The Effect of Continuous Curriculum Policy Changes on The Professional Lives of Foundation Phase Teachers in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Education in Teacher Education and Professional Development at the University of KwaZulu Natal: Edgewood Campus: Durban

December 2012

Declaration

I, Sumita Nunalall, declare that the research report in this dissertation is my original work.

Signed _____

Date _____

Declaration by supervisor

I declare that this dissertation has been submitted with my approval.

Signed _____

Dr. R. Dhunpath

Date _____

Acknowledgement and thanks to:

1. Nirmala Devi for your inner strength and support.

2. My supervisor, Dr R.Dhunpath, for his expert knowledge and advice.

3. The participants in the study for their valuable contributions.

4. My family for their assistance and support.

5. The University of KwaZulu Natal for allowing me this opportunity of engaging in this study.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate the effects of continuous curriculum policy changes on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers in post-apartheid South Africa. Since the inception of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in 1994, there have been several policy initiatives aimed at the Foundation Phase. These include: The Revised National Curriculum Statement (2002) , followed by the Foundations for Learning Campaign and the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in 2012. This study aims to understand the process and experience of change from a teachers' perspective, as teachers' participation in education policy formulation has been limited or non-existent.

The study sought to answer three critical questions: Why have there been continuous curriculum policy changes in post-apartheid South Africa? What are the implications of continuous curriculum policy changes for foundation phase teachers? What are the effects of these changes on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers?

The literature review sought to explore the motivation for continuous curriculum changes and the implications that these changes have for foundation phase teachers. The literature review indicates that policy changes derive largely from two contending imperatives, namely pedagogical enhancement and/or political symbolism.

The qualitative data generated for the analysis is underpinned by the interpretive paradigm using data collected through structured interviews. Foundation phase teachers from three primary schools were selected to participate in the study. The questions have also been explored using relevant theoretical explanations that derive from empirical data.

This study has been framed within four theoretical frameworks, namely: Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality, Jansen's (2002) theory of political symbolism, Carnal's (1993) theory of change, and Hargreaves (1994) theory of professionalism and intensification.

The analysis reveals that continuous policy changes lead to intensification of teacher workloads and poor uptake and implementation of new/revised policies. As the trajectory of curriculum policy change reveals, teachers who have hardly been able to internalise pre-existing policies are required to engage with new policies.

The data reveals that frequent policy changes have resulted in uncertainty and confusion among teachers, and contrary to the policy rhetoric, do not improve the performance of

learners, as is evident from South Africa's poor performance in international literacy and numeracy tests. Nor does it assist with teacher development. The haste usually associated with the policy process results in the use of the much maligned "cascade" model of teacher development. Policy bureaucrats, who have inadequate understandings of policy, superficially cascade these understandings to teachers through quick-fix workshops.

The study contends that the state of policy-flux is counterproductive and can be attributed to the phenomenon of governmentality. This is an attempt by the ruling party (which governs policy development almost exclusively) to be seen to be making substantive changes, but these changes remain at the level of policy rhetoric and policy symbolism.

The report concludes with the assertion that for policy to have substantive force, there needs to be more productive policy dialogue among practising teachers and policy makers. It is still possible to infuse a sense of legitimacy in the policy process, if teachers are positioned at the centre of the endeavour rather than at the margins.

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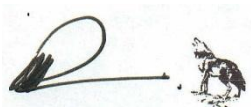

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANA	-	Annual National Assessment
CAPS	-	Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement
C2005	-	Curriculum 2005
DSG	-	Developmental Support Group
HOD	-	Head of Department
FAL	-	First Additional Language
IQMS	-	Integrated Quality Management System
RNCS	-	Revised National Curriculum Statement
OBE	-	Outcomes-Based Education

INTRODUCTION

Foundation phase teachers in post-apartheid South Africa have had to contend with four major curriculum policy initiatives introduced by the Department of Education between 1997 and 2012, namely Curriculum 2005(C2005), The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), *The Foundations for Learning Campaign*, and the Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS). This study is an attempt at understanding what effects these curriculum policy changes have had on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers.

"The term curriculum has its roots in the Latin word 'Currere' which means race course or runway. A curriculum is the instructional programme, which, when followed, will lead the pupils to achieve their goals, ideals and aspirations of life" (Sharma, 2011, p.1). In post-apartheid South Africa, the curriculum has been designed by the Department of Education with minimal inputs from teachers echoing Yero's (2010) suggestion that that teachers are most often regarded as books and furniture. The study was done by providing a platform for teachers to express their views on curriculum changes and by considering the personal transition of change that teachers undergo.

The study is motivated, in part, by the researcher's desire to understand, as a Foundation Phase practitioner, how teachers' professional lives are affected by having to continuously experience change, and what effect this has on their performance, particularly since little is known about this phenomenon.

> We should state quite clearly that very little of the available literature is directed towards generating greater understanding of individual change within organisations, simply because the focus has always been on managing the change at the organisational level. The different and distinctive ways in which organisational change is viewed and experienced at the individual level are an important point of departure for engaging change purposefully (Tonder, 2004, p. 163).

This study takes into consideration the individual responses of foundation phase teachers on how change has affected their professional lives and on what impact these continuous changes have on the realisation of the broader organisational goals.

Curriculum reform in post-apartheid South Africa has been met with mixed reactions, revealed in the following quotations: "We believe a useful way to define policy is to view it as a political process." (Cooper *et al*., 2004 p. 3); "A dominant conception of policy is that it is a set of

instructions or declared directives to be followed with consequent legal sanctions. This conception of policy is to regard policy as law" (Samuel, 2009, p. 2). "We are spoken by policies, we take up positions constructed for us within the policies" (Ball, 1994, p. 22); "Few have paid attention to the macro-level forces and actors who often create school policies preferring to focus on the day to day operations of individual schools or districts" (Cooper *et al.*, p.1).

This study gives some attention to the macro-level forces that are creating and re-creating curriculum policies in the foundation phase. The study attempts to understand the effect that imposed policies have on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers in the absence of their inputs.

As a practising foundation phase teacher, the researcher has had to contend with the various policy changes on a continuous basis, particularly since 1994. This has had a profound effect on her professional life. Surprisingly, not much has been written about the effects of continuous policy changes on the teacher, despite the extensive literature on the implications of policy changes for teachers.

Ozga (2000 p. 5) states that, "Education policy research should be available as a resource and as an arena of activity for teachers in all sectors because of its capacity to inform their own policy directions and to encourage autonomous, critical judgement of government policy." The researcher strongly believes that by engaging in this study she has been able to deepen her understanding of the policy process and to become more critically engaged as a teacher.

Based on her personal experiences as well as a silence in the literature about the effects of continuous policy changes on the professional lives of teachers, she directed the focus of her study to the effects that continuous policy changes have on practising foundation phase teachers in post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher strongly believes that it is the teacher who drives the curriculum and not the government that promulgates curriculum policy. Therefore it is important to understand what is happening to teachers in this policy craze in South Africa.

CRITICAL QUESTIONS

Based on the focus of the study, which is to understand the effect of continuous policy change on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers, three related critical questions have been identified:

1. Why have there been continuous curriculum policy changes in post-apartheid South Africa?
2. What are the implications of continuous curriculum policy changes for foundation phase teachers?
3. What are the effects of these changes on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers?

CURRICULUM REFORM SINCE 1994

Curriculum 2005 (C2005)

In its haste to lead South Africa from an illiberal state governed by apartheid to a liberal state governed by democracy the newly elected Government of National Unity in 1994 tried to introduce a completely new curriculum policy called Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in the hope of creating one education system in the new South Africa under one National Education Department. C2005 became the pedagogical antidote towards an anti-apartheid education system (Chisholm, 2003).

"The master plan, C2005 with its outcomes based approach, integrated knowledge system and learner centred pedagogy design features proved to be unable to meets its intended goals" (Harley and Wedekind, 2004 p. 197). The review committee found various weaknesses with C2005 and irreconcilable tensions led to a rethink of the fundamentals of OBE (Tikly, 2003). Thus C2005 was revised and the Revised National Curriculum Statement became policy in 2002.

Harley and Wedekind (2004) identify three design features that characterise C2005. Firstly it was outcomes-based, and outcomes-based education (OBE) became synonymous with C2005. "An integrated knowledge system was the second design feature. School subjects

were jettisoned and eight learning areas were introduced for grades 1 to 9. The third feature was the promotion of learner-centred pedagogy" (Harley and Wedekind, 2004, p. 197)

It was a broad curriculum comprising of specific and critical outcomes. Teachers had to formulate their own themes in line with the specific outcomes. Continuous assessment was a strong feature of C2005 as compared to the rigid testing and examinations during the apartheid education system. Teachers were supposed to facilitate learning during learner-centred lessons. Group work also was a strong feature of C2005. After much engagement with C2005, teachers found themselves having to implement the Revised National Curriculum Policy in 2002, as C2005 was found to have had numerous flaws and teachers found it confusing to implement.

A review committee was appointed by Professor Kader Asmal, as Minister of Education, to investigate the implementation of C2005. Chisholm (2003) notes that while there was

> overwhelming support for the principles of OBE and C2005, implementation had been confounded by a number of issues. These included a skewed curriculum structure and design, lack of alignment between curriculum and assessment policy, inadequate orientation, training and development of teachers, learning-support materials that were variable in quality, often unavailable and not sufficiently used in classrooms, policy overload and limited transfer of learning into classrooms, shortages of personnel and resources to implement and support C2005 (Chisholm, 2003, p. 278.)

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS - 2002).

In order to address these limitations, the review committee proposed the introduction of a revised curriculum structure known as the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS). The difference between the outgoing C2005 and RNCS is the scrapping of jargon such as learning outcomes and assessment standards. To make it more comprehendible to teachers, each subject in each grade now has a single, comprehensive, concise Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). These statements provide the specification on what should be taught and assessed.

The Foundations for Learning Campaign

The Foundations for Learning Campaign was launched in 2008. The specific outcomes were replaced by milestones. Unlike C2005 and RNCS, this policy was more specific and structured in nature. There is less emphasis on integration across the learning programmes and theme teaching.

Teachers were given precisely what to teach and when to teach in Numeracy and Literacy. It did not include Life Skills. Assessments were no longer determined by teachers but by the policy document. Teachers were to complete a specific amount of assessment tasks by the end of each term. This policy appears to have brought back the emphasis of structured testing which was done away with in C2005. Foundation phase teachers were also required for the first time to conduct structured analysis of test results and submit these results to their district offices. During the reign of *The Foundations for Learning Campaign,* we see the introduction of the Annual National Assessment Tasks (ANA).This is an external test that foundation phase learners have to take under examination conditions. The ANA tests are set by the provincial Department of Education. Learners in the foundation phase had to also write tests set by their district offices at the end of the term.

The Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS)

The Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement was introduced in 2012. This is also a very structured policy in terms of what to teach and how to assess. Numeracy will now be referred to as Mathematics and Literacy will be referred to as Language. Learning areas will now be referred to once again as subjects. First Additional Language (FAL) is a new subject in this policy. The promotion requirements for learners are much more stringent than the original C2005. Teachers still have to engage in intense analysis of testing. Foundation phase learners for the first time will receive a report based on marks and percentages and will need to attain 50% in Language and FAL and 40% in mathematics in order to pass the grade. This policy includes a more prescriptive Life Skills programme. Teachers are given exactly what themes should be taught and in which term and even in which weeks of the term. The rationale provided for such a structured policy is that all foundation phase schools must teach the same curriculum. It ignores the context of the school conditions.

In the chapters that follow, the researcher explores the phenomenon of policy change and what can be termed policy fatigue, as it relates to curriculum reform in the Foundation Phase.

Chapter two presents a literature review, which highlights why there have been continuous curriculum changes in post-apartheid South Africa. The literature reveals that there have been two major contending reasons for curriculum policy changes in the foundation phase i.e. for pedagogical enhancement or political symbols. The Department of Education claims that each policy has been introduced for pedagogical enhancement, but Jansen (2002) believes that these changes are merely political symbols. The second part of the literature review highlights the implications that these changes have on foundation phase teachers, as they are governed by policy changes. A critical look at the cascade model of learning is analysed in this chapter. Two modes of teacher learning, namely managerial professionalism and democratic professionalism, are also discussed in this chapter. The final part of the chapter sheds some light on attitudes of teachers and possible build-up of resistance due to imposed changes.

Chapter three presents the theoretical frameworks, providing some detail of the four theoretical frameworks for this study, namely: the theory of governmentality (Foucault, 1991), the theory of political symbolism (Jansen, 2002), the theory of intensification (Hargreaves, 1994), and the theory of change (Carnal, 1993). This study examines the effect of governmentality on teachers' professional lives. Jansen's (2002) theory of political symbolism is used to determine the nature of curriculum changes in the foundation phase. The theory of intensification is used to explain the effects of continuous curriculum policy changes on teachers' workload. The theory of change highlights the phase of changes that teachers experience and how these phases have an effect on their delivery of service.

The methodology for the study is presented in chapter four. This qualitative study aims to understand the effects of continuous curriculum policy changes on the professional lives of teachers in post-apartheid South Africa. Three primary schools from three different districts have been used in the study. Fourteen seasoned foundation phase teachers and one school principal were the participants in the study. This study has been positioned in the interpretive paradigm. Interviews were used as a data-collection method. All teachers were interviewed in their natural settings. Data was analysed into themes. In this chapter rationales have been provided as to the selection of a qualitative approach.

In chapter five, the researcher presents the analysis of findings based on the responses of the participants. These have been grouped according to the research question- what effect does continuous curriculum changes have on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers? Thereafter, a deep analysis of the responses is presented in the following four themes: ways of knowing, teachers' perspectives on policy changes, the dynamics of adapting to curriculum change, and teacher workload.

The findings of the study reveal that teachers are not adequately prepared to implement the policy, as policies change too quickly and there has been a lack of expert training and support for teachers. Many teachers find themselves resorting to their own coping strategies to make the change work. Teachers perceive continuous changes in a negative manner, and this leaves room for resistance which affects their delivery of service. Teachers are not given enough time to adapt to a policy, and this has affected its implementation phase. Continuous curriculum policy changes have led to the intensification of teachers' workload and have not contributed to the improvement of results amongst learners.

In concluding this report, chapter six also makes recommendations for a more effective policy process. The researcher suggests that policies need to shift from being political symbols and need to be more focused on a concern for social justice. There must be a shift within the education system from bureaucratic cultures. There needs to be a community of practice developed between the macro-level planners and micro-level teachers.

More attention needs to be directed at the professional development of teachers. Schools must also provide opportunities for continuous professional development. There must be less intensification of teachers' work and more teaching. Teachers who constitute the key human resource in the education system should be central in the policy process. Organisational changes cannot be effective without the meaningful involvement of the individual teacher. According to Tonder (2004, p. 8) "Change occurs at the rate that the individual employee is able to deal with and respond to the change." The findings of this study indicate that teachers are finding it difficult to cope with the administrative workload entailed by such changes. Teachers also find it difficult to adjust to changes, as not enough time is allocated for them to adjust.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Foundation phase teachers in South Africa during the post-apartheid period (1997 and 2012), have had to contend with four major curriculum policy changes, namely Curriculum 2005 (1997), The Revised National Curriculum Statement (2002), *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* (2008) and The Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (2012). The first part of this literature review highlights the forces of change that have led to each policy change in the foundation phase using Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality and Jansen's (2002) theory of political symbolism. More details on these theories are provided in chapter three. There is also an attempt to describe the similarity between sovereign and modern biopower. Sovereign power was used in the past to control the population with stringent measures. In the modern times, the population is being controlled by a political force which may not be as stringent as sovereign power but which has a profound controlling effect on the population. Foucault (1991) terms this political power as biopower.

The second part of the literature review examines what implications the various curriculum policy changes have had for foundation phase teachers, referring critically to some of the key features of the "managerial professionalism" and the "democratic professionalism" as contrasting modes of teacher development. A critical look at the cascade model of learning is also highlighted in the second part of this literature review. Concepts such as contrived collegiality and collaboration (Hargreaves, 1994) are described and connected to the features of managerial and democratic professionalism. Cardona's (2000) transactional and transformational leaders are distinguished with the intention of exposing the type of leader that features in managerial professionalism and the reasons for that choice. The final part of this literature review is an attempt at shedding some light on the attitudes of teachers and the possible build-up of resistance to imposed changes.

