

Teacher Identity in Assessment Policy and
Practice within the General Education and
Training Band

A thesis submitted to the

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In the Faculty of Education

by

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2009

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not in its entirety or part, been submitted at any university for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

The democratic South Africa's dual challenge in overcoming its own divisive history as well as addressing global economic imperatives, has led to transformations in education. Policy production thus takes place in an atmosphere infused by economic, political, social and cultural effects of globalization. Embedded within the wave of curriculum reform, are new forms of learner assessment which have shifted from being largely norm-based and summative to one which is formative, standards-based and continuous. The new discourse on assessment requires a 'paradigm shift' for most teachers implementing the new assessment policy. Although education policy reforms in schools challenge teachers' existing practices and increases teachers' work load, they seldom give due attention to teachers' identities. My research raises questions about the political rationalities that have informed policies on a new conception of the ideal teacher as assessor and how these political rationalities have intersected with the individual lives and identities of teachers. This study investigates at a micro-level, the workings of how teachers govern themselves in their work and in general as human beings. The constitution of teacher identity through discourses and discursive practices of the assessment reform is central to the argument of this thesis which is guided by the following critical question:

Within the historical context of the current wave of curriculum reform in South Africa, how is teacher identity constituted in the discourses and practices of assessment reform?

Data was obtained from ten teacher participants through interviews, classroom observations and document evidence. Using the biographical / life history approach and teachers' narratives of self, I explore patterns by which experiential and emotional contexts, feelings, images and memories are organized to form the teachers' identity. My analytical strategy draws from the work of Foucault (1954-1984), Giddens (1991), Wenger (1998), Bourdieu (1977), Frankl (1984), Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Maslow (1943) as well as other scholars.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated in memory of my parents, Moonsamy and Devagi Gounden. Mum, thank you for your support and for being my greatest teacher even though you had little formal education. Dad, thank you for challenging and encouraging me. It is through support and challenge that maximum evolution occurs (Demartini, 2008).

I hereby acknowledge my sincere appreciation to:

- **The Spencer Foundation**, for the generous funding of my research project.
- The following members of the Spencer Committee for their interest and support:
- Professors Linda Chisholm, Lebo Moletsane, Ken Harley and Volker Wedekind
- My research supervisor, Dr Wayne Hugo for his support, trust and for allowing me to work on my own terms.
- Derek Buchler, for the administration of the Spencer funding.
- The teacher participants for their willingness to participate and their invaluable contribution.

To my family and friends:

- My children, Kamentha, Nishalin and Lavanya, for their love and support. Kamentha, for her letter of encouragement and her analogy of knitting which helped me gain closure on this thesis. Let this be inspiration to you for it is an extension of all that I taught you about the universal laws.
- Mano, for giving me an opportunity to see the light. Our love is eternal.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
AS	Assessment Standard
C2005	Curriculum 2005
CASS	Continuous Assessment
CREQ	Criteria for the Recognition and Evaluation of Qualifications
CTA	Common Tasks of Assessment
DET	Department of Education and Training
DoE	Department of Education
ELRC	Education Labour Relations Council
EMS	Economics and Management Science
GET	General Education and Training
GNU	Government of National Unity
HoA	House of Assembly
HoD	House of Delegates
HOD	Head of Department
HoR	House of Representatives
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HSS	Human and Social Sciences
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IQMS	Integrated Quality Management System
LO	Learning Outcome

LLC	Language Literacy and Communication
MLMMS	Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics and Mathematical Sciences
NED	Natal Educational Department (Department for whites in Natal)
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation.
NQF	National Qualifications Framework.
NS	Natural Sciences
OBA	Outcomes Based Assessment
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PAM	Personal Administrative Measures.
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SACE	South African Council for Educators
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SASA	South African Schools Act
SEM	Superintendent of Educational Management
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authority
SGB	Schools Governing Body
SO	Specific Outcomes
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

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Chapter One: An Orientation

1.1 Introduction

“Well, for me assessment was like this huge tidal wave or tsunami that struck the teacher. And everybody was just grabbing at anything they could to survive. But with time as the tsunami subsided, you also subside and try to make sense of things. I suppose, it was more building and rebuilding, understanding the concepts and so on” (Anand, teacher participant).

The intensely powerful images of a teacher’s response to the new assessment policy in the above extract, reflects the enormity of the teacher’s plight and his instinctual will to survive. The description has connotations of shock, panic, loss, survival strategies and most importantly, a glimmer of hope. Images of ‘building and rebuilding’ are central to this thesis which deals with the constitution of teacher identities. Teacher identity is being pushed and pulled by various forces: biographical (inertial forces), programmatic (teacher education curricula interventions) and contextual (both macro-societal changes and micro-institutional changes) (Samuel, 2003, p. 11). The constitution of teacher identity as explored through discourses and discursive practices of the assessment reform is at the heart of this thesis.

Teachers are being bombarded with changes in their work, and this study investigates at a micro-level, the workings of how teachers govern themselves in their work and in general as human beings. Foucault’s concept of governmentality was not problematised within the conventional terms of the state, constitutional theory, political theory or political philosophy, but in a broad sense of the ‘conduct of conduct,’ embracing all procedures, inventions, calculations, tactics and institutions implicated in this ‘specific’ and ‘complex’ of power (Doherty, 2007, p.195). Hence, governing is directed towards the constitution of self (micro-level), as well the configuration of the subject under the action of the new democratic government of South Africa (macro-level), that is, governmentality of the state. Further, governmentality is extended to the virulent neo-liberal pressures of globalization. Governmentality is, but one aspect of Foucauldian conception of power. The constitution of social identity is an act of power and as such *is* power (Laclau, 1990, p. 31). The composite

working of power, namely, biopower (disciplinary power, governmentality and pastoral) is employed to highlight the power/knowledge relations embedded within specific discourses. Laclau (1990) claims that to study the conditions of existence of a given social identity, then, is to study the power mechanisms making it possible. In addition, ‘the complex messy terrain of teacher identity’ (Lewin et al., 2003, p. 9) within a changing socio-political environment, necessitates a range of theoretical framings to explicate its constitution.

The democratic South Africa’s dual challenge in its art of governing, is that of overcoming its own ‘divisive history’ as well as addressing global economic imperatives (Young, 1996, pp.1-3). This has led to more than a decade (post 1994) of transformation in all spheres of society, and more specifically, education. Doherty (2007) postulates that a feature of education policy in the late modernity is its relentless predisposition to fix the boundaries and horizons of national projects at all levels. Policy production thus takes place in an atmosphere infused by economic, political, social and cultural effects of globalization (Doherty, 2007, p.194). Changes at a micro-level of an individual teacher can be located or correlated with changes at a supranational and national scale. The hegemonic project of the state comprises a vision to transform South African society as a ‘prosperous, truly united, democratic and internationally competitive country with literate, creative and critical citizens, leading productive, self-fulfilled lives in a country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice’ (Bengu cited in DoE, 1997b, p. 2) and has resulted in education reform in South Africa which rests on two pillars: outcomes based approaches to learning and the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). According to Harley and Parker (1999), these approaches to education and training have been strongly influenced by similar movements in England, Australia, New Zealand and the USA and attempts to introduce new forms of economic and social relations that have risen in advanced industrialised countries (Jansen, 1999a; Malcolm, 1999; Baxen and Soudien, 1999).

Doherty (2007) suggests that there is an inextricable link between policy, policymaking, and politics as the art of government. Day (2002) echoes this observation and elaborates that education policy reforms are proposed because governments believe that by intervening to change the conditions under which students learn, they can accelerate improvements, raise standards of achievement and somehow increase economic competitiveness. However, these

changes bring about profound changes to the work of teachers and policy-makers need to consider the impact of policy reforms on teachers' existing practices and their sense of self, namely, teachers' identities.

According to Day (2002) teachers' sense of professional, personal identity is a key variable in their motivation, job fulfillment, commitment and self-efficacy; and these will themselves be affected by the extent to which teachers' own needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness are met. Day (2002) suggests that reforms have an impact upon teachers' identities and because these are both cognitive and emotional, create reactions which are both rational and non rational.

Cross (1999), however, cautions that changing identities throughout the history of South African education have highlighted the fact that new identities are constructed only with reference to old identities. Thus, the ways and extent to which reforms are received, adopted, adapted and sustained or not sustained will be influenced by the extent to which they challenge existing identities (Day, 2002, p. 683). The project of nation building or the construction of a unitary national identity in South Africa entails the questioning and re-articulation of the political identities inherited from the apartheid legacy, such that no single identity can be kept pure and intact. Cross (1999) emphasizes that the mere denial of old identities, as constructed by apartheid discourse will be insufficient, for it leaves that terrain open and uncontested.

My research raises questions about the political rationalities that have informed policies on a new conception of the ideal teacher as assessor and how these political rationalities have intersected with the individual lives and identities of teachers. In terms of Foucault's philosophical project, it raises questions about 'ways in which discourses and practices have transformed human beings into subjects of a particular kind' (Foucault, 1982b; Ball, 1990).

1.2 Key Research Question

This research is guided by the following central question:

- *Within the historical context of the current wave of curriculum reform in South Africa, how is teacher identity constituted in the discourses and practices of assessment reform?*

The key research question is supported by the following sub-questions

- *What ‘games of truth’ (political rationalities) have governed the creation of the new assessment policy?*
- *How are teachers constituted as subjects of their own knowledge?*
- *How are teachers constituted as subjects who exercise or submit to power relations?*
- *What strategies do teachers employ as part of a ‘care of self’ campaign in response to the assessment policy?*
- *How does the self become a reflexive project in response to the de-skilling tendencies of modernity?*
- *What are the implications of the biographical / life history approach for exploring teachers’ sense of self and their concomitant response to the assessment policy?*
- *How are teachers’ will to meaning reflected in the discursive practice of the new assessment initiatives?*

1.3 Research Strategy

To conduct this research, I devise what I have termed ‘logic of discernment’ an analytical strategy that draws from the work of Foucault, Giddens (1991), Frankl (1984), Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Wenger (1998), Bourdieu (1977), Maslow (1943) as well as other scholars and researchers. The analytics of Foucault’s genealogy and technologies of self are incorporated into my research strategy. Using my ‘logic of discernment’ I also draw from literature on the biographical or life history approach with an emphasis on the constitution of

teacher identity. My 'logic of discernment' extends the concept of governmentality to the workings of 'globalization' (Giddens, 1991) which is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distantiation. Globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations at a distance with local contextualities (Giddens, 1991, p. 21). Global influences have influenced the discourse of the new assessment as a norm of 'truth.' My research strategy is then to investigate the conditions that establish the relations between 'what is truth' which is 'on one hand, intrinsic to the sciences and their history, and on the other, essential to the ways in which human beings have come to govern themselves' (Rabinow and Rose, 2003, p. xii).

Ozga (1987) emphasizes the importance of bringing together structural, macro-level analysis of education systems and education policies and micro-level investigation which I heed in my study, especially as it relates to the formation of teachers' identities or subjectivities. Subjectivity refers to 'patterns by which experiential and emotional contents, feelings, images and memories are organized to form one's self-image, one's sense of self and others, and our possibilities of existence' (De Lauretis, 1986, p. 5). This definition of subjectivity has influenced collection of data as well as its analytical framework.

I explore Foucault's concept of power of which biopower, explicated through notions of governmentality and pastoral power, is viewed as an integral link between the micro and macro-political levels. Tikly (2003) claims that there is very limited literature that has attempted to apply Foucault's ideas to an analysis of the state (and its policies) in South Africa, and especially to the linking of political rationalities to subjectivities (Popkewitz, 2000). Furthermore, this study argues that the governmentality extends beyond the borders of South Africa, to embrace globalization with its concomitant discourse of neo-liberalism.

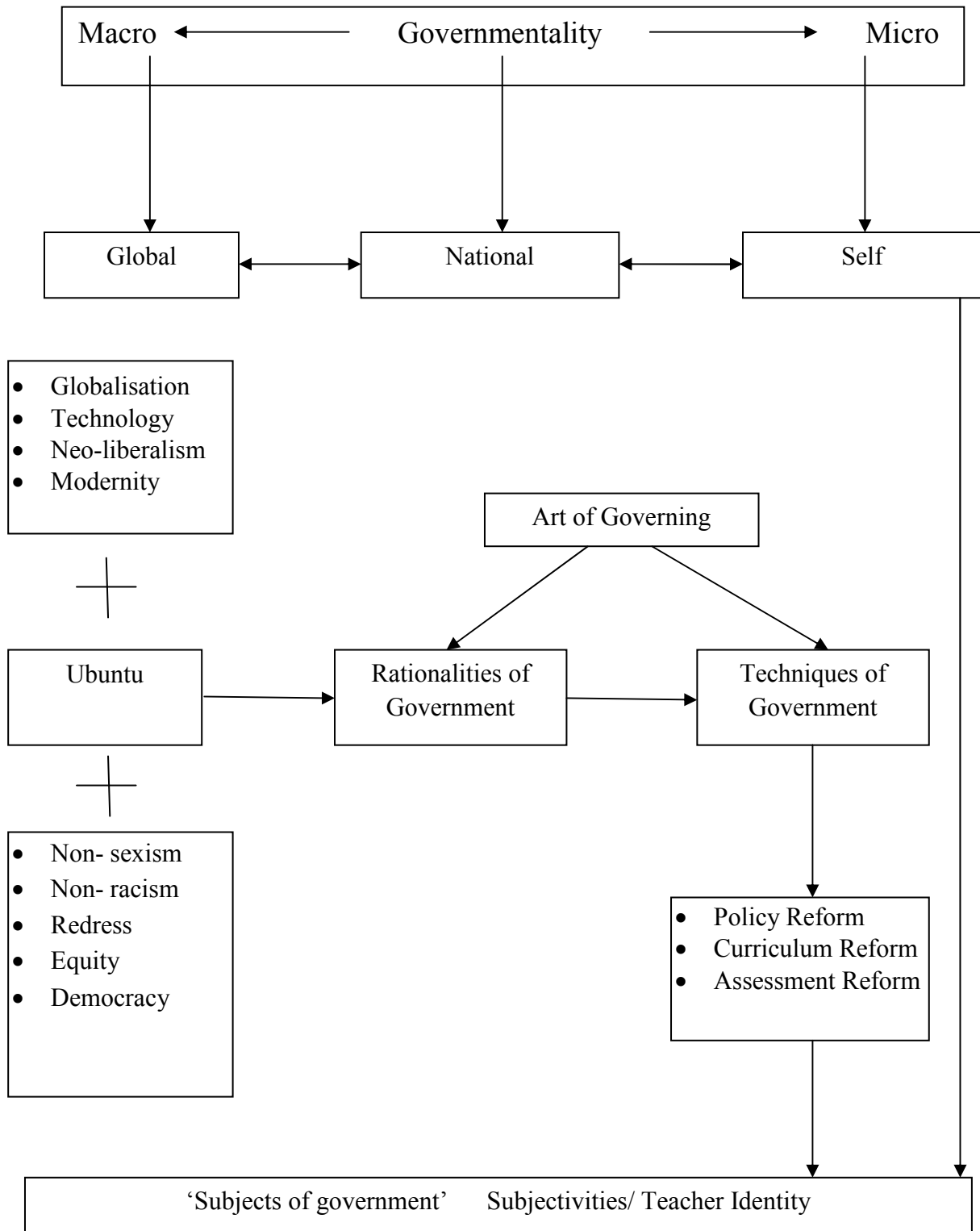
A starting point of this research draws from the work of Foucault and enquires about the ways in which discourses and practices have transformed human beings into subjects of a particular kind. Foucault articulates his research goal in the following statement: 'My objective, has been to create a history of different modes by which, in our culture, human

beings are made subjects' (Foucault, 1982b, p. 126). Foucault (1982b) argues that we must know the historical conditions that motivate our conceptualizations as subjects.

1.4 Dimensions of Governmentality: Explication of the Concepts

Using Foucault's concept of 'governmentality,' I argue that in late modernity, global influences of an economic, political, social and cultural nature infiltrate government at a national level which results in the production of policies. These policies then filter to the micro-level to reach individual teachers and collective groups bringing about profound changes in their work and sense of self. In figure 1.1 Dimensions of Governmentality, I show the interrelationship among these constructs in a cascading form, highlighting the link between macro-level policy changes and its impact on micro-level implementation.

Figure: 1.1 Dimensions of Governmentality



1.4.1 Global Governmentality

Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' as an explication of 'conduct of conduct,' draws attention to the macro-political level of globalization that reaches the micro-level of the teacher's classroom assessment practices and teacher identity. Doherty (2007) suggests that 'governmentality' is a prism that illuminates a particular stratum of enquiry, a perspective that examines, with historical gaze, governing, as a deliberate, purposeful, technicised activity, directed at the subject, the society, or some consciously categorised subdivision of the social body. Global governmentality extends beyond the borders of South Africa to encompass the intensification of global interconnectedness amongst nations of the world.

When asked about the significant changes in teaching and learning, this is how Deb, a teacher participant in the study responded:

“[The] Global world that has been open to us with the age of Technology ...for me that is the driving force behind all the significant changes that has happened in our country, amongst other things.

In class, in school, the things that have significantly changed is, one, curriculum and the mind set that needs to be encouraged in approaching the curriculum. And with the curriculum, is the whole concept of Assessment that has had to be re-aligned to the demands of the curriculum. ...And as much as we see this as political, yes it is, it is more than just the political workings of the day. It is a journey that the world is on right now, good or bad. But it is a journey that has happened/ happening. So, both are affected, in and out of the classroom as well” (Deb, teacher participant).

From Deb's perspective as a teacher, the impact of technology cannot be ignored and Andersen (2003) notes the significance of the evolution of technology and of individual values and questions the impact of new technologies on our understanding life, individuality,

destiny, responsibility and freedom. What is of particular interest in relation to global governmentality is how knowledge is viewed as ‘intellectual technologies’ which are specific ways of seeing and representing reality as intelligible and how these are included in political programmes and policies (Rose, 1998, p. 120). I argue that the concept of governmentality is encompassed in and transcends national boundaries.

1.4.2 Modernity and Globalisation

‘Policy technologies,’ (Ball, 2003, p.216) are influenced by global notions of what constitutes ‘truth’ and knowledge in an era of ‘late or high modernity’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 12). Modernity, which can be understood as roughly equivalent to the industrialised world as well as capitalism, refers to a system of commodity production involving both competitive product markets and the commodification of labour power (Giddens, 1991, p. 15). Modernity produces certain distinct social forms, of which the most prominent is the nation state. Giddens (1991) claims that modernity develops only as part of a wider nation state system (which today has become global in character), and has very specific forms of territoriality and surveillance capabilities. Modernity must be understood at an institutional level; yet the transmutations introduced by modern institutions interlace in a direct way with individual life and therefore with the self (Giddens, 1991, p.1).

Globalisation can be seen as the cultural effect of the universalizing tendency of the globalizing force of modernity (Chisholm, 1997, p. 52). Giddens (1991), states that the globalizing tendencies of modernity are inherent in the dynamic influences such as the reorganizing of time and space; disembedding mechanisms and the reflexivity of modernity which affect or undercut traditionally established practices. Globalisation is treated as a transformation in the very structure of the world (Larner and Walters, 2004) into a single world market (Nzimande, 1997). Globalisation can be understood as a metaphor for the economic, political and social forms of regeneration and expansion of capitalism under new political and economic conditions (Chisholm, 1997).

According to Nzimande (1997), **neo-liberalism** which is the ideology and discourse of globalization, argues that for a country to survive and compete in the international marketplace, it is important that it transforms itself into a fully-fledged municipality of the global village by completely opening its borders to the international market. Faced with this new market discipline, governments are increasingly concerned to reform the conduct of individuals to make them more competitive and efficient. Neo-liberal discourse is based on a particular notion of competitiveness both internationally and nationally (Nzimande, 1997). It is suggested that we may be witnessing the birth of a new regime of discipline in which governmentality is unhitched from the nation–state to be instituted anew on a global scale (Tikly, 2003, p. 165). Larner and Walters (2004) consider globalization as ‘governmentality,’ that is, as governmental rationality.

1.4.3 Neo-liberal Governmentality

The rules for governing are rationalized according to a value of truth (rationality). Foucault’s work on governmentality implied that one could identify specific political rationalizations emerging in precise sites and at specific historical moments, underpinned by coherent systems of thought, and that one could show how different kinds of calculations, strategies and tactics were linked to each (Rose, 1999, pp. 26-27). Neo-liberalism (as a rationality), has emerged to give government (especially in the West) a form of truth - to establish a kind of ethical basis for its actions (Rose, 1999, p. 27). The emergence of neo-liberalism has entailed a redefinition of the relationship between the state and society (Tikly, 2003).

On one hand, neoliberalism is based on the notion that subjects are best able to fulfill themselves as free individuals (Rose, 1999, pp. 165-166). On the other hand, neo-liberalism is represented as a method of rationalizing the exercise of government that obeys ‘the internal rule of maximum economy’ (Foucault, 2003, p. 202). Lyotard (1984) claims that the neo-liberal ‘truth game’ called economic rationalization is an equation between wealth, efficiency and truth, and the driving logic of the global capitalist system.

In the styles of government that Rose (1999) has termed ‘advanced liberal,’ the conception of the citizen is transformed. Advanced liberal forms of government rest in new ways upon the activation of powers of the citizen. The citizen as consumer is to become an active agent in the regulation of professional expertise, e.g. School’s Governing Body (SGB), comprising parents and community members together with educator representatives, have regulatory functions and is also responsible for interviewing candidates for promotion prospects.

Beck (1992) characterizes modernity as ‘risk society.’ Neo-liberalism involves a modified conception of social risk, which shifts emphasis from collective indemnification to individuals taking responsibility for moderating their burden of risk (Tikly, 2003, p. 164). Lemke (2000) argues that this means that social risks are shifted into the domain of individual responsibility and has transformed it into a problem of ‘self-care.’ Lemke (2000) claims that a feature of the neo-liberal rationality is the congruence it endeavours to achieve between a responsible moral individual and an economically rational individual. The new approach to risk management is accompanied by new ‘technologies of agency’ exemplified by the proliferation of contracts for goods and services and by new modes of consumer and community involvement and voice (Tikly, 2003, p. 164). Tikly (2003) claims that are also accompanied by ‘technologies of performance’– the devolution of budgets, the setting of performance indicators, benchmarking and performance management as a new way of regulating agencies and managing risk.

The task of national government is no longer simply to engage in the management of national economies in the interests of the national population, but also to affect economic performance in a way that will ensure global economic advantage (Tikly, 2003, pp. 164-166).

1.4.4 Rationalities of Post-Apartheid South Africa

In addition, to neo-liberalism, other rationalities of post-apartheid South Africa has influenced policy programmes and policies. A fundamental impetus to the reform of education in South Africa has come from the perceived link between education, economic

growth and international competitiveness (Chisholm, 1997) and has to a large extent been framed by the international neo-liberal guidelines of global funders such as the World Bank (Chisholm, 1997) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Fataar, 1997; Fairclough, 2003) which prescribes changes in governing in terms of ‘transparency’ and ‘accountability’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129). However, the unique dynamics of the ‘new’ South African government striving to eradicate the ravages of the legacy of apartheid, is simultaneously compelled to incorporate other local and indigenous rationalities such as that of **Ubuntu**. The philosophy of Ubuntu is epitomized by the African saying that ‘a person is a person only through other persons’ (HSRC cited in Lubisi et al., 1997). Tikly (2003) has observed that, in practice, neo-liberal rationalities have articulated with other rationalities of government, (sometimes in contradictory ways). According to Tikly, (2003) what is emerging in South Africa is a plurality of rationalities of government that includes neo-liberal rationalities which have informed programmes and policies.

1.4.5 Policy Reform

The multitude of rationalities have in turn informed programmes and policies of government towards the post-apartheid vision of creating ‘a prosperous, truly united, democratic and internationally competitive country with literate, creative and critical citizens leading productive, self-fulfilled lives in a country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice’ (Bengu cited in DoE, 1997c, p. 2). A distinction is made between *political rationalities* (ways of thinking about the dimensions and practices of government); *programmes of government* (which use the theories and particular ways of thinking about and doing things to translate political rationalities into actual measures that affect populations); and *technologies of government* (the techniques, procedures and strategies that are used to put political rationalities and programmes into effect (Tikly, 2003, p. 165; Ball, 2003, p. 216). These distinctions are not intended to emphasise separation, but to emphasise inextricable cohesion among them towards the common vision of the the development of a productive citizens who contribute to South Africa claiming its place in the global village. Education policy can usefully be seen as acting at the interface between programmes and technologies of government (Tikly, 2003) towards the reconstructive goal of post-apartheid South Africa. According to Spreen (2004) policies are not merely the products of rational, analytical

decision making; instead they are part of an inherently political process affected by interests, events, local priorities and understandings, and a host of financial and other constraints.

By analyzing educational aspects of the repressive apartheid society, and the role of the state, capital and other actors in that domination, the objective of the National Education Policy Investigation was to generate policy options and their implications in the context of comparative educational experience (Badat, 1997). In our current era of globalization, educational policy-makers increasingly look to international trends, ideas, and standards as policy borrowing between countries to underscore the urgency for dramatic school change (Christie, 1997; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Spreen, 2004; Fairclough, 2003). Through worldwide diffusion of ideas, concepts, and educational blueprints, references to international reforms serve to reify the notion of international relatedness and legitimate the use of international standards (Spreen, 2004, p.102). Hence, education policies for a 'new' South Africa show remarkable congruence with international trends (Chisholm, 1997). However, the South African ideal, according to Kallaway et al. (1997), is striking a balance between the goals of developing a just democratic society and of building an economy that is competitive in the global economy. Fairclough (2003) states that there are different policy priorities and some policies enhance competitiveness, on one hand whilst others address the issue of social cohesion, on the other. Thus multiple rationalities, both local and global, such as Ubuntu, social justice as well as that of neo-liberalism, together with 'five principles of: non-racism, non-sexism, democracy, a unitary system and redress' (Badat, 1997, p. 71), have informed the development of education policies in South Africa. In March 1997, the Minister of Education launched Curriculum 2005 in South Africa with the equivalent number of balloons in the colours of the post-apartheid flag, thus showing the link between curriculum and patriotism (Jansen, 1999a, p. 10).

1.4.6 Curriculum Reform

Educational borrowing has had a significant impact on shaping the new curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa, namely Curriculum 2005. In response to the country's changing

needs, policy makers have actively looked overseas to select borrow, or learn from reforms that will transform education into an equitable, world class system (Spren, 2004, p. 101). The outcomes based approach to learning and national qualifications framework, for example, used in countries such as England, Australia, New Zealand and the USA have been imported and indigenized in policy discourses in South Africa (Harley and Parker, 1999, p.181). ‘One of the key strategic and symbolic challenges faced by the African National Congress (ANC) Government, was the rapid transformation of the school curriculum’ in the form of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) which was of a scale unparalleled in the history of curriculum transformation (Harley and Wedekind, 2004, p. 195). Within the process of curriculum reform, further revisions resulted in the formation of the National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) (DoE, 2002).

1.4.7 Assessment Reform

Embedded within this wave of curriculum reform are new forms of assessment which have shifted from being largely norm-based, summative and aggregative by default to one which is formative, standards based and continuous (Muller, 2004, p. 231).

Within the curriculum reform framework, the area of assessment was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, Jansen and Christie (1999) suggest that perhaps the single most important innovation within OBE is the model of **assessment** required of schools and teachers. Secondly, Pahad (1999) emphasises that in spite of evidence put forward over the last thirty years showing the powerful influence (for better or worse) of assessment, particularly high-stakes examination, which is still the most neglected aspect of curriculum policy. There is growing consensus among researchers (Pahad, 1999; Jansen, 1999a; Bellis, 1999; Combrinck, 2003; Vandeyar and Killen, 2003; and Muller, 2004) that there is limited research on assessment in South Africa.

Thirdly, governments around the world, have begun to take a close interest in the ways in which assessment can influence and even control teaching, and in the changes in curriculum and teaching which could be brought about by changes in assessment (Broadfoot, 1996).

