In other words, an interview gives the interviewer an understanding of meanings that interviewees attach to the issues or situations that are under investigation.

Qualitative interviews may take many forms like the focus group interview, one-on-one interview, telephone interview, and e-mail interviews (Creswell, 2012). The one-on-one interview was employed in this research because the investigation used the narrative/life story approach in understanding the world of meaning from the insiders' perspective and the one-on-one interview was well suited for it. Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2007) contend that an interview is not only concerned with collecting data about life, but it is part of life itself because of its 'human embeddedness'. In taking part in the interview process the research participants who share information of their life experiences with researchers are actively involved in the creation of new knowledge (Holstein & Gubrium, 2002). The interviewees' responses were recorded exactly as given and I made no attempt to summarise, paraphrase or correct bad grammar (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Neuman (2011) describes a life story interview as a special type of interview which aims at getting information about a particular individual's life and has the following advantages: it assists the participant in reconstructing his life memories; it adds new qualitative data to the life cycle and development of the self; and it gives the interviewer the opportunity to have an in-depth look in another person's life. I used semi-structured life-story interviews, also known as non-standardised qualitative interview, where the participants were asked a set of predetermined question in one-on-one settings. This interview was done with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the participants in relation with their interpretation of the meaning of the phenomenon under discussion (Sage Research Methods, 2011b). Semi-structured interviews are a versatile way of collecting data because they allow the researcher to adapt the formulation of the questions to suit the background and level of the respondents (Welman *et al.,* 2005).

I employed an interview guide that had an outline of the topic and questions that I would ask the interviewees (Sage Research Methods, 2011a). I developed the interview guide in order to ask participants questions that would help me to get the answers of the research questions (see Annexure E). The questions centred around the nature of their work in times of curriculum change and how these had impacted on their working lives. On the day of the interview, before the commencement of the interview, I briefed the participant on the purpose of the interview, the use of the voice recorder during the interview and all the other aspects that related to the interview. I interviewed teachers about their work experiences under curriculum changes and how they have adapted to curriculum change. The four teachers that were selected out of the original fifty-two were interviewed three times in order to get clear life-stories to be written down as narratives about curriculum change. The teachers shared the stories of their experiences of curriculum change in the past two decades in one-on-one interview sessions on agreed upon dates between the researcher and the respondents. The dates and venue of the interviews were determined by the respondents' availability. The interview sessions were captured by means of a voice recorder. During the interviews I asked questions from the interview schedule and gave the respondents time to answer them with no interjection. After each interview session the collected data from the voice recorder were listened to attentively and

transcribed verbatim. In the initial phase of my analysis I listened to the voice recorder actively several times to check the accuracy of the transcription and to start reflecting on what the participants were trying to tell me (McCormack, 2004).

I also checked if the participant had any questions to ask me before we began with the interview. Each interview session was followed by a debriefing session about the interview. During the debriefing session I asked the participants how they felt about the interview questions that were asked so that I could improve them for the participants that were to follow. In a multilingual country like South Africa it is important that respondents are interviewed in the language that they are comfortable in (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). South Africa has eleven official languages and chances are that speakers of any of the languages may be found in any part of the country because the land is only divided into nine provinces that do not have language barriers.

I conducted this research in schools where the language of teaching and learning (LOLT) is English and all the respondents are teachers. I asked all questions in English and I allowed them to answer in the language of their choice. I gave respondents the latitude to request me to translate the questions into their home language if they want it that way. The object of this exercise was to get maximum information without any language barriers so that the results of the investigation are authentic, trustworthy and valid.

3.2.5 Participant observation

Interviewing the research participants was one of the two ways that were used in collecting data for this inquiry. The other way that was used was participant observation. In order to carry out a successful observation I had to pay attention, watch and listen attentively while carrying out the observation process as I became an instrument that absorbed all sources of information (Neuman, 2011). An observation looks straightforward but it is a data gathering technique that I had to apply in a scientific way to ensure that it yielded the expected results (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee, 2006).

I chose the data collection technique to develop a clear idea of what happened to the teacher's working lives as they moved from one curriculum to the next. The data collected in this way assisted me to explain teachers' behaviour based on what I observed (Welman *et al.*, 2005). Observation of the selected teachers gave me the opportunity to familiarise with the subject under investigation; it brought aspects that I had not seen before to the fore; and because of its unobtrusive ways it allowed teachers' actions to speak louder than their words (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

In other words, observation offered me the opportunity to gather data from school contexts as they occurred without necessarily having to rely on second-hand information (Cohen *et al.*, 2011). I applied the simple observation approach in this inquiry where I used an observation protocol (see Annexure G) to record information during the observation of the four teachers whose stories were selected for narration (Bless *et al*., 2006).

Each of the four teachers was observed for a period of two weeks as they carried out their teaching activities. The observation protocol was used for the description of activities in the classroom setting where I observed the teachers in action. I further used the observation protocol to jot down insights of what I noted during the observations (Creswell, 2012). In cases where a need arose that I should extend the observation of the teacher, I did so to gather in-depth understanding of that teacher.

3.2.6 Triangulation

In this project I chose to use more than one way of collecting data to increase the validity and trustworthiness of my data and to help cross-check the data I had collected (Matthews & Ross, 2010). The use of more than one method of data collection is known as triangulation. Moreover, in the present study I used a combination of the interview and participant observation approaches so that the two could to complement each other's strengths and weaknesses (Atkinson &

Coffey, 2003). I used triangulation to find different perspectives from the research participants.

3.2.7 Sampling

The quality of a research project rests or falls with the suitability of the sampling technique used. Sampling in qualitative research, unlike in quantitative research, is not about the representativeness of the sample but about how well it can deepen and clarify understanding (Neuman, 2011), in other words, the relevance of a case to the research topic rather than representativeness determines the way in which the research participants are selected. Sampling in qualitative research generally tends to be purposive rather than random (Miles *et al.*, 2014). I used purposive sampling to select research participants from twenty-seven schools in Ximhungwe Circuit.

Ximhungwe Circuit, Bohlabela District in Mpumalanga Province, has twenty-seven schools and all of them formed part of the sampling frame of this research. Essentially, this means that all teachers who had been in teaching for twenty years or more were part of the research population. Fifty-two teachers were to be interviewed and the chances of finding fifty-two teachers that had the required teaching experience in few schools were limited, hence the inclusion of all schools in the circuit. Purposive sampling is a form of a non-probability sampling where some members of the population are definitely bound to selected and some are not, that is, members of the population do not have an equal opportunity of being selected hence the use of concepts like ‘information rich’ and ‘hand-picks’.

Purposive sampling is used in qualitative research with the intention of selecting participants that are ‘information rich’. In purposive sampling the researcher hand-picks the cases that are to be included in his sample based on his judgement of their suitability (Cohen et al., 2011). In qualitative research the sample sizes are generally smaller than samples for quantitative research. The sample size for this investigation was determined by the need to find teachers who had the teaching experience of twenty years or more.

The research population was made up of fifty-two teachers who have been in the teaching career for the past two decades and had been teaching in rural schools until the latest curriculum reform (CAPS) was implemented. The reason for choosing this unit of analysis is the fact that these teachers had experienced a substantial number of curriculum reforms from the apartheid curriculum to the latest curriculum, CAPS, and they were likely to be knowledgeable about the phenomenon of curriculum reform, its implications and what it meant to implement new curricula in quick succession.

These teachers were drawn from twenty-seven schools at Ximhungwe Circuit, Bohlabela District, Mpumalanga Province. Bohlabela District is rural area that is well suited for an investigation of this nature. Moreover, the district was chosen because the researcher knows it very well. The circuit was chosen because it has schools that have high enrolments and may likely have many teachers with the required twenty-year experience. The chosen research participants are unlikely to know the researcher because of the vastness of the district.

Fifty-two teachers that had been in the teaching field for the past twenty years and had 'lived' several curriculum reforms were selected purposively and interviewed. This means that participants were selected because they had a defining characteristic that made them to be holders of the data that were needed for the study (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). After interviewing each of the fifty-two participants I transcribed the interviews to computer files. I listened to these transcripts several times to identify the stories that best described the impact of curriculum changes on the rural teachers. The data that were collected from the interviews were processed and analysed with the intention of finding themes that best described how curriculum four cases that would enhance what I wished to learn about the impact of curriculum change on rural teachers' working lives.

I moved back and forth through the data to reduce the stories to be re-presented from fifty-two to four. The transcripts with stories that were told in a general instead of a specific way were set aside. In other words, the stories that did not provide a detailed account of the impact of the curriculum change on their working lives were eliminated. The elimination process was continued with until I remained with the

four stories that were re-presented in the project. I remained with the stories that, in my opinion, best described the impact of the change on rural teachers' working lives. The four teachers who were finally chosen for observation and further interviewing had stories that were unique in terms of the stories they told. These teachers' teaching practices were observed in the classroom as they carried out their teaching activities. The results of the observed attributes are integrated in their stories in Chapters 4,5,6 and 7. The four teachers' life-histories of the impact of curriculum change on their working lives were narrated.

3.2.8 Access to premises

Obtaining permission from research participants and the authorities of all the institutions that are involved in the project before conducting research is a good ethical practice (Creswell, 2012). The success of carrying out a research design is determined by the research site's accessibility to the researcher, establishment and maintenance of relationships with gatekeepers and research participants (Fouché and Schurink, 2011). Gatekeepers are people who have been assigned the task of controlling access to premises either formally or informally and these are people the researcher has to negotiate with before he can be allowed to conduct research at certain research sites (Neuman, 2011, p. 388). The gatekeepers in the present research were school principals.

To research a problem, an investigator needs to get permission to enter a site and involve people at the location of the study (Creswell, 2012, p. 61). Data collection in this investigation was done in schools where the gatekeepers are principals. I wrote letters to the principals to request permission to conduct research in their schools. Letters to this effect were hand delivered to the principals concerned. A sample of these letters is attached to this document as Annexure C.

In qualitative research more access is required from the gatekeepers than in quantitative research because qualitative researchers go to research sites to interview research participants (Creswell, 2012), but they do not necessarily have to do so in quantitative research where data collection tools like questionnaires are

administered. The process of being granted access to a research site should be appreciated, and not taken for granted by researchers because they may lose it or find themselves limited in one way or find himself not welcome anymore (Yin, 2016). Letters of application for permission to conduct research were written to principals of the twenty-seven schools that were involved in the investigation. The letters were hand-delivered to the various school principals.

Permission was granted by the principals of these schools. Another letter was written to the Mpumalanga Department of Education applying for permission to conduct research in the Ximhungwe Circuit. In the Mpumalanga Province permission to do research in schools is granted by the Head of Department (HOD) at provincial level and the granting of such permission is communicated to the District Office by the office of the HOD. Principals and the Department of Education are the gatekeepers in different schools albeit at different levels. Permission was granted by the HOD (see Annexure C) and the principals of the twenty-seven schools.

3.2.9 Data collection and analysis

Data collection is the process of actively constructing knowledge about the world through the use of certain methods or principles (Mason, 2002). Data analysis, on the other hand, is a way of working with collected data in order to address the research questions (Creswell, 2012). Data collection and analysis are processes that go together in qualitative research, but these are two separate processes that are key in any form of research irrespective of the paradigm or approach chosen. As I pointed out earlier, the data gathering techniques of this qualitative research were one-on-one qualitative interviews and participant observation.

Data collection and analysis were done concurrently in order to give me the opportunity to move back and forth between the existing data and generating new strategies for collecting new ones (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014). In qualitative research data analysis tends to be an ongoing and iterative process where data collection, processing and analysis are carried out concurrently

(Nieuwenhuis, 2007a). Stated differently, the data collection and analysis processes become what Cortez (2010) calls a “single harmonious and organic process.” Doing data analysis and data collection concurrently helps the researcher to “cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new, often better, data” (Miles et al., 2014, p. 70). The data analysis procedures that were followed are further explained in Chapter 8.

3.3 Data interpretation and presentation

Qualitative interpretation of data aims at learning how the people that are being studied see the world, how they define it or what it means to them (Neuman, 2011). A brief account of the entire investigation project was given. Next, a summary of results from the analysis of data was made. The results were interpreted, and conclusions drawn from them regarding whether or not the results had answered the research questions. Explanation of any deficiencies encountered in the chosen research methodology was be made. Implications of the study regarding future research and practical applications was also be made.

Data interpretation was the final step in an investigation which sees the researcher trying to establish whether or not the findings have answered the research questions that were asked at the beginning of the project (Creswell, 2014). Detailed writing and thick description of events that have come to be associated with narrative studies were used in the interpretation and presentation phase of the current study (Whiffin, Bailey, Ellis-Hill, & Jarrett, 2014).

When making re-presentation of stories I also elicited the underlying meaning of the data through making references to literature that was based on similar approaches. After making interpretations I displayed the findings of the research in terms of whether or not the findings have answered the research question (Creswell, 2012). It must be reiterated, however, that qualitative data analysis and interpretation are done simultaneously with data collection in ‘an iterative back-and-forth process’ that is characterised by multiple interpretations and further

analyses (Cohen *et al*., 2011, p. 537) and this was the case in the current investigation. In this investigation I dealt with narrative data that came from a substantial number of people from different contexts and backgrounds. The final product of my investigation does, however, cover all the research participants' stories as I focused but only four of the participants' stories were written as narratives.

3.4 Trustworthiness of the research

In qualitative research reliability and validity are conceptualised as 'trustworthiness' and the term is used to provide alterative frameworks for establishing rigour and the truth value of a research project appropriately (Noble & Smith, 2015, p. 1). In the present research trustworthiness was attained through several strategies. Firstly, I tried as far as possible to give a fair, honest and balanced account of the rural teachers' working life stories that were narrated. I achieved this by allowing research experts such as my supervisor and others to view my interpretations of the participants' stories.

Secondly, I used a combination of two methods of data collection strategies, namely, interviews and participant observation. After each observation and interviewing of a teacher I did 'member checking' where I verified with the observed participants if they concurred with my findings about the observation. I also did member checking with the respondents after the transcription of the interviews and re-presentation of their stories that emerged from the interviews I did with them (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c, p. 80). Thirdly, I ensured that the questions that were posed to the respondents were reviewed by my supervisor before I used them in the field to get answers that would provide the required responses to the research questions.

Furthermore, I made rich descriptions of participants and the contexts in which they were found. The descriptions included those of the research population as well as the provision of geographic information about the research sites and their environment. The reliability and validity of a research project indicate its

trustworthiness, in other words, the extent to which its findings reflect the world that it seeks to explore (Fox, 1998). The trustworthiness of a qualitative study depends on the neutrality of its findings (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Schurink, Fouché, & De Vos, 2011), that is, it has to satisfy four criteria in order to be regarded as trustworthy:

The credibility of the realities that are attributed to respondents must be compatible with the constructed realities that exist in the respondents' minds. To ensure that this happened, I read the respondents' transcripts against and compared with the field notes that I had taken during the observation period. What I had observed either confirmed or contradicted these realities that I had constructed about the realities in their minds. The two-week observation of the four respondents, together with the member checking that was done with them after each observation, was meant to verify my understanding of what I had observed (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). This procedure further ensured validity of the research project. Insistent observation and member checking are two strategies that are applied in qualitative research to ensure credibility and these were aptly applied in the investigation (Anney, 2014).Transferability refers to the extent to which research findings can be applied in other contexts or other respondents. The following two strategies were used to improve transferability of the data that I collected (Guba & Lincoln, as cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

- Thick description: In qualitative research the provision of a detailed and rich analysis of the social contexts within which the phenomenon under discussion occurs is crucial. I tried as much as possible to give accurate descriptions of the lived experiences of the rural teachers' working lives in the context of curriculum change, they had shared with me. I also gave a sufficiently detailed account of the stories that I collected to allow the readers of the research project to make their own judgements about their transferability to other contexts.
- To increase the conformability of the current investigation, in other words, to make sure that the final product is an accurate representation of the research project, and not my biases, I increased my objectivity in the data collection and analysis phase by allowing the data to "speak for

themselves" instead of speaking for them (Schurink et al., 2011, p. 421). As indicated in paragraph 3.3 the interview recordings were transcribed verbatim after the interviews and this was done to increase the objectivity in the process. When coding the data, I further increased the objectivity by allowing myself to understand the deep meaning of what was said by the respondents through their transcripts rather than trying to force the data to conform to personal values that I might have had in mind to influence the interpretation. In other words, when dealing with the data I affirmed meaning that was grounded in the evidence that came from the research subjects' statements.

3.5 Ethical aspects

Ethics refers to a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or group, which offers rules and behavioural expectations about subjects, respondents, employers, sponsors, students and other researchers (Strydom, 2011). When one deals with ethics one has to remember that ethics are concerned with right and wrong, good and bad, and mostly how an investigation's contents, methods, reporting and outcomes adhere to the ethical principles that are there (Cohen et al., 2007). Good ethical practices are important when conducting research and these should be applied throughout the research process (Creswell, 2012).

Anyone involved in social science research needs to be aware of the general agreements shared by researchers about what is proper and improper in the conduct of scientific inquiry (Babbie, 2011). The following is a list of some of the ethical aspects that I considered when conducting the research:

3.5.1 Voluntary participation

I got into the research participants' lives while conducting this research. This required that they reveal information about themselves or their activities, that is, information that may be unknown to other people. Secondly, I disclosed all information about the research project to the potential research participants. I let them know in writing that their participation in the project was purely of a voluntary nature as no one should be forced to take part in a research project. This means that they participated in the investigation as long as they felt free to do so. The participants had the freedom to withdraw their participation at any time they felt like doing so with no penalty. All the participants that were part of this investigation participated voluntarily and they signed a letter to this effect. A copy of the letter is attached as Annexure D to this thesis.

3.5.2 No harm to participants

Research ethics emphasise the humane and sensitive treatment of research participants and the researcher should ensure at all times that it is ethically conducted (Bless *et al.*, 2006). A scientific inquiry must, therefore, be conducted in such a way that there is no harm that is brought to the research participants. It was my responsibility to protect the participants within all possible limits from any form of physical or emotional harm and I informed them about the potential impact of the investigation (Strydom, 2011, p. 115). I assured the participants that I would not reveal information that could possibly embarrass or endanger them (Babbie & Mouton, 2001), and consequently I tried to be tactically protective in all sensitive areas of the investigation.

To ensure that the research participants were not harmed either physically or emotionally, I sent the research questions that would be used in the interviews to experts to review them before applying them. Moreover, I made sure that the environments in which the interviews were conducted were always safe to avoid

any possibility of harm to the participants. There was no harm experienced by any of the research participants from the beginning to the end of the investigation.

3.5.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality: confidentiality is an extension of privacy where there are agreements between persons that limit others access to private information (Strydom, 2011). Anonymity refers to a situation where a participant's response cannot be identified by the researcher (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Strydom, 2011) and this means that an interview respondent cannot be regarded as anonymous because responses are collected directly from respondents. I did not disclose the names of those who have took part in the research and I did not report what they said in ways that could identify them or cause statements they said to be linked to them.

The participants' confidentiality was maintained and pseudonyms employed so that the stories remained confidential to the original tellers (Goodley *et al.*, 2004). The data collected through interviews and observation were not made anonymous, but the names of the respondents and their schools were removed from the data and substituted with code names. A master identification file was created in order to create links between names and pseudonyms to allow for later correction of missing or contradictory information (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

3.5.4 Informed consent

The principle of informed consent originates from the fact that participants have rights to freedom and this freedom must not be unduly limited without justification or consent in research (Cohen *et al*., 2007). Information regarding the goal of the research project; expected duration of the participants' involvement; procedures that would be followed in the investigation; possible advantages or disadvantages; and potential dangers that the participants could be exposed to were given when I

solicited informed consent from the research subjects (Strydom, 2011). This was included in the letters that I wrote to the potential research participants requesting them to take part in the investigation. A sample of the letter is attached to this report as an annexure.

3.5.5 Ethics clearance

Ethics clearance was applied for from the University of Pretoria Faculty of Education's Research Ethics Committee before the research commenced. The process involved informing the Committee about all the steps and procedures that were going to be followed in conducting this research starting from choosing the research participants until presentation of the results. An ethics clearance is one way in which an institution that allows a research project to be undertaken ensures that the inquiry is carried out through acceptable means that neither bring harm to participants nor the institution into disrepute. The clearance certificate attached to the introductory section of this research report.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter the research design, research methodology and research approaches that were used in the investigation were explained. The research design of the investigation was presented to serve as a roadmap towards answering the research question that had been asked. The procedures followed, starting from the research approach (qualitative) moving to the interpretive paradigm, the narrative approach, sampling, the interviews, up to the analysis of data and presentation of the findings were explained in detail. I discussed these approaches and procedures, the reason for choosing them and how they are relevant to the current study.

The qualitative research approach that was the main method of the study aligned well with stories which I was primarily concerned with in the investigation using the

narrative approach. It also accommodates subjectivity in people's understanding of the social world and the research participants' in this project use words in their narratives in explaining their experiences of curriculum change in their teaching careers. Finally, the ethical considerations that form the central part of any research were presented. The following four chapters deal with analysis of the data that were collected during interviews with the respondents and through observation of the respondents as they carried out their regular daily teaching activities. These comprise of narratives of working lives' stories of the four selected rural teachers as I re-presented them. Each of the chapters is an analysis of one teacher's working life story based on a particular theme that is linked with the themes that were originally identified in the literature review.

4 CHAPTER FOUR

DAVID'S STORY ABOUT DEPROFESSIONALISATION

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Four is the first of four chapters that analyse teachers' stories and give re-presented accounts of these stories. In the Chapter One use David's narrative to illustrate how curriculum changes have deprofessionalised teaching through five sub-themes: professionalisation and deprofessionalisation, inadequate capacity building, exotic curricula as a mitigating factor for deprofessionalisation of teaching, compliance and politicised mandated curricular changes, and out-of-field teaching and curriculum borrowing.

The teaching profession is constantly subjected to situations where teachers' professional activities are reduced to carrying out tasks that do not enhance their professionalism. Teaching is deprofessionalised when it limits teachers from planning the content of the curricula that they teach. Under such circumstances teachers are not afforded the opportunity to use their professional judgement in the classroom situation. Stated differently, deprofessionalisation of teaching occurs when there is growing lack of autonomy in what teachers do as they are increasingly expected to carry out tasks that are initiated by others in the teaching-learning situation. Deprofessionalisation of teaching therefore tends to undermine teachers' professionalism in teaching contexts.

In the present narrative an account of what David shared about his experiences in teaching amidst curriculum reforms in South Africa is given. Most of the time David's story is not dissimilar the working-life stories of the other rural teachers that were involved in this research project. The following extract serves as an introduction to David's long and winding working-life story of deprofessionalised teaching where he laments about reduced autonomy in their pedagogical practices:

Teaching is a very good profession, good in the sense that most old and young people look at us teachers as people who carry the light and show the way. I see teaching as a platform that can change the whole society if properly used. All professions depend on teaching, doctors, lawyers, nurses, policemen and everyone in the society. Teachers influenced the lives of these professionals.

Teaching is one sector that as a teacher you can be proud of. If we can develop special passion, develop special love [for teaching] then we can take the whole society to a level where we can be proud one day. Unfortunately, the profession is riddled with acts of autocracy on the part of the education authorities where they interfere with what we do in the classroom without consulting us. If I must implement a new curriculum in the classroom, I deserve to know in advance about the kind of change that about to take place and I must be trained thoroughly for its implementation. I also would not mind being taken on board in designing the changes.

In the prologue to his story, David paints a beautiful picture of the teaching profession which is pretty much part and parcel of his life. David believes that teaching is an important tool that can be used to benefit the society. The beautiful picture is however tainted by the issues that David raises about changes that teachers must carry out in the teaching arena that deprofessionalise their profession. David bemoans interference in the teaching-learning situation by the authorities. He goes to indicate his willingness to partake in planning those changes. He speaks about autocratic tendencies that are applied by the authorities when it comes to bringing curriculum change.

David is a neat and tidy teacher who has always been willing to share his story in teaching as it weaved throughout his career that has already spanned 26 years. He tells me he has always been a smart dresser. He is a Head of Department of a rural primary school. He entered the education system in 1992 as a young, enthusiastic and energetic teacher. My observation of his teaching reveals that he does not possess the energy that he might have had earlier in his teaching career and what he told me in the three interviews I had with him confirms my opinion. On two

occasions he was late for his Grade 7 English classes: *Many teaches continued to leave the system; all this confusion made teachers to lose interest in teaching because they were frustrated in the classroom. Learners were no longer participating properly in the classroom. I also lost interest.* He was trained to teach English First Additional Language (EFAL) and History but he teaches EFAL, Social Sciences (SS) and Economic and Management Sciences (EMS). During the period of my observation he seemed to enjoy teaching EFAL and the History part of Social Sciences, but he had challenges with the map section (Geography) of SS. He also struggled with some calculations and concepts in EMS and as result he requested one teacher to teach one lesson for him. David finds himself in the position where he teaches out-of-the-field in SS and EMS because of curriculum change and this deprofessionalises his teaching.

> *I started working in 1992. It was before the ushering of the Mandela era, the new dispensation, the democratic era… I was fully loaded but the setting was so very difficult to me to release all the things that I had. That is the challenge that I still recollect very well in my first year of teaching, the difficulty that I encountered was around that. I could not teach the way I had been trained to teach because the time allocated for me in the classroom did not allow to deliver all the content that I had to give to the learners. I practised my teaching in an environment that suppressed my professionalism.*

David started teaching during the time of Bantu Education which was teacher-centred and was characterised by inequalities and inadequacy (Mbingo, 2006).This is a teacher who had pinned all hopes in an education system that was to deliver positive results after years of being taught and trained in the infamous racially-biased education system but the material conditions on the ground dictated otherwise. The era he refers to in the quote was an era of hope for every South African, young and old, black or white, the era of the rainbow nation. He is a teacher who had dreams of a better future in the country's education system and he was ready to give it all in teaching fellow countrymen's children but the deprofessionalising teaching contexts did not allow him to do so.

He laments that his teaching context did not allow him to deliver the content that he was prepared to deliver in the classroom due to the incongruency of the time allocated on the timetable with the content he had planned to teach. David experienced deprofessionalisation of his teaching long before the era of pre-packaged era and scripted lessons. His is a story of a young teacher who had the energy to teach and lead young children to a future with many possibilities

At one stage David wanted to become a psychologist but he opted to "*study for a Postgraduate Diploma in HIV & AIDS Counselling, so I abandoned the former in favour of the latter".* Right from the beginning his career he encountered a teaching-learning context that stifled his professionalisation and expected him to teach in a way that did not align with the way he was taught at the teacher training college he came from. He contends that this stifling somewhat deprofessionalised his teaching situation.

4.2 David's teaching context

> *It is very strenuous because we deal with diverse learners that come from different backgrounds, it is very difficult in the classroom. The government does not take good care of schools that are in rural areas, that is my observation. Schools that are in urban areas are given preference over to rural schools. Most rural areas have the problem of roads and officials are reluctant to visit schools that are in these areas. Schools that are in rural areas are overcrowded, there is no proper infrastructure. I am expected to handle 80 learners that are packed in one classroom, it is difficult. There are many other things that I am expected to do but it is not easy to put them into practice. I cannot practice the principle of individualism in this kind of situation if I may give an example. Another experience with rural schools is that the parent component is illiterate. When you give learners some work to do, they don't receive adequate support from parents.*

David, like most of the other participants in the investigation, speaks out about overcrowding in rural schools. This problem makes teaching difficult because there

are some ways of teaching that cannot be applied by a teacher under conditions like these. He speaks about lack of service visits in schools on the part of the DBE because of the challenge of the inaccessibility of the schools due to the roads that are in a bad condition. David gives the example of devoting attention to individual learners that is almost impossible to apply in overcrowded environments. Overcrowded classrooms of more than 80 learners per class are very difficult to teach, let alone attempting to do group teaching. Consequently, the rural context in which David teaches deprofessionalises his teaching practices as it constrains the way he does things in the classroom. Another example that David gives that adds to the work intensity that he already has in the rural setup is the lack of adequate support from parents due to the illiteracy that is brought about by rurality. Rurality and deprivation are key contextual factors that seriously deprofessionalise David's teaching context.

4.3 Deprofessionalisation of teaching

> *In 22 years, we have had more than five curriculum changes. The curricula were changed in a very short space of time. The curricula were changed even before teachers could adapt to them… that was so deprofessionalising. I think I should give an example about this deprofessionalising act to teachers. Teachers don't seem to know exactly what to do during these curriculum changes.*

David laments about the deprofessionalisation that was brought by the unprecedented series of curriculum changes that have taken place since he started teaching. He expresses how these quick successive changes which had no clear rationale frustrated and brought uncertainty to rural teachers. Teachers are professionals who have been trained for many years to teach learners in the classroom but when teaching is deprofessionalised they find themselves in a situation where they do not know what to do. David also brings to the fore the fact that teachers are not given enough time to learn the techniques of how to deliver their planned content effectively in the classroom because of the constant chopping and changing of the curriculum (Grunder, 2016). He therefore gives an impression

that teachers would be more professionalised if they were given more time to implement curricula than the limited time they currently receive in the education system.

> *Even the way the policymakers introduced the curricular changes was not professional. Teachers were not consulted. If teachers were consulted, they would have preferred that these changes be modelled according to regions or districts i.e. each district would have given its voice in the changes that were to be made.*

David further argues the issue of professionalism in the preceding extract which he couples with consultation. He indicates that education officials do not bother about consulting teachers who are the practising professionals in school when they introduce new curricula for schools to implement. Their status dictates that they should be consulted when innovations are planned or when they are being brought to schools. The current way of approaching curriculum change confirms the teachers-as-technician notion that policymakers see teachers as technicians who are in the teaching profession to implement other people's initiatives. Teachers contend that they are given no voice when curricular changes are made in schools. David reiterates this fact when he mentions that they were not consulted when new curricula were introduced. He also suggests a model that he thinks should be used by authorities to broaden the consultation process that he complains about.

> *I am not sure of what I am doing now because each and every day I am piled with new things. When I am getting used to something* [a new curriculum] *and I am in the process of mastering it, something new is introduced, and I have to change completely and go to the new curriculum. This has caused a lot of problems really. I am really stressed, that is why I am now thinking that one needs to go elsewhere, maybe there is order…maybe there are proper programmes…maybe there are people with passion, people who…maybe I should go elsewhere* [quit teaching] *and go to a place where the setting will be different from the one I am in. Interest is no longer there…interest is no longer there, really.*

David is a professional teacher who should be afforded the autonomy to make independent choices on how to carry out teaching in the classroom, but he is short-changed by policymakers' deprofessionalising ways of doing things as he explains in the foregoing extract. David has been responding positively to the departmental initiatives that have been going on for some years already, but his uneasiness is brought about by the deprofessionalising fact that every time he gets used to the curriculum mandate, the DBE introduces a new curriculum that he must deal with. He is therefore thrown into a state of confusion where he loses his way not knowing whether he is coming or going.

David's coping mechanism is put to test through these deprofessionalising manoeuvres from the DBE and they make him reconsider his position as a teacher. Leaving the teaching profession becomes a viable option to him under deprofessionalisation. Deprofessionalisation has therefore pushed David to the edge but it appears as if his love for children keeps him there.

4.3.1 Professionalisation & deprofessionalisation

> *The changes have failed to make me a good professional teacher. I don't think I am alone in this. I think the changes never succeeded in turning teachers into professionals, they only succeeded in making teachers to be more confused. If I can show you my files, they are in order and I think that is what the policymakers expected me to do. The changes managed to take teachers out of the classroom and do things that they were never employed to do. Things like tracking are more disposed towards excessive paperwork than anything.*
>
> *A teacher must make sure that his records are okay, the dates are correct and so on. What does that have to do with the learner? I want to teach the learner how to read and write. If all the changes that have been brought by the policymakers, including the massive paperwork could make learners to read and write, today results would be good; today South Africa would have low crime rate statistics. But these changes, unfortunately, make both the*

learner and the teacher to be demotivated and there are all sorts of problems. The changes have failed to professionalise teaching… they have failed.

David's narrative indicates that professionalisation has not been applied at his workstation in his 22-year journey of teaching. Professionalisation has to do with the approaches that are applied in an occupation in order to give it a professional character which allows for self-control and autonomy that subsequently lead to motivation (Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012). David's narrative does not demonstrate evidence of professionalisation in his teaching career. Teachers are deprofessionalised by policymakers' decision to toss and turn teachers in all sorts of directions through curriculum reforms as David's narrative shows. The situation gets even more deprofessionalising when teachers are expected to do administrative tasks.

Professionalism is therefore about the quality of practice and the enhancement of the quality of service in what one does. Teachers' professionalism should, *inter alia*, embrace elements that exemplify that teachers are experts in their field of specialisation, they are key in making central decisions in their area of expertise and that they can be entrusted with the responsibility to make decisions on teaching. They should not be seen as tokens that await to be moved and tossed about like pawns in a game of chess, they are there to make a mark in the teaching fraternity. It follows that teachers should have interest in aspects that define the nature and content of their work like David.

What David wants in his teaching career is the opportunity to do what he does best which is teaching. But this is negatively affected by his teaching context that upholds deprofessionalisation over his professionalisation through creating a climate of distrust on teachers. This change has not in any way taken teaching near professionalisation as the story of David shows. If anything, it has managed to distance the profession further from it. David hits hard at the education system's failure to protect him and other teachers from the problem of deprofessionalisation.

I don't think that I ever coped with any curriculum because there is no curriculum that lasted for more than four or five years. When I tried to adapt

a new curriculum was introduced. When you look at what happened to OBE, OBE was new but there was a lot of noise, it lasted for something like ten years, but nobody can say they had an opportunity to focus properly on it. I don't remember the other curricula lasting for five years. They were only there for about three years and after those three years there was a lot of noise that this curriculum was not good. This brought about problems because instead of looking for ways to make the particular system to work, people were looking for ways to destroy it.

David reveals the harsh reality about the duration of the curricula that were introduced in South Africa which were short-lived in most of the cases. The short duration of the curricula, except for OBE, probably tells that the authorities were using a trial-and-error approach that seriously deprofesionalised teachers' working lives. Curricula should last for many years in order to allow for training of teachers in teaching the new curriculum and to allow them to run in all the school phases, but this did not happen as David indicates. Additionally, he reveals a general characteristic of the recent curriculum reforms in South Africa, they were rushed as the policymakers expected teachers to implement them rapidly.

David expresses the frustration he went through when the DBE made back-to-back changes in the education system. Stated differently, these curricular changes which gave teachers no respite were rushed and caught teachers off-guard because while they were still trying to come to terms with delivering new content in their classrooms a different content was introduced. Such introductions of new curricula were also disorderly and contentious, and made it difficult for teachers to teach in the classroom (Chisholm & Chilisa, 2012). Undoubtedly, teachers cannot become true professionals if they are expected to work under such conditions that do not promote the wellbeing of their professionalism.

A study that was conducted on the quality of education in South Africa found that teachers have not become skilled in the curricula that they are supposed to teach, that is, teachers cannot teach what they are expected to teach (Spaull, 2013). David concurs with this finding in the extract. This also confirms that rushed curriculum reforms that aim at attaining quick outcomes have a negative ripple effect on the

teaching profession they intend to assist. David emphasises the point that any form of curriculum reform that is to be effected should give teachers enough time to be trained in the new initiative.

Teachers should therefore be trained long enough in any new curriculum so that they are well grounded in what they must teach learners in the classroom. David also exposes the fact that new curricula, although they have come to be expected, are not always accepted by teachers more especially when they see them as deprofessionalising their teaching. He points out that in some cases teachers looked for ways of making the new curricula fail instead of supporting them.