Why have there been continuous curriculum policy changes in post-apartheid South Africa?

The ideological shift - Curriculum 2005

Political changes in South Africa in 1994 led to the introduction of a new education system in 1997 with the introduction of Curriculum 2005 (C2005). The new curriculum was intended to herald the end of apartheid and became a symbol of the long-awaited transition to a democratic education system. It was hastily implemented in order to appease the needs of the awaiting democratic nation. Curriculum 2005 was predominantly created to mark the end of an apartheid education system. The newly-elected government of national unity had to come up with a new curriculum to "break with racial distortions and assumptions of apartheid" (Christie, 2006, p. 378)

Curriculum 2005 was a broad curriculum underpinned by an outcomes-based approach to teaching and learning, intended to be quite different to traditional approaches under the apartheid education system. It required numerous changes by both teachers and learners. Learning was supposed to become learner-centred with teachers becoming facilitators. Continuous assessment, integration, group work, and outcomes-based education (OBE) became synonymous with C2005 (Harley and Wedekind, 2004). It was presented to the general public as an ideal curriculum that would solve the problems experienced by oppressed disadvantaged schools. Vally and Spreen (2003) noted that teachers believed that C2005 would be able to lead the poor into the middle class underscoring the components of the human capital theory. Olssen, Codd and O' Neil (2004) explain that the human capital theory has two components. These components are the private rates of return and the social rates of return. They explain that education is like an investment according to the human capital theory. Education can be viewed as a means to attain money and status. As a social rate of return education can be viewed as a means of attaining moral, ethical and social skills among citizens. In this regard, C2005 became the hope of a suffering nation that had just been granted the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. Expectations of the curriculum were high among the general public.

However, since its inception, C2005 proved to be unable to fulfil the expectations of the nation. It proved to be a difficult curriculum to implement, which left teachers and learners in a state of confusion. Jansen (2002, p. 199) questions "Why is it despite the production of literally thousands of pages of formal policy documents after apartheid there was so little

change in school and classroom practice?" C2005 did indeed comprise lengthy pages with critical and specific outcomes which teachers found difficult to translate into basic concepts to teach. Tikly (2003, p. 171) in his analysis of OBE curriculum policy documents and materials also found that "The language and methods of OBE also proved impenetrable for many practitioners used to the more prescriptive approach of education under apartheid."

Education theorists and researchers began to "puzzle about what had happened to the envisaged policy shifts after the establishment of the new Government of National Unity." (Christie, 2006, p. 373). Curriculum 2005 quickly started to expose the numerous flaws that demanded the attention of the Department of Education. Instead of addressing issues of equity and redress, it was widening the gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged schools. Jansen (2002, p. 200) contends that "there was no implementation plan and the first period was simply about establishing the ideological and political credentials of the new government." (Harley and Wedekind, 2004, p. 198) support Jansen's (2002) view claiming that "C2005 emerged as a political and not a pedagogical project." The syllabus revision process was simply about achieving a symbolic and visible purging of the apartheid curriculum" (Jansen, 2002). C2005 became a quick fix which could not fix much that was wrong in the education system. Ramrathan (2007, p. 32) also seems to support the claim made by Jansen (2002) that C2005 was a merely a political symbol used to demonstrate change. The newly elected government produced a curriculum with literally thousands of pages of jargon just to show visible change in the country without considering its effect in the years to come.

Broadfoot, Brock and Tulasiewicz (1981) correctly observe that political changes have various repercussions on the education systems of that society. The change to a democratic education system in South Africa, especially the introduction of OBE, left repercussions in the education system which the Department of Education is trying to resolve by introducing other policies in the hopes of may be producing better results. The ideological shift to C2005 created such major chaos in the education system that it will need many years to repair echoing the warnings of Fullan (1991) when he states that if we carelessly make superficial changes then we will not be able to resolve the core of problems. The continuous changes of the curriculum policy could serve as evidence that the core of the problem has remained unresolved. It soon became apparent that if changes are merely superficial and serve as political symbols described by Jansen (2002), then the chances of rectifying mistakes of the past will be severely limited.

Samuel (2009, p. 9) warns that "Change could be superficially mimicked whilst not fundamentally transforming the quality of learning and assessment in the classroom." C2005 did not transform the quality of learning in the classroom and can be regarded as a superficial curriculum. In its haste to show a visible shift from the apartheid education system to a democratic education system, C2005 was introduced. The failure of C2005 suggests that political interference in the education system does not always have the human capital interests as a point of departure. The adverse effects created by C2005 are still being felt and expressed years down the line. The educational gap created by the implementation of C2005 has left policymakers creating and testing subsequent policies to correct the 'mis-educative' experiences created by C2005.

Correcting the ideological shift - The Revised National Curriculum Statement

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) was developed to remedy the chaos created by the introduction of C2005. It was supposed to have been a more streamlined curriculum which would be easier to implement.

Not only was it supposed to correct the imbalances created by the broad shift to C2005, The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) policy would also eliminate the complex jargon of C2005 and "have a clear structure and be written in clear language and design" (Chisholm, 2003, p. 4). As was the case with OBE before it, the expectations of the RNCS at a macro-level were high. This new curriculum, in addition to correcting the flaws of C2005 was supposed to create opportunities for the development of knowledge and skills that would lead to social and economic development for the 21st century (Vally, 2003).

The decision to create the Revised National Curriculum Statement policy was strongly influenced by the findings of a review committee on C2005 prompting one to question the wisdom of implementing a failed effort which cost the country valuable time and money. The introduction and implementation of C2005 was one of the first flaws of the newly-elected government of national unity. Jansen (2002) attributes the production of policy as taking precedence over its implementation. This need by government to produce policy documents at a macro-level led to a period of decline in the attainment of pedagogical outcomes in the education system.

The failure of C2005 and the introduction of the RNCS has resulted in a backlog in the education system which the Department of Education is still trying to rectify. In a regime characterised by governmentality, the state uses its political power to control the education system and to create and re-create curriculum policies that are responsive to its political agenda rather than evidence-based policy imperatives. Foucault (1991) calls this type of power biopower, which means taking control of civil life by political power. Inda (2005) states that governmentality is a movement away from sovereign rule to an art of government. In essence, however, there is little difference between biopower and sovereign power. It appears as though sovereignty is a power of the past, but it is very much alive in the subtle form of biopower. The real question raised is whether the shift from sovereignty to governmentality, offers the South African education system any discernible benefits.

The general public is now at the mercy of this modern biopower, as Tikly (2003) highlights in his contention that this type of governing does not allow practitioners to question issues. This may be illustrated in the experience of foundation phase teachers who were informed that C2005 would be reviewed into the Revised National Curriculum Statement and they should be prepared to implement it in 2002. This unilateral implementation of policy demonstrates the similarity between sovereign power and biopower. Biopower has become the main force of curriculum change in the foundation phase in South Africa.

This macro-level force that is shaping curriculum change in the education system has assumed a bureaucratic stance with regards to curriculum policy changes. The education system has been regarded as a machine, and its teachers the tools for production. Teachers are expected to do their "economic" work" (Smyth and Shadlock, 1998, p. 240). Tonder (2004, p. 21) associates the phenomenon of bureaucracy with the machine metaphor where the organisation "has been regarded as an object, a visible and tangible entity that operates in a manner similar to a machine, i.e. in a cold, rational, and mechanical manner." In the bureaucratic culture, the Department of Education has attempted to correct its "machine" by creating new policies, supporting the belief of Cooper *et al*., (2009, p. 1) that "better policies hold the key to improving education for all children." Makhwathana (2007) also supports the Department of Education in its policy changes, stating that learners and teachers gain from change. This declaration of support is dubious because, thus far, curriculum changes have proved not to be in the best interests of teachers and learners, strengthening the warnings of Jansen (2002, p. 213) that "unless policy evaluation in South Africa provides greater weight

to the symbolic functions of educational policy, then there is a real danger of social expectations being frustrated."

In an attempt to correct the ideological shift subsequent to the RNCS, *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* policy was launched in 2008. This change was again implemented by the Department of Education in an attempt to improve its "machine".

The Department of Education continues to reform its machinery through policy changes, even though there have been no visible improvement, as South African learners still perform poorly judging from the results of the annual national assessment tasks (ANA) each year since its introduction in 2008. The government believes that the only way to achieve better results is to change the policy. Challenging this conception of policy, Samuel (2009) suggests that the forces shaping teachers' identities should be examined for educational improvement and not only changing the policy, since teachers play the key role in the attainment of educational outcomes in the classroom.

Back to prescription - The Foundations for Learning Campaign and The Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS)

It became apparent from data on student performance such as the Third International Mathematics and Science Repeat Study (TIMMS-R), (Chisholm, 2003) that the Revised National Curriculum Statement during its reign failed to bring about improvement. In response, the Department of Education claims that it had to launch *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* in 2008 to improve the results of Literacy and Numeracy in the foundation phase. The Department of Education attributed poor results in the higher grades to the consequence of a poorly-laid foundation. They believed to address this problem, a new policy should be created to emphasize the importance of basic skills such as reading, writing and computation. Once again the problem is being addressed by the introduction of a new policy by the Department of Education, with no meaningful consultation with its teachers.

The Foundations for Learning Campaign was rich in prescription, indicating in great detail the content to be taught, when it should be taught and how it should be taught and assessed. This is in great contrast to the original C2005 which left the teacher to decide the content of learning and assessment. This policy also brought back the emphasis of structured testing and analysis which was done away with in C2005. Again the Department is seen to be exercising its biopower in policy change.

They will decide when and why policies should change in the absence of empirical evidence. The movement away from a prescriptive policy in 1997 and then a return to a prescriptive policy in 2008 is evidence of unstable governance.

Unlike C2005, *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* was presented to teachers with milestones to be taught in each term. It also included daily lesson plans and specific tasks that should be assessed each term, stripping the teacher of any say with regards to the content of teaching or the content of assessment. This policy became, in its short reign, the new policy bible for foundation phase teachers. This policy exemplifies the bureaucratic nature of the new education system.

The rationale underpinning *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* was that it would improve Literacy and Numeracy amongst the foundation phase learners, which would assist them in the later grades in school, and in the process enhance student's cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) explained that cultural capital exists in three forms: in the embodied state, in the objectified state and in the institutionalised state. Acquisition of cultural capital in the embodied state is linked to the body in terms of cultural attributes. Acquisition of cultural capital in the objectified state is linked to the acquisition of material objects. Acquisition of cultural capital in the institutionalised state is linked to the acquisition of academic qualifications. The Department of Education believes that *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* would be able to enhance the cultural capital in its institutionalised state by creating a good foundation of Literacy and Numeracy. The researcher believes, however, that this type of rationale was to justify its introduction, and the real purpose of the campaign was to correct the chaos created by the broad and hastily implemented C2005. Surprisingly, even this policy wasn't given a chance to prove itself, as it was replaced by the Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS) policy in January 2012.

The current Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement that foundation phase teachers are implementing, is a content-based policy. It is a prescriptive policy reminiscent of education under the apartheid regime. This policy was launched based solely upon the decision of the Department of Education.

It didn't give teachers a chance to digest *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* that was presented to teachers as if it were the policy that would improve learning. In the CAPS policy, learning areas will once again be referred to as subjects, such as mathematics and language, reminding us of education under apartheid days. The CAPS policy stipulates how

teaching and assessment should be conducted in the foundation phase and also serves as a strong example of a bureaucratic education system in which "rules are spelled out in thick manuals and employees believe that their duty is to go back to the book" (Hellreigel *et al*., 2004, p. 366). This type of system does not promote critical thinking amongst teachers who are constantly governed by the policy document.

Towards pedagogical improvement or political symbols?

The rationale provided thus far for the various policies is that they would lead to educational improvement, but on a close examination, the introduction of new policies are made shortly after a newly elected minister of education assumes office, leaving one to ponder on the words of Lingard and Ozga (2007), who state that the making of policies are influenced by politics. There seems to be a link between policy change and changing ministers. It appears as if each reigning minister has to come up with a policy to symbolise his/her reign. The policy document has become a means that education ministers use to express their governmentality. The researcher's own experience as a teacher is that the policy document has become a textual form of sovereign political power, because at the micro-level of practice, the policy document has to be implemented even if it is little more than a political symbolism. One could also argue that macro-level planning is more concerned with the production of policies than with visible educational outcomes. The political power granted to education ministers in the new democratic South Africa could work against the achievement of improved educational conditions. After fifteen years of policy revision, we should heed the words of Fullan (1991) that symbolic changes that have little meaning for teachers and are viewed negatively.

Samuel (2009, p. 3) also supports the construct of political symbolism by claiming that "new policies are purely ideological-nodding in the direction of the latest slogans around which new regimes campaigned during the elections to office."

The curriculum changes in the foundation phase have made little difference in achieving the outcomes propounded by the human capital theory or producing globally-efficient learners. Brown and Lauder (1996, p. 57) note that "Education and training opportunities are pivotal to a vision of a competitive and just society. For not only can education deliver a high value-added magnet economy, it can also solve the problem of unemployment." This vision sadly

remains bleak in the education system in South Africa which is failing to deliver due to unstable governance coupled with policies being mere symbols of political power. The real function of an education system has become clouded by the need for political symbols rather than the desire to uplift the learning community, and make it a magnetic force that will eradicate unemployment and increase the quality of life for all South African citizens.

The importance of good education for a good society is made quite clear in the human capital theory. But these components will remain unattainable if we are not moving towards pedagogical enhancement but are more focused on producing policies that are merely symbols of the reigning ministers' terms of office. Also, adding weight to the theory of political symbolism is the fact that policies continue to change even when there is very poor learner performance. The enormous amount of funding spent by the government during a policy transition could have been directed at teacher-development initiatives. Furthermore, the lack of attention given by the Department of Education at looking at other means of improving education and only sticking to policy changes adds weight to policies being mere symbols of the modern biopower awarded to reigning ministers placing the general public in a disadvantaged position of realising the private and social components that an education system of a country should realise for its people who put the very ministers in office.

The researcher agrees with Samuel (2009) when he recommends that more emphasis should be directed at teacher-identity research as an alternate lever for change.

In his force field model, he highlights the various forces influencing teacher identity. The researcher is directing some attention to the teacher at this point, because she believes it is the teacher who has to drive the change, and not the policy makers. But in an era of political symbols, the biographical forces and institutional forces that shape teachers are neglected, as the Department of Education only uses the curriculum force to shape teachers. This could lead to a policy iceberg among teachers who may outwardly express compliance to the policy but hold onto their biographical identities, as they do not see the policy leading to pedagogical improvement.

The fascination with the production of policies has implications for teachers, as Sayed (2003, p. 260) points out that "The change to the curriculum has a crucial effect on teachers and their work." Ramrathan (2007, p. 29) also observes that "New policies and changes to the education system has a major impact on the teaching context that teachers find themselves in." The demands placed on the shoulders of teachers in current times is undoubtedly

immense and teachers can heed the advice by Hoban (2005, p. 1) who explains that "Teaching is more complex than it has ever been before. We need teachers who are reflective, flexible, technology literate, knowledgeable, imaginative, resourceful and enthusiastic." Due to the various policy changes Knight (2002) is quite correct when he states that teachers must engage in continuous professional development, because they won't be able to learn all that is needed at the initial teacher-training initiatives only.

Managerial professionalism

Policy changes demand that teachers engage in professional learning on a continuous basis. Thus far teacher training to facilitate the implementation of a new policy has been governed by the Department of Education, which has made use of the cascade model of training, and teachers have to attend compulsory workshops held by the Department of Education during teaching times. The cascade model of learning can be classified as managerial professionalism.

Day and Sachs (2004, p. 6) highlight managerial professionalism to be "system driven, externally regulated, driven by a reform agenda, having a political end and seeking control and compliance." This type of training serves to strengthen the governmentality mode practiced by the Department of Education. Vally (2003, p. 484) observes that in the cascade model "Information cascading led to misinterpretation, distortion, and omission of crucial information through a filtering process and trainers themselves lacked confidence, knowledge and understanding to manage the training process." The cascade model which still persists today, vindicates Jansen's (2002) sentiments that implementation may not be the agenda as policies become more political symbols.