Barnes et al. (2000), claim that attempts at curriculum reform are likely to be futile unless accompanied by matching assessment reform; and assessment can be the engine of curriculum reform or the principle impediment to its implementation.

Fourthly, in the apartheid era, assessment policy for learners other than those in the exit Grade (12) was not specified by the state. In practice, assessment for the vast majority of learners was norm referenced, summative and aggregative by default (Muller, 2004, p. 231). C2005 and the Assessment Policy for General Education and Training (DoE, 1998) make much of the need to shift from an 'authoritarian' approach to assessment to one which is formative, standards based and continuous (Muller, 2004, p. 231). Pahad (1999) states that a paradigm shift in assessment is required in order to ensure that assessment practices guide, support and underpin our transformative outcomes-based model for education and training (DoE, 1998 cited in Pahad, 1999, p. 247). However, whilst a general understanding of the need for a paradigm shift on assessment policy has been acknowledged, the practical implications of the paradigm shift in assessment are not well understood (Pahad, 1999, p. 247). The complexity of engaging in formative, standards based and continuous assessment and the implication for teaching, competence and equity (Pahad, 1999, p. 248; Bellis, 1999, p. 227) cannot be ignored. Pahad (1999) argues that assessment guidelines and policies cannot be implemented effectively unless teachers understand why they are assessing, what they are assessing and how to assess in a manner appropriate to the purpose of assessment.

Fifthly, Cohen and Spillane (1992) note that with respect to the United States, little is known about the operation of innovative assessments, let alone their effects. In particular, the role of the classroom teacher in possibly inhibiting change and certainly being crucial to its mediation and ultimate success has received relatively little attention (Torrance, 1995, p. 46).

Finally, further motivation for the research is derived from Earl and Katz (2000), who observe that studies of classroom assessment suggest that it is one of the hardest and most consequential areas of a teacher's work that carries a high emotional charge because it is where teachers' relative success becomes visible to parents and to the public at large (Gipps, Hargreaves et al., and Stiggins, cited in Earl and Katz, 2000, p. 98). Understanding how

teachers work through the complexities of new assessment requirements would be an enlightening avenue for understanding how teachers respond to educational change more generally.

1.4.8 Classroom Practice and Justification for Teacher Identity /Subjectivities

Globalisation, results in disembedding mechanisms which impact on individual life and therefore the self (Giddens, 1991). Transformations in self-identity and globalization, are two poles of the dialectic of the local and the global in conditions of high modernity (Giddens, 1991, p. 32). The self is not a passive entity determined by external influences; in forging their self identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications (Giddens, 1991, p. 2). The reflexivity of modernity extends into the core of the self - the self becomes a reflexive project (Giddens, 1991, p. 32). Giddens (1991) explains that an orientation to risk is brought about by abstract systems which deskill in all the sectors of social life that they touch. The deskilling of day-to day life is alienating and fragmenting to the self, because the intrusion of abstract systems, especially expert systems, undermines pre-existing forms of local control (Giddens, 1991).

‘Globalisation’ as represented by the neoliberal discourse of economic change (Fairclough, 2003) is reflected in the growth of economic rationalism which places emphasis on marketability, efficiency and performativity. However, the discourse of social cohesion simultaneously represents people in ways which are foreign to neo-liberal discourse – in terms of their feelings, and their ‘hopes’ and ‘aspirations’ (Fairclough, 2003). These processes demand attention, and teachers have been forced to reconsider their beliefs, values, roles, biographies, and ambitions in ways that they have not anticipated.

Justification for choosing **teacher identity** emerges from Hargreaves (1994) statement about the role of the teacher in educational change. ‘The teacher is the ultimate key to educational

change. Teachers do not merely deliver the curriculum. They develop, define and reinterpret it too. It is what teachers think, what teachers believe and what they do at the level of the classroom that ultimately shapes the kind of learning that young people get' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. ix).

Fullan (1991) states that in highlighting the meaning of educational change, the main implication is that innovations should not be taken for granted. Education policy reforms in schools challenge teachers' existing practices; result in an increased work load for teachers; and do not always pay attention to teachers' identities – arguably central to motivation, efficacy, commitment, job satisfaction and effectiveness (Day, 2002, p. 679).

Jansen (2001) states that policy documents contain powerful images of the idealised teacher: whether implicit or explicit, whether conscious or unconscious, policy-makers hold preferred and cherished images about the end user of an education policy, that is, the teacher. However, policy images of teachers make certain demands on teachers that may conflict with their personal identities as practitioners and this identity conflict might lie at the heart of the implementation dilemma in educational reform (Jansen, 2001). Harley and Parker (1999) have questioned the radical changes in the identities, roles and competences required of teachers if new education policies are to work.

According to Sikes (1992), teachers are not technicians, nor are they mere implementers of policy-makers plans. Similarly, Woods and Jeffrey (2002, p. 104) concur that, the desired outcomes of policy-makers, however politically willed, have to be processed through teachers who have feelings, beliefs, thoughts and cherished ideals; in short, identities.

Lemke (2000) cautions against the insufficiencies of focusing on the destruction of identities without taking into account the production of new modes of subjectivity linked to governmental technologies. Foucault (1982a) argues that human beings are simultaneously free and determined: they freely engage in games of truth and plays of power which determine not only what they do, but who and what they are. There are 'technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain

number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality' (Foucault, 1982a, p. 146).

Foucault's (1982b) major concern is with what can be called loosely 'the philosophy of the subject,' which privileges the subject as the foundation of all knowledge. His philosophical project is to investigate the ways in which discourses and practices have transformed human beings into subjects of a particular kind. Foucault (1982b) is interested in the 'form of power that categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law on him that he must recognize and others must recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects' (Foucault, 1982b, p. 130). For Foucault (1982b), the word 'subject' is systematically ambiguous; it means both being tied to someone else by control and dependence (reasons for government and technics of government, that is, policy images), and being tied to one's own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge (a 'moral' subject-teacher identity). Foucault (1982b) explains that both meanings of subject suggest a form of power that subjugates and makes subject to. In terms of discourse we can say that the subject both speaks and is spoken of.

1.5 Aims of Research

Foucault's notion of biopower, (governmentality and pastoral power) provides an alternative lens through which to view the assessment reform policy as an aspect of changing rationalities of government. Policies that explicate the new conception of the teacher as assessor are namely: The Norms and Standards for Educators (DoE, 2000b); The National Assessment Policy (DoE, 1998) the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) guidelines for Assessment (DoE, 2002) and The National Protocol on Assessment (DoE, 2005). My research seeks to explore some rationalities government as 'regimes of truth' which determine the norms of the 'ideal' teacher as assessor which are referred to as policy images, (Jansen, 2001) assigned social identity, (Woods and Jeffrey, 2002) or official pedagogic identity (Bernstein, 1999).

Secondly, Foucault's notion of governmentality through pastoral power (Fenwick, 2003), suggests that the production of identities occurs through disciplinary power and norms internalized through compulsory visibility and technologies of self. The power of the norm through discipline, 'compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenizes and excludes' (Foucault, 1977, p. 177).

For Foucault, then, we form, we style and modify ourselves, our thoughts and our behaviour, in relation to rules and routines proposed to or imposed on us by forces which subject us, through disciplinary or 'ascetic' (even when 'aesthetic') practices or technologies of the self (Foucault, 1982a; Deacon, 2003). By using Foucault's notion of governmentality and pastoral power as a starting point, I illuminate how discourses operating at the macro-level of economics and politics, affect the lives and identities of individuals (micro-level) and in Foucault's terms, highlight 'ways in which discourses and practices have transformed human beings into subjects of a particular kind.' However, it should be borne in mind that 'uncertainty,' has become a key principle of the interpretive paradigm. The aim of research should not be to prove, but to disprove. Popper's notion of deduction by falsification (cited in Henning et al., 2004, p. 20) serves as a checking device for over subscription to the inductive approach as espoused by Kuhn (1962). The aim of the research is not to provide a battleground for warring paradigms but to use both the inductive and deductive approaches to data analysis in order to explore the creation of subjectivities, and trace the shifts from subjecting to subjectivation. As Giddens (1991, p. 3) argues that in settings of high modernity the self becomes a continuous reflexive project.

1.6 Motivation and Rationale for the Study

In view of the multitude of policies that impinge on teachers, Ball (1994) observes that it is not surprising that, many teachers appear weary and wary, stressed and depressed, alienated and bitter. They are faced with threats to their autonomy and status, and livelihood in some cases, but are expected to respond constructively and intelligently to make sense of the

uncertainties, incoherence and complexity of change (Ball, 1994, pp. 11-12). When policy-makers design policies, teachers are rarely consulted. Even if they are represented by their chosen union, teachers are often left in the background.

The motivation for doing this study emerges from my own identity as a teacher coupled with the research imperative to document as a snapshot, this historic transformation in the education of our country.

The rationale for this research is also to fill in the ‘gaps’ (Goodson, 1992) that exist between the rhetoric of policy and the reality of practice, that is, between policy-makers’ vision and how this vision is perceived and implemented by teachers in the classroom. Jansen (2001) suggests that the dislocation between policy visions and practical realities in schools and classrooms remains a vexing problem to education change theorists.

It is hoped that the study will benefit policy-makers, practitioners and researchers in their quest to make sense of how teachers working within the General Education and Training Band (GET) are likely to interpret and implement assessment policy grand plans. Within the National Qualification Framework, the GET Band is the first band comprising learners from Grades R to Grades 9. There are four phases within the GET band, namely, pre-school; Foundation Phase (learners from Grade 1 to 3); Intermediate Phase (learners from Grades 4 to 6); and Senior Phase (learners from Grades 7 to 9). The study focuses on teachers who teach from Grades 4 to 7 thus incorporating two phases which are the Intermediate and Senior Phases. This will be discussed further in chapter four.

Ball (2003, p. 217) argues that the policy technologies of education reform are not simply vehicles for the technical and structural change of organisations but also mechanisms for reforming teachers and changing what it means to be a teacher, the technologies of reform produce new kinds of teachers. My research hopes to highlight the fact that global changes have a local impact which cannot be ignored if governments and policy-makers wish to

enhance the quality of education by taking into account the identities of teachers who are instrumental in the delivery or materialization of the vision for our society.

1.7 Identity of the Researcher: The Researcher's Biographical Profile

As a researcher, I had to consider the relevance of my own identity to the research. I wish to explicate my position in relation to this study.

My roots are in a working class family. I grew up in a suburb situated in the South of Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal, an area noted for its pollution from neighbouring factories and ranked amongst the most polluted in the world. My father worked as a truck driver and my mother was a housewife. I attended state aided primary and secondary schools. One of the primary schools that I attended had a platoon system where there were morning and afternoon classes because of a lack of space. I remember, sitting under trees on wooden benches listening to lessons. I performed well academically and received awards for my performance according to positions in class. I also enjoyed sport.

During my secondary schooling (Grade 11), I was suspended for participating in the school boycott. Students that were suspended from school were given the opportunity to write the school examinations in a community hall as we were not allowed on the school premises for the rest of that year. I was successful and completed my matric with exemption which allowed me a university entrance.

Tertiary education was possible because of the offer of a bursary to study the Bachelor of Pedagogics. After the completion of my studies, I taught in a school for a period of seventeen years and I had two years experience working as a lecturer in a distance education college. I have always been interested in changes in education and I completed a masters' degree on teachers' perceptions and experiences of Curriculum 2005 in its first year of implementation.

On registering for the study, I had thought that I was about to commence with my long term goal, but little did I realize that I was entering one of the most challenging phases of life: academically, emotionally and spiritually.

During the journey of this research project I had experienced several changes in my own identity. The painful emotions experienced were as a result of resistance to the changes and an illusion that there were more pleasures than pain in life.

The first change was experienced upon my resignation as a teacher. I felt a deep sense of loss for the learners, and surprisingly, for the institution (school) in which I worked.

Foucault's (1977) gruesome description of the dismembering of Damien's body in his opening pages of *Discipline and Punish*, is somewhat received with disdain from the academic world. Why must the academia sanitise the realities of life? Taking my cue from Foucault, I too wish to shatter some research illusions. The first being that once one registers for a PhD, then the study works on auto-pilot. Critical incidents or real life fateful moments certainly impact on one's identity. Upon a provisional registration for the study, I had to care for my diabetic mum who battled with her illness and had her leg amputated. Viewing a cross section of my mum's amputated leg with the broken femur protruding before reconstructive surgery, is certainly not an image that can be erased from my memory. To simultaneously put together a research proposal at that time required nerves of steel. I had to send my mum back to her home in Durban so that I could work on the proposal. She succumbed to her illness and passed away in January 2005. My father also passed away in October of that same year. The change in identity was that I was no longer a daughter.

Changing homes twice in the duration of my study was also very trying. My challenging personal circumstances, sent me reeling to the books. Often, they were not academic ones that I could use directly for my study but they were spiritual ones from which I sought

answers to the meaning of life. The authors of books ranged from, Neal Donald Walsh, Eckhart Tolle, Dianne Cooper, Dr JF Demartini, Gary Chapman, Deepak Chopra and some titles included *The Tibetan Book of the Living and Dying*, *The Power of Now*, *The Breakthrough Experience*, *The Monk who sold his Ferrari*, *The Alchemist* and *The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success*. During the research, I also indulged in reading the work of a literary genius, Paulo Coelho whose books have had a life enhancing impact on me and reportedly millions of others.

During my journey, the universe sent me some wonderful resources and one of them included Victor Frankl's, *Man's Search for Meaning*. The book is based on a man's experience in the Nazi concentration camp in places like the infamous Auschwitz. This text had fed my soul and left me with a renewed sense of optimism. I could see the path of my journey illuminate and the additional bonus was that I could also relate it to changing identities within my research project. Frankl (1984) states: '*we may find meaning in life even when facing a fate that cannot be changed. For what matters is to bear witness to the uniquely human potential at its best, which is, to transform a personal tragedy into a triumph, to turn one's predicament into a human achievement. In some way suffering ceases to be suffering at the moment it finds a meaning ... However, this does not mean that suffering is necessary to find meaning. To suffer unnecessarily is masochistic rather than heroic*' (Frankl, 1984, p. 136).

It must be placed on record at the outset of this thesis, that my use of Viktor Frankl's (1984) book, *Man's Search for Meaning*, by no means is intended to make less the suffering endured by the Holocaust prisoners. The use of the text, *Man's search for Meaning*, is not intended to draw points of relativity in terms of suffering, but to reiterate the symbolism and to revere the choices made by humans in the most extreme circumstances. The parallels and contradictions between the work of Foucault (1954-1984) and Frankl (1984) will be highlighted in the thesis.

The resistance to the perceived change in identity led to a sense of deep loss and the resultant stages of the process such as shock and denial. However, embracing the changes in my own identity has left me feeling grateful for all the experiences that I have had which offered me

opportunity to grow. Hence, I wish to disclose that my presentation of this thesis involves more than wearing an academic hat since deep spiritual changes with the resultant residues have altered my philosophy of life. My approach to the participants commenced with the notion of some separateness. Whilst I aligned myself to their identities as teachers, I also saw myself as both an insider and outsider. Through my own soul searching, I have reached the point where I see individuals in balance, with both the negatives and the positives. I accept and disclose that through my analysis of the data, parts of myself and discourses in my life that I have both ‘owned and disowned’ (Demartini, 2002) have emerged.

The following extract from Paulo Coelho’s fiction novel, *The Zahir*, aptly describes my personal journey throughout this research process:

‘When I had nothing to lose, I was given everything. When I ceased to be who I am, I found myself. When I experienced humiliation and yet kept on walking, I understood that I was free to choose my destiny,’ (Coelho, 2006, p. 81).

It is argued that ‘lest the true meaning of the text should elude him, the reader must plumb the impenetrable depth of the author’s spiritual experience’ (Bauman, 1978, p.10). In terms of understanding, Bauman (1978) cites Husserl’s argument about the possibility of freeing meaning from its tradition bound context in what he describes as ‘transcendental subjectivity.’

In this research study, I make use of the word *dharma* which is a Sanskrit word meaning the higher purpose in life, work or profession or the spiritual ideal to which one is committed (Chopra, 1993, pp. 313-314). The root word of ‘*dharma*,’ according to Chopra (1993), is a verb that means to ‘uphold’ and he explains that it is *dharma* that upholds the universe. Dharma is not a religious set of teachings but an actual force that distinguishes us as humans and makes order out of chaos (Chopra, 1993, p. 314). In this research study the word *dharma* will be used to refer to ‘life purpose.’

The identity of the researcher becomes relevant to the study in several ways. Firstly, it influences the selection of the topic or research area. The researcher is likely to conduct a project which chimes with her personal interests, sympathies and political beliefs (Wetherell et al., 2001a, 17). Wetherell et al. (2001a) note that the researcher's special interests and personal links to the topic are not in themselves sufficient basis for research, but they are probable starting points for a project.

Educational research in post apartheid South Africa cannot avoid confronting the issue of 'change.' I am interested in tracing and documenting this process of change especially as it relates to the shaping of teacher identities. My background and experience as a teacher for a period of about seventeen years and my experience of working with teachers at a tertiary level has had a direct bearing on my interest in teacher identity and this research project.

Secondly, I note that the ontological and epistemological position that the researcher holds also impacts on the research and analytical strategies. Hence, my 'logic of discernment' articulates my research strategy as a researcher based on the authoritative guidance of scholars (external guiding logic) in the relevant fields as well as my own experience and intuitive sense (an internal guiding logic).

Thirdly, as a researcher my aim is to strive for legitimacy and authenticity rather than validity. Legitimacy and authenticity emerges from my 'logic of discernment' which advocates for transparency of research strategies which invariably enhances validity. I make known to the best of my knowledge and experience, my biases or prejudices, weaknesses and strengths. I note the impossibility of totally objective reality and do not make claims of 'truth.'

1.8 Limitations and Deviations within the Research Study

The discourse of educational reform or policy reform in South Africa is a very wide area of research of which the discourse of assessment reform is a fraction. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the impact of the multitude of discourses and its impact on the constitution of teacher identity. The various discourses are inextricably linked to each other, therefore reconstitution of identity cannot be attributed solely to assessment reform. However, within this tapestry of policy reform the thread of assessment reform and its impact on the constitution of teacher identity will be highlighted.

Secondly, the study highlights the dialectic between the global and the local. Whilst the context of the study alludes to the effects of apartheid and unequal contexts, the study is not approached specifically from a perspective of social justice although it is inherent. A post-structural view is taken and the approach is one of social constructionism.

In keeping with my research aim, I deviate in conventional terms of presentation without sacrificing authenticity or ‘validity’ that is valued in the research community. In terms of the complexity and messiness of working within the qualitative research tradition, I have opted to blend the raw data with findings and discussion. Chapter six is a lengthy chapter which is demarcated into sections, dealing with specific aspects of the participants’ lives and practices of assessment. I give a concise summary at the end of each section highlighting the key points of discussion. Attention is drawn to Bauman’s (1978) discussion of the role of intellectuals in society and Foucault’s (1976) claim that it is not possible to gain access to universal truth, since it is impossible to talk from a position outside discourse. I heed the comment of Bauman (1978) and I challenge Foucault’s (1976) claim in this study. I have adhered to research principles of authenticity in presenting the voices of teachers through the key research question and I am guided by Stake’s (1995) claim that the function of research is not necessarily to map and conquer the world but, to sophisticate the beholding of it.

1.9 Organisation of this Thesis

In chapter one, I contextualize my study against the backdrop of South Africa's dual challenge of political redress and global and economic imperatives for educational change. Using Foucault's notion of governmentality, I discuss the impact of the macro-level forces of globalization, modernity, neoliberalism and consequent market related goals towards efficiency and production towards South African policy development and suggest that this filters through to teachers at a micro-level in the classrooms. I provide justification for selecting the new assessment reform and its links to teacher identity. A biographical profile of myself as researcher and the subjectivities that have guided my decisions are explicated. I also outline limitations and deviations of the study to the best of my knowledge.

Chapter two reviews the work of scholars that have contributed to the body of research knowledge and have defined and clarified concepts. Key concepts are explicated, firstly in terms of its conceptualization and then its applicability to relevant studies. Research studies are explored from national as well as international perspectives, highlighting research areas and constructs that resonate with my study in order to build on existing literature.

In chapter three, I delineate the various selected frameworks in an attempt to bring synergy to the data. I piece together the work of Foucault emphasizing his conception of power in its productivity rather being an object to be possessed. The various forms in which power (bio-power comprising governmentality, pastoral power, and disciplinary power) is manifested and their respective techniques are elucidated. Furthermore, the link between power, knowledge, discourse and the subject is discussed and some areas in which the theory could be elaborated on is noted. The chapter argues for the relevance of Giddens's (1991) work on the self in modernity raising issues of deskilling, security and trust. I also outline the work of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) on discourse theory. Other theories that throw light on identity formation such as Wenger's (1998) community of practice, Bourdieu's (1977) concept of Habitus, Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs and finally, work done on logotherapy by Viktor E. Frankl (1984) in his book *Man's Search for Meaning*.

In chapter four, I describe the approach of the study giving an account of methodology and research design, indicating measures taken to ensure authenticity and adherence principles

towards validity. I record some of the difficulties in gaining access to institutions and solutions arrived at in order to get the research started. Drawing from Foucault's notion of pastoral power, I argue for the use of 'confession' as both a methodological and theoretical construct. I explicate the research design and methodologies in detail giving examples from the data wherever possible. My analytical strategy, drawn from the work of varied scholars with the aim of weaving the strands of data to a meaningful whole, is explicated.

Chapter five contextualizes my research by focusing on the research institutions and an introduction of the participants in my study. I emphasise the fact that the context is more than the physical environment but is constituted by the relationships of members in the institute and the overall ethos of the school. As each participant is unique, I use my 'logic of discernment,' to introduce the participants in varied ways.

Chapter six is the heart and soul of this thesis. This chapter is divided into eight sections, including the introduction. Sections one to five explore biographical aspects in the creation of 'habitus' that participants have disclosed through narratives of self. Through the data obtained on early biography, cultural and historical influences, and the effects of disciplinary techniques aimed at docility are highlighted. The first five sections explicate the multitude of factors that impact on the teacher's sense of self and illuminates how changing policies contribute to paradigm shifts and changing identities. Sections six to eight are lengthy sections which focus on nodal points of assessment and how these have intersected with the lives of individual teachers. Governmentality at a micro-level of the individual teacher is highlighted through techniques of pastoral power such as the confession.

In chapter seven, I reflect on the research process by highlighting how strands of discourses, forms of power, knowledge, political rationalities, culture, economics, habitus, socio-historical circumstances and the power of agency have been drawn together to illuminate how governmentality, initiated at the level of the state and globally, intersects with lives of teachers as they govern themselves as part of care of self. I also focus on the role of researcher in this project and the implications of the research findings.

1.10 Chapter Summary

In chapter one, I argued that South Africa's dual challenge of political redress and global and economic imperatives for educational change in South Africa, provide the context for my study. Using Foucault's notion of governmentality, I explicated some rationalities of government such as the macro-level forces of globalization, modernity, neoliberalism and consequent market related goals towards efficiency and productivity that have influenced techniques of government, namely the production of policies. I provided justification for selecting the new assessment reform policy as the selected discourse for investigating the constitution of teacher identity arguing that it is not the only discourse that impacts on teachers. In this chapter, I also presented a biographical profile of myself as researcher and the subjectivities that have guided my decisions are explicated. I also outlined limitations and deviations within the study and emphasised my aim to strive for authenticity and transparency throughout the research process.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review literature that serves to locate this study in the wider field of educational research that has investigated how teachers' identities are metamorphosed through changing discourses of policy reform, with special reference to assessment reform and the critical question that informs my study which is '*Within the historical context of the current wave of curriculum reform in South Africa, how is teacher identity constituted in the discourses of assessment reform?*' Literature exploring assessment from national and global perspectives will be highlighted, identifying aspects that can be explored within my study. The central concept of teacher identity will be explicated, firstly in terms of its conceptualization and then its applicability to relevant studies.

2.2 Governmentality Studies within the South African Context

Christie (2005) applies Foucault's notion of governmentality to educational restructuring in post-apartheid South Africa. While endorsing the importance of historical forces in shaping change, and the importance of policy discourses in mediating between what is and what might be, Christie (2005) suggests that policy discourses by themselves do not provide a complete account of the task of what government entails. She argues that the nature of government in a modern state entails engaging with particular practices and ways of thinking which themselves set limits to the changes that are conceivable and credible (Christie, 2005, p. 374). Christie (2005) adopts, partially, Foucault's notion of governmentality which addresses both the practices by which modern governments exercise control over their populations, and the rationalities by which these practices appear normal. Foucault's (1982b) much quoted maxim which refers to government as the 'conduct of conduct,' or the power to act on the actions of others is cited by Christie (2005). Christie (2005) suggests that Foucault's approach to questioning normalizations might yield alternative accounts of the exercise of governmental power in changing education. Rather than using an overarching

theory, Christie proposes a range of theoretical framings for critical engagement with educational change (Christie, 2005, p. 380), which has been heeded in this study.

In the South African context, the work of Tikly (2001; 2003) is noted in terms of its explication of macro imperatives of governmentality especially with regard to policy development and production. I note his contribution and highlight the need for micro level workings of governmentality. In the fledgling democracy of our country, research aimed at the micro-level of implementation serves to bring teachers' voices as a counterpoint to the existing silence on such issues.

2.3 The South African Education Policy Reform

One of the challenges faced by the government of national unity was the radical transformation of the apartheid educational terrain through the discourse of policy reform. In post-apartheid South Africa, 'curriculum revision', according to Chisholm (2003), 'was undertaken in three stages or waves. Chisholm (2003) explains that the first involved the 'cleansing' of the curriculum of its racist and sexist elements in the immediate aftermath of the [1994] election. The second involved the implementation of outcomes-based education through Curriculum 2005 (Chisholm, 2003). The third involved the review and revision of Curriculum 2005 in the light of recommendations made by the Ministerial Review Committee appointed in 2000 (DoE, 2002; Chisholm, 2003, p.1).

According to Jansen (1999a), outcomes-based education has triggered the single most important curriculum controversy in the history of South African Education. In 1997, the Minister of Education unveiled Curriculum 2005, 'the national curriculum for the 21st century' (DoE, 1997c, p. 1). At the launch of Curriculum 2005, there was much confusion about what is meant by 'Curriculum 2005' (Jansen, 1999a, p. 9). Jansen (1999a) explains that to some departmental officials, Curriculum 2005 (DoE, 1997c) and Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) implied the same thing. To some academics, however, Curriculum 2005 (DoE, 1997c) is a model for teaching effectiveness whereby goals of a broad and progressive

approach to education is outlined. Outcomes-based education, is a means of achieving learning efficiency, that is, OBE is simply a ‘methodology’ for achieving goals stipulated in Curriculum 2005 (Jansen, 1999a, p. 9).

The founder of term outcome[s]-based education (OBE), Spady (1994), explains that OBE means clearly focusing and organising everything in an educational system around what is essential for all students to be able to do successfully at the end of their learning experiences. In Spady’s (1994) view ‘outcomes involve actual doing, rather than just knowing or a variety of other purely mental processes [and] they must be defined according to the actions or demonstration processes being sought’ (Spady, 1994, p. 2). Jansen (1999) remarks that to persons like Spady, Curriculum 2005 is an educational invention of South Africans which has nothing to do with OBE, since the latter is about outcomes and not concerned with the organisational or curricular inputs which define them (Jansen, 1999a, p. 9).

Spady (1994) outlines three key assumptions of OBE which are:

- all students can learn and succeed, but not on the same day and in the same way;
- successful learning promotes even more successful learning; and
- schools control the conditions that directly affect successful school learning (Spady, 1994, p.9).

Spady (1994) also articulates four principles of OBE which are clarity of focus; expanded opportunity to support learning; high expectations for all to succeed; and design down from outcomes.