> *Teachers are now expected to deliver curriculum content at a predetermined pace by Annual Teaching Plans and CAPS policy documents without considering learners previous knowledge. Teachers' are not given the latitude to assess the learners' prior knowledge but theirs is to follow these documents as prescribed. All the new curricula and the way they are being introduced have deprofessionalised teaching to a point that it has become less attractive to new and old teachers. CAPS and the way it is designed only suits the few learners that I spoke about and those are the only ones that pass Grade 12. Most of the learners are not catered for. CAPS and the NECT are failing to take care of the learners who are not gifted because they are slower than the expectations of the pacesetters.*

The most recent curriculum that is in place in South Africa is Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). It is a scripted curriculum, that is, it is designed in such a way that teachers must deliver the curriculum content in accordance with preset dates and particular order of topics. This way of curriculum content delivery suits curriculum content delivery tracking that is applied in schools but disregards the learners' ability to follow the pace of what is being taught as David correctly points out. It therefore limits the teacher from taking learner diversity into consideration when they teach in the classroom because CAPS uses a "one size fits all" approach.

Normally under professionalising contexts a teacher would have the opportunity to assess learners' prior knowledge before starting new content, but the new

curriculum does not have such flexibility. This is typical of scripted curricula as they cater for a few learners who can cope with the content being taught but ignore the majority of the learners. These kinds of curricula also deprofessionalise teaching because teachers are not given the autonomy to decide what they must do with learners that are left behind because at all times they must consider the pacesetter and the tracker, hence the lack of individual attention to learners.

The NECT that David complains about is an organisation that has its origins in the corporate world. It has been incorporated by the DBE to assist schools in improving their performance and it happens to be one of the champions of scripted lessons and curriculum content coverage tracking. When curriculum is scripted and narrowed, it takes away professionalisation from teachers by denying them the opportunity to apply their professional thinking capability in making pedagogical decisions in their classrooms to enhance their pedagogies (Milner, 2013).

The “scripted, narrowed curricula” (Mathis & Welner, 2015, p. 2) like CAPS in South Africa, that David complains about evoke mixed feelings in teachers where expert teachers, mainly from rich countries may feel restricted (deprofessionalised) in their teaching while inexperienced teachers may welcome them. Fortunately, David appears to be amongst those teachers who are competent in teaching and he would like to have maximum autonomy in his career hence his dissatisfaction with the curriculum change tendencies that he has experienced that impoverish and deprofessionalise his teaching practices as illustrated by the extract below.

> *The new curricula that have been introduced have deprofessionalised schools as well and schools are no longer professional institutions because they no longer produce good results. Before the pre-packaged curriculum era you would combine content to be taught thematically in order to be successful with your lessons, but the way things are now, more especially because of curriculum tracking that is applied in our schools it is almost impossible to do so.*
>
> *This deprofessionalisation has taken away my autonomy, the freedom that I had to plan my lessons the way I wanted. If you attempt to take content from*

other terms and bring it forth you will not finish work for the current term. CAPS therefore has a problem. This really affects my professionalisation as a teacher because I am bound to do as I am told…I am bound to follow something that is prescribed.

David reminisces about the days before the scripted curriculum which he calls "pre-packaged curriculum" where teachers had the autonomy to start by teaching any section of the prescribed curriculum and these teachers would finish the syllabus in whatever way they liked. This arrangement made teachers champions of what they did in the classroom because they had full control of the classroom situation. A scripted curriculum may be a quick solution to teachers who are not well-grounded in the subject matter they teach but it has the downside of undermining teachers' professional judgement on issues that relate to their teaching where they may "act as automatons rather than as professionals" (Walker, 2013).

David is a dedicated professional who truly misses his professionalism and freedom in the classroom as demonstrated by his statements in the foregoing extract. Biesta, Priestley, & Robinson (2015) assert that some countries like the UK have begun to consider shifting away from rigid curricula that have deprofessionalised teaching for many decades already in favour of those that promote teacher autonomy, but David's account reflects that the South African education system is not moving in that direction. C2005 (OBE) was an open alternative to apartheid education that gave teachers an opportunity to create their own learning programmes and learning support materials (Chisholm, 2005).

OBE provided open-ended curricula that were designed to enhance teaching experiences through broadening of the curriculum which moved teaching towards professionalisation. In other words, it under-specified the curriculum content so that teachers could have the latitude to add their own content to the curriculum (Jansen & Taylor, 2003), this was indeed a good way of increasing teachers' autonomy and professionalism for competent teachers although this could have been a challenge to incompetent teachers.

Teachers were given that latitude to design their own syllabus under OBE, but that also contributed to the confusion because this was also not well coordinated. The issue of designing your own syllabus was not well coordinated, you found that in school A and school B the syllabus that they were learning was good but in school C and D it was not. This contributed to the confusion that was already there, and the government started to be more confused.

David expresses his disapproval of the under-specified curriculum content that was allowed to take place in OBE. In an attempt to lessen the rigidity of the curriculum in order to make it accommodative, the DBE prescribed an under-specified curriculum in OBE that allowed schools to contextualise learning content to suit their circumstances. This problem further alienated schools which were already in challenging circumstances as poor and rural schools could not carry out this mammoth task which evidently deprofessionalised them. He laments that the latitude given to schools to compensate for the under-specified content increased the disparities between schools instead of reducing it and consequently confusion resulted.

'Confusion' and 'anxiety' are no strange words in the literature of curriculum change and it comes as no surprise when David mentions confusion when he explains how the under-specified OBE intensified and deprofessionalised the teaching-learning environment. In response to the negative consequences of the under-specified OBE, the DBE subsequently introduced a curriculum which is pre-packaged and scripted, Curriculum Policy Assessment Statement (CAPS). This curriculum is the most recent in the South African education system and it has been in place for quite some time already.

CAPS prescribes the learning content right from the beginning of the first term to the end of the fourth term with no room for deviation. The DBE further supplies schools with annual teaching plans (ATP's) that are solely meant to ensure that the curriculum is followed to the last letter. This practice as is stands does not encourage professionals like David to utilise their teaching skills fully as they are constrained by the scripted content that expects them to take what the authorities provide and

deliver to learners. Right from the beginning of his career David was confronted with enormous challenges that deprofessionalised his work.

Deprofessionalising changes in teachers' working conditions, which come into play when curriculum reforms are being implemented, have a major influence on their emotions (Lee & Yin, 2011, p. 26). David inadvertently mentions 'confusion' and 'confused' several times in the above extract, a point which attests to the emotional impact that curriculum reforms have on teachers. His choice of words shows that he is deeply immersed in the implementation of the top-down initiative. Teleshaliyev (2013) contends that teachers (like David) should ensure their survival in the teaching profession by preserving their emotional identities when dealing with such aspects of curriculum change.

> *It took the province millenniums to visit schools but when they visited schools, they visited them to find faults, not to give support. I remember one visit to our school, when they were given a chance to make comments, instead of giving us support they started throwing stones at teachers and they left us in great despair. We lost hope, most of us contemplated exiting the system because of the way they commented. It was a bad experience.*

Teachers feel valued in their profession when they are given support in their work by departmental officials, from the principal, SMT to district and provincial officials (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). As David continued with his work he expected support to help him grow as a professional in teaching but the support was not forthcoming. The Department of Education's district office that was the expected provider of such form of support to affirm David's professionalism was nowhere to be found. Fischman (2016) contests that "teachers are used to constant fault-finding from right to left," and David confirms these fault-finding tendencies of policymakers on teachers which further deprofessionalise teaching instead of affirming their professionalisation. Fault-finding missions like the one David refers to in the preceding extract tend to demotivate teachers and challenge their sense of professionalism as it shatters their confidence.

Fault-finding tendencies emanate from a relationship of distrust and blame that exists between the DBE and its teachers. If this relationship is allowed to continue in its present form without being corrected, it has the potential to weaken the latter's professionalism. Teachers are seen as people who cannot be left alone to allow work to take place because of the deep distrust that is associated with "official disdain, contempt and … demeaning ways, and current attempts to further degrade their work" (Smyth, 2006, p. 306), and this unwelcome state of deprofessionalisation in the teaching profession is precisely what David is displeased with. A typical example of distrust on teachers' professionalism is the system of 'evidence-based' monitoring tools that departmental officials subject teachers to in case they manage to visit a schools after the 'millenniums' that David refers to in the extract. Such tools need teachers to produce hard evidence for work that these professionals have been doing for months before those rare visits occur.

The successful implementation of educational reforms like those we have seen in South Africa in recent years is primarily dependent on the creation of an atmosphere of trust between policymakers and teachers. This means that curriculum cannot succeed if teachers, the main drivers of the change, are left out in the designing and implementation of the change. In other words, the policymakers need to have a buy-in from teachers and they should trust them enough to leave the implementation process in their hands. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case as David illustrates.

> *As a professional I no longer have the confidence that I am supposed to have because of the curriculum changes. I have already mentioned that the way the changes are introduced is not professional. Policymakers do not follow the correct procedures in bring curriculum changes. In a professional institution we follow procedures when we are to make changes. In what I'm supposed to do, I depend on other teachers. I am expected to be democratic, but I don't have the confidence that I was supposed to have in doing my work.*

David articulates that teachers work under conditions of distrust where they have lost self-confidence and they have increasingly become reliant on others for expertise as they no longer trust themselves (Valli & Buese, 2007). David laments

this unbecoming situation where teachers are so deprofessionalised that they no longer have confidence in themselves to execute their responsibilities in a competent manner and he feels as if he is a stranded professional who is torn between the desires of the people who initiate curriculum reforms and the professional demands of his profession which are diametrically opposed.

In challenging times like these the education system must empower educators through enrichment programmes like the recently introduced Continuing Professional Teacher Development (CPTD), that are aimed at improving the teaching and learning instead of deprofessionalising it through fault-finding. Teaching requires people who are ready to try to be at their best at all times so that they display confidence and self-motivation that they can be trusted by educational authorities to bring about positive learning achievement to the learners that they are in charge of.

4.3.2 Inadequate capacity building

> *This is my ninth or tenth year of teaching English and there is not even one curriculum implementer who visited this school to see how I do things in English. Most of them are just attending to their job descriptions, most of the people who are involved in curriculum do it because they are employed to do it but they don't have passion to see it succeed.*
>
> *Most of the workshops that we attended, were only invited to be given attendance registers to sign so that they could submit them elsewhere We are aware of that, and I don't think these are the things I would do if I happened to be a curriculum implementer. This thing needs time. One needs to be really there* [a presence of mind], *you need to have a passion to make sure that what you are coming with is properly grasped and implemented.*

When the DBE sends curriculum implementers to schools to give them support, teachers feel empowered because someone is there to see if they are implementing the changes correctly, and this boosts their morale significantly. A curriculum

implementer is a specialist in a particular subject. Curriculum implementers are employed by the DBE and they are allocated a number of schools to advise. They are based in district offices, but they are expected to visit schools from time to time to assist subject teachers with content that is problematic to them and to check progress on delivery of the subject content. Lack of such visits like what David experienced in his many years of teaching essentially leads to teachers missing out on the potential of being capacitated with new information and as such they become less professionalised.

David's comment about curriculum implementers not doing a proper job reaffirms Jansen and Taylor's (2003) finding that curriculum implementers did not help in strengthening the school capacity building for implementing new curricula because the curriculum implementers themselves were inexperienced in curriculum reform and had "a weak knowledge base in the subjects" they were expected to assist in. They further argue that experienced teachers "would have generated greater impact and perhaps even sustained the reforms beyond early implementation" (p. 41). This lack of incapacitation of teachers in times of curriculum change impoverished teaching practices and left the teaching-learning profession less professionalised. Donald takes the story of poor incapacitation a step further:

> *We were only given workshops of about a day or a week. This new content had to be delivered over a period of a year, but we were trained within a short space of time how to implement it. While it has been done in this way, at the end of the year teachers are expected to produce good results and if they don't, their school will be classified as underperforming and they will be expected to account. It is bad and frustrating I went to college to learn how to teach content in a particular way but out of nowhere the curriculum is changed and I must learn new content in a matter of days. This is deprofessionalising the teaching profession.*

Thomas had this to add:

> *If the curriculum is new and you are not taken back to the teacher training college full time it becomes a problem. A new curriculum to us becomes a*

problem because we are only trained for a short period. Even the presenters [facilitators] only give you a summary because they intend to completed the training within a short period of time but if we were given enough training in each new curriculum maybe we would tell a different story. It therefore affects us professionally [our professional identity]. It seems as if we are not professional when we present our lessons in a new curriculum because we appear to know nothing about it, in essence, we only try to adapt to the new curriculum.

Donald and Thomas add their complaints to an already known story about the short duration of the capacity-building workshops that was offered by officials from the department to teachers. Rural teachers, as it has been stated several times before in this project and in the literature on curriculum reform, were not trained long enough to leave them with the confidence to deliver the new content with success and as such they felt that the situation did not reprofessionalise their teaching. Thomas even goes to an extent of indicating that these short-lived piecemeal workshops negatively affected teachers' professional identity.

Most of the curriculum changes were wrongly implemented because the people who were supposed to workshop us when all these things [curricula] were introduced were also not properly workshopped. There were always some fights because there were teachers who were more knowledgeable in some of the things they were workshopping us in. Some of the teachers were already studying in different universities, studying the curriculum [that was about to be introduced], because when the government wants to introduce a new curriculum in schools there are programmes that are introduced in universities that are in line with the curriculum. There were lots of fights and this was a sign that the people who were supposed to workshop us were not properly workshopped and a lot of problems were experienced. Sometimes when we asked them questions on what they were training us on they failed to answer.

David further lashes out at the way teachers were prepared for the implementation of new curricula. In his opinion the curriculum implementers who were given this

task had not mastered the content that they were supposed to workshop teachers on and this caused problems. Mastery of the learning content that is supposed to be taught is an important aspect for the professionalisation of teaching. As it stands the curriculum implementers were not in a good position to professionalise or skill teachers and they did the opposite. David's narrative brings forth the fact that curriculum reform is more of a marathon than as a sprint, as I indicated elsewhere, and it should be in such a way that its implementation is planned for over a long period of time in order to cater for the training of the people who are going to train the curriculum implementers.

Apart from the expected positive disposition of teachers, they need to be properly appraised on the new content that they have to deal with in the classroom. David tells of how policymakers ignored this important aspect which leads to deprofessionalisation and deskilling of teachers if not attended to. Teachers should be well-trained in order to implement new curricula effectively. The DBE must empower its teachers through a stabilised curriculum that is backed up with sufficient training for its most important resource, teachers. Unfortunately, in the case of the curricular changes that were made in South Africa, as David points out, this did not happen according to the expectation.

Teaching is a much more complex profession than having a good knowledge base in subjects, it requires that teachers be optimistic in their conduct and attitude to complement their knowledge and competences (Çimen, 2016; Teleshaliyev, 2013), as these are as important as content knowledge. It stands to reason that a teacher who is negatively disposed towards the profession will not succeed in the teaching-learning arena. "In the business capital view, teaching is technically simple. Teaching doesn't require rigorous training, hard work in universities, or extensive practice in schools. In this view, teaching can be learned over six weeks in the summer, as long as you are passionate and enthusiastic. Imagine if we said that about our doctors or architects or engineers", contest Hargreaves & Fullan (2013).

Milner (2013, p. 9) takes the argument further, "At the heart of alternative, fast-track teacher certification programs is the assumption that teaching is not difficult work and that anyone who has learned a particular subject has somehow acquired the

ability to teach it". David notes how the DBE adopted the business capital view approach in its implementation of the various curricular reforms in South Africa, and in the process, it seriously overlooked the need for teacher training in order to enhance teachers' professionalisation. The "*poor workshops*" that David and other teachers were exposed to in the introduction of new curricula are well-documented in the literature of curriculum reforms.

In his critique of educational reforms Weber (2007, p. 289) describes how teachers were invited to such workshops which were not meant to be critically evaluated by teachers but they had to "listen, in silence, to departmental officials and/or experts about what they are henceforth expected to do; they are not invited to contribute, debate, challenge, or modify the new curricular reforms". Such workshops are often designed to fast-track teacher preparation but they inadvertently take teaching towards deprofessionalisation as they are given insufficient time to prepare teachers to teach new curricula effectively (Milner, 2013). Furthermore, it could be argued that fast-track preparation programmes undermine the profession of teaching as it is a profession that requires knowledge and experience, and it cannot simply be reduced to a mechanical process (Mathis & Welner, 2015).

David and other rural teachers had to learn the new content that was being brought in in order for the reforms to be rendered effective. Admittedly, it is very difficult for teachers to learn new content in a two-hour workshop and delivering the same content to learners in the classroom situation is another story. Essentially, this means that teachers were not given enough training when curriculum reforms were introduced, and it also means that the training sessions that were provided failed to cover all the aspects they were supposed to cover. This could be attributed to timeframes that were too tight and budgetary constraints that went along with them (Chisholm, Ndhlovu, Potenza, Mahomed, Muller, Lubisi, Vinjevold, Ngozi, Malan, & Mphahlele, 2005).

The capacity building workshops were a far cry from the contexts within which teaching takes place and they never came close to improving the subject content knowledge of teachers. Teachers were consequently thrown in at the deep end and expected to deliver curricula that they were not prepared for thorough training and

support, and that in itself deprofessionalised teaching. David takes the issue of lack of support by the district to schools further and mentions it on several occasions to emphasise how the introduction of curricular changes deprofessionalised teachers.

> *Teachers are a formidable workforce that is ready to take a learner from a young age to adulthood. This workforce needs to be nurtured through capacity-building workshops if there are changes that are about to affect the field of education where it is operating. Teachers left training colleges many years ago and whatever knowledge they were equipped with is undermined by new ideas that come with curriculum change and when they are expected to teach new content without being provided with worthwhile training they feel disempowered by the changes and their sense of professionalism is left wanting.*

> *You find a teacher going to class with no confidence at all in terms of the content he is supposed to teach to learners because he has just been introduced to an unfamiliar curriculum with insufficient training. This really frustrates the teachers and it even encourages them to bunk their classes in an attempt to cover for their incompetence. The department should reprofessionalise our teaching in the classroom through capacity building to ensure that we continue rendering a professional service for many years to come.*

David's narrative of deprofessionalisation concludes in David's concession that teachers are deprofessionalised by their lack of capacity to handle changes due many reasons and one of them as he correctly points out, is their outdated training that was done long before the modern reforms in education. Although David feels aggrieved by this situation, he positively believes that it could be turned in his favour through thorough capacity building that aims at equipping him with skills that would definitely reprofessionalise his currently deprofessionalised teaching practices.

4.3.3 Compliance and politicised mandated curricular changes

This really deprofessionalises my teaching because I no longer have autonomy over my lesson plans as I am bound to follow what has been prescribed to me. There is a lot of confusion in the classroom that is caused by CAPS. I wish I could help the department. If the department does not bring about intervention through self-criticism and allow teachers to be the true professionals that they are, the education system in South Africa is going to collapse.

We are deprofessionalised because at the end of the day the teacher does not have ownership of what he is doing in the class for the class. We are bound to follow what is in the scripted lessons and we are not supposed to think. If you cannot think as a teacher, how can you make your learners think? They do lesson plans for us and expect us to deliver them without making my own contribution and teaching is deprofessionalised.

This is not a good thing because I am the one who is supposed to be in the classroom and sometimes, I don't have a clear understanding of the lesson that has been prescribed for me but I am duty-bound to go and deliver it because there is a tracker. I do it for the sake of the officials and my learners miss out. When we go to NECT workshops we are always advised to use scripted lesson plans. We are being demotivated, devalued and deprofessionalised all the time by this practice.

David criticises the education system for essentially deprofessionalising the teaching profession through mandated and highly inflexible politicised curriculum changes that leave teachers 'demotivated, devalued and deprofessionalised'. The curriculum changes in South Africa did not originate from nowhere, they are a product of a political reform agenda that was put forth to redress inequalities that were created by the apartheid education system of the past, and as a result they are not neutral or value-free, hence my use of the term 'politicised'.

It was a political initiative because it was conceived as an attempt by the newly-elected African National Congress-led government that wanted to quickly redress the inequalities that existed among the various population groups in South Africa (Mouton *et al.*, 2013). David finds himself in a hapless situation where he is expected to show compliance to this politically-driven reform. He emphasises compliance as a central factor in teachers' delivery of the curriculum as it has the backlash of castigatory measures attached although he does not sound convinced about it.

David further complains about the curriculum change that discourages innovative thinking in the way teachers carry out their professional responsibilities in the classroom where they must be compliant with the policymakers' demands without asking questions. This tendency essentially renders them redundant, or even obsolete, in their own classrooms. Restricted autonomy and the following of scripted lessons are congruent to the teacher-as-technician notion, and the teachers who work under such situations, like David, are deprofessionalised.

> *Teaching can no longer be regarded as a professional job because policymakers have taken it over. Teachers are products of various institutions where they were taught different methodologies and techniques. These were used successfully to achieve the objectives of the education system, but the current policies make me doubt if they are designed by people who are in education. These policies that have been imposed to schools are no longer practical in terms of making schools achieve what an education system must achieve. The teaching fraternity is under siege, we came out of college and university as true professionals but now we are no longer like that, we are now deprofessionalised because of politicians that have taken over the education system. If politicians were to step aside and allow teachers to handle matters that pertain to teaching most the problems would be solved because teachers have proper understanding of learners. Politicians are good at moving around and making speeches and they don't know anything about a learner.*

David feels like the state of affairs in the South African education landscape is largely influenced by politics that have relegated the professionalisation of the

profession to the periphery. David is convinced that the profession is under attack from forces that have motives that take teaching further away from professionalisation through deprofessionalising acts. It is regrettable that politicians who have no clue of what is going on in the four corners of the classroom have to dictate the way teaching has to be done in the classroom. David believes that matters that relate to education should be left to teachers and educationists.

> *Recently schools in the Mpumalanga Province have been engaged in an NECT programme where they are monitored regularly by people who visit schools on a weekly basis to check if they are compliant with the programme. We resisted the initial invasion of our schools but that was to no avail and now we have lost the power to resist and we follow the programme as planned.*
>
> *Teachers are told that the NECT is meant to make them improve in their performance. Teachers are placed under the surveillance of both the NECT and the departmental officials together. We are placed under unprecedented pressure and the time to do our planning for our own lessons and activities in the classroom. All this monitoring is done in the name of school improvement but that has since taken our freedom away.*

David illustrates how schools have been taken over by the dominant forces of the market. He explains how teachers' resistance has been eroded to a point they have lost the desire to challenge changes. As such he accedes that the changes have managed to bring about compliant patterns to the teaching profession and thus deprofessionalising it further (Fischman, 2016). It is a moot point whether compliance that is brought by coercion will last, but David indicates that the teachers in the Mpumalanga Province are under stringent observation from both the departmental officials and NECT.

The corporate world has infiltrated education with its ideas that deny the existence of expertise in schools where schools are expected to respond to change that is external in origin (Goodson, 2014). The neoliberal movement has invaded the education world through organisations like the NECT that David has referred to

several times in the preceding extracts where schools must behave like corporate institutions that are constantly subjected to the whims and fancies of the forces of the market. In other words, the policymakers' desire to conform to global market trends of performativity is transferred to schools through curriculum reforms that have come in such quickness that teachers no longer have the enthusiasm to tackle them. David has already reached this point of maintenance where he tries to enforce compliance to teachers "to demonstrate government policy through the satisfaction of pre-determined criterial indicators of performance" (Naidu, 2011, p. 11).

> *If I don't follow the prescription I may be reprimanded because the change agents that regularly come to visit the school may write a bad report about my non-compliance. As a supervisor I tried to make sure that compliance was there, I made sure that teachers complied with what was contained in the policy.*

Compliance to external demands which is always associated with the introduction of top-down policy changes erodes teachers' autonomy and professionalism as they abdicate their core-business in favour of satisfying policy demands like in David's case above. As a supervisor, David, was entrusted with the task of ensuring compliance with the top-down mandates and he did it successfully. Teachers are encouraged to do a good job in their work environments through their supervisors and bow to outside pressure from policymakers.

4.3.4 Exotic curricula as a mitigating factor for deprofessionalisation of teaching

> *South African politicians are dominated by eurocentrism and whatever they want to apply in our education system they want to import it from outside countries, Europe in particular. The OBE version that was applied in South Africa was said to have originated in Australia, but it also had links with New Zealand, England, Scotland as well as the United States of America. It is strange that when South African policymakers think about bringing curriculum*

reforms, the first thing that crosses their minds is to go overseas instead of thinking about their own country.

The reason why we are where we are today is because the government fails to consult relevant people. If the government can take educators on board in a quest to craft the education system, it can be successful. The government has no reason why it should borrow an education system from another country for South Africans. South Africans can craft their own education system. An education system that will be on par with current trends. The problem with the government is that it goes outside to borrow a system that failed 30-50 years ago [in its country of origin] and obviously it will not fit in.

In other words, our politicians do not have confidence in themselves as Africans. I believe that South Africans can design their own curriculum, after all we had our own education system in Bantu Education, it only needed to be improved here and there. The old curriculum taught learners to think. The current curriculum has destroyed learners' thinking capabilities, even teachers'. We can no longer think straight. When I first arrived in the teaching fraternity I had a very sharp mind and I could apply my mind deeply but as time went on I was blunted by the dull curricula that were introduced as time went on.

David challenges the politically-charged reform initiatives that have taken place in South Africa and labels them as being Eurocentric in the sense that the policymakers, who happen to be politicians, have borrowed curricula from Europe to be applied in South Africa. In his argument he mentions countries that are associated with OBE's origin although not all of them are European. What David manages to point correctly though, is that OBE was not South African in origin and it consequently qualifies to be classified as an exotic curriculum. David laments the fact that teachers cannot take professional pride when implementing a curriculum that is borrowed from a foreign country instead of implementing their own that is designed to suit their circumstances and professional standards.

One other thing that David gets right in his assessment of mitigating factors for deprofessionalisation of teaching is that the Spady's version of OBE that was implemented in South Africa was designed in South Africa but it borrowed many of its characteristics from the USA version of OBE (Fakier & Waghid, 2004). In his opinion such exotic curricula were not successful because they were not custom-made for this country and it follows that teachers cannot become the true professionals that they are expected to become whilst parading 'on borrowed robes'.

David strongly believes that South Africa has the potential to develop its own curriculum that can lead to the professionalisation of teaching as opposed to it being deprofessionalised. Teleshaliyev (2013) supports David's view that teaching a borrowed curriculum increases the deprofessionalisation of teaching. Some authors like Kraak & Young (2001) are, however, quick to shy away from the concept of curriculum borrowing as applied by David in his narrative and align themselves with the notion of South Africa having had "a case of modification of international experience to suit South African conditions"(p. 172).

Borrowing of curriculum policies as picked by David, is not an uncommon tendency across countries, it has been going on for centuries and it has, according to Gowlett (2015, p. 161), some "feeling of inevitability" in it which, regrettably, adds to the deprofessionalising effect on teaching. Although it deprofessionalises teaching contexts as David has emphasised several times already, curriculum borrowing has been done successfully in most countries where the borrowed curricula were adapted to the local conditions (Lee, 2016). In South Africa this has not, however, worked out fruitfully.

4.3.5 Out-of-field teaching

> *The changes happen every day. I have changed the learning areas that I teach quite a number of times already. I never learnt EMS during my high school years and I didn't learn it at tertiary level but now there is this EMS that I must teach. It is a problem to me. These changes are brought in by the changes in curriculum and they have affected me in a great way. That is why*

I say I no longer have confidence to face learners that can challenge me in such a learning area.

David talks about how curriculum change deprofessionalised his teaching environment through teachers teaching outside their field of specialisation. This happens when a teacher is allocated a subject that he or she was never trained to teach. The state of affairs that David encounters is called 'out-of-field teaching'. Out-of-field teaching refers to a situation in education where a teacher is allocated to teach a subject that is not aligned to what the teacher has been trained to teach like the Economics and Management Sciences (EMS) David talks about. EMS is a subject that was introduced with the first post-apartheid curriculum change and teachers like David were not trained teach it. David correctly indicates that such change of subjects was brought about by curriculum reform.

Craig (2002) contends that out-of-field teaching in some rich countries has reached alarming rates and this affects academic standards. A teacher who has been trained to teach a particular subject is well-equipped with the content knowledge of the subject in question. If for some reason the teacher is no longer allocated to teach the subject but given another, he is said to teach out-of-field. Out-of-field teaching is a form of deprofessionalisation because it takes away the teachers' autonomy to make decision on what to teach and how to teach it. Apart from David there are few other cases of out-of-field teaching that I came across in this investigation.

David talks about the problem of out-of-field teaching that is an inherent feature of South African education. Out-of-field teaching occurs when a teacher is allocated a subject that he or she never received training in (Seshea, 2017). This is a world-wide phenomenon that is put into practice when there is a shortage of qualified teachers and it is mostly prevalent in rural schools (Mukeredzi, 2013). Curriculum reforms do not only bring change in the curriculum content but also changes in subjects and what must be taught. This is not always aligned with what teachers have been trained to teach. In some cases, subjects are combined to form another subject where no training is provided for teaching such a subject. A subject like Social Sciences, for example, is a combination of Geography and History and South

African teacher training institutions generally do not offer training in this kind of subject combination.

Teachers are usually trained to teach either Geography or History and if one has to teach both in one subject, he or she teaches out-of-the field. New subjects like Life Orientation, Mathematical Literacy, Tourism and so on were introduced in schools while the teachers were already in the field of teaching and in one way or another some teachers had to do some form of out-of-field teaching that David complains about. When teachers are faced with the prospects of being transferred to a new school because of the incongruence of their specialisation with a school's curricular needs that push them of their established environments, they 'willingly' accept subjects that are not part of their fields of specialisation, and in the process, they become highly unqualified.

Principals may also be tempted to retain teacher that no longer meets the curriculum needs of their schools because they already work there rather than look for a qualified teacher outside the school because of convenience. This will lead to a situation where the school has wrongly assigned teachers who will not deliver a quality service (Ingersoll, 2001). In rich countries like the USA teachers that are not qualified in the content area they want to teach are expected to seek credentials before they can assume teaching, but this is not the case in South Africa (Barley & Brigham, 2008). This means that teachers apply for permission to teach subjects they are not qualified to teach before they start to teach. In South Africa schools are not obliged to go through this process before they go and subject they are not qualified for.

Rurality, which I dealt with above, contributes to out-of-field teaching because specialist teachers from urban or suburban backgrounds may not necessarily be available to go to rural schools to teach subjects that they have specialised in (Player, 2015). Rural areas tend to have more pronounced challenges than urban

areas and they are therefore more likely to have more teachers who teach out-of-field than their urban counterparts[29].

If the problem of out-of-field teaching is allowed to go unchecked, it will result in continued reliance on unqualified and underqualified teachers which will lead to low standards of teaching that will in turn culminate in the decline in learner performance[30]. Jimerson (2004) contends that out-of-field teaching does not necessarily mean that a teacher who teaches out-of-field is unqualified, but he agrees that if this practice is allowed to continue it will lead to underperformance in terms of learner achievement. This is true because in some cases, like David's, the teacher is qualified to teach other subjects but not the ones that he or she has been allocated to teacher. Furthermore, a teacher may be an out-of-field teacher who is underqualified because he has not been sufficiently trained for the subject(s) he or she teaches.

4.4 Coda[31]

> *The experience that I have as a teacher informs me that one day is like a decade in the teaching profession because of the situations I am confronted with. The minute I walk out of my house, I start doing my work as a teacher. When I arrive at school, I find that there are parents who are already waiting for me to assist them in solving problems that relate to their children. I have to become a judge…I have to become a lawyer…I have to become a nurse. I go into the classroom and I am faced with the prescriptive CAPS and*

[29] Rural areas are likely to have poor infrastructure, no internet connectivity, high levels of poverty etc. than urban areas and this subsequently leads to poor attraction of suitably qualified teachers.

[30] Unqualified teacher – a teacher who has not received training for the subjects he or she teaches. Underqualified teacher – a teacher who has not been adequately trained for the subjects he or she teaches.

[31] A coda is the conclusion of a narrative the ending of a narrative. In other word, it is the part that concludes a narrative.

NECT's curriculum content coverage tracker. Oh my God! There are lot of problems.

I also serve in the Senior Management Team (SMT) and sometimes I have to deal with the problems that my colleagues encounter. When I am in the office I am piled up with a lot of problems. The Department also gives me headaches and there is a lot of work that has to be done. When I go home I take my work with me and I have no time to rest. So, one day is like a decade to me.

The epilogue of David's narrative is a summative rounding off of his experiences in the teaching profession in an era on non-ending curriculum change. It illustrates the intensification that David experiences through extra responsibilities that he has due to curriculum change. CAPS calls for improved teacher-parent partnerships and David manages them on a regular daily basis. These partnerships are an important link with what David does in the classroom, but they deplete the time he has to use in teaching learners in the classroom.

He wants to plan his lessons in a way that will cater for his rural situation where learners come from all sorts of backgrounds, but he is unable to do so effectively because CAPS directs him to deal with a particular topic on a given day. Moreover, the CAPS curriculum coverage tracking tool is waiting to monitor his progress. David feels like he is not empowered to develop as a professional who can handle instructional challenges and assist learners in the classroom. He is not sure if he still has the freedom to teach with no interference from the policymakers or the forces from the corporate world that have already invaded the teaching arena. Lastly, after a long day that feels like a decade, David departs from the highly deprofessionalised milieu to his home to have some rest so that he comes back being refreshed the following day but his work follows him home.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I presented a detailed analysis of David's narrative on deprofessionalisation of teaching. The narrative exposes David as a professional who loves the teaching profession, but he is challenged by a teaching landscape that is characterised by curriculum change. He reveals that he has already experienced five curriculum changes. In his narrative David encounters the realities of professionalisation and its duality where the word may be used to make teachers accept deprofessionalising contexts or high levels of intensification in the name of being a 'good professional'. David presents two aspects of curriculum change that none of the other teachers presents viz. the underspecified content of OBE and the concept of out-of-field teaching. Apart from the other features that most of the other teachers present he mentions how these two aspects have affected rural teaching contexts and deprofessionalised them.

David ring-fences teaching and labels it a 'good profession' in an attempt to defend what is happening within it. Professional teaching occurs where the education practitioners are allowed to operate with autonomy and have the authority to make decisions about the classrooms in which they execute their duties as subject specialists. David's narrative illustrates a teaching-learning situation that has been taken over by forces that deprofessionalise his teaching practice. Chief among them is the top-down tendency of bringing down curriculum change into the teaching-learning situation without proper consultation with the relevant practitioners like David but expect them to implement the change without failure.

David and his counterparts were trained to be in charge of the teaching-learning environment in an autonomous way using their professional skills with no interference from the authorities but this, according to David, is no longer the case. What David's narrative exposes is how his teaching context has become deprofessionalised through curriculum change. He tells that teachers are expected to implement new curricula that were conceived in foreign countries in rural schools with no attempt to build their capacity to successfully carry it out.

In other words, authorities rush in their plans to bring about change in teaching without making plans to train teachers who are the linchpins of successful curriculum reforms. The story shows how this approach serves to move the profession further away from its expected direction. David's narrative used the sub-themes: professionalisation and deprofessionalisation, inadequate capacity building, exotic curricula as a mitigating factor for deprofessionalisation of teaching, compliance and politicised mandated curricular changes, and out-of-field teaching and curriculum borrowing to further detail how the teaching-learning situation is affected by deprofessionalisation.

Finally, David concludes his narrative by illustrating what his working life as a teacher under deprofessionalising circumstances entails. This is illustrated by, *inter alia*, the increased monitoring that he receives from corporate bodies like NECT and the expectation that he should teach a highly structured curriculum that renders him compliant and governable rather than self-governing.

5 CHAPTER FIVE

JAMELA'S STORY ABOUT INCREASED ACCOUNTABILITY

5.1 Introduction

In the present chapter I use Jamela's story to give an exposition of how increased accountability in times of curriculum change affects the working lives of rural teachers. My observation of her administrative activities revealed a teacher that is dedicated to her work. During my two weeks of observation I did not observe her carrying out continuous assessment (CASS) or the Integrated Quality Management (IQMS) activities. These are done during particular times of the school calendar and my time of observation did not coincide with the time of doing these.

I did, however, observe the use of previous question papers in the classroom as a foundation of her exam-oriented teaching. She was trained to teach XHL during her teacher training at the university and she appears to be comfortable in teaching it. Her subject has always performed well but there are challenges in the overall performance of her school and as a deputy principal of the school she is responsible for curriculum management which places her in a position of direct answerability to all the accountability demands placed on the school by educational authorities.