Despite its ineffectiveness, nothing has been done to rectify the flaws of the cascade model of learning and teachers were once again subjected to the cascade model of learning to implement CAPS in the year 2012. Vally (2003, p. 704) found that "The review committee had suggested that the model be strengthened in various ways. For example, he suggests grouping schools in close proximity into clusters to facilitate training and training a core of lead teachers to co-ordinate each cluster. These lead teachers would also provide onsite support. The committee suggested that each school identify a teacher who will participate in a six month course at an accredited tertiary institution. It was also recommended that higher-

education institutions be given the statutory responsibility to train and develop teachers." To date, these suggestions have been ignored by the Department of Education and the cascade model remains as is.

Makhwathana (2007) supports in-service training held by the Department of Education and adds that the Department of Education provides support and guidance to its educators for better education in South Africa. Makhwathana's (2007) assertion that the Department wants to support its educators for the greater good of South Africa unconvincing. However, because in my own experience as an educator I have found that the Department is more geared towards controlling its educators by encouraging a culture of compliance, which is facilitated by the cascade model of learning.

In the cascade model of learning, teachers are given the policy, which binds them to a particular policy. There is a strong absence of policy discourse in the cascade model of learning. The absence of policy discourse between the Department of Education and its teaching force serves to highlight its tendency towards governmentality. The experiences and suggestions of teachers are disregarded in the cascade model of learning. The teacher is regarded as an implementer of the policy and as a resource tool to keep the process running.

Identities given to teachers at the dawn of democracy i.e. teacher as facilitator, the performer, liberators and knowledge producers (Jansen, 2001) were merely symbolic identities to signify the democratic shift in the education system and to align the teaching force with the new democratic government. But on a closer examination, since the dawn of democracy the teacher has remained a civil servant of the state. Jansen (2001, p. 243) highlights that "Under apartheid the sole requirement of teachers was bureaucratic and political compliance with the state education."

Evans (2002, p. 131) identifies the purpose of professional development as leading to attitudinal and functional development. She defines attitudinal development as the "process whereby teachers' attitudes towards their work are modified" and functional development as a "process whereby teachers' professional performance maybe improved." Fraser *et al*., (2007, p. 157) also believes that "professional learning results in specific changes in the knowledge, attitudes, skills and actions of teachers." The question raised is how effective managerial professionalism is with regards to professional learning. Lieberman and Mace (2008, p. 227) describe: "Instead of building a culture of professional learning, teachers are faced with a culture of compliance." Managerial professionalism enhances a culture of

compliance, hence it would not be able to lead to professional learning described by Evans (2002) and Fraser *et al.*, (2007). The cascade model of learning, which still is the dominant mode of teacher development used by the Department of Education, cannot promote professional learning, as it follows the banking system described by Freire (1970).

Democratic professionalism

As an alternate to managerial professionalism Day and Sachs (2004, p. 6) describe democratic professionalism as "profession driven, moving beyond the reform agenda, collegial, promoting activism and emphasising collaboration." This type of teacher development is still absent within the Department of Education, which still prefers to train its teachers according to managerial professionalism. The preference given to managerial professionalism is intended to keep teachers as compliant civil servants of the state and serve to highlight the bureaucratic nature of the Department of Education. The lack of attention given to democratic professionalism allows the Department of Education to be in complete control of teacher development, i.e. it governs the situation completely. Governmentality promotes a culture of compliance as Tikly (2003, p. 162) highlights: governmentality is a way "of thinking that is often taken for granted and is not open for questioning by its practitioners." This is another example of sovereign power still present in the education system. Foucault (1991) believes that sovereignty has not completely ended and is still being exercised. At a macro-level of teacher development, managerial professionalism is favoured over democratic professionalism, which helps to keep the bureaucratic culture of teaching and learning alive. It is ironic that many of the freedom fighters during the apartheid regime are now in the education bureaucracy supporting non-activist activities in the education system.

But democratic professionalism is still alive. It is favoured during teacher development activities at a micro-level amongst teachers, but within the parameters set by the Department policies. Even some higher education institutions support democratic professionalism. Due to time constraints, however, very few teachers participate in democratic professionalism. The majority of the teaching force undergoes training underpinned by the model of managerial professionalism. Lieberman and Mace (2008, p. 226) support democratic professionalism when they claim that "In-service training must be transformed so that it can be used as a powerful means of educational reform." They suggest that teacher learning take place in

communities of practice. Hargreaves (1994, p. 195) further distinguishes between two types of communities of practice which he terms contrived collegiality and collaborative cultures.

Contrived collegiality situations are closely linked to managerial professionalism. Collaborative cultures are closely linked to democratic professionalism. "Contrived collegiality is an administrative imposition that requires teachers to work together." (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 195). At a macro-level the cascade model of learning is an example of contrived collegiality where teachers are banked with the latest policy. But contrived collegiality does not only exist at the macro-level. At the micro-level of the school, most interactions between managers and teachers are contrived. The leaders in the school follow suit, and the bureaucratic nature at micro-level cascades into the micro-level of school. Explaining this phenomenon, Cardona (2000) distinguishes between two types of leaders which she calls as the transactional leader and the transformational leader.

The transactional leader dominates contrived collegial situations. The Department of Education, with regards to policy formulation and teacher development, can be regarded as a transactional leader. It is surprising that in a nation which fought for ages for transformation, transformational leaders are very scarce. After the great transformation to democracy, leaders have now become the same leaders that they fought against during the struggle for freedom. The transformational leaders that existed during apartheid have turned into transactional leaders in democracy. During policy transformation, teachers are mostly subjected to transactional leaders. Governmentality appears to be in favour of the transactional leaders who will be able to control situations with the political authority vested in them.

"In collaborative cultures, teachers' working relationships emerge from teachers as a social group and does not arise from compulsion." (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 194). Collaborative cultures seem closely linked to democratic professionalism. As there is an absence of policy discourse in contrived collegial situations teachers, the researcher contends that teachers should form their own collaborative culture situations where they will be able to express their own views and unload some of the challenges and burdens that a policy comes with. Nieto (2003, p. 90) highlights that "teachers need to learn constantly and in community with others.This means finding colleagues whom they can talk and argue about and invent and discover and weave their craft. This is what it means to approach teaching as intellectual work." Knight (2002, p. 238) also believes that teachers should build a "collective pedagogical repertoire" where they share their teaching stories.

Unfortunately, contrived collegial communities of practice dominate the world of teacher learning and does not provide opportunities for teachers to approach teaching as an intellectual work. But whatever the approach, democratic or managerial professional development initiatives, teachers have to constantly be subjected to new curriculum developments to facilitate its implementation. It would have been valuable if teachers engaged in continuous professional development about a particular policy to facilitate its implementation. This, however, does not happen. When policies are introduced, it normally takes place in a once off session until the next policy is introduced after a few years. Thereafter each school operates in their own little egg boxes, and are left to interpret the policy within their own organisational structure. It is ironic that in the new democratic nation democratic professionalism plays a very small part and the gap between the policy makers and practitioners still remains large.

Attitudes and resistance to change

The constant revision and introduction of policy after policy can lead to teachers developing negative attitudes to teaching, developing a resistance to change. Resistance to change can be attributed to the fact that change strikes "at a teacher's sense of purpose, identity, and mastery. (Moran and Brightman, 2001, p. 111). The constant learning and unlearning cycle that teachers are subjected to as the curriculum is constantly reviewed provides opportunities for resistance. It appears that teacher resistance to change hasn't been much of a concern to the Department of Education because it knows that teachers, whether they like it or not, are compelled to follow the policy in the era of modern governmentality.

But what the Department of Education fails to understand is that forced or imposed change can lead to teachers holding on to their biographical identities and only appearing to comply with the policy. Imposed change disregards the tacit knowledge of teachers, and this can lead to frustration and can heighten resistance. Knight (2002, p. 232) provides us with a distinction between tacit knowing and explicit knowledge. Tacit knowing comes from our own experiences. "Explicit knowledge on the other hand comes partly from direct instruction and books." Explicit knowledge seems to take precedence with regards to curriculum implementation.

Resistance to change can create negative attitudes towards a policy, even when the policy is good. If negative attitudes build up amongst teachers due to imposed curriculum changes, this negativity will most certainly flow into the classroom environment. It is disappointing that the Department of Education has given no attention to the effect that curriculum changes can have on a teacher's attitude. Even teachers who display positive attitudes towards teaching can develop a negative attitude due to constant imposed curriculum policy changes which they have no say in. The researcher is highlighting the teachers' attitudes at this point, because the teacher is a powerful resource in the education system who can destroy educational outcomes or enhance educational outcomes based purely on attitudes.

Conclusion

Biopower appears to be the main force of curriculum policy changes that are masked with rationales of improving the education system for all children in South Africa. This review of the literature demonstrates that our education system is being governed by political symbols, which cannot bring about much improvement in the results of learners. It is also evident that the Department persists to change policies to achieve improvement, without actually evaluating the effectiveness of policy interventions, and then hastily invokes new policy to demonstrate a semblance of progress.

Teachers need to engage in continuous professional development to keep abreast with curriculum changes. However, in South Africa, managerial professionalism appears to be preferred with regard to teacher development in order to maintain a bureaucratic culture in the system that dictates and controls curriculum changes as well as teacher development. But this type of development is not effective for professional learning, as it promotes a culture of compliance amongst teachers. Democratic professionalism, which would be more effective at enhancing professional learning, does not feature strongly in teacher development initiatives.

According to Touraine (2000, pp. 234-235) "The democratic spirit is based upon both the participation of all in shaping the laws and rules that govern collective life." There appears to be a great absence of the democratic spirit between the Department of Education and its teachers as the lack of teacher input with regards to the creation and implementation of new curriculum policies reminding one of the sovereign nature of the education system, which is quite in contradiction to a democratic society that we are supposed to be living in.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

This study has been framed within four theoretical frameworks, Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality, Jansen's (2002) theory of political symbolism, Carnal's (1993) theory of change and Hargreaves' (1994) theory of professionalism and intensification. This chapter provides more depth into the four theories and their relevance to the study.

The theory of governmentality

Governmentality is about the art of government i.e how people govern themselves, how they govern others, by whom the people are being governed and what governs people (Foucault, 1991). Foucault understood the term government as meaning the a form of activity aiming to control the conduct of people (Gordon, 1991). Tikly (2003) suggests that education policies take the form of political programmes of government, while Christie (2006) argues that Foucault's notion of governmentality addresses the practices by which modern governments exercise control over populations. Foucault became interested in power at macro-levels of society, as it acted on populations through the exercise of governmentality (Olssen et al., 2004). A new type of power emerges as a result of governmentality. Foucault calls this power biopower (Inda, 2005).

The characteristics of governmentality feature strongly in the South African education system. The education system is governed by the reigning political party. Curriculum changes are governed by the Department of Education. Teachers are governed by policy documents. As the control of schools is regarded as necessary for a group to achieve its purpose (Dale, 1989).

The policy document becomes a means for the Department of Education to control the population of teachers. These policies are only created at a macro-level. Continuous curriculum policy changes in the foundation phase can be attributed to the effect of modern biopower.

The theory of political symbolism

The theory of political symbolism was derived out of a concern by Jansen (2002) when he observed policy changes in South Africa with no visible improvements in the education system. He uses his construct of political symbolism as an alternate lens to explain non-reform. "This theoretical postulation is important, since it enables candid reassessment not only of the purposes of policymaking, but also of the pace and direction of education change" (Jansen, 200, p. 200).

> The making of education policy in South Africa is best described as a struggle for the achievement of a broad political symbolism that would mark the shift from apartheid to post-apartheid society. A focus on the details of implementation will not be fruitful, therefore, since it will miss the broader political intentions which underpin policymaking after apartheid (Jansen, 2002, p. 200)

This theory is relevant to this study, as it provides us with an alternate lens as to the reasons why curriculum changes have been changing continually in the foundation phase. The question to be raised is whether foundation phase teachers are governed by political symbols, and if so, what effect does this symbolic governance have on their professional lives. Political responses most often result in the creation of symbolic policies (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010)

The power of governmentality, or more specifically biopower, allows the reigning minister of education to create political symbols without the general public being aware of it. Jansen (2002) asserts that we should not only regard a lack of resources for poor implementation but should also consider the possibility that implementation may have not been the primary intention, as policies can be merely political symbols.

The theory of professionalisation and intensification

Hargreaves' (1994) theory of professionalisation and intensification will be used in the following study as a lens to understand the impact of continuous curriculum policy changes on the workload of teachers in the foundation phase.

> Arguments around the principle of professionalisation have emphasised the realisation of greater professionalisation through the extensions of teacher's role. In these accounts teaching is becoming more skilled. A second line of argument is broadly derived from Marxist theories of the labour process. This argument highlights trends

> towards deterioration and de-professionalisation in teachers' work. In these accounts, teachers' work is portrayed as becoming routinized and deskilled: more like the work of manual workers and less like that of autonomous professionals trusted to exercise the power and expertise of discretionary judgement in the classroom. Teachers are depicted as becoming increasingly controlled by prescribed programmes. Teachers work is becoming increasingly intensified (Hargreaves, 1994, pp. 117-118).

Empirical findings in chapter four will be analysed according the theory of professionalisation and intensification. The question raised is: do continuous curriculum policy changes in the foundation phase encourage teacher professionalization or teacher intensification of teachers work? "Intensification creates chronic and persistent overload which reduces areas of personal discretion, inhibits involvement in and controls over long-term planning and fosters dependency on externally-produced materials and expertise" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 118). This study will also delve into the effect professionalisation or intensification might have on delivery of service.

The theory of change

Carnal's (1994) theory of change will be used as a lens in the study to examine in detail the psychological impact that continuous curriculum changes have on foundation phase teachers, and what effect this will have on their delivery of service. According to Carnal (1994, pp. 95-99), there are five stages that a person experiences when faced with change:

- **Stage one: Denial:** During this stage people find value in their present circumstances. People seem overwhelmed, unable to plan or even understand what is going on. If major organisational changes come suddenly, then a kind of paralysis can occur.
- **State two: Defence**: Now the realities of change become clearer and people must begin to face new tasks. This can lead to feelings of depression and frustration. This stage is often characterised by defensive behaviour.
- **Stage three: Discarding**: Now people begin to let go of the past and look forward to the future. The crisis of change creates great tensions within the people involved. Time is needed for individuals to recreate their own sense of identity and self-esteem as they grow into the new situation.

- **Stage four: Adaptation**: Significant amounts of energy are involved in this stage. The slow building of performance can be a source of real frustration. In these circumstances, people can get angry.
- **Stage five: Internalisation**: Now the new behaviour becomes the normal behaviour. New relationships between people and processes have been tried and accepted. This is a cognitive process through which people make sense of what has happened.

There is a link between the five stages and performance and self-esteem. During stages three and four, performance and self-esteem are low. During stage five performance and self-esteem are higher. This theory is very significant to the study, as it will provide insight into how the stages of changes affect the professional lives of foundation phase teachers.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative approach

Sikes (2004, p. 16) explains that "Methodology refers to the theory of getting knowledge." The researcher has positioned this qualitative study in the interpretive paradigm because she wanted to gain knowledge about what effects the continuous curriculum policy changes have on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers in what may be characterised as a "policy frenzy" in South Africa. A qualitative approach will allow the researcher to elicit this understanding, as it is a methodology based on interpretation and understanding. As Poggenpoel and Myburgh (2005, p. 304) highlight: "The purpose of qualitative research is to elicit understanding and not test the hypotheses." The researcher's rationale for wanting to understand is based on the fact that teachers are the human resources in the education system, and should not be treated as objects of enquiry as in the case of scientific studies.

Thus far, the Education Department has not attempted to understand what the effect of curriculum changes must be on the teacher and has adopted a very bureaucratic view of the teacher, treating the teacher as a tool for implementing its latest policy innovation. In opposition to the Department of Education's perspective, which is a technocratic perspective of the teacher, the researcher has adopted a more transcendent perspective. Neuman (1994) provides us with more clarity on the technocratic and transcendent perspectives to research. According to Neuman (1994), the technocratic researcher is more like a technician who serves bureaucratic needs and the transcendent researcher treats people as creative living beings, not objects. A qualitative approach allows her to be a transcendent researcher.