The main design features of Curriculum 2005 includes an outcomes-based approach; an integrated knowledge system where school ‘subjects’ are substituted by eight ‘learning areas’ introduced for Grades 1 to 9; and a learner-centred pedagogy (DoE, 1997c; Harley and Wedekind, 2004, p. 197). A critique of Curriculum 2005 by the Review Committee revealed amongst other findings, a skewed curriculum structure and design as well as a lack of alignment between curriculum and assessment policy (Chisholm, 2003, p.4).

Recommendations by the Review Committee included changes to learning areas and the reintroduction of history; the development of a Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) (DoE, 2002) which would promote conceptual coherence; have a clear structure and be written in clear language; and promote the values of a society striving towards social justice, equity and development through the development of creative, critical and problem-solving individuals (Chisholm, 2003, p. 5).

The educational changes in terms of curriculum and assessment policies impact primarily on teachers. Teachers are in a rather 'strange position of being simultaneously both the subject and object of change' (Sikes, 1992, p. 32). Teachers are required to change themselves and what they do to meet the specifications laid down by policy-makers, as exemplified in the changing roles and responsibilities of teachers, stipulated in the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) (DoE, 2000b).

In February 2000, the Minister gazetted a new Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE). This was supplemented in September 2000 by the Criteria for the Recognition and Evaluation of Qualifications for employment in education (CREQ). The norms, standards and criteria provide a generic picture of a teacher and the required competences, together with guidelines for the development of learning programmes aligned with the new outcomes-based National Qualifications Framework (Parker, 2003, p. 24).

De Clercq (1997a; 1997b) uses three concepts to provide a useful analysis of South African education policy: symbolic, regulative and procedural discourses. The Norms and Standards for Educators have a largely **symbolic** function presenting a holistic picture of **an ideal teacher** towards which curricula should aim. The regulative functions of teacher education policy are carried by the CREQ and labour law and regulations. The procedural functions showing who is responsible for what and how these responsibilities should be carried out are indicated explicitly in key Acts: The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act of 1995, the National Education Policy Act of 1996, the Higher Education Act of 1997, and the Skills Development Act of 1998 (Parker, 2003).

According to Parker (2003), The Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) promotes an outcomes-based approach to teacher education and provides a detailed description of what a competent educator can demonstrate. In the NSE policy, it is stipulated that:

‘The cornerstone of this Norms and Standards Policy is the notion of applied competence and its associated assessment criteria. Applied competence is the overarching term for three interconnected kinds of competence which are explicated as follows:

***Practical competence** is the demonstrated ability, in an authentic context, to consider a range of possibilities for action, make considered decisions about which possibility to follow, and to perform the chosen action. It is grounded in **foundational competence** where the learner can demonstrate an understanding of the knowledge and thinking that underpins the action taken; and integrated through **reflexive competence** in which the learner demonstrates the ability to integrate or connect performances and decision making with understanding and with the ability to adapt to change and unforeseen circumstances and to explain the reasons behind these adaptations’ (DoE, 2000b, p. 10).*

It is within the notion of applied competence that the official pedagogic identity (Bernstein, 1996) resides and teacher’s sense of self (professional and personal) is constituted and reconstituted. Whilst the image of the ideal teacher is conceived by the policy-maker, there is limited research on how teachers play out this role in practice and perceive their own identity.

According to Baxen and Soudien (1999, p. 138), OBE policy is presented as ‘a script for modernity.’ The emphasis of the policy is on performance in the schools, classrooms, management and support services of the schooling system to facilitate the implementation of Curriculum 2005 (and subsequent revisions of curriculum) by training educators who have the knowledge, skills and values to make learning in schools more relevant to the economic and social needs of South Africa.

The NSE (DoE, 2000b) defines seven roles that an educator must be able to perform, and describes in detail the knowledge, skills and values that are necessary to perform these roles successfully. The seven roles are: learning mediator; interpreter and designer of learning programmes; leader, administrator and manager; scholar, researcher and lifelong learner; assessor; a community, citizen and pastoral role; and a learning area/ subject/ discipline/ phase specialist (Parker, 2003, p. 29).

According to the NSE (DoE, 2000b) the role of educator as assessor is as follows:

The educator will understand that assessment is an essential feature of the teaching and learning process. The educator will have an understanding of the purposes, methods and effects of assessment and be able to provide helpful feedback to learners. The educator will design and manage both formative and summative assessment in ways that are appropriate to the level and purpose of the learning and meet the requirements of accrediting bodies. The educator will understand how to interpret and use assessment results to feed into processes for the improvement of learning programmes (DoE, 2000b, p.14).

Parker (2003) further explains that together the seven roles are seen as constituting a picture of the knowledge, skills and values that are the hallmark of a competent and professional educator. The roles are linked strongly to developmental appraisal, career pathing and grading and to performance management. There are also strong commitments to ethics and values education, to environmental education, inclusive education and HIV/ AIDS education.

South Africa's outcomes-based NQF has been projected as learner-centred. Parker (2003) explains that learners construct their own knowledge, skills and values and the role of the teacher is diminished to being a facilitator to the learners' self-driven search. Not only is there a strong emphasis on performance (on what learners can demonstrate), but the origin of these performances lies in the learners and in their socially constructed knowledge of the world. The teacher is merely a facilitator who helps create an environment for learners to build their knowledge. The research on changing roles of teachers is covered in Christie and

Jansen (1999). Teachers are no longer referred to as teachers but rather educators and pupils, learners (Parker, 2003).

The DoE, in the role of employer, has articulated what it means to be an educator in the teacher developmental appraisal documents and has put in place the symbolic and regulatory elements of a policy aimed at creating an 'ideal educator.'

According to Parker (2003), the NSE and CREQ form only a part of the legislative and regulative framework responsible for shaping the curriculum of teacher education. Regulations that cover job descriptions, workload, misconduct and incapacity are significant since for the first time it gives the employer the legal means to demand accountability, competence and performance from its employees. A key example of this was the establishment of the South African Council of Educators (SACE) in 1996 and the promulgation of the SACE Act of 2000.

Wong (2007) aptly states that average values as norms, are no mere arithmetic constructs since these have real effects in peoples' lives: normal connotes health, abnormal suggests deviance. Teachers then are encouraged to mould themselves according to such norms.

Parker's (2003) explication of the new measures of accountability for teachers' professionalism must be borne in mind when considering the impact of the discourse of policy reform on teacher identity. Since the inception of the NQFs, NSE and SAQA, there has been a dearth of research to trace its impact on teachers, either directly or indirectly.

Amidst the policy changes faced by teachers, is the role of teacher as assessor as identified in the NSE (DoE, 2000b).

2.4 Bernstein's Language of Description

The effect of globalization and neo-liberalism on policy reform has been discussed at length highlighting the influence of global governmentality amongst leading nations of the world. The implication of policy borrowing is that global trends in assessment have had a marked effect on South African policy. Bernstein's (1996) language of description provides a useful frame for understanding the shifting paradigms that have dominated global discourse on assessment. Bernstein's (1996) work explicating key constructs of classification, framing, competence and performance models will be reviewed to emphasise changing trends in assessment.

2.4.1 Classification and Framing

According to Bernstein (1996), power and control are embedded in each other. **Power** constructs relations *between* categories and **control** and relations *within* given forms of interaction. Bernstein (1996) uses the term **classification** to examine relations between categories, whether these categories are between agencies, between agents, between discourses or between practices. Classification between categories is strong if these are well insulated. A collection code, exemplifies strong classification and strong frames. An integrated code, exemplifies weak classification and weak frames (Bernstein, 1996, pp. 19-24).

According to Bernstein (1996), **framing** refers to controls on communication in local, interactional pedagogic situations such as that between teacher and pupil. When framing is strong, the transmitter has explicit control over selection, sequence, pacing, criteria and the social base. Where framing is weak the acquirer has more apparent control over the communication. Strong framing, generally, is typical of a visible pedagogic practice, where the instructional and regulative discourses are explicit. Where framing is weak (progressive), we are likely to have an invisible pedagogic practice, and the rules of regulative and instructional discourse are implicit, and largely unknown to the acquirer (Bernstein, 1998, p. 28).

2.4.2 Performance and Competence models

According to Muller (1998), amongst the formal intentions of Outcomes-Based Education (OBE), is the promotion of an acquisition- competence model rather than a transmission – content model of education, with learning sites set to become less specialized and more decentralised. Bernstein (1996, p. 71) argues that within the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF), performance modes were based on the concept of deficit, whereas competence modes were considered to be based on the concept of empowerment.

Bernstein (1996, p. 56) summarises the key features of competence theories as having in-built procedural democracy, creativity and virtuous self-regulation. He asserts that if it is not in-built, the procedures arise out of, and contribute to a social practice, with a creative potential.

The competence model has become more appealing within the pedagogic re-contextualising field (Bernstein, 1996). The main characteristics of Bernstein's competence model for OBE are outlined by Taylor et al. (2003):

- It assumes a universal democracy of acquisition: all learners are assumed to be inherently competent with no deficits only differences.
- The learner is assumed to be self-regulating and his or her development is not advanced by formal instruction.
- Any hierarchical conception of teaching is treated with suspicion: teaching should not go beyond facilitation, accommodation and context management (Taylor et al., 2003, p.4).

According to Bernstein (1996) a performance model places emphasis upon particular outputs or texts that the acquirer is expected to produce, and specialized skills necessary for the production of these outputs. In terms of the categories of discourse, space and time,

performance models are strongly classified with explicit structures. The mode of the instructional discourse itself embeds acquirers in a disciplining regulation where deviance is highly visible (Bernstein, 1996, pp. 58-59).

In Bernstein's (1996) language of description, the categories of discourse, space and time, are weakly classified in competence models. The absence of explicit structures and classifications makes both the possibility and use of positional control a low priority strategy. Control is likely to inhere in personalized forms (which vary with each acquirer), which are realized in the forms of communication which focus upon the intentions, dispositions, relations and reflexivity of the acquirer (Bernstein, 1996, pp. 58-59).

Competence models, according to Bernstein (1996), require a relatively high degree of autonomy on the part of the teachers and institutions in order to respond to the needs of particular pupils. Bernstein (1996) explains that in terms of evaluation within the competence model, the teacher is more likely to look at what is present in the acquirer's product. In performance models, the emphasis is on what is missing in the product (a deficit). Performance model, demands that acquirers' performance is subordinate to external regulation. In the latter case, accountability is facilitated by the 'objectivity' of the performance – in the sense that the rules of recognition and realization are clearly explicated (Taylor et al., 2003, p. 5).

The pedagogic resources required by competency models are less likely to be pre-packaged as textbooks or teaching routines. The resources are likely to be constructed by teachers and autonomy is required for such construction. Competency models are less susceptible to public scrutiny and accountability, relative to performance models, as their products are more difficult to evaluate objectively (Bernstein, 1996, p.62).

Using Bernsteinian language of description, Muller (1998) argues that OBE marks a shift from a visible to invisible pedagogy and entails a new though problematic invisibility of the

pedagogue. In competence models 'the transmitter or pedagogue must be seen to direct the pedagogic process as undirectively as possible' (Muller, 1998, p.186).

Literature on the performance and competence models indicates that their differences are far from subtle. Whilst OBE advocates a competence model, the achievement of outcomes within specified time frames is representative of a performance model. The changing teacher identities in response to the hybrid discourse of the competence and performance model of assessment is explored.

Some international trends in the area of assessment are reviewed to see whether the paradigm shift required of teachers is justified in terms of international comparisons.

2.5 International Trends in Assessment

Literature on international trends in assessment from Australia, the United States, England and Wales have shown a move away from solely using traditional paper and pencil tests to one that is authentic, formative and learning integrated (Broadfoot, 1995).

Curriculum developers have realised that real change will not take place in schools if traditional paper-and-pencil tests, be they essay or multiple choice, remain unchanged to exert a constraining influence on how teachers and learners approach new curricula (Torrance, 1995, p. ix). 'Authentic assessment' is a generic term which is gaining international currency to describe a range of assessment tasks designed for students which are more practical, realistic and challenging than what one might call 'traditional' paper-and-pencil tests. This does not imply that traditional paper-and-pencil tests are abandoned completely as these can be, and often still are, set or administered by teachers in schools (Torrance, 1995). According to Broadfoot (1995), the changing assessment culture prioritises the promotion of higher and more appropriate learning outcomes rather than the search for the most accurate ways of measuring these. Broadfoot (1995) elaborates that international comparisons show that there is an increasing emphasis on formative, learning-integrated

assessment throughout the process of education. There is also an increasing emphasis on describing learning outcomes in terms of particular standards achieved as an indicator of the quality of educational provision, whether this is at the level of the individual classroom, the institution, the state, the nation or for international comparisons.

Another element of policy borrowing in assessment is that of the portfolio. In the British education system in the 1980s, the system of assessment was reformed on the premise that the key to personal development lies in encouraging the motivation of pupils (Ranson et al., 1987). They explain that assessment based solely on examinations was reviewed since examinations, it is argued, is designed to fail more students than they pass and this failure undermines the very motivation which is the secret to learning. Thus a system which provides the student with a portfolio was devised. The portfolio includes: examination; graded assessments and personal record of achievement. The portfolio of records, tests and exams is designed to celebrate the positive achievements of each student. The assessments can then be used formatively to reinforce confidence as well as council about future learning opportunities (Ranson et al., 1987, p. 10).

2.6 Assessment in South Africa

The effects of global policy trends have been noted in the development of assessment trends in South Africa. Muller (2004) observes that, ‘assessment during the apartheid era was norm-referenced, summative and aggregative’ and was characterised by paper-and-pencil tests that emphasised academic exercises and the recall of textbook knowledge (Vandeyar and Killen, 2003). Assessment was characterised by a strong collection code (Bernstein, 1996), which is exemplified by strong boundaries among subjects and between teacher and learner. Learner assessment for the various subjects (learning areas) was done independently of each other. Assessment was generally separated from instruction and invariably took the form of assessing isolated or fragmented knowledge and skills. Furthermore, it was based largely on a performance model that highlighted the deficits in the acquirer.

The ideas of continuous assessment (CASS), borrowed largely from the UK, entered policy discourse after the 1994 elections, ‘without any teacher preparation and with minimal guidelines on how this could be achieved’ (Jansen, 1999a, p. 7). In Curriculum 2005, the progressive classroom is conceived as operating within a weak classification of subject disciplines through its integrated, ‘child centred’ curriculum, and an apparently weak classification of the boundaries between teacher (or transmitter of knowledge) and pupil (as acquirer of knowledge) (Bourne, 2003, p. 498). According to Pahad (1999), several broad principles of assessment that have emerged from policy (DoE, 1998) include the need to use assessment formatively and developmentally, to make the assessment criteria explicit and the assessment process transparent. Where the acquirer (learner) has more control over the features of the environment, framing is weak. The role of the learner changes to that of assessor when the learner is involved in self, peer or group assessment. The weakened framing also allows learner’s opportunities to negotiate or contest the assessment. In Curriculum 2005, framing appears to be weak (progressive), giving learners more apparent control over their learning and assessment in all respects – except in relation to assessment *criteria*. The assessment criteria, (outcomes) represent the only domain in which the transmitter (the National Department of Education and not the teacher) has control and framing is strong (Harley and Parker, 1999).

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) for Grades R-9 released in May 2002 introduced several important changes to proposed assessment practices in schools. For each grade of schooling, there is a set of *assessment standards* that define the levels of knowledge, skills and attitudes that learners will be required to demonstrate as evidence that they have achieved each phase outcome at an appropriate depth and breadth (conceptual coherence). This means that in each phase while the *learning outcomes* remain the same from grade to grade while *assessment standards* change. The use of an *integrated code* leads to a wide repertoire of assessment techniques and thus varying learner attributes may have to be evaluated. This makes new cognitive demands on teachers and learners, which subsequently impacts on teachers’ roles and identities.

In summary, South African literature on classroom assessment, like that of its international counterpart shows a move towards formative assessment and the notion of integrating teaching, learning and assessment (Vandeyar and Killen, 2003).

2.7 Some Difficulties in Teachers' Implementation of Assessment

Some themes have emerged from literature on teachers' response to assessment reform. In an international comparative perspective on outcomes-based assessment, Combrink (2003) qualitatively assessed the realities and problems related to outcomes-based assessment from an international perspective by interviewing a sample of officials in Australia, New Zealand and America and his findings indicate that a major problem in all three countries was a lack of in-service training or inadequate training which made teachers feel incompetent. Teachers have been reported to lack guidance and /or skills - real or perceived- to implement classroom assessment (Pennycuick, Brown, Bazzini, and Emery cited in Lubisi, 2000). Another theme that has emerged from literature is that the new assessment increases the workload of teacher (Combrink, 2003; Jansen, 1999b) and that teachers' practices may be influenced by time - real or perceived- it takes to design, grade and record results of classroom assessment (Pennycuick, Broadfoot et al., and Emery, cited in Lubisi, 2000). In the South African context, the intensification of the teacher's workload due to assessment practices is documented by Chisholm et al. (2005). According to Torrance (1995), considerable resentment was expressed by teachers in the UK at the extra workload involved in assessment.

As a precursor to reviewing studies on teacher identity, I explore literature that explicates the concept of identity, roles, teacher identity, official pedagogic identity (assigned social identity, policy images).

2.8 Identity: Exploring Some Definitions

Identity is a multifarious concept. In broad terms, however, identity is ‘a person’s sense of self; an idea of one’s self as a unique being, developed out of various roles’ (Cardwell, 2000, p.129). Similarly, identity is defined by Rycroft as ‘the sense of one’s continuous being as an entity distinguishable from all others’ (cited in Page et al., 1977). According to Castells (1997), identity is people’s source of meaning and experience.

Castells (1997) distinguishes between **identity** and **roles**. Roles are defined by norms structured by the institutions and organizations of society. Identities are sources of meaning for actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation. Identities can also originate from dominant institutions and they become identities only when and if social actors internalize them, and construct their meaning around this internalization. Identities are stronger sources of meaning than roles, because of the process of self-construction and individuation that they involve. Identities organize meaning while roles organize the functions (Castells, 1997, p. 7). Meaning is defined by Castells (1997) as the symbolic identification by a social actor of the purpose of her /his action.

According to Castells (1997), from a sociological perspective, all identities are constructed. The real issue is how, from what, by whom and for what. The social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relationships. Castells (1997) describes three forms of identity. *Legitimising identities*: are introduced and sustained by the dominant institutions of society to secure control; *resistance identities*: are generated on the margins, in opposition, by the excluded; *project identities*: are formed when social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their positions in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure.

The work of Castells (1997) is useful, firstly, in providing a distinction between identity and role which has often been misinterpreted to be synonymous, and secondly, in the social

construction of identity, I am able to place my research within the sphere of *project identities* as per Castells's definition.

Woods and Jeffrey (2002) use the term *social identities* which, are attributed or imputed to others in an attempt to place or situate them as social objects. Woods and Jeffrey (2002) have adopted the notion of '**assigned social identity**' as one that policy makers wished teachers to adopt. Jansen (2001) uses the terms '**policy images**' to refer to the official projections through various policy texts of what the ideal teacher looks like. Bernstein refers to reform at the state level in terms of a struggle to *project official pedagogic identities* (Bernstein and Solomon, 1999). Thus official pedagogic identity is an official image of a desired pedagogic identity of the teacher (Bernstein, 1996) or an assigned social identity (Woods and Jeffrey, 2002) or a policy image (Jansen, 2001) and not a constructed reality.

Personal identities refer to the 'meanings attributed to the self by the actor', and are 'self designations and self attributions brought into play during the course of interaction' (Woods and Jeffrey, 2002, p. 90). Similarly, Jansen (2001) defines 'personal identities' as the understandings that teachers hold of themselves in relation to official policy images (Jansen, 2001, p. 242). The personal identity may be consistent or inconsistent with the official projected identity (OPI).

Jansen (2001) cites Spillane et al. who define **teacher identities** as their sense of self as well their knowledge and beliefs, dispositions, interests, and orientation towards work and change. Teacher identities could be described as the way teachers feel about themselves professionally, emotionally and politically given the conditions of their work (Jansen, 2001). Jansen (2001) explicates this further: The **professional** basis for teacher identity refers to ways in which teachers understand their capacity to teach as a result of inter alia, subject matter competence, levels of training and preparation, and formal qualifications. This relates to teachers' understanding of their capacity to implement a proposed policy.

The **emotional** basis for teacher identity refers to the ways in which teachers' understand their capacity to handle the emotional demands made on them by a new policy in the context of existing stresses and pressures.

The **political** basis for teacher identity refers to the ways in which teachers understand and act on their value commitments, personal backgrounds and professional interests in the context of change demand.

According to Jansen (2001) these propositions were selected for building the construct of teacher identity not only because these elements remain neglected in the general literature on teacher change, but because they are particularly appropriate under conditions of teaching and learning in developing countries. The impact of post apartheid curriculum, assessment and policy change on teachers' working lives is a recurrent theme in the work of Jansen, who is described by Chisholm et al. (2005) as a doyen of South African education. These propositions outlined by Jansen (2001) serve as a starting point to which elements such as teachers' purposes, values and will to meaning are included.

The 'self-concept' is the over-arching view of oneself as a physical, social, spiritual, or moral being' (Woods and Jeffrey, 2002). Kelchtermans (1993) suggests that the professional self, like the personal self, evolves over time and that it consists of five interrelated parts: *Self-image*: how teachers describe themselves through their career stories; *Self-esteem*: the evolution of self as a teacher, in terms of good or otherwise as defined by self or others; *Job-motivation*: what makes teachers choose, remain committed to or leave the job; *Task perception*: how teachers define their jobs; *Future perspective*: teachers' expectations for future development of their jobs (Kelchtermans, 1993, pp. 449-450). Teachers' identities are closely bound with their professional and personal values and aspirations. Where teachers are opposed to the values embodied in imposed change, it is difficult for them to adjust to new roles and work patterns (Woods and Jeffrey, 2002).

From a macro- sociological perspective, Giddens (1991) states that *self-identity* is not a distinctive trait possessed by the individual. It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography (Giddens, 1991, p. 53). In the context of post-traditional order, the self becomes a reflexive project (Giddens, 1991, p. 32). Giddens (1991) explains how ‘late modernity’ impacts on this reflexive project. In Giddens’ terms, ‘one of the distinctive features of modernity is an increasing inter-connection between the two extremes of *extensionality* and *intentionality*: *globalising* influences on the one hand and *personal dispositions* on the other’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 1). The more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options. Reflexively organized life-planning becomes a central feature of the structuring of self-identity (Giddens, 1991, p. 5).

The concept of identity, which is broad and all encompassing has been explored by several researchers as listed in the literature thus far. By reviewing the work of multiple scholars, I am able to select the approach to be used in this study which is as follows:

Identity is not fixed, absolute, pre-given or static (Walker, 2001, p. 79; Day, 2002, p. 689; Cross, 1999, p. 220), ‘but rather a product of historically specific practices of social regulation’ (Henriques et al., 1984, p. 12), in continual construction and reconstruction. Day (2002) concurs that identity is an amalgam of personal biography, culture, social influence and institutional values which may change according to the role and circumstance. Identities shift and fragment across ‘discourses, practices and positions’ and are constantly in the process of change and transformation’ (Hall, 1990, p. 4) that works to destabilize identities. We are all, then, located in a myriad power relations at the micro-level of society, and in a complex web of discourses that offers many ways of seeing and being (Walker, 2001). It is the last statement that is central to my study and is defined further in terms of Foucault’s work on identities/ subjectivities to be discussed in chapter three which provides the theoretical framework.

The overlap, contradictions and coherences between the forces of the teacher education programme and teachers' own biographies in the particular context of the changing contextual environment of educational change, according to Samuel (2003), have been examined by researchers in South Africa. This research tradition focusing on teacher experiences and teacher identity has been variously named by academics as 'teacher thinking,' 'teacher learning,' 'teacher decision-making,' 'teacher knowledge,' 'teacher socialisation' or 'teacher identity and role formation' (Lewin et al., 2003, p. 10).

2.9 Teacher Identity Studies in South Africa

This literature review uncovers the research studies that attempt to 'get inside the minds' (Thomas, 1995) of teachers as they negotiate the landscape of a rapidly changing policy and practice environment in post-apartheid South Africa. These studies span a range of contexts where teachers develop conceptions of themselves (identity) and their actions, duties and responsibilities (roles) (Lewin et al., 2003, p. 10).

Amongst the South African studies of significance, is the work of Hoadley (2002) which provides a set of analytical categories, to explore the concept of teacher identity. Hoadley (2002) distinguishes between three different modes of regulation in the constituting of teacher identity: external, internal and core regulation. 'External,' 'internal' and 'core' refer to the relationship between the modes and the setting. The teachers' work identity is thus defined in relation to the tension between the roles, rights and responsibilities regulated at different levels. Hoadley (2002) argues that the three forms of regulation give rise to official (external), contextual (internal) and personal (core) constructions of reality.

The pact between the state and the teacher is constituted *externally* to the school setting and Hoadley (2002) argues that teachers are engaged in a pact where their personal aspirations and expectations are shaped by and come to an accommodation with the demand of the state's specific education project. The notion of 'pact' is useful in that it suggests that

teachers contest, negotiate, co-opt or reject the state's attempts to regulate the role of the teacher, and construct certain identities (Hoadley, 2002, p. 43).

The work of Mattson and Harley (1999) with regard to external regulation in policy documents, that is, the construction of teachers' roles in relation to school context, communities and classroom practice, highlights the contradictions and mismatch for disadvantaged schools. They were concerned with how identities at the policy level (defined in the Norms and Standards for Teacher Education) and identities at the school level differ. Practices established in the classroom run counter to policy principles contained in roles, and these principles are often in contradiction to the values and beliefs of teachers and schools, as well as the actual nature of the 'community' imagined by policy makers (cited in Hoadley, 2002, p. 45). Similarly, Graven (2004) draws on Bernstein's concept of official projected identity, which refers to the identity projected by an institution (for example, DoE). Graven (2004) describes the changes found in Mathematics curriculum documentation and its implications for the new roles of teachers. Through external regulation an 'imaginary teacher' is constructed. Policy discourses and legislation both position teachers, and represent a resource upon which teachers act selectively (cited in Hoadley, 2002). With reference to the work of Chisholm and Jacklin, Hoadley (2002) argues that public constructions of teacher identity are contested, and recontextualised at the level of the school and the classroom.

Internal regulation as identified by Hoadley (2002) refers to how teacher identities are constituted with regards to their work within the school context and she centers her argument around three issues: socialisation and training; school teacher cultures and institutional constraint. The literature by Lortie (1975), for example, states that teachers tend to teach in the way that they were taught and that teachers work identities are constituted largely around their own experiences of schooling and in relation to the structure of schooling. Extensive research by Sikes et al. (1985) reinforce the notion of teachers being influenced by their own experiences of pupilhood. Literature by Hargreaves, (1994) explores the dynamics of school-teacher cultures. Wenger's (1998) work on communities of practice which has semblance to the rationality of Ubuntu in the South African context, also has relevance to understanding the construction of teacher identity. Internal regulation is also featured in Wedekind's (2001) study entitled '*A Figurational Analysis of the Lives and Careers of Some South African*

Teachers' which focuses on four figurations in order to understand the lives of teachers: collegial networks in and across schools; friendship groups; family ties; and broader community connections (Wedekind, 2001, p. 259).

Teachers' personal constructions of reality, based on their values provide deep insight into how they constitute themselves as professionals. In general, teacher identity research is concerned with the question of why some teachers are skeptical or resistant to reform. It would be useful then to know something about how teachers regard themselves as teachers and their work in order to predict how policy measures for improving instructional practice might be implemented. Fullan (1991) argues that policy is unlikely to be implemented or take root if it is at odds with the central concerns of teachers.

Jansen (2001) argues that teacher images after apartheid, fails to take into account how teachers were framed in policy images of the apartheid state. After apartheid, the image of the teacher was that of liberator who would be able to transform curriculum. The patterns of teaching, learning, managing and assessing remained intact during and after apartheid. The policy lesson from this experience, is that new images of teachers, however compelling in political terms, does not transfer into new ways of teaching or learning (Jansen, 2001, p. 243).