I will divide the discussion on increased accountability into four sub-themes: exam results as a key driver of increased accountability, lowering education standards as an escape route from accountability, continuous assessment as a militating factor for increased accountability, and the Integrated Quality Management System as a tool for increased accountability. The following extract is a prologue that ushers Jamela's narrative on increased accountability. Jamela is a rural teacher who has been in the field of teaching for a period of twenty-three years while she, paradoxically, started teaching at the age of twenty-three. She is a deputy principal of a secondary school and her current school is the second school she has taught during her career. She was recently redeployed to this school due to a drop in her previous school's enrolment.

I started teaching at the age of 23. At the beginning I taught learners who were older than me but I enjoyed it every step of the way because by then whether learners were young or old, they used to respect teachers. Throughout the journey of twenty-three years I have met different learners, some of them very intelligent, some will make you feel pain in the heart when you notice that a learner is always at school and always punctual but no matter what strategy you use the child has difficulty in performing according to the expectation.

This underperforming learner is in my hands as he was entrusted to me by his parents. I am teaching in loco parentis and the parents expect positive results from me but the material conditions in the classroom do no permit it and I must still answer to the parent. The department, on the other hand, expects him to make progress and I must also give a progress report on the learner's performance.

Despite her uncomfortable twenty-three years of teaching experience Jamela has a positive outlook towards the teaching profession. Jamela's narrative reveals her to be a teacher who has adapted to the accountability demands that she has been subjected to in response to policy changes that were made in her teaching career. Jamela expresses the day-to-day experiences in the working life of a teacher which include her joys and her frustrations. In the foregoing extract she gives a hint of accounting that teachers do when she refers to her answerability to a parent and when she talks about giving progress report to the department.

Accountability to parents is a central part of what schools do in an era of competitiveness and performativity where parents are at liberty to remove their children to other schools that render a better service. Judging by Jamela's statements above, accounting in schools is an ongoing process that neither has a beginning nor an end for as long as there is a learner-parent-teacher relationship in the educational field. This kind of accountability is known as community accountability and gives parents and other members of the community opportunities

to make a valuable contribution to teaching the next generation of citizens (Hooghart, 2006).

What is good about Jamela's attitude towards her work is that she is ready to be accountable for the responsibilities that have been assigned to her. Her statements demonstrate a teacher who will not shy away from accepting her responsibilities at any given point in time. Accountability and accountability demands are two important concepts in the teaching-learning situation that form the crux of Jamela' narrative. The call for accountability creates hope and optimism about the profession for her as it shall be seen in the following extract. Jamela gives an overall impression of having heeded a call to serve her society through teaching to ensure that the learners have a better future. Jamela weaves her narrative in such a way that makes one to understand what accountability and increased accountability demands are all about.

> *It is a noble profession because we have many roles to play as educators. I take education as an important aspect of imparting knowledge to learners. Teachers are a key that can open different doors that are closed because we are able to give knowledge to learners and guiding them as well. Teaching as work can provide a means of living. If you are an educator, you know that you won't go hungry. As a worker you can live. But teaching also corrects the morals of our society. It is a job that has a moral duty and obligation. We have a responsibility as educators to make sure that we direct our learners towards a bright future. We shape their behaviour through education so that our society does not become a doomed society.*

Jamela uses the concept of 'teaching as work' as a point of departure into her story of increased accountability which is the cornerstone of this narrative. Jamela correctly pinpoints that teaching has "a moral duty and obligation" which is attached to it. This means that teachers have a societal commitment to take their time and do duties that relate to their answerability to their work. Maphosa, Mutekwe, Machingambi, Wadesango, & Ndofirepi (2012) talk about this accountability to the society when they indicate that teachers must work closely with communities to develop them. She understands that the teaching profession has its own

challenges. Despite the accountability demands that are placed on teachers Jamela accedes that teaching is a good profession. She also accepts that teachers are at the centre of all educational activities that the society does.

Jamela also mentions that teachers play multiple roles in the society. Teachers can be anything from parents, caregivers, advisers, leaders to lawyers in terms of the role they play, and they must therefore be available to play such roles as they guide learner to responsible adulthood. Unfortunately, schools do not operate in isolation but they are institutions that work under supervision either directly or indirectly and the bodies under whose supervision they work place accountability demands that they must contend with on a regular daily basis. Jamela's story also talks about the moral obligation that teachers have in the profession and she calls for teachers to accept the responsibility that comes with such obligations.

5.2 Jamela's teaching context

> *Teaching in a rural area is always challenging. Why do I say so? There is a lack of resources. If you want to teach a particular aspect…you find that the school does not have the resources needed to do so. The socio-economic status of rural areas is very low, and it makes teaching very difficult. Even if you can request a learner to bring along a magazine or newspaper the learners will struggle to do that because the homes where they come from homes that do not have anyone who can afford to buy a magazine or newspaper. We also encounter the problem of child-headed families where the parents have passed away. Most of the parents in the rural areas are unemployed and uneducated. When you need resources to use in the classroom you will always struggle.*

Jamela's teaching context is marked by lack of resources that teachers can use to assist them in imparting knowledge to learners. This brings back the problem of deprivation that generally characterises the rural teaching environment that Jamela and the other participants experience. Although the problem of rurality results in under-resourcing of rural schools that subsequently leads to teachers being

expected to deliver more with less resources, it is the responsibility of the Department to provide schools with such resources. The problem of unemployment and poverty of rural parents is also mentioned by Jamela. Rural teachers face the enormous task of teaching classes that are not supported with resources by parents. These contextual factors create work intensity for her. She mentions one problem that no other rural teacher mentioned before, the problem of child-headed families.

This is a problem that emanates because of the passing away of the learners' parents and they are subsequently expected to take charge of the families that have been left behind by the deceased parents. Child-headed families are households in which all the family members are less than the age of 18 years (Ngconjana, Kwizera, & Umejesi, 2017). This phenomenon was noted in the late 80's in South Africa and it is rife in rural areas. According UNICEF (2004) situations like these are due to several factors like*, inter alia,* motor car accidents, poverty, HIV/AIDS and crime. Rural areas are mostly affected by this phenomenon and it comes as no surprise when Jamela mentions it as a contextual factor in her teaching situation.

> *I remember one year while I was still teaching LO (Life Orientation) in Grade 9. The learners had to bring magazines from home for us to make a collage. They failed to do so, and I ended up telling them to draw them. And remember that our classes are always overcrowded and it was not easy to proceed with the collage without those magazines. I had to resort to other means of assessing them. The parents rarely attend meetings that we call because they do not attach value to learning. They seem to believe that teachers should do everything for the learners. Sometimes only two or three parents will turn up for a meeting because they understand the value of supporting the school and teachers.*

Jamela complains about the lack of support on school matters by parents. This lack of support varies parents' failure to provide materials for their children to non-attendance of parents' meetings. Generally speaking, learners whose parents visit schools to check their children's performance experience less behavioural challenges than those whose parents do not. It follows that schools that have few parents attending parents' meetings like in Jamela's case, will have more problems

of discipline. The example of the magazines clearly demonstrates how impoverished environments can create work intensity for teachers and schools. She also raises the problem about overcrowded classrooms which restrict teachers from teaching their learners the way they should.

5.3 Increased accountability

Accountability is the process of evaluating schools in terms of the performance of their learners and holding them responsible for this performance (Feng, Li & Figlio, David & Sass, 2010). This is the definition I uphold throughout the research project. For better or worse, teaching is no longer the way it used to be. Teachers used to be placed in a position of trust and high esteem by the communities in which they operated. Regrettably, this does not seem to be the case anymore as it appears as if the noble profession has taken a knock in some ways. School accountability has become a common practice across the world where underperforming schools are put under pressure through various means from increased number of assessments, increased school visits to teaching after hours.

Teachers are often subjected to top-down accountability measures by authorities with the intention of placing them under control through external surveillance and policing. They are placed under constant and non-ending scrutiny that is guised as the quest for better performance and attaining good results. These guised forms of accountability are applied as controls that are invisible and diffused forms, and they manifest themselves in subtle ways. Under those circumstances schools are expected to change their assessment strategies and teaching practices to improve learner performance. When teachers are placed under excessive control, a number of undesired consequences like demotivation, low job satisfaction, resignations and so on, may result (Valli & Buese, 2007).

Accountability demands on teachers tend to give authorities the upper hand over teachers when it comes to controlling the way they carry out their daily responsibilities at school (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008). When accountability measures are increased in educational circles teachers are placed under rigorous

supervision where their performance is gauged against pre-set standards that are used either to punish or reward them in relation to how they have performed. When the DBE introduced a narrow version of OBE, it left accountability as one of the core values to be to be taken into serious consideration in the streamlined curriculum (Jansen & Taylor, 2003).

This core value of accountability was used in the streamlined curriculum, but it was also extended to the other curricula that followed it. Accountability is mainly used by policymakers in the classroom situation to take away teachers' autonomy as they carry out their tasks. The accountability demands that are placed on teachers are done under the pretext of improving the quality of education while this is not always the case (Falabella, 2014). The consequences of these demands are discussed in paragraphs 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 below. The excessive control that policymakers have on teachers is further illustrated by the highly structured Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) curriculum which increases the accountability stakes as Jamela laments:

> *Teachers no longer have the freedom to start wherever they want, they follow a stipulated policy and a stipulated pacesetter that will help learners to pass at the end of the year. The curriculum policy document for CAPS sets the content and weeks on which to teach your topics during a given school term. At the beginning of my career things did not happen this way and even in OBE things were not done like this.*

Jamela talks about CAPS, the latest curriculum in the South African education system. It is a pre-packaged curriculum that ensures standardised implementation of curriculum coverage per term for all schools (Mohd, Brahim, Latiffi, Fathi, & Harun, 2017). As an increased accountability measure, CAPS calls for strict adherence to curriculum content coverage and teaching as it expects teachers to be in class teaching but that in itself restricts teachers' ingenuity in planning for their teaching. Teaching, and other professions in general, are traditionally associated with some sizeable degree of autonomy where teachers are allowed to determine what has to be done in class and how it should be done (Lundström & Holm, 2011).

Unfortunately, things have since changed as clearly demonstrated by Jamela's foregoing extract and now it looks like teachers are expected to be compliant to the accountability demands of the CAPS curriculum which directs teachers to practice their profession in the prescribed way. Jamela expresses her disappointment with the way in which things are done in CAPS as opposed to all the other curricula that preceded it. Regrettably, things are no longer the same because curriculum change has turned things the other way around and teachers now must follow pacesetters and guided curricula with their prescriptive and similarly restrictive content as she laments.

Pre-packaged curricula have the undesired effect of eroding teachers' autonomy whilst making them reliant of outside experts to give them directives on how to carry out their tasks. In other words, a pre-packaged curriculum removes teachers from the position of control and policymakers take over as Jamela explicates below. In the case of schools in Ximhungwe Circuit, where Jamela teaches, the situation is compounded by the NECT programme that I refer to elsewhere, where teachers' progress curriculum coverage is monitored through trackers. Schools must account through weekly reports on how teachers are progressing through the pre-packaged curriculum and this intensifies their work in an unprecedented way.

The information on curriculum coverage is posted on the DBE's Data-driven districts system (DDD), affectionately known as 'dashboard', where departmental officials at local, district and national level may access the information at any given point in time. Jamela continues with what has now become her trademark comparisons of the latest curriculum with the past ones in the following extract.

> *During the time of Bantu Education there were accountability demands but educators oversaw the curriculum. There was no prescription on where a teacher could start teaching the learning content. What was important for teachers was to make sure that by the end of the year they had covered all sections of the syllabus, so they were in charge. Teachers could decide the topic they had to start with and they were able to set their own exams and tests. Schools drew their own timetables for such tests and exams.*

Jamela makes a nostalgic comparison between the accountability demands of the past apartheid era during the time of Bantu Education and the present education system. If what she is saying is taken to be true, the apartheid era curriculum gave teachers autonomy in the classroom to practice their professional skills. Teachers had the responsibility to finish the prescribed content irrespective of the approach used. Jamela goes on to indicate that schools also had the autonomy to draw their own time tables for exams and the other forms of assessment. She concludes that the former education system had fewer accountability demands than the current one because of the reasons she singles out and therefore it was [presumably] better. What Jamela fails to acknowledge is the fact that increased accountability demands on teachers tends to disempower them as they look for ways to comply with the demands thus limiting them from innovating their teaching capabilities in the classroom.

> *The HODs moderated the papers that had been set and the learners sat for the exams. Schools controlled exams themselves and when one compares the curricula that came after Bantu Education, the former was better. These days we talk of pacesetters. A pacesetter directs you what you to do and stipulates time. It indicates to you that from January to March this is the content that must be taught, no compromise!*

Furthermore, Jamela mentions pacesetters and schools setting their own exams. The latter is a thing of the past, the DBE now does the setting and timetabling for the main exams to ensure accountability in schools. This means that schools must prepare themselves for these exams in the appropriate ways so that they respond correctly to this accountability measure. Accountability generally focuses on rendering teachers and schools accountable to policymakers like what is happening in countries like the USA where high stakes accountability is in the forefront through testing and control.

Policymakers feel like they hold stakes in education and schools should account to them. The mandatory quarterly and continuous assessment tools that are in place in the South African education system that Jamela protests indirectly, are accountability demands that policymakers have placed to make schools auditable

and accountable to them. In South Africa the origin of accountability can be traced back to the era of apartheid. During this period schools were subjected to different control measures where white schools were given a light advisory inspection whilst their black counterparts were exposed to bureaucratic inspection (Chisholm *et al*., 2005). Contrary to Jamela's belief that apartheid education was better than the current education, the literature suggests that the former made working in black schools difficult for teachers.

> *Accountability dictates that you should not be ill because if you miss three days because of illness you will be left behind because of the pacesetter that even stipulates days and weeks. If you were sick for a week and you failed to attend your classes it poses a challenge to you in terms of accountability because March, for example, will come and the prescribed content would not have been covered yet. This kind of accountability demands calls for the teacher to come with a strategy that will be used to regain the lost time to make sure that by the end of March, June and September he is able to account.*

> *He should be able to say that the learners did not perform well but he taught all the prescribed content. If a teacher knows that if he has not covered the whole content he will face a serious challenge. The pacesetter directs you, if you don't follow it the learners may easily get zero in the exam because if you are told that from January to March you must start with this particular content and you decide to start with content that is meant for September, your learners will get zero.*

Jamela expresses how the accountability demands put pressure on what teachers do and how they do it. She talks about the demands placed on teachers to intensify their work in a bid to be accountable to the educational authorities. The pre-packaged CAPS curriculum and pacesetters that she refers to in the foregoing extract are all concentrated efforts on the part of the DBE to make teachers account for what they do in the classroom. These accountability strategies subsequently intensify teachers' work and reduce their autonomy. The strategies are a direct contradiction to the constructivist approach to teaching that has been applied in

recent times during the times of OBE where teachers were expected to act as facilitators of learning who designed the curriculum content to suit learners with different abilities (De Clercq, 2008).

Whilst in OBE the teacher had the freedom of planning for his class, he or she also had the responsibility to choose the content to be taught in the classroom to suit the learners' level of understanding, but this is no longer the case with CAPS. Moreover, Jamela talks about teachers having to come out with strategies to regain lost time due to the way the curriculum has been packaged. The kind of accountability demand that Jamela refers to requires that a teacher who has missed a class for whatever reason should make such an undertaking in writing. Such strategies include, *inter alia*, morning, afternoon and weekend classes which demand the teacher's personal time.

When those strategies are executed, the work of the teacher becomes intensified as they infringe on his personal time where there is reduced time for relaxation and collegiality. In the extract below Jamela makes an interesting analogy between the nursing and teaching careers to paint a good picture of how increased accountability intensifies teachers' work.

> *Nowadays it is better to be a nurse than a teacher because if you are a nurse, after work you go home and sleep and leave the patient in the hospital. But as a teacher you don't have time to rest, you work non-stop, when you are at school you are working, when you are at home you are working. Sometimes you carry hundred learners to your home. Hundreds of learners in the form of a heap of papers that you must mark. Sometimes you get frustrated and ask: what must I do? When you leave them at school you regret that you would be working on them but when they are in front of you say: these learners are so many, I can't!* [laughs]. *These are the challenges that we face and they are real.*

In the foregoing extract Jamela refers to a subtle form of accountability where she must work at school and take her work home to fulfil the accountability demands that are placed on her by the school environment. This accountability is one of the

most stringent forms of intensification a teacher can phase in his or her working life because pressure builds in the teacher and it urges him or her to keep working but in doing so eroding time for his or her private life. Teachers' work is arguably highly intensified and overloaded with paperwork that must be taken care of because of increased accountability demands.

Jamela's statement provides a clue to the question many people ask about the causes of many resignations in the teaching fraternity. Teachers take their work with them wherever they go. The statement is loud enough to scare the wits out of any young person who dreams of becoming a teacher in future. Jamela's statement tells us that in teaching the time for personal matters is limited. Despite Jamela's frank statements about the accountability demands of teaching, teachers need time to rest to carry out their responsibilities in a diligent manner. Moreover, if people are overworked in response to these demands, their efficiency is going to be reduced significantly.

5.3.1 Exam results as a key driver of increased accountability

> *Schools are institutions that are assessed according to their Grade 12 examination results. The whole education system is results-driven. If you can ask the minister of education about it, she will tell you that she needs results. The department allows for progression of learners who have been in a phase for more than three years and it allows them to modularise those to produce good results. Yes, the whole system is driven by Grade 12 results, that is why in GET in Grade 3 and 4 the DBE does not ask anything about their results because the focus is on the Grade 12 results where you will be told that the school is not performing. Even if you can produce excellent results in Grade 11 you will be told the school is underperforming because the Grade 12 learners have not passed. As a Grade 12 teacher it stresses me, and I spend sleepless nights after learners have written their final exams.*
>
> *The DBE blames teachers for poor performance in examinations and the teachers get discouraged. As a result, teachers try to avoid the blame game*

by relooking at the way they teach. Talking about frequent change in curriculum does not help them because the department wants to see an improved learner performance and the other issues are brushed aside. Teachers start weighing the various sections and choose to focus on some sections rather than others because of results. Teachers therefore tend to focus on aspects that are most likely to be set in the examination than those that are not because of the results. They change focus away from the content that was taught and did not come out in the exam and teach content that may likely be set.

This is not good, but why do we do that? It is because of the simple reason that if learners do not perform, the DBE will start from the school principal of the school and make him account. The way it does it can easily make the principal to regret being a school principal. When it is done with the principal, it comes down to the deputy principal, the HODs and the teachers to "grill" them without even trying to establish the reasons for the underperformance. You don't want to experience that kind of a situation.

Education systems across the globe continually use accountability measures to increase learner achievement and school performance. Countries therefore introduce curriculum reforms to bring about changes that are congruent with accountability measures and performance standards. South Africa is among those countries that have introduced reforms in to improve the performance of their education systems. The accountability demands that are made on schools by policymakers create an environment where teachers should work hard to produce good results so that they perform better than other schools. As a result, schools are transformed into centres that no longer focus on educating a learner but institutions that must churn out good results every year. Jamela confirms this tendency when she mentions that the education system is examination-driven. Kurhula, one of the other rural teachers tackles the CAPS design simultaneously with examination focus:

It is very much difficult to perform in the classroom because sometimes we must rush through the content to cover the prescribed learning content while

some learners are slow in understanding what is being taught. Unfortunately, the CAPS content is designed in such a way that I must rush to cover everything with the hope that at in the end of the year I will get good results. We generally tend to focus on the majority of learners in the large classes and ignore the few learners that lag behind. Our interest tends to be on those learners that are gifted because those are the ones suited by the fast-paced curriculum. The education system is exam-focused, and we mainly concentrate on Grade 12 at the expense of the lower grades. A teacher who teaches Grade 8 and 12 normally pays more attention to the latter and the former suffers. Grade 12 learners are always called to come to school for extra lessons at the expense of the lower grade learners because of results.

This system that is driven by Grade 12 results that Jamela (supported by Kurhula) brings to the fore, has taken schools' focus away from providing learners with basic knowledge to institutions that focus on teacher accountability in term of producing good pass rates (Sahlberg, 2010). The sudden wave of performativity agenda in the South African schooling system has brought with it the notion of a "performing school" that serves as a model that schools should emulate and a result schools have been entered in an undeclared competition against themselves in a bid to attain this elusive goal. In the extract below Joyce talks about how the accountability demands of performativity that come with curriculum change impact on rural teachers' working lives beyond the classroom when she states:

My performance in class is affected and the results will be bad. Once the results are affected I am labelled as an underperformer and everybody in the community looks at me as an underperformer. Community members will always want to know why I underperformed and telling them about curriculum change as the main reason for the underperformance will not make sense to a layman in the street and it will sound as an excuse. The changes must not be brought about frequently so that we improve in our performance. You carry the stigma of being an underperformer for the whole year, even when you meet other colleagues at workshops you are regarded as an underperformer. Unfortunately, you are expected to perform at your level best even while you are getting acquainted with the new curriculum and when you are done with

it the education officials change it. It is frustrating to me as a teacher to be honest with you.

The advocates of curriculum changes may not necessarily be aware of the far-reaching impact the change has on rural teachers working lives but Joyce's extract brings out the impact. She goes to the extent of requesting the policymakers to relent on the frequency of their change so that teachers can heave a sigh of relief regarding the pressure from the authorities and the community. That said, Jamela's statement sums up the substance of the South African education system where the need to equip learners with knowledge is surpassed by the desire for schools to perform and produce good results.

In the extract she edifies the fact that educational authorities do not care much about the quality of what is being taught in schools as long as schools produce high percentages in the exam results. Unfortunately, the system does not seem to be meeting its target outcomes as it only brings out impoverished teaching practices that emphasise exam-inclined teaching approaches in the classroom as Jamela illustrates. "Experience is the best teacher" so says an English idiom. Jamela demonstrates how teachers' experience has taught them to deal with accountability demands from educational authorities by teaching for the exam.

This confirms Falabella's assertion that the demand for accountability changes school life in complex ways that affect the work ethics and the teaching profession itself (Falabella, 2014). In Jamela's case above teachers abandon their code of ethics and teach for the examination instead of teaching learners to acquire knowledge. The use of unscrupulous means to beat departmental demands as shown in Jamela's foregoing extract is not a new tactic in education circles, Waitoller and Kozleski (2015, p. 6) for example, cite a similar instance in the USA where "schools commit fraud during testing in order to comply with accountability mandates".

Teaching for the examination because of pressure that is exerted upon teachers to perform defeats the goal of educating a learner in totality. What Jamela talks about in the narrative is a practice that is normally called 'curriculum narrowing' where

teachers respond to accountability pressure by avoiding teaching content that is unlikely to be tested in the examination and focus on content that is likely to be set. Literature suggests that the practice of focusing on exams and teaching exam-related material, as exposed by Jamela's narrative, is common amongst schools in countries like the USA where there is high-stakes accountability.

The South African education system does not have high-stakes accountability like the USA, but it has its own accountability measures that make teachers to be on their toes so that they comply. When teachers work under pressure to satisfy externally-driven curriculum demands, they find their individualities changed, their work intensified and subsequently their profession is deprofessionalised due the fact that their autonomy to teach their learners the way they should is restricted. Focusing on exams, as Jamela shows above, instead of the whole purpose of education collapses what the schooling system is set to do which is to prepare learners for responsible adulthood.

Education should therefore not only centre around measurable goals like learner achievement and effective school management but it should extend itself to developing "diverse groups of people in relation to cultures and society" (Morley & Rassool, 2000, p. 181). Moreover, this approach has neither increased learner performance nor raised educational standards as it has already been seen in South Africa over the past two decades (Keddie, 2014). Jamela narrates how the South African education system overemphasises the need to perform well while it ups the accountability stakes through putting consequences for failure to attain good results.

The extent to which these accountability measures affect the way teachers do things in schools is evident in her narrative because it illustrates success in the exams as ultimate target of what teachers do. In Mpumalanga, for example, the MDE often rolls out what it calls "quick wins" and "last push" strategies towards the end of the academic year to make teachers work harder than they did throughout the year to elude the accountability demands that it must face from the DBE if the results are bad. Jamela details the accountability measures that schools undergo when they fail to produce good results and the way she explicates it tells me that accounting

for poor results would be the last thing that a school would want to do because of the harsh way in which it is done.

That said, Jamela's explanation clearly indicates the kind of surveillance under which schools operate that leaves no room for error because of results. She also indicates that teachers are aware of this immediate goal and they must adjust the way they teach to get results as nothing less than good results is acceptable, lest they face the stringent accountability measures. Unfortunately, basing the accountability demands on teacher performance has the downside of ignoring the many factors that are at play within the schooling system and are beyond teachers' control (Van der Berg, Taylor, Gustafsson, Spaull, & Armstrong, 2011).

When teachers are placed under performativity demands which are based on performance goals, they can inadvertently bring about unwanted outcomes like it has already been seen with teachers in Jamela's narrative (Chua, 2009). Jamela mentions modularisation as another innovative tactic that is meant to increase the accountability stakes in schools through production of good results. Schools are allowed to do what Falabella (2014, p. 4) calls "pupil segmentation and exclusion" where schools must ensure that only learners who are likely to pass the examination sit for it.

Learners who are unlikely to pass are classified as MEO (Multiple Exams Opportunities) candidates and they are advised to sit for only a few subjects in the examination and to write the remaining ones in subsequent years. It does not come as a surprise when schools are expected to side-line some of their learners, policymakers have been mandated to sharpen accountability measures in schools, and as a result they use whatever means they can lay their hands on to attain goods results. Finally, on the issue of exam-driven accountability measures, Jamela's narrative clearly shows how accountability demands are used by the DBE to make teachers go an extra mile to produce results.

The DBE deals with the school systematically starting from the head (principal) going down to the teachers. Jamela creates the impression that no one is spared the wrath of the DBE when a school underperforms, hence the use of the word 'grill'.

The DBE has an obligation to rate the progress of schools, establish reasons for schools' underperformance and to suggest intervention strategies for schools, but Jamela's statement in the foregoing extract suggests that the DBE does not make use of this prerogative when it makes teachers and their schools to account. Contrary to the accountability demands that are based on performativity, some scholars Chua (2009) propose that teachers should consider setting themselves non-performative goals that may somehow correct the cultures of performativity that we have come to know in Jamela's narrative. It is a difficult proposal though because the South African education system is grounded on performativity and accountability as demonstrated by Jamela's narrative.

5.3.2 "Softening of the curriculum" as an escape route from accountability

> *We only need a subject that will help the learners immediately. This does not only help the learners, but it also helps the school because when the department analyses results, it does not care whether the school has ten or zero bachelors, all passes count. It says, "At that school the performance is good." It only checks the number of passes first and quality will only come after a month or two and by that time schools are no longer expected to account.*

> *If you offer learners only seven subjects, chances are that they may fail two and fail the whole examination. We therefore add an eighth subject that is easier than the others so that they pass at least six of them and pass the examination irrespective of whether or not the additional subject will assist them in future. There are many careers that learners can choose from and when we limit them to certain subjects we are barring them from going to other career paths. We are limiting them but there is nothing we can do about that because we need results.*

After giving a detailed account of how the exams-driven schooling system impacts teachers' working lives in schools, Jamela flips over the other side of the accountability stakes coin. As it was indicated in the preceding sub-section, schools

that fail to produce the expected examination results are subjected to punitive measures. There are many other forms of such punitive measures and one example is writing of monthly tests that are set at provincial level to improve the performance of a school that has underperformed. In the foregoing extract Jamela shows one way that schools use to evade the accountability demands of educational authorities.

In response to accountability pressures that schools face, they have resorted to new strategies that have questionable educational benefit. They have lowered attainment standards to increase their chances of producing good pass rates that do not necessarily go with quality expectations as she elaborates. Jamela's account of how exam-based accountability plays itself out in schools brings out many interesting dimensions of the occurrence. Schools 'soften' their subject streams to give learners increased chances to pass. This 'softening' involves including an additional subject that is easy to pass to those that the learners already have. Subjects that are perceived to be easy to pass, are introduced in schools' curriculum packages so that learners pass their senior certificate exams with ease.

It is saddening to note that the desire to churn out good results as an evasive measure to accountability demands as demonstrated by Jamela's account has made schools to turn a blind eye on the quality of learners they produce. This move of offering learners soft subjects for easy passing compromises the learners' future careers as schools offer subject combinations that are not useful in terms of future career paths for the learners even though they pass them well.

Jamela accedes that schools' responses to the accountability demands of the DBE compromise learners' future because they take away their focus from preparing the learners for certain career paths. What emerges from Jamela's preceding extract is that school's subjects are done in such a way that they are channelled towards career paths that are aligned with passing easier subjects as a direct response to the education system's accountability demands on schools. The lowering of standards as shown in Jamela's narrative is a sad state of affairs that is found in schools and that it has come into existence due to curriculum reforms that upped

accountability stakes for schools. If this situation continues, the future of learners will unfortunately be seriously compromised.

Offering learners more subjects such as the eight subjects that Jamela talks about is a hit or miss approach where schools anticipate learner failure in some subjects, but they are offered a cushion to fall on in case they fail (miss the target). The accountability fiasco does not end with the introduction of “soft subjects” but it is also extended to streamlining the focus of teaching to Grade 12. The DBE’s accountability demands on schools to produce good results tends to be biased in favour of Grade 12 as Jamela explains in the preceding extract.

The DBE uses the Grade 12 results as a barometer of checking the wellness level of the education system, but it is mute about what is going in the other parts of the education system and Jamela asks some questions about it. Grade 12 results have somehow become an accountability tool for schools that teach the grade because it counts for everything that teachers work for as Jamela indicates and everything else is immaterial. As things stand the increased accountability that Jamela’s narrative is founded on weighs heavily on Grade 12 teachers.

What Jamela’s story tells is that the education system does not make teachers accountable for what they do from Grade R to Grade 11 because poor performance in those grades is not classified as underperformance. Stated differently, Grade 12 teachers are the only teachers that face more serious accountability demands than the others and it comes as no surprise when the best performance in the whole system comes from Grade 12. What Jamela’s accountability story tells is that the focal point of the education system is Grade 12 results. It follows that the whole education system suffers because of the spotlight that is turned on Grade 12 and ignoring the fact that the strength of any building is dependent on its foundation (Mouton et al., 2012).

5.3.3 Continuous assessment as a militating factor for increased accountability

> *During the years in which Continuous Assessment [CASS] was introduced, I don't remember the years, it must have been around the year 1996, it was a nightmare for teachers. I am saying the introduction of CASS was a nightmare because we were not used to it. We decided as a school the tests that were to be submitted. It started in Grade 12 and when the timetable for CASS moderation came out classes would cease as teachers started to run around in search for information until the day arrived. This accountability measure affected teaching because a school would expect teachers to be in class and teachers would not be there because they were busy preparing files for moderation. When the timetable for CASS moderation was brought, classes would cease, and teachers would start to run around to collect information on tasks that they had given.*

Jamela's narrative mentions one key top-down accountability tool, Continuous Assessment (CASS), that appeared in the educational arena almost at the same as post-1994 curriculum reforms. The DBE introduced it as an accountability tool that was meant to be used at school level in the assessment of learners that is done in a formative (mid-year) and summative (end of the year) way. This tool was designed with good intentions, but it had the unintended effect of disturbing schools when it was time for moderation. The tool is meant to improve learner assessment throughout the year instead of them doing it at the end of the year.

Unfortunately, the way it has been designed intensifies teachers' work because it takes away their focus from teaching to accounting to its demands as Jamela indicates. The acronyms CASS and SBA are used interchangeably throughout this this project to refer to a system of assessment that is done throughout the course of an academic year by schools, clusters and districts to ensure uniformity of assessment standards. It is a product of the curriculum reforms that hit the education system. Jamela talks about the shadowy origins of CASS, how the introduction of this accountability tool affected teaching practices in schools, and how became a disturbance in the schooling system. It is not by sheer chance that Jamela uses the

word “*nightmare*” to describe how disturbing the accountability measure of CASS is in schools. When it was first introduced, it made teachers stop teaching learners and focus on it.

> *By the time the day for the moderation came the teacher would be exhausted and would not rest before the moderation day. As a manager you would expect the teacher to be teaching but the teacher would inform you that he was preparing for moderation the following day. Even when they went to class the teachers would be preparing through completion of forms schedules or finish marking a test or project. It was time-consuming. After the finalisation of these schedules the teacher goes for cluster moderation with a selected number of files. When this is done the teacher is called for a district moderation on a given date. Subject teachers leave their classrooms and go for the district moderation of their subjects. This is quite disturbing to the smooth running of schools. It disturbs many schools at a go, this could be solved by the way of sending district officials to visit. Yes, schools must be held accountable but that compromises the contact time that teachers must have with their learners in the classroom.*

CASS or School-based assessment (SBA), is a tool that monitors what have the teacher has done in the classroom starting with peer group moderation at cluster level and followed by moderation at district level. Deeply entrenched in this moderation procedure, as revealed by Jamela, is the lack of confidence that the authorities have on their teachers by way of additional moderation of SBA at district after it has been done at cluster level. CASS brings schools to a halt because of the paperwork that teachers deal with to satisfy its demands. Jamela uses the word ‘exhausted’ to clearly illustrate the nature of intensification that it brings to schools. This accountability tool also takes a share of teachers’ time through filling in forms and moving around to have it finalised at cluster and district levels. This is one way that takes away time that should be used for teaching learners.

> *This form of accountability affects teachers’ classroom practices because if they don’t submit, they must explain why they have not submitted and they try to make sure that they submit documents that are complete. Teachers*

want to do all this but in taking their time they compromise the time for teaching in the classroom. When it is submission time it becomes difficult to go to class and teach whilst working on the CASS papers. Indeed, the accountability demands affect classroom practices.

By its design, CASS intensifies teachers' work through excessive paperwork that has come to be associated with increased accountability demands on schools as Jamela illustrates. A well-known downside of excessive paperwork is its unsavoury reputation of consuming valuable time as teachers must spend hours going through it as explicated by the narrative. Teachers' preparation to satisfy the demand is often in conflict with what teachers are employed to do, which is teaching, because file preparation becomes more important than teaching learners when it is time for SBA moderation teachers get unsettled in an attempt to satisfy the accountability demand. Jamela talks about how disturbing this accountability demand gets when it is time for CASS moderation starting from file preparation to bunking of classes.

The increased accountability demand in this instance does not only disturb teachers from getting to class to teach but affects teacher's personal time as they must devote all their time to prepare files for moderation while losing hours of valuable contact time with learners. Sadly, the effects associated with this accountability measure that Jamela talks at length about, are excessive workload, reduction of time for teachers' relaxation and exhaustion which subsequently gang together to become stressors for teachers.

CASS has been specifically designed to control what teachers do in terms of assessing learners at school level and it has the backlash of accountability that goes with it. Jamela elucidates the effect of this control measure that is notorious for eroding learners' precious contact time when teachers grapple with mountains of paperwork to get it right. CASS is a mandatory accountability tool that is placed in the hands of teachers at school level to improve efficiency in handling school-based assessment, but as it stands defeats the purpose which it was designed for. Sadly, any form of non-compliance to CASS as Jamela categorially pinpoints, must be accounted for and trying to do it correctly, on the other hand, negatively affects classroom practices.

5.3.4 The Integrated Quality Management System as a tool for increased accountability

The IQMS is a good tool that is helpful if it can be followed to the last letter. It assists schools to develop their own educators. The IQMS was messed when it was linked to 1% pay progression and that created a lot of problems. It is being implemented in schools, but it is not done accordingly. If it was done accordingly teachers would look at the areas where they fail and give themselves one point in order to request for further development but this, unfortunately, is only done for monetary reasons.

In case a teacher is told that he is underperforming in certain areas he is likely to brush that information aside because he would take that as a stumbling block to his way of getting money. The IQMS is a good tool if is detached from money. It is one of the best tools that can be used by educators to improve the quality of teaching because it tells teachers that if they have underperformed in the first cycle, they will be able to develop a school improvement plan that is based on the information that was derived from the IQMS.