A qualitative approach compliments her ontological position as a researcher. The ontological position that she has assumed is that the world is subjectively experienced by participants.

Sikes (2004, p. 20) explains that

> Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality. It focuses on whether a person sees social reality as objectively real, external, and independent, or subjectively experienced and the result of human thought expressed through language. If the social world is seen as given and independent, then it can be accounted for through objective and quantifiable data. However, if the world is viewed as subjectively

> experienced, then it would be necessary to collect accounts and perceptions that explain how the world is experienced and constructed by the people who live in it.

Situating her study in the qualitative research approach enabled the researcher to gain accounts and perceptions of the participants about how policy changes affect their lives as teachers.

The researcher located this study in the interpretive paradigm because "the central endeavour in the context of the interpretive paradigm is to understand the subjective world of human experience" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2009, p. 21). Locating the study in the interpretive paradigm provides her with the opportunity to understand what effect continuous curriculum changes have on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers in post-apartheid South Africa. The interpretive paradigm also best articulates her ontological position.

Her epistemological assumption regarding the nature of knowledge has also influenced the researcher to position this study in the interpretive paradigm. Sikes (2004, p. 24) explains that

> If the epistemological assumption is that knowledge is experiential and subjective, then considerable emphasis will be placed on accounts given by informants. If the assumption is that knowledge is real, objective, and out there in the world to be captured, then researchers can observe, measure, and quantify it.

The researcher's ontological and epistemological assumptions are not the only reasons for locating this study in the interpretive paradigm using a qualitative approach. Her positioning is in contrast to the bureaucratic culture that is currently dominating the education system in South Africa. In a bureaucratic culture, there is an absence of trying to understand the position of teachers with regards to policy changes.

The teacher is viewed as a technician of the state. The Department of Education has positioned itself in the functionalist paradigm which is closely linked to the positivist paradigm.

Tonder (2004, p. 21) gives us more clarity on the functionalist paradigm. In the functionalist paradigm,

> the organisation has been viewed as an objective, visible entity that operates in a manner similar to that of a machine, i.e. in a cold, rational and mechanical manner.

> The organisation and people who work in it are regarded as tools or resources. Managers are constantly monitoring the machine for signs of inefficiencies and are ready with solutions to ensure the machine is maintained to perform optimally.

The researcher regards the Department of Education as the manager and the school and its teachers as the organisation. The school is the machine that must produce efficient learners. The Department of Education is using new policy initiatives to correct its machine. In opposition to the functionalist paradigm that the Department has situated itself in, the researcher has positioned her study in the interpretive paradigm to understand teachers' perceptions in a bureaucratic culture of teaching and learning. Cohen *et al*. (2009, p. 22), states that "The interpretive paradigm is characterised by a concern for the individual."

A qualitative approach is best suited for this study as Waghid (2003, p. 29) claims that "Education research involves human practices, which are so difficult to quantify." The researcher opted for the qualitative approach because she wants to treat teachers as subjects and not as objects, like they are currently being treated in the present bureaucratic education system that does not value the input of its teaching force. Neuman (1994) also highlights that aspects of the social world is difficult to express as numbers. She wants to capture in spoken words how curriculum policy changes are affecting the professional lives of foundation phase teachers.

She also wants to enter the world of the participants in the natural settings, and was given that opportunity through a qualitative approach, as Marshal and Rossman (2006) highlight, regarding qualitative studies, that a qualitative researcher understands the meaning of the participants lives through the participants. The researcher believes that the qualitative approach would enable her to understand, through direct contact with the teachers, their perceptions of curriculum changes and how it is affecting their lives as teachers, as the teacher is the link between the learner and educational outcomes. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995, p. 12) describe that "By qualitative methodology we mean to learn first-hand about the social world by means of involvement and participation in that world. Qualitative research is more accessible to teachers." A qualitative approach gives one the opportunity to treat teachers as social beings and draws one closer to them in ways that policymakers never do. The researcher is also motivated to conduct a qualitative research study since policymakers in our country do not seem to have a great deal of qualitative understanding of policies and teaching work . It is hoped that this small qualitative study will shed some light on what

effect continuous curriculum changes have on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers in post-apartheid South Africa.

Adopting a qualitative approach is influenced by the observations that teachers are most often exposed to contrived collegial meetings. In these meetings teachers are passive listeners. Through her qualitative approach, the researcher wishes to create a space for a more collaborative interaction. A qualitative approach provides the opportunity for the researcher and the participants to collaborate as peers as opposed to the usual bureaucracy teachers are exposed to in their daily life routines. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000,p. 8) highlight: "Qualitative researchers stress the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied." This intimacy allows the researcher to treat the participants as subjects and to bridge the gap between the researcher and the participants. These instances allow the researcher to accept the participants as social beings in contrast to the teachers being treated as tools to service the organisation. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 8) point out, "qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality" where the "object of study is the world as experienced by the investigated people" (Smaling, 1992, p. 174). The qualitative approach allows the researcher to understand the strains and stresses in the professional lives of teachers under constant policy changes, by engaging with their experiences.

Some reasons for opting a qualitative approach have been outlined. Poggenpoel and Myburgh (2006, p. 304) point out that "when a qualitative research strategy is deemed as the most appropriate strategy to get answers to research questions, the researcher should be aware of obstacles that can be encountered in the research process." They highlight that "insufficient preparation to enter the field due to lack of in-depth study of methodology, lack of structural coherence and skills in writing the report can become obstacles in a qualitative study" (Poggenpoel and Myburgh, 2006, p. 306). To guard against these obstacles, the researcher ensured a thorough study of the methodology before entering the field, and engaged in extensive reading to help with structural coherence. Although she was aware that a qualitative approach does not come without challenges, she still believed it would enable her to yield data about the focus of my study.

"Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials-case study, personal experience, introspection, life-story, artefacts, cultural texts and productions-that describe the meaning in individual lives" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). In the following study, the researcher selected case studies.

Case studies

This is a study of three cases involving three primary schools in three different districts in KwaZulu Natal. Primary schools were selected, as this is about the effects of continuous policy changes on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers. The researcher also selected the case study methodology because this gave her the chance to get close to the participants. Cohen *et al*., (2009, p. 81) stressed that "Case studies represent reality and give a sense of being there." The case-study method of data gathering gave the researcher the opportunity to meet the participants in their natural settings.

While the aim of case studies is not to generalise because of the depth and detail that can arise out of case studies, many issues can be highlighted. Neuman (1994, p. 321) explains that "In the case study research, a qualitative researcher gathers a large amount of information on one or a few cases and goes into depth and gets more detail. A qualitative researcher faces an overwhelming amount of data but has been immersed in it." The researcher selected case studies for depth rather than breadth. Case studies, although, few in number, allows the researcher to gain a range of information which she can discretely gather by being immersed in the lives of the participants and their worlds. Cohen *et al*., (2009, p. 81) state that case studies involve "in depth analysis and portrayal." The case study method allowed the researcher to analyse in depth how curriculum changes have affected the lives of foundation phase teachers.

She opted for case studies because it gave her the opportunity to interact with foundation phase teachers in close proximity, keeping a warm and human touch to the research, as opposed to the current bureaucracy that teachers are accustomed to in their daily teaching experiences. The case study methodology creates opportunities for the researcher and the participants to engage in face-to-face interviews about the focus of the study as well as to touch on matters that may be relevant to teachers. Case studies are appropriate in this study, which is based on understanding of curriculum changes from the perspective of the teachers, and it creates the space for teachers to be treated as humans and not merely as tools for implementing the policy.

Case studies also give the researcher the opportunity to get into the sites, i.e. the three primary schools that volunteered to be part of the study. This can broaden the researcher's horizon. Getting into the sites of the research allowed the researcher to build a network with other teachers which she would not normally be able to do, due to limited time and heavy

workload and other commitments. Using the case-study methodology provided her with a remarkable educational experience as a teacher. It is very rare that a teacher gets to visit other schools, because they are so caught up in their egg boxes in one particular school.

Besides collecting data for her study, the case study methodology provided her as foundation phase practitioner with insightful and memorable educational experiences with other teachers. The incidental conversations held with the participating teachers contributed to her development as a teacher. Visiting schools from different districts was also an enhancing educational experience for her, not only as a researcher but also as a teacher. This made her realise that collaboration can stimulate more discussion about issues relevant to teachers than contrived collegial situations.

Before entering the site of research informed consent had to be gained from the Department of Education followed by the school principal. Written permission was obtained from the Department of Education before contacting the school principals. Cohen *et al*., (2009, p. 55) emphasise that "The relevance of the principle of informed consent becomes apparent at the initial stage of the research project-that of access to the institution or organisation where the research is to be conducted, and the acceptance by those whose permission one needs before embarking on the task." The principals and participants were made aware that participation is completely voluntary, and that they could withdraw from the study at any point. The principals and participants were also made aware of the assurance of anonymity in the study and that no harm would be brought to the school or the participating teachers. Intentions and purposes of the study were clearly stated before the researcher entered the sites of the study. In the following case studies, the researcher opted to use structured interviews and document analysis.

Interviews

According to Bailey (2007), a structured interview has the following features. Questions can be asked in a specific order. Probes can be planned in advance. Questions, order and pace are controlled by the interviewer which helps to keep the participants on track. Structured interviews take place at specific times and specific places and within a specified period of time. In structured interviews there is consistency (Drew, Raymond and Weinberg, 2006). The structured interviews allow the researcher and participant to set up suitable times for the interviews to take place at school. The researcher spent a maximum of one hour with each participant. She opted for the face-to-face interviews because this gave here the opportunity

to probe when necessary. The interview schedule helps to keep both the researcher and the participant focused on the purpose of the interview. The same interview schedule was used for all participants. It is important for the researcher to have a knowledge of the topic and methodology before conducting interviews.

The reason for conducting structured interviews is based on the researcher's personal observations of teachers. She is aware that teachers do not like being observed. When it was explained to the participants that this study does not involve the observation of teachers or what takes place in their classrooms or at their schools, it could be sensed that this made teachers feel more relaxed during the interview sessions. She had to assure the participants that what she was really interested in was their verbal responses to the way the curriculum changes have affected their professional lives. This helped to eradicate feelings of insecurity that could build up by the presence of the researcher in school, which the researcher wanted to avoid. Her aim was to allow participants to be as natural as possible and not to put up a show case on the day they were expecting the researcher at school. This is one of the reasons why the researcher did not use observations as a method of data gathering. During her own experience at her school when teachers are observed for the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) lessons, it is just a show case for that particular day, and after the observations had been made by the Development Support Group (DSG). Teachers go back to their normal routine. She had also noted the extreme tension and stress that builds up amongst teachers when they are aware that they are being observed, as she has been a senior component in one of the DSG's at her school and came to this conclusion about observations whilst she had to observe some teachers and rate them accordingly.

During a pilot interview that she had conducted for a study on teacher learning, she discovered that the interview method is a rich source of data collection as compared to the questionnaire that she had used to gather data on what causes classroom disruptions and how this affects a teacher's contact time. She also observed that the teachers really enjoyed talking. They prefer oral engagement. Based on this observation, she decided to use interviews to gather data for this study. She also wanted the study to be an enjoyable experience for the participants, so she selected a method that teachers would enjoy, as compared to writing their responses down or being observed. Cohen *et al.,* (2009) also observed that the interview that is a method of data collection that can yield more depth than other data collection methods.

Ball (1994) provides two conceptualisations of policy- policy as texts and policy as discourse. The policy-as-text is more dominant than the policy-as-discourse. There is great absence of the policy-as-discourse at the micro-level of the school where the policy is implemented under compulsion in its textual form. Even during training workshops, the policy-as-a-text dominates, and there is no discourse on policy, as it is banked to teachers as to what and how and when they should implement it. In opposition to the absence of policy discourse in the current bureaucratic education system, the researcher chose the interview method to collect data about how the policy changes are affecting the lives of foundation phase teachers. This enabled teachers to engage in policy discourses, which they normally don't have the opportunity to do. Teachers also believed that they have a limited voice in most issues at school. The researcher is hopeful that her study will open up a space for the selected participants to engage in a meaningful discourse about the effect that continuous policy change has on their professional lives.

A disadvantage of the interview as highlighted by Cohen *et al*., (2009) is that it is subject to bias. The researcher was well aware of her subjective feelings with regards to policy changes when she interacted with the participants.

Her rationale for the study is based on her own personal experiences of curriculum changes, but she tried to not influence the participants in any way by allowing them to freely express themselves and saying less about issues. During the interviews, she made sure that the participants did most of the talking. She tried to follow the advice of Singh (2007) who cautions that the researcher must be aware that the interview is merely conducted with the purpose of administrating the interview schedule. Participants must be allowed to give their own truths. She was mindful about her own biases during the interview sessions. Neuman (1994, p. 322) also highlights that "A qualitative researcher's first-hand knowledge of events, people and situations cuts two ways. It raises questions of bias but it also produces a sense of immediacy, direct contact and intimate knowledge." The researcher tried to ensure as far as possible that she did not give her personal opinions about curriculum changes and let the participants air their views. However being a foundations phase teacher, she simply could not discard the effect she might very likely have on the participants Neuman (1994, p. 322) points out that "Qualitative researchers assume it is impossible to eliminate the effect of the researcher completely." The researcher nevertheless tried to guard against projecting her own insights with regards to the effect the curriculum changes have had on her own professional life. "Recognising the human factor does not mean that a qualitative researcher interjects

personal opinions or selects evidence to support personal prejudices" (Neuman, 1994, p. 322).

She also tried to heed the following advise by Cohen *et al*., (2009, p. 366) regarding interviews, namely that "Interviews are an interpersonal matter, consider your non-verbal communication like eye-contact, think of your body posture, avoid looking away from the respondent, give the interviewees the final chance to add comments, avoid giving your own opinions, think of prompts and probes, know your subject matter well, and keep the interview on track and moving forward." If correctly administered, interviews can provide a means to obtain relevant data to highlight issues relevant to the study. It is disappointing that policymakers do not take advantage of this information-gathering strategy before deciding to create a new policy. It is probably because interviews do not compliment the bureaucratic culture of the present education system

Cohen *et al*., (2009) also explains that the interview is different from a conversation because it is structured in nature and therefore the researcher has to set up the interview. During the visits to the schools, it was the researcher's responsibility to ensure that the venue and times set for the interviews suited the teachers. One of the challenges faced was that although she had set up and arranged the dates and times for the interviews, most often teachers would have these dates postponed due to reasons such as ill health, meetings, strike action or suddenly having to attend to urgent personal matters. As a researcher, she had to be patient and understanding that the life of a teacher cannot always fit the planned schedule. So although the interview can be a rich form of data collection it can also have various challenges.

Document analysis

Documents such as teachers' prep files, teachers' record files as well as the curriculum policy documents were analysed to reveal data related to the focus of the study. Document analysis can reveal the emphasis placed on the policy-as-a-text as indicated by the files and files and files of records kept in teachers cupboards. Documents form a major indication of the extent to which a teacher is adhering to the prescribed policy and serves as a tool to safeguard the teacher against disciplinary action for non-implementation of the policy. Most teachers were quite comfortable with document analysis and appeared quite confident to have the researcher

view their documents as compared to having their lessons observed. The researcher attributes this attitude with the emphasis placed on documents in a bureaucratic education system. As Hellreigel *et al*., (2004, p. 366) highlights, one of the characteristics of a bureaucratic culture is that "the many rules and processes are spelled out in thick manuals and employees believe that their duty is to go by the book and follow legalistic procedures." Policies are kept in thick files by most teachers. These policies must then be transferred into teachers' record files as work schedules. The teacher's planning and assessment must fall within the parameters of the curriculum policy stipulated by the Department of Education. In other words, teachers' planning and assessments are governed by the policy document.