Potenza and Monyokolo (1999) quote the favoured cliché, 'OBE requires a major paradigm shift on the part of teachers.' The words 'paradigm' which is of Greek origin means 'the way we see' and 'in terms of perceiving, understanding [and] interpreting' (Covey, 2004, p. 23). The paradigm shift is a difficult and threatening situation for teachers, most of whom are themselves products of classroom-bound education and whose professional identities are linked to the traditional image of the teacher at the front of the classroom, and in the centre of the teaching/ learning process. Teacher development should, therefore, be a national priority. Teachers have to be trained to understand the new curriculum and its challenges, including how to plan learning programmes in an integrated way, how to facilitate learning using the new approach and how to use a variety of methods to assess whether outcomes have been achieved.

The need for teacher development is essential. However, teacher development in the context of change is a lot more complex than simply being a matter of ‘training’ teachers (Harley and Parker, 1999). They argue that in order to implement the new curriculum and assessment, ‘teachers may well need to shift their own identities, their understanding of who they are and how they relate to others’ (Harley and Parker, 1999, p.197).

With regard to implementation of C2005, Jansen (2001) found that the mismatch between policy image and teacher identity created immediate coping mechanisms among teachers. The first coping mechanism was for teachers to deny the distance between image and identity, between what was required and what was experienced in the classroom. With regard to the implementation of Curriculum 2005, Govender (1999. p.148) notes that there are disturbingly ‘superficial’ changes in teachers’ practice of the new curriculum. According to the finding of the C2005 Review committee, there is widespread evidence that teachers have a ‘rather shallow understanding of the principles of C2005 and OBE’ (DoE, 2000a). Harley and Wedekind (2004) report that some difficulties that teachers experience in making the ‘necessary paradigm shift’ in assessment are reported in Sieborger and Nakabugo’s case study.

Goodson (1992) argues that if one wishes to find out about change in the teacher’s practice, then a valuable entry point would be to examine teachers’ work in the context of the teacher’s life since *life experiences and background* are key ingredients of people’s sense of self.

Stoffels (2004) investigated what happens when teachers are required to change their practices in line with a curriculum which has proven to be complex and alienating and he deals specifically with the question of how teachers who are in the midst of reform make the strategic curriculum decisions that shape their classroom practices.

Stoffels (2004) reports that deep change is unlikely to occur if teachers continue to make decisions like the way they have always done in the past or if they relinquish their decision-

making power to agents external to their unique contexts. This statement by Stoffels (2004) is based on the assumption that power is something external to teachers. Taking cognizance of the potential for resistance, my study views the notion of power as being productive and also explores the self-determination of identities.

Carrim (2003) argues that the shifting policy terrain of post-apartheid South Africa and its related conceptions of teacher identity capture the history of the political and pedagogical struggle of the past, as well as that of the present challenges facing teachers in schools. Carrim (2003) examines the various conceptions of the teacher as an intellectual, as a worker, as a professional as a gendered and racialised subject, as a facilitator, as an 'educator,' and as a negotiator of the policy dictates. Carrim (2003) asserts that the theoretical and ideological roots of varied roles of the teacher (both different and conflicting) can be traced to the history of apartheid education and the new state's desire to cast teachers as constructors of the new democratic order.

Carrim's (2003) study has explicated the several tensions that co-exist in the construction of teacher identities. This study is well summarised by Moletsane (2003) who articulates it as follows: firstly because of their well documented and much criticized exclusion from policy formulation in the country, the constructions of teachers as implementers of state policies contradict their own sense of ownership of the policies they are expected to implement and their ability to do so. Secondly, while teachers are portrayed as purveyors of human rights, their status as subjects of the same rights is largely ignored in policy documents and discourses. To illustrate this, Moletsane (2003), provides an excellent example, which has relevance for my study. She states that a recurring theme in most schools involves the banning of corporal punishment and the absence of appropriate alternative policies that ensure discipline and protect teachers' rights. Thirdly, Moletsane (2003) points out that the teachers' disparate social, political, geographical and educational locations and identities are said to lead to different understandings and preparedness to implement the policies. An exposition of these tensions provides a context for understanding why teachers as professionals practice as they do and how identities are re-constituted in response to changing discourses.

Conceptions of what professionalism means and the identities that teachers develop in most teaching communities are complex. According to Soudien (2003), the specific context and the social conditions in which teachers find themselves are crucial for the self-understanding they take on. Studies have shown that teachers are implicated in the making of their own identities (Clandinin and Connelly cited in Soudien, 2003). Even in the most constraining of circumstances, they are able to exercise choice insofar as they decide what it is that they will accept or not (Soudien, 2003).

Soudien's (2003) study works with teachers' voices and, in particular, with the explanations and accounts they make of the contexts in which they grew up, were trained and inducted as teachers. Soudien's (2003) work provides an opportunity for understanding: the social and economic circumstances which precede teachers' entry into the training arena; the nature of the socialization process through which teachers go in school, and finally some inducting experiences teachers have at the beginning of their careers.

Soudien (2003) argues that teachers' sense of professionalism, is a product of their experiences of their own teachers who executed their sense of self within the racial and classed contexts of the apartheid education system. Soudien (2003) reports that while white interviewees commented positively about their teachers as role models, they said that they rarely inspired them to become teachers, given that available options were broader than just teaching. For the black interviewees, the teachers tended to be more influential: interviewees wanted to be like their teachers, perhaps because they represented the lifestyle of the middle class. Black and white interviewees both reflected 'good' teachers as those who displayed a charismatic presence and were able to show their mastery of the subject matter they taught. Soudien (2003) also documents the institutional cultures of teacher educational institutions which the interviewees attended. A clearly racialistic experience is shown from the interviewees' reflections of their apartheid separated colleges of education and universities which contribute to the shaping of teachers identities and roles (Lewin et al., 2003, pp.11-12).

Soudien's (2003) research results claims profound awareness of how people's histories condition the narratives they construct and the complexity of working with the historical baggage of apartheid and its racialising effects.

Drawing on classroom-based research in rural KwaZulu-Natal, Mattson and Harley (2003) suggest that the primary strategy adopted by teachers is one of mimicry in an attempt to 'look competent,' and that this reflects a broader pattern of mimicry adopted by the state and policy makers in their attempts to make South African education 'look modern.' Mattson and Harley (2003) argue that teacher education policy and providers reinforce teachers' strategies of mimicry by trying to reform teacher identities in the image of a First World, modern global citizen or 'universal subject' rather than attending to their more pressing and practical needs.

According to Mattson and Harley (2003), the concept of mimicry as a strategy for Third World states and schools trying to look modern, is well-researched and documented in Fuller (1991). Fuller's argument is that schools function primarily as signals of modernity on the African landscape that display Western symbols and advance modern expectations and promises' (Fuller, 1991, p. xix) because 'looking modern brings affection from larger Western states and spurs the arrival of foreign capital. By signalling the coming of economic growth, real or illusory, the fragile state strengthens its own domestic position' (Fuller, 1991, pp. 19-20). In trying to 'look modern' (Fuller, 1991), the teachers offer semblances of the expectations of new regulatory policy, yet reflect only superficial understandings of the proposed shifts being dictated (Lewin et al., 2003, p.12).

Policy documents claim that these imported Western ideals (meant to ensure South Africa's competitiveness in a global information economy) are integrated with local ideals of social justice and democracy, on the assumption that 'you can't have one without the other' (Mattson and Harley, 2003, p. 285). They explain that trying to achieve both international credibility and local legitimacy, policy can only 'look modern' by highlighting the ways in which these two imperatives correspond with each other and by playing down the ways in which they contend with each other. In this way, Mattson and Harley (2003) note that policy falls into the trap of social meliorism, where commitment to a vision of what should be,

clouds the ability to seriously consider what is, so that the good intentions of social constructionism have more influence on the policy agenda than social realities.

Samuel (2003) focuses specifically on the lack of consideration given to student teachers' life histories in the formulation of institutional policies and development of teacher education curricula and provision. Samuel (2003) explores the overlap, contradictions and coherences between the forces of the teacher education programme and student teachers' own biographies in the contextual environment of educational change. The diversity of students' social- and cultural backgrounds, has implications for curriculum transformation programmes that should be considered in what Samuel labels a 'Force Field Model of Teacher Development.' Samuel (2003) proposes that forces emanate from the deeply cultural embedded views about teaching and learning gained from student teachers' biographical experiences of teaching and learning, as well as forces of an ever-transforming educational arena, which in itself is responding to numerous educational, economic, historical and political forces (Samuel, 2003, p. 271).

By exploring the life history approach, my study consolidates Samuel's (2003) claim regarding the importance of taking cognizance of teachers' early biography in the formulation of policy reforms and in anticipating the way teachers will respond to these. I note the similarities in what Samuel (2003) labels 'force field' and Bourdieu's (1977) theory of 'habitus.'

According to Baxen and Soudien (1999) the preferred identity of the teacher as constructed by policy seems to be quite comfortably held by those who take the values, institutions and technologies of late modernity for granted, and sits uneasily with those who do not. By 'late modernity' Baxen and Soudien (1999) refer to the impact of globalization and the information age, and the growing gap between those who have access to information and those who do not (Mattson and Harley, 2003, p. 286). A defining feature of late modernity is that self-reflexivity (at both the institutional and individual level) becomes crucial to survival (Giddens, 1991).

The ideal of OBE 'has been that of producing a universal subject within universally good attributes' (Baxen and Soudien, 1999, p. 138). Baxen and Soudien (1999) argue that the nature of these universal attributes and their social history has not been addressed. Furthermore, such OBE ideals based on 'middle class discourses and representations of the ideal learner' have been abstracted from the specificity of the cultural and social conditions of South Africa. The issues argued by Baxen and Soudien (1999) draw attention to the discrepancy between real and ideal and present the question of how teachers negotiate the tensions and contradictions that emerge from policy in the reality of everyday classroom practices.

Walker and Barton (1987) question whether policy initiatives are likely to make minor modifications of teachers' classroom roles or are they likely to transform totally teachers' purposes and objectives, their social power and status and even their images of themselves? When faced with shifts in policy, practice or priorities, will teachers promote such proposals in the spirit of the policy design or will they struggle to subvert such initiatives? (Walker and Barton, 1987, p. viii). Teachers are themselves the targets of some attempts at achieving educational change. They are somewhat in a curious position of being both the victims and agents of reform (Walker and Barton, 1987). Neither transformations in teachers' roles and responsibilities nor the response to such changes evoked in teachers are the consequence of a single policy initiative. Walker and Barton (1987) state that one of the problems for teachers attempting to cope with everyday routines and fresh professional demands is the sheer range of policy initiatives they are being required to assimilate and the speed with which each new reform follows its predecessor.

2.10 Neoliberalism and teacher identity: Issues of Accountability and Performativity

2.10.1 Studies on Teacher Accountability

In Britain, the 1980 Education Act introduced a number of measures to strengthen public accountability in education (Ranson et al., 1987, p. 3). Parental participation in governing bodies was extended and parents were to be given more information about schools (such as their examination performance) in order to inform their 'expression of preference' for particular schools. Ranson et al. (1987) have reported research on British schools' response to their duty to publish examination results as the most important means of making schools and teachers more accountable to parents and the public.

According to Ranson et al. (1987) accountability institutionalizes a discourse about purpose and they elaborate on two significant types of accountability: *professional* and *market*. The professional accountability view is that examinations constitute an important but narrow indicator of pupil achievement and that other dimensions of learning must be taken into account when evaluating standards: the whole cultural, social and creative aspects of school life should be equally assessed. Professional values and orientation, therefore, emphasise the scope of educational achievement and a belief in the unfolding potential of each young person whose progress at any one point in time should be recognized as reflecting the quality of the relations and expectations which teachers can create within the classroom (Ranson et al., 1987, p. 5).

Proponents of the market accountability model, according to Ranson et al. (1987), argue that the professional interpretive schema of internal accounting distorts the essential purpose of the accountability of institutions looking outwards to the public beyond their boundaries. Schools should be answerable to their consumers which in this case are the parents.

Thus in Britain, the 1980 Education Act made the publication of examination results central to the account which schools must offer the public (Ranson et al., 1987). It provided the single common currency that could be carried into the market place to test school standards. Thus consumer sovereignty was to replace the potentially undemocratic imposition of professional will. The demand for the education service to become more accountable was a demand for teachers and schools to look beyond their professional boundaries to the world beyond.

According to Webb and Ashton (1987), research into the conditions of teaching suggests that declining morale among educators is due to interacting factors such as the failure of salaries to keep up with inflation, the lack of a career ladder that rewards teacher competence, the loss of public confidence in the quality of American teachers and the education they offer, school violence, hostile or apathetic parents, and a lack of professional autonomy. Webb and Ashton's (1987) study reveal that teachers report heavy workloads, lack of time, growing responsibilities, classroom interruptions, poor discipline, negative student attitudes and incompetent administration as having diminished their morale and hindered their efforts to teach competently. This data suggests that the quality of education and the conditions of teaching are closely linked and that we are unlikely to significantly improve the former without first enhancing the latter. 'Sense of efficacy,' according to Webb and Ashton (1987) refers to teachers' beliefs regarding their ability to teach and students' ability to learn. They report the significant correlations between teachers sense of efficacy and student achievement. In presenting their research findings, Webb and Ashton (1987) specify that the assumption used to interpret the research is that efficacy attitudes are not personality traits, but rather responses to teachers' cultural, social, institutional, and personal environment. The policy implication that follows from this assumption is that efforts to improve teachers' efficacy attitudes must change the conditions of teaching (an ecological perspective rather than teachers themselves as agents).

Webb and Ashton (1987) identify several threats to teacher efficacy such as excessive role demands and class sizes. They assert that teachers may be able to bear the burden of large classes, excessive expectations, and difficult students if they felt they receive fair remuneration and respect for their efforts. Webb and Ashton (1987) explain that the problem

of low pay goes beyond economics and strikes at the heart of teachers' professional self esteem.

Webb and Ashton (1987) argue that for some teachers, the combination of excessive demands, inadequate salary and status panic, lack of recognition and support and powerlessness engendered attitudes of quiet conformity and unreflective acceptance of the status quo. In their eagerness to find security in an uncertain profession, many teachers took care not to rock the boat or offend colleagues, parents or supervisors. Minds so set on survival were unlikely to entertain suggestions for change or to instigate reforms. In Webb and Ashton's study (1987), many of the teachers confess that teaching provides them with only a weak sense of accomplishment. They do not feel fulfilled with their work and are frustrated because teaching did not tap their potential. Hence the loss of connection with one's work reinforces a negative self image and a decline in teacher morale.

According to Ball (1994), changes are bringing about profound shifts in the nature of schools as work organizations. He argues that many teachers appear weary and wary, stressed and depressed, alienated and bitter. They are faced with threats to their autonomy and status, and livelihood in some cases, but are expected to respond constructively and intelligently to make sense of the uncertainties, incoherence and complexity of change. In a sense, the more successful they are at coping, the more of themselves as professionals and their experience they must forgo; although for some, the classroom may still be a black box within which they can hide from the currents of reform. Together these changes assert a massive and complex technology of control over the teacher's work in all its aspects (Ball, 1994, p. 12).

2.10.2 Studies on Teacher Performativity

Ball (1994) is concerned with the three main forms of control which are being used in the UK in an attempt to capture, specify and delineate 'teaching' which are: the curriculum, the market and management.

Ball (1994) explains the standardization and normalization of classroom practices attempted in the UK. The curriculum provides for standardization and testing for normalization – the establishment of measurements, hierarchy and regulation around the idea of a distributional statistical norm within a given population. This begins with the testing of students, but raises the possibility of monitoring the performance of teachers and schools and making comparisons between them. There is a possibility of linking these comparisons to appraisal and to performance-related pay awards which have been piloted in the UK schools. These developments also relate to what Lyotard (1984) calls the legitimation of education through performativity. Furthermore, significant changes in teachers' classroom practice can now be achieved by decisions taken 'at a distance' about assessment regimes or curriculum organization. Thus the reduction of coursework elements in General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) assessment has profound implications for classroom work (Ball, 1994, p. 50).

The market is the second element in the changing matrix of power within which schools are set and has far-reaching implications for the redefinition of teachers' work. According to Ball (1994), in some schools the locus of control is shifting from the producer (teachers) to consumers (parents) via open enrolments, parental choice and per capita funding. The market is a disciplinary system and within it education is reconstructed as a consumption good. Children and their 'performances' are traded and exchanged as commodities. In relations between schools, the key element of the market is competition. Teachers' work is thus increasingly viewed and evaluated solely in terms of output measures (test scores and examination performance) set against cost (subject time, class size, resource requirements) (Ball, 1994, p. 51).

Ball (1994) states that market awareness and the skills of a self-monitoring and individual accountability within the context of 'normal' school activities, at least in theory, consolidate the basic principles of self-management within teachers' individual consciousness – decreasing the need for overt control. Teachers are enclosed in 'a web of discourses which sometimes address them, sometimes speak about them, or impose canonical bits of knowledge on them, or use them as a basis for constructing a science that is beyond their

grasp – all this together enables us to link an intensification of the interventions of power to a multiplication of discourse’ (Foucault cited in Ball, 1994).

Ball (1994) argues that in the heterotopia of reform, the relationships of teachers with their significant others, are changed and confused; the teacher as person and as professional is both scapegoat and victim. Professionalism is replaced by accountability and collegiality by costing and surveillance.

Munt (2004) explores teacher stress in relation to postmodern social conditions and powerful contemporary ‘games of truth.’ The problem of teacher stress is presented ‘critically’ in its historical specificity, in the ‘framework of political rationality’ (neoliberalism) within which it appeared and developed its ‘urgency’ (Munt, 2004). Connections are made between the discourses of school ‘reform’, the discourses on ‘stress’ and a neo-liberal ‘truth game’ called economic rationalization. In pursuing an insider’s view of teacher stress, Munt (2004) examines what Foucault called ‘micropolitics’ or struggles for power within institutions like factories and schools, struggles that bear witness to the individual’s right to be different against the power of a scientific and administratively determined identity (Munt, 2004, p. 579).

In the context of Munt’s (2004) study which claims that as the historical development of neurosis and alienation in the work place is accelerated, and the body is maximized in terms of its use value through increasing technologies of surveillance and monitoring of work practices, ‘stress’ and ‘burn-out’ become precursors of more serious and debilitating diseases (Munt, 2004, p. 588).

According to Fullan (1991) in highlighting the meaning in educational change, the main implication is that innovations should not be taken for granted. Fullan (1991) recommends that we ask these questions: What values are involved? Who will benefit from the change? How sound or feasible is the idea or approach?

Fullan (1991) explores the notion of occupational identity which represents the accumulated wisdom of how to handle the job, derived from teachers' own experience and the experiences of others. Fullan (1991) argues that change threatens to invalidate this experience robbing them of the skills they learned and confusing their purpose - all real change involves loss, anxiety and struggle. New experiences are always initially reacted to in the context of some familiar, reliable construction of reality (Fullan, 1991, p. 31).

2.11 Teachers' Professional Development

Teachers' response to educational change is invariably linked to their professional development. Fullan (1991) notes that 'educational reform will never amount to anything until teachers become simultaneously and seamlessly inquiry oriented, skilled, reflective and collaborative professionals' (Fullan, 1991, p. 326). Hargreaves (1994) adds that the quality, range and flexibility of teachers' classroom work are closely tied up with their professional growth - the way that they develop as people and as professionals.

Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) argue that the seeming paradoxes of teacher professionalization is that some parts of the teacher's work are becoming *reprofessionalised* in ways that involve broader tasks, greater complexity, more sophisticated judgement and collective decision making among colleagues, while other parts of the teacher's work are becoming *deprofessionalised* in terms of more pragmatic training, reduced discretion over goals and purposes, and increased dependence on detailed learning outcomes prescribed by others (Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996, p. 3).

According to Fullan (1991) staff and professional development involve change in learning material, in skills and practices; and in thinking and understandings. 'Rational' solutions to the problem of change usually backfire because they ignore the culture of the school (Sarason

cited in Fullan, 1991). Fullan states that the result has been two forms of non-change: false clarity without change and painful unclarity without change (Fullan, 1991, pp. 43- 35). *False clarity* occurs when people think that they have changed but have only assimilated the superficial trappings of the new practice. *Painful unclarity* is experienced when unclear innovations are attempted under conditions that do not support the development of the subjective meaning of change.

Literature has highlighted the necessity for sound professional development for effective implementation of policy initiatives. Taking cognizance of Potenza and Monyokolo's (1999) claim that the new assessment requires a paradigm shift for most South African teachers implementing this policy, presents an interesting avenue for exploring how teachers constitute their identities as professionals within the context of new discourses.

Goodson (1992) states that the reasons for limited impact of curriculum innovations on classroom practice have pointed out to the reformer's neglect of the central role of teachers' intentions and their pedagogical expertise in effecting significant classroom change. Hargreaves (1994) argues that to ask whether a new method is practical, is also to ask whether it suits the person implementing it, whether it is in tune with their purposes, and whether it helps or harms their interest. It is in these things that teachers' desires concerning change are located. Therefore, the basis of creativity, change, commitment and engagement is to be found in desire (Hargreaves, 1994, pp. 120-123). For Goodson (1992), the teacher's voice is something that articulates his or her purpose or concerns; that connects the teacher's teaching to the person that the teacher is, to the teacher's life.

Hargreaves (1994) writes that in times of global competitiveness, few people want to do much about the economy, but everyone - the politicians, the media and the public alike - wants to do something about education. Of all institutions in society, education is the only one that potentially has the promise of fundamentally contributing to this goal of global competitiveness (Fullan, 1993).

According to Hargreaves (1994), policy-makers often fail to deal with several vital influences on the nature and quality of teachers' work. These are the teachers' purpose, which drives what the teacher does; the kind of person the teacher is, in their life as well as their work, and how this affects their teaching; the context in which the teacher works which limits them in terms of what they can achieve (Hargreaves, 1994, p. xiv).

Goodson (1992) argues that by failing to record the voices of ordinary teachers, the literature on educators' careers actually silences them. Instead of adopting an outsider's perspective whereby researcher-, reformer- or innovator generated criteria are used to make judgements about change, we need to ask the teachers themselves what classroom change meant to them, from their own perspective and criteria (Goodson, 1992, pp. 12, 53).

Guilt is a central preoccupation for teachers. The guilt traps of teaching are socially located at the intersection of four specific paths of determination and motivation in teachers' work: the commitment to goals of care and nurturance; the open-ended nature of the job; the pressures of accountability and intensification; and the persona of perfectionism (Hargreaves, 1994, p.142).

One of the basic, constitutive features of teachers' work is that of time and scarcity of time makes it difficult to plan more thoroughly, to commit oneself to the effort of innovation, to get together with colleagues, or to sit back and reflect on one's purposes and progress (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 150). In addition, Sikes (1992) argues that it is in the nature of imposed change (as fast response to a perceived problem) that teachers are rarely given sufficient time in which to acquaint themselves with the change and to plan and prepare for it. Yet, time as a component of conducive conditions, is crucial. This is especially evident in the context of the performance and competence models of pedagogy where both models are exacting in terms of time (Bernstein, 1996) especially, when combined with other factors such as a large number of learners in the classroom.

Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) describe three different approaches to teacher development. These are teacher development (a) as skill development (b) as self understanding; and (c) as ecological change.

Teacher development as self understanding is aptly encapsulated by Hargreaves and Fullan's (1992) comment that 'teacher development involves more than changing teachers' behavior. It involves changing the person the teacher is.'

Teacher development as ecological change implies that the context of the teachers' working environment provides conditions in which teacher development initiatives succeed or fail or could be a focus of teacher development itself.

The assumption underlying the skills based approach to teacher development is that the present system of education is inappropriate and therefore teachers are lacking in the knowledge, skills; and competencies needed to arrive at the expected outcome for education. One way of providing teachers with 'opportunities to teach' is to equip them with the knowledge and skills that will increase their ability to provide improved learning opportunities to learn for all their pupils (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992, p. 2).

The criticism to skills-based approach to teacher development is that it is usually imposed on teachers in a top-down basis by 'experts' from outside their schools. Such methods fail to involve the teacher, and therefore run the risk of not securing their commitment and generating teacher resistance (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992). This approach to teacher development also ignores teachers' disagreement with the methods to which they are being exposed. The 'hard' research knowledge of experts is deemed superior to the 'soft' practical wisdom of teachers. Disagreement is discouraged, and where it does occur it is discounted or interpreted as 'irrational' resistance (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992, p. 5). A major challenge for professional development and educational change is to work through and reconcile the tension between vision and voice. By privileging vision- especially imposed vision- over

voice, much skills- based teacher development fails to address this fundamental challenge (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992, p. 6).

Fullan (1991) summarises the following reasons for the failure of many professional development programmes.

- One -shot workshops are widespread but ineffective.
- Follow-up evaluation occurs infrequently.
- In service programmes rarely address the individual needs and concerns.
- The majority of programmes involve teachers from different schools/ and or school districts, but there is no recognition of the differential impact of positive and negative factors within the system to which they must return.
- There is a profound lack of any conceptual basis in the planning and implementing of in-service programmes that would ensure their effectiveness (Fullan, 1991, p. 318).

In their seminal paper ‘Improving Inservice Training’ Joyce and Showers (1980, 1994) identify four levels of impact for INSET and five training components. Joyce and Showers (1980, 1994) state that ‘whether we teach ourselves or whether we learn from a training agent, the outcomes for training can be classified into several levels of impact: awareness; the acquisition of concepts or organized knowledge; the learning of principles and skills; and the ability to apply those principles and skills in problem-solving activities.’

In light of globalization, Fenwick’s (2003) study shows teachers’ professional development has become a site for public concern and government regulation. There is growing international movement to regularize teaching processes and teacher identities within a general preoccupation with professional standardization and accountability (Nicoll cited in Fenwick, 2003). Contemporary professional development initiatives, although often informed by understandings of reflective practice and professional autonomy must reconcile both the constrictions of bureaucratic standards and what many are describing as neo-liberalism permeating school curricula and understandings of teaching practice in Anglo-Western

countries (Fenwick, 2003). The purposes of professional development programmes for teachers, and how those programmes contribute to the constitution of particular notions of teaching and identity are investigated (Fenwick, 2003, p. 336).

Fenwick (2003) argues that educational change, including teacher development, occurs not by top-down imposition of policy, but through circulation of power at micro-levels of daily activity. According to Hargreaves and Goodson (1996), the aspiration for teachers to have professional lives is not a given phenomenon but a contested one. It marks a struggle to redefine the work of teaching by governments, administrators, business and teachers themselves. With reference to Foucault's concept of pastoral power, Fenwick (2003) suggests that the production of professional identities and knowledge occurs through disciplinary power and norms internalized through compulsory visibility and technologies of self.

In *Struggling for the Soul*, Popkewitz (1998) argues that pedagogy functions to govern the soul, with various technologies of pedagogical practices of producing a means to shape and fashion the conduct of individuals. As a result of norms, the moral responsibility of schooling is to govern 'the soul' (original in parenthesis) – 'inner beliefs, feelings, and sensitivities that generate actions' (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 49). He argues that principles of managing 'styles of learning' are to govern the soul. It is the inner dispositions, sensitivities and capabilities of the child that is the site to be regulated (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 95).

2.12 Chapter Summary

This literature review elucidates a range of research issues on assessment and identity within the discourse of globalization. My study resonates with and elaborates on literature on policy reform and its effect on teacher identity. International studies on the effects of neo-liberalism point to issues of accountability and performativity and show similarities with South African teachers on their own pilgrimage towards globalization. Changes in identities are natural and inevitable outcomes to changing policies that need to be supported by appropriate teacher

development. The work of Bernstein (1996) discussed in this chapter, provides a language of description for the crucial understanding of performance and competence models.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

‘We do not undertake analyses of works because we want to copy them or because we suspect them. We investigate the methods of which another has created his work, in order to set ourselves in motion,’ (Klee cited in Rabinow and Rose, 2003).