In the foregoing extract Jamela refers to the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS), an accountability tool that has been in use in schools for more than a decade already. The tool was agreed upon in 2003, but for some reason it was only implemented in schools from 2005. It was introduced in schools in to improve the effectiveness of schools through quality education and increased accountability. It is a product of negotiations between the DBE and teacher unions (Department of Basic Education, 2012). It is meant to improve the performance of schools through increasing teacher accountability.

It is assumed that a good performance by teachers in terms of the performance standards that are set in the IQMS will lead to better results in schools. In other words, the IQMS is designed to monitor teachers in order to make them improve their teaching with the hope of enhancing learners' achievements (De Clercq, 2008). Furthermore, it is hoped that through the IQMS, which brings together different

forms of monitoring teachers, will improve where the previous systems failed before it. The IQMS is a case of teachers' work being evaluated by their colleagues with the intention of encouraging them to improve their professional practises and making them relevant to their contexts.

The IQMS in its current forms is backed up with incentives to produce better performances from teachers. It follows that teachers who manage to perform well should be given monetary incentives to encourage them to continue to do well. Jamela speaks out against the use of incentives in the IQMS to encourage good performance from teachers when she deals with issues of accountability in schools: Jamela views the accountability tool, the IQMS, as a good tool if it can be used and applied correctly. She, however, feels that the tool has been "messed" up when the IQMS became associated with a 1% annual pay progression for teachers who have performed well in a particular year.

According to her, linking the IQMS with pay progression has led to teachers looking forward to the progression without working towards improving their performance. Ball (2003) correctly points out that performativity in organisations leads to the construction and maintenance of fabrications. This means that information that is untrue is sometimes used for personal gain by individuals as Jamela points out to in the preceding extract. Ball (p. 216) further argues that the performance of an individual is used as a yardstick to measure their productivity. This is precisely what Jamela is referring to when she tackles the incentivised IQMS.

She accedes that the IQMS is a good accountability tool that has been tarnished using monetary incentives. As it stands the IQMS has been turned into a steppingstone to more money with no additional performance from teachers as Jamela indicates. What adds salt to the injury is the fact that the application of this accountability tool has been delegated to schools. The IQMS is managed at school level by the Senior Management Team (SMT) and Development Support Group (DSG) which may likely tweak the performance information in favour of their colleagues. The opposite is also true, if the members of the DSG are not in good terms with the appraisee, he or she may be disadvantaged by the tool as well.

Jamela further acknowledges the developmental role of the IQMS where she points out that low scores call for assistance while high scores are an indication that the person being appraised has achieved the highest point of development and therefore has no need for further development. She points out that teachers and their SDT's always give themselves more points than they deserve because they want to receive the incentives that go with the IQMS. The system is devaluated by the way teachers assess themselves and receive rating that are tweaked for them to receive good ratings that result in them getting monetary incentives whilst there is no improvement in learner attainment.

Generally, the IQMS is made up of three programmes, viz. developmental appraisal, performance measurement and developmental appraisal. Performance measurement deals with evaluation of teachers for salary progression and other incentive-related benefits. Jamela criticises the performance measurement that links teachers' performance with monetary incentives instead of development. She takes her argument further and proposes that schools should be developed through whatever means possible so that they are able to deliver the learning content with success. The challenge with curriculum change, coupled with accountability demands like the IQMS and CASS, is that it creates a notion of having an increased workload for some teachers (Chisholm *et al.*, 2005).

> *If teachers are open for assistance, they will be assisted in many ways including organising their files. As it stands, the IQMS is only done for submission purposes at the end of the year where people go for money and not development. It is time for the developmental cycle now, but I doubt if schools are following all the procedures of appraising teachers correctly. Managers should go back to the drawing board and plan to use this tool for developing teachers because it is a good tool. No one asks for teachers' professional growth plans now, they will only talk about those at the end of the year and by January they will no longer talk about it.*

Jamela's preceding statement brings out the downside of the IQMS as applied by schools where there is no talk about teachers' professional growth plans (PGPs) in the middle of the year because it is not yet time to submit them. The point Jamela is

attempting to drive home is that teachers turn a blind eye on professional growth where they should be seeking for developmental support. Instead, teachers only talk about them towards the end of the year where they should submit them for salary progression. This tendency defeats the good intensions of the accountability tool. Jamela' statement casts a shadow of doubt on the capability of IQMS to bring about improvement in the quality of learning and teaching in schools.

Jamela's argument against the IQMS aligns well with Weber's view that it gives no room for improvements in terms of practice and implementation (Weber, 2005, p. 69). This means that the IQMS is a tool that is limited in its adaptability to different contexts and as it stands it does not render itself to questioning because it has been brought to schools for implementation 'as it is.' The IQMS, unfortunately, fails in establishing what De Clercq (2008) calls "professional accountability" which comes into full operation when teachers try to improve their teaching practices. Jamela paints a picture of teachers who are only interested in using the IQMS to get pay progression but not to improve the quality of their teaching.

She also questions the fidelity of schools in terms of applying correct procedures that are required by the IQMS tool when evaluating teachers during the year as these would assist them in the development of their teachers either internally or externally. Apart from the fidelity that Jamela questions in terms of monitoring the implementation of this accountability tool, it is doubtful if the department does play its part of observing teachers for the purposes of pay progression as it was supposed to (Chisholm et al., 2005). This weakness that Jamela identifies in the IQMS somehow defeats it noble purpose of improving education in South Africa and identifying specific needs of teachers (Klerk, 2014).

5.4 Coda

> *The changes that have been phased in have put teachers under serious pressure. But teachers need love and patience to continue with their work. You ask yourself: if I am not there, who is going to assist these learners? If I am not there, who is going to teach these learners? If we are not there*

ourselves foreigners are going to come and teach our children. If we fail to teach them ourselves it means we will give the responsibility to other people to shape our children's future. We need to commit ourselves and love our children enough to teach them ourselves.

The changes have affected me a great deal. As a mother I am worried about the accountability demands because they make me to keep on working all the time whether at home or school. Whilst my father was still alive, he would wake up and find me busy marking scripts way past midnight in response to performativity demands. He would ask me why I worked until those early hours of the morning while I had gone to work the previous day. I tried my best to make him understand. The changes came with their own dynamics and they have made us to work even more than ever before.

If a teacher doesn't stretch her working time, the shenanigans of accountability will always catch up with her. She will always be behind schedule in terms of making submissions and things won't be nice for her. The best she can do under the circumstances would be for her to take her work home because when she is at school she is expected to teach and do other administrative duties, and the only realistic time for doing marking is the time that is to be used for her family and other private matters. It is stressful but I will always try to do what I can to help the South African child to learn.

Jamela's narrative closes with a recap of what teaching has done to her when she underwent a string of curriculum changes in the twenty-three years of her teaching. Her story aligns well with the stories of the other teachers in the investigation. She accepts the difficulties that have been brought to her through these changes, but she avails her services to continue teaching under the demands of performativity and accountability that punctuate the teaching field. After undergoing the gruelling changes of the past two decades she still manages to call for love and patience from teachers to take the education of the rural South African child forward.

Jamela's encounter with policymakers' accountability demands have left marks in her teaching career as clearly demonstrated by the way she carries out her work at

school and subsequently carrying it home as well. Jamela's narrative is also characterised by practical examples of how work intensification affects teaching in terms of encroaching on their time and excessive paperwork. Despite all these, she is not deterred from coming face to face with the challenges that she calls "the shenanigans of accountability" as she teaches, beats deadlines and continue to do administrative duties under highly intensified teaching contexts that seem years away from reprieve.

She mentions 'dynamics' that come with changes which could be a reference to the various accountability measures that have affected her working life since she experienced her first curriculum change varying from CASS, IQMS to performance in examination results. These are the dynamics that have made her career a challenging one until today. That said, she indicates her willingness to do lend a hand in teaching learners in a society that accountability-driven by policymakers. Finally, Stanley sums up the accountability situation that rural teachers must contend with as they go to their ill-equipped classrooms to teach:

> *I think nowadays teaching has shifted from what it used to be. When I joined teaching, the profession was a calling, but the system has changed and there are more expectations from a teacher nowadays. When learners fail, the teacher must explain why this happened, whereas you may find that the poor teacher has done his utmost best to assist the learners. Sometimes the teachers work under difficult conditions and the end of the day they are expected to produce the same results as those who work under better conditions.*

Stanley echoes the sentiments that were mentioned by Jamela in her narrative more especially the issue of expecting schools in challenging rural contexts being expected to perform as well as schools that are in urban settings. He also acknowledges the fact that the nature of teaching has changes and the fact that there is increasing accountability demands that Jamela also lamented about. He is also worried by the call for schools to go and account for their failure in producing good results. It is unfortunate that these accountability demands that schools are

subjected, as I argued elsewhere, do not necessarily produce the performance they are supposed to.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter Jamela's narrative was used to illustrate how curriculum change led to increased accountability in schools. Jamela was introduced as a deputy principal of a secondary school who has been in teaching for a period of twenty-three years. She loves the teaching profession that she chose at an early age and her narrative deals with how the love for teaching has kept her on through the increased accountabilities that are imposed from the top by policymakers.

The narrative goes through four sub-themes: exam results as a key driver of increased accountability, "softening of the curriculum" as an escape route from accountability, continuous assessment as a militating factor for increased accountability, and the Integrated Quality Management System as a tool for increased accountability. Through these sub-themes Jamela illustrates how curriculum change has brought about the various accountabilities demands and she further demonstrates how these accountability demand impact her working life as she carries out her responsibilities of teaching.

Jamela's narrative exposes teachers working in a landscape strewn with imposed top-down accountability demands that have the potential of bringing undesirable outcomes to the teaching fraternity. The narrative reveals that accountability strategies that are applied by authorities in the guise of school improvement to make teachers devote much of their time trying to satisfy their demands than teaching learners. In Jamela's narrative we see how highly structured policies like CAPS limit teachers' autonomy in the teaching-learning situation by being prescriptive to the last letter and as such creating teachers who are not meant to act autonomously but to take predetermined instructions from policymakers.

These accountability demands are by nature aimed at monitoring the teacher's performativity than developing her to improve her professional practices in the

classroom. The culture of performativity that has since come to be associated with these accountability demands puts teachers under the intense pressure of working around the clock to gratify them. Jamela's situation is compounded by additional workload that is characterised by massive paperwork that teachers must deal with. And this subsequently leads to the intensification of her work that effectively makes it increasingly taxing, complex and time-consuming.

Jamela's narrative elucidates that teaching, under increased accountability demands by educational authorities, creates more responsibility for the teacher and reduced control over the way the work is executed. Jamela goes through, *inter alia*, CASS and the IQMS as external accountability demands but she lays emphasis on exam results as the key factor amongst them. Overall, this narrative shows that excessive accountability and monitoring measures downgrade the work that the teaching professionals do. Jamela therefore walks a fine line between implementing curriculum change and responding to external accountability demands. Jamela confesses that her job as a teacher causes her stress due to these demands.

6 CHAPTER SIX

JOHN'S STORY ABOUT TEACHERS AS TECHNICIANS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I give an analysis of John's story and his experiences in teaching in the past two decades through the lens of teachers-as-technicians. In the current section I use John's narrative to explain how the curriculum trajectory has turned teachers into technicians who implement policies without being involved in their conception. John is a Head of Department at a rural primary school and he has been in the teaching profession since 1989. My observation of him in class whilst he conducted lessons informed me that he is still interested in his job, and as a teacher as he always involved his learners actively in his lessons. I also observed his adherence to the CAPS programme and the NECT curriculum tracker.

Additionally, I attended a Mathematics classroom session where he was visited by an NECT change agent (monitor) who commented that John was doing exceptionally well in the NECT programme. He is an HOD in a small school and he teaches Mathematics, EMS and EFAL. He received training in teaching Mathematics and EFAL, but he was not trained to teach EMS. Just like David, John has challenges in teaching EMS more especially in the approach that he is expected to follow in teaching and subsequently his EMS lessons are not as well-polished as his Mathematics and EFAL. In re-presenting John's narrative in this current discussion, I use the notion of teachers-as-technicians to demonstrate how top-down initiatives have undermined the profession.

The teachers-as-technicians plot is divided into three sub-themes for further discussion: 'teachers-as-technicians' as a further act of deprofessionalisation, teachers as compliant technicians, top-down approaches as a militating factor for 'teachers-as-technicians' and change fatigue as a consequence of 'teachers-as-technicians.' John's prologue ushers one into a person who became a teacher by chance. John did not fall in love with teaching right from the beginning, that is, it was

not a case of “love at first sight” between him and his career. John did not even have the interest of going to college or university to train for teaching after completing his matric and spent two years loitering.

> *After passing my Grade 10 in 1980 I went to* [another school*] where I completed my Grade 12 in 1982. From there, for two years after completing my matric I was roaming the streets doing nothing, because initially the career that most of the people were following was teaching and I did not have interest in it. But in 1985 I happened to get a temporary teaching post at* [school] *which made me to develop interest in teaching. In 1986 I was admitted at* [college] *where I did my* [qualification]*. I completed it in 1989 and after completing it I went to* [school] *where I was employed as a CS1 educator. My stay at the school was short-lived because there were lot of challenges in the school.*
>
> *In 1991, if I am not mistaken, I took transfer to [school and location], but when I arrived there, I was confronted with more serious challenges than the ones that I encountered at the previous school. I only worked in January then I moved to [school] where I was employed as a CS1 educator. In 1995 I took another transfer to [school] and that year I was lucky to get a bursary from the Department which gave me an opportunity to go and do a one-year course in Library and Media Science at [college and location]. Then I came back to [school]. In 2009 I got a promotional post at [school] where I am now.*

John’s foregoing extract confirms that he inadvertently joined the teaching profession when he was offered employment as a temporary teacher in 1985. His brief experience as an unqualified teacher developed his interest to become a qualified teacher as attested to by his subsequent training at a college of education. After his employment as permanent teacher he had a shaky start to his career and he soon found himself moving from one school to another for many years. John has experienced all the curricular changes that have been made since 1994 and he is in a position to share the story of how curriculum change has changed teachers from pedagogues to technicians from the time he started teaching to date. The qualifications that John mentions are an indication that he is a teach who should be

treated as a professional in the teaching situation with all the autonomy he can possibly get so that he delivers his pedagogy in a resounding way. Additionally, his profile portrays him as a teacher who can be entrusted with learning content in the classroom situation in such a way that learners can benefit from him with no need for the use of scripted curricula.

6.2 John's teaching context

> *If you have never been exposed to an urban setting you may think that teaching in a rural setting is very good but if you compare rural and urban settings you find that most of the things that we do here in rural areas are done through improvising. Teachers in rural schools use their own money to get resources to be used in class. If you look at how the Department treats us, you will note that most of the resources it provides support schools in urban areas.*

John makes a comparison between teaching in a rural and an urban setting where he concludes that the DBE neglects the former in favour of the later. This a general perception that the participants had about their schools. The neglect he talks about sees teachers using their own money to buy resources that are to be used in teaching while he believes teachers in urban schools are taken care of by the Department. He talks about 'improvising' in schools and this indicates that the rural setting where he teaches does not have the required resources for him to deliver lessons successfully and as a result, he must use his own money to buy resources. Teaching in a rural setting becomes a financial liability to John as he uses a portion of his household budget to achieve his pedagogical goals.

> *Rural schools do not have the technological gadgets that are needed in schools. And because of this setback our learners are not exposed to technological mind-cracking challenges and as a result they only rely on the word of the teacher instead of doing their own research. We do not have libraries or resources to use in order to research.*

John takes the issue of his teaching context to another level when he talks about the lack of technological gadgets in schools for teaching. In all the lessons that I observed John present in the classroom he used the traditional chalk-and-duster approach to teaching. The two computers that I saw at his school were used for administrative purposes and they were never used for teaching in the classroom. This confirmed his statement about the learners' lack of exposure to computer in rural settings and his assertion that the learners rely mainly on the word of the teacher instead of doing their own research in libraries. The issue of lack of libraries and other resources in rural schools features prominently in this investigation.

> *In my view teachers in rural areas are performing much better than urban teachers because they compete with them [urban teachers] whilst they operate under an environment that only caters for theoretical learning. When you look at our schools you find that there are schools that still use classrooms that were built by communities some fifty years ago but in urban areas all their schools are modernised. This clearly indicates that it is not easy to teach in a rural area, but it needs patience and commitment. If you are committed, you can deliver much more than those who are in an urban area.*

John argues that rural teachers are better performers than their urban counterparts if one considers the circumstances under which the two groups operate. He further talks about the poor condition of school buildings in rural area when compared with the 'modernised' school buildings in urban areas. He concludes his argument about rural and urban areas by indicating that it is not easy to teach in a rural context. He is optimistic about the performance of teachers in rural areas and indicates that rural teachers may outperform urban teachers in the delivery of education if they are committed to what they do.

6.3 Teachers as technicians

> *The modern-day teacher works like a technician. When you are a technician you don't take part in the process of designing things, your task is to deal what has been designed. Regarding the curriculum, a ready-made curriculum is designed elsewhere and given to teachers. The teachers are only instructed to implement it. The teacher's task is not to think but to impart its content to learners. Instead of coming down to consult teachers who are in contact with learners on a regular daily basis and have more knowledge on how the education system can be improved, policymakers leave them out in the designing stages of the curriculum. This is not correct; we are subject specialists and we should be consulted when changes are to be made.*

John introduces the subject of teachers-as-technicians where he talks about how teachers are left out when curricula are designed but they are expected to be instrumental in their implementation. Education is important in any society that wants to secure the future of its populace for generations to come. The degree to which this goal is attained successfully is mainly dependent on how the teacher variable is treated in the education lifeworld. John exposes a common phenomenon for most education systems across the globe where teachers are regarded as deliverers of pedagogical knowledge rather than generators thereof.

In an era of curriculum reforms teachers are no longer regarded as thinkers but they are downgraded to technicians who are given pre-packaged curricula to teach learners as they prepare them for adulthood. John confirms the tendency of reducing teachers from intellectuals to technicians when changes take place. What this really means is that the education system generally position teachers as agents of the state who are in the classroom to present what the state wants them to teach instead of being professionals who are in the classroom to execute a call of duty (Penrice, 2011).

John confirms a long and well-known notion that teachers have become "pedagogical technicians" (Naidu, 2011, p. 9), people who are only in the teaching

profession to implement external curriculum mandates from policymakers. This also affirms the extenuation that teachers' contribution to issues that relate to what they do in schools is disregarded by policymakers who are bent on conceiving curricula and sending them to schools in a top-down manner to teachers to deliver in the classroom. This means that teachers have been subdued by policymakers to surrender their professional knowledge and accept what they are being mandated to do.

John's argument is affirmed by Goodson (2014) who contends that curriculum changes are mandated from outside schools, negotiated internally when implementation has to be done and they brush aside teachers' contributions where they matter most. John further argues in his narrative of teachers-as-technicians, however, that teachers do not want to be viewed as mere workers who are in the teaching-learning scene to implement mandated changes. Instead, they expect to be included in the initial decision-making processes about intended curriculum change where they want to make their voices heard in a meaningful way.

John bases his argument on the fact that teachers, not educational authorities, are the people who stand in front of learners in the classroom regularly and they are the people that have more potential to influence teaching-learning contexts than anyone else. These knowledgeable professionals have, however, always been treated as technicians, as John's narrative illustrates, without being given the opportunity to add their voices to what is going on in the didactic triangle. In other words, they are treated as pawns in the chess battle between politicians and policymakers, where they are torn between the two forces' ideological battles and consequently causing curriculum changes to fail in the process (Weingarten, 2012). John, first and foremost, acknowledges the fact that teachers are no pushovers when it comes to knowledge about the field of teaching and he upholds the opinion that these should be given first preference when bringing about changes to their field instead of them playing second fiddle to politicians.

Lack of consultation and exclusion of teachers reinforces what John sees as the order of the day in the teaching profession in South Africa. John indicates his willingness to take part in critical decision-making in his work place and he would

feel encouraged to be categorised in a group of “artists rather than technicians” when carrying out pedagogical processes in the classroom (Troudi & Alwan, 2010, p. 108). The teachers-as-technicians view ignores the fact that teachers are professionals who know what they must do in the classroom unlike the policymakers who call the shots in the changing process with no knowledge of the classroom situation.

6.3.1 ‘Teachers-as-technicians’ as a further act of deprofessionalisation

> *A technician is just given tools and told to go and fix a machine in some place and I think that is the case with teaching. We are given documents to go and implement without being expected to apply our minds to whether or not their content will be applicable to the contexts where we are going to apply them. I am expected to take what I am being given to implement without being allowed to make my contribution to the content. If I were allowed to make a contribution my morale would be boosted. Truly speaking my morale has been negatively affected by the expectation that I should deliver content in the classroom with no say.*

John emphasises the teachers-as-technicians notion in the above extract where he mentions that teachers are expected to carry out mandates without thinking. The motive behind the teachers-as-technicians notion is that teachers should be under the control of the policymakers and they are never encouraged to think out of the box like it is the case in John’s narrative. When teachers are under the control of the authorities, what they teach increasingly reflects the rhetoric of the government policy rather than that of schools that act as autonomous centres of learner development (Leaton Gray, 2007). John’s morale is negatively affected by the way things are done in the education system and he believes that it would be boosted if he could be allowed to make a contribution. He is clearly unimpressed about the current state of affairs although he does not give any signs of resisting the curricular innovations.

When the authorities want to make those changes, they consult politicians first and once they agree on the changes they intend to bring, they deliver the finished product down to the grassroots for us to implement. Being practitioners on the ground we should be the first to be considered. We are expected to comply in full to the changes through proper implementation of the changes. Ours is to receive them and implement. Where is professionalism in the whole process? I did not play a major role in designing the curricula that were introduced. I only heard about them at cluster meetings where they about to be rolled out schools and by that time they were already designed. What made me not to be involved in the development or design of the curricula, probably, is the fact that curriculum changes come down from the top and they are cascaded down to the bottom. We are only recipients of the changes.

John distances himself from curriculum design processes of the past two decades and mentions that he only became part of the implementation process. He further confirms the practice of using top-down approaches in making curricular changes in the education system by policymakers which deprofessionalises teaching. Hargreaves (1991) correctly argues that when teachers are left out in the planning of curricula like in John's case, their work becomes less professionalised and more intensified as this is guised as increased professionalism. He has implemented several new curricula already and he has never been part of the designing process.

He also indicates that he only became aware of the changes when he was called to a cluster meeting to be informed about the rollout of the new curricula. He attributes his exclusion to the top-down approaches that are applied by authorities when curricula are designed. The exclusion of teachers from this important process is a serious point for concern as all the research participants mentioned it in one way or another. John identifies himself and other teachers as recipients and implementers of curricula. In essence, what John is saying is that teachers do not have the powers to overrule the political mandate to implement curricula.

John confirms the fact that teachers are permanently indebted to policymakers who have no idea of what transpires in the classroom, to determine the way they carry

out their teaching practices. The “autocratic commandeering of their professional autonomy” that John and other rural teachers go through leave these pedagogical practitioners deprofessionalised and demotivated (Weingarten, 2012, p. 425). John continues to hammer on the teachers-as-technicians narrative that he started in the previous extracts to illustrate how deprofessionalising the exclusion was. He challenges policymakers’ stance of downplaying teachers’ role in curriculum matters when talks about a teacher’s centredness in the field of teaching.

When external forces try to meddle in the affairs of professionals, they deprofessionalise the teaching field because they limit the teacher’s pedagogical autonomy in the classroom. Teaching is done by people who have received training in teaching learners and their autonomy is central to the success of their teaching. Teachers have ways of dealing with challenges that they encounter in the teaching-learning situation and they should be allowed to handle them in a professional way. John is convinced that the approach used by the authorities in introducing new curricula was flawed hence he questions its professionalism. His argument about a ready-made product that is brought down to the grassroots for implementation is a strong militating factor for deprofessionalisation of his rural teaching context.

> *Secondly any change that is going to affect other people should be researched first because their knowledge-base plays an important in how they will grasp the change and implement it. We would have looked at the shortfalls of the old system and come out with ways that may best improve it with the people who were to implement but here it seems as if the curriculum changes were made without taking into cognisance the people who were going to receive it. We have so many problems because the knowledge-base of the recipients of the curriculum was never considered when changes were made.*

John proposes that curriculum initiatives and their possible implications be investigated first before being applied to real people and real situations. He is of the view that these would assist the initiators of the new curricula in ways to make the forthcoming curriculum better. John’s narrative brings out one outstanding feature

of the teachers-as-technicians notion, its attempt to make teachers trust less in their in their own judgement and understanding of the curriculum delivery so that they become dependent on other people for important decisions (O'Neill, 2016).

The narrative illustrates that teachers who undergo curriculum change have their hands bound in terms of making inputs in what they do except to teach the prescribed curricula. Once teachers like John accept that they are meant to receive and implement other people's ideas, they tend to be captured in this mindset that leans towards deprofessionalising their teaching even further. The teachers-as-technicians view in education, as demonstrated by Johns' case, where teachers are made to believe that they are in the teaching-learning situation as high level technicians, not intellectuals, to receive and implement curricula that have been designed by experts and education specialists further inhibits teachers from thinking along the lines of making meaningful contributions in curriculum development (Bumen *et al.*, 2014).

John and other teachers who are in a similar situation should create situations that allow them to be the professionals that they are purported to be, rather than technicians, and dismiss the orientation of distrust that always goes with bureaucratic establishments. Teaching is more than transferring knowledge to learners as Connell (2009) illustrates, it is an intellectual activity that requires that teachers should be innovative and initiative, and these are skills that have to be practised over time rather than receiving information from policymakers and conveying it to learners.

In John's narrative, teachers are people who are in the teaching arena only to be serving the knowledge-transferring responsibility that has been delegated to them by educational authorities and that further deprofessionalises their teaching. When teachers are treated as technicians in education system, their voices are muzzled in curriculum making processes but John refuses to accept this stance and states it unmistakeably that he wants to have a voice in the curriculum landscape because he trusts himself, his judgement and his expertise in executing this daunting task.

When teachers are viewed as technicians they are seen as "corporate agents, grasping and executing the organisation's mission" with no voice for themselves (Bodman, Taylor, & Morris, 2012). John states a new statement among many repetitive ones: *In the classroom we are given scripted lessons to use for our teaching by unknown organisations like the NECT.* The NECT that he refers to is a project that is currently underway in most schools in Ximhungwe Circuit where John's school is also part, is a typical example of how deprofessionalising trends were allowed into the classroom.

Denial of teachers' educational expertise in the teaching field paved way for the backdoor entry of NECT, an alien from the corporate world into teaching (Goodson, 2014). NECT is working in collaboration with the Department of Basic Education in an attempt to improve the quality of teaching in schools. It focuses on school management, English First Additional Language, Mathematics from Grade 1 to 11. It also oversees Natural Sciences from Grade 1 to 9 and Physical Sciences from Grade 10 to 11. Additionally, it assists with Home Language teaching in Grade 1 to 3.

The NECT sends change agents (monitors) to the schools that it has been assigned to on a regular basis to mentor SMTs and teachers as they carry out their daily tasks. This programme includes conducting classes visits in the affected subjects. Some of the scripted lesson plans that John laments about are provided by the NECT although some are also provided by the DBE itself. Apart from the scripted lesson plans, the NECT also provides teachers with CAPS-compliant teaching programmes.

> *Teachers were also not involved in designing the NECT programme and they were not informed about the programme. We only saw people coming down to our schools and introducing themselves as change agents for NECT. Moreover, there is a conflict of interest between NECT's change agents and the Department's curriculum implementers. NECT demands that teaching programmes should be conducted in a particular way and the Departmental curriculum implementers want them carried in another. Educators find themselves torn between these two centres of power and not knowing what*

to do or where to go. Also, in this case teachers were not consulted when NECT was introduced, teachers were treated as technicians where they were given books from NECT to implement what was inside without them having to contribute to the content to be delivered.

John despises the NECT approach from its entry point which is well-aligned with the teachers-as-technicians tactic to the way it does things in the classroom. Teachers should therefore cut themselves free from these deprofessionalising shackles and focus on their own content knowledge development so that they get reprofessionalised to carry out their routine tasks without the loss of their professional status.

When the lessons come to the teacher, he must follow them in an orthodox fashion. He neither looks to the left nor to the right but he has to present them as they are. As an educator, you don't have any say in what you are going to teach. You also don't have any say in how you are going to teach the learners. I spoke about deprofessionalisation of teaching before and it is happening in a big way. You take the lessons as they are and teach them as they are given to you. Even if you see shortcomings within the lessons, you are not expected to change them, you present them as they are. I do not have any say in what I do, I am remote-controlled by policymakers. You do as the lesson dictates to you.

John's contests the rigidity of pre-packaged lessons plans as a source of deprofessionalisation in schools. The point that John tries to drive home is that pre-packaged curricula like CAPS and scripted lesson plans cannot be modified to suit individual learners' needs. Consequently, pre-packaged material tends to diminish teachers' professional control over their work and how they approach it as it is clearly demonstrated by John's narrative. John is frustrated by the curriculum innovation that dictate terms in his area of operation and he genuinely feels like he is made to wear blinkers that are 'remote-controlled' by policymakers. He seems to be trapped in a hopeless situation of being a technician and it does seem like there will be some reprieve anytime soon.

6.3.2 Teachers as compliant technicians

When the waves of curriculum reforms hit, teachers are expected to respond to the changes, and adopt the "image of a compliant technician, civil worker and worker who implements" the reforms (Weber, 2008, p. 288). As it has been stated several times in this project, John reiterates the fact that teachers are given curricular changes that have been designed elsewhere and brought to schools for teachers to implement in a top-down manner. I use John's narrative in this section to show that teachers are not the simple "compliant technicians" that the literature I have made reference to portrays them to be when they are confronted with mandated curriculum reforms, but that they apply various manoeuvres to steer their way through them.

> *As educators we are caught in a situation where we don't have authority over what we do, we are simply taking what is being given to us without any question. Teachers are not part of the process of designing the curriculum. Sometimes there are shortcomings within the curriculum, but teachers cannot challenge them because it would appear as if the teachers are challenging the authorities that introduced them.*
>
> *In one meeting that we held to discuss one curriculum change, some teachers tried to challenge the policy formulation procedure. These teachers were told in no uncertain terms that curriculum is policy and policies are there to be implemented not to be discussed. We are given a raw deal by the Department. I am not pleased with what is happening here. One thing for that I am certain of is that you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink. I have been around for some time I know how to navigate my way through these changes.*

The highly politicised reforms are brought in such a way that they leave no room for teachers to resist, theirs is to comply. John creates an impression that teachers do not always comply to these mandates. Here John paints a picture of a teacher who is not a willing participant in curriculum reforms but coerced. He also indicates that

teachers attempted to challenge the changes but they were silenced by departmental officials. Bantwini (2010) contends that teachers have their own roadmaps that they have developed over the years through the experience of continual curriculum change that they use in the face of new curricula that are imposed on them and John appears to be confirming this assertion in the foregoing extract.

In other words, teachers do not simply accept the external policy initiatives in a straightforward way but they are always interpreted and filtered by these teachers' thinking mechanisms (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008). What John is bringing out in the foregoing extract is that teachers carry out the top-down mandates that have side-lined them because they are duty-bound to so, but not because they are willing to do so. This means that teachers have been "manipulated so as to produce compliant patterns of behaviour" (Naidu, 2011, p. 10), but they have not necessarily had a buy-in on these reforms that exclude their views.

John uses the words "question" and "challenge" in his narrative to show that he does not accept the changes readily but only does so because of the circumstances that dictate so. It is therefore doubtful if teachers like John can fully commit themselves to reforms if they have reservations about their initial involvement in the curriculum formulation process. He indicates acceptance and resignation to a situation which is full of hopelessness for him. This is a further indication that John, and probably many other teachers who are in the teaching field merely comply with the curriculum initiatives, but they do not necessarily agree with them.

John confirms popular belief that teachers are technicians but he, however, detaches himself from the way in which the curricular changes were designed. He unwillingly embraces the position of being a victim of circumstances and in so doing he ironically affirms the political aim of creating a compliant profession which has at its core the intention to marginalise ideas that are incongruent to the reforms that are being ushered in (Davies, 2013). He sounds trapped in a vicious circle of changes that seem to have no end.

John brings several expressive statements to the fore as he shares how the changes were introduced and how they made him feel about the whole exercise. He gets emotionally charged about teachers' exclusion in the development of the curriculum through a series of negative statements which confirm the desire that teachers have in playing a role in curriculum development. One possible explanation for John's emotional desire to be part of curriculum development of the curriculum instead of being a compliant technician.

By virtue of them being teachers they should, in principle, be part of the way in which their schools change and John's narrative reveals a teaching landscape that, unfortunately, side-lines them (Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006). In congruence to John's proposal, Troudi & Alwan (2010), and Comber and Nixon (2009) emphasise that the way things are done in teaching where teachers are supposed to work as technicians who implement other people's pedagogy should be changed so that teachers take part as scholars and researchers who generate knowledge for learners themselves.

6.3.3 Bottom-up approach as an alternative model of curriculum change

Curricula are planned outside the school by politicians and brought to schools to implement in a top-down manner as planned. Teachers are faced with a situation where curricula are shoved down their throats with no one caring what their opinion is about them.

The preceding statement has been repeated several times in this narrative. The externally mandated top-down curriculum reforms have played an important role in excluding teachers from curriculum development, and they have mainly led to teacher resistance to accepting curriculum innovations in some countries (Ramberg, 2014). John affirms the claim about the exotic nature of the curricula that are implemented in the South African education system when he asserts that they are planned outside. This approach has a potential to produce both intended and unintended outcomes that should be addressed because they may have a determining effect on whether or not a teacher stays in the teaching profession (Valli

& Buese, 2007). That said, the initial teacher training tends to make teachers believe that their profession and professionalism are defined from outside, as opposed to within, and as such conditions them to be receptive to increased demands for accountability and decreased autonomy (Evans, 2010). John's working-life story further agrees with the literature that contends that teachers have been downgraded to consumers within their own schools and that they should take it upon themselves to turn this around to give themselves a voice even when changes are brought down from above (Troudi & Alwan, 2010). Developing curricula bottom-up, as opposed to the top-down policies that John bemoans, from schools towards higher levels would improve teachers' commitment to their implementation because they would have been developed by people who are at the grassroots and equipped with better understanding of how they work.

This proposed bottom-up model has been applied successfully in Japan, for example, where local teachers are in charge of curricular changes and they take this responsibility of all to all stakeholders across the education system (Hooghart, 2006). South Africa does not, however, have a track record of allowing teachers to participate in curriculum development despite its teachers' willingness to do so, as John points out on several occasions. It is a moot point whether teachers in the South African education system have such capacity, but John's narrative categorically indicates the existence of such capacity when he lashes out at top-down approaches. In other words, John is of the opinion that bottom-up approaches can be applied in South Africa if teachers are brought aboard the curriculum development processes through positive engagement instead of giving them ready-made curricula to implement.

6.3.4 Change fatigue as a consequence of the teachers-as-technicians approach

> *…when I started teaching there was Apartheid Education. After 1994 when a new government took over, OBE was introduced. After some years the NCS was introduced. Later it was changed into RNCS and now it has changed to CAPS and I have undergone all those changes in my teaching career, but all*

of the changes had good and bad elements in them. I am not sure what led to all these changes. When I look at CAPS it is similar to Bantu Education because now, we are back to subjects and we are no longer talking about learning areas, and we are no longer talking about assessment standards and it seems as if we have gone back to the old style.

Teachers have no idea of where they are going or what they are doing because after two years you may find that the current curriculum will be changed. The government keeps on changing the policies. The changes affect us, however, whilst you are still busy with OBE you are told that you will be changing to NCS. When you start to follow the new one it is changed again. Those changes become a problem to teachers as we always have to adjust to these changes, but we follow even if it's not easy. When a new minister of education is appointed, a new curriculum is introduced. As a teacher you have to exert extra effort to accomplish the requirements of a new curriculum and your work gets intensified in unthinkable ways. These changes are a tiresome activity for teachers. I am sick and tired of them.