The policy documents safely guarded in teachers cupboards and transferred into their planning and assessment records clearly indicate that teachers must adhere strictly to the dictates of the policy, although they may prefer to use the old policies kept in another file. Policy-as-texts features very strongly in the micro-level of the classroom. The policy-as-a-document becomes the bible in the classroom until it is replaced by another policy. Teachers believe that if they can display the policy in their planning and record files as a text, they are doing a good job. A lot of emphasis appears to be placed on the documents kept by teachers instead of on actual teaching practice. Most teachers' files appear extremely attractive and neatly presented as compared to their classroom setup.

Sampling

Only foundation phase teachers who have taught for more than ten years, and one school principal who had also taught in the foundation phase were selected in the sample from each case study. This is because the focus of the study is about curriculum policy changes which began in 1994, and this will not apply to the new teachers who have just joined the profession. Foundation phase teachers were selected in the sample because the focus of the study is on the effects of continuous curriculum changes on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers in post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher purposefully directed her study at the foundation phase because she is a practising foundation phase teacher and wants her study to shed some light about the phase in which she is teaching. She also wants her study to create opportunities for her to interact with other foundation phase teachers and to create meaningful educational experiences for herself so that theory and practice can be linked to her own practice. This sample can be regarded as a non-probability

sample. A non-probability sample only includes certain members of the population. (Cohen *et al*., 2009).

Gaining access to the sample is procedural. Firstly, permission has to be obtained from the Department of Education. Thereafter, permission from the school principal has to be obtained, and finally permission must first be gained from the teachers before going ahead with the interviews.

This was done prior to setting up the interview. Non-probability samples include convenience sampling, quota sampling, dimensional sampling, purposive sampling and snowball sampling. (Cohen *et al*., 2009). The researcher selected purposive sampling. Foundation phase teachers who taught for ten or more years were selected in the sample from three different primary schools.

The challenge in purposive sampling is that the researcher does not know the participants and what type of data they will be able to yield if they satisfy the criteria for being selected. To alleviate this challenge, qualitative researchers are expected to interview participants until rich data is obtained until saturation is reached.

Recording of data

Teachers in the study were informed prior to the interview session that they would be recorded so that the researcher would be able to transcribe and analyse their responses after the interview had been conducted. All participants were comfortable with this. The interviews were audio recorded using a dictaphone. Although all the participants had no objections to being audio recorded, some teachers suddenly felt nervous when the researcher was about to switch the dictaphone on. Sensing their insecurity, the researcher could not proceed with the recording, so she had to engage in some light conversation with the teacher until she could sense that the teacher was more at ease to be recorded.

Whilst conducting the interview, she did not engage in any form of note taking. This is because during a pilot interview she had detected that teachers became very agitated and nervous when the researcher started writing down the teacher's non-verbal responses as she was speaking, because the researcher would not be able to remember the non-verbal responses after the session.

Transcription was based on question responses that would address the critical questions. The researcher engaged in selective transcription on predetermined categories. At this stage she had transcribed each individual response according to the relevance of the focus of the study. All actual spoken words had been produced as a text which will be used for analysis. Each respondent was given a pseudonym for the purpose of anonymity.

Representing the data

After transcribing the relevant responses, the researcher had to now represent the data. As she had used structured interviews, all teachers were asked the same questions. The researcher grouped the individual responses into themes that would shed light on the main focus of the study, i.e. what effects continuous curriculum policy changes have on the professional lives of teachers.

According to Cohen *et al*., (2009, p.486) organising the data according to the research question "is a very useful way of organising data, as it draws together all the relevant data for the exact issue of concern to the researcher, and preserves the coherence of the material."

In order to represent the data as themes the researcher had to engage in discourse analysis. Discourse analysis involves careful reading and interpretation of the text which is supported by evidence. (Cohen *et al*., 2009). Themes influenced by the data are directly related to the research question. The thematisation of data makes it possible to include all responses of the participants that would be able to generate information related to the research questions.

Reliability and validity

This study has been influenced by the researcher's own feelings about curriculum policy changes. She could not simply discard her feelings and thoughts during her interactions with the teachers, but she did try to guard against influencing the thoughts of the participants in the interview sessions. It was challenging since she also is a practising teacher and also a victim of the bureaucratic education system. As a qualitative researcher, she did not feel it necessary to empty out all her feelings before entering the field of study. Although a qualitative researcher has already preconceived thoughts about the focus of the study it is important to not influence the participants in their responses. However she was acutely aware of her own

policy bias and the influence of her presence on the participants. She had to place a certain degree of trust in the participants that they are intelligent enough to demonstrate their own thoughts about policy changes. This is one of the reasons why she did not include any teachers from her own school, whom she associates with every day, in the sample. Her interactions with the participants at their schools were short visits, so this would not have given her enough time to influence their thinking. In order to enhance the reliability of the study, she also allowed the participants during the interviews to talk more than she did.

Participants' responses were recorded, and actual spoken words of the participants were reflected to increase the trustworthiness of the study. Bailey (2007) states that the dialogues of participants enhances the trustworthiness of the findings.

Ethical considerations

A written letter was forwarded to the principals, stating that no harm would come to the school and teachers that participated in the study. The letter also stated that all participation is completely voluntary and that school names and names of teachers would remain anonymous. Only after obtaining informed consent from the school principals did the researcher meet with the teachers and explain to them the rationale for the study. She also made it clear to the participants that the study is about understanding of the effects that continuous curriculum changes have on their professional lives and does not guarantee that this study may bring about any changes to the plight that they find themselves in, but may shed some light about the situation in which foundation phase teachers find themselves to those who will eventually read the study.

I provided a letter to all participating teachers, explaining in more detail the focus of the study, as well as that they could choose to withdraw from the study at any stage. Participants were also informed that they would not have to bear any costs for participating in the interviews. Only after gaining informed consent from the participants did the researcher set up the interview timetables. Cohen *et al*., (2009) states that informed consent is vital for ethical reasons.

Bailey (2007) identifies informed consent, deception and confidentiality as important concerns for qualitative researchers. In this study, deception was avoided by ensuring that all participants were fully informed of the nature of the study. The researcher did this at a meeting that was arranged prior to the interview session.

She also made it clear to the participants that their participation is completely voluntary and that the study does not guarantee any changes to their teaching practice.

She explained to the participants that the study is for academic purposes. Some teachers did believe initially that their voices would be heard by the departmental bureaucrats through her study, but she assured them that it is most unlikely that the study would reach the domains of the macro-level planners. Participants were assured that their names as well as the names of the schools would not be mentioned in the study. During data analysis, pseudonyms were allocated to each participant to protect their identity and their schools. The researcher also ensured the teachers that she did not discuss the responses of the teachers with the school principals or with the other participants during the individual sessions.

Cohen *et al*., (2009, p. 77) highlight some ethical issues that need to be followed when conducting research, "Do not tell lies and falsify data. Do not misinterpret the data. Do not be unfairly selective to support a case. Treat people like subjects not objects. Don't abuse your power and or position as a researcher. Thank the participants." During her interactions with the participants from the schools, the researcher made sure that she practised the ethical considerations highlighted by Cohen *et al*., (2009). She did offer a little stationery package as a reward to thank the participants. This reward was in no way intended to coerce teachers to participate in the study. It was a gesture of gratitude for providing me with time and data for the study. She also made some contact with the participants after she had left the school to just thank them once again for their participation in the study. This was done via faxes.

Limitations of the study

This study made use of participants who have been teaching for ten or more years. It would not provide much insight for teachers who have just joined the profession. As it is a small scale study, it can only illuminate issues about some foundation phase teachers' perceptions and experiences about the effect that continuous curriculum policy changes have on their professional lives. As the researcher also is a foundations phase teacher, she could not

guarantee the bias effect that she may have unintentionally had during the fieldwork sessions. It is impossible to completely dissolve the effect of the presence of the researcher in a qualitative study.

Three primary schools were used as sites for the case studies. This does not allow the researcher to make any generalisations about the findings. The researcher did not get access to rural schools and access to African and White teachers was not possible given the geographic sampling. Hence, only the voices of some Indian and Coloured teachers have been captured in the study. Given the geographic sampling strategy, it was not possible to ensure demographically representative sample.

The views expressed in the analysis are only the views of some teachers and does not include the views of policymakers or any department officials who have created the policies. It is study that foregrounds the views expressed by the micro-level actors in education and the views of the macro-level actors in education is absent.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter represents the findings of this study which seeks to understand the effects of continuous curriculum policy changes amongst foundation phase teachers in post-apartheid South Africa. All participants were allocated pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity and comply with ethical requirements.

There are fifteen participants in this study whose verbal responses provide the data for this analysis. Participants will be referred to as Mrs Johnson, Mrs Anderson, Mrs Soni, Mrs Goodman, Mrs Peterson, Mrs Ace, Mrs Whitehead, Mrs Beverley, Mrs Arnold, Mrs Truman, Mrs David, Mrs Mansingh, Mrs Appleton, Mrs Maharaj, and Principal, when making direct quotes related to particular findings. All participants are seasoned and experienced teachers and are teaching at three different primary schools in three different districts.

The data has been grouped into the following four themes: ways of knowing, teachers' perspectives on policy changes, adapting to the dynamics curriculum change, and teacher workload. These themes have been grounded in the data, i.e. they were derived as the researcher became immersed in the data.

The analytical framework is derived from four theoretical frameworks, namely the theory of political symbolism, the theory of governmentality, the theory of intensification, and the theory of change.

Overall, the findings of this study indicate that politically-initiated change in the era of governmentality has led to the creation of various curriculum policy changes in the foundation phase, which in turn has led to the intensification of teachers' work, largely as teachers do not have the time to internalise existing policy while new policies are being introduced. The implication of this slippage is poor implementation, which in turn leads to poor educational attainment as expressed in poor learner performance year after year.

Ways of knowing

The evidence reveals that typically, as soon as a new curriculum policy has been introduced, teachers find themselves resorting to various coping strategies to engage with the new policy document. Most teachers indicate that they initially learn of the policy document from structured department workshops. Surprisingly, teachers noted that during the department workshops conducted by officials from the Education Department, they received very little help in terms of really understanding policy, as expressed by the following teachers:

Mrs Mansingh: *"I'll be honest… it hasn't been very valuable because you find that the facilitators themselves seem to be fumbling in the workshop."*

Mrs Appleton: *"But even the department trainers were not fully aware of what was happening. We were all in that same room learning what's happening."*

Mrs Johnson: *"We would go for basic training which wasn't sufficient because you can't do something that's needed to be changed and learnt in a week."*

Mrs Anderson: *"The people who trained us were actually confused."*

Mrs Soni: *"Trainers were sent and we expected them to help us. My God! Most of the time they themselves did not know what was going on. It seemed like we were all learning."*

Mrs Arnold: *"There were few workshops but they were so few and vague."*

Mrs Beverley: *"Two day workshop, I call it fly by night. No evaluation, no monitoring, no feedback, very little guidance, no follow up, no place to go with your difficulty, and I was lost."*

These responses reveal that the workshops conducted by the Department of Education have been a poor site of learning. Shulman (2004, p. 514) highlights that "Learning occurs when the teacher is an active agent in the process, not an audience."

In the workshops conducted by Department officials, the so-called cascade model of learning is employed and teachers are not active agents in the process of learning but are relegated to an audience who have to listen to their facilitators. Ball (1994, p. 50) characterises this as "The teacher is increasingly an absent presence in the discourses of education policy, an object rather a subject of discourse."

Steyn and Niekerk (2002, p. 251) observe that "the purpose of professional development is to promote learning processes that will in turn enhance the performance of individuals and the organisation as a whole." After attempting to engage in the Department workshops, teachers felt that they needed to resort to their own methods of learning, implying that the attendance at the Department workshops did not contribute to their professional development.

As a coping strategy, most participants found that getting together as teams at their schools did help them:

Mrs Johnson: *"We worked out team plans on our own."*

Mrs Anderson: *"We worked as a team at my school. We decided as a foundation phase we could get together. We brainstormed everything and tore apart the document."*

Mrs Arnold: *"We had to get together with colleagues."*

Mrs Truman: *"In school we work together with our peers and seniors."*

Mrs Mansingh: *"What we've actually done we've worked very nicely as a team at school. We sat as a phase."*

Mrs Appleton: *"We worked as a team at this school."*

Collaboration as members of a team appears to give teachers more insight into the policy document as compared to the initial department workshops demonstrating the value of collaborative cultures in which teachers appear to be actively involved. However, collaboration involves lots of time. When questioned when they get together as a team, most teachers explained that they had to get together after teaching time and some collaborative encounters do extend well after the teaching school day and onto weekends.

Each time a policy document is introduced, teachers find themselves utilising private time to get to know the policy. The support that teachers claim to be getting from their colleagues in understanding policy documents raises questions about how effective this type of support really is, as these are the very same colleagues who may not have the expertise and understanding of the policy document, since they also are coming from the very same Department workshops as the other teachers. Could it not be a case of "the blind leading the blind" as described by Mrs Truman when asked about the value of the workshops?

Mrs Truman: *"It was like the blind leading the blind. Because they came with their problems, we've got our problems and we can't get a solution. You do get some help but it's not*

satisfying. Sometimes you do get work done but sometimes you are there to do your work and you find somebody doesn't understand something so you have to go back and re-explain."

We should refrain from making the assumption that collaboration is best and disregard autonomy (Fullan, 2001).

Some teachers indicated that they received support from their HOD's (Heads of Department) who have also been subjected to the new policy change at the same time as the other level one teachers, through similar processes of engagement. Mbhele (2008, p.64) found in his study on HODs as curriculum managers, that "HODs had not attended workshops specifically designed for curriculum managers but attended those designed for educators. As a result, HODs were not confident about their level of preparedness for curriculum implementation."

The researcher's own experience is a case in point with regards to implementing CAPS in the year 2012: when she questioned her HOD about the new work schedules, she was told that the HOD was not sure herself, and that the researcher should refer to the published books for more guidance on language and mathematics. Reliance on HODs may not be the best alternate for support, although some teachers may find it comforting to seek their assistance. Mrs Beverley, one of the HODs in this study noted the following:

"I was a facilitator. I was trained for two weeks and when I came back the two weeks of training I had to cut it down to one week. And I couldn't do that. How do you know that the knowledge that I received in training to be a facilitator is the knowledge that I am going to deliver to the teacher?"

Jansen (2002, p. 203) notes that the assumption that a "curriculum message (or any information) passes in an unproblematic manner down a cascade where persons have varying levels of capacity and experience, was flawed from the beginning."

It would be worthy to heed the words of Steyn and Niekerk (2002, p. 12) "Managers who do not continually acquire new knowledge and skills will not be able to maintain their effectiveness or become more effective." In this study, three HODs were interviewed. Two HODs were not engaged in further study while one HOD was. One of the three HODs only possessed an M+4 teacher's diploma.

Mrs Beverley explained that she did her own learning and that there was nobody to help her. She explained that she is an insightful person and that she did her own experimentation. She also appeared to be a knowledgeable person with expertise.

"I'm a very insightful person. In fact policy understanding is one of my forte. I think I have the capacity and strength."

However, Nieto (2003, p. 88) strongly believes that "The making of magic and other noble purposes of education require not just individual zeal and effort, but also sustained work in a community. Viewing teachers as members of an individual community means understanding that teaching is enriched not only by individual excellence but also by collective effort."

On the other hand, Mrs Goodman felt that she had to grapple with it on her own, although she did receive some support from her HOD. Mrs Goodman did not appear to possess the same expertise and confidence that Mrs Beverley possessed. When left on her own she was grappling, while Mrs Beverley was coping on her own and felt quite sure of herself.

Nieto (2003, p. 87) adds that "Teaching is not a question of skill and knowledge alone, but a matter of how to take what one has studied and learned and fit it meaningfully into a thousand different contexts, to think about how to connect particular subject matter with specific students."

Mrs Beverley appears to have approached teaching as a technical activity that she could have learnt in a week on her own. Ball (1994, p. 49) observes that "There is an increase in the technical element of teacher's work and a reduction in the professional." This again brings into question how much Mrs Beverley could have actually learnt in a week and her readiness to implement the new policy.

Mrs Peterson and Mrs Soni found that reading the policy document and trying to understand it helped them to learn about the new policy. Here again we have teachers learning on their own. Reading and understanding a policy document on your own requires skill as the researcher has experienced in her own reading of policy. Could these teachers have acquired depth of understanding just by reading on their own to prepare them for implementation?