In presenting the theoretical framework chapter, I apply Ball’s (1994) notion of theoretical heurism, with an emphasis on explication rather than the generalisability. One social function of theory is to provide symbolic coherence in periods of changing social, political and economic conditions (Popkewitz, 1984, p.12). Popkewitz (1984) adds that theories symbolically tie together seeming discontinuities and social strains, bringing reassurances of ethical commitment and institutional adaptiveness.

3.2 Michel Foucault: An Orientation to Discourse and Analytical Strategies

3.2.1 Introducing Foucault

To set myself in motion, I refer to the work of the French ‘philosopher,’ Michel Foucault (1954-1984). At the outset of this chapter I wish to highlight Peter and Besley’s (2007) assertion that ‘in the field of education, scholars and theorists deform him [Foucault]: they use him or elements of his thought; ... they unmake and make him; they twist and turn him and his words; sometimes they spread him very thinly; at other times they squeeze him into small spaces; often they appeal to Foucault, beginning with a quote only to do something very unconventional and mundane to his original intent’ (Peter and Besley, 2007, p. 3). I heed this comment and the principle of ‘interpretive asymmetry’ (Peter and Besley, 2007, p. 3) that opens up the work of the author to multiple interpretations. My rationale for using Foucault’s

work is that ‘any text that stimulates and allows novel interpretations is a sign of its richness, depth and complexity’ (Peter and Besley, 2007, p. 3).

According to Philips and Jorgensen (2002) with respect to knowledge, Foucault’s coupling of power and knowledge has a consequence that power is closely connected to discourse. Discourses contribute centrally to producing the subjects we are, and the objects we can know something about (including ourselves as subjects) (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 14). From a Foucauldian perspective, the concepts of discourse, knowledge and power and the subsequent formation of the subject are all inextricably linked. This view leads to the following research question: ‘how is the social world, including its subjects and objects, constituted in discourses?’ (Philips and Jorgenson, 2002, p. 14). More specifically, in my study the critical research question is: *Within the historical context of the current wave of curriculum reform in South Africa, how is teacher identity constituted in the discourses (and practices) of assessment reform?* The intricacy of embedding the study within a macro-level of political change in South Africa and its subsequent curriculum reform (rationalities and techniques of government) as well the micro-level investigation of teachers’ identities (governmentality of self) precludes the possibility of a successful single theory explanations.

In investigating the constitution of subjects or teacher identity within discourses, my strategy is to look for discontinuities and struggles rather than continuities and this pulls together a host of interrelated concepts that cannot be boxed and described in exclusion of each other but rather simultaneously and in explication of each other. In this chapter, I draw on some of the concepts, Foucauldian and selected aspects of the work of other scholars such as Giddens (1991), Wenger (1998), Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Maslow (1943), Frankl (1984), and Bourdieu (1977).

As a starting point, my study draws from some aspects of **discourse theory** which begins with the assumption that all objects and actions are meaningful, and that their meaning is a product of historically specific systems of rules. It thus enquires into the way in which social practices construct and contest the discourses that constitute social reality. These practices are possible because systems of meaning are contingent and can never completely exhaust a social field of meaning (Howarth, 2000, p. 8).

The term **discursive** suggests that all objects are objects of discourse, in that a condition of their meaning depends upon a socially constructed system of rules and significant differences (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 107).

According to Hall (2001), normally, the term discourse is used as a linguistic concept which simply means passages of connected writing or speech. Foucault, however, gave it a different meaning (Hall, 2001, p. 72). **Discourse** refers to historically specific systems of meaning which form the identities of subjects and objects (Foucault cited in Hall, 2001). Howarth (2000) suggests that at this lower level of abstraction, discourses are concrete systems of social relations and practices that are intrinsically political, as their formation is an act of radical institution which involves the construction of antagonisms and the drawing of political frontiers between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders.’ The construction of discourses thus involves the exercise of power and a consequent structuring of the relations between different social agents (Howarth, 2000, p. 9).

Discourse Analysis refers to the process of analyzing signifying practices as discursive forms (Howarth, 2000, p.10). Foucault has played a central role in the development of discourse analysis through both theoretical work and empirical research. In almost all discourse analytical approaches, Foucault has become a figure to quote, relate to, comment on, modify and criticize (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 12; Howarth, 2000, p. 8). It is a futile task, however, to attempt a unitary summary of Foucault’s ideas considering that his work is deliberately cut across the intellectual disciplines of philosophy, history and sociology. Foucault himself had trouble summarizing his project as he refused to see himself producing a unified body of theoretical work (Piomelli, 2004, p. 407). Instead, he viewed his writings as a ‘toolkit,’ in which he and others could rummage to find whatever was useful.

‘All my books ... are little toolboxes, if you will. If people are willing to open them and make use of such and such a sentence or idea, of one analysis or the other, as they would a screwdriver or monkey wrench, in order to short circuit or disqualify systems of power,

including even possibly the ones my books come out of, well, all the better' (Foucault cited in Eribon, 1992, p. 237).

Overall, Foucault's project can be seen as an exploration of 'how the ways in which we think, speak, act and understand ourselves are shaped or governed by our times, by others and by ourselves' (Piomelli, 2004, p. 411). At different stages of his career, he addressed different aspects of this project, using different methodological tools and approaches. Foucault (1984a) explained why he studied certain areas such as madness, delinquency, and sexuality. Foucault (1984a) argued that in these three areas – the three fundamental elements of any experience are implicated: a game of truth, relations of power, and forms of relation to oneself and to others.

In their study of Foucault's work, Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) propose four stages: a Heideggerian stage (typified by his study of madness and reason), an archaeological or quasi – structuralist stage (characterized by *The Archeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Things*), a genealogical stage and, finally an ethical stage (Peters and Besley, 2007, p. 5).

Traditionally, Foucault's work is divided between an early 'archaeological' phase and a later shift to the 'genealogical' phase, although the two overlap, with Foucault continuing to use tools from his archaeology in his later works (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 12). In *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality, Vol 1*, genealogy takes precedence over archeology since Foucault asserts that the genealogist concentrates on the relations of power, knowledge and the body in modern society (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983, p. 105).

In an interview, Foucault (1984b) claims that in *The Order of Things*, he attempted 'to see how, in scientific discourses, the human subject defines itself as a speaking, living, working individual.' Foucault explains: '[u]p to that point, I had conceived the problem of the relationship between the subject and games of truth in either coercive practices or of theoretical or scientific games.' The shift in thinking for Foucault is that: 'these games of truth no longer involve a coercive practice, but a practice of self-formation of the subject'

which Foucault (1984b) refers to as ‘ascetic practice’ and by ‘ascetism’ Foucault means, ‘an exercise of the self on the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain a certain mode of being’ (Foucault, 1984b, p. 26).

During the 1970’s, the middle period of his work, Foucault shifted his focus to actions, practices, and understandings and how they are shaped or governed by a multiplicity of others (Piomelli, 2004). The chief works comprising his middle period are: *Discipline and Punish* (1977) which traced how imprisonment emerged as the dominant form of punishment with the refinement and spread of a number of techniques for watching, training, tracking and managing people; *The History of Sexuality, Vol 1* (1979a), examined how human beings have been trained by experts to confess and understand their sexuality in order to understand the truth about themselves. Using a new methodological tool that he labeled ‘genealogy,’ Foucault turned his attention to issues of power and its complex interconnection with knowledge (Piomelli, 2004, p. 412).

In the 1980’s, Foucault focused on the extent to which we govern our own practices and self-understandings through one’s sexual conduct and that led him to study Christian practices of confession and penance as well as Greek and Roman literature. He focused on what he referred to as ‘technologies of self’ – those techniques for understanding and acting ‘on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality’ (Foucault, 1982a, p. 146).

3.2.2 Truth, Knowledge and Power

Foucault’s view is that truth is a discursive construction and different regimes of knowledge determine what is true and false (Foucault, 1976, p. 317). Foucault (1976) articulated his observation that ‘in certain empirical forms of knowledge like biology, political economy, psychiatry, medicine and so on, the rhythm of transformation doesn’t follow the smooth, continuist schemas of development which are normally accepted.’ Foucault questions ‘how is that in certain moments and in certain orders of knowledge, there are these sudden take-offs, these hastening of evolution, these transformations which fail to correspond to the calm,

continuist image that is normally accredited?’ What is of importance to Foucault is ‘not that such changes are rapid and extensive, or rather it is that this extent and rapidity are only the sign of - a modification in the rules of formation of statements which are accepted as scientifically true’ (Foucault, 1976, p. 302).

Foucault (1976) states, ‘truth is not outside power or lacking in power ... Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth – that is, the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true’ (Foucault, 1976, p. 316).

Foucault (1976) argues that: ‘[i]n societies like ours, the ‘political economy’ of truth is characterised by five important traits. ‘Truth’ is centered on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions that produce it; it is subject to constant economic and political incitement; it is the object, under diverse forms, of immense diffusion and consumption (circulating through apparatuses of education and information); it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing media); finally it is the issue of the whole political debate and social characteristics (Foucault, 1976, p. 316). ‘Truth’ is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements’ (Foucault, 1976, p. 317).

Foucault (1977) replaces the view that discourses are autonomous systems of statements structured by historically specific formation rules, with particular systems of ‘power/knowledge relations.’ Drawing on Nietzsche’s work, Foucault (1977) argues that ‘we should admit that power produces knowledge; that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 27).

Foucault's (1976) concept of power/ knowledge also has consequences for his conception of truth. Foucault (1976) claims that it is not possible to gain access to universal truth since it is impossible to talk from a position outside discourse; there is no escape from representation (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 14). Foucault's concepts of *epistemes* – periods of history organized around, and explicable in terms of, specific world-views and discourses – shows that the way in which people make sense of their world depends on an order of reason and sets of discursive formations that do not translate from one to another (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 29). The knowledge that is produced in our *epistemes* is also our 'truth' – and it ends up becoming everybody else's truth as well. Knowledge and truth are not essential and ahistorical, but are produced by *epistemes* and, at the same time, hold that *episteme* together. What this means is that knowledge and truth are tied up with the way in which power is exercised in our age (as, for instance, governments use the human sciences to help frame laws and policies), and are themselves caught up in power struggles (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 29).

In the chapter one of this thesis, the rationalities of government which have informed policy programmes and policy technologies were highlighted. The Assessment Policy (DoE, 1998) formulated through the influence of global trends within this specific *episteme*, becomes a 'game of truth' around which the teacher's identity is reflexively constituted. Ball (2003, p. 216) explains that policy technologies involve the calculated deployment of techniques and artefacts to organise human forces and capabilities into functioning networks of power.

In *The History of Sexuality, Vol 1* Foucault (1979a) captures the new conception of discourse in the extract that follows:

*'What is said about sex must not be analysed simply as the surface projection of ... power mechanisms. **Indeed, it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together.** And for this reason, we must conceive discourse as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable. To be more precise, we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies ... Discourses are not once and for all*

subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it' (Foucault 1979a, pp. 100-101).

Foucault sought to displace the notion of objectively verifiable truth that he saw as pervading human sciences. For Foucault, there is no outside viewpoint from which any of us can independently verify general statements about humans as true; we and our truths of our kind are all products of our times and dominant discourses (Piomelli, 2004, p. 417). Foucault's emphasis on how our ideas and understandings of ourselves are constantly remade led him to reject the notion of a fixed, unchanging human nature that transcends history and is the source for shaping or making sense of history. For Foucault nothing human is fixed, everything is a product of history, discourse, and other elements of the cultural environment (Piomelli, 2004, p. 417). Foucault (1976) explains that 'truth' is linked in a circular relation with the systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it – a 'regime of truth.' In his later writings, Foucault changed from the use of 'regime' to 'game' of truth. He clarified that by 'game' he meant 'a set of rules by which truth is produced' (Foucault, 1984b, p. 38).

An exploration of Foucault's theory on truth and knowledge is significant in terms of understanding the new assessment policy as a 'game of truth' created by political and economic rationalities of government. The genealogical approach highlights discontinuities in what is considered worthwhile knowledge and emphasis is placed on heeding the observation that 'truth is not outside power or lacking power.' In order to investigate the constitution of teacher identity as a consequence of new discourses and practices of assessment it is important to take cognizance of the historical context and rationalities that gave impetus to the new discourse as 'truth.'

3.2.3 Forms of Power

In his genealogical work, Foucault developed a theory of power/knowledge. Instead of treating agents and structures as primary categories, Foucault focuses on power. However, Foucault (1976) dispenses with the notion of power posed in terms of sovereignty and Marxism. Foucault (1976) argues that ‘the notion of repression is quite inadequate for capturing what is precisely the productive aspect of power.’ Foucault explains that in defining the effects of power as repression, one adopts a purely juridical conception of such power and one identifies power as a law or prohibition. The view of power as repression according to Foucault is a ‘wholly negative, narrow, skeletal conception of power, one that is curiously widespread (Foucault, 1976, p. 307).

In *Truth and Power*, Foucault (1976) argues: ‘[w]hat makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose function is repression’ (Foucault, 1976, p. 307).

In *Omnes et Singulatim*, Foucault (1979b) argues that study of the art of government rests on the following assumption: ‘Power is not a substance. Neither is it a mysterious property whose origin must be delved into. Power is only a type of relation between individuals.’

Foucault (1982b) explains that when ‘one defines the exercise of power as a mode of action upon the actions of others,’ the element of freedom is included. Foucault (1982b) states that ‘power is exercised only over free subjects, and only in so far as they are free,’ which means that ‘individual or collective subjects are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct, several ways of reacting and modes of behavior are available’ (Foucault, 1982b, pp. 138-139).

3.2.4 Bio-power

In the *History of Sexuality, Volume 1*, Foucault (1979a) introduces the concept of bio-power. Bio-power seems to incorporate both the individualizing pole of discipline and the collectivizing pole of the politics of the population (Rabinow and Rose, 2003, p. xxiv). As a genealogist, Foucault sought to expose the deception of the repressive hypothesis of power by connecting it to the formation of what he calls ‘bio-power,’ thus relativising and revealing its function in relation to it (Howarth, 2000). Bio-power is defined as ‘an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations’ for the sake of generating greater utility, efficiency and productivity (Foucault, 1979a, p. 140). According to Foucault (1979a), ‘[bio]-power is situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race and the large scale phenomena of population.’ Bio-power relates to the government’s concern with fostering the life of a population, and centers on the poles of **disciplines** (political anatomy of the human body) and **regulatory controls** (a bio-politics of the population).

While Foucault’s (1977) work, *Discipline and Punish* provides a critique of the objectification of human beings by ‘disciplinary power,’ *The History of Sexuality* is critical of the way in which modern bio-power induces humans to ‘subjectify’ themselves by specific confessional technologies and ethical practices of the self (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983).

Thus for Foucault (1979a), bio-politics and bio-power refer to technologies, knowledge, discourses, politics and practices used to bring about the production and management of a state’s human resources. According to Foucault (1979a), bio-power analyses, regulates, controls, explains and defines the human subject, its body and behavior. Danaher et al. (2000) articulate this conception as follows: ‘The way people come to understand the world, the way they behave, the values and aspirations they develop and the way in which they react to events: all these things are fashioned out of the various apparatuses and technologies of bio-power. So it’s not as if people have independent minds and free will which might allow them to choose who will represent them, or what political system will best look after their interests, or even what their best interests are. Those kinds of things – what the French

sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1977) calls ‘habitus’ and ‘dispositions’ are already the effects of power or, to be more specific, the effects of bio-power’ (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 74).

The basic idea of bio-power is to produce self-regulating subjects. In other words, once our bodies and minds have been formed and formulated in particular ways, we take it upon ourselves to make sure that we function in these ways, and remain good, healthy subjects (Danaher et al., 2000, p.75). Bio-power manifests itself in technologies or rationalities that influence populations not only at a national level but at a global level. In the rationality of neo-liberalism, for example, ‘one saw the emergence of formulae of power that not only postulated, but also sought to create, certain forms of spaces of self-government, self-regulation and self-responsibility’ (Rabinow and Rose, 2003, p. xxx).

The most economical form of surveillance is self-surveillance (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 76). Foucault (1979) points out that power should never be thought of in purely negative terms – it is first and foremost, productive. Bio-power and its technologies, institutions and discourses produce an almost infinite variety of categories and sub categories of people and behaviour which compete with one another to regulate and control populations (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 79).

In summary, Foucault (1979) concentrates on two dimensions of the operation of bio-power. These are (1) a general concern by governors and administrators of states with the human species as a whole – for instance, the biological risks confronting the species or the size of populations – and (2) a ‘micro-physics’ of the body, in which the aim of power is to train and discipline human bodies in ways that are conducive to their greater organization (Howarth, 2000). In more political terms, Foucault captures these logics with his ideas of ‘governmentality, pastoral power and discipline.’

3.2.5 Disciplinary Power

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) highlights the productivity of power. ‘Discipline,’ according to Foucault (1977) refers to, ‘methods which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed on them a relation of docility-utility’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 137). Foucault explains that ‘what was being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures and its behaviour.’ Foucault (1977) describes ‘discipline’ as ‘political anatomy’, which was also a ‘mechanics of power.’ Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, ‘docile’ bodies. Foucault (1977) argues that discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility by increasing aptitude and capacity) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience through subjection). In Foucault’s words: ‘A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 136).

Disciplinary methods had long been in existence – in monasteries, armies, workshops. In the course of the 17th and 18th century discipline became a general formula of domination. Discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space – it requires enclosure. The aim is to derive maximum advantages and to neutralise the inconveniences, as the forces of production become more concentrated (Foucault, 1977). Disciplinary power was evident in ‘secondary education at a very early date, later in primary schools, they slowly invested the space of the hospital; and in a few decades, they restructured the military organization. They sometimes circulated very rapidly from one point to another (between the army, technical schools or secondary schools, sometimes slowly and discreetly (the insidious militarisation of the large workshops)’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 138).

Disciplinary techniques, ‘were meticulous techniques ... they defined a certain mode of detailed political investment of the body, a ‘new micro- physics’ of power’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 139). Discipline is a political anatomy of detail (Foucault, 1977, p. 140). Foucault states that ‘the meticulousness of regulations, the fussiness of the inspections, the supervision of the smallest fragment of life and the body ... provide, in the context of the school, the barracks,

the hospital ... an economic or technical rationality for this mystical calculus of the infinitesimal and the infinite' (Foucault, 1977, p. 140).

Disciplinary power is evident in the form of control activity of activity such as correlation between the body and gesture (Foucault, 1977, pp. 149-152). For example, Foucault states that good hand writing, 'presupposes a gymnastic – a whole routine whose rigorous code invests the body in its entirety, from the points of the feet to the tip of the index finger' (Foucault, 1977, p. 152).

According to Foucault (1977), 'discipline operates on four techniques: it draws up tables; it prescribes movements; it imposes exercises; lastly, in order to obtain the combination of forces, it arranges tactics.' Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise. The success of disciplinary power derives from the use of simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination (Foucault, 1977, p.171).

In terms of **hierarchical observation**, 'the exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation, an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see, induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible' (Foucault, 1977, p.171). Foucault (1977) gives an example of observatories: 'In a perfect camp, all power would be exercised solely through exact observation; each gaze would form part of the overall functioning of power.' Surveillance is emphasized.

Foucault asserts (1977) that '[a]t the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism. The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institution: compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenizes and excludes is referred to as *normalizing judgment*. 'The power of the Norm appears through disciplines. The Normal is established as a principle of coercion in teaching with the introduction of a

standardised education. In a sense the power of normalising imposes homogeneity; but it individualises by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another. The norm introduces, as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences' (Foucault, 1977, pp. 177-184).

Foucault (1977) explains that the examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalising judgement. It is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them (Foucault, 1977, p.184).

According to Foucault (1977), the disciplines mark the moment when the reversal of the political axis of individualisation takes place. Foucault (1977) explains that in certain societies, of which the feudal regime is only one example, it may be said that individualisation is greatest where sovereignty is exercised and in the higher echelons of power. The more one produces power or privilege, the more one is marked as an individual, by rituals, written accounts or visual reproductions which Foucault referred to as '**ascending**' **individualisation** (Foucault, 1977, p.192).

In a disciplinary regime, on the other hand, **individualisation is 'descending'** as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualised (Foucault, 1977, p.193). The shift from ascending individualism to descending individualism as a result of disciplinary power is summarized as follows:

Ascending Individualisation (Sovereign Power)

- Characterised by Ceremonies
- Ancestors as points of reference
- Commemorative accounts

Descending Individualisation: (Disciplinary Power)

- Characterised by Surveillance
- Observations
- Comparative measures (Norms)

Foucault (1977) cites Bentham's *Panopticon* as the architectural figure depicting disciplinary mechanisms. The principle on which it is based is as follows: 'at the periphery, of an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this is pierced with wide windows that open into the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. The supervisor is placed in the central tower' (Foucault, 1977, p. 200).

The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and recognise immediately. It is similar to the dungeon because it encloses. However, it differs from the dungeon which 'deprives of light and hides.' In contrast the Panopticon provides 'full lighting' and makes the prisoner visible to the supervisor' (Foucault, 1977, p. 200).

Foucault (1977) explains that the effect of the Panopticon is 'to induce in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.' 'The Panopticon is a machine for dissociating the see/ being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without being seen' (Foucault, 1977, pp. 201-202).

Foucault (1977) lists the advantage of the Panopticon which is to perfect the exercise of power by reducing the number of those who exercise it while increasing the number on which it is exercised thereby assuring economy and efficiency. In presenting Bentham's *Panopticon*, Foucault (1977) shows how one may 'unlock' the disciplines and get them to function in a diffused, multiple, polyvalent way throughout the social body. Foucault summarises discipline as 'a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set

of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of applications, targets; it is a 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology' (Foucault, 1977, p. 215).

Foucault's description of disciplinary power is crucial to this thesis since it exemplifies a profound historical context for the practices of teachers in South Africa prior to the introduction of OBE. The principle of hierarchical observation (surveillance or the gaze) is a central mechanism in practices of South African schools which will be highlighted through data. Normalising judgment as typified by assessment practices prior to the assessment reform meant that assessment was norm-referenced, that is, learners were compared to a norm or to each other. The statistical display of results in the form of the 'bell curve' signaled what was considered within the norm, below the norm or above the norm. The disciplinary techniques employed in schools prior to the introduction of OBE, was aimed at homogenizing, making comparisons, differentiating, creating hierarchies and excluding people through dividing practices.

3.2.6 Governmentality

While the word government today possesses solely a political meaning, Foucault is able to show that well into the 18th century the problem of government was placed in a more general context (Lemke, 2000, p. 2). Government was a term discussed not only in political tracts, but also in philosophical, religious, medical and pedagogic texts. In addition to the management by the state or the administration, 'government' also signified problems of self control, guidance for the family and children, management of the household and directing the soul (Foucault, 1978, 1982b; Lemke, 2000, p. 2; Rose, 1999, p. 3).

Foucault's thinking on the subject of modern government is best articulated in a lecture entitled 'Governmentality' (Inda, 2005, p. 2). In this lecture, Foucault (1978) undertakes a genealogical analysis of the art of government. With reference to government, Foucault (1978) raises questions about the shift in thinking about political rule. According to Foucault (1978), the text used to explicate the art of government from the sixteenth to the eighteenth

century is Machiavelli's *The Prince*. The prince stood in a relation of singularity and externality.

The art of government stands in sharp contrast to the sovereign notion of power articulated in *The Prince*. Foucault (1978) explains that practices of government are multifarious and concern many kinds of people – the head of a family, the superior of a convent, the teacher or tutor – all these kinds of government which are internal to the state which distinguishes them from the radical ‘transcendent singularity’ and externality of Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Whereas sovereignty is exercised over a territory and, consequently, over the subjects that dwell in it, Foucault emphasizes that: ‘[w]hat government has to do with is not territory but, rather, a sort of complex composed of men and things’ (Foucault, 1978, p. 235). Foucault (1978) clarifies the reference to men by stating that it refers to ‘men in their relations’ with things.

Foucault (1978) discusses La Mothe Le Vayer's text on the three fundamental types of government, each of which relates to a particular science or discipline: the art of self-government, connected with *morality*; the art of properly governing a family, which belongs to *economy*; and finally the science of the ruling state, which concerns *politics* (Foucault, 1978, p. 233).

Foucault defines government as conduct, or more precisely, as the ‘conduct of conduct’ (Foucault, 1982b) and thus ranges from ‘governing the self’ to ‘governing others’ (Lemke, 2000, p. 2; Rose, 1999). Foucault explains that the exercise of power is a ‘conduct of conduct’ and a management of possibilities. ‘*Government* did not refer only to political structures or the management of states, rather it is designated as the way in which the conduct of individuals or groups may be directed – the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. To *govern*, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of the action of others’ (Foucault, 1982b, p. 138).

Foucault (1982b, p. 140) emphasizes that freedom is an important pre-condition for the exercise of power and ‘when one characterises these actions as the government of men by other men, one includes an important element: freedom. Power is exercised only over free subjects, only in so far as they are free.’ In this respect, Foucault (1982b) and Frankl (1984) share a common philosophy.

Foucault’s contribution to theories of the art of governing has been to draw out the links between the levels of the state and global politics, on the one hand, and the level of individuals and their conduct in everyday life, on the other (Foucault, 1978, p. 221) and these taken together, constitute what he calls ‘governmentality.’

Governmentality ties in with Foucault’s more general concern with the ways in which power and its practices are linked to processes of what he calls ‘subject formation,’ and how an understanding of these processes can help an individual to gain a certain amount of freedom and personal autonomy (Danaher et al., 2000). The idea that governmentality is as much about what we do to ourselves as what is done to us, opens up the possibility that we might intervene in this process of self-formation (Danaher et al., 2000, pp. 83-85). According to Foucault (1984), ‘*Governmentality* implies relationship of self to itself... I intend this concept of *governmentality* to cover the whole range of practices that constitute, define, organise, and instrumentalise the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other’ (Foucault, 1984b, p. 41).

To exercise power over others by governing them, is a process in which these others not only willingly participate but also produce knowledge of themselves. It is possible to differentiate the exercise of power in the form of government from simple domination. To govern humans is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and to utilize it for one’s own objectives (Rose, 1999, p. 4). Foucault (1984b) emphatically states that ‘Power is not evil. Power [refers to] games of strategy’ (Foucault, 1984b, p. 40).

According to Dean (1999) Foucault uses the term ‘governmentality’ to describe a general approach towards thinking about the state. Foucault sees the changing nature of the state as

being a function of changing rationalities of government. In this way governmentality can be considered as the ‘art of government’ (Foucault, 1978), i.e a way of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern, what governing is, what or who is governed).

The semantic linking of governing (‘gouverner’) and modes of thought (‘mentalite’) indicates that it is not possible to study the technologies of power without an analysis of the political rationality underpinning them (Lemke, 2000, p. 2). This way of thinking draws on ideas, theories, philosophies and forms of knowledge about governing that are culturally embedded (Rose, 1999).

Foucault’s comments on the strategies and tactics of governing oneself and others also have implications for conceptions of the state in terms of sovereignty. At a macro-political level, the term ‘governmentality,’ is a useful lens with which to view the political rationalities as ‘tactics of government.’

According to Popkewitz (2000), governing or governmentality from Foucault’s perspective, is also concerned with linking **political rationalities to subjectivities**, that is, the governing principles through which people think, talk, speak, and act as self-responsible individuals. ‘We can recognize that the precepts, norms/ and values disseminated in these practices of government have made us the kinds of persons we take ourselves to be’ (Rabinow and Rose, 2003, pp. x–xi). Thus, the term ‘governmentality,’ is used at a micro-level of analytics to uncover the formation subjectivities (identities).

In summary, Foucault uses the notion of government in a comprehensive sense to show the link between forms of power and processes of subjectivation. In his history of governmentality, Foucault endeavours to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other’s emergence (Lemke, 2000). Thus, from Foucault’s perspective of governmentality, the polarity of subjectivity and power ceases to be plausible: government refers to a continuum, which extends from political government

right through to forms of self-regulation, namely ‘technologies of the self’ (Lemke, 2000, p. 12).