In the foregoing extract John fervently complains about the recurrent curriculum changes that teachers are subjected to by educational authorities in the South African education system. He associates curriculum reforms with political changes where there are changes every five years or so, and with every change the political arena, the schooling system gets a new minister who brings along a new curriculum. He therefore raises a voice of concern about the frequency of curriculum reforms that teachers have had to deal with in South Africa. After years of being technicians and being the recipients of continual top-down mandated curriculum reforms, teachers are consequently affected by change fatigue. Rhulani had this to say about change:

Another issue that brings us problems in South Africa is that when a new president comes to office, he appoints a new Minister of Education. A new Minister of Education means a new curriculum to schools. Once a new Minister of Education is appointed teachers know that the curriculum is about to change again…we are in trouble!

Rhulani confirms that the South African education system is closely linked with the political system and the political changes that are made by presidents in terms of their personnel affect the schooling system directly. The quickest way in which this realised is when a new Education Minister is appointed, and a new curriculum is introduced. The changes that are brought down are usually branded as continual improvement for schools, but they tend to turn a blind eye to the welfare of teachers who must adapt to each and every change that is brought, hence the use of the concept “change fatigue”.

John’s narrative demonstrates that teachers struggle to adapt to curriculum reforms because they have experienced too many changes to a point that they have become less enthusiastic to change (Dilkes et al., 2014). Rural teachers that were part of this research project including John, started teaching in the era of Bantu Education, they moved to Outcomes-based Education (OBE), shortly after OBE they had to teach Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), which was followed by National Curriculum Statement (NCS), and lately they are teaching Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS).

Such rapid changes in an education system have consequences on the lived experiences of those who have to implement them. What John (and the other teachers) are saying is that they are tired of curriculum change which is worsened by their exclusion from policy decision-making. John’s explanation of the changes sounds confusing and frustrating to him. John’s working life narrative together with other rural teachers indicate an era of frustration, political agenda in curriculum matters, intensification and confusion on the part of teachers. His narrative is a further indication of the feeling of fatigue which goes with the unbecoming expectation of teachers to continuously change what they do, abandon what they know and start with new practices every time there is a new curriculum from the top (Norrie & Goodson, 2011).

Change or policy fatigue is likely to bring out negative outcomes that are stress-related that may include absenteeism, lack of motivation, and low rates of productivity (Jackson & Rothmann, 2005). John’s narrative demonstrates Chisholm

et al.'s (2005) assertion that teachers who are subjected to continual policy change overload suffer from stress. The “multiple shifts in refining and redesigning the school curriculum” have demoralised the teaching force and brought about curriculum change fatigue (Samuel, 2014, p. 613). This aspect is evident throughout John’s narrative.

The DBE is also aware of the problem of change fatigue, and when it brings a new curriculum it is quick to point this out so that teachers remain calm. The Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, had the following to say about change fatigue when she introduced Curriculum Policy Assessment Statement (Motshekga, 2010):

> *Curriculum reform is not something that the system takes lightly. My message from the onset of the Curriculum review process has been that we need to work against change fatigue in order to build confidence and enthusiasm amongst all our stakeholders. Therefore, we are proceeding deliberately and decisively to effect the broad recommendations of the Ministerial Committee.*

The dissatisfaction that John refers to in this narrative clearly tells that he has a problem of change fatigue that is created by the ceaseless processes of curriculum change. To deal with the problem of policy change fatigue, the DBE has stated that it intends to avoid curriculum change as much as possible because the schooling system is critically affected by policy change fatigue (Department of Basic Education, 2011). If the DBE commits itself to its undertaking teachers will continue to implement CAPS, which has been in place since 2010, in their classrooms without further interference from politicians and this may ultimately lessen the negative effects of the continual curriculum change that has been experienced over the past two decades. Furthermore, if curriculum change is halted for a while it will allow schools and teachers to recover from change fatigue (Pinar, 2003).

6.4 Coda

I think these days teaching has shifted from what it used to be. When I joined teaching, the profession was characterised by professionalism all-around. But when

the politicised curricular changes were introduced, teachers' professionalism was challenged for the first time. I had to change the way I did things in the classroom. First, was the fiasco of OBE which changed me from being a provider of knowledge to a facilitator. That was a big challenge to my identity because I had to switch from my secure identity within which I had cut my profession to assume a new identity where I had to assist learners to construct their own learning through my facilitation skills that were far off the mark! When CAPS was delivered to schools somewhere around 2010, it took me by surprise because of the structuring of its content for me. I was getting used to being side-lined, but nothing had prepared me for the way it was structured.

I no longer had the autonomy to shuffle the content to be taught the way I felt it should be because it had to be presented in a particular way. The corporate world came into the schooling through the back door with its accountability trackers and scripted lesson plans. Teaching is finally and truly captured by the forces of deprofessionalisation. My hands are tied, and my autonomy has gone out through the window. I am expected to comply to these changes, but it is difficult to do so. I am looking forward to the day when professionalism will be brought back to the classroom where I will be allowed to plan my classroom activities the way I want. As things are today, I feel demoralised and stressed by the conditions under which I teach. As teachers we work under difficult conditions and the end of the day, we are expected to produce good results.

The epilogue of John's story of teachers-as-technicians captures all the aspects that deeply characterise his narrative of being undermined by policymakers and politicians alike through relegating teachers to the level of technicians whose main duty is to receive and implement exotic policies. The narrative reveals a teacher whose professional autonomy has been reduced by years of ceaseless curriculum change. It also exposes a teacher who understands that a teacher and his pedagogy are of central importance in improving learning outcomes in his classroom, but this is barred from happening by policymakers' imposition of top-down initiatives that must be followed in a prescribed way.

The reduced autonomy that John bemoans is the limited flexibility that he is allowed to make classroom decisions over what he teaches and how he wants to teach it. This autonomy that John is worried about would, as he points out, include being consulted when decisions are being taken on matters that affect his classroom practices. State differently, John would appreciate being trusted by educational authorities in his ability to make use of his own judgement in the classroom situation. His narrative, therefore, exposes John as a teacher whose pedagogical practices have been deprofessionalised and impoverished by externally-driven policy initiatives.

An element that never goes far from the discourse of teachers' work, that is also revealed by John's narrative, is the fact that teaching is reduced to carrying out the decisions made by others and thus it carries the threat of deprofessionalisation. One other thing that is revealed by John's narrative is that he started teaching with a high level of professionalism that is gradually being undermined by the deprofessionalising contexts under which he works. Although John indicates commitment to his job, his intention to perform is increasingly put at risk by the present conditions under which he works that whittle down his autonomy.

In his narrative John talks about being stressed and demoralised by the situation under which he works when he deals with issues of being a technician in teaching. Schick and McNinch (2013) contend that intense systems of accountability, lack of professional autonomy, and persistently imposed change are the most common causes of stress in an education system. John's situation is compounded by the fact that the decisions that demoralise and stress him are imposed by people who are bent on controlling teachers in the teaching-learning situation, but they have little or no classroom experience and therefore do not have the interest of learners at heart.

John mentions how curriculum change has affected his identity as he had to change it every time a new curriculum was introduced. John is the only teacher who among the research participants who mentions that curriculum change affected his identity. A teacher's identity is linked to his or her personal narrative and it changes when the teacher's circumstances change (Hunter, 2010). Teachers have personal, professional and social identities as they carry out their pedagogical practices in the

classroom. These identities become challenged when the circumstances of their teaching change and from time to time they must change and assume new identities that they are unfamiliar with.

When teachers are faced with changes, they try to satisfy the demands of such changes and the fear of failing to cope with such may negatively affect their identity. Finally, despite being demoralised and stressed by his working-life situation John has hope that the teaching profession will be re-professionalised so that he becomes the professional he used to be, not the technician he has become. In other words, John looks forward to the day when he will be regarded as a professional and an intellectual in the schooling system where he will be consulted when changes are about to be made.

Such consultation will definitely take away the stress and demoralisation that he currently experiences. John's narrative also touched on how organisations from the corporate world, like the NECT, further help in sanctioning the teachers-as-technicians notion in schools. Overall, John's narrative creates a portrait of a teaching-learning situation that has relegated teachers to the side-lines and substituted them with policies that tell them what to in the classroom, from A-Z and how to do it.

6.5 Summary

In this section I analysed John's narrative through the teachers-as-technicians notion where teachers are seen as tools that are in the teaching learning situation to implement other people's ideas. John's narrative was re-presented to give a detailed story of how rural teachers view themselves and how they feel about being labelled as compliant technicians who respond to externally-driven initiatives. John was introduced as teacher who joined the teaching profession by chance. He loves his job but due to unforeseen circumstances he has found himself changing schools several times.

He started teaching in the era of Bantu Education and has undergone all curriculum changes that were introduced after the demise of the inferior apartheid education system. John tells his story of how he has been excluded from formulating the first curriculum change which was OBE until the final one, CAPS. He also narrates that all the curriculum changes excluded teachers in their formulation, and he asserts that these changes were conceived elsewhere and brought to school in a top-down manner. What emerges from his narrative is that these changes have deprofessionalised the teaching-learning situation by reducing teachers' autonomy in making decisions that affect their classroom settings.

By limiting teachers' autonomy to make their professional decisions in the classroom, teachers are reduced to pedagogical technicians who must implement pre-packaged curricula and scripted lesson plans as it was mentioned several times in his narrative. These technicians are expected to consent to the authorities' reform agendas without reservation. What has also emerged in the narrative is that policymakers introduce top-down policies to render teachers governable and expect teachers to implement these policies in their newly imposed role as technicians. Finally, John is stressed and demoralised by the way curriculum change has been brought down from the top and applied in his teaching environment.

7 CHAPTER SEVEN

WENDY'S STORY ABOUT INTENSIFICATION OF TEACHERS' WORK

7.1 Introduction

In the present section I use transcribed data to give a detailed account of Wendy's working-life narrative on the intensification of teachers' work. In the chapter I explore the detailed working-life experience of a rural teacher (Wendy) to gain an in-depth understanding of what intensification means under curriculum change. In re-presenting Wendy's narrative, I use four sub-themes: intensification as a thief of time, lack of resources as a sign of intensification, increased paperwork as a form of intensification, and mediating the intensification of teachers' work to elucidate Wendy's working-life narrative. Overall, the boundaries between the three sub-themes are not distinct and as a result, overlapping ideas appear across the analysis of Wendy's story of work intensification.

Wendy is a secondary school teacher who started her teaching career as an unqualified teacher at a rural primary school. She has been in the teaching profession for 22 years. She taught apartheid education in the first two years of her career before she went to the university to be trained to become a teacher. She has only worked in one secondary school since coming back from the university. She loves her teaching career and she seems comfortable about discussing issues that relate to it. Her story initially paints a lovely picture about teaching as she indicates that she is in the profession because she wants to be a lifelong learner who shares her knowledge with other people.

> *Teaching… is a very good career because I know that when I teach my learners I am transferring the knowledge that I have to other people and these people are going to use this knowledge elsewhere to assist other people. I like working with young people and teaching is the perfect career regarding that aspect. I am a learner every day of my life and the knowledge that I acquire assists me to empower my learners or other people with knowledge*

and skills. Only a few years into my restarted career I was confronted with the first curriculum change and since then the changes have never stopped, they make my teaching life difficult.

Despite the curriculum changes that Wendy experienced soon after she re-joined the teaching career, she stands firm in her decision to be resilient and steadfast in teaching so that the people around her benefit from her teaching. She believes that teaching is a profession that is meant to serve the community and the whole society. This is a commendable decision on her part, and she needs to be supported by school management as she trudges through thick and thin as she goes through intensifying teaching contexts and moments. Wendy is apparently satisfied with teaching as a career of her choice if her statements are anything to go by. The introduction to her story lays a foundation on how to understand her narrative as a whole and to understand her core beliefs about teaching.

My observation of Wendy when she was working confirmed what she told me about her view of teaching. Her office was a centre that was full of activity where learners came in for advice and assistance on educational matters and even matters beyond education. This took place when she had a free period. I attended her classes to get a closer look at her teaching to enhance my understanding of how the changes have impacted on her teaching over the years. She loves her learners and she seems to have established a good learner-teacher relationship with them.

Every time the period came to an end, they still wanted the lesson to continue into the next period, but this could not be done because she had to move to other classes as well. She was trained to teach Xitsonga Home Language (XHL) and Geography but she teaches Mathematical Literacy (MLIT) and Xitsonga. She teaches out-of-the-field in MLT, but my observation is that she does not struggle in teaching either subject. She informs me that she has a background in Mathematics training from her university studies and she took MLIT because it was a new subject that came with curriculum change in the South African education system with no teachers trained to teach it.

7.2 Wendy's teaching context

> *Teaching in a rural setting is not easy…you know the learners, as I indicated, do not have resources most of the time. You request the learners to go and ask for money from the parents to buy calculators, you find that it is difficult for those parents to buy those resources for the learners because in rural areas most of the parents are not employed at all. They do not manage to buy all those things that you expect from the learners. Another thing, if you give them work that needs the assistance of the parents, most the parents will tell you they don't know because they didn't go to school because they looked after the parents' livestock. Learners would easily access the required information from libraries in schools or in the community, but we don't have them and as teachers we become the learners' libraries because they come back to ask for assistance and whatever personal time we have must be shared with them.*

Talking about her teaching context, Wendy starts by pointing out that it is not easy to teach in a rural setting. Her story of intensification of teachers' work begins with the challenges of context which is characterised by deprivation. Lack of resources is a central point in any discourse on rurality and it comes as no surprise when she states how the parents of rural learners fail to buy essential resources like calculators that the learners need to improve their performance in the classroom. She takes the rurality issue a step further when she indicates that the parents are not only deprived of cash to buy their children resources because of being unemployed, but they also fail to assist with their homework and other tasks because of their illiteracy.

Working under situations like these intensifies the work of rural teachers as they must perform the dual role of being teachers and parents at the same time. Wendy concludes her case of teaching in a rural setting by further indicating how difficult it is for teachers in the classroom. Rurality does not only challenge the teacher, but it also challenges the learners who are assessed on things they are unfamiliar with but expected to perform. The lack resources in rural schools is further discussed

below when dealing with ‘lack resources as a source of intensification’. Moreover, the rural area where Wendy and all the research participants in this study work does not have school or community libraries that would easily be accessed by the learners and teachers for information.

Teachers in these settings must first act as parents in assisting learners with tasks because of their parents’ inability to so and they must further double-up as sources of knowledge due to the unavailability of libraries. This characteristic aspect of rurality tends to demotivate Wendy together with the other rural teachers due to the way it manifests itself because it adds to the teachers’ workload, on the one hand, and erodes their precious time that they should be spending with their families and friends, on the other.

7.3 Intensification of teachers’ work

Intensification has to do with the increase in control and pressure on what teachers do and the way they do it at any given time of the teaching. The pressure that they are subjected to is experienced differently by different individuals and the outcome of such intensifying pressure is demonstrated in their behaviour. In the cases where the external pressure is experienced negatively by the teacher, his or her self-confidence will be threatened but if this is viewed affirmatively the outcome of such pressure will be optimistic. The proliferation of literature on teachers’ work suggests that the pressure on teachers is increasing (Easthope & Easthope, 2007).

The intensification thesis is not supported by a lot of documentation in South Africa and neither was it the case in the 90s elsewhere when scholars like Hargreaves (1991) dealt with it. Hargreaves (1991) in his paper entitled: *Prepare to Meet Thy Mood? Teacher Preparation Time and the Intensification Thesis*, wrote:

> *The evidence for the intensification thesis has so far rested on a very small number of single- or two-teacher case studies and empirical support for the thesis, while mounting, can still be regarded as no more than slender. The*

time is ripe, therefore, to open the intensification thesis to more detailed and wide-ranging empirical scrutiny (p. 3).

Wendy's story does, however, put forward a strong case for intensification of rural teachers' work that was brought about by curriculum change and her narrative clearly illustrates how teaching under the intensified context has affected her working life as a rural teacher. Work intensification that is experienced through curriculum change has different impacts on teachers varying from stress, demotivation, low morale to resignation but very often it is a combination of the various factors that build up to an extent that they cause them to leave the profession (Fetherston & Lummis, 2012).

The changes affect us, however, while you are still busy with OBE you are told that you will be changing to NCS. When you start to follow the new one it is changed again. Hmmm, it has affected me a lot more especially with regard to paperwork.

The successive waves of curriculum change that are enacted upon schools are done with the aim of improving performance in schools, but they inadvertently cause teachers' work to be intensified. Wendy laments that the curriculum is changed before teachers have developed the insight to implement it as expected. This commonly stated fact creates an impression of teachers carrying out a mandated change in a situation where the initiators of such a change do not care about the welfare of the implementers, hence the change from one curriculum to another with no due consideration for teachers. Wendy feels like the policymakers' approach looks down upon the teaching profession while at the same time it makes her working life difficult.

Her demotivation is a sign of the negative outcome of the changes that she must deal with occasionally, but she indicates that she is willing to carry on despite the demoralisation. She is surprised by the introduction of a new curriculum whilst she is still 'busy' with another. The intensification of teachers' work is a product of policy reforms that end up increasing the workload that is carried by teachers. In addition to the intensification of teachers' work that is brought about by the curriculum

reforms, Wendy narrates about the suddenness of the changes which tend to unsettle teachers as they discharge their responsibilities in the classroom.

> *The curriculum changes have brought a lot of work. Every new curriculum increases the paperwork which teachers must do instead of reducing it. Our classes are overcrowded, and they do not have enough resources. Some of the curricula that were introduced required that the learners be grouped. When you attempted to group them, your work got more intensified than ever before. We were only trained for a very short period and we were expected to go and implement the new curriculum in the classroom, that intensified our work significantly.*
>
> *As I indicated earlier, our classes are overcrowded and when you implement a new curriculum it is difficult for a teacher who has not received enough training to deliver the new curriculum the way he is supposed to and results tend to drop every time we implement a new curriculum. The results only improve after some years of implementing the new curriculum and by that time a new one is introduced. That means that the teacher must start all over again. If we had enough resources, unfortunately, in rural schools we don't have enough resources our results would improve.*

Wendy mentions the workload that curriculum change brought which was exacerbated by the lack of resources and the fact that the curricula dictated a particular way of teaching learners in the classroom. This way of teaching required that the learners be arranged in groups, but this did not suit overcrowded classrooms and teachers found it difficult to teach effectively when faced with situations like these. Wendy juxtaposes overcrowding with curriculum change to indicate that the success of the latter in the classroom is highly set back by the presence of the former. She argues that overcrowding defeated the purpose of one curriculum's implementation because it specifically required that learners be arranged in groups for effective curriculum delivery.

The contexts in which teaching takes place are intensified and the degree to which these contexts negatively affect teachers' work is determined by the working

conditions that exist in schools (Loughran & Kelchtermans, 2006). Teachers are the only people who can give a true reflection of these contexts because they are grounded practitioners who have the thankless task of having to bear the brunt of challenges from these contexts on a regular daily basis. The authorities who introduced the system of grouping learners, for example, had probably planned for urban teaching contexts without considering rural and overcrowded environments. The work intensity increases for rural teachers when they are expected to deliver learning content that was designed for urban learners in rural settings because they must constantly adapt it to suit the new environment. The literature on intensification indicates that curriculum change has generally increased teachers' workload and this is confirmed by Wendy's narrative in the preceding extract.

Wendy laments about the intensification of working conditions that she experienced since she started teaching over two decades ago. She mentions 'intensified' several times in the excerpt. The intensification thesis has it that teachers are overworked through the tasks that they are allocated to a point that they have less time to deal with their personal issues. Work intensification calls for change in the ways teachers have been doing things in the classroom, it originates from different sources and it impacts differently among different teachers, and as such it is often difficult to generalise it (Ballet et al., 2006). This means that no two teachers can experience work intensification the same way but the way it impacts on them is reflected in the way they carry out their pedagogical practices in the classroom situation.

> *It affected the teaching-learning situation because I was not 100% sure of what I was expected to do in class because the curriculum was a 'new thing' until I got used to it. It was only after this that I could deliver it [successfully] to the learners. Every time it changed, I had to take a long time in making my lesson preparations and in trying to understand the new curriculum. It was too much for me.*

Although it is difficult to generalise work intensity, there are several identifiable common features that riddle the intensification thesis and most of these are mentioned by Wendy in her working life story. The features include*, inter alia*, workload, lack of resources and its notoriety of diminishing teachers' time to do their

personal business. Wendy illustrates all these characteristics that go together with change. Generally, curricula that are imposed from outside have a tendency to intensify teachers' work and increase their workload to an extent that they perceive a loss of confidence in their ability to render a good service (Day, 2012).

Wendy explains how this loss of confidence has led to her uncertainty about what she was going to teach in the classroom in the face of the changes that were conceived outside the school situation. Tertiary institutions that train teachers must play a central role in building up teachers' confidence in their future schools introducing programmes that deal with measures that they should take when they encounter curriculum change (Evans, 2010). Teachers who are prepared with this view in mind are more likely to show better resilience and adaptation in times of changing curricula. These teachers will also have the confidence to manage the emerging challenges that often come with curriculum reforms (Sammons *et al.*, 2007).

Additionally, she indicates that she was taken backwards by the change because of the amount of time it took her to catch up with the curriculum that was introduced. Wendy's last sentence illustrates that curriculum changes overwhelmed her in stressful manner like the other rural teachers in the investigation. Whatever the source of intensification may be, I must point out that the effects of intensification of teachers vary from one teacher to the next, meaning that what one teacher regards as work overload may not necessarily be viewed so by the next one. This means that the demands made upon the teachers are interpreted differently by different teachers. One teacher, for example, may feel threatened by the work intensity while another teacher may view the same intensity as potential work overload, and another may see it something that erodes his or her personal time

Schick & McNinch (2013) are correct to point out that teachers should be given support to continue with their good work of teaching learners when they face the challenge of intensification of their work. In the last part of the preceding statement Wendy finally makes a contradictory comment to what she has been saying all along. She has been hitting hard on the authorities, but her last comment gives an element of positivity and some sign of bending towards compliance amidst the

genuine concerns that she raised about the intensification of work that she contends with in her teaching context. She also does not shy away from indicating that she complies whilst it is not easy for her to do so.

> *One bad thing about SBA tasks is conversions. Tasks are given out of 80 marks, for example, but when you record the marks you must convert them from 80 to a weight of 10. That gives us a lot of work, the SBA marks are too much as they give us a lot of work that is coupled with conversions and recording. They give us tough time. Besides recording, there are files that are to be arranged. The teacher must make sure that each learner has a file. If you have 144 learners in a language subject, for example, you must arrange a file for each learner, and that is a lot of administration that you must do. Learners may attempt to do their files, but some will have some difficulties and will still have to assist them. That is time-consuming and, in that way, teachers are affected.*

The literature of intensification maintains that intensification has no single source of origin and indicates that it may either be internal or external in terms of how it originates. This means that it may come from teachers themselves as they work in their schools or it may be imposed on the teachers from external sources (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008). In Wendy's case in the extract above, the source of intensification is external and mandated by policymakers. She laments about the intensification that is brought to school by school-based assessment (SBA) which is a by-product of curriculum change.

Teachers are expected to do the instructional work of teaching learners but through curriculum reforms they are given additional tasks that are traditionally not allocated to them e.g. data management and analyses that are meant for other people (Valli & Buese, 2007). Such expansion of teachers' roles intensifies their work to a point where they find themselves playing multitasking roles that affect their personal time. Wendy rues the intensification of teachers' work through additional workload of entering marks on SBA recording sheets, doing conversions and weightings.

These intensifying administrative tasks that are now given to teachers would easily be executed by administration clerks whose job description fits neatly into such kind of responsibilities rather than giving them to teachers. Penrice (2011) identifies the following three ways in which intensification manifests itself: first, through the increase in the number of tasks that a teacher is expected to do; second, through the increase in the expected work in the classroom; and third, through the broadening of the scope of work that teachers must do outside the classroom. All three ways are found in Wendy's intensification story in the preceding extract.

Wendy brings out some of these manifestations that Penrice refers to when she talks about the learners' files that she must prepare to take for SBA moderation. This common practice seriously intensifies their work as they must carry out delegated duties outside the classroom in response to top-down mandates that are of external origin. The paperwork that is in the form of files that Wendy complains about, is an outcome of the increase in the number of tasks that teachers must deal with in the face of curriculum changes. Paperwork is discussed in depth below as a sub-theme under the theme of Wendy's intensification of work.

Finally, teaching has been clouded with many changes from where it was regarded as a noble profession to a point where "more and more people want to leave, fewer and fewer want to join, and very few are interested in leading" (Day & Smethem, 2009, p. 143). The situation is disturbing for a profession that is regarded as the hub of knowledge and the mother of all professions. Intensification that teachers experience in the school environment, as it was demonstrated in Wendy's story, is usually associated with execution of non-teaching responsibilities and has a negative effect on teacher commitment and morale (Mengistu, 2012). Teachers who work in intensified backgrounds like Wendy sometimes feel like curriculum change brings unnecessary tasks that take their focus away from the core-business of teaching. Wendy's story, therefore, turns the spotlight on the intensification thesis to illuminate how rural teachers experience it from a South African rural perspective.

7.3.1 Intensification as a thief of time

> *These days the Department no longer arranges workshops during the week in the afternoon but they are done during weekends where you are expected to spend time with your family, instead you are expected to attend a workshop in order to adjust yourself to the new content that has just been introduced so that you can go back to the classroom with better knowledge and delivering the right content to the learners.*
>
> *The new curricula demand more time from teachers because they must find time to teach way beyond their working time. They must teach on Saturdays and sometimes on Sundays. That is time that is meant to be spent with families but instead of doing that, I find myself going to teach learners to catch up. I am no longer able to finish marking learners' books at school and I am compelled to mark them at home instead of relaxing.*

Wendy complains about the lack of time for teachers to relax with their families due to curriculum change. The teachers are expected to attend in-service workshops over weekends instead of midweek to improve their capacity to teach. She also laments about teachers having to conduct extra classes to improve the performance of their learners after hours. Teachers find themselves in a situation where their work is intensified by the demands of curriculum change. Over the years education systems have experienced numerous reforms which have resulted in teachers being called to adapt in relation to the increased number of responsibilities that come with such changes and that is what Wendy bemoans.

One of the complaints that teachers laid against the first post-1994 curriculum change that was phased into the South African education system, OBE, was that it took a long time to implement, something that intensified what teachers had to do in class. Teachers work under pressure where the working conditions are ever deteriorating while there are new mandates that are being brought down from the top for them to implement. Wendy laments the way teachers' work has been intensified by curriculum reform to the extent that teachers' personal time is taken

and used for employment-related matters. Wendy' narrative exposes intensification of teachers' work through the colonisation of teachers' personal time where they are called to meetings and workshops during weekends by the Department.

Weekends should be a good time for teachers to relax and re-energise but in times of curriculum change teachers are expected to attend workshops during that time. Reduced time for relaxation, no time for lunch, lack of time to retool one's skills and keep up with one's field, elimination of time for social interaction, and cutting of corners to economise on time are some of the original factors pointed out by Hargreaves (1991) that show that teachers' work is intensified. These aspects of the original intensification thesis are always used as a point of reference when checking if intensification has taken place.

Wendy confirms the intensification thesis regarding these aspects, and she is not happy with the way her personal time is utilised for departmental workshops every time a new curriculum is introduced. Teaching is a career that is joined by people who are not primarily motivated by money but people who have the passion to render a public service that is associated with lifestyle issues such as extended holidays and more time with family (George, 2009). It follows that if these teachers' holidays and more time with family are taken away from them, more teachers will leave the profession.

It is not uncommon for teachers to complain about increased workloads when faced with reforms because such workloads lead to intensification of their work. One negative consequence of intensification is the lack of time for teachers to reflect on their teaching practice as they are constantly engaged in the implementation of the reforms that, incongruously, intensify their work (Penrice, 2011). Wendy no longer has time to mark her learners' work at school and she has resorted to carrying her work home at the expense of the personal and family downtime. Intensification of work includes, inter alia, the extension of teachers' tasks to a point that they are no longer able to finish them during the allocated time.

Wendy's case of taking her work home to mark is a very good example how one's work may be intensified by curriculum change. I must be quick to point out though

that taking one's work home may be viewed as work intensification by one teacher like Wendy does in this case, whilst another may look at it as a normal expectation. This may also be a typical example of intensification that is internal when a teacher becomes aware that he or she cannot cope with her responsibilities at school and he or she decides to take her work home.

> *Learners are left unattended when teachers go for moderation or to make submissions. Teachers are expected to travel from their schools to certain convergence centres for moderation. If I could make recommendations, I would suggest that curriculum implementers go to schools to check the work so that when they see mistakes, they can easily rectify them with learners. This would not be a time-consuming exercise because we would be doing with learners what we have been employed for. As it stands teachers carry files from schools to meeting points and leave learners behind. We make use of the time that has been allocated for teaching to go and make submissions where we travel away from our schools. This is not good for either the learners or teachers because it wastes time.*

Wendy talks about the intensification that is experienced due to the accountability demands that rural teachers undergo, where they must leave their workstations to go and meet curriculum implementers to moderate learners' work. The teachers utilise contact time to satisfy this demand and, in the process, they lag behind in the work because they travel to meeting points when they should be teaching. When they come back from those convergence points, they have more work to attend to due to the contact time they missed in their attempt to address accountability demands. This form of work intensity means that the teacher must deal with more tasks without extra time being allocated to handle them. To address this problem, teachers must work extra time after hours so that their work is updated. In other words, teachers are continually being expected to do more with less time and few resources allocated (Comber & Nixon, 2009; Keogh, Garvis, Pendergast & Diamond, 2012).

The demands made on the time of teachers to execute their core tasks are often set off by time devoted to accounting and monitoring such tasks (Ball, 2003). The issue

of SBA marks together with the procedures that go with it clearly attests to Ball's assertion and the way it is carried out right from the beginning to the end is a practical example of one of the worst forms of intensification that rural teachers can experience. Wendy also expresses her dissatisfaction with the SBA moderation setup that requires that teachers must leave their schools to submit their files for moderation.

She sees this tendency as a mindless time-wasting activity that could easily be solved by getting the curriculum implementers to visit schools to do moderation instead of the schools visiting the moderators at selected points. She also rues the fact that this activity also erodes teachers' instructional time with learners which they will still be expected to recover through the intensifying catch-up programmes that they are mandated to implement under such circumstances. The intensification of teachers' work results in an upsurge of the volume of activities demanding increased effort and more time to accomplish them (Ball, 2003).

Wendy's account of her experiences with curriculum change concurs with the intensification thesis in terms of reduction of time for personal things. It fits neatly with the notion that intensification that is associated with mandated curriculum changes makes teachers mistrust themselves and to become reliant on others to tell them what to do. Under circumstances like these, teachers must abandon their tried and tested pedagogies in favour of new ones which intensify their work. Her story, however, refutes the thesis in terms of cutting corners to deal with her allocated tasks, she does them all in a trustworthy manner despite the negative impact on her personal time.

Furthermore, the literature on intensification has it that teachers feel like their efforts are not appreciated while they volunteer their personal time and extra hours for the success of their learners (Schick & McNinch, 2013). Wendy's working-life story, on the other hand, depicts her as teacher who is dedicated to her job. It upholds her as a teacher who has no qualms about whether she is appreciated for her relentless efforts of teaching learners successfully despite the difficult contexts under which she plies her teaching trade.

7.3.2 Lack of resources as a sign of intensification

> *Implementation was not always carefully thought through; properly piloted or resourced and enormous stresses and strains were consequently placed on already over-burdened principals and teachers in widely divergent educational contexts. While better resourced schools coped but complained of excessive paperwork, inadequately resourced schools were in addition hampered by poor infrastructure, large classes, and an absence of the technologies of teaching, including educational resources such as textbooks, exercise books, pens and pencils* (Review Committee on Curriculum 2005, 2000, p. 4)

The foregoing is an extract from a report made by the Review Committee on Curriculum 2005 that outlined how the first curriculum change since apartheid affected teachers and their pedagogies. The intensification of teachers' work that was brought about by curriculum change, and the "*stresses and strains"* that were experienced due to lack of resources and other related problems is well-documented. The availability of resources in schools, as pointed out in the Review Committee on Curriculum 2005's report above, plays an important role in the effective delivery of curriculum content. In the extract below Wendy talks about the non-availability of resources when new curricula were introduced in schools. Lack of resources in times of curriculum reforms in schools is one form of intensification that has seen policymakers encouraging teachers to do more with less, to work smarter and to work more efficiently (Zipin, 2002). Moreover, the availability of resources and reasonable amounts of workload are often associated with teachers' commitment to their work (Ololube, 2006).

> *Teaching needs teachers who know what they are going to do in class. Unfortunately, the teachers found it difficult to change from the old curriculum to the new one. Another thing you would find that even the resources for the new curriculum were not readily available at all when it had to be implemented. When there is a new curriculum you must move around searching for more information from people who understand it. It means that*

you work during the scheduled school time first and from there create extra time to seek for extra information by taking a long trip to the nearest library or go to someone who can assist you with regards to the new curriculum. This way your personal time is affected because you must forget about your personal things and focus on the new curriculum.

Wendy confirms assertions by the intensification thesis that the work that is given to teachers when new curricula are being introduced is done without the provision of extra resources to cater for the extended responsibilities that are given. Additionally, intensification is also characterised by the need to collaborate with other stakeholders which may lead to dependence on other people. When a new curriculum was introduced without equipping teachers with the required skills to teach it, they had to seek for assistance from other teachers to empower them with the required knowledge to go and carry out their teaching activities and as such a situation of reliance on other people was created.

Stated differently, when new curricula are introduced they tend to catch teachers off-balance because of insufficient training that they receive prior to the implementation and subsequently they rely on external experts to assist them (Penrice, 2011; Valli & Buese, 2007; Weber, 2007). Wendy confirms this tendency. This form of intensification in schools was worsened by the lack of information that teachers needed to carry out their classroom activities at school level on the one hand and moving around searching for information on the other. It is unclear whether Wendy's *'teachers found it difficult'* means that they passively resisted the initiated change or that they were reluctant to embrace the change.

Penrice (2011) argues that power and resistance 'co-exist' and as such it is unlikely for curricular innovations to be introduced without some form of resistance. Beyond this statement, Wendy makes no further comment on how the difficulty they experienced was handled by rural teachers. That said, the statement indicates that teachers did not have a smooth transition from the old to the new curriculum. Any curriculum that is introduced should be supported with resources for teachers to implement but this does not appear to be the case in the South African context. Froese-Germain (2014, p. 8) asserts, "studies of teacher workload and work

intensification suggest that teachers are facing the toxic combination of an increase in responsibilities and a reduction in the support and resources they need to meet those responsibilities."

Wendy's working life was highly intensified by the introduction of new curricula that were not backed by additional resources as she had to compensate for the inadequacy by running around in search for information that would assist her learners in the classroom. Very often policymakers introduce changes without providing for the change and they leave teachers like Wendy with the mammoth task of using their personal time to provide solutions to problems they did not create. In the above example, Wendy had to travel for long distances to find the nearest library to seek information that was required for her to implement the new curriculum.

> *In some cases, service providers that were appointed to deliver textbooks, for example, took time to deliver them to schools and as a result it was a challenge because teachers had to teach learners without the correct resources. Sometimes fewer books than expected were delivered and the learners had to share them. If two learners share a textbook, and one of the two learners goes home with the textbook the other learner will not have the opportunity of using it because it is being used by the other. The fact that the curriculum was new was a challenge on its own and textbook shortages was another. As a result, the learner performance went down instead of going up when a new curriculum was introduced. These are some of the challenges we experienced when a new curriculum was introduced.*

When resources like textbooks are in short supply and they must be shared, teachers have their work intensified when planning their teaching and assessment tasks because they must consider the learners who have limited access to these resources. The DBE has often made rhetorical statements like, "Teachers are to be in class, on time, teaching and making use of textbooks" (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 3), but when it comes to the actual delivery of textbooks which are an important resource in the education system, it sometimes falters as Wendy indicates. She attributes the decline in learner performance to the DBE's failure to provide textbooks. In this case Wendy's working life was intensified by the DBE's

failure to deliver the required resources timeously. The way she explains the situation indicates that rural teachers faced double intensification that was created by curriculum reform, on the one side, they had to deal with the problem of non-delivery of textbooks and they also had to run around looking for assistance to teach an unfamiliar curriculum.