Mrs Maharaj found that she learnt by working with the document and interacting with the learners. This helped her become familiar with the document, demonstrating that her learning about policy derives from her practice.

In a context where workshops have little value for teachers, they resort to alternate ways of knowing, including team work, learning from HODs and self-study of documents. In a context of continuous policy change, teachers' level of preparedness and understanding for effective implementation is compromised. The lack of preparedness with regard to new policies is a major factor as to why teachers feel stressed and frustrated during its implementation stage.

When asked to describe *The Foundations for Learning* policy documents, teachers found it difficult to describe the policy. According to the findings from the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, "what teachers know and do directly influence what students learn." (Nieto, 2003, p.85).

If teachers are insufficiently prepared, implementation will surely be hampered, and in turn will affect what students learn as is expressed by the concern of a school Principal:

"Without a blink of an eye, the teacher is just asked to go for a workshop for three days. What if that master trainer did not imbibe everything properly, with what kind of mastery is he/she gonna train other teachers? We go to college sometimes three to four, sometimes five years but here you taking teachers for three days and you say there must be changes and teachers are grappling. You know the time that's taken for training I feel is not adequate."

Fullan (1991) endorses this view of policy learning, noting that "One-shot workshops prior to and even during implementation are not very helpful." "Policies, no matter how well designed, must be implemented successfully to achieve their intended effects." (Cooper *et al*., p. 83).

The following theme has highlighted the different ways in which teachers engage in policy learning. The governing body of policy changes i.e. the Department of Education is in charge of the initial learning process. Data yield that policy learning controlled by the Education Department is a weak sight of learning resulting in teachers finding their own coping strategies to learn about the policy document. Even the coping strategies of teachers does not appear to be an insightful way of learning the policy. Inadequate teacher learning will have a negative effect on its implementation. Jansen (2002, pp. 201-202)) highlights that in political symbolism, implementation is not of importance. "The prominence assigned to the symbolic value of policy is revealed by the way that politicians lend credence and support to the production of policy itself rather than its implementation….Where policy and planning are

strongly connected, one would expect a government of bureaucracy to outline concrete steps that would be taken to implement such policies." According to the findings, implementation does not appear to be of urgency, leaving one to conclude that policy changes are political symbols. The researcher's own experience adds weight to the symbolic nature of policies in terms of its implementation. With regards to CAPS policy learning the researcher and other teachers were summoned to attend a so-called "fly-by-night" one day workshop in December 2011. They were given a brief introduction to the new policy and all the new terminologies.

They were also given the policy document only for the first term. They were told to study the document during the school holidays and to start implementing it in January 2012. When school re-opened, she was struggling to implement the new policy because she was left on her own. For the first term, she found herself unable to implement the policy. She and her colleagues were just following their old policies until they could get to grips with new policy. They were invited to a second CAPS workshop during February 2012, which was only for about three hours, only to discover it was a repetition of the first CAPS workshop. Ever since, there has been no evaluation of how well CAPS is being implemented at her school. These instances indicate that implementation may not be on the agenda, as Jansen (2002, p. 200) propounds: "Education policymaking demonstrates the preoccupation of the state with setting policy struggles in the political domain rather than in the realm of practice."

Teachers' perspectives on policy changes

According to Miller (2003, p. 72) "….attitudes are evaluative statements that reflect how one feels about something. Attitudes have three components: the cognitive, affective, and behavioural components. The cognitive component sets the stage for the affective component. The affective component of attitude is the emotional segment of attitude. The affective component leads to behavioural outcomes." Tonder (2004, p. 178) also notes that "Fear, anger, grief and depression are intense emotions that convey the degree of intrapersonal disruption that individuals experience in response to externally induced change."

In this study, teachers' feelings are very closely linked to fear, anger, grief, and depression. This implies that these teachers experience intrapersonal disruption. If a teacher believes that the imposed change is not valuable (the cognitive component) then negative feelings will

build up towards that change (the affective component), and this can lead to resistance to change (the behavioural component).

According to the Department of Education, policy changes bring about better results. Contrary to how the Department perceives the value of curriculum changes, teachers find continuous curriculum changes to be frustrating and confusing, leaving them unsettled, as expressed by the following teachers:

Mrs Soni: *"It angers me. A bit of stomach is actually sore thinking about it."*

Mrs Ace: *"It makes me feel unsettled because its time, time, time. Deflates a person. Makes you feel lost as much as the experience is there. Sometimes you get confused, you don't know which way to turn."*

Mrs Whitehead: *"It makes me feel that I'm groping in the dark."*

Mrs Beverley: *"I felt intimidated at first. As human beings, change can be very daunting and frightening."*

Mrs Arnold: *"Terrible. I can't handle it."*

Mrs Truman: *"You get frustrated, at times you get frustrated and you wonder why the hell did I become a teacher?"*

Mrs Appleton: *"Well. I don't like to see it changing so often. We are unsettled with the new policy. It doesn't make us confident in teaching at that point until we know what's happening."*

In general, teachers perceive continuous curriculum changes negatively, which impacts negatively on the way they deliver the curriculum in the classroom. Firstly, a lack of clear understanding of the policy document, coupled with negative feelings about policy changes could find teachers teaching without passion as observed by the school Principal:

> *These changes, I would say, have been delusionary for the educators. Constant changing, chopping, changing, chopping, changing has really created a very negative morale on the part of the educators. Just when an educator is getting to grips with doing it this way and getting some degree of satisfaction in doing it in a particular way, then you tell them now you gotta change.*

It's led to a lot of frustration. I can see their frustration levels. So yes, these policy changes have caused a lot of wastage of time for the teachers. It has affected their morale. It has affected their delivery of service as well.

Most teachers indicated that policy changes have not helped them to become better teachers.

Mrs Peterson: *"I wouldn't say that it has improved my teaching."*

Mrs Johnson: *"No, I don't think so."*

Mrs Anderson: *"I will stress this, definitely not!"*

Mrs Soni: *"No. It wasn't the policy changes."*

Mrs Maharaj: *"Basically, I would say my years of experience has made me a better teacher."*

Kelly (1999, p. 9) notes that " The quality of any educational experience will depend to a very large extent on the individual teacher responsible for it and any attempt at controlling the curriculum from the outside which does not recognise that must be doomed to failure." Each teacher is a human resource who may be forced to embrace the policy but not be totally involved in it due to high frustration levels.

Based on the feelings described by the teachers in this study with regards to curriculum change, there is a strong indication of teachers' resistance to change. Tonder (2004, pp. 182-183) "Resistance is typically associated with a focus on negative emotions, in particular loss and feeling under threat, with their accompaniments of fear, anger, anxiety, and insecurity." Resistance to change can express itself in numerous ways.

Teachers may leave the profession as Mrs Soni suggests: *"If they have any more policy changes maybe I'll just want to retire at the age of 55."* Teachers may resort to regular absenteeism. Teachers may become more occupied with symbolic displays of compliance to curriculum policy rather than engage in quality teaching.

Negative attitudes towards change also lead to negative classroom practices. As resistance intensifies, teachers may not be able to share a passion for the content that they need to teach, limiting the chances of deep learning taking place as highlighted by Fullan (1991) that bureaucracy does not necessarily guarantee excellent teaching.

Teachers also indicated that they were not consulted during policy formulation but are required to implement the policy:

Mrs Maharaj: *"I think it [consultation] is necessary. We need to be consulted as to how the teaching learning process is going on in the class and our input is invaluable because we need to inform people higher up that these are the challenges we are facing and these are the barriers they are facing and then with our input they now need to formulate a policy on to deal with these problems."*

Mrs Appleton: *"I think we educators are the major stakeholders when it comes to assessment policy. We should have given our input. It would have been more user friendly."*

Mrs Johnson: *"Yes. I think we should be consulted because we are the classroom practitioner and it's no use just calling us for training and telling us these are the changes, this is what you have to do. It is so autocratic whereas we've moved away from an autocratic country but it still prevails."*

Mrs Mansingh: *"At the end of the day what comes from the top filters to the teachers and we have to do the work. We have to physically do the work. Some of the policies are ridiculous. We know the children. We know what's happening."*

Mrs Arnold: *"Teachers need to be consulted so that we need to say whether these changes are relevant and if the child will benefit from these changes."*

The Department of Education can be regarded as an authoritarian leader where "teachers are the objects of management relegated to the status of human resources. They do not participate, they are not included in the partnership. They are there to be managed." (Ball, 1994, p. 62). In the authoritarian leadership style, "all policies are determined by the leader; in the democratic style, policies are open for group discussion and decision." (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982, pp.85-86).

The absence of teacher involvement in policy formulation highlights a significant gap between the policy makers and the teachers. It serves to highlight the governmentality of the Education Department, as many teachers also felt that policy changes are politically motivated when asked why they thought policies change:

Principal: *"Each time the policy is changing its politically motivated. The moment somebody else is taking over they are trying to run the other one down and bring something else to place."*

Mrs Anderson: *"New government, the government comes in with all these new ministers."*

Mrs Johnson: *"...there was a lot of hype because it had come from the Minister of Education and this was the legacy that she wanted to leave behind before she goes away."*

Mrs Goodman: *"I think that when there is a transformation in the society."*

Mrs Peterson: *"In my opinion I would say that somebody came up with a new promotion and then starts getting a new policy in order."*

Mrs Beverley: *"It seems like each time there is a new minister they have to prove their worth in their country and then use education as a bargaining tool to disrupt education."*

The link between policy change and learner performance is tenuous, indicating instead political symbolism as endorsed by some of the teachers who stated that policy changes have not improved their learner performance.

Mrs Peterson: *"Not really, because, you see, right now after that I've been in the intermediate phase, these children don't really have that knowledge and thirst for trying to go that extra mile."*

Mrs Maharaj: *"Learner performance, it is not improving and in Literacy and Numeracy you will find there's a major concern because you will find failure rate is increasing so when we look at the annual national assessment there was a major concern because if you look at KZN for example they did not do so well. The majority of learners are not achieving the level that you want them to attain. The understanding, the interpretation of the learners is seriously lacking. Their ability to read with understanding is seriously lacking."*

Mrs Beverley: *"Not really improve my learner performance. I wouldn't really say it's improved. Because I'm more interested in doing assessments."*

Most teachers indicated that they would not like to have any more curriculum policy changes as articulated by Mrs Maharaj: *"No, I would not because I think there has been enough policy changes and basically we find these policies are coming it's more experimental. We are implementing them and when feedback is given at the ward level, circuit level, then*

provincial level, regional level, they find there are flaws in the system with the policies that have been implemented and they are making changes. To a certain point it is becoming a bit stressful. Definitely I would not like to see policy changes anymore."

The following section examined teachers' feelings towards policy changes. Most teachers feel negatively about policy changes. Negative feelings can allow for teacher resistance to build up, which will impact negatively on classroom practice. Teachers felt that policy changes do not improve their practice, nor does it improve the results of their teaching.

All teachers explained reasons why they should be consulted during policy formulation. Most teachers felt that policy changes are a result of political changes. Teachers would not like to be subjected to further policy changes.

Governmentality neglects feelings and emotions of people, a very strong human factor that can enhance or lower the delivery of service amongst teachers. When teachers are governed by changes that they are not involved in, it can lead to a lack of motivation amongst teachers and this will affect their delivery of service. Low motivation leads to poor performance. (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982). In our education system thus far governmentality has led to the production of politically-motivated policies and frustrated teachers. Governmentality that has given birth to biopower is being used for political gains, and not to improve the quality of teaching and learning. Biopower means using political power to control life. (Inda, 2005).

Hersey and Blanchard (1982, p. 84) describe two movements with regards to increasing outputs, namely the scientific movement and the human relations movement. In the scientific movement "an organisation is rationally planned and executed. Management was to be divorced from human affairs and emotions. The result was that workers had to adjust to the management and the not the management to the people."

In the human relations movement "theorists argued that in addition to finding the best technological methods to improve output, it was beneficial to management to look at human affairs. The organisation was to be developed around the workers and had to take into consideration human feelings and attitudes. The function of the leader was to facilitate co-operative goal attainment while providing opportunities for their personal growth and development." (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982, p. 85).

Currently teachers are being governed by the scientific movement which disregards their feelings and the school as an organisation is regarded as a machine.

The dynamics of adjusting to policy change

Most teachers found that adjusting to policy is demanding and time-consuming.

Mrs Johnson: *"With that OBE, it took us the whole year to find out that it doesn't work and the next year we adjusted it and there was something else in place, the RNCS was in place."*

Mrs Anderson: *"I think we let a policy or change run over three years before we make any changes. In the third year you can re-visit and say this is it."*

Mrs Soni: *"I have never had the chance to adjust at all. By the time we implement what, they change the policy. We still didn't get the resources for the first policy then the next one is in."*

Mrs David: *"I'd say three years. The first year you are still finding your footing with the curriculum. The second year you know where your weaknesses are, where you've been slow with this. By the third year you are running smoothly. By the third year you know exactly what to do."*

As teachers adjust to one policy change they have to get ready to learn another policy. According to Carnal's (1993) theory of change there are five stages that a person experiences. This has been explained in greater detail in chapter three.

At the beginning of a new change teachers experience strongly stage one and two of the change cycle i.e. the stage of denial and the stage of defence. At this stage of the change cycle, teachers cling on to old policies to support their teaching. They also give reasons as why they should stick on to some of their old methods, and try to defend their old methods of teaching as expressed by the following teachers:

Mrs Johnson: *"We did try to marry the old with the new because I think we can't throw out the old and then you can't just plunge into something new as well."*

Mrs Soni: *"I just feel that all education should start from the known then move to the unknown, but sometimes it just feels like we just have to teach the child from whatever the policy dictates and we have to move on and our HODs and our Principals just want that, so we have to do it but to tell you the truth I'll be lying if I tell you that I do that. I always find out where my child is. I will work with them from there. I first make sure that the child has learnt a skill."*

Mrs Whitehead: *"I always, always use my old methods of teaching because I feel without that I do not have a foundation to start off with in my class. All the new policies that have come out I find had not much depth in it. My breakthrough and drill method, the phonic method and all these gave you depth in teaching."*

All teachers stated that they are most certainly governed by the latest policy. So at some stage they will have to discard the old policy and implement the new policy, whether they like it or not, as the following teachers state:

Mrs Johnson: *"We are not allowed not to follow the policy. It's just shoved down our throats that we have to do it."*

Mrs Arnold: *"We have to go back to the policy. We actually don't have an option."*

Mrs Mansingh: *"Holistically you are governed by the policy. The policy is the governing document."*

Modern governments use policies to fulfil their visions. (Christie, 2008). "Education policies take the form of political programmes of government." (Tikly, 2003, p 165). Governmentality in modern states ensures that policy documents are followed and that there could be consequences for not adhering to policies.

The HOD in the foundation phase appears to be the micro-level supervisor who ensures on behalf of the Department that the policy is adhered to at the school level as Mrs Soni states: *"I will showcase it in all my administration work. Policy dictates that we need all of those things to be done. I have to have it done because just in case that they come there. The Principal will make sure the HOD does it, the HOD will make sure we do it."*

During the stage of denial and defence teachers can resort to show casing the new policy for fear of being caught out by their superiors, whilst still clinging to the old practices. During these stages, non-implementation of the new policy may also result, because it is only in stage three that teachers start to discard the old policy. This may lead to a state of confusion within the teacher as he/she is trying to learn the new policy and continues teaching as well. According to Carnal (1993, p. 94) "Significant organisational changes creates a decline in self-esteem. This will affect performance." During the stage of denial "A kind of paralysis can occur. People seem overwhelmed, unable to plan or even understand what is going on." (Carnal, 1993, p. 95). The stage of defence can lead to "feelings of depression and frustration

because it can be difficult to work out how to deal with these changes." (Carnal, 1993,p. 96). This will impact negatively on a teacher's delivery of service, especially if teachers have to repeat the stages of change almost every five years.

During the third and fourth stage of the change cycle, i.e. the stage of discarding and the stage of adaptation, teachers have to make a lot of personal and professional sacrifices.