3.2.7 Pastoral Power

In his lecture, entitled ‘*Omnes et Singulatim*’ Foucault (1979b) traces the origins of pastoralism back to the ancient oriental societies of Egypt, Assyria and Judea, in which a leader or God (as in the case of the Hebrews) was compared to a shepherd leading a flock (Foucault, 1979b, p. 182).

Foucault defines pastoral power as the power which ‘is to constantly ensure, sustain and improve the lives of each and everyone’ (Foucault, 1979b, p. 188). Foucault (1979b) describes the evolution of the concept of pastorship from the Hebrew to Christian literature (which altered the theme). ‘Christian pastorship implies a peculiar knowledge between a pastor and each of his sheep. This knowledge is particular. It individualises. It isn’t enough to know the state of the flock ... each sheep must also be known ... he must know what goes on in the soul of each one, that is, his secret sins’ (Foucault, 1979b, p. 189).

According to Foucault (1979b), Christian pastorship is closely associated with two practices of conscience guiding and self examination. Foucault (1979b) states that ‘[a]s for self-examination, [confession] its aim was not to close self-awareness in upon itself but rather to enable it to open up entirely to its director – to unveil to him the depths of his soul’(Foucault, 1979b, p. 190).

Individuals are encouraged to be guided by their conscience to confess their thoughts and then assist in interpreting them. Historically, this interpretation was facilitated by a clergy, but increasingly from the nineteenth century on, the role of encouraging individuals to reflect upon and speak their truths about themselves spread to a series of interpretive experts:

doctors, psychologists, therapists and, counselors (Piomelli, 2004, p. 443). By encouraging individuals to seek and speak the truth about themselves, this pastoral power produced subjects that Foucault described as a subject 'tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge'(Foucault, 1982b). According to Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983), Foucault attempted to isolate two trends: the genealogy of objectifying trends in our culture and the subjectifying practices.

3.2.8 The Subject

Writing about the goal of his work, Foucault (1982b) has asserted that '[i]t is not power, but the subject, that is the general theme' of his research and adds that '[m]y objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made into subjects'(Foucault,1982b, p.126). Foucault explains that there are three modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects.

'The first is the mode of inquiry that try to give themselves the status of sciences; for example, the objectivizing of the speaking subject in grammairie generale, philology, and linguistics. Or again in this first mode, the objectivizing of the productive subject, the subject who labours in the analysis of wealth and of economics. Or, a third example, the objectivizing of the sheer fact of being alive in natural history or biology' (Foucault, 1982b, p. 126).

In the second part of his work, Foucault (1982b) studied the objectivizing of the subject in what he calls 'dividing practices.' Foucault (1982b) explains that the subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. 'This process objectivizes him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the good boys' (Foucault, 1982b). In the third part of his work, Foucault (1982b) is concerned with the way a human being turns himself into a subject.

While Foucault (1982b) has claimed that it is not power, but the subject that is the objective of his studies, he justifies his inclusion of the concept of power by stating: 'It soon appeared to me that, while the human subject is placed in relations of production and of signification, he is equally placed in power relations that are complex.'

Foucault (1982b) asserts that 'this form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity and imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings to the word 'subject'- subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge - both meanings, [of subject] suggest a form of power that subjugates and makes subject to' (Foucault, 1982b, p. 130).

According to Howarth (2000) what emerges from Foucault's alternative picture of discourse is the enmeshing of power, truth and practices, and the positioning of human beings within historical configurations. Foucault (1972) provides the starting point for discourse analysis in the understanding of the subject. According to Foucault, subjects are created in discourse. He argues that 'discourse is not the majestically unfolding manifestation of a thinking, knowing, speaking subject' (Foucault, 1972, p. 55). This position is articulated as follows, '[t]he self no longer uses language to express itself; rather language speaks through the person' (Philips and Jorgenson, 2002, p. 14). Foucault substitutes the linguistic for a philosophical conception of the subject.

Foucault emphasizes the discursive conditions that made knowledge possible; thus subjects are little more than 'ways of speaking' within a particular discourse. This results in certain 'decentering' of the subject or in Barthe's term the (in) famous 'death of the author'- and a dispersion of the possible places from which one can speak (Danaher et al., 2000; Howarth, 2000, p. 80). From this perspective, people don't 'think or speak ideas' or make meanings, meaning is produced by a discourse (Danaher et al., 2000).

Deacon (2003) emphasizes that Foucault's notion of power as strategic relations of governance and resistance by free subjects stands in stark contrast to conventional accounts of power as a property or a possession intentionally wielded by an agent. Foucault (1976) is concerned with how power is exercised.

According to Piomelli (2004), with regard to the subject, Foucault is interested 'in the way in which the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by the practices of the self. However, while Foucault's 'ethics of the self' or an 'aesthetics of existence' places more emphasis on the practices that human beings engage in as agents, 'these practices are ... not something that the individual invents by himself.' Rather, 'they are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group' (Foucault cited in Piomelli, 2004). Thus, who we are, how we relate to ourselves, even our very identities and actions are all products of power – products of our interactions in human relationships (Piomelli, 2004, p. 438). For Foucault, the notion that power produces subjects grew out of his view that nothing about humans is fixed, but instead we are formed and we form ourselves through our interactions and cultures. Identity is perceived as a 'political construction which takes place against the background of a range of sedimented practices' (Laclau, 1990, p. 35). According to Foucault (1982b), our participation in power relations make us who we are.

In using Foucault's (1982b) work, it is essential to understand the context of his study which he explains as follows: 'my objective for more than twenty five years has been to sketch out a history of the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves: economics, biology, psychiatry and medicine. The main point is not to accept this knowledge at face value but to analyse these so called sciences as very specific 'truth games' related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves.'

3.2.9 Technologies of Self

Foucault's concept of 'technology' pertains to the self-relation of the subject to its self-care (Andersen, 2003, p. 24). Foucault (1982a) explains that there are four major types of these 'technologies,' each a matrix of practical reason: (1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of the individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality.

Foucault (1982a) states that these four technologies hardly ever function separately and that the last two, technologies of domination and self which, have kept his attention. According to Foucault (1982a) this encounter between technologies of domination of others and those of the self is what he calls 'governmentality.' Foucault's (1982a) aim is expressed in the following statement: 'I am more [and more] interested in the interaction between oneself and others, and in the technologies of individual domination, in the mode of action that an individual exercises upon himself by means of technologies of self.'

Foucault (1982a) explains that there has been an inversion in the hierarchy of the two principles of antiquity, 'care of yourself' [*souci de soi*] for the Greeks and the Delphic principle, 'know yourself' [*gnothi seauton*]. Foucault (1982a) states that, 'in the modern world, knowledge of self constitutes the fundamental principle.'

The following extract is crucial to my study as it explicates key concepts such as the 'self,' 'identity,' 'care of self' and the notion of the 'soul.' In his seminar on '*Technologies of Self*,'

Foucault (1982a) elaborates on the concern for taking care of oneself that is found in Plato's *Alcibiades I*:

“What is this self of which one has to take care, and of what does that care consist?”

First, what is the self? The self is a reflexive pronoun, and it has two meanings. Auto means ‘the same,’ but it also conveys the notion of identity. The latter meaning shifts the question from ‘what is self?’ to ‘Departing from what ground shall I find my identity?’ Alcibiades tries to find the self in a dialectic movement. When you take care of the body, do you take care of the self? The self is not clothing, tools, or possessions; it is to be found in the principle that uses these tools, a principle not of the body but of the soul. You have to worry about your soul – that is the principal activity of caring for yourself. The care of the self is the care of the activity and not the care of the soul- as- substance.”

The second question is: ‘How must we take care of this principle of activity, the soul? Of what does this care consist?’ One must know what the soul consists of. The soul cannot know itself except by looking at itself in a similar element, a mirror. Thus, it must contemplate the divine element. In this divine contemplation, the soul will be able to discover rules to serve as a basis for just behavior and political action ... The dialogue ends when Alcibiades knows he must take care of himself by examining his soul” (Foucault, 1982a, p.151).

Foucault's (1982a) intention in using Plato's *Alcibiades I*, is to highlight the nature of the soul which is not a substance. Therefore, care of self, entails more than care of body or mind, but the examination of the soul.

3.2.10 What is the Soul?

In his text, *‘Struggle for the Teacher's Soul*, Popkewitz (1984) uses the word ‘soul’ in parenthesis to mean ‘inner beliefs, feelings, and sensitivities that generate actions.’ The word ‘soul’ is often used fleetingly by authors who assume that the reader knows about the nature

of the soul. Using my ‘logic of discernment,’ I present selected theories of the soul that have value for the explication of data, instead of an attempt to forge any conclusive arguments about the nature of the soul. There are many ancient theories of the soul that range from the Classical Greek and Plato’s views on the nature of the soul, [first in *Phaedo*, then in *The Republic*,] Aristotle [in the *De Anima* or *On the Soul* (Lorenz, 2003, p. 1; Hackforth, 1972).

According to Mohan (1997), in general, Plato contends that the soul is distinct from the body and is capable of maintaining a separate existence from it. Aristotle, in contrast, feels that body and soul are two aspects of the same underlying substance (form and matter). The body is the material of a thing and the soul is its form. Aristotle used the word *psyche* to describe the soul (Mohan, 1997).

Using my ‘logic of discernment,’ I explore Plato’s notion of the nature of the soul and knowledge since Foucault’s notion of ‘governmentality’ and ‘care of self’ draws from Plato’s work. It should be emphasized that Foucault did not adopt Plato’s conceptions of the nature of the soul implicitly, but did however, adopt Plato’s notion of care of soul.

A doctrine which is a fusion of Socratic teachings and Pythagoreanism, known as the ‘Theory of Forms’ asserts that the constituents of real being are not the transient mutable objects apprehended by our senses, but immaterial Forms which are immutable and eternal, the objects of thought or reason, existing independently of any mind, and in some way participated in or imperfectly imitated by, sensible objects (Hackforth, 1972, p. 5). In *Phaedo*, the incomposite nature of the soul is asserted in emphatic terms, and made a point of likeness to the eternal Forms, which provides at least a presumption that it is immortal (Hackforth, 1972, p. 11).

Lorenz (2003) cites the following extract from *The Republic* (608d):

Glaucon is taken aback by Socrates question:

‘Haven’t you realised that our soul is immortal and never destroyed?’

He looked at me with wonder and said: 'No, by god, I haven't. Are you really in the position to assert that?'

Lorenz (2003) explains that in addition to the question of immortality or otherwise, there is the further question of whether the soul, if it does have some form of existence after the person has died, 'still possesses some power and wisdom' (Plato's *Phaedo*). Answering both questions, Socrates says not only that the soul is immortal, but also contemplates truths after its separation from the body at death (Lorenz, 2003, p. 7). Socrates tells us that the body and the senses only distort the soul's perception of reality.

Plato's thinking about the soul ties in with other ideas about Forms. He believed that a human has three distinct parts: mind, body and soul (Mohan, 1997). Mohan (1997) explains that the Body is in a state of change and as such can never reflect the Form of man. The soul, however, is immortal and unchanging; it pre-exists the body that holds it. Our body is our physical form which can touch and be touched, see and be seen. We are separate and distinct from the bodies we inhabit. The mind can become aware of eternal truths beyond the physical world in the realms of ideas and forms. For Plato the mind and body are seen to be in opposition, the body desires food and sex etc, and the mind seeks knowledge and understanding of the world (Mohan, 1997).

According to Younkins (2005), Plato held that the world is made up of two opposed dimensions – true reality (i.e. the intelligible) and the material world (i.e. the sensible). True reality is a set of universal ideas that are the 'essential forms.' Plato explains that sensible things of the world cannot be known with any certainty because they are in continual state of impermanence and change. Objects of sense cannot be known for at the very instant the observer approaches, they will have already changed. From this, he concluded that there is nothing stable in the sense world. Change is everywhere – things in the world are always transforming. Universals, however, are immutable, non-contradictory, eternal, have identity and are knowable (Younkins, 2005, p. 1).

Younkins (2005) explains that Plato alleges that souls must have had pre-existence in a former life in the world of ideas. When the soul encounters a copy of an idea in the sense world, a process of reminiscence is set in motion, making a man curious in spurring on his efforts to know reality. Knowledge is thus buried in the soul. Encounters with particulars, activates the soul's knowledge of Universals. When one's memory is jolted, one is prompted to turn inward in order to look upward to find the Forms. True reality cannot be known by logic or reason, it can only be known through mystical experience (i.e intuition and revelation) (Younkins, 2005, p. 2).

3.2.11 Foucault and Other Modern day Scholars' Views on The Soul

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) acknowledges the presence of a soul and elaborates that it is 'unlike the soul represented by Christian theology, it is not born in sin and subject to punishment' (Foucault, 1977, pp.16-30).

In *The History of Sexuality, Vol 3, Care of Self*, Foucault (1986) states that '[f]or it is the soul that constantly risks carrying the body beyond its own mechanics and its elementary needs; it is the soul that prompts one to choose the times that are not suitable, to act in questionable circumstances, to contravene natural dispositions' (Foucault, 1986, pp.133-134).

In *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, Foucault (2005), using the example of *Alcibiades*, argues that the question of 'taking care of oneself' is no longer linked to the question of 'governing others,' but being governed through 'taking care of self.' The question of 'care of self' comprises two parts: 'what is oneself?' and what is, 'taking care of?' (Foucault, 2005).

Deepak Chopra (2008) a modern day guru on spirituality says that 'your soul is not a thing; it is a field of infinite possibilities. Your soul is omniscient, your soul proliferates and embraces uncertainty in order to create. The soul is the observer that interprets and makes choices. Everything happens in our body, mind and soul. The observer is the soul; the process is the

mind and the physical body is the object.’ Demartini (2008) a modern day teacher and philosopher, defines the soul as the most integrated, authentic, inter-directed self: your most empowered self. The levels of consciousness are presented diagrammatically in Figure 3.1 and the body operates on the lowest level of consciousness, whilst the soul on the the highest level of consciousness (Demartini, 2008).

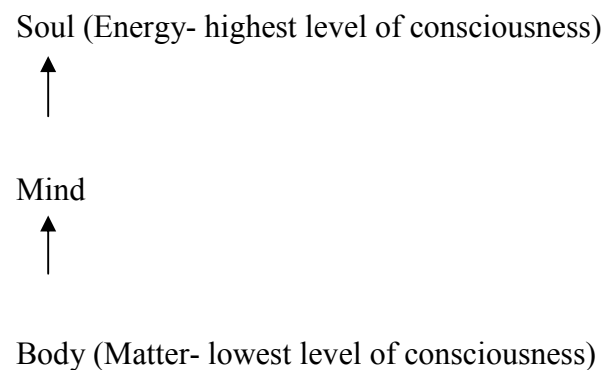


Figure 3.1 Levels of Consciousness and the Soul

Foucault (1982a) explains that to take ‘care of oneself’ consists of ‘knowing oneself.’ With reference to *Alcibiades I*, Foucault (1982a; 1986) states that the soul had a mirror relation to itself which relates to the concept of memory and justifies dialogue (writing and confessions) as a method of discovering truth from the soul. For the Stoics, truth is not in oneself, but in the *logoi*, the teachings of the masters (Foucault, 1982a).

Foucault (1982a) summarises the two views of Christianity of the first few centuries, as that of disclosing truth about oneself: the first is, *exomologesis*, or a dramatic expression of the situation of the penitent as sinner which manifests his status as sinner. The second is what is called in the spiritual literature, *exagoreusis*. This is an analytical and continual verbalization of thoughts carried in the relation of complete obedience to someone else; this relation is modeled on the renunciation of one’s own will and of one’s own self (Foucault, 1982a).

In Foucault's analysis, this view of Christianity, in essence distinguishes between the selves as a 'you and me principle' and forges a separation at the level of the body. In a sense, this is the start of the 'dividing practice' that Foucault writes about in presenting society's discourse of 'sane' or 'insane,' for example. Therefore, at the level of the body, the 'truth game' is limited to the historical period as Foucault rightly points out. What Foucault failed to articulate in his work is what happens at the level of the soul which is not governed by time but is eternal – where the only 'games of truth' are the universal laws (which are scientific).

Whilst Foucault bases his idea of governmentality on the Platonic concept of 'taking care of one's soul,' he often uses the word 'psyche' which was used by Aristotle. This account of the soul is merely an informative one, which I will draw from in order to explore related dimensions from the data. Foucault's (1982a, 1986) reference to Plato's *Alcibiades I*, draws attention to the divinity in each individual which is nurtured through governmentality (regulation of the self). At the outset of this thesis, I have presented my research intention to explore the concept governmentality to show the link between the micro- and macro -levels of power in society (deductive approach). However, it seems that governmentality is more than that which can be rationalized by historicalised 'games of truth' at a macro- or micro- level (of body and mind), and I argue that it is also at work at the level of the soul.

3.2.12 A Critique of Foucault or a Critique of Foucault's critics

In attempting to critique Foucault's work it seems fitting to quote Foucault's definition of a critique: *'A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumption, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest... We must free ourselves from the sacralization of the social as the only reality and stop regarding as superfluous something so essential in human life and human relations as thought'* (Foucault, 1981).

It is precisely for the ingenuity of Foucault's work that it was selected as a starting point. The work of a genius, however, stimulates further investigation by its gaps and silences on certain

issues thereby extending the cycle of one's search for meaning. Rabinow and Rose (2003), aptly argue that Foucault's texts 'set out to open things up, not close them down; to complicate, not simplify; not to police the boundaries of the oeuvre but to multiply lines of investigation and possibilities for thought.' Howarth (2000), for example, states that the major criticisms of Foucault's approach focus on his failure to give sufficient emphasis to the alternative spaces and counter-logics of resistance. These criticisms fail to register Foucault's theoretical stress on the inextricability of power/ resistance. In defense of Foucault's work, I argue that Foucault did take into account the forms of resistance against different forms of power. Foucault (1982b) argues that rather than analyzing power from the point of view of its internal rationality, it consists of analyzing power relations through the antagonisms of strategies. Foucault (1982b) also identifies three types of struggles: domination, exploitation and subjection. Foucault elaborates on the concept of strategy and specifies that 'every power relationship implies, at least in potential, a strategy of struggle, in which the two forces are not superimposed.' With regard to analyses of resistance, I have used the work Laclau and Mouffe (1985) concept of antagonism to explore the concept of resistance.

According to Howarth (2000), another difficulty in Foucault's account is the relationship between the 'micro'- and 'macro'- levels of his analysis. While Foucault problematizes a descending concept of power, in which the concrete dispersements and strategies of power are the manifestations of some global logic, the precise bridge between the local and global is not fully theorized (Howarth, 2000). I argue that Foucault's concept of governmentality is not restricted to the conventional notion in terms of the act of government of state only but encompasses the governing of the self. In defense of Foucault's work, the very evolution of his thinking and approach from archeology to genealogy to technologies of self, points to a self enlightenment process within Foucault himself. In making use of the work of Plato (on the soul) for example, and delving into matters of 'care of self,' it seems that Foucault's future work would have clarified many issues that critics have raised.

Foucault's concept of power/ knowledge also has consequences for his conception of truth. Foucault claims that it is not possible to gain access to universal truth since it is impossible to talk from a position outside discourse and that there is no escape from representation (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 14). This is one of the areas of Foucault's work that I challenge in

this study. This perspective comes from his earlier work and I argue that this is a limiting perspective situated in the realm of substance rather than the non-corporal or the soul.

The rate and intensity of development in Foucault's thinking suggest that if Foucault had the opportunity to work further, he would have extended the concept governmentality to explain the workings of the soul as well. However, I perceive this as a point to elaborate on in this study. Foucault's work on the freedom of subjects in relations of power will be complemented with Frankl's (1984) work on the self-determining nature of man to highlight the will to meaning among teacher participants implementing the new assessment policy.

3.3 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (1985) Discourse Theory

Philips and Jorgensen, (2002) argue that Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory, is the purest post-structuralist theory and has as its starting point the idea that discourse constructs the social world in meaning, and that, owing to the fundamental instability of language, meaning can never be permanently fixed. No discourse is a closed entity: it is transformed through contact with other discourses. A 'discursive struggle' is a key concept in Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory and is explained as 'different discourses – each of them representing particular ways of talking about and understanding the social world which are engaged in a constant struggle with one another to achieve hegemony, that is, to fix the meanings of language in their own way' (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002, pp. 6-7). However, it is not my research intention to debate the influence of Marxism as espoused by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). I intend to use their discourse theory mainly as an analytical tool, that is, a language of description to explore the relation between discourse, subject identity and power.

Laclau and Mouffe (1985), refer to '*articulation* as any practice of establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice is referred to as *discourse*. The differential positions, as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call *moments*

[and] by contrast, we will call *element* any difference that is not discursively articulated' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 105).

A discourse is understood as the fixation of meaning within a particular domain. All signs in a discourse are *moments*. A discourse is formed by the partial fixation of meaning around nodal points (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 112). A nodal point is a privileged sign around which other signs are ordered and the other signs acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point. In the new assessment discourse, 'recording of learning outcomes' is identified as a nodal point.

A discourse is established as a totality in which each sign is fixed as a moment through its relations to other signs. All the possibilities that the discourse excludes, Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 111) call the *field of discursivity*. The field of discursivity is a reservoir for the 'surplus of meaning' produced by the articulatory practice. Elements are signs whose meanings have not yet been fixed; signs have multiple, potential meanings (i.e they are polysemic). Thus, a *discourse* attempts to transform elements into moments by reducing polysemy to a fully fixed meaning. In terms of Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory, the discourse establishes closure, a temporary stop to the fluctuations in the meaning of the signs. But the closure is never definitive: 'the transition from the 'elements' to the 'moments' is never entirely fulfilled' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 110).

The discourse can never be so completely fixed that it cannot be undermined and changed by the multiplicity of meaning in the field of discursivity. As every subject position is a discursive position, it partakes of the open character of every discourse and consequently, the various positions cannot be totally fixed in a closed system of differences (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p.115). The understanding of identity in Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory is summarized by Philips and Jorgensen (2002) as follows:

The subject is fundamentally split [and] it never quite becomes 'itself'. It acquires its identity by being represented discursively. Identity is always relationally organized; the subject is

something because it is contrasted with something that it is not. Identity is changeable just as discourses are. The subject is fragmented or decentred; it has different identities according to those discourses of which it forms part. The subject is overdetermined; in principle, it always has the possibility to identify differently in specific situations. Therefore, a given identity is contingent – that is, possible but not necessary (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 43).

Laclau and Mouffe' language of description is a useful tool to articulate the essence of my study. The participants (teachers) are already situated within the paradigm of an existing discourse (which are old ways of assessing) which is a temporary configuration of already established moments. For example, the teacher is in a practice where he or she is solely responsible for assessment which is norm referenced and consists of mainly pen-and-paper tasks. The signalling of a new assessment policy creates the field of discursivity comprising elements. An element in the new assessment policy is that both the learner and teacher are now responsible for assessment which is criterion referenced and authentic. The implementation of the hegemonic project of the new assessment policy is referred to as the articulatory practice (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) where the identity of teacher is modified within this new discourse (new ways of assessing). By virtue of the teacher's role as an educator, as an employee of the Department of Education in the public sector, the heeding of the new discourse is expected to be automatic since the policy is directed from a national level. However, this does not mean that implementation is automatic. The rate at which the elements are changed to moments are as varied as teachers' identities. My study focuses on the changes in identity that occur as elements are changed to moments within a new discourse. As the subject positions vary, so too will the transition of elements to moments. Antagonisms will be explored as these provide possibilities for resistance.

In broad social and political terms, 'hegemonic projects' will attempt to weave together different strands of discourse in an effort to dominate or structure a field of meaning, thus 'fixing' the identities of objects in a particular way (Howarth, 2000, p. 102). However, the overall idea of discourse theory is that social phenomena are never finished or total. Meaning can never be ultimately fixed and this opens up the way for constant struggles about definitions of society and identity, with resulting social effects. A social antagonism occurs when different identities mutually exclude each other. Although a subject has different

identities, these do not have to relate antagonistically to one another (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002, p.47). Philips and Jorgensen (2002) explain that antagonisms can be found where discourses collide. Antagonisms are not internal but external to society; or rather they constitute the limits of a society, that is, the latter's impossibility of fully constituting itself. Antagonisms may be dissolved through hegemonic interventions. 'Hegemony' is similar to 'discourse' because both terms denote a fixation of elements in moments. But the hegemonic intervention achieves this fixation across discourses that collide antagonistically. One discourse is undermined from the discursive field from which another discourse overpowers it, or rather dissolves it by rearticulating its elements (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002).

Thus the overall idea of discourse theory is that social phenomena are never finished or total. Meaning can never be ultimately fixed and this opens up the way for constant social struggles about society and identity, with resulting social effects. The discourse analyst's task is to plot the course of these struggles to fix meanings at all levels of the social (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 24).

3.4 Giddens: The Self in Modernity

According to Giddens (1991), modern institutions differ from all preceding forms of social order in respect of their dynamism, the degree to which they undercut traditional habits and customs, as well as their global impact. Giddens (1991) explains that one of the distinctive features of modernity, in fact, is an increasing interconnection between the two 'extremes' of extensionality and intentionality: globalizing influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other (Giddens, 1991, p.1).

Giddens (1991) emphasizes that the emergence of new mechanisms of self-identity is shaped by and also shape – the institutions of modernity. Giddens (1991) adds that the self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences and in forging their self identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications (Giddens, 1991, p.2).

The reflexivity of the self, in conjunction with the influence of abstract systems, pervasively affects the body as well as psychic processes. The body is less an extrinsic 'given,' functioning outside the internally referential systems of modernity, but becomes itself reflexively mobilized (Giddens, 1991, p. 7).

Giddens (1991) argues that the key aspects of modernity's development are the reorganization of time and space, plus the disembedding mechanisms which radicalize and globalize pre-established institutional traits of modernity.

Giddens uses the term *disembedding* to refer to the 'lifting out' of social relations from local contexts to their re-articulation across indefinite tracts of time-space. *Disembedding mechanisms* are of two types: 'symbolic tokens' (for example, money) and 'expert systems' (modes of technical knowledge) which taken together, refer to 'abstract systems.' An orientation to risk, as explained by Giddens (1991), is more or less forced on us by the abstract systems of modernity and one has to acknowledge that no aspects of our activities follow a pre-destined course, and we are all open to contingent happenings.

Thus modernity is characterized as 'risk society' (Beck, 1992). Living in a 'risk society' means, living with a calculative attitude to open possibilities of action, positive or negative which we are confronted with in our social existence. An orientation to risk is brought about by abstract systems which deskill in all the sectors of social life that they touch. The deskilling, as a result of abstract systems, targets and fragments the self and undermines pre-existing forms of local control (Giddens, 1991).

In times of risk and uncertainty, the propensity to cope is explained by Goffman's notion of *Umwelt* (cited in Giddens, 1991) which signifies a core of (accomplished) normalcy with which individuals and groups surround themselves (Giddens, 1991, p. 127). The *Umwelt* is a 'moving' world of normalcy which the individual takes around from situation to situation,

although this feat depends also on others who confirm, or take part in, reproducing the world. The individual creates, a 'moving wave-front of relevance' which orders contingent events in relation to risk and potential alarms. In globalised circumstances of today, the *Umwelt* includes awareness of high-consequence risks, which represent dangers from which no one can get completely out of range. The protective cocoon is the *mantle of trust* that makes possible the sustaining of a viable *Umwelt* (Giddens, 1991, p.129). In the reflexive project of the self, the narrative of self-identity is inherently fragile. A self-identity has to be created and more or less continually re-ordered against the backdrop of shifting experiences of day-to-day life and the fragmenting tendencies of modern institutions. Giddens (1991) identifies four distinctive tensions and difficulties at the level of the self:

The first dilemma is that of **unification versus fragmentation**. Although modernity fragments, it also unites. With regard to the self, the problem of unification concerns protecting and reconstructing the narrative of self-identity in the face of the massive intentional and extensional changes which modernity sets into being.

The second dilemma is that of **powerlessness versus appropriation**. Powerlessness and reappropriation intertwine variously in different contexts and at varying times.