> *Resources are very important in the didactic triangle. Our learners tend to understand lessons perfectly if you make use of resources. Resources mean a lot, even when going to class, if you want to teach a graph [for example] it is not easy for a teacher to draw a graph on the chalkboard. You need an overhead projector and if a school does not have it, the teacher will draw a slanting graph, and he will take a long time to finish drawing the graph on the chalkboard. Resources are therefore important at school and if you do not have them your results will be affected. In a science subject, for example, where the teacher had to conduct an experiment in Chemistry without the necessary resources the teacher would end up doing it theoretically instead of doing it practically as expected. Such scenarios created difficulties in the teaching-learning situation.*

Wendy's story of intensification seems to be centred on the lack of resources. Grounding her narrative on lack of resources is justifiable when one considers the fact that resources fall among the factors that are ranked highly in terms of causing teacher stress (Haberman, 2005). She correctly points out that the lack of resources in rural schools complicates the teaching of subjects like Natural Sciences and Physical Sciences. Wendy is emphatic about the intensification that is caused by the introduction of new curricula that do not go hand in hand with the provision of resources as her illustration of a slanting graph indicates.

Despite some people's argument that resources don't teach, Wendy stresses the centrality of resources for meaningful teaching to take place in schools. She correctly argues in favour of the utilisation of resources in schools to have effective curriculum delivery in the teaching-learning situation. Lack of access to these intensifies their work as they have to exert concentrated efforts in implementing new curricula (Sargent, 2011).

In the rural areas you are expected to improvise because most of the things that teachers talk about are not available and in some cases, you theorise content that was supposed to be done practically and your share of workload increases. Therefore, it is not easy to teach in places like these (rural). Another thing, when questions are set, like in the higher levels, they may make use of a cinema which rural learners have never come across or set question based on a restaurants or stadiums which are not found in rural areas it becomes difficult for learners to answer those questions correctly because they stay in rural areas. It therefore difficult to teach in these places.

Once again, Wendy brings the issue of rurality to the fore when she indicates that theorising content that was supposed to be taught practically intensifies teaching. The deprivation that rural areas have becomes a serious contextual factor when one looks at the examples that she gives when exams are set. Essentially, this means that rural learners and teachers need to work harder than their urban counterparts if they want to produce comparative results.

7.3.3 Increased paperwork as a form of intensification

The changes affected me badly more especially the paperwork, I feel like it was too much. Too much time is spent on paperwork than in going to the classroom… a teacher is expected to compile this and that. I understand that it must be done but it takes the teacher from the classroom into the office. In the end it affects my results because I must spend a lot of time doing paperwork instead of teaching.

Wendy complains about excessive paperwork that is brought about by curriculum reform. Wendy, like all the rural teachers in the current project, despises the voluminous paperwork that she faces when curriculum reforms take place. Curriculum reforms that are introduced in schools are usually associated with paperwork that teachers must deal with and teachers dislike it (Mengistu, 2012). The paperwork load bothers teachers because it creates work intensity as they

sometimes have to take their work home to mark in the evening or over weekends (Alshorfat, 2011). Wendy views paperwork as an additional administrative task that is given to her with the intent of taking her focus away from her core responsibilities of teaching. She also rues the fact that paperwork that must be done is generally excessive and it takes a lot of time to accomplish, hence its intensification effect on teachers.

> *If you give a test these days, you are not only expected to mark it and give feedback. No, you must give a test, mark it, give feedback and go back to paperwork where you are going to record marks. After recording the marks, you must analyse the results and after that do item analysis where you must go through every question analysing it. It is a lot of work that is expected from the teachers.*

> *Previously we gave learners work to write, marked it and gave feedback, end of story. In the past, in languages, we gave learners a topic to talk about and gave them marks. Today, each response that is given by a learner is recorded so that you can have evidence that confirms that learners have done the oral task. This is the question that was asked, and this is the response that was given by the learner. This is a heavy workload in my opinion.*

Wendy makes a detailed comparison of the paperwork that she had in the past era with that of the present era and she concludes that the former did not burden teachers with as much paperwork as the latter. The latter demands that tasks that are given to learners be marked, feedback be given, recorded, and analysed per item as she indicates, and this is carried across all subjects. One would not want to imagine the kind of intensification that is experienced by a teacher who teaches two subjects or more. Wendy' explanation of the processes clearly indicates how overwhelming this paperwork process is to the teacher.

Research evidence suggests that teachers are not satisfied with the paperwork brought by performativity demands of curriculum reforms and Wendy's assertion demonstrates this (Mengistu, 2012). Wendy takes the story of excessive paperwork further when she talks about how evidence-based intensifies teachers' work in

schools as they are expected to ensure that the paperwork that is required is done perfectly to appease their supervisors. Evidence-based accountability that teachers face in schools today worsens the current paperwork scenario where teachers must account through written evidence.

Wendy explains that teachers have now been given the burdensome task of listening to learners during oral assessment and recording their responses for further accounting. She states that this trend increases the intensity of her work as a teacher. The huge amounts of paperwork and ever-increasing workloads that teachers deal with put them under pressure. Such kinds of pressure are so stressful that teachers that do not have strong coping mechanisms end up resigning or taking early retirement (Kirk & Wall, 2010). Richard, one of the fifty-two research participants, had this to say about paperwork:

> *During the time of RNCS teachers were expected to develop a file and there were certain things that we were expected to file in this portfolio. It was fine, and we got used to it. But as time went on, there was a lot of useless paperwork that was expected to be in the portfolio and that caused a lot of confusion. The things that were piled to the workload we already had were affecting our classroom practices.*
>
> *Most of us started to focus on developing the file instead of teaching in the classroom. At the end of the day the core business of teaching was not done because of the portfolio. 90% of my time at school should be spent in class, teaching, but instead I had to only spend 10% of my time teaching and utilising the whole 90% developing the file! This was bad and it demoralised me.*

Richard's story on paperwork sums up the intensification that teachers experience when there are changes in curriculum. One negative feature of increased paperwork that Wendy and the other teachers encounter is that it focuses on making teachers to do administrative duties that take them away from the core-business of teaching that they are employed for. This agrees with the notion that one often encounters in the literature of intensification that teachers are given too many tasks that have

nothing to do with their actual teaching in the classroom (Easthope & Easthope, 2000).

It follows that if teaching is clouded with paperwork overload that reduces the quality time with families, teachers will feel that their work is intensified. OBE was one curriculum that was associated with a lot of paperwork (HSRC, 2005) and one of the reasons why it was revised was the fact that it was riddled with paperwork. It was hoped that this was going to be reduced in the subsequent curricula, but this has not happened. It appears as if excessive paperwork was not confined to OBE, but it was cascaded to all the subsequent curricula that succeeded it as Wendy indicates talks about it even when she refers to CAPS, the latest curriculum. All the rural teachers that I interviewed, including Wendy, complained about the excessive paperwork that they must go through every time when implementing a new curriculum.

> *Besides that, there are school-based assessment tasks (SBAs) that have to be done, they are too much. Each term has been allocated its own tasks. After you have given the tasks to learners you sometimes find that the learners have not performed well in those tasks, the directive is that the task has to be redone several times until the learners have attained satisfactory marks. This is extra workload for the teacher. If there are three tasks that are supposed to be given to learners in that particular term, you must give learners the task, you mark and record the marks.*

The paperwork that Wendy complains about takes an ugly twist for the worst when schools are given directives to ensure that learners pass some tasks that are given by whatever means possible. Regarding this one, Wendy is expected to repeat a task that she has given to learners several times and mark it until the learner has produced a satisfactory performance. In other words, all learners who fail a task must be subjected to the exercise of repeating until they pass. Despite the good intentions this might have towards achieving good results teachers are humans, not robots, and they get tired of doing the same thing repeatedly. They should be given a chance to explore new avenues in their teaching practice to enhance their teaching experience and the learning experience of their learners.

When teachers are faced with challenges such as this one where they must repeatedly do the same kind of paperwork that increases their work intensification, they may be tempted to cut corners so that they get the paperwork over and done with. The work intensity that Wendy refers to in her story is not unique to the rural context in which Wendy teaches, Day & Gu (2010) confirm that increased accountability intensifies the amount of time that is spent on paperwork, administration, assessment and reporting that Wendy also makes reference to. Although repeating tasks as it has been exposed by Wendy's story, is made with the intention of improving learner performance, the literature on curriculum change indicates that more paperwork does not necessarily lead improvements of results in the classroom (Comber & Nixon, 2009).

Wendy mentions excessive paperwork several times in her narrative and she mentions it as a hindrance to discharging her responsibilities. It follows that she would be more than pleased if paperwork and the workload associated with it could be reduced. The accountability demand made by paperwork as elaborated in Wendy's narrative concurs with the notion that in intensifying circumstances "increases in effort and time spent on core tasks are off-set by increases in effort and time devoted to accounting for task work or erecting monitoring systems, collecting performative data and attending to the management of institutional 'impressions' (Ball, 2003, p. 221).

Paperwork is a burden to teachers, and it affects teachers' classroom practice to a point that it causes them stress. Teaching is a job that increases stress for its practitioners (Haberman, 2005) and its stressful nature is well-documented, but the excessive paperwork that goes hand in hand with lack of resources tends to worsen the situation. When teachers are subjected to stress their coping mechanisms are put to test and they may end up failing. Wendy never uses the word "stress" in her working-life narrative but what she relates is an indication of a teacher who works in a highly intensified context which is typically associated with high stress levels and reduced morale.

Moreover, teachers get frustrated when they are expected to do paperwork that they feel is needless and undermining their professionality especially when they must record everything they do through pen and paper. If this can happen, teachers will reach a point where they feel the pressure of working under intense conditions and they eventually lose control. Wendy expresses the negative working life balance that comes as an impact of the burdensome paperwork that she deals with under curriculum change. Wendy's work intensity when implementing curriculum change is aggravated by the combination of excessive paperwork and lack of resources such as libraries and textbooks. Interestingly, the literature of intensification proliferates with cases where excessive paperwork is mentioned alongside lack of resources.

Overall, increased paperwork, work overload, the pressure to meet deadlines and insufficient time for teachers to do their own things have intensified the rural context in which Wendy's teaching takes place A healthy school is a school that has, among other characteristics, school policies in place, a strong sense of collegiality, a substantial number of resources to support teachers and minimised paperwork (Kyriacou, 2001). Wendy's school context is marked by increased paperwork and limited resources and as such it is still far from being regarded as a healthy school.

7.3.4 Mediating the intensification of teachers' work

> *The HOD will come to me and demand the very same items. The curriculum implementer will also come back to me demanding all these items. A new curriculum is time-consuming, and it intensifies what must be done at school. It creates a heavy workload. Teachers must try to find means and ways of handling it because it is already there. In a day when I come to work, I come with my plans but when I arrive here at school, I come across new things that I must attend to.*

> *The Department always brings new things and tasks that I must do instead of going to class to teach. It is not unusual for a curriculum implementer (CI) or an official from the district or province to come unannounced to the school.*

When that happens whilst I am teaching, I am expected to stop my teaching and attend to them. Periods pass while I am attending to them and sometimes fail to teach what I was supposed to teach because of them. It is disturbing, but when they are gone, I pick myself up and start working again.

The impact of intensification of teachers' work is not always direct and the way in which this happens is always mediated by the teachers who are in direct contact with the teaching-learning situation and they make use of their sense-making capabilities to achieve this. Wendy gives information on how a typical working day for her unfolds. As it stands her day is full of uncertainties that wait to happen, and it appears as if she is lucky to have a full day of teaching without interruption from departmental officials. Essentially, this means that a teacher cannot plan how his or her own day, but he or she must go to work with the hope that it will go uninterrupted until the last minute of working. She tells how she mediates her way through these disturbances that are brought down from the top. She accepts that change is difficult to implement and talks about the way the changes affected the way she did things. She encourages other teachers who are facing a similar situation to come with strategies that will make them overcome the work intensity that they face.

I am not acquainted with it and I am called to a workshop at two o'clock to learn while I am already tired, and I am piled with the new curriculum content. That means that I have deal with this new content while on the other hand I must prepare to go and stand in front of an overcrowded classroom and deliver the new content. I must be more knowledgeable about the new content because some smart learners may be smarter than me in the classroom and they will challenge me. Furthermore, it means I must do more research after the workshop so that I don't get embarrassed in front of the learners.

Wendy accepts that curriculum change will be with her for a long time within the foreseeable future and she adopts a positive outlook towards the work intensity that has become part and parcel of her working life. Instead of taking a negative stance towards the curriculum that she is not acquainted with and the late workshop that she is called to attend, she decides to learn more through doing her own research

so that she delivers her lesson successfully in the classroom. After giving the negative points about the intensification of her work, she decides to be more knowledgeable in the classroom by getting to know more about the new curriculum.

Her change of mind aligns well with the literature of intensification that says that the impact of intensification does not always have to be negative. Talking about the good elements of curriculum change adds a positive tone to the education reform discourse because change is not optional but an essential part of the modern world that we live in that calls for responsiveness. The impression that Wendy creates in the extract is that the performance of learners improves when teachers view working under intensifying conditions positively.

Although teaching is regarded as a highly stressful and intensifying job, teachers have to find positive ways in which they may handle the situation in a less stressful manner (Johnson, 2004). In other words, schools must mediate intensification in such a way that the morale and commitment of teachers are uplifted. Wendy's paradoxical statement about being tired and being called to a workshop late in the afternoon to be taught new curriculum content in one breath is a typical example of how people may be realistic about their teaching contexts and approach them in a positive way. Although intensification was worsened by the poor training which was conducted only for some hours in some cases that teachers received when new curricula were introduced, Wendy dispels the negative effects of such training and accepts it as a learning curve of some kind.

7.4 Coda

> *It is difficult to teach in a rural setting and it gets even more difficult with curriculum reforms. I once worked at a primary school where there were only four classrooms. While it started from Grade R to grade 7 and tells you that the other classes were taught under trees. I taught learners under a tree. The tree was used as a form of support for the chalkboard. Learners put books on their laps when they wrote because there were no tables, they only had chairs. Absenteeism was rife and very often I had to repeat the subject matter*

that I had taught. In the past there were insufficient resources and the learners wrote tasks for more than one subject in one book.

Many years later there are still challenges in rural areas. Teachers were not happy with implementing new curricula because they already had experience with the outgoing curriculum and with a new one, they had to start all over again. When the curriculum is new no one is better informed about it and it is difficult to teach. The teacher takes a long time in preparing for his/her class because he or she is dealing with new content. These changes cause our results to drop and the department wants us to account for such poor results because of the intensifying rural environment under which we work. Our classroom practices are highly challenged.

The epilogue of Wendy's narrative of the intensification touches different aspects that she spoke about in the early sections of her narrative. She narrates how rural contexts have always been intensified by their situation of deprivation. The classroom tree example even though it is not linked to curriculum change, attests to this fact. The issue of poverty in rural areas is an ever-present factor that rural teachers like Wendy must always contend with in one way or the other. In this case learners need to acquire the learner-teacher-support material that teachers require to assist them in teaching the learners effectively, but their parents fail to do this for them because of poverty.

This intensifies teachers' work in many ways and once contextual factors like these come into play schools fail to produce the good performances that have come to be expected in the era of the culture of performativity and relentless accountability. School-parent partnerships are recommended for efficient running of schools and it has become expected for parents to assist their children with homework. The partnerships get twisted when one of the parties fails to play its role in the partnership, but this gets more interesting when one gets to understand that the failing partner (parent component) fails because of lack of capacity, not willingness, to support the school.

Wendy once again tells about how the changes affect teachers' time through the need to compensate for the lack of resources, the increased workload and the need to consult others so that they could implement them successfully. She goes on to illustrate how these reforms go a long way into challenging the way teachers do things in the classroom and as a result these teachers are unhappy with them. She lays emphasis once again on the point of losing her experience through abandoning the curriculum she was busy with to start with another. This unpleasant experience is also confirmed by Chisholm and Chilisa (2012) when they assert: "The curriculum delegitimized teacher knowledge and practice and demanded that teachers begin as if from a new slate" (p. 385). Finally, Wendy's experience of intensification is expressed throughout her narrative and as she does so she is resolute about her resentment for it.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter I re-presented Wendy's working-life narrative from the point of view of intensification teachers' work. I discussed how teachers' work has generally become more complex than it has ever been due to curriculum changes and this has resulted in the intensification of their work as it was demonstrated by Wendy's narrative. Wendy has been exposed to intensified school situations since she first started teaching at a primary school as an unqualified teacher. She further experienced work intensity when she re-joined the teaching profession after some years as she encountered the realities of ceaseless curriculum change that have been part and parcel of her teaching career to date.

The causes, effects and consequences of intensification were explored through the following sub-themes of intensification as a thief of time; lack of resources as a sign of intensification; increased paperwork as a form of intensification; and mediating the intensification of teachers' work. In the sub-themes I discussed how curriculum change increased teachers' work intensity through addition of paperwork and administrative tasks without providing extra time for teachers to finish them. These changes require that teachers should alter their job, to do additional work outside

the classroom or to learn to teach in a new way and this takes much of teachers' time (Collette, 2015).

In other words, the curriculum changes that intensified Wendy's work were such that she had to adapt to them. The increased work demands that have been experienced by Wendy and other rural teachers have come with curriculum change that was pre-packaged with countless curriculum and assessment requirements that intensified their work. Wendy's narrative has demonstrated that teachers have experienced increased workload that add pressure and stress to their teaching contexts and subsequently they are demotivated. Although Wendy confirms most aspects of the intensification thesis, she stands out among the four rural teachers that form the core of this narrative study because she does not view pre-packaged curricula as her source intensification as do the other three. She, however, believes that the change deskills teachers through losing their teaching experience as they abandon one curriculum and start teaching the one that they are not acquainted with. She therefore believes that the poor performance in schools is the result and effect of lack of knowledge on curricular matters.

8 CHAPTER EIGHT

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 4, 5, 6, and 7 presented rural teachers' narrated stories of their working lives. This chapter presents a detailed explanation of how the collected data were analysed and the results thereof. The analysis of this investigation and the findings thereof considered the research question and the conceptual framework that was generated in Chapter Two.

8.2 Data analysis procedures

8.2.1 Overall analysis

I began the data analysis process when sat down with the first interviewee and it continued in a more directed form after all interviews had been collected and transcribed (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002). The interview recordings were transcribed to text soon after each day's interview and saved on a computer file to be used later during analysis. The transcription was done verbatim. The file names were in such a way that the transcripts would not be linked directly to the participants' real names. Pseudonyms were used instead of the real names of the participants, but their identity is known to me. The data that were collected from the interviews were processed and analysed with the intention of finding themes that best described how curriculum change had impacted rural teachers' working lives. After the data had been transcribed, they were coded. Coding involved the process of segmenting and labelling text to form descriptions and broad themes in the data (Creswell, 2012). The themes were later coded for frequency. I chose four of the most dominant themes to write the stories that are presented in this project.

The data collection and analysis processes began in February 2017 when the Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria, Mpumalanga Department of Education, school principals and respondents had given me permission to commence with the research project. I interviewed one participant per day and each interview lasted anything from thirty minutes to one hour thirty minutes depending on how the participant elaborated on the questions that were asked. The transcription of the tape-recorded data took hours and days to write as computer files. The data collection process, thus data analysis, was carried out over a period of two years. My overall approach to data analysis of the narrative study was grounded on social constructivism. Social constructivism states that individuals always seek understanding of the world they live and work in. Through analysing the interviews with the participants, the object of the process was to establish how best they understood curriculum change as they told stories based on their experiences and their interaction with others (Creswell, 2014).

The following predominant themes emerged from the data of the fifty-two respondents:

THEMES
Increased work intensity
Teachers as technicians
Increased accountability
Deprofessionalisation of teaching
Inadequate training of rural teachers
Curriculum fidelity
Rurality affects implementation of curriculum changes
Assumption of new identities

Figure 8.1 Themes

THEME
Increased work intensity
Teachers as technicians
Increased accountability
Teaching is deprofessionalised

Figure 8.2 Narrated themes

The following are the other themes that emerged from the data, but I did not use them in writing the four stories.

THEME
Inadequate training of teachers
Curriculum is implemented with fidelity
Rurality affects implementation of curriculum changes
Assumption of new identities

Figure 8.3 Themes not narrated

The theme “Assumption of new identities” emerged from the data but not as prominently as I had expected it based on the literature I reviewed. It mainly emerged when respondents spoke about the transition from Apartheid Education to OBE where teachers’ identities changed from being presenters of knowledge to facilitators. The data also revealed that the rural teachers implemented with fidelity. This indicates that in the case of rural teachers that were part of the investigation there was no resistance to the implementation process even though they were treated as technicians and they were not part of the curriculum design process. The data did, however, reveal that the training that was provided by the Department of Education was inadequate to equip the teachers with sufficient knowledge and skills to teach the new curricula as indicated by Easthope & Easthope (2007), Lee *et al*. (2013), Tye (2014), and Weber (2007). The theme “Rurality affects implementation of curriculum of curriculum changes” also emerged from the analysed data.

There are different ways of analysing narrative data, but the narrative approach has no prescriptive methodology that is followed. I drew my approach of analysis from Matthews and Ross' (2010) understanding of a narrative.

> *A narrative is the depiction of a sequence of past events as they appear in present time to the narrator, after they have been processed, analysed and constructed into stories. This notion of depiction is of vital importance; narratives are not records of events, they are representations of series of events* (p. 387).

8.2.2 Selection of the four narratives

After the data were coded and themes had been identified, I still had the task of reducing the analysed stories from fifty-two to four for narration. I moved back and forth through the data to understand what the respondents were telling me about their experiences of curriculum change in their twenty years or more of teaching experience in rural settings. The transcripts with stories that were told in a general instead of a specific way were set aside. In other words, the stories that did not provide a detailed account of the impact of the curriculum change on their working lives were eliminated. I also focused on stories that provided a wealth of information about the diversity of their experience in times of curriculum change. The elimination process was continued with until I remained with the four stories that were narrated in the project. I remained with the stories that, in my opinion, best described the impact of the change on rural teachers' working lives. The four teachers who were finally chosen for observation and further interviewing had stories that were unique in terms of the stories they told. The follow-up interviews were scheduled to last for thirty minutes each where they were asked questions that followed-up what they had answered in the initial interview(s). These teachers' teaching practices were observed in the classroom as they carried out their teaching activities.

The four teachers' life-histories of the impact of curriculum change on their working lives were narrated. The narrative thematic experience analysis technique was used to systematically write out the narratives. The participants' stories were organised in such a manner that they were re-presented with an orientation, complicating action, coda and evaluation (Grigoratos, 2006). In the current research the orientation is done in the introduction and the participant's teaching

context where the participant's background and teaching context are given. The complicating action comes in the form of the presentation of the theme together with its conflicts. The stories also have a coda which signals the end of the story and the coda is followed by a summary (evaluation) that sums up the key points of the story. Four out of the eight themes that emerged from the collected data, were then woven into narratives that explain how the participants' working lives have been affected by curriculum changes throughout their careers (Miles *et al.,* 2014). The four themes that were used in the stories were: deprofessionalisation of teaching, teachers as technicians, increased accountability, and intensification of teachers' work.

In the phase of writing the teachers' life stories I was looking at the central theme that overrode the rest and developed their individual narrative around it so that the essence of the research objective was realised (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This approach is not different from Corbin & Strauss' (2015) idea of developing key categories when dealing with data. The data from the interviews were organised into narratives that were analysed according to the themes of increased accountability, teachers as technicians, intensification of teachers' work and deprofessionalisation of teaching.

The themes were integrated with literature as I analysed the teachers' narratives. Extracts from the various respondents were included within the analysis of the data to link their lived experiences of teaching through the two decades of unprecedented curriculum change (Bold, 2017). The stories as told by the participants were re-presented so that the significance of their lived experiences came to the forefront. Re-presenting of the participant's stories involved creating interpretive stories through a process of creating a beginning, a middle and an end with a provision for an evaluation.

The evaluation has information on events that are linked thematically to provide answers as to why the stories were told. I wrote drafts of the re-presented stories and sent them back to the participants for comment on whether what I had written made sense to them; to check how the re-presented account compared with their lived experience; to ascertain that no aspects of their experience had been left out;

and to give them the opportunity to remove parts they were unpleased with (McCormack, 2004). Cohen *et al*. (2011) argue that there is no single or correct way to analyse and present qualitative data. By and large the re-presented narratives that I sent back to the participants were acceptable to them but there were some narratives that had to be modified to suit the tellers' preferences.

In the analysis of narrative data the texts were analysed in a context of social, cultural, and historical backgrounds that were based on large texts or biographical stories (Hunter, 2010). My task as a qualitative researcher was not to provide generalisations of the research data but to provide a narrative that best described their teaching experiences. The research participants' narratives were reconstructed in such a way that the themes were arranged in the form of stories told in the respondents' own words (Creswell, 2012; Hunter, 2010). The narratives included information that was obtained through observation of the participants in their schools. The narratives are a product of the observations and interviews that I held with the four teachers that were written as separate stories that are integrated with literature and presented as separate chapters, each with its own theme. Cross-references of stories that related to the themes of the four teachers were made from the data of all fifty-two teachers, hence the appearance of other names in the stories other than David, John, Jamela and Wendy. The following is a summary of the narratives:

8.2.2.1 David's story about deprofessionalisation of teaching

David's narrative reveals that teaching is highly deprofessionalised by sudden curriculum changes that are brought down by policymakers. Teachers are deprived of the autonomy to do their work as they are subjected external mandates that driven by neoliberal forces of the market. The demise of teachers' professional autonomy is one unfortunate consequences of curriculum change that David's narrative brings out. Professionals need autonomy in order to make sound judgements in their profession and once this essential is taken away from them, their teaching contexts become highly deprofessionalised (Sachs, 2001). Teachers leave the teaching profession in large numbers because of these changes that do not give them

breathing space and time to adjust (Easthope & Easthope, 2007; Hodges & Oliver, 2010).

8.2.2.2 Jamela's story about increased accountability

Jamela's narrative is a story of how the teaching profession has been placed under accountability measures where teachers are controlled through mandated curriculum reform. It is generally agreed that there should be ways that are applied to assist teachers to improve their teaching practice and therefore enhance their learners' attainment but there is less agreement on how this should be achieved (De Clercq, 2008). As a result, various accountability measures are introduced in schools as part of curriculum reforms to make teachers take their teaching practice to a level higher.

These measures lead to the change of focus in schools where they become exam-oriented centres instead of institutions of learning. SBAs and the IQMS increase accountability demands through extra work intensity that expects teachers to do administrative tasks without additional time. Jamela's story captures the essence of the accountability measures that teachers must contend with in schools. These measures have the unfortunate backlash of making teachers to teach for the exam instead of preparing learners for their future. Schools have resorted to dodgy means of dealing with these accountability demands like softening the curriculum, narrowing the curriculum and segmentation of learners.

This statement affirms Ball's (2003, p. 220) assertion that "the requirements of such systems bring into being unhelpful or indeed damaging practices, which nonetheless satisfy performance requirements." Additionally, Jamela is stressed, fatigued, angered and frustrated by the accountability demands that have been brought about by curriculum change. Her narrative expresses the hopelessness that she experiences daily in her working context.

8.2.2.3 John's story of teachers as technicians

John's narrative is about the commonly upheld view that teachers are only technicians who are in the teaching profession to deliver knowledge and are paid by results (Goodson, 2014). This notion reinforces the thinking that teachers are unimportant in the teaching-learning situation as their task is to implement directives that are brought to schools from authorities in a top-down fashion. This is also confirmed by the literature on curriculum change. George (2009, p. 54), for example, asserts that "a 'good professional' may be expected to implement curriculum change without question."

Both John and David's narratives refer to lack of autonomy to do things as their pedagogies dictate in the classroom of the reduced autonomy that they experience in the teaching-learning situation. Teachers are not provided with enough opportunities to give their views about decisions that relate to classroom matters and consequently when curricular reforms are introduced, they tend to be unsuccessful. Overall, John's narrative depicts him as a teacher who is trapped in the situation where teachers are viewed as technicians without necessarily being a willing participant.

8.2.2.4 Wendy's story about intensification of teachers' work

Wendy's story about work intensification generally characterised by excessive workload, increased paperwork and general lack of time in which she can do her personal things. Most of the curriculum reforms that were implemented after OBE were premised on relieving teachers from these tenants of work intensification, but they have inadvertently worsened the situation. This narrative is in line with the literature on the intensification of teaching that shows that teachers who work in intensified environments go through periods of destabilisation and increased workload with no extra time allocated for such workload (Day, 2012). She generally lacks time for a number of activities like relaxation, updating herself in her field, time

to make preparation for the classroom and so on as argued in the original intensification thesis by Hargreaves (1991).

8.3 Research findings

Diagram 8.2 illustrates how the conceptual framework guided me through the processes of making sense of the collected data to develop themes that produced the results that are presented in this section.

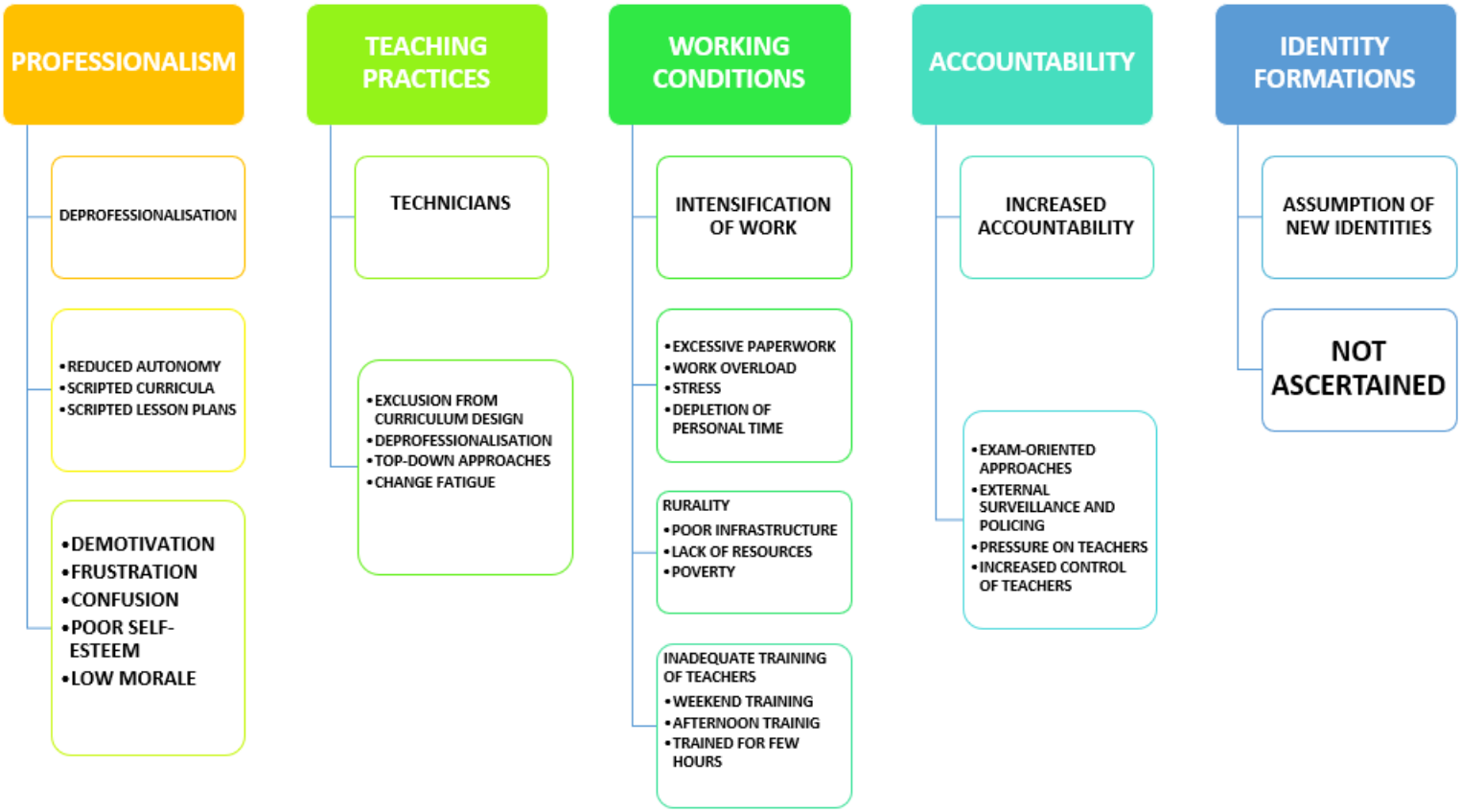


Figure 8.2 A representation of the integration of the conceptual framework and research data, and the resultant findings

Finding 1: Rural teachers' work is highly intensified

Rural teachers' work is highly intensified by excessive workload, increased paperwork, lack of resources, and increased number of tasks that teachers must deal with no additional resources. Additionally, as it was argued in the literature,

teachers' personal and family time is taken away from them Wendy stated: *The new curricula demand more time from teachers because they must find time to teach way beyond their working time. They must teach on Saturdays and sometimes on Sundays. That is time that is meant to be spent with families but instead of doing that, I find myself going to teach learners to catch up. I am no longer able to finish marking learners' books at school and I am compelled to mark them at home instead of relaxing.*

Richard said: *During the time of RNCS teachers were expected to develop a file and there were certain things that we were expected to file in this portfolio. It was fine, and we got used to it. But as time went on, there was a lot of useless paperwork that was expected to be in the portfolio and that caused a lot of confusion. The things that were piled to the workload we already had were affecting our classroom practices. Most of us started to focus on developing the file instead of teaching in the classroom. At the end of the day the core business of teaching was not done because of the portfolio. 90% of my time at school should be spent in class, teaching, but instead I had to only spend 10% of my time teaching and utilising the whole 90% developing the file! This was bad and it demoralised me.*

During the time of RNCS teachers were expected to develop a file and there were certain things that we were expected to file in this portfolio. It was fine, and we got used to it. But as time went on, there was a lot of useless paperwork that was expected to be in the portfolio and that caused a lot of confusion. The things that were piled to the workload we already had were affecting our classroom practices. Most of us started to focus on developing the file instead of teaching in the classroom. At the end of the day the core business of teaching was not done because of the portfolio. 90% of my time at school should be spent in class, teaching, but instead I had to only spend 10% of my time teaching and utilising the whole 90% developing the file! This was bad and it demoralised me.

Pat had this to say about work intensification: …*because all of us were overloaded, starting from the educator up to the SMT's, we were all overloaded. Every task had to be documented. There was a lot of paperwork. You would find that a person was gifted in organising his or her personal file and when going to the classroom there*

would be nothing happening there, there was only a good file to show but nothing else in terms of teaching. This education system has encouraged people to be liars through the system of filing and the other paperwork that is involved. There are no good results in good filing. Good filing does not necessarily mean that the person who does it is a good teacher. I think the organising of the file should go hand-in-hand with what is going on in the classroom.

Salphy added the following to the issue of intensity: *The changes affected me in particular because when I failed to teach the things that I was supposed to teach I had to take the time that was supposed to be personal and give it to catch-up programmes. Sometimes this results in me coming to school on Saturday or Sunday to do schoolwork. My personal time is affected in this way. Saturdays and Sundays are days for families, funerals and weddings. If you are behind, you must take this family time and give it to your catch-up programmes. That is a problem.*

The preceding extracts indicate that the intensification of rural teachers' work goes beyond work overload and paperwork, it also encroaches into their time for deal with personal matters. This theme was also supported by the literature that was reviewed in Chapter 2. Curriculum change increases rural teachers' work intensity and consequently, as it came out of the literature and collected data, confuses, stresses, overworks and demoralises rural teachers.