> Now people begin to let go of the past and look forward to the future. People come to see that change is inevitable. The crisis of change creates tensions within the people involved. (Stage four). Significant amounts of energy are involved in this stage. In these circumstances people can get angry. (Carnal, 1993, pp. 96-97).

Most teachers explained that they have to use their personal time to adjust to new policies.

Mrs Soni: *"All the time I use personal time. We sometimes have to do things Fridays and Saturdays."*

Mrs Whitehead: *"We took a lot of work home on a daily basis from class to home for you to adjust as a teacher and come back the next day and implement the policy."*

Mrs Arnold: *"Whenever there's a policy change you have to get together with teachers either after school or on weekends….Especially around December time or the holiday. We had to give that up."*

Mrs Truman: *"We do use a lot of personal time. We're not allowed to meet during school hours."*

Principal: *"Everyday my teachers carry bags of work and go home. You find the actual teaching and interacting with the learner, I feel is compromised."*

Continually adapting to change can lead to high levels of anger and frustration as teachers have to sacrifice their time and money adjusting to the new change. Added to these sacrifices, teachers also have to make many professional sacrifices during the stage of discarding and adapting to a new policy.

Mrs Soni: *"Sometimes three days in a term that we had to leave the children and go and come back with nothing, frustrated and angry."*

Principal: *"You find educators are going more out of school. We are being called more and more to attend meetings and workshops and so forth because we are re-inventing the wheel….It involved a lot of wastage of time where teachers had to get rid of all their old workshops schemes of work and they had to start their long term planning…There was of networking sessions that was held instead of the teachers being at school and doing extra and co-curricular, they had to close their bags and go to where a meeting was carrying on. Lots and lots of time in terms of policy changes."*

The adaptation stage can lead to low self-esteem and low performance. (Carnal, 1993). "All too frequently policymakers assume that the goals and objectives of a policy are known to everyone, that everyone involved in implementing policy understands their roles and mandates." (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 88).

The fifth stage of change is the stage of internalisation. During this stage the new behaviour now becomes normal. (Carnal, 1993). "It is not suggested that people go through these stages neatly, nor that they go through them at the time or at the same rate" (Carnal, 1993, p. 96). On close examination of the views of teachers in this study as to how they adapt to change, some teachers like Mrs Soni and Mrs Mansingh explained that they haven't yet adapted, because they haven't had enough time to adapt to one policy and the next policy is being introduced, implying that they haven't reached that stage of internalising a policy. Other teachers found that it takes them between one to three years to adapt to a new policy. So even when these teachers are not given a chance to fully settle down with the policy and the next policy has been introduced. That means soon after stage five of the change cycle, teachers had to go back to stage one of the change cycle when changing from C2005 to RNCS to *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* and CAPS. These policy documents were not straightforward to digest, and "new systems, processes, methods have to be learned and this takes time" (Carnal, 1993, p. 94). Also, teachers were not given enough time to internalise each policy as policies have changed almost every five years-C2005(1997), RNCS(2002), *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* (2008) and CAPS (2012).

Mrs David: *"We were just still adapting to that policy when the new one came out. So for that time we were a bit lost. I think we were lost more than anything else."*

Principal: *"You went to college. You learnt to teach. And now you're bringing about all these changes and changes and changes in the policy in the way you have to do things and in the way you have to prepare your lessons and the terminology that you had to interact with and*

get into grips with and before you get into grips with all the terminology it was already changing."

"Both conceptual and content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge are necessary for effective teaching." (DoE, 2007, p. 24). When teachers have to constantly de-professionalise and re-professionalise themselves as they are constantly governed by curriculum policy changes this can affect their level of conceptual and content knowledge and thus impede effective teaching. Carnal (1993) highlights that change leads to stress and anxiety. Constant change will lead to low performance, which will in turn affect the way teachers teach. Morrow (2007, p. 24) explains that "Educational change depends on what teachers do and think." If teachers are not given the opportunities to internalise policies, then surely implementation will be affected.

Policy change and teacher workload

All teachers explained that policy changes come with an increase in their workload.

Mrs Arnold: *"Oh! We got so much to do now, where do I begin. The filing, the assessments. It just increased terribly. It's not just a small increase, it's huge. You take paperwork home all the time. This is besides your teaching. Am I clerk or a teacher?"*

Mrs Mansingh: *"School policies come with a lot of admin. You are assessing-its duplicated. It's stressful."*

Mrs Appleton: *"Too much work. Each times the policy changes we have to go back on the computer, sort out our assessments, sort out new schemes of work, sort out our new schedules. There has been too much time used up with the introduction of new policies."*

Principal: *"You must remember a great amount of work goes into thinking about putting programmes into it, in working out your lesson plans and doing your target and action days."*

The document analysis also revealed that teachers have extensive administrative responsibilities. Mrs Beverley had a cupboard with files stacked as the policies changed. She kept the recent policy on the top most shelf and the old policies on the bottom shelf.

An examination of teachers' record files and preparation files clearly demonstrates the large amount of clerical and administrative effort that come with policy changes.

This has led to a lot of wastage of time and increased frustration levels on the part of the teachers. Teachers also indicate that they must have evidence that they are following the policy.

Teachers in this study have been governed by the policies and have evidence in the form of work schedules, record files, learners' books, and assessments. Although teachers may have not adjusted to a policy, they still have to comply. Teachers explained that if they didn't follow the policy they would be in trouble by their HODs as the following teachers stated.

Mrs Appleton: *"Our HODs will charge us for insubordination."*

Mrs Whitehead: *"The fear of the teacher is that you get hauled up by the supervising authority."*

Mrs Arnold: *"If you don't follow the policy then you have to follow line function. So your HOD is on top of you because people are on top of her."*

Mrs Beverley: *"It can be a serious problem if you read the laws like section 17, section 18,insubordination."*

Policymakers may believe that teachers are becoming more professionalised with an increase in their workload, but data proves strongly that teachers' work is becoming more intensified. Hargreaves (1994, p. 118-119) makes the following claims with regards to the intensification theory: "Intensification leads to a reduced time for relaxation during the working day. Intensification leads to a lack of time to retool one's skills and keep up with one's field. Intensification creates chronic and persistent overload. Intensification leads to reductions in the quality of service."

Mrs Soni: *" By the time we go home we are actually tired and sometimes my husband is in the private sector and he wonders why I'm so tired and I work a half past seven to half past two job. When I go home and tell him I'm tired but he says you didn't work physically hard and I say but mentally I'm dead because this is what it does. It mentally fatigues you. Most of time I'm so tired that I actually by six o'clock I want to sleep. If I'm not asleep I actually got tension headache that I have to take medication for."*

Teachers are exposed to various other challenges in addition to a heavy administrative workload such as the language barrier amongst learners, diversity of teachers and learners, poverty of learners, lack of stationery, large classes to teach, discipline of learners, lack of parental support, and fundraising drives. Intensification of teacher's work in the foundation phase has led to a reduction in the quality of service.

An increase in the workload of teachers has not led to successful pedagogical outcomes as policymakers would like to believe, but rather has led to the production of unhappy and stressed teachers. Teachers also bemoaned the considerable changes with regard to assessment. Each policy document contained different assessment guidelines. In C2005 and the RNCS assessment, content was managed by the teacher and there was a great deal of emphasis on continuous assessment.

In *The Foundations for Learning Campaign* and CAPS assessment guidelines to teachers are more structured in terms of the content of assessment and the number of assessment tasks as well as when the assessment tasks should be conducted. The introduction of the annual national assessment task (ANA) in the foundation phase was also a completely new change to foundation phase teachers. For the first time, foundation phase learners would write an externally set paper drawn up by the National Department of Education. This put immense pressure on foundation phase teachers who have to prepare their learners to write the ANA paper.

The ANA paper is written under examination conditions and results have to submitted to the Department of Education. Foundation phase learners also write papers set by their district facilitators at the end of each term. We see a change in that the learners in addition to writing tasks set by their teachers they must also write external papers. Some teachers found that assessment takes up too much time and leaves little room for actual teaching as teachers rush to have their marks and analysis ready.

Mrs Johnson : *"The assessments have increased. You have to give the assessments, do the analysis, in the past we never used to do that, do all the analysis. There's always stats to do."*

Mrs Anderson: *"Lots of assessments. I feel that these assessments and the way things are structured are for the people who have not been in the classroom and do not know the actual process and the requirements and the work that is put into teaching. You must remember with assessment tasks come worksheets."*

Mrs Beverley had a problem with the prescribed assessment criteria as she noticed that some very abstract concepts were too early in the year to assess and this placed the learners at a disadvantage. Singh (2007, p. 69) also found in her study on teachers perceptions of assessment in the foundation phase that "There was an increase in the workload for the foundation phase educators. Much of the paperwork that foundation phase educators are required to do is designed to ensure that assessment occurs regularly, requiring that foundation phase educators indicate the completion of assessment standards and learning outcomes and provide a detailed recording of the results."

In this study, Mrs Beverley also states that: *"I think sometimes a bit too much of assessment. I was more interested in satisfying the Departments requirements for assessing and cutting down on my teaching, because there's a need for me to assess, but it's like I'm not delivering the knowledge and values to these children but I'm assessing. It was piling up, piling up, piling up, so that at the end of the term when you looking at it so many assessments are not done, what's gonna happen to me."*

Ball (1994, p. 51) also found that "Teachers work is increasingly viewed and evaluated solely in terms of output measures i.e. test scores and examination context." Singh (2007, p. 36) highlights that

> It is through the careful selection of assessment activities, assessment tasks and assessment strategies by the foundation phase educator that will make the assessment process appropriate and meaningful. It is an essential element of teaching and learning and contributes towards the effectiveness of any school.

The current intensification of assessment tasks required by foundation phase teachers does not necessarily contribute towards effective teaching and learning but can, on the other hand, become a mere technical compulsion for foundation phase teachers which can defeat the deeper meaning of assessment tasks. The attention given to assessment tasks and analysis of tasks appear to be taking precedence over teaching in the classroom, as teachers find themselves rushing to complete schedules and meet deadlines.

These policy changes appear to have created a great increase in teacher workload without much visible pedagogical outcomes, as teachers indicated that policy changes do not improve learner performance or assist the teacher, neither does it address the many other challenges that teachers face. As Cooper et al., (2004, p. 23) notes: "Politics plays a key role as actors,

institutions and agencies seek to control the process to their own advantage." The governmentality of the education system has allowed a space to be created for the production of political symbols as proxies for read educational change.

Conclusion

The study has revealed that whilst continuous curriculum policy changes are governed by the Department of Education in an autocratic manner, the support that teachers receive in order to facilitate its implementation is disappointing. An autocratic manner of governance has provided a space for the creation of policies which reflect political symbols rather than addressing pressing issues of classroom practice. Teachers resort to their own coping strategies but are still left frustrated and confused as they have are forced to respond to changes rather too quickly. The result of imposed changes has led to the intensification of teachers' work, rather than enhance their productivity.

According to Chisholm (2003, p. 274) the minister of education Kader Asmal (the second minister of education in the democratic South Africa), said that he, "recognises the damage done over the decades by an approach to education that was essentially authoritarian and allowed little or no room for the development of critical capacity or the power of independent thought and inquiry."

Minister Kader Asmal was indeed referring to education under the apartheid regime. On close examination of the current education system there is very little difference. The current education system is still being governed by the scientific movement which does not promote critical thinking and independent thought amongst teachers but operates more in a machine-like manner.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Deconstructing policy formulation

Cooper *et al*., (2004), provide a four-dimensional conceptual framework for policy theory. At the core of this framework is a concern for ethics and social justice. The model consists of four dimensions, namely: the normative dimension, a structural dimension, a constitutive dimension and a technical dimension.

> The normative dimension includes beliefs, values, and ideologies that drive societies to seek improvement and change. The structural dimension includes government arrangements and processes that promulgate policies in education. The constitutive dimension includes theories of interest groups, masses, gender groups and beneficiaries who influence, participate in, and benefit from the policy-making process. Issues needed to be addressed in this dimension include who has access to power, how these interest groups make their needs felt. In this dimension policies are formed and fashioned by the constituent groups that favour and oppose them. The technical dimension includes educational planning and practice, implementation and evaluation. (Cooper *et al*., 2004, 9 43-44).

Let us examine the four curriculum policies namely C2OO5, RNCS, *The Foundations for Learning* and *CAPS* that foundation phase teachers have had to implement in post-apartheid South Africa, according to this conceptual framework.

The normative dimension: All four policies were created based on the beliefs and ideologies of the government, and more specifically the National Department of Education. These policies were based on unilateral ideologies of the reigning ministers of education. Ideologies are purely those of the macro-level actors in education.

These unilateral beliefs and ideologies have not been able to provide better education for the learners in the foundation phase. Unilateral ideologies only serve to display modern biopower in action. The results of the four policies implemented in the past fifteen years highlights that unilateral ideologies of the reigning superior authorities in education do not always yield the best results.

During policy formulation there must be an inclusion of the beliefs and ideologies of the other important stakeholders in education namely principals, teachers, school governing bodies, researchers and teacher educators affiliated to accredited higher institutions. Thus far these important stakeholders do not feature in policy formulation.

The structural dimension: The four policies were created and implemented only in a top-down manner. It came from the National Department of Education , and was then cascaded to the provinces who then cascaded it to the various districts in the province. These structures were created by the government and are not open for questioning by the other stakeholders in education. It is completely bureaucratic. Structural changes are much easier than cultural changes (Fullan, 2001). The top-down filtering of policies has been disastrous as was indicated in the empirical data. When the information is finally brought to the district level it appears that the district officials themselves feel unsure of what the policy document entails. The structural planning for these policies have been poor. It is also taken for granted that the information created at national level will reach teachers effectively. There must be a review of the top down model of policy dissemination for more quality learning about policy documents.

The constitutive dimension: The four policies involved only macro-level actors in education during the formulation process. The other interest groups in education such as teachers, parents, principals and researchers were not given the opportunity to make their needs felt. Policy formulation has been governed only by one interest group, i.e. the Department of Education.

Allowing other interest groups to participate in policy formulation will surely open up space for more debate as to the nature of the policy before it is implemented. All teachers in this study stated quite clearly that teachers should be consulted during policy formulation rather than after the process. Teachers have the first hand experiences with the policy document and its practices in the classroom and can provide valuable information.

The technical dimension: The four policies were little more than ‘quick fixes’. Policies are planned at the macro-level but implemented by the micro-level actors in education. Planning has been governed by the Department of Education. Teachers found it difficult to put into practice these policies, as they were changing too quickly. The evaluation of policy implementation has been poor. Teachers were left on their own to grapple with policy documents.

The four policy documents did not have a concern for ethics and social justice. They were merely political symbols that were costly and ineffective as teachers had to cling to old methods of teaching.

Cooper *et al*., (2004, p. 44) also highlights that "these questions must be considered within the four-dimensional framework. What are the values and beliefs embedded in the policy? Whose ideology does the policy reflect? Which groups benefit from the policy? Who loses? How did the various interest groups shape the context of policy and its implementation? How has the policy been implemented and evaluated? What do we still need to know about policy to improve schools?"

Curriculum policy changes in the foundation phase have been governed by political powers that have provided various rationales as to why a policy should be implemented, thereby masking what may be termed hidden curricula. A hidden curriculum does not necessarily appear in the day-to-day tasks that teachers and learners experience but has a sort of invisible task that it needs to fulfil without its users being directly aware of it. The hidden agenda of curriculum policy changes as reflected in parts of the literature review and empirical data is that it was created to satisfy political symbols and appeared to the general community as if it would be able to improve the quality of education in South Africa.

" This kind of indoctrinatory practice is the deliberate manipulation of education systems by politicians in pursuit of particular political goals or ideals. It is the ideological dominance, it is the manipulation of education and thus of society itself by the dominating powers within it. It is a matter of one dominant group within the society imposing its ideology on society as a whole and thus achieving political control at the expense of the freedom of others." Kelly (1999, p. 39).

This appears to have been the situation in the current education system that had imposed curriculum changes and disregards the viewpoints of teachers. The governmentality of the education system can be characterised as political symbols which have not been able to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the foundation phase but on the contrary has left teachers frustrated and stressed out as they have to continually relearn the dynamics of the new policy.