A third dilemma is that of **authority versus uncertainty**. In conditions of high modernity, in many areas of social life which includes the domain of the self, there are no determinant authorities.

A fourth dilemma is that between **personalized versus commodified experience**. Modernity opens up the project of the self, but under conditions strongly influenced by standardising effects of commodity capitalism (Giddens, 1991, pp.187- 201).

With reference to my research project, the discourse of the new assessment policy is an abstract system in more ways than one, for many teachers. Giddens' (1991) work is used as a

reference point to highlight how self identity becomes a self reflexive project where identities are constructed and reconstructed in response to the challenges of modernity. Giddens (1991) identifies four tensions at the level of the self and my study by examining the abstract system typified by the new assessment policy in relation to teachers' identities, offers the possibility of highlighting a fifth tension or difficulty experienced by the self.

3.5 Bourdieu's Concept of the 'Habitus'

Bourdieu's (1977) work has shown that 'habitus' is the complex concept referring primarily to the non-discursive aspects of culture that binds individuals to larger groups. The concept of 'habitus' is foundational to Bourdieu's theory of social research. A key relationship in bridging objectivism and subjectivism in social research, for Bourdieu (1977) is that between habitus and the field via practices. Bourdieu (1977) focuses on practices and habitus and claims that they are neither objectively determined or products of free will. 'Habitus' are cultural structures that exist in people's bodies and minds. Fields are sets of relations in the world. Through practices, fields condition habitus and habitus informs fields. Practices mediate between the inside (habitus) and outside (fields). Habitus cannot be directly observed and habitus is a conditioned structure (Bourdieu, 1977).

Thus habitus is a system of durable, transposable dispositions which function as the generative basis of structured, objectively defined practices (Bourdieu cited a Harker, 1984). 'Habitus' is seen as a mediating construct, instead of a determinate one. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital in the embodied state is in the form of what is called culture, cultivation or *bildung* and presupposes a process of embodiment which implies a labor of inculcation, assimilation and time which must be invested personally by the investor (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 18).

3.6 Wenger's Communities of Practice

Wenger's (1998) concept of '**communities of practice**' focuses on the social processes of learning through participation in particular practices, and how these processes of learning result in the formation of identities and more specifically the identification with a particular 'community.' Wenger's definitions of practice and community are as follows:

- A **practice** refers to a way of talking about the shared historical and social resources, frameworks, and perspective that can sustain mutual engagement in action.
- A community refers to a way of talking about the social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable as competence (Wenger, 1998, p. 5).

Wenger (1998) argues that people are part of multiple 'communities of practice' and that these include families, work-place communities, schools, informal groups, and any other grouping that exists over time. A community of practice requires a degree of identification and commitment to a particular community. Wenger's work outlines a way of understanding and conceptualising the processes of how particular practices become habituated, that is how a social grouping develops, perpetuates and changes its habits. '*Communities of practice* are groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis' (Wenger et al. cited in Fullan, 2003, p. 45). Teachers' identities are constructed as a result of them being active participants in the practices of social communities (Wenger, 1998, p. 4).

3.7 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow's (1943, 1954) hierarchy of needs is often depicted as a pyramid consisting of two groupings: **deficiency needs** and **growth needs** as depicted in Figure 3.2. The first four lower levels are grouped together as deficiency needs associated with psychological needs. The next three levels are deficiency needs are associated with physiological needs while the top level is termed growth needs which are associated with psychological needs. Deficiency needs must be met first. Once these are met, seeking to satisfy growth needs drives personal growth. The higher needs in this hierarchy only come into focus when the lower needs in the pyramid are satisfied. Once the individual has moved upwards to the next level, 'needs' in the

lower level will no longer be prioritised. However, if a lower level set of needs is no longer being met, the individual will temporarily re-prioritise those needs by focusing attention on the unfulfilled needs. The deficiency needs may be seen as ‘basic’ and can be met and neutralised (i.e. they stop being motivators in one’s life), self-actualisations and transcendence are ‘being’ or ‘growth needs’ (also termed ‘B – needs’), that is, they are enduring motivations or drivers of behavior.

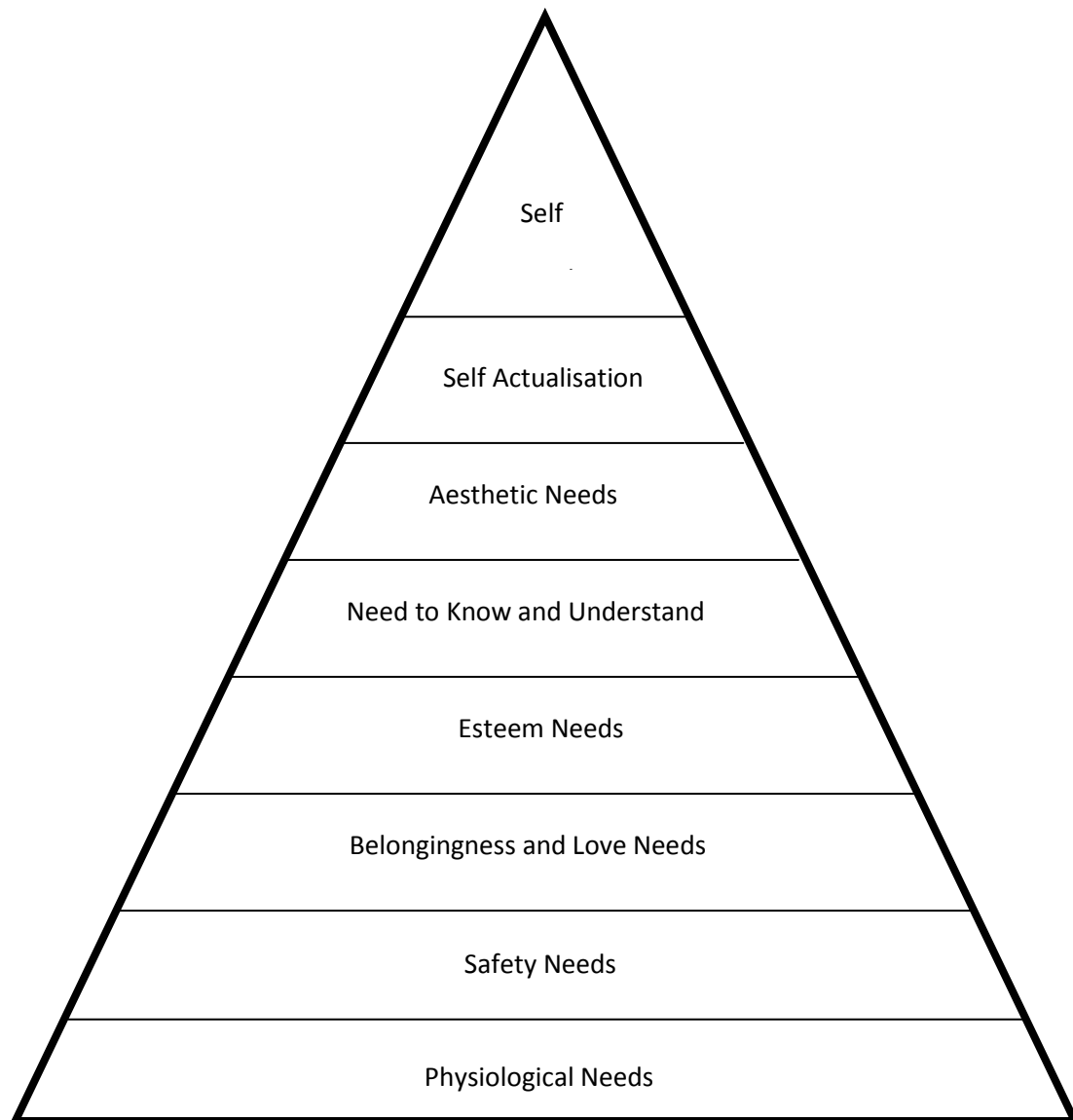


Fig. 3.2 Maslow’s Hierarchy of needs

Self-actualisation is the instinctual need of humans to make the most of their abilities and to strive to be the best they can. According to Maslow (1943), self-actualising people embrace the facts and realities of the world (including themselves) rather than denying or avoiding them. They are characterised by spontaneous ideas and creativity. They are interested in solving problems; show an appreciation of life and demonstrate an internalised system of morality. Further, they are capable of discernment and they lean towards the tendencies of awareness, honesty, freedom and trust.

Maslow (1954) later divided the top triangle to add self-transcendence which is also sometimes referred to as spiritual needs. He believes that we should study and cultivate peak experiences as a way of providing a route to achieve personal growth, integration, and fulfilment. Peak experiences are unifying, and ego-transcending, bringing a sense of purpose to the individual and a sense of integration. Individuals that are most likely to have peak experiences are self-actualising, mature, healthy, and self-fulfilled.

Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs provides a frame of reference for highlighting the values and voids of subjects. Maslow was indeed wise to add the final top triangle of self-transcendence which perhaps explains why highly spiritual people with all the worldly goods as described in *The Monk Who Sold His Ferrari*, (Sharma, 1997) abandon these to find their purpose in life. The point of self-transcendence is also evident in Frankl's (1984) description of the holocaust prisoners who are able to find meaning in suffering.

3.8 Viktor Frankl's (1984) Concept of Logotherapy

Logotherapy by Viktor E. Frankl (1984) is a later addition to the chosen theoretical framework and signals growth within my own frame of reference which reflects an alternative outlook on life.

The term 'existential' itself, refers to (1) the specifically human mode of being; (2) the meaning of existence; and (3) the striving to find a concrete meaning in personal existence, that is to say, the will to meaning (Frankl, 1984, p.123).

Frankl (1984) explains that *Logos* is a Greek word which denotes 'meaning.' Logotherapy, the striving to find meaning in one's life, is the primary motivational force in man. Man's will to meaning can also be frustrated, in which case logotherapy speaks of 'existential frustration' (Frankl, 1984, p.121).

Frankl (1984) maintains that there is nothing in the world that would so effectively help one to survive even in the worst conditions as the knowledge that there is a meaning in one's life. Frankl (1984) cites Nietzsche who argued that '*[h]e who has a why to live for can bear almost any how.*' In the Nazi concentration camps, Frankl (1984) witnessed that those who knew that there was a task waiting for them to fulfil, were most apt to survive Frankl (1984, p.126).

'The true meaning of life is to be discovered in the world rather than within man or his psyche, as though it were a closed system' and Frankl (1984) termed this constitutive characteristic 'the self-transcendence of human existence' (Frankl (1984, p.133). It denotes the fact that being human always points, and is directed, to something, or someone, other than oneself which could be a meaning to fulfil or another human being to encounter. The more one forgets himself by giving himself to a cause to serve or another person to love – the more human he is and the more he actualises himself (Frankl, 1984, p.133).

Through *logotherapy*, we can discover meaning in life in three different ways: (1) by creating a work or doing a deed; and (2) by experiencing something or encountering someone; and (3) by the attitude we take toward unavoidable suffering Frankl (1984, pp. 133-134).

The second way of finding a meaning in life is by experiencing something such as goodness, truth and beauty; by experiencing nature and culture and last but not least, by experiencing another human being in his very uniqueness – by loving him. No one can become fully aware of the very essence of another human being unless he loves him.

According to Covey (2004) in the midst of the most degradable circumstances imaginable, Frankl (1984) used the human endowment of self-awareness to discover a fundamental principle about the nature of man which is man's freedom to choose.

3.9 Chapter Summary

The works of Foucault (1954-1984), Frankl (1984), Giddens (1991), Maslow (1943), Bernstein (1996) and Laclau and Mouffe (1985) bear testimony that the rich data cannot be reduced through viewing from a single lens.

This chapter explicates Foucault's views on discourse, power, knowledge and the subject. Foucault's reasoning on the productivity of power is explained through various forms of power that he delineates. Through the lens of disciplinary power, many of the established practices of teachers are understood in terms of its aim of instilling 'docility' as well as explaining the effects of normalizing judgements. The mechanisms of self-regulation are explicated in Foucault's notions of governmentality and pastoral power. The notion of the soul is explored via some ancient theories; the work of Foucault and other modern day scholars. Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) language of description is useful in terms of explaining possible paradigm shifts in the practices amongst teacher participants. Giddens' sociological perspective identifies four dilemmas or tensions that the self experiences in modernity emphasising the reflexivity of the self in modernity. Frankl (1984) recommends *logotherapy* to discover the meaning in life. Maslow's theory of motivation is a useful lens which can be used to understand how values are aligned with one's life purpose (*dharma; telos*) and vice versa. De Beaugrande (1997) suggests that to master its issues and problems, discourse analysis must adopt an encompassing interdisciplinary perspective.

Chapter Four: Methods, Methodology and Analytical Strategies

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explicates the lens of naturalistic and interpretative methodologies that has guided my study, highlighting the assumptions underlying the choice of the research framework throughout the research process.

In my research study, using the analogy of creating a tapestry, I become the craftsperson responsible for framing, designing and selecting the threads to weave the various strands into a research thesis. To accomplish my research goals, I make use of many tools derived from what I have termed, my ‘logic of discernment.’ The term ‘logic’ denotes reasoned thought or argument whilst ‘discernment’ implies good judgement (Collins, 1998). My ‘logic of discernment’ draws from the authoritative guidance of scholars (external guiding logic) and my total (both, sub-conscious and conscious) imprints of my own experience and intuitive sense (an internal guiding logic).

In order to fulfil the aim of this research, my role as researcher is to use my ‘logic of discernment’ (a rational judgement at the discretion of the researcher) to select the research framework, namely: the research paradigm, research approach, research methodologies and data collection methods. As a researcher, my ‘logic of discernment,’ enables me to design and redesign the research model to suit the emerging requirements of the study which in turn determines how the data is analysed and reported.

Social assumptions, cultural locations and political interests, according to Popkewitz (1984), become intricately tied to conceptual, procedural and design questions. Popkewitz (1984) elaborates that faith is placed in a vision of a social world in which power and identity are negotiated among many interests and where situations to foster opportunities and conditions for self-development are important. Our methods of research emerge from our involvement in

our social conditions and provide a means by which we can seek to resolve the contradictions we feel and the worlds that seem unresolved in our everyday life (Popkewitz, 1984, p. vii-viii). Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theoretical point that discourses are never completely stable and uncontested can be turned into methodological guidelines concerning the location of the lines of conflict in one's empirical material. Phillips and Jorgenson (2002) ask: *What different understandings of reality are at stake and where are they in antagonistic opposition to one another?* The establishment of hegemonic discourses as objectivity [for example, reform policies on assessment – my inclusion] and their dissolution in new political battlefields is an important aspect of social processes that discourse analysis investigates (Phillips and Jorgenson, 2002, p. 21). The critical question that informs my study is: *Within the historical context of the current wave of curriculum reform in South Africa, how is teacher identity constituted in the discourses and practices of assessment reform?*

In order to outline the most effective and efficient research strategy to explore this question, I note the key options between qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

4.2 Qualitative Research

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008), qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning that people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 4). According to Mouton (1996), there have been many debates about the relative merits and compatibility of the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Advocates of qualitative data state that their data were still the best and richest for theorizing about social structures and social systems. Furthermore, the qualitative method is used to obtain data on many areas of social life not amenable to the techniques for collecting quantitative data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 15). Another proponent, Spiegel (1986), states that qualitative data or 'bleeding heart data' is more likely to give a better insight than once off survey material (hard data). However, both qualitative and quantitative methods have their place in the world of research depending on the research goal. Glaser and Strauss

(1967), state that both these forms of data are necessary - not quantitative used to test qualitative, but both used as supplements, as mutual verification.

In qualitative research studies, research questions typically orient to cases or phenomena, seeking patterns of unanticipated and expected relationships (Stake, 1995, p. 41). Qualitative inquiry is distinguished by its emphasis on holistic treatment of phenomena. Phenomena are intricately related through many coincidental actions and understanding them requires looking at a wide sweep of contexts: temporal and spatial, historical, political, economic, cultural, social, and personal (Stake, 1995, p.43). In keeping with the key question that guides my research study, my 'logic of discernment' locates this study broadly within the qualitative method of inquiry. However, the option to use the quantitative has not been discarded altogether but is relegated to a minor role wherever possible to supplement the data collected qualitatively.

4.3 Research Strategy Framework

Having established the suitability of a qualitative framework for my research study, I elaborate on the 'research strategy framework' (Nogeste, 2007), commencing with the ontological and epistemological assumptions that guide the research paradigm, research approach, research methodologies and data collection methods. The qualitative research strategy framework comprises five dimensions which are:

- Research Assumptions
- Research Paradigm
- Research Approach
- Research Methodologies
- Data collection methods

4.3.1 Research Assumptions

If methods refer to techniques and procedures used in the process of data gathering (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 44), the aim of methodology is to explicate the research process. As a starting point, I heed the notion of Hitchcock and Huges (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) who suggest that ontological assumptions give rise to epistemological assumptions; these in turn influence methodological considerations which contribute to issues of research instruments and data collection. As researcher I admit that during the early stages of this project the research methods were viewed as a ‘technical exercise.’ However, my own development in several areas of life led me to recognize that ‘research is concerned with understanding the world and that it is informed by how the world is viewed’ (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 3). Popkewitz (1984) argues that inquiry is a human activity that is far from neutral and involves hopes, values and unresolved questions about society.

Ontological assumptions concern the very nature or essence of the social phenomena being investigated (Cohen et al., 2000). In Andersen’s (2003) words ‘ontology is concerned with basic assumptions of the world and being of the world.’ According to Popkewitz (1984), social inquiry emerges from a communal context in which there are norms, beliefs and patterns of social conduct. One’s ontological assumptions depend on whether one views social reality as external to individuals – imposing itself on their consciousness from without (*realism*) – or whether it is viewed as a product of (*nominalism*) that is, individual consciousness (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 4). To state categorically, however, that I have chosen either view does not serve the purpose of my study since these are generic categories that serve as an orienting device. Research is not a linear process and the messiness and complexity of uncovering meaning necessitates flexibility within the social constructivist approach.

Epistemological assumptions concern the very bases of knowledge – its nature and forms and how it can be acquired. Burrell and Morgan (1979), question whether it is possible to identify and communicate the nature of knowledge as being hard, real and capable of being transmitted in tangible form, or whether knowledge is of softer, more subjective, spiritual or

even transcendental kind, based on experience and insight of a unique and essentially personal nature. The view that knowledge is hard, objective and tangible will demand of the researcher an observer role, together with an allegiance to the methods of natural science (positivism). To see knowledge as personal, subjective and unique, however, imposes on researchers an involvement with their subjects and a rejection of the ways of the natural scientist (anti-positivist) (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, pp.1-5). With regard to the epistemological assumptions, I am inclined towards anti-positivism which is more congruent with the social constructivist perspective without sacrificing validity.

4.3.2 Research Paradigm

The constructivist paradigm assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities); a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent co-create understandings), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 32). The interpretive paradigm which is anti-positivist endeavours to understand the subjective world of human experience as people actively construct their social world (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 22).

Burr (1995, pp.1-5) outlines some of the premises shared by social constructionist approaches. Burr (1995) suggests that a critical stance be adopted towards taken for granted knowledge which should not be treated as objective truth. According to Burr (1995) reality is only accessible to us through categories, so our knowledge and representations of the world are not reflections of the reality 'out there,' but rather are products of our ways of categorizing the world, or in discursive analytic terms, products of discourse. Burr (1995) postulates that we are fundamentally historical and cultural beings and consequently our ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative which implies that our identities are contingent and change over time. It is through our daily negotiated interactions amongst people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated (Burr, 1995). Discourse is a form of social action that plays a part in producing the social world – including knowledge, identities and social relations – and thereby in the construction of specific social patterns. The view that the world is constructed socially and discursively

implies that there cannot be a given, pre-determined nature to the world or people (Burr, 1995, pp.1-5).

Knowledge is created through social interaction in which we construct common ‘truths’ and compete about what is true and false (Phillips and Jorgesen, 2002, p. 5). According to Phillips and Jorgensen (2002), even though knowledge and identities are always contingent in principle, they are always relatively inflexible in specific situations. Specific situations place restrictions on the identities which an individual can assume and on the statements which can be accepted as meaningful.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) identify a third set of assumptions concerning **human nature** and in particular, the relationship between human beings and their environment. Since the human being is both subject and object of study, this conjures up debates about *determinism* (humans are conditioned by external environment) on the one hand and *voluntarism* (free will of man as creator of environment) on the other (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 6). It does not serve my research purpose to claim a clear cut adherence to either view but to take what is of value from each approach to support my research goal. Stake (1995), aptly states that the function of research is not necessarily to map and conquer the world but, to sophisticate the beholding of it.

The ontological assumptions that I have made regarding teacher identity is that teacher identity is **not** ‘static: seen as existing outside time or unchanging’ (Elbaz, 1991). Britzman (cited in Weber and Mitchell, 1996) cautions us that teacher identity is not synonymous with the teacher’s role and function. Role and function are not synonymous with identity; whereas role can be assigned, the taking up of an identity is a constant social negotiation that can never be permanently settled or fixed, occurring as it necessarily does within the irreconcilable contradictions of historical constraints.

4.3.3 Research Approach

According to Henning et al. (2004), in qualitative research, a distinction is made between ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ ways of categorising knowledge. Henning et al. (2004) explain that traditionally, according to an ‘etic’ categorisation of knowledge in social science, the elements come from the outside (deductive). An ‘emic’ categorisation of knowledge means that the researcher makes field notes and then locates the knowledge constructed in categories that she builds up inductively from what she has learned from the participants, thus giving some space for their voice (inductive) (Henning et al., 2004, p. 83).

The two most commonly described research approaches are the inductive and deductive approaches which outline steps of data collection and theory development, in reverse order from each other (Nogeste, 2007, p. 4). Merriam (1999) represents these approaches as follows:

- Deductive: Theory, Hypothesis, Observation and Confirmation.
- Inductive: Observation, Patterns, Tentative Hypothesis and Theory.

Keeping in mind the social constructivist and interpretivist research paradigms, my study is descriptive, hoping to present meaning and to build theory or add to existing theory. In keeping with my research goals, my ‘logic of discernment’ guides me towards a hybrid approach of both the deductive and inductive approaches. The research approach is to integrate data-driven codes or motifs with theory driven ones. The data analytical strategy draws from theory driven themes of the deductive approach and data driven themes of the inductive approach. For example, the starting point of the study commences with Foucault’s notion of identity/ subjectivity being constituted within discourses (deduction), and proceeds inductively through the inclusion of notions of *agency* (Bourdieu cited in Webb et al., 2002) and *man’s will to meaning* (Frankl, 1984), through categories driven by data. Nogeste (2007) describes this as the point where after the initial inductive or deductive stage, the research becomes an interplay between induction and deduction.

4.3.4 Research Methodologies

Taking cognizance of the research assumptions, research paradigms and research approaches, the research methodologies that emerged from my ‘logic of discernment’ is that of the *case study*. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when, the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003, p. 13).

Yin (2003) states that you would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions, believing that they might be highly pertinent to your study. Cohen et al. (2000) concur that one of the strengths of case studies is that the case study can observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects. Sturman (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) argues that a distinguishing feature of case studies is that human systems have a wholeness or integrity to them rather than being a loose connection of traits, thus necessitating in depth investigation. The case study as a research strategy comprises an all encompassing method- covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis (Yin, 2003, p.14). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that the case study strategy should not be confused with ‘qualitative research.’ Instead, case studies can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence. Case studies need not always include detailed observations as a source of evidence. Hitchcock and Huges (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) suggest that case studies are distinguished less by the methodologies that they employ than by the subjects/ objects of their enquiry (though there is frequently resonance between case studies and interpretive methodologies). Furthermore, the case study approach is particularly valuable when the researcher has little control over events. Hitchcock and Huges (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) have identified that case studies have several hallmarks:

- It is concerned with a rich and vivid description of events relevant to the case.
- It provides a chronological narrative of events relevant to the case.
- It blends a description of events with the analysis of them.

- It focuses on individual actors or groups of actors and seeks to understand their perception of events.
- It highlights specific events that are relevant to the case.
- The researcher is integrally involved in the case.
- An attempt is made to portray the richness of the case in writing the report.

Furthermore, case studies according to Hitchcock and Huges, (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) are (a) set in temporal, geographic, organizational, institutional and other contexts that enable boundaries to be drawn around the case; (b) can be defined with reference to characteristics defined by individuals and groups involved; and (c) can be defined by participants' roles and functions in the case. Case studies also capture the 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of participants lived experiences of thoughts and feelings for a situation.

Some concerns about case study research are: firstly, the lack of rigour and, secondly, they provide little basis for generalisation. In this sense, the case study does not represent a sample and in doing a case study, one's goal is not that of statistical generalization which makes an inference about the population or sample. A fatal flaw is to conceive of statistical generalisation as the method of generalising the results of the case study (Yin, 2003, pp. 10-11, 31-32). Rather, the purpose of case study is to explicate the understanding of each case and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation). Having outlined the method of case studies, I now make a case for case study as methodology.

The parameters or boundaries that define the cases in my study are teacher participants who teach within the General Education and Training Band (learners range from Grades 1 to 9) , and more specifically those who teach learners from Grades four to seven (The Intermediate and Senior Phases) in their specific work contexts. I have used multiple cases and in addition to other factors, the context influenced the choice. The aim to select teachers from various ex-departments of education was based on the assumption that the teacher's initial teacher training was done separately. Data from Webb and Ashton's (1987) study suggests that the quality of education and the conditions of teaching are closely linked and that we are unlikely

to significantly improve the former without first enhancing the latter was the basis on which I chose to study teachers in varying contexts.

In terms of subject (learning area) specialisation, I initially sought to specify this by targeting teachers of English, Mathematics and Science. Since most teachers teach a variety of learning areas in the Intermediate and Senior Phases, irrespective of whether they were trained or untrained for those areas, this specification was dropped. I generally sought teachers with ten or more years of experience who were relatively established in their practice as teachers and assessors.

4.3.5 Data Collection Methods

As a starting point, my study commenced with the focus on investigating how selves (subjectivities, identities) are constructed within specific discourses. The definition of subjectivity by De Lauretis (1986) is crucial to the data collection methods employed. Subjectivity refers to 'patterns by which experiential and emotional contexts, feelings, images and memories are organized to form one's self-image, one's sense of self and others, and our possibilities of existence' (De Lauretis, 1986. p. 5). The aim to obtain data on teachers' sense of self, directed the strategy which is to hear what teachers themselves have to say about their experiences, emotions, images, memories and so on through the process of an interview. Narratives of self emerged from the interview guided by the life history approach. The interview also dealt specifically with the professional aspects of the teachers work as assessor, where narratives of teachers' experiences, emotional contexts, images, memories, visions and aspirations emerged.

Whilst both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods have their merits and demerits (depending on one's research purpose), the methodology chosen to investigate the issue of identity does not resonate strongly with quantitative data collection methods such as surveys and experiments, but rather qualitative interpretive methods exemplified by softer approaches of personal constructs through interviews.

To enhance construct validity, that is, establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied, Yin (2003) suggests the use of multiple sources of evidence and establishing chain of evidence (as in triangulation). Data obtained from interviews is a key data source whilst participant observations and documentation are used as supporting evidence. In this research process, I aimed to strive for legitimacy, authenticity and transparency of methods.