Finding 2: Teaching in rural schools is highly deprofessionalised

Rural teachers operate in a context that lacks professionalism and as such teachers have limited autonomy to apply their knowledge and skills in the classroom in an environment that is deeply characterised by curricula that keep on changing. Working in deprofessionalised contexts as it was seen in the investigation and David's narrative demotivates teachers. The introduction of scripted curricula like CAPS and scripted lessons plans as discussed in literature review limits teachers' autonomy and deprofessionalises teaching practices. The following extracts by David and Marcus confirm it. David: T*eachers are now expected to deliver curriculum content at a predetermined pace by Annual Teaching Plans and CAPS policy documents without considering learners previous knowledge. Teachers' are*

not given the latitude to assess the learners' prior knowledge but theirs is to follow these documents as prescribed. All the new curricula and the way they are being introduced have deprofessionalised teaching to a point that it has become less attractive to new and old teachers.

Marcus stated: *Teachers are supposed to follow the prescribed content as stipulated because when the departmental officials come, they want to check the days on which the work was done. If it was supposed to be done on Monday and you did it on Friday, then there is a case. We are not free; we follow the curriculum according to the way it has been designed. You don't just start anywhere where you feel like starting but you follow the programme that is given.*

Finding 3: Rural teachers work as technicians

It was pointed out in the literature that teachers' contribution to the development of new curricula that must be implemented is not taken into consideration, thus they are viewed as technicians who are waiting to be used as tools in implementing policymakers' ideas. This view was confirmed by the collected data. Rural teachers' contribution to the development of curricula that they must implement top-down is brushed aside. Teachers are therefore seen as technicians and passive recipients of changes that are brought to them by policymakers. This approach to teaching lowers teachers' commitment, motivation, resilience and their morale. Gift stated: *We were not involved. Someone from up there just brought a curriculum and we were told to implement it. Our country is dominated by politicians and every minister comes with his or her own curriculum. We are not involved in designing it and we are not adequately equipped with the skills of dealing with new curricula. The curricula are simply delivered to us and we are expected to implement them with no proper training.*

Jeff stated: *My only involvement was attending workshops, but I was not part of designing the curriculum and after the workshop my other role was to monitor the implementation of the new curriculum in the classroom as an HOD. I did not take part in designing any of the curricula I have implemented.*

John said: *The modern-day teacher works like a technician. When you are a technician you don't take part in the process of designing things, your task is to deal what has been designed. Regarding the curriculum, a ready-made curriculum is designed elsewhere and given to teachers. The teachers are only instructed to implement it. The teacher's task is not to think but to impart its content to learners*

This finding aligns well with 'teaching practices' as identified in the review of literature where teachers' contribution to curriculum design is neglected although they are key to the success of the implementation of the curriculum reforms.

Finding 4: Rural teachers work under increased accountability demands

Rural teachers are faced with increased accountability demands that are originate from the performativity expectations of the market world where schools are seen as an extension of the market. This means that schools and teachers are under constant surveillance and they must be seen to be performing in terms of producing good results. The reviewed literature confirmed the market-driven agenda in education systems. The analysed data in the current project also confirmed it. Jamela said: *the DBE will start from the school principal of the school and make him account. The way it does it can easily make the principal to regret being a school principal. When it is done with the principal, it comes down to the deputy principal, the HODs and the teachers to "grill" them without even trying to establish the reasons for the underperformance. You don't want to experience that kind of a situation.*

Kurhula stated: *The education system is exam-focused, and we mainly concentrate on Grade 12 at the expense of the lower grades. A teacher who teaches Grade 8 and 12 normally pays more attention to the latter and the former suffers. Grade 12 learners are always called to come to school for extra lessons at the expense of the lower grade learners because of results.*

Tingana stated the following: *Hmmm…they affect our classroom practices. We are always expected to account on why learners have failed [laughs] meanwhile the failure is caused by the introduction of a new curriculum. When you do things for the*

first time it is always hard…it is not easy but as time goes on you gain knowledge on how to approach it and it becomes better in the outcome. With a new curriculum it is difficult because you are expected to account [for learners' failure]. You are told straight in the eye that your performance is very low and as a result you must make sure that the learners pass. When we fail to account the blame is laid upon our [teachers] shoulders. What is not considered is the fact that the poor results are an outcome of the frequent curriculum changes.

Teachers therefore feel like their effort is fruitless because they are frequently mandated to implement curriculum changes that result in poor learner performance which in turn causes them to be held accountable. Increased accountability demands that result in heightened surveillance and policing of schools because of the desire to produce good results tends to encourage teachers to resort to unethical practices. This is a serious challenge to the education system and rural teachers' working lives.

Finding 5: Rural teachers implement curricula with fidelity

The literature on curriculum reform as reviewed earlier pointed to a challenge regarding implementing curricula that were designed elsewhere (by other people) and taken to schools in a top-down manner. It was indicated that it could lead to resistance on the part of the teachers or implementing it in a misconstrued way. The analysed data show that rural teachers do not resist implementing new curricula as intended by the policymakers, but they implement it with fidelity. Rural teachers implement curriculum changes with fidelity despite the challenging contexts they find themselves in. Contexts count in rural reforms and these may cause a variation between successful and unsuccessful curriculum implementation.

This means that whatever impact the curriculum change had on the teachers, whether negative or positive, it never affected the fidelity of curriculum implementation. Mahlalela said: *We tried as much as possible to implement the new curricula as expected by the designers of such curricula. We implemented them exactly the way we were supposed to with no additions or subtractions.* Gift stated: *We tried to implement them the way we were supposed to. When we had*

challenges, we called the CIs to come and assist us. We also requested the cluster leaders and even other colleagues to assist. We got information about the new curriculum and we were called to attend seminars and workshops that related to the new curricula. CIs arranged workshops where we were trained but the training was not effective. The workshops were not effective because even the CIs themselves were not well-trained. We had to research a lot on the new curricula, we basically helped ourselves out of the situation. We had to study and work on our own.

Finding 6: Rural teachers are not adequately trained for implementing new curricula

The teachers indicated that they did not receive adequate training on new curricula when they were being delivered and this affected them adversely. Teachers were trained for three or four years at college or university to prepare them to teach effectively in the classroom but in times of curriculum change workshops that for a hours or a couple of days were organised to train them. James said: *Workshops were the main way of advocacy for the new curricula. These were sometimes organised during weekends and tired teachers were expected to deliver the new content in the classroom the following Monday. As a teacher in front of the learners I pretend that I am fine but deep inside me I know that I am not 100% confident that I can deliver the new content and as a result I should get additional assistance from some of my colleagues in the staffroom so that I am confident about it when I go to the classroom.*

Jabulani asserted: *We were only given workshops of about a day or a week. This new content had to be delivered over a period of a year, but we were trained within a short space of time how to implement it. While it has been done in this way, at the end of the year teachers are expected to produce good results and if they don't, their school will be classified as underperforming and they will be expected to account. It is bad and frustrating I went to college to learn how to teach content in a particular way but out of nowhere the curriculum is changed and I must learn new content in a matter of days. This is deprofessionalising the teaching profession. Your learners expect you to deliver subject matter in the classroom, but you are not yet confident with its delivery because it is still new.*

The foregoing extracts confirm the assertations made in the review of literature that teachers were not sufficiently trained for the successful delivery of new curricula and as such they were frustrated and demotivated.

Finding 7: Rurality affects implementation of curriculum changes

Most of the rural teachers in the research project mentioned one or more aspects of rurality as playing an influential role in their implementation of curriculum change, thus affecting their working lives. These aspects varied from lack of resources in the classroom, late or non-delivery delivery of resources (textbooks), lack of classrooms to poor classroom conditions. Shongile said*: Let me use our school as an example. We don't have enough classrooms. For alternating subjects, learners are taken to places that are not specially designed for teaching like this room. This one is used for teaching Physical Sciences but there are no apparatuses and the other thing that are to be used in a classroom for teaching such a subject. It was supposed to be taught in a laboratory, but we don't have such here.* Wendy had this to say about rurality: …*I remember working in a primary school where there were only four classrooms meanwhile the grades were from Grade 1, by then it was called Sub A until Grade 7 which was then called Standard 5. Now that the classrooms were four, it means the other classes were attended under trees, doing all the alternating. I even had my class under the tree where I taught. We used the tree to put up the chalkboard and the learners used to write on their laps.*

Rurality affected the way new curricula were implemented in schools because it was part and parcel of the working conditions that the teachers had to grapple with as they tried to contend with the challenges of new curricula. It does not matter how well-trained a teacher may be or dedicated he or she may be to implement a new curriculum in the classroom, if the environment is not conducive, it will not result in successful curriculum delivery.

Theme 8: Rural teachers have different perceptions about identity formation

Identity formation was discussed in literature review. Contrary to my expectation, the respondents did not produce as much information as I had expected on identity

formation. Some respondents made no attempt respond to the issue of identity formation. Rural teachers seem to have different opinions or understanding about identity formation in the context of curriculum change. Rebecca stated: *This was a serious challenge to the teachers because when I was trained as a teacher I was trained to be at the centre of the teaching-learning situation with all the information. During that time, I would provide the learners with information and I would expect them to reproduce the information verbatim. Things are different today because in the classroom the teacher and learner discuss the learning content and we exchange views. Parents are also deeply involved in the education of their children today. They have a say in the way their children are taught, and all the factors have reduced the original importance of the teacher. Sometimes the learners are given tasks to complete at home and parents are expected to assist them, but you find that this does not happen, and teachers have limited powers to handle such situations.*

Makhosi said*: Bantu Education was teacher-centred, and we were bound to read many books so that we could compile notes and information for the learners but these days the learner is teacher and learner-centred we do not go that far because learners also have textbooks we go and read for them in the classroom. In the past a teacher was supposed to read before going to class.*

Rebecca is of the opinion that the teacher's role had changed with the change of curriculum, and in her opinion, the learner and the centre now have both assumed the identity of being collaborators in the teaching-learning situation. In the latter case, Makhosi strongly believes that the teacher has assumed a new identity of being a facilitator while the learner has the identity of being the creator of his or her own knowledge while being assisted by the teacher.

8.4 In conclusion

The above findings answered the research question that was asked in chapter 1. The study wanted to understand impact of curriculum change of rural teachers' working lives over the past two decades. This was done through asking the research question: What are the lived experiences of rural teachers in curriculum change?

The study has found that the curriculum change that has taken place over the past two decades has reduced teachers' autonomy; it has viewed teachers as pedagogues who are in the teaching-learning situation to carry out other people's ideas; it has increased teachers' workload resulting in its intensification; and it has resulted in greater teacher accountability to education officials. The study also established that rural teachers are inadequately trained for the implementation of new curricula. As a result of above, rural teachers' working lives are affected by stress, demotivation, low self-esteem, change fatigue and low morale as depicted in Figure 8.1. Contrary to the literature on curriculum reform, the study found that rural teachers carry out curriculum changes as intended by policymakers. The study did not, however, establish a clear link between rural teachers' identity formation and curriculum change. The four teachers' narrated life stories echo the issues of deprofessionalisation, increased accountability, intensification of rural teachers' work and teachers being viewed as pedagogical technicians.

9. CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter gave a detailed account of the data analysis procedures that were followed in this research. It showed how the data were collected, transcribed and developed into themes that produced eight research findings that were discussed showing direct quotations from the respondents. This chapter concludes the research project by giving a summary of the entire investigation in terms of the research question that was asked. The limitations encountered in the investigation will be reported. The significance of the study will be given and recommendations for further research will be suggested.

9.2 Summary of the research project

In Chapter One an orientation and a background of the research project were given. The background of curriculum change and its trajectory in South Africa were given. The study was contextualised and the statement of purpose, research question, rationale and operational concepts were given. The literature on curriculum change was reviewed in Chapter Two in order to understand what had already been written on the topic. The review of literature further assisted me in identifying concepts that could be used in developing the conceptual framework that would later be used in the analysis of the collected data. In Chapter Three the rese 3 the research methodology and design of the inquiry were introduced. The research method, approaches and paradigm to be used in the project were selected and explained. The qualitative approach (cf. section 3.2.1), narrative approach (cf. section 3.2.2) and the interpretivist paradigm (cf. section 3.2.3) were selected for this inquiry. The sampling procedures, and the procedures for collecting and analysing data were detailed.

Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven are life stories of four teachers that were selected out of the original fifty-two. The four identified themes of deprofessionalisation of teaching, increased accountability, teachers as technicians, and intensification of teachers' work were used as the anchor points for the four narratives. In each of these four chapters the rural teachers' stories were given in the form of extracts that were followed by discussions that analysed their stories in line with the identified theme. In Chapter Eight the data processes that were followed were explained. Data were collected and analysed. There were two processes of analysis that were used viz. overall analysis and analysis of the four stories that were narrated. The eight findings of the investigation were given and discussed in paragraph 8.3.

9.3 Significance of the research

There have been many curriculum changes that have been introduced since the first democratic elections in South Africa. The study investigated the impact of curriculum change on rural teachers' working lives. Since the democratic government took over there has been a significant improvement in the matric pass rate but there have been overwhelming concerns about the declining quality of education in the country. One possible explanation could be the frequent changing of the curriculum. I believe that little research has been done in South Africa about the impact of these politically-driven reform initiatives on the work and working lives of teachers. The major findings of the study are:

- Rural teachers operate in a context that lacks professionalism and as such teachers have limited autonomy to apply their knowledge and skills in the classroom in an environment that is deeply characterised by curricula that keep on changing. Working in deprofessionalised contexts as it was seen in the investigation and David's narrative demotivates teachers.
- Rural teachers' work is highly intensified by excessive workload, increased paperwork, lack of resources, and increased number of tasks that teachers must deal with no additional resources. This frustrates, demotivates, confuses, and reduces teachers' sense of self-esteem.

- Rural teachers' contribution to the development of curricula that they must implement top-down is brushed aside. Teachers are therefore seen as technicians and passive recipients of changes that are brought to them by policymakers. This approach to teaching lowers teachers' commitment, motivation, resilience and their morale.
- Rural teachers are faced with increased accountability demands that are stem from the performativity demands of the market world where schools are seen as an extension of the market. This means that schools and teachers are under constant surveillance and they must be seen to be performing in terms of producing good results. This puts teachers under pressure and creates a sense of being under control and as such their performance becomes challenged.
- Rural teachers implement curriculum changes with fidelity despite the challenging contexts they find themselves in. Contexts count in rural reforms and these may cause a variation between successful and unsuccessful curriculum implementation.

The research will, hopefully, provide some possible answers to the information gap that exists in the current body of knowledge on curriculum reform initiatives in South Africa and elsewhere. The answers provided by this investigation might shed some light on the impact of curriculum reforms on rural teachers' work and their working lives. I also hope that the findings will contribute to educational knowledge in the South African context as it gives suggestions regarding how teachers may be involved in future educational policy reforms as valued stakeholders.

9.4 Limitations of the study

Although the study achieved its goal, it had its own limitations. The study entailed carrying out participant observation of the four teachers as they carried out their teaching activities for a minimum period of about a week. A week is not enough to observe a teacher and making worthwhile conclusions, hence my decision to extend the observation to a period of two weeks. It would have been better if I had observed the teachers over a longer period, but I had time constraints on my side. The study

was also limited by the reluctance of some potential research participants who initially gave consent and withdrew at a later stage.

The study was conducted in Ximhungwe Circuit in Bohlabela District, Mpumalanga and the findings are not generalisable to other circuits, districts and provinces that have rural schools. The sample size for this narrative study was never meant to be representative and as such readers should approach the findings of this investigation with caution. I was the main collector of the data that were used in this research, and although I tried to present the data in a truthful way, it is very likely that elements of subjectivity may be found in this project.

9.5 Recommendations for future studies

This study investigated curriculum change from the perspective of rural teachers' working lives. Datta were collected from fifty-two rural teachers who had been in the teaching field for a period of twenty years or more. The collected were analysed and after this had been done the number of respondents was scaled down to four teachers for the purpose of narration. This was done through the elimination process that was explained in paragraph 8.3 above. The data of the four remaining teachers were written as narratives that were represented in Chapters 4,5,6 and 7. Although the findings of the investigation involved the data from fifty-two teachers, they could not be generalised to a large population. I suggest that further studies be done on the impact of curriculum change on rural teachers' working lives using a different research approach and a bigger population with the objective of generalising the findings.

Curriculum reform and its trajectory is an understudied topic in the poor countries of the south, because of that I would recommend that more studies be conducted in these countries to increase the knowledge-base on the topic. The study focused on rural teachers who work under challenging circumstances and finding research information on rural contexts was a challenge. I recommend that more studies be conducted in rural contexts more especially those that aim at investigating how rurality affects learner performance in schools.

9.6 Summary

In the investigation it has been established through a review of literature that education authorities in South Africa, in a quest to improve the quality of education and learner performance, introduce curriculum changes that are cascaded down to schools in a top-down manner. Rural teachers are given the responsibility of implementing these changes in their schools. They work under challenging contexts that are mainly affected by deprivation which sees them working with limited resources, teaching learners from poor backgrounds and delivering their pedagogies in conditions that are far from being ideal. Despite these challenges rural teachers are expected to carry out their teaching activities in such a way that is comparative with teachers who work in less challenging environments.

These curriculum changes are uniform to both rural and urban settings despite the disparities that exist between the two. The rural teachers are expected to implement the changes that are brought to their schools without being involved in their planning, thus therefore creating the notion that they are in the teaching profession to carry out policymakers' directives like technicians. The continual changes that the current project focused on are the ones that took place in South Africa in the post-1994 era that started with the change from the apartheid education that was mainly teacher-centred to the learner-centred OBE that was based on learning outcomes. Due to numerous challenges that the implementation of OBE encountered more curricular changes were introduced until CAPS which is still in place.

The latter curriculum differs from the other innovations in that it is prescriptive and pre-packaged. The study sought to establish what impact these repeated changes had on the working life experiences of rural teachers. I reviewed the literature on curriculum reforms to gain a theoretical grounding of the matter under investigation. A conceptual framework that emanated from the literature review was developed to assist in analysing the data that would be collected. The narrative approach, which is one of the many approaches that are found in the family of qualitative research was selected for the investigation. Four teachers' stories were selected, out of fifty-two, to be represented as narratives that would shed some light on how rural

teachers' working lives were impacted by the changes. The four teachers were interviewed three times each and observed as they carried out their duties. The analysed data were used to get answers to the research question. The answers to the research question are presented in paragraph 8.3 above. The study was limited by the small sample size of 52. I recommend that more studies be conducted on teachers working under deprived contexts so that these can be understood and assisted effectively in future curriculum reform initiatives.

10. REFERENCES

Adom, D., Hussein, E. K., & Agyem, J. A. (2018). Theoretical and Conceptual Framework : Mandatory Ingredients. *International Journal of Scientific Research*, *7*(1), 438–441. Retrieved from https://wwjournals.com/index.php/ijsr/article/view/6595/6536

Adu, E. ., & Ngibe, N. C. . (2014). Continuous Change in Curriculum : South Africanteachers ' Perceptions. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, *5*(23), 983–989. https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2014.v5n23p983

Alshorfat, S. S. (2011). The Impact of a Mandated Educational Reform Program on Jordanian Teachers' Work Lives. *International Journal of Applied Educational Studies*, *12*(1), 57–70.

Anney, V. (2014). Ensuring the Quality of the Findings of Qualitative Research: Looking at Trustworthiness Criteria. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*, *5*(2), 272–281. https://doi.org/10.3109/08941939.2012.723954

Antiwi, S. K., & Hamza, K. (2015). Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods in Business Research: A Philisophical Reflection. *European Journal of Business and Management*, *7*(3), 217–225.

Apple, M. W. (1986). *Teachers and Texts*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. W. (1988). Economics and Inequality in Schools. *Theory into Practice*, *27*(4), 282–287.

Apple, M. W. (2013). What Should Teachers' Unions Do in a Time of Educational Crisis? An Essay Review of Lois Weiner's The Future of Our Schools : Teachers Unions and Social Justice (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2012, 220 pp.). *Educational Policy*, *27*(6), 923–933. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904813475714

Atkinson, P., & Coffey, A. (2003). Revisiting the Relationship between Partcipant Observation and Interviewing. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns* (pp. 415–428). Thousand Oaks.

Babbie, E. (2011). *Introduction to Social Research. 5* (5th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town:

Oxford University Press.

Badugela, T. M. (2012). Problems Facing Educators in Implementing the National Curriculum Statement: The Case of Tshifhena Secondary School, Vhembe District, Limpopo Province, South Africa, (March).

Baleghizadeh, S. (2012). Motivation and Quality of Work Life among Secondary School EFL Teachers, *37*(7).

Balfour, R. J., Mitchell, C., & Moletsane, R. (2008). Troubling Contexts : Toward a Generative Theory of Rurality As Education Research. *Journal of Rural and Community Development*, *3*(3), 100–111.

Ball, S. J. (2003). The Teacher's Soul and the Terrors of Performativity. *Journal of Education Policy*, *18*(2), 215–228. https://doi.org/10.1080/0268093022000043065

Ballet, K., & Kelchtermans, G. (2008). Workload and Willingness to Change: Disentangling the Experience of Intensification. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *40*(1), 47–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270701516463

Ballet, K, & Kelchtermans, G. (2009). Struggling with Workload : Primary Teachers' Experience of Intensification. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *25*(8), 1150–1157. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2009.02.012

Ballet, Katrijn, Kelchtermans, G., & Loughran, J. (2006). Beyond Intensification Towards a Scholarship of Practice: Analysing Changes in Teachers' Work Lives. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *12*(2), 209–229. https://doi.org/10.1080/13450600500467415

Bantwini, B. D. (2010). How Teachers Perceive the New Curriculum Reform: Lessons from a School District in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *30*(1), 83–90. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2009.06.002

Barley, Z. A., & Brigham, N. (2008). Preparing Teachers to Teach in Rural Schools. *Regional Educational Laboratory*, (45), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2014.v5n20p1795

Baxen, J., & Soudien, C. (1999). Outcomes-based Education: Teacher Identity and the Politics of Participation. In J. Jansen & P. Christie (Eds.), *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-based Education in South Africa* (pp. 131–143). Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd.

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering Research on

Teachers' Professional Identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *20*(2), 107–128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2003.07.001

Beijaard, D., Verloop, N., & Vermunt, J. D. (2000). Teachers' Perceptions of Professional Identity: An Exploratory Study from a Personal Knowledge Perspective. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *16*(7), 749–764. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0742-051X(00)00023-8

Biesta, G., Priestley, M., & Robinson, S. (2015). The Role of Beliefs in Teacher Agency. *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(6), 624–640. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2015.1044325

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C., & Kagee, A. (2006). *Fundamentals of Research Methods: An African Perspective* (4th ed.). Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd.

Bodman, S., Taylor, S., & Morris, H. (2012). Politics, Policy and Professional Identity. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*, *11*(3), 14–25.

Bold, C. (2017). *Analysing Narrative Data*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bras, J. V., & Goncalves, M. L. (2013). Independent Teaching Work to Cooperative Teaching: A New Paradigm Introduced in the Portuguese Educational System (1894-1895). *Paedagogica Historica*, *49*(3), 330–344. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2012.744062

Brikci, N., & Green, J. (2007). A Guide to Using Qualitative Research Methodology. Medecins Sans Frontiers.

Bumen, N. T., Cakar, E., & Yildiz, D. G. (2014). Curriculum Fidelity and Factors Affecting Fidelity in the Turkish Context. *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*, *14*(1), 219–228. https://doi.org/10.12738/estp.2014.1.2020

Buthelezi, C. T. N. (2005). *Educators' Perspectives of the Implementation of the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) in Secondary Schools within the Umlazi District of KwaZulu-Nata*. University of Zululand.

Chisholm, L.; Volmink, J. ., Ndhlovu, T.; Potenza, E., Mahomed, H.; Muller, J.; Lubisi, C., Vinjevold, P.; Ngozi, L., & Malan, B.; Mphahlele, L. (2000). *A South African Curriculum for the Twenty First Century: Report of the Review Committee*. Pretoria.

Chisholm, L. (2004). Introduction. In L. Chisholm (Ed.), *Changing Class: Education and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Chisholm, L. (2005). The making of South Africa ' s National Curriculum Statement. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *37*(2), 193–208.

https://doi.org/10.1080/0022027042000236163

Chisholm, L., & Chilisa, B. (2012). Contexts of Educational Policy Change in Botswana and South Africa. *Prospects*, *42*(4), 371–388. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-012-9247-5

Chisholm, L, Hoadley, U., wa Kivulu, M., Brookes, H., Prinsloo, C., Kgobe, A., … Rule, S. (2005). *Educator Workload in South Africa*. Retrieved from Free download from www.hsrcpress.ac.za Free download from www.hsrcpress.ac.za

Chisholm, L., & Leyendecker, R. (2008). Curriculum Reform in Post-1990s Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *28*(2), 195–205. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2007.04.003

Christensen, L. B., Johnson, R. B., & Turner, L. A. (2015). *Research Methods, Design, and Analysis* (12th ed.). Boston: Pearson.

Christie, P. (2006). Changing Regimes: Governmentality and Education Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *26*(4), 373–381. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2005.09.006

Chua, S. M. J. (2009). Saving the Teacher's Soul : Exorcising the Terrors of Performativity. *London Review of Education*, *7*(2), 159–167. https://doi.org/10.1080/14748460902990344

Çimen, L. K. (2016). A Study on the Prediction of the Teaching Profession Attitudes by Communication Skills and Professional Motivation. *Journal of Education and Training Studies*, *4*(11), 21–38. https://doi.org/10.11114/jets.v4i11.1842

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research Methods in Education* (6th ed.). New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8527.2007.00388_4.x

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research Methods in Education.* (7th ed.). New York: Routledge.

Collette, M. (2015). A Painful Decade of School Reform. Columbia Journalism School's Teacher Project.

Comber, B., & Nixon, H. (2009). Teachers' Work and Pedagogy in an Era of Accountability. *Discourse : Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *30*(3), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300903037069

Connell, R. (2009). Good Teachers on Dangerous Ground: Towards a New View of Teacher Quality and Professionalism. *Critical Studies in Education*, *50*(3), 213–

229. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508480902998421

Cooper, R. (2007). An Investigation into Constructivism within an Outcomes Based Curriculum. *Issues in Educational Research*, *17*(1).

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2015). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory . 4* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Cortez, M. (2010). Narrative Approaches to Case Studies. Retrieved from http://www.amazon.co.uk/Theological-Anthropology-Guide-Perplexed-Guides/dp/0567034321

Court, M., & Neill, J. O. (2011). 'Tomorrow's Schools' in New Zealand: From Social Democracy to Market Managerialism Market Managerialism. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *43*(2), 119–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2011.560257

Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research.* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson Education Inc.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Procedures* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications Inc.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2

Crocco, M. S., & Costigan, A. T. (2007). The Narrowing of Curriculum and Pedagogy Urban Educators Speak Out. *Urban Education*, *42*(6), 512–535.

Curren, R., & Kotzee, B. (2014). Can Virtue be Measured? *Theory and Research in Education*, *12*(3), 266–282. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878514545205

Czaplicka, M., & Sohlberg, P. (2010). Welfare State Restructuring in Education and its National Refractions. *Current Sociology*, *58*(July 4), 597–622. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392110368000

Davies, T. (2013). Incorporating Creativity into Teachers Practice and Self-concept of Professional Identity, 51–71. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9192-3

Day, C. (2012). New Lives of Teachers. *Teacher Eduation Quarterly*, (Winter), 7–26.

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2010). *The New Lives of Teachers* (1st ed.). New York and London: Rouledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203847909

Day, C. (2008). Committed for Life? Variations in Teachers' Work, Lives and Effectiveness. *Journal of Educational Change*, *9*(3), 243–260. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-007-9054-6

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2010). The New Lives of Teachers. *EBSCO Publishing : EBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, 21–45.

Day, C., & Smethem, L. (2009). The Effects of Reform: Have Teachers Really Lost their Sense of Professionalism? *Journal of Educational Change*, *10*(2–3), 141–157. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-009-9110-5

De Clercq, F. (2008). Teacher Quality, Appraisal and Development: The Flaws in the IQMS. *Perspectives in Education*, *26*(March), 7–18.

De Vos, A. S., Fouché, C. B., & Delport, C. S. L. (2011). Building a Scientific Base for the Helping Profession. In C. B. De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at Grassrooots: For Social Sciences and Human Service Professions* (4th ed., pp. 507–513). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

De Wet, C., & Wolhuter, C. (2009). A Transitiological Study of Some South African Educational Issues. *South African Journal of Education*, *29*, 359–376.

Defise, R. (2013). Supporting the Implementation of Curriculum Reform through Learning Communities and Communities of Practice. *Prospects*, *43*(4), 473–479. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-013-9286-6

Department of Basic Education. (n.d.). Question & Answer Booklet for the Advocacy of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) Grades R-12.

Department of Basic Education. (2011). *Strategic Plan 2011-2014*. Pretoria: Department of Basic Education.

Department of Basic Education. (2012). *IQMS Annual Report 2011/12*. Pretoria.

Department of Basic Education. (2018a). Rural Education Draft Policy. *Government Gazette*, *41399*(14), 14–37.

Department of Basic Education. (2018b). *Rural Education Draft Policy*. *Government Gazette* (Vol. 14). Retrieved from http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/180126draftruraledupolicy.pdf

Dilkes, J., Cunningham, C., & Gray, J. (2014). The New Australian Curriculum, Teachers and Change Fatigue. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, *39*(11), 44–64. https://doi.org/10.14221/ajte.2014v39n11.4

Du Plessis, E. (2013a). Do Teachers Recieve Proper In-Service Training to Implement Changing Policies : Perspective from the South African Case?

Comparative Education & History of Education.

Du Plessis, E. (2013b). Introduction to CAPS. Pretoria: UNISA. Retrieved from http://www.unisa.ac.za/contents/colleges/col_education/docs/CAPS.

Du Plessis, E., & Marais, P. (2015). Reflections on the NCS to NCS (CAPS): Foundation Phase teachers ' experiences.

Easthope, C., & Easthope, G. (2000). Intensification , Extension and Complexity of Teachers ' Workload Intensi cation , Extension and Complexity of Teachers ' Workload. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *21*(1), 43–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690095153

Easthope, C., & Easthope, G. (2007). Teachers ' Stories of Change : Stress , Care and Economic Rationality, *32*(1), 1–16.

Ebersöhn, L., & Ferreira, R. (2012). Rurality and Resilience in Education : Place-based Partnerships and Agency to Moderate Time and Space Constraints. *Perspectives in Educationducation*, *30*(1), 30–42.

Eeden, E. S. Van, & Vermeulen, L. M. (2005). Christian National Education (CNE) and People's Education (PE): Historical Perspectives and Some Broad Common Grounds. *New Contree*, *50*, 125–128.

Elbaz-Luwisch, F. (2007). Studying Teachers' Lives and Experience: Narrative Inquiry Into K-12 Teaching. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology* (pp. 357–404). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Endacott, J. L., Wright, G. P, Goering, C. Z., Collet, V. S., Denny, G. S., & Davis, J. J. (2015). Robots Teaching Other Little Robots: Neoliberalism, CCSS, and Teacher Professionalism. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, *37*(5), 414–437. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714413.2015.1091258

Erben, M. (1998). Biography and Research Method. In M. Erben (Ed.), *In Biography and Education: A Reader* (pp. 4–17). London: Falmer Press.

Erdem, M. (2014). The Level of Quality of Work Life to Predict Work Alienation, *14*(2), 534–545. https://doi.org/10.12738/estp.2014.2.2126

Evans, L. (2010). Professionals or Technicians? Teacher Preparation Programs and Occupational Understandings. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *16*(2), 183–205. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540600903478458

Fakier, M., & Waghid, Y. (2004). On Outcomes-Based Education and Creativity in South Africa. *International Journal of Special Education*, *19*(2), 35–45.

Falabella, A. (2014). The Performing School: The Effects of Market & Accountability Policies. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *22*(70), 1–37.

Feldman, J. (2016). Pedagogical Habitus Engagement : Teacher Learning and Adaptation in a Professional Learning Community. *Educational Research for Social Change*, *5*(2), 65–80.

Feng, Li & Figlio, David & Sass, T. (2010). School Accountability and Teacher Mobility. National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. NBER. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series 16070*, (June). https://doi.org/http://www.nber.org/papers/w16070.pdf

Fenwick, L. (2011). Curriculum Reform and Reproducing Inequality in Upper-secondary Education, *43*(6), 697–716.

Fetherston, T., & Lummis, G. (2012). Why Western Australian Secondary Teachers Resign. *Australian Jounral of Teacher Education*, *37*(4), 1–18.

Fischman, G. E. (2016). Teachers , Globalization , and Hope : Beyond the Narrative of Redemption. *Comparative Education Review*, *45*(3), 412–418.

Floyd, A. (2012). Narrative and Life History. In A. R. Briggs, M. Coleman, & M. M Morrison (Eds.), *Research Methods in Educational Leadership & Management* (pp. 223–233). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Fouché, C. B., & Delport, C. S. L. (2011). Introduction to the Research Process. In C. B. De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at Grassrooots: For Social Sciences and Human Service Professions* (4th ed., pp. 61–76). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Fouché, C. B., & Schurink, W. (2011). Qualitative Research Designs. In C. B. De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at Grassrooots: For Social Sciences and Human Service Professions* (4th ed., pp. 307–327). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Fox, N. (1998). Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary Health Care: How to Use Observations in a Research Project. Trent Focus Group.

Froese-Germain, B. (2014). Work-Life Balance and the Canadian Teaching Profession. *Research & Information*, (July), 1–11.

Gardiner, M. (2008). *Education in Rural Areas*. *Issues in Education Policy*. Johannesburg: Centre for Education Policy Development. Retrieved from http://www.3rs.org.za/index.php?module=Pagesetter&type=file&func=get&tid=2&fid=document&pid=7

George, R. (2009). Establishing Control Teachers' Work and Manufacturing Consent in. *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work*, *6*(1), 47–64.

Gerson, K., & Horowitz, R. (2002). Observation and Interviewing: Options and Choices in Qualitative Research. In T. May (Ed.), *Qualitative Research in Action*. London: Sage Publications Inc.

Goldkuhl, G. (2012). Pragmatism vs Interpretivism in Qualitative Information Systems Research. *European Journal of Information Systems*, *21*, 135–146. https://doi.org/10.1057/ejis.2011.54

Goodley, D., Lawthom, R., Clough, P., & Moore, M. (2004). *Research Life Stories: Method, Theory and Analyses in a Biographical Age*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Goodson, Ivor F. (2010). Times of Educational Change: Towards an Understanding of Patterns of Historical and Cultural refraction. *Journal of Education Policy*, *25*(6), 767–775. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2010.508179

Goodson, I., & Numan, U. (2003). *Livshistoria och professjonsutveckling [Life Histories and Professionalism]*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Goodson, I. (2014). Context , Curriculum and Professional Knowledge, *43*(6), 768–776.

Gowlett, C. (2015). Queer(y)ing New Schooling Accountabilities Through My School : Using Butlerian Tools to Think Differently About Policy Performativity, *1857*(July). https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2013.793926

Grigoratos, A. (2006). A Narrative Exploration into the World of Ill Fathers Who Have Lost a Limb Due to Diabetes.

Grunder, H.U. (2016). The Image of Teachers: The Perception of Others as Impulses for the Professionalisation of Teaching. *British Journal of Religious Education*, *38*(2), 152–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2016.1139890.

Gu, Q. (2013). The Work, Perceptions and Professional Development of Teachers. *Asia- Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, *41*(3), 235–238. https://doi.org/10.1080/10476210.2012.759554

Haberman, M. (2005). Teacher Burnout in Black and White. *The New Educator*, *1*(February 2015), 153–175. https://doi.org/10.1080/15476880590966303

Hameed, G. (2013). Teachers' Views About Curriculum Change at Primary Level: A Case Study of an Urban Girls Primary School. *International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection*, *1*(2), 26–36.

https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Hargreaves, A. (1991). Prepare To Meet Thy Mood ?: Teacher Preparation Time and the Intensification Thesis. In *Paper presented at The Annual Conference of The American Educational Research Association* (pp. 1–34). Chicago.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: Teachers' Work and Culture in the Postmodern Age*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hargreaves, Andrew, & Fullan, M. (2013). The Power of Professional Capital: With an Investment in Collaboration, Teachers Become Nation Builders. *Journal of Staff Development*, *34*(3), 36–40. Retrieved from http://www.cmaste.ualberta.ca/en/Outreach/~/media/cmaste/Documents/Outreach/Norway Energy Camp/2.pdf

Harley, K., & Wedekind, V. (2004). Political Change, Curriculum Change and Social Formation, 1990 to 2002. In Linda Chisholm (Ed.), *Changing Class: Educational and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (pp. 195–220). Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.