Policies need to shift from being political initiatives that have proven time and time again to be of little value but rather a time consuming and very costly drive on the part of teachers and

the country as a whole. “If we truly want to craft better policies for better schools, we must centre our education policies around concerns for equity and social justice” (Cooper *et al*., 2009, p. 49). Thus far, policies have been created as political symbols rather than as a concern for social justice.

Communities of practice

The governmentality of education has left a wide gap between the policymakers and teachers highlighting the bureaucratic culture of the education system. In this era of bureaucracy, thus far there hasn’t been enough improvement in the process of teaching and learning in the foundation phase. Instead, changes have been imposed too soon, not allowing teachers to internalise a policy sufficiently to effect its implementation. There needs to be a shift from bureaucratic cultures to a learning organisation.

> In a learning organisation there is a strong sense of community, caring for each other and trust. Employees feel free to communicate, share, experiment and learn openly. Conflict and debate are accepted as responsible forms of communication. A sense of community also gives employees the feeling that they are important. Employees cooperate because they want to not because they have to. Continuous learning is essential. In a learning organisation it’s critical for members to share information and collaborate. (Hellreigel *et al*., 2004, pp. 384-386).

There needs to be a community of practice between the Department of Education and teachers and not only amongst teachers themselves. More communication should take place between teachers and the Department of Education as compared to one-shot Department workshops that is not a site for a community of professionals. Teachers should be given opportunities to air their views and not simply be regarded as an implementer. This type of identity allocated to teachers can only serve to increase their resistance. “A sense of identity can be a source not merely of pride and joy but also of strength and confidence.”(Sen, 2006, p. 1).

The identity of the teacher as an implementer of policy immediately disallows teachers from having a sense of community with the higher education officials. This type of teacher identity needs to change in order to build a community of practice between teachers and their superiors. If teachers are made to feel important, surely their esteem will improve and this will in turn affect their delivery of service. Imposed changes do the exact opposite and it is

therefore necessary to review alternate ways of improving teachers' sense of pride and joy in order to bring about a better delivery of service. Thus far, empirical evidence suggests that teachers have been exhausted as they have been hurdled with administrative burdens of too many policy changes, and this has affected their delivery of service.

> Learning rather than being solely individual is actually also social. People learn from each other in particular ways. They learn through practice (learning as doing), through meaning (learning as intentional), through community (learning as participating and being with others) and through identity (learning as changing who we are). (Lieberman and Mace, 2008, p. 227)

Governmentality creates very little opportunities for communities of practice and appears to support managerial professionalism rather than democratic professionalism. It appears thus far that in our current education system, the human factor of caring and understanding is still absent as the emphasis at the moment appears to be geared towards a technically driven practice. "The practice of education cannot be mechanical, largely mindless activity; it requires constant decisions and judgements by the teacher" (Kelly, 1999, p. 9).

There appears also to be a lack of community of practice at the school level. A kind of micro-level governmentality exists at the level of the school between the principal, HODs, and teachers. In the reign of governmentality there appears to be more compulsion rather than cooperation. This has affected the delivery of service as expressed in the analysis. The top-down model is in contrast to a learning organisation. In a learning organisation "all employees share at least some leadership responsibilities. The sharing of decision making and leadership creates a culture that fully supports the goals and efforts of a learning organisation. Leaders should support and encourage the collaborative environment that's critical to learning" (Hellreigel et al., 2004, p. 384). One can conclude that the current education system is not yet a learning organisation, but still remains a bureaucratic culture.

The professional development of teachers in a context of education changes

Steyn and Niekerk (2002) provide the following definition of professional development:

> Professional development describes an on going development programme that focuses on the wide range of knowledge, skills and attitudes required to educate learners more

> effectively. It is a formal systematic programme designed to promote personal and professional growth. Professional development therefore refers to the participation of teachers or educational leaders in development opportunities in order to be better equipped as teachers and educational leaders (p. 250).

With regard to the four policy documents, according to Steyn and Niekerk's (2002) definition of professional development, there has been no professional development of teachers. Empirical evidence indicated that the Department workshops did not equip teachers to educate learners effectively. Teachers had to resort to their own coping strategies, which doesn't seem to prepare them adequately for policy implementation, as teachers expressed that they were confused and grappling. The development opportunities with regard to policy learning has been poor. This has had a negative impact on its implementation. The governing body of curriculum changes i.e. the National Department of Education creates policies, presents it to teachers, and eventually leaves the scene. There should be more professional development and time allocated to teachers to engage with a policy document before it is implemented.

Thus far, the change agents that teachers have been exposed to have been the district facilitators who didn't seem to help teachers effectively. Kelly (1999) suggests that the schools must appoint senior teachers as change agents. But this also may not be very effective as senior teachers also have to adapt to policy changes. The research shows that more expert change agents should be employed. These change agents must be people who are professional and insightful like researchers or professors rather than district facilitators.

These professional change agents must be given sufficient time to master the policy document as well as the allied teaching methodologies, before teachers are trained. Fullan notes:

> As teachers work more and more with people beyond their schools, a whole gamut of new relationships and orientations are fundamentally changing the essence of their professionalism. This new professionalism is collaborative, not autonomous. Open rather than closed, outward looking rather than insular and authoritative but not controlling (Fullan, 2001, p. 265).

Teachers should also have access to the change agent such as emails, sms's, or faxes, for further clarity after training sessions. The Department of Education has already sacrificed

vast amount of spending of policy transitions so the cost factor for professional change agents shouldn't pose an issue. This type of training will be time-consuming therefore policies should not be changing so quickly. Merely providing teachers with pages and pages of documents to digest has not led to their professional development.

Professional development cannot be once off but has to be on-going. There is an absence of on-going professional development courses with regards to policy documents. Even at the school level, on-going professional development workshops are absent.

Steyn and Niekerk (2002) provide some guidelines on maintaining professional development programmes. This is valuable for school leaders, especially in policy transition.

1. Diagnosing developmental needs-conduct a needs analysis, considers types of needs, consider do's and don'ts.

2. Planning for professional development-this includes determining the details of the programme: its objectives, who will be participating, who will be conducting the professional development programme, what professional development activities will be conducted, where and when they will be held, what resources and finances will be needed, how delegates will be recompensed for attending, and how progress will be measured.

3. Implementing the development programmes.

4.Evaluating developmental programmes-determine ways of evaluating programmes, analyse evaluations.

5. Maintaining the development programmes-establish ways in which outcomes of programmes are applied successfully, adapt programmes to meet objectives more effectively (p. 265).

Shulman (2004) highlights five principles of effective learning for teachers. The first principle is the principle of activity. Learning occurs when the teacher is an active agent in the process, not an audience. Learning can become active through experimentation, writing, dialogue, and questioning. The school must provide opportunities and support to enable teachers to become active learners. The second principle is the principle of reflection. Teachers cannot become better through activity alone. Schools must create occasions for teachers to become reflective. Such work requires time and support. The third principle is

collaboration. When teachers work together they can support each other's learning. The fourth principle is passion.

Enduring learning occurs when teachers and students share a passion for the material and are emotionally connected to ideas and activities. The fifth principle is the principle of community or culture. Activity, reflection, emotion and collaboration will work best to enhance teacher learning if it is supported by a culture that values such experiences and creates the opportunities for them to occur. Schools that want teachers to teach efficiently must also conditions that support effective teacher learning (Shulman, 2004).

There is little evidence of active learning in schools. Intensification does not allow teachers to stop and reflect on their practice due to time constraints. Collaboration in schools is in the form of managerial professionalism which leaves teachers as passive listeners. Teachers who are frustrated with imposed changes cannot be passionate about their jobs. A community of professionals is absent at the level of the school. One can conclude then, that according to Shulman's (2004) principles of learning, that learning at the level of the school is not effective, which most certainly will affect the delivery of service.

Less intensification and more teaching

The process of policy transitions has led to a build-up of negative emotions as expressed by most teachers in this study as a result of their work becoming too intensified, as articulated by Roodt (2003)

> Decision-making in organisations have emphasised rationality. They have downplayed, or even ignored the role of anxiety, fear, frustration, doubt, happiness, excitement and similar emotions. People may make different choices when they are angry or stressed out. Negative emotions can result in a limited search for new alternatives and a less vigilant use of information. But people aren't cold, unfeeling machines. Their perceptions and calculations of situations are filled with emotional content that significantly influences how much effort they exert. Negative emotions can lead to a number of deviant workplace behaviours. Emotions are a natural part of an individual's make-up (Roodt, 2003 pp. 93-98).

Treating the education system and its teachers as a machine can break the spirit of teachers. Teachers are interacting with little children in the foundation phase. They must have positive emotions such as joy, happiness, excitement, enthusiasm and passion. Teachers who are angry cannot teach effectively, as their emotions can turn into moods later on in the classroom, as Roodt (2003) explains,

> Emotions can turn into moods. When a work colleague criticises you, you might become angry. That is, you show emotions. But later in the day, you might find yourself just generally dispirited. You're just not your normal self. This affect state describes a mood (p. 93).

Foundation phase learners need teachers who are motivated and happy. Intensification only demotivates foundation phase teachers especially as they have to now also deal with the intensification of assessment tasks. "People who are highly motivated in their jobs, they're emotionally committed" (Roodt, 2003, p. 97).

Assessment tasks need to become more geared towards the real meaning of assessment and not a technical compulsion. Assessment in the foundation phase should be used as a support mechanism without disrupting the process of learning in the classroom. Assessment tasks are becoming increasingly externally controlled and evidence from the study indicates that assessment tasks appear to be taking precedence over actual teaching time. Are we assessing or are we teaching?

Assessment in the foundation phase should enhance a teacher's knowledge of learners so that remedial work can follow. It shouldn't add to the stress of a teacher's professional life. Mrs Beverley indicated that it is not necessary to have so many structured assessment tasks in the foundation phase, as a teacher is assessing all the time sometimes just by marking their books.

There must be more time allocated to teaching knowledge, values, skills and attitudes in the foundation phase than worrying about completing assessment tasks and handing in marks and analysis. All these intensification drives have not made better teachers, nor has it improved the learning amongst learners in the foundation phase. It has merely added to the technical dimension of teaching.

Policy changes can be classified as an external disruption to classroom teaching. Instead of focusing on teaching and learning, the attention of teachers gets diverted from the classroom

as they are hauled away for workshops on the new policy. Teachers need to settle down with one policy, digest it, and continue teaching. They need to master the skills and methodologies related to that policy. Frequent change disrupts the process of policy mastery and impacts on teachers' confidence. "People need a sense of personal integrity and consistency over time. Change strikes at the core of a person's sense of who they are" (Moran and Brightman, 2001, p. 111).

Curriculum change is an essential part of education reform, but there are many other contextual factors at the site of the school that affect learners' performance, such as the language barrier, the socio-economic backgrounds of learners, a lack of motivated teachers, poor resources, the effect of HIV and AIDS, the organisational structure of the school, teacher absenteeism, lack of parental involvement, less time spent on teaching, and more time spent on fundraising drives, or a lack of skilled teachers. Each of these factors needs to be interrogated before assuming that the results in education can only improve by changing the policy. Ramrathan (2007) makes the following observations,

> Is it (the school) a place for knowledge development, child development, culture development, social development or health development? Is it possible for the academically trained professional teacher to manage all of these roles within the school context? The fundamental question is what are purposes of school? Can we articulate the purposes of school clearly? What should schools then look like in the face of competing demands for intervention spaces? One way is to extend schools to a full-day programme with collaborative intervention by teachers and other stakeholders (e.g. social workers, health professionals, cultural organisations, politicians etc.) (pp.33-34.).

It appears from the empirical evidence that teachers do not have the support from the other stakeholders, and we have not moved to a full day of schooling as suggested by Ramrathan (2007). This means teachers' attention is constantly diverted from obtaining academic objectives whilst they have to assume other duties during the school day.

Policy governance

Unilateral decisions without extensive research has characterised the policy process thus far. The process has been too linear. Instead of changing the policies, there needs to be a change in the way in which policy is governed. Policy governance must be free from political

interference. Policy development must comprise expert actors in education such as professors, lecturers, master teachers, and researchers. Decision making must be completely collaborative, with each group providing precise motivations for their decisions. It is also important that the members of this body remain beyond the period of political tenure, so that their expertise and experience can add value to the education system in a more sustained way.

At the dawn of democracy, a National Department of Education was created to bring the divided education departments under one national policy framework for education. Unfortunately, the National Department of Education has opted to treat education in an extremely bureaucratic manner, which, instead of creating a brighter education for the new South Africa, has caused numerous unnecessary disruptions at the micro level of the school using by its biopower to manipulate policy symbols in the form of policy documents, which proved time and time again to be meaningless. It is still possible to infuse a sense of legitimacy in the policy process, if teachers are positioned at the centre of the endeavour rather than at the margins.

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APPENDICES

kzn education
Department:
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KWAZULU-NATAL

SIMITA NUNALALL
KAYALAMI FARM
VAN REENEN
3372

Enquiries: Sibusiso Alwar
Date: 05/08/2010
Reference: 0064/2010

PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW LEARNERS AND EDUCATORS

The above matter refers.

Permission is hereby granted to interview Departmental Officials, learners and educators in selected schools of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal subject to the following conditions:

1. **You make all the arrangements concerning your interviews.**
2. **Educators' programmes are not interrupted.**
3. **Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.**
4. **Learners, educators and schools are not identifiable in any way from the results of the interviews.**
5. **Your interviews are limited only to targeted schools.**
6. **A brief summary of the interview content, findings and recommendations is provided to my office.**
7. **A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers and principals of schools where the intended interviews are to be conducted.**

The KZN Department of education fully supports your commitment to research: **The effects of continuous curriculum policy change on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers.**

It is hoped that you will find the above in order.

Best Wishes

R Cassius Lubisi, (PhD)
Superintendent-General

dedicated to service and performance
beyond the call of duty.

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09 July 2010

Miss S Nunalall
P O Box 20
VAN REENEN
3372

Dear Miss Nunalall

PROTOCOL: The effects of continuous policy changes on the professional lives of foundation phase teachers
ETHICAL APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0462/2010 M: Faculty of Education and Development

In response to your application dated 30 June 2010, Student Number: **209529052** the Humanities & Social Sciences Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been given **FULL APPROVAL.**

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steve Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMITTEE

SC/sn

cc: Dr R Dhunpath (Supervisor)
cc: Ms T Khumalo

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

BECOMING A TEACHER

1. **Where did you study to become a teacher?**
    - Are you still studying?

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

1. **How long have you been teaching in the foundation phase?**
    - Do you enjoy teaching in the foundation phase? Why?
    - What have been some of your challenges during your years of teaching?
    - Do you wish to continue teaching in the years to come? Why?
    - What policy changes did you have to encounter as a teacher?

POLICY FORMULATION

1. **Where you consulted when policies where made?**
    - Do you feel that there is a need for teachers to be consulted during policy formulation?

POLICY CHANGE AND TEACHER WORK

1. **Can you briefly describe the policy changes that took place after 1994?**
    - Do you think that policy changes have helped you to become a better teacher?
    - Who helped you to adjust to policy changes?
    - Has policy changes improved your learner performance?
    - Have you ever felt the need to use contact time to adjust to policy changes?
    - How has policy changes affected your work?
    - Did you ever use personal time to adjust to policy changes?
2. **How do you feel about the policy changing**?
    - Would you like to see more policy changes in future?
    - Why do you think policies change?
    - About how long does it take you to adjust to a policy change?

GOVERMENTALITY AND TEACHING

1. **Is your work governed by what is in the policy?**
    - Does the policy give details on how and what you should teach?
    - If there has been a policy change do you use the previous policy as well?
    - What would happen if you do not follow the policy?
    - What type of evidence do you need to provide to show that you are following the policy?

TEACHING IN CURRENT TIMES

1. **Can you describe the foundations for learning campaign?**
    - What did you have to do to adjust from the revised national curriculum statement to the foundations for learning campaign?
    - Are you happy with this policy? Why?
2. **Can you describe some differences or similarities between the original C2005 and the foundations for learning campaign?**
    - Do you feel the change to the foundations for learning campaign is valuable?
    - Has this policy been able to improve your teaching?
    - Has this policy improved your leaner performance?