Hattingh, A. (2008). Assessing Curriculum Change in Underdeveloped Contexts: A Case Study of Science Curriculum Reform in South Africa. In E. Weber (Ed.), *Educational Change in South Africa: Reflections on Local Realities, Practices, and Reforms* (pp. 41–56). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Hoadley, U. (2018). *Pedagogy in Poverty: Lessons from Twenty Years of Curriculum Reform in South Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hodges, G. W., & Oliver, J. S. (2010). A Study of Highly Qualified Science Teachers ' Career Trajectory in the Deep , Rural South : Examining a Link Between Deprofessionalization and Teacher Dissatisfaction, 263–274.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2002). Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns* (pp. 3–30). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.

Hooghart, A. M. (2006). Educational Reform in Japan and its Influence on Teachers' Work. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *45*(4–5), 290–301. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2007.02.007

HSRC. (2005). *Emerging Voices. A Report on Education in South African Rural Communities*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Hudson, S., & Millwater, J. (2009). "Over The Hill" is Not So Far Away: Crossing Teaching Contexts to Create Benefits for All Through Rural Teaching

Experiences. Hudson, S., & Millwater, J. (2009). Refereed paper presented at 'Teacher education crossing borders: Cultures, contexts, communities and curriculum' the annual conference of the Australian Teacher Education Association (ATEA), Albury, 28 June – 1 July.

Hunter, S. V. (2010). Analysing and Representing Narrative Data : The Long and Winding Road, Current Narratives *1*(2), 44–54.

Ingersoll, R. M. (2001). Deprofessionalizing the Teaching Profession : The Problem of Out-of-Field Teaching. *Educational Horizons*, *80*(1), 28–31.

Jackson, L., & Rothmann, S. (2005). Work-Related Well-Being of Educators in a District of the North-West Province. *Perspectives in Education*, *23*(3), 107–122. Retrievedfrom http://eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/recordDetail?accno=EJ718600

Jansen, J. D. (1998). *Curriculum Reform in South Africa : A Critical Analysis of Outcomes-Based Education*. Durban.

Jansen, J. D. (1999). Why Outcomes-based Education Will Fail. In J. D. Jansen & P. Christie (Eds.), *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-based Education in South Africa* (pp. 145–154). Cape Town: Juta & Company.

Jansen, J. D. (2001). Rethinking Education Policy Making in South Africa: Symbols of Change, Signals of Conflict. In Andre Kraak & MichaelYoung (Eds.), *Education in Retrospect Policy and Implementation Since 1990* (pp. 40–57). Pretoria: HSRC.

Jansen, J., & Taylor, N. (2003). Educational Change in South Africa 1994-2003 : Case Studies in Large-Scale Education Reform. *Education Reform and Management Publication Series*, *II*(1), 1–51.

Jerald, C. D., & Ingersoll, R. (2002). All Talk No Action: Putting and End to Out-of-Field Teaching. Retrieved from https://repository.upenn.edu/gse_pubs/142

Jimerson, L. (2004). Teachers and Teaching Conditions in Rural Texas, (May).

Johnson, B., Down, B., Le Cornu, R., Peters, J., Sullivan, A., & Pearce, J. (2012). Conditions that Support Early Career Teacher Resilience. *ATEA 2010 Conference : Teacher Education for a Sustainable Future Townsville, Queensland July 2010. (2011)*, (March 2016).

Johnson, B. (2004). Local School Micropolitical Agency: An Antidote to New Managerialism. *School Leadership & Management*, *24*(3), 267–286. https://doi.org/10.1080/1363243042000266927

Joseph, S. (2010). Lessons Learnt from Six Years of Education Reform. *The Caribbean Journal of Education & Pedagogy*, *1*, 21–38.

Joubert, V. (2016). *Accountability and Professional Development: Enacting the Integrated Quality Management System at Different South African Schools*. University of Pretoria.

Kaniuka, T. S. (2012). Toward an Understanding of How Teachers Change During School Reform : Considerations for Educational Leadership and School Improvement. *Journal of Educational Change*, *13*, 327–346. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9184-3

Keddie, A. (2014). School Autonomy, Accountability and Collaboration: A Critical Review. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *47*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2015.974146

Kelchtermans, G. (2009). Who I Am in How I teach is the Message : Self - understanding , Vulnerability and Reflection. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *15*(2), 257–272. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540600902875332

Keogh, J., Garvis, S., & Pendergast, D., Diamond, P. (2012). Self-determination: Using Agency, Efficacy and Resilience (AER) to Counter Novice Teachers' Experiences of Intensification. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, *37*(8), 46–65. https://doi.org/10.14221/ajte.2012v37n8.3

King, K. V, & Zucker, S. (2008). *Curriculum Narrowing: Policy Report*. San Antonio.

Kirk, J., & Wall, C. (2010). Resilience and loss in work identities: a narrative analysis of some retired teachers' work-life histories. *British Educational Research Journal*, *36*(4), 627–641. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920903018216

Klerk, E. D. De. (2014). Teacher Autonomy and Professionalism : a Policy Archaeology Perspective, (April). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amjmed.2012.07.021

Kokela, R. . (2017). *An Analysis of the Implementation of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement in Further the Further Education and Training Phase*. University of Pretoria.

Kraak, A., & Young, M. (2004). Education in Retrospect. In A. Kraak & M. Young (Eds.), *Journal of Education Policy* (Vol. 19, pp. 635–639). Pretoria: HSRC. https://doi.org/10.1080/0268093042000269207

Kyriacou, C. (2001). Teacher Stress : Directions for Future Research Teacher Stress. *Educational Review*, *53*(1), 37–41.

https://doi.org/10.1080/0013191012003362

Ladd, H. (2009). *Teachers' Perceptions of their Working Conditions: How Predictive of Policy-Relevant Outcomes? Center for the Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Educational Research* (Vol. 19). Washington. https://doi.org/10.1086/598841

Lamb, J., & Branson, C. M. (2015). Educational Change Leadership Through a New Zonal Theory Lens : Using Mathematics Curriculum Change as the Example. *Policy Futures in Education*, *13*(8), 1010–1026. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210315588840

Lambert, K., Wright, P. R., & Currie, J., Pascoe, R. (2015). Data-Driven Performativity : Neoliberalism ' s Impact on Drama Education in Western Australian Secondary Schools Data-Driven Performativity : Neoliberalism ' s Impact on Drama Education in Western Australian Secondary Schools. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, *37*(5), 460–475. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714413.2015.1091260

Le Cornu, R. (2013). Building Early Career Teacher Resilience: The Role of Relationships. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, *38*(4), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.14221/ajte.2013v38n4.4

Leaton Gray, S. (2007). Teacher as Technician: Semi-Professionalism after the 1988 Education Reform Act and its Effect on Conceptions of Pupil Identity. *Policy Futures in Education*, *5*(2), 194–203. https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2007.5.2.194

Lee, J. C., Huang, Y. X., & Law, E. H., Wang, M. (2013). Professional Identities and Emotions of Teachers in the Context of Curriculum Reform: A Chinese Perspective. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, *41*(3), 271–287. https://doi.org/10.1080/1359866X.2013.809052

Lee, J. C., & Yin, H. (2011). Teachers' Emotions and Professional Identity in Curriculum Reform : A Chinese Perspective. *Journal of Educational Change*, *12*, 25–46. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-010-9149-3

Lee, M. N. N. (2016). Contemporary Education Policies in Southeast Asia: Common Philosophical Underpinnings and Practices. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-016-9443-8

Li, Q., & Ni, Y. (2011). Impact of Curriculum Reform: Evidence of Change in Classroom Practice in Mainland China. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *50*(2), 71–86. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2011.06.003

Lieberman, A., & Miller, L. (1999). *Teachers Transforming their World and their Work*. New York: Teachers College Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsps.2011.05.004

Lindblad, S., & Goodson, I. (2011). Professional Knowledge and Educational Restructuring in Europe. In I. Goodson & S. Lindblad (Eds.), *Professional Knowledge and Educational Restructuring in Europe*. Rotterdam. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6091-379-2

Lonsbury, J., & Apple, M. W. (2012). Understanding the Limits and Possibilities of School Reform. *Educational Policy*, *26*(5), 759–773. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904811425909

Loughran, J., & Kelchtermans, G. (2006). Teachers' Work Lives. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *12*(2), 107–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/13450600500467217

Lundström, U., & Holm, A. (2011). Market Competition in Upper Secondary Education : Perceived Effects on Teachers ' Work. *Policy Futures in Education*, *9*(2), 193–205.

Mabusela, S. M., Ngidi, D. P., & Imenda, S. N. (2016). Implementing the National Curriculum Statement in the Further Education and Training Band : Educator ' s Experiences in South Africa, *46*(1), 61–70.

Mafora, P. (2013). Managing Teacher Retention in a Rural School District in South Africa. *Australian Educational Researcher*, *40*(2), 227–240. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-013-0088-x

Maluka, P. (2015). To understand SA ' s History Curriculum change in Democracy , lets first look at this change during Transition.

Maodzwa-Taruvinga, M., & Cross, M. (2012). Jonathan Jansen and the Curriculum Debate in South Africa: An Essay Review of Jansen's Writings Between 1999 and 2009. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *42*(1), 126–152. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-873X.2011.00573.x

Maphosa, C., Mutekwe, E., Machingambi, S., Wadesango, N., & Ndofirepi, A. (2012). Teacher Accountability in South African Public Schools: A Call for Professionalism from Teachers. *Anthropologist*, *14*(6), 545–553. https://doi.org/10.1080/09720073.2012.11891280

März, V., & Kelchtermans, G. (2013). Sense-making and Structure in Teachers ' Reception of Educational Reform . A Case Study on Statistics in the

Mathematics Curriculum. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *29*, 13–24. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2012.08.004

Maskit, D. (2011). Teachers' Attitudes Toward Pedagogical Changes During Various Stages of Professional Development. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *27*(5), 851–860. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2011.01.009

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Massat, M. B. (2013). Learning Togethr: Teaching, Relationships, and Teachers' Work. *New Directions For Youth Development*, *137*(Spring), 42–51. https://doi.org/10.1002/yd

Mathis, W. J., & Welner, K. G. (2015). Research-Based Options for Education Policymaking: Reversing the Deprofessionalization of Teaching.

Matthews, B., & Ross, L. (2010). *Research Methods: A Practical Guide for Social Sciences*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Mausethagen, S., & Granlund, L. (2012). Contested Discourses of Teacher Professionalism: Current Tensions Between Education Policy and Teachers' Union. *Journal of Education Policy*, *0939*(August 2015), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2012.672656

Mbingo, S. J. (2006). *An Investigation Into the Implementation of the New Curriculum By Foundation Phase Teachers*.

McCormack, C. (2004). Storying Stories: A Narrative Approach to In-depth Interview Conversations. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory and Practice*, *7*(3), 219–236. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570210166382

Mengistu, G. K. (2012). *Job Satisfaction of Secondary School Teachers in Ethiopia*.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). New York: Sage.

Milner, H. R. (2013). *Policy Reforms and De-professionalization of Teaching*. Boulder, Co: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/policy-reforms-deprofessionalization

Mohd, S., Brahim, J., Latiffi, A. A., Fathi, M. S., & Harun, A. N. (2017). Developing Building Information Modelling (BIM) Implementation Model for Project Design Team. *Malaysian Construction Research Journal*, *1*(1), 71–83. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejoc.201200111

Morley, L., & Rassool, N. (2000). School Effectiveness : New Managerialism ,

Quality and the Japanization of Education. *Journal of Education Policy*, *15*(2), 169–183. https://doi.org/10.1080/026809300285881

Morrison, M. (2012). Understanding Research. In A. R. J. Briggs, M. Coleman, & M. Morrison (Eds.), *In Research Methods in Educational Leadership & Management* (pp. 14–28). London: Sage Publications Inc.

Motshekga, A. (2010). *Statement By the Minister of Basic Education , Mrs Angie Motshekga , Mp on the Progress of the Review of the National Curriculum Statement , Tuesday 06 July 2010*.

Mouton, N, Louw, G. P., & Strydom, G. L. (2012). A Historical Analysis Of The Post-Apartheid Dispensation Education In South Africa (1994-2011). *International Business & Economics Research Journal*, *11*(11), 1211–1222.

Mouton, Nelda, Louw, G. P., & Strydom, G. (2013). Critical Challenges Of The South African School System. *The International Business & Economics Research Journal (Online)*, *12*(1), 31–44. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1418720026?accountid=14549%5Cnhttp://hl5yy6xn2p.search.serialssolutions.com/?genre=article&sid=ProQ:&atitle=Critical+Challenges+Of+The+South+African+School+System&title=The+International+Business+&+Economics+Research+Jou

Mukeredzi, T. G. (2013). The journey to becoming teaching professionals in rural South Africa and Zimbabwe. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, *38*(10), 83–104. https://doi.org/10.14221/ajte.2013v38n10.6

Myers, M. D. (2009). *Qualitative research in business & management*. *Sage Publications*. London: Sage Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1021/jf00022a034

Naidu, S. (2011). ‘ I Love to Teach but No Thank You !’ Factors Responsible for the Demise of Teaching as a Profession : An Australian Perspective, (November), 0–14.

Nakabugo, M. G., & Siebörger, R. (2000). Curriculum reform and teaching in South Africa: Making a “paradigm shift”? *International Journal of Educational Development*, *21*(1), 53–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0738-0593(00)00013-4

Neuman, W. L. (2011). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (6th ed.). Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Nevalainen, R., & Kimonen, E. (2013). The Teacher as an Implementer of Curriculum Change. In E. E Kimonen & R. Nevalainen (Eds.), *Transforming*

Teachers' Work Globally: In Search of a Better Way for Schools and their Communities (pp. 111–147). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Ngconjana, U., Kwizera, A. C., & Umejesi, I. (2017). Livelihoods in Child Headed Households and State Intervention : a Case Study of the Orphans and Vulnerable Children (Ovc) in East London , South. *Gender & Behaviour*, *15*(1), 8160–8181.

Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007a). Analysing Qualitative Data. In K. Maree (Ed.), *First Steps in Research* (pp. 98–119). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007b). Introducing Qualitative Research. In K. Maree (Ed.), *First Steps in Research* (pp. 46–68). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007c). Qualitative Research Designs and Data Gathering Techniques. In K. Maree (Ed.), *In First Steps in Research* (pp. 69 – 97). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Nkambule, T., Balfour, R. J., Pillay, G., & Moletsane, R. (2011). Rurality and Rural Education : Discourses Underpinning Rurality and Rural Education Research in South African Postgraduate Education Research 1994 – 2004. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *25*(2), 341–357.

Noble, H., & Smith, J. (2015). Issues of Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research. *Evid Based Nurs*, *18*(2), 34–35. https://doi.org/10.1136/eb-2015-102054

Norrie, C., & Goodson, I. (2011). "We've Come Full Circle": Restructuring Primary Teachers' Work-lives and Knowledge in England. In I. F Goodson & S. Lindblad (Eds.), *Professional Knowledge and Educational Restructuring in Europe* (pp. 11–24). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

O'Neill, A. M. (2016). Assessment-based Curriculum: Globalising and Enterprising Culture, Human Capital and Teacher–technicians in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Education Policy*, *31*(5), 598–621. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2016.1150520

Ololube, N. P. (2006). Teachers Job Satisfaction and Motivation for School Effectiveness: An Assessment. *Essays in Education*, *18*, 1–19. Retrieved from http://www.scopus.com/inward/record.url?eid=2-s2.0-33846019297&partnerID=40&md5=f757bb52071f51f5afbadf2b54de2713

Penrice, G. (2011). The Effects of Intensification on Rural Teachers ' Work, *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work*, 8 (2), 104–113.

Pinar, W. F. (2003). *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pinnegar, S., & Daynes, J. D. (2007). Locating Narrative Inquiry Historically: Thematics in the Turn to Narratives. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook for Research on Teacher Education* (pp. 3–34). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Player, D. (2015). The Supply and Demand for Rural Teachers. Rural Opportunities Consortium of Idaho.

Potenza, E., & Monyokolo, M. (1999). A Destination Without a Map: Premature Implementation of Curriculum 2005? In J. Jansen & P. Christie (Eds.), *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-based Education in South Africa* (pp. 157–169). Cape Town: Juta & Company.

Preissle, J. (2001). *Book Review: Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*. *Field Methods* (Vol. 13). San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X0101300406

Rahamah, N., Bakar, A., & Abdullah, Y. (2008). The Life History Approach: Fieldwork Experience. *School of School Development & Environmental Studies*, *3*(1), 1–9.

Rajasekar, S., Philominathan, P., & Chinnathambi, V. (2006). Research Methodology. *Methods*. https://doi.org/10.1097/AAP.0b013e3182208cea

Rakometsi, M. S. (2008). *The Transformation of Black School Education in South Africa, 1950-1994: A Historical Perspective*. University of the Free State.

Ramberg, M. R. (2014). What Makes Reform Work?–School-Based Conditions as Predictors of Teachers' Changing Practice after a National Curriculum Reform. *International Education Studies*, *7*(6), 46–65. https://doi.org/10.5539/ies.v7n6p46

Reeves, J. (2007). ' Tell Me Your Story ': Applied Ethics in Narrative Research with Young Fathers, *5*(3), 253–265.

Riessman, C. K. (2003). Analysis of Personal Narratives. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns* (pp. 331–346). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.

Sachs, J. (2001). Teacher Professional Identity: Competing Discourses, Competing Outcomes. *Journal of Education Policy*, *16*(2), 149–161. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930116819

SADTU. (2015). Rethinking Rewards and Incentives for Rural Teachers.

Sage Research Methods. (2011a). Conducting An Interview. In S Kvale (Ed.), *Doing Interviews* (pp. 52–66). Sage Publications Inc.

Sage Research Methods. (2011b). Introduction to Interview Research. In Steinar Kvale (Ed.), *Doing Interviews* (pp. 2–10). Sage Publications Ltd.

Sahlberg, P. (2010). Rethinking Accountability in a Knowledge Society. *Journal of Educational Change*, *11*, 45–61. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-008-9098-2

Salkind, N. J. (2018). *Exploring Research* (9th ed.). Harlow: Pearson.

Sammons, P., Day, C., Kington, A., Gu, Q., Stobart, G., Smees, R. (2007). Exploring Variations in Teachers' Work, Lives and Their Effects on Pupils: Key Findings and Implications from a Longitudinal Mixed-Method Study. *British Educational Research Journal*, *33*(5), 681–701. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920701582264

Samoff, J. (2000). Bantu Education, People's Education, Outcomes-based Education: Wither Education in South Africa. In E. Weber (Ed.), *Educational Change in South Africa Refl ections on Local Realities, Practices, and Reforms*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Samuel, M. (2014). South African Teacher Voices : Recurring Resistances and Reconstructions for Teacher Education and Development Reconstructions for Teacher Education and Development. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *40*(5), 610–621. https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2014.956546

Sargent, T. C. (2011). New Curriculum Reform Implementation and the Transformation of Educational Beliefs, Practices, and Structures in Gansu Province. *Chinese Education & Society*, *44*(6), 47–72. https://doi.org/10.2753/CED1061-1932440604

Schick, C., & McNinch, J. (2013). Teacher Time: A Study of the Challenges of Intensifications of Saskatchewan Teachers' Professional Time. *Teacher Time*, (December), 1–45.

Schurink, W., Fouché, C. B., & De Vos, A. S. (2011). Qualitative Data Analysis and Interpretation. In C. B. De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at Grassrooots: For Social Sciences and Human Service Professions* (4th ed., pp. 397–425). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Seshea, N. E. (2017). *An Exploration of Out-of-field Teacher Learning Experiences: A Case Study of Secondary School Social Science Teachers at Pholela Circuit,*

Kwazulu-Natal. *Thesis*.

Shacklock, G. (1998). Professionalism and Intensification in Teaching: A Case Study of 'Care' in Teachers' Work. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, *26*(3), 177–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/1359866980260302

Shay, S. (2016). Curriculum Reform in Higher Education : A Contested Space. *Teaching in Higher Education*, *20*(04), 431–441. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2015.1023287

Shirley, D. (2015). The Legitimation Crisis of Educational change. *Journal of Educational Change*, *16*(3), 245–250. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-015-9254-4

Silva, A. M., & Herdeiro, R. (2013). The Work, Perceptions and Professional Development of Teachers. *Teaching Education*, *25*(2), 184–201. https://doi.org/10.1080/10476210.2012.759554

Slater, L. (2013). Building High-performing and Improving Education Systems: Curriculum and Assessment. Retrieved from http://www.kaplanco.com/curriculum/assessment.asp

Smyth, J. (2006). The Politics of Reform of Teachers ' Work and the Consequences for Schools : Some Implications for Teacher Education. *Asia- Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, *34*(3), 301–319. https://doi.org/10.1080/13598660600927208

Spaull, N. (2013). *South Africa's Education Crisis : The Quality of Education in South Africa 1994-2011*. *Centre for Development & Enterprise* (Vol. 27). https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03217477

Squire, C., & Andrews, M. (2013). From Experience-centred to Socioculturally-oriented Approaches to Narrative. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing Narrative Research* (pp. 47–71). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Squire, C., Andrews, M., & Tamboukou, M. (2013). Introduction: What is Narrative Research? In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing Narrative Research* (pp. 1–26). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Stevenson, H. (2007). Restructuring Teachers' Work and Trade Union Responses in England: Bargaining for Change? *American Educational Research Journal*, *44*(2), 224–251. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831207302194

Stoffels, N. (2008). Why Do Teachers Do What they Do? Teacher Decision-making in the Context of Curriculum Change in South Africa. In E. Weber (Ed.),

Educational Change in South Africa Refl ections on Local Realities, Practices, and Reforms (pp. 25–40). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Stone-Johnson, C. (2016). Intensification and Isolation : Alienated Teaching and Collaborative Professional Relationships in the Accountability Context. *Journal of Educational Change*, *17*(1), 29–49. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-015-9255-3

Strydom, H. (2011). Ethical Aspects of Research in the Social Sciences and Human Service Professions. In C. B. De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché & C. S. L. Delport (Eds.), *Research at Grassrooots: For Social Sciences and Human Service Professions* (Fourth, pp. 113–130). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Swinton, J., & Mowat, H. (2006). *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*. London: SCM Press.

Tang, S. Y. F. (2011). Teachers' Professional Identity, Educational Change and Neo-liberal Pressures on Education in Hong Kong. *Teacher Development*, *15*(3), 363–380. https://doi.org/10.1080/13664530.2011.608518

Taylor, J. L. . B. (2013). The Power of Resilience: A Theoretical Model to Empower, Encourage and Retain Teachers. *Qualitative Report*, *18*(2011), 1–25. Retrieved from http://www.scopus.com/inward/record.url?eid=2-s2.0-84883794300&partnerID=40&md5=ebc0f158e4945db39008ffb088d1fc4c

Taylor, N., & Shindler, J. (2016). *Education Sector Landscape Mapping: South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jet Education Services.

Teleshaliyev, N. (2013). "Leave Me Alone—Simply Let Me Teach." *European Education*, *45*(2), 51–74. https://doi.org/10.2753/EUE1056-4934450203

Troudi, S., & Alwan, F. (2010). Teachers' Feelings During Curriculum Change in the United Arab Emirates: Opening Pandora's Box. *Teacher Development*, *14*(1), 107–121. https://doi.org/10.1080/13664531003696659

Tye, K. A. (2014). Global Education: A Worldwide Movement: An Update. *Policy Futures in Education*, *12*(7), 855–871. https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2014.12.7.855

Umalusi. (2014). *What ' s in the CAPS Package ?: Overview*. Pretoria: Umalusi.

UNICEF. (2004). *Protection for Orphans and Vulnerable Children: Alternative Care [2004]*. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/protection6633.html [2015] [Accessed on 01 August 2018].

Valli, L., & Buese, D. (2007). *The Changing Roles of Teachers in an Era of High-*

stakes Accountability. *American Educational Research Journal* (Vol. 44). https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831207306859

Van der Berg, S., Taylor, S., Gustafsson, M., Spaull, N., & Armstrong, P. (2011). *Improving Education Quality in South Africa: Report for the National Planning Commission*. *Education*. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k452klfn9ls-en%5CnOECD

Van Veen, K., & Sleegers, P. (2006). How Does it Feel? Teachers' Emotions in a Context of Change. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *38*(1), 85–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270500109304

Vantuyle, V., & Reeves, A. (2014). "Forgottonia"? The Status of Rural Schools in Illinois' Principal Preparation Reform. *NCPEA International Journal of Educational Leadership Preparation*, *9*(2), 111–127.

Vähäsantanen, K. (2014). Professional Agency in the Stream of Change : Understanding Educational Change and Teachers' Irofessional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *47*, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.11.006

Wahyuni, D. (2012). The Research Design Maze: Understanding Paradigms, Cases, Methods and Methodologies. *Journal of Applied Management Accounting Research*, *10*(1), 69–80. https://doi.org/10.1675/1524-4695(2008)31

Waitoller, F. R., & Kozleski, E. B. (2015). No Stone Left Unturned: Exploring the Convergence of New Capitalism in Inclusive Education in the U.S. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *23*(37), 4–33.

Walker, T. (2013). Three 'Reforms' That Are Deprofessionalizing Teaching. *National Education Association*. Retrieved from www.neatoday.org

Weber, E. (2005). New Controls and Accountability for South African Teachers and Schools : The Integrated Quality Management System. *Perspectives in Education*, *23*(2), 63–72.

Weber, E. (2006). Teaching in the New South Africa at Merrydale High School. Lanham: University Press of America Inc.

Weber, E. (2007). Globalization, "Glocal" Development, and Teachers' Work: A Research Agenda, *77*(3), 279–309. https://doi.org/10.3102/003465430303946

Weber, E. (2008a). *Educational Change in South Africa Reflections on Local Realities, Practices, and Reforms*. (E. Weber, Ed.). Rotterdam: Sense

Publishers.

Weber, E. (2008b). The Scholarship of Educational Change: Concepts, Contours, and Contexts. In E. Weber (Ed.), *Educational Change in South Africa: Reflections on Local Realities, Practices, and Reforms* (p. 2008). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Weingarten, R. (2012). *Raising the Bar: Aligning and Elevating Teacher Preparation and the Teaching Profession*.

Weldon, G. (2009). Memory , Identity and the Politics of Curriculum Construction in Transition Societies : Rwanda and South Africa, *27*(June), 177–189.

Welman, C., Kruger, F., & Mitchell, B. (2005). *Research Methodology* (3rd ed.). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Whiffin, C. J., Bailey, C., Ellis-Hill, C., & Jarrett, N. (2014). Challenges and Solutions during Analysis in a Longitudinal Narrative Case study. *Nurse Researcher*, *21*(4), 20–62. https://doi.org/10.7748/nr2014.03.21.4.20.e1238

Winter, J. S. (2011). Sustaining Teacher Educators : Finding Professional Renewal Through Vocation and Avocation. *SRATE Journal*, *20*(1), 27–32.

Yan, C. (2015). Improving Schools “We Can’t Change Much Unless the Exams Change”: Teachers’ Dilemmas in the Curriculum Reform in China. *Improving Schools*, *18*(1), 5–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/1365480214553744

Yan, Chunmei. (2012). ‘ We Can Only Change in a Small Way ’: A Study of Secondary English Teachers ’ implementation of Curriculum Reform in China, 431–447. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9186-1

Yin, R. K. (2016). *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish* (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford Press.

Yin, R. K. (1994). Case Study Research: Design and Methods. *Applied Social Research Methods Series*, *5*, 219.

Young, M. (2001). Educational Reform in South Africa (1990-2000): An International Perspective Michael Young Introduction. In A. Kraak & M. Young (Eds.), *Education in Retrospect: Policy and Implementation Since 1990* (pp. 17–39). London: HSRC.

Zipin, L. (2002). Too Much with Too Little: Shift and Intensification in the Work of ACT Teachers.

11. ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A – APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN BOHLABELA DISTRICT

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Education

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

Date: 15 August 2016

The Head of Department
Departmtment of Education Mpumalanga Province
Private Bag x11341
Mbombela
1200

Dear Madam

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Student Number: 15277110
Name and Surname: Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele
Study: PhD
Contact number: 0794955207
E-mail address: mashelesf@gmail.com
Supervisor: Professor E Weber
Contact number: 0832948048
E-mail address: everard.weber@up.ac.za

I hereby request permission to conduct research in three schools in Bohlabela District, Ximhungwe Circuit. I am a University of Pretoria student. I have to complete a research project and one of the requirements is that I conduct research and write a research report on my work.

The topic of my research is: **The Impact of Curriculum Change on Rural Teachers' Working Lives.**

If you grant me permission to conduct research at the above-mentioned district, I will interview selected teachers who have been in teaching for the past two decades. I will personally request them to participate. The interviews will take place at venues

1

ANNEXURE B – PERMISSION LETTER FROM MPUMALANGA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

education
MPUMALANGA PROVINCE
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Building No. 5, Government Boulevard, Riverside Park, Mpumalanga Province
Private Bag X11341, Mbombela, 1200
Tel: 013 766 5552/5115, Toll Free Line: 0800 203 116

Litiko le Temfundvo, Umnyango we Fundo | Departement van Onderwys | Ndzawulo ya Dyondzo

Mr. Shonaphi Mashele
PO BOX 1238
THULAMAHASHE
1365

RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: MR. S.F MASHELE

Your application to conduct research was received on the 10 August 2016. The title of your study reads: "The impact of curriculum change in rural teachers working lives." I trust that the aims and the objectives of the study will benefit the whole department. Your request is approved subject to you observing the provisions of the departmental research policy which is available in the departmental website. You are also requested to adhere to your University's research ethics as spelt out in your research ethics document.

In terms of the attached research policy, data or any research activity can only be conducted after hours as per appointment with affected participants. You are also requested to share your findings with the relevant sections of the department so that we may consider implementing your findings if that will be in the best interest of the department. To this effect, your final approved research report (both soft and hard copy) should be submitted to the department so that your recommendations could be implemented. You may be required to prepare a presentation and present at the department's annual research dialogue.

For more information kindly liaise with the department's research unit @ 013 766 5476 or a.baloyi@education.mpu.gov.za.

The department wishes you well in this important project and pledges to give you the necessary support you may need.

MRS M.O.C MHLABANE
HEAD: EDUCATION

25/08/2016
DATE

MPUMALANGA
THE PLACE OF THE RISING SUN

ANNEXURE C – LETTER OF APPLICATION TO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Faculty of Education

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

Date: _____

Student Number: 15277110
Name and Surname: Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele
Study: PhD
Contact number: 0794955207
E-mail address: mashelesf@gmail.com
Supervisor: Professor E Weber
Contact number: 0832948048
E-mail address: everard.weber@up.ac.za

Dear Principal

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I hereby request permission to conduct research at your school. I am a University of Pretoria student. I have to complete a research project and one of the requirements is that I conduct research and write a research report on my work. The topic of my research is: **The Impact of Curriculum Change on Rural Teachers' Working Lives.**

If you grant me permission to conduct research at your school, I will interview teachers who have been in teaching for the past two decades. I will personally request them to participate. The interview will take place at a venue and time that will suit the participant(s), but it will not interfere with your school's activities or teaching time. The interview will be tape recorded and transcribed for analysis. Teachers' participation is entirely voluntary.

I may also request the respondents to teach so that I observe them. The observation will be done at the time that they will choose. Only my supervisor and I will have access to this information. The identity of the school and all participants will be protected. Only my supervisor and I will know which schools were used in this research and this

information will be treated as confidential. The information that will be collected will only be for academic purposes.

If you agree to give me permission to conduct this research at you school, please fill in the consent form below. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor via e-mail or at the numbers given above.

Yours faithfully

Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele (Student)

Professor K. Everard Weber (Supervisor)

Consent form:

I, _____ (your name), principal of _____ agree / do not agree (delete what is not applicable) to allow Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele to conduct research at this school.

In line with research principles I understand that:

- teachers voluntarily agree to participate in the project.
- the participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty.
- the information they will provide will only be used for research purposes and it will be kept confidential and anonymous.

ANNEXURE D – INFORMED CONSENT COVER LETTER

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

Date: _____

Student Number: 15277110
Name and Surname: Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele
Study: PhD
Contact number: 0794955207
E-mail address: mashelesf@gmail.com
Supervisor: Professor E Weber
Contact number: 0832948048
E-mail address: everard.weber@up.ac.za

Dear Teacher

INFORMED CONSENT COVER LETTER

I hereby request you to participate in a research study. I am a University of Pretoria student.

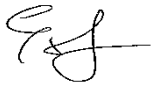
My research topic is: The Impact of Curriculum Change on Rural Teachers' Working Lives. If you agree to participate in this study you will be interviewed about this topic. The interview will take place at a venue and time that will suit you, but it will not interfere with your school's activities or teaching time. One interview session will take an hour. The interview will be tape recorded and transcribed for analysis.

I may request to observe you while you teach. The observation will be done at a time that you choose. The answers provided by this investigation will shed some light on the impact of curriculum reforms on rural teachers' work and their working lives. I hope that the findings will contribute to educational knowledge in the South African context and give suggestions with regard to how teachers may be involved in future educational policy reforms as valued stakeholders.

The collected data will solely be used for the writing of a thesis and an article I may also present the findings at research conferences.Code names will be given to you and your school to ensure that confidentiality and anonymity are maintained. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or stop participation at any time without penalty.

If you agree to take part in this research, please fill in the consent form below. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor via e-mail or at the numbers given above.

Yours faithfully



Shonaphi Fanecky Mashele (Student)

Professor K. Everard Weber (Supervisor)

Consent form:

I have read the information provided above. I understand that by agreeing to be interviewed (and observed) I am agreeing to participate in this research study.
In line with research principles I understand that:

- I voluntarily agree to participate in the project;

- I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty.
- The information I will provide will only be used for research purposes and it will be kept confidential and anonymous;
- Direct quotes from my statements may be used in the investigation and other academic publications but my name and other identifying information will be kept anonymous;

By signing this consent form I certify that I _____ agree
(Print full name here) to the terms of this agreement.

_____ _____
Signature Date

ANNEXURE E – INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Tell me about yourself and your personal background.
2. May you please tell me about your experience as a teacher.
3. How does it feel to teach in a rural setting?
4. What are your views about teaching as work?
5. Please tell me what a normal working day entails for you.
6. How many curriculum changes have you experienced in your teaching career?
7. To what extent were you involved in designing the curricular changes that were made?
8. If you were given the opportunity, how would you have liked to be involved in designing the curriculum?
9. How have the changes affected the amount of work you had to deal with in the classroom?
10. How were the curricular changes implemented at school level?
11. May you please tell me the challenges you experienced when you implemented new curricula?
12. How did the changes affect the teaching-learning situation?
13. What form of training was provided to educators in each curriculum change?
14. How was the quality of your teaching affected by the challenges of your lived experiences of working with young people growing up in poverty?
15. Tell me how the need to produce good results affects your teaching practices in the classroom.
16. How does the availability of resources in your school affect the way you teach?
17. Every curriculum assigns a new role to the teacher, how did this affect your professional identity as a teacher?
18. How did the accountability demands of the various curriculum reforms affect your classroom practices?
19. What effect have curriculum changes had on the professional autonomy over your work?
20. What are your views about the curriculum changes that have taken place over the years?
21. How did you cope with each curriculum change and new social demands that they brought?

22. Tell me about the effect of the changes on your personal time.
23. In what manner did curriculum changes affect your personal life outside the school?
24. What impact have these changes had on you working life?
25. May you please give an account of your personal stories as a professional in your teaching career.

ANNEXURE F – OBSERVATION GUIDE

Date and Time	Situation	Participant	Actions observed	Reflection

12. List of figures