Methods of data collection were aligned with the purpose of the research. The rationale for using interviews to get inside the teacher's mind is supported by Gee's (1999) claim that whenever we speak or write, we always and simultaneously construct or build six things or six areas of reality which are: the meaning and value of aspects of the material world; activities; identities and relationships; politics (the distribution of social goods); connections; and semiotics (what and how different symbol systems and different forms of knowledge 'count'). In my research project, I am interested in how language and non-language attributes contribute to understanding the construction of identities/subjectivities (Gee, 1999, p. 12). In my research design, I have established that interviews are the main data source with supplementary and complementary evidence from observations and documentation. The design of the interview schedule comprised two sections: a biographical section and a professional section. The first section of interview schedule dealt with professional matters, that is, mainly about the teacher's assessment practices and experiences (Appendix One). In order to capture the teacher's holistic perception of self, I used the life history or biographical approach in interview schedule two (Appendix 2). Both sections will be described in more detail in a specific section on interviews. In summary, my research design subsequently comprised:

- Interviews
- Classroom observation
- Documentary Evidence: Policy Documents, Mark sheets, recordings of Learning Outcomes and Assessment standards and learners assessment activities
- Questionnaires

The unit of analysis is the natural meaning units (macro-lines) (Gee, 1999) of transcripts of the recorded interviews. Although all participants were observed in their working context (classroom), these did not form a direct unit of analysis. These were analysed indirectly as a point of reference to validate the teacher's claims. For example, if the teacher cited large numbers of learners in the class as a reason for not implementing assessment, the classroom visit verified this claim. Aspects that were verified by the classroom visit included the teacher's teaching approach, relationship with learners, limitations or support of classroom environment, assessment feedback, activity feedback, groupwork, specification of learning outcomes prior to commencing lesson, disciplinary measures, and learners' ability to follow instructions and work independently. These aspects were incorporated into the data obtained from interviews. Wherever there was a discrepancy, this was indicated through evidence or lack thereof. Documents were also collected and this depended on what the teacher was willing to provide. In some instances, the names of learners were removed before records of marks and other forms of assessment were given to me. In the case of Rina, for example, when she states that she has recorded against every learning outcome and every assessment standard in every learning area, I am able to cite her reference to this type of recording as I have seen documentary evidence.

4.3.6 Summary of the Qualitative Research Strategy Framework

Research Assumptions	Ontological	Epistemological	Human Nature	Methodological
Research Paradigm	Interpretivist	Anti-Positivist	Social Constructivism	
Research Approach	Inductive	Deductive		
Research Methodologies	Case Study			
Data Collection Methods	Interviews	Observation	Documentary Evidence	Questionnaires

Table: 4.1 Summary of the Qualitative Research Strategy Framework

Table 4.1 summarises the key points of the qualitative research strategy framework that I have designed to guide this study. Each of these research dimensions is linked to each other as strands which are interwoven to enhance ‘validity’ and construct authenticity within this research framework.

Having established the selection of data collection methods, of which interviews are the primary source, I elucidate the approaches used and present justification for this. It should be noted that the approach to data collection is also linked to the data analytical strategy. The value of the life history / biographical approach as well as the narratives that emerge from the data will be explicated.

4.4 The Life History or Biographical Approach

According to Thomas (1995) the crucial focus on life history work is to locate the teacher’s own life story alongside a broader contextual analysis, to tell in Stenhouse’s words ‘a story of action, within a theory of context.’ Furthermore, Thomas (1995) cites Quicke who argued

that life histories have the potential for ‘facilitating reflection upon the experience of society.’ They help to make clear to the individual the way in which personal life can be penetrated by the social and political influences (Thomas, 1995, p. 5).

According to Goodson (cited in Cohen et al., 2000, p.165), life histories have the potential to make a far reaching contribution to the problem of understanding the links between ‘personal troubles’ and ‘public issues,’ a task that lies at the very heart of the sociological enterprise. He asserts further that ‘teachers continually, most often unsolicited, import life history data into their accounts of classroom events.’

Research of teacher identity, according to Lewin et al. (2003), usually focuses on teachers’ own subjective reporting of these events and processes within the domain of life history research approaches. The focus is not on uncovering ‘truth’ as this is relative, ‘instead the role of the researcher is to unearth the interpreted experiences that these individual teachers have of their life experiences’ (Lewin et al., 2003). Insight is provided into what sense teachers are making of their past experiences and how it shapes the kind of individual teachers that they are now. Their understanding of their (changing) identities filters into the everyday classroom world (Lewin et al., 2003, p. 10).

Thomas (1995) asserts that under certain conditions, biographic work by teachers, either autonomously or collaboratively with researchers, helps with their professional development. From that point, it might be possible to claim that gains in teacher professional development has positive advantages for pupils and, where work becomes professionally and politically transforming, to believe it has the potential for helping more systemic changes (Thomas (1995, p.11).

4.4.1 Narratives

The narrative is an ancient form of communication reaching far back to a preliterate oral tradition. In all cultures, storytelling is a universal feature with its correlatives of story teller (narrator) and listener (audience) that could be celebrated as a ‘primary act of mind’ (Hardy cited in Thomas 1995, p. 3). In my research study, narratives emerged from the interview data. When a question was asked, the teacher participant (teller - narrator) would respond by telling stories about their lives or practices to me as researcher (listener - audience). The narratives comprised either a ‘short topical story about a particular event and specific character’ or ‘an extended story about a significant aspect of one’s life’ (Chase, 2008, p. 59).

The value of narrative has been reclaimed and given the status of a form of thought of equal validity to that used in logical thinking and inductive argument (Bruner cited in Thomas, 1995). Narratives are devices for communicating, interpreting and giving meaning to our experiences (Thomas, 1995, p. 3).

4.4.2 Teachers’ Voices Through Narratives

According to Harvey (cited in Goodson, 1992, p. 11), the post-modern movement sponsors the idea that, ‘all groups have a right to speak for themselves, in their own voice, and have that voice accepted as authentic and legitimate.’ Thomas (1995) cites Grummet who said that the idea of finding ways to enable us to hear the voice of teachers has been a central value of a great deal of narrative work. It has taken the form of trying to understand the frames of reference, or perspective that teachers use in describing their role and more deliberately in relation to notions of empowerment. If one deconstructs the word ‘voice’ we find it implies a contrast condition with silence; having something to say and a language in which to say it; that the voice belongs to a person and that there is a listener prepared to hear what can be said

(Pucket cited in Thomas, 1995). The possession of a voice is a potential source of empowerment.

Foucault as cited in Goodson (1992) has been influential in encouraging researchers to retrieve and represent the voices of their 'subjects.' Within the global intellectual paradigm and its impact upon general educational studies, was a growing concern in which teachers' voices and stories could be heard and told. There has been a steady increase of interest in the educational community on what teachers have to say about their classroom practices, their experiences of schools and of formal and informal relations within them, their insight into pupils as learners, and the corpus of professional understandings and craft knowledge that derives from experience (Thomas, 1995, p.4).

The media through which teachers have been able to express themselves can take a variety of forms. These records may be in the form of logs, diaries, journals, research journals, vignettes, critical incidents, life-histories or autobiography (Thomas, 1995, p. 5).

The justification or value for the use of personal narratives, as far as teaching is concerned, is evident in the following statement from Woods (cited in Thomas, 1995, p. xii):

'In exploring an exceptional educational event in his school, a teacher had recourse to his life history. The event was the fullest expression in his teaching to date of his self, and to understand the event fully it was necessary to see how that self had come into being, developed, resisted attack, been mortified, survived, and at times prospered. His philosophy of teaching was rooted in childhood experiences, which he saw as starkly divided between the alienating world of formal schooling and the natural world of real learning.' Through personal narratives one is able to decipher how the person constructs himself or herself.

4.5 Triangulation of Methods

Triangulation may be defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behavior (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 112). Triangulation techniques attempt to map out the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint and in so doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data (Cohen et al., 2000, p.12). Denzin and Lincoln (2008) caution that although triangulation reflects an attempt to secure and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question, objective reality can never be captured. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) quote Flick that ‘triangulation is not a tool or strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation. Triangulation as a strategy adds to the rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any enquiry.’ In my research, the data obtained from interviews were supplemented by classroom observations, perusal of records and mark sheets. Furthermore, I had interviewed three facilitators who were responsible for developing teachers through workshops on the new form of assessment. Questionnaires were given to the teacher participants. Where I felt that the participants had given me more than adequate information and in so doing had given of time, I took care not to impose further by asking them to complete the questionnaire especially when I knew that the issues were covered in the interview.

4.6 Collection of Data

4.6.1 Getting Started: ‘Soul Cleansing by Reseacher’

Research intentions and what actually happens are often not congruent. To add to the legitimacy of my research account, I have adopted what Van Maanen (cited in Fontana and Frey, 2008) calls a ‘confessional style’ and what Fontana and Frey (2008) describe as ‘a soul cleansing by researchers of problematic feelings of presentation.’ These ‘confessions’ make readers aware of the ‘complexities, uniqueness and indeterminateness of each one-to-one-human interaction’ (Fontana and Frey, 2008, p. 116).

I intended working with Grade nine teachers as the subjects of my study. The justification for that choice is that the Grade nine year signals the end of the GET Band and teachers and learners are involved in the external assessment initiative of the government called the Common Tasks of Assessment (CTA). I thought that obtaining Grade nine teachers' perspectives on the assessment would prove to be interesting since the CTA was a relatively new form of an external assessment at the time of the research study.

My methods of commencing with the data collection stem from my own identity as a teacher for a period of seventeen years as well as experience obtained within the Master's study. Therefore, it must be reiterated that the interviewer is a person historically and contextually located, carrying unavoidable conscious and unconscious motives, desires, feelings and biases (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 116). Gaining access requires trust. In the words of Bell cited in King (1984), 'schools are not open systems, like street corners or discos, with relatively easy access for research purposes, but closed systems requiring 'sponsorship' for entry.' From past research experience, realizing fully well that schools are difficult places to access especially with the rapidity of curriculum changes in South African schools, I proceeded cautiously. I chose to make use of what Bourdieu (2004) refers to as 'social capital,' that is, using my associations with people that I knew to progress with my project. I approached the principal of my former school and having described to him the scope of my research, I then went on to request his assistance to gain sponsorship into neighbouring schools via the school principals.

The school principal of my former school arranged interviews with two other principals in secondary schools. I went to school X situated at the crest of a relatively low income area. I entered the school with mixed feelings, both trepidation and excitement. I felt trepidation because I knew that the initial meeting with the school principal could either result in access into the school or point blank resistance to my presence. Feelings of excitement were obviously natural considering that I made a constructive move towards my data collection. Discussions and negotiations with the principal is like selling goods and the goods in this case is trying to convince the principal that my study is worthwhile and also reassuring the principal of the confidentiality of the study.

Confidentiality is an important factor. At time of immense uncertainty about new policies as a result of curriculum changes and other administrative and staffing related issues, principals were particularly guarded against the vulnerability of allowing an outsider (a researcher such as myself) to enter the school. I described to the principal what I intended doing as a researcher not forgetting to slot in at regular intervals of the conversation, the importance of confidentiality and anonymity. Within the rungs of networking, the principal, too, knows his staff well and he knows of those educators who are likely to participate and those who would not. At the same time I was aware that he would control this process to the extent that he would not introduce me to someone that he thought would ruin the reputation of the school. He told me that he would introduce to two female teachers from that school. One of the teachers was on leave so I could not contact her whilst the other teacher indicated her interest in the study 'to help me' by participating but expressed regret that she was going to leave the city in the new academic year.

After a meeting with principal from School Y, I realized that his approach was far different from the previous principal I met with. He unequivocally told me that his school operates democratically and it was the decision of the staff to participate or not. He co-operated by offering me a slot at his staff meeting where I could tell the staff more about my research. I was nervous therefore decided to write out all that I was going to tell them at this meeting. I entered the staffroom grateful to see one or two familiar faces. However, as I began my motivation, the expression on the teachers' faces said it all. If I had been one of those fictional characters from X men or Heros who is able to hear people's thoughts, then this is probably what I would have heard. 'You were a teacher too, so what? Why don't you leave us alone and get a life for yourself!' The expression on their faces said, 'No, we are not buying into it.' I knew that I would not get anywhere with that staff.

I had then decided to pilot my interview schedule with a colleague at the school that I taught. Having two parts to the interview schedule, I had decided to start with the biographical information as I had known her for almost fifteen years. This was the commencement of the first interview for my studies and I thought that I knew her, but I did not. The personal

information she divulged left me astonished. She had described the hate - relationship she had with her mother which helped me to understand her. At the close of the interview, I told her what a gem my late mother had been. However, I did not want her to feel that because she described her mother as an antithesis of a 'normal mother,' that I was more privileged than her, I proceeded to divulge personal information of how strict and controlling my father was, especially, with my mum. The day after that interview, my dad passed away. I did not get a chance to say goodbye to him. It was only then that I realized that I focused on his negative without acknowledging his positive and I wished that I could turn back the clock. I wished I could have said, 'Thank you, Dad. I love you.' On that day my identity had changed, I could no longer be a daughter as both my parents had passed away during that very same year. Acceptance of the loss of identity at that time was a painful process.

I could not bear to continue with the interviewing process for the rest of the year. I continued at the beginning of the following year. The usual procedure for gaining access was via the school principal where I would meet the principal and then proceed to meet the teachers. There were times when I would work the other way around as well. I would meet the teacher and if the teacher agreed to participate, I would then approach the principal for permission.

4.6.2 Gaining Access

As a researcher, one is aware of the issues of accountability and justification surrounding the issues of selection of cases. I did not want to restrict my study to the convenience of certain schools only, namely, the former HoD, HoR or NED schools because these were 'convenient' in terms of access and distance. Contexts are unique and dynamic, hence case studies investigate and report the complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 181). Armed with this premise, I ventured to gain access to a school with a unique background. The school was first established as a former NED school in a residential area designated for whites only in the days of apartheid. However, since the abolishment of 'whites only' residential areas, resultant changes in demographics of the school population resulted in changing demographics of the school leadership and staff.

Since gaining access was not easy, I used the ‘cultural capital’ approach. A former college colleague of mine who at the time of the research, was a Subject Advisor (learning area advisor), introduced me to the Head of Department (HOD) at that school, Mr Dhlamini (pseudonym) while he attended the Departmental workshop on assessment. I telephoned him at school and enquired whether he would arrange an appointment with the principal. I met with the principal of the school, ‘The Grundge’ and I explained to him the purpose of the study and requested to speak to staff members who may be willing to participate. The principal referred me to the intermediate phase HOD, Mrs Ngubane (pseudonym), a middle-aged woman, who seemed obviously nervous about my presence at the school (This was determined by the tone of her voice and her bodily gestures). She did not entertain my explanations regarding my research and was keen to refer me to another teacher whom she felt would be in a better position to assist. The teacher that she introduced me to was much younger, confident and a recently qualified university graduate.

When I returned to the school three months later, I met with the Grade 7 teachers requesting them to fill in questionnaires on their assessment practices. I explained that their input was important as I needed feedback from teachers who were trained to teach in the ex-DET schools. Some of the Grade 7 teachers were co-operative at that time and agreed to complete the questionnaires and one teacher allowed me to take down her contact details to arrange an interview.

Subsequently, I decided to expand the study to other grades in the intermediate phase rather than restricting it to the Grade seven. I met with the intermediate phase HOD, Mrs Ngubane, once again to arrange a meeting with the intermediate phase teachers. I perceived Mrs Ngubane to be quite displeased about my being there. I detected a certain anxiety within her about my being in the school. I made a further visit to the school to hand out questionnaires to teachers.

On the day that the interview with a particular Grade 7 teacher (Zethu) (pseudonym) was scheduled, I received this SMS text:

“I’m sorry. I can’t make it. They said we musn’t say a word to anyone or we’ll be in 4 it. So I am sorry” (Zethu).

I phoned the teacher to enquire about what was going on. She told me that a staff meeting was called up regarding my presence at the school. The staff was told indirectly not to communicate with me and they were threatened that if they did, they would be ‘called in to give evidence.’ There were internal politics going on in ‘The Grundge.’ The principal had left the school and the deputy principal was then acting as principal. They were fearful of my presence. The teacher disclosed to me some of the fears of the school community. With reference to me as researcher, this is how the teacher articulated the school management’s anxiety about my visits to the school: ‘Did the researcher come undercover to investigate what was going on? Why did she come to the school for the second and third time? She must be serious about what she is doing? Why did she choose this school?’ According to the teacher, Zethu, teachers were told that they did not have to complete the questionnaires.

Through my research journey I had unwittingly entered a site with mysterious undercurrents eager to keep me away from unearthing something they were trying so desperately to hide. The level of paranoia at the school reached its peak when a meeting was scheduled and staff members were cautioned about disclosing information to someone ‘who is working undercover,’ trying to infiltrate the organization to find out what was going on.

After discussions with my research supervisor, we agreed that it would best if I did not go back to that school. I was curious to find out what exactly they were trying to keep me away from yet high on my list of values was my responsibility to my family. I did not want to risk being ambushed en route.

4.6.3 Sampling

The criterion for planning the research is ‘fitness for purpose’ (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 104). The selection of sampling strategy was governed by the purposes of research, the time scales and constraints on the research, the methods of data collection, and the methodology of the research. The type of sampling strategy I chose included that of *convenient*, *purposive* and *snowball sampling* which lends itself to case studies (Cohen et al., 2000). The participants in Peak School were chosen as a *convenience* sample because I could gain access to the school and secondly because of reasonable travelling distances to the school and relative notions of security. In some of the cases, I chose the sample for a specific purpose. My first participant was chosen on this basis. A colleague of mine related an incident about assessment from a workshop she attended. She indicated that Vee was quite vociferous about assessment. I seized that opportunity and made contact with Vee in the hope that he would have something worthwhile to say about his assessment practices. With regard to *snowball sampling*, I would interview a teacher and if he or she made reference to another teacher, then I would follow up. In the case of Deb, this was so. A teacher participant enquired whether I knew Deb and she said that she was a facilitator-teacher who had a wide knowledge of assessment and its implementation. When I heard this, I set the ball in motion by firstly introducing myself to her and when I was convinced that she would participate, I then set up a meeting with the principal indicating to him that Deb was agreeable. I used my discretion wherever possible about which should come first, my visit to the principal or my visit to the teacher. Sometimes an informal initial visit to the teacher helped in instances where I anticipated that the school principal may find excuses for non-participation.

4.6.4 Ethics in Research

Cohen et al., (2000) state that a dilemma facing researchers, is to strike a balance between the demands placed on them as professional scientists in pursuit of ‘truth,’ and their subjects

rights and values potentially threatened by the research. This is known as the 'costs/ benefits ratio' which outlined by Frankfort- Nachmias and Nachmias (cited in Cohen et al., 2002, pp. 49-50). As part of the fulfillment of requirements to conduct the research, I applied for ethical clearance from the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal's Research Committee.

In addition to obtaining an ethical clearance certificate (Appendix 5), I had to obtain consent from the Department of Education. The Department of Education provided a letter to be presented on entering a site, granting me permission to do research with restrictions on certain academic terms (Appendix 6). School visits in the fourth term are not recommended as examinations are usually in progress during this term and visits are supposed to be as unobtrusive or least disruptive as possible.

Permission to conduct research was also obtained from the school principal prior to any interviewing or classroom observation even if the teacher consented to participation.

Informed consent has been defined by Diener and Crandal as 'the procedures in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of the facts that would be likely to influence their decisions (cited in Cohen et al., 2000, p. 51). This definition involves four elements: competence, voluntarism, full information and comprehension. **Competence** implies that responsible, mature individuals will make correct decisions if they are given the relevant information. **Voluntarism** entails applying the principle of informed consent and thus ensuring that participants freely choose to take part in the research. **Full information** implies that consent is fully informed, though in practice it is often impossible for researchers to inform subjects of everything as some aspects of the research although planned may be subject to alteration. In such circumstances, the strategy for reasonably informed consent has to be applied. For example, the procedure and the nature of data collection is explicated, that is, to inform participants that interviews, classroom observation and records of assessment are required as part of data collection. In most cases an explanation for each was provided.

Kvale (1996) identified three main areas of ethical issues: informed consent, confidentiality, and the consequences of the interview. With regard to interviews, the mode of questioning was explained briefly, in terms of having two sections: one on the assessment practices and the other requiring biographical information (This will be discussed further in the section on interviews). Reassurance was provided that the purpose of the classroom visit was to assess the teacher's work context instead of evaluating the teacher's teaching. From an ethical perspective, teachers entrusted me with confidential information such as mark sheets. They were given undertakings that no names will appear on the mark sheets which will be used for statistical purposes of determining the teachers' workload rather than an analysis of performance.

'**Comprehension**' refers to the fact that participants fully understood the nature of the research project. One of the stated clauses in the letter of participation was that the person would be free to withdraw consent and to discontinue participation at any time without prejudice to the participant. During the research, at a meeting held in a particular school, a particular teacher agreed to be interviewed. When she turned up for the interview, it was established that she was a Grade 3, Foundation Phase teacher. I continued with the interview to ascertain whether it would add to my study if I included the Foundation Phase. She had voluntarily disclosed confidential information about the school and members of the staff. She called me a day later indicating that she wanted the tapes destroyed and that she did not want to participate. I respected her privacy and excluded her from the study. However, such incidents are costly in terms of time and effort.

4.6.5 Anonymity

The essence of anonymity is that information provided by participants should in no way reveal their identity. Where this situation holds, a participant's privacy is assured no matter how personal or sensitive the information is (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 61). The way in which I ensured anonymity is that I did not reveal names of schools and participants. I used pseudonyms for all teacher participants and schools. There were times when I was so overwhelmed by the sheer brilliance of their contribution in terms of the rich data that I

obtained that I wanted to acknowledge them out of respect, yet it is out of respect for their privacy that I cannot disclose their names.

4.6.6 Confidentiality

At the outset of the research one of the key factors in obtaining access to schools and securing interviews with teachers was a promise of confidentiality in terms of the participant's privacy. In the case as described above, as researcher I complied with the participant's (or non-participant's) request. Furthermore, the data collected was not shared or discussed with others, except my research supervisor and pseudonyms were used.

4.6.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity is a requirement for quantitative as well as qualitative/ naturalistic research (Cohen et al., 2000, p.105). The authors add that in qualitative data, validity might be addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached and the extent of triangulation. In qualitative data the subjectivity of respondents, their opinions, attitudes and perspectives together contribute to a degree of bias. Gronlund (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) states that validity should be seen as a matter of degree rather than as an absolute state. As a researcher I have paid heed to the methodological goal towards minimizing invalidity by being transparent about methods through the process.

4.7 Data Collection Tools and Procedures

4.7.1 Interviews

An interchange of views between two people or more people on a topic of mutual interest, which emphasises the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and highlights the social situatedness of research data, is referred to as an interview (Kvale, 1996, pp. 11-14). Bearing in mind my research objectives, I opted for life history interviews as a means of getting to know the participant. The life history interview provides a practical and holistic methodological approach for the sensitive collection of personal narratives that reveal how a specific human life is constructed and reconstructed in representing that life as a story (Atkinson, 2007, p.224). Atkinson (2007) comments that the life history interview is designed to help the story-teller, the listener, the reader, and the scholar to understand better how life stories serve the four functions of bringing us more into accord with ourselves (psychological), others (sociological), the mystery of life (spiritual), and the universe around us (philosophical).

In keeping with the epistemological position of social constructivism, the rationale for using interviews as a method of data collection is based on the assumption that ‘the individual’s perspective is an important part of the fabric of society and of our joint knowledge of social processes and of human condition’ (Henning et al., 2004, p.50). The main aim of the interview data is to highlight what individuals think, feel and do and what they have to say about it in an interview, thus presenting a subjective reality in a ‘formatted’ discussion, which is guided and managed by an interviewer and later integrated into a research report (Henning et al., 2004).

4.7.1.1 Structured Vs Unstructured Interviews

The structured interview is one in which the content and procedures are organized in advance. The sequence and wording of the questions are determined by means of a schedule and the interviewer is left little freedom to make modifications (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 273). The unstructured interview is an open situation, having greater flexibility and freedom.

Kerlinger (cited in Cohen et al., 2000, p. 273) notes that the questions asked, their content, sequence and wording rest with the interviewer. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that the structured interview is useful when the researcher is aware of what she does not know and therefore is in a position to frame questions that will supply the knowledge required, whereas the unstructured interview is useful when the researcher is not aware of what she does not know, and therefore, relies on the respondents to inform her. The decision to select the type of interview depends on what is termed 'fitness for purpose' by Cohen et al. (2000).

Neither the structured nor the unstructured interview suited the purpose of my study therefore I have opted for a middle line approach which is semi-structured interviews. An interview schedule for a semi-structured interview, that is where topics and open-ended questions are written but the exact sequence and wording does not have to be followed with each respondent. Prompts were used during the interviews depending on the person being interviewed. The prompts enabled me to clarify topics or questions, whilst probes were useful if I wanted participants to elaborate or qualify their responses.

4.7.1.2 Types of Questions

The interview schedule comprises two sections. Section one comprises questions relating to teachers professional training and development (Appendix 1), and section two covers areas of the biographical information (Appendix 2). With reference to the biographical component of the interview schedule, acknowledgment is given to the work of Wedekind (2001), Lortie

(1975) and Jessop (1997) for the choice of categories and types of questions asked. Questions were selected and modified to suit my research goals to ‘get inside the teacher’s head’ via the life history approach. Reasons for entering the teaching profession, gives rich insight into the underlying motivations of teachers. Like Soudien (2003), I have documented the teachers’ reflections of the range of influences and experiences on their own identities and roles, tracing these back to the teachers’ home and family environments, their decisions to enter into teaching as an occupation, their own primary and secondary schools, their teacher education programmes and their induction experiences as newly qualified researchers.

For the section on the teachers’ professionalism, acknowledgment is given to the work of Lubisi (2000) on assessment. My own experience as a teacher and my previous M.Ed research study on ‘Teachers Perceptions and Experiences of Implementing C2005,’ proved useful in constructing the interview schedule. Key areas or nodal points of assessment were identified from literature and some hunches and intuitive hypotheses about what is happening in classrooms also formed the basis of my questioning technique.

4.7.1.3 Sequence and Framing of Interview Questions

The sequence and framing of the interview questions were considered, ensuring that easier and less threatening, non-controversial questions were addressed earlier in the interview in order to put respondents at ease (Patton, 2001). It is for this reason that I proceeded with the professional development section of the interview and when participants had developed a rapport with me, then only did I proceed to ask questions of a personal biographical nature.

Heeding the advice of experts in the field of research methodology such as Kvale (1996), Tuckman (1972), Henning et al., (2004), and Cohen et al., (2000), I took care to conduct the interview as carefully and sensitively as possible. I would often play down my role as researcher with the aim of minimizing any feelings of intimidation that participants may experience. I would reassure teachers that the interview sought to obtain a descriptive account rather than an evaluative one. I was cautious not to give the impression that I knew it all

which was an honest reflection of my status, whilst simultaneously projecting an image that I was sufficiently knowledgeable to conduct the interview. On entering the school premises I would ensure that my dress code was appropriate. I usually dressed conservatively with a smart professional overall appearance.

4.7.1.4 Validity and Reliability in Interviews

Cohen et al. (2000) suggest that the most practical way of achieving greater validity is to minimize the amount of bias. They have identified as sources of bias, the characteristics of the interviewer, the characteristics of the respondents and the content of the questions. These include:

- The attitudes, opinions, and expectations of the interviewer;
- The tendency of the interviewer to see the respondent in her own image;
- A tendency for the interviewer to seek answers that support her preconceived notions;
- Misperceptions on the part of the interviewer of what the respondent is saying;
- Misunderstandings on the part of the respondent of what is being asked.

Studies have shown that race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, status, social class and age in certain contexts can be potent sources of bias, i.e. interviewer effects. Interviewers and interviewees can alike bring their own, often unconscious experiential and biographical baggage with them into the interview situation (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 121).

4.7.1.5 Interviews: ‘A Play of Power’

The interview is a shared, negotiated and dynamic social moment. The notion of power is significant in the interview situation. Lee (cited in Cohen et al., 2000, p. 122) suggests that those with power, resources and expertise might be anxious to maintain their reputation, and so will be more guarded in what they say, wrapping this up in well-chosen, articulate phrases. Cohen et al. (2000) cites Ball who comments that when powerful people are being

interviewed, interviews must be seen as an extension of the ‘play of power’ – with its game-like connotations. Ball (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) suggests that powerful people control the agenda and course of the interview, and are usually very adept at this because they have both a personal and professional investment in being interviewed.

Cohen et al., (2000) present an interesting account of power in the interview situation by referring to the work of Neal, Scheurich, and Limerick et al. Neal (cited in Cohen et al.) notes that the effect of power can be felt even before the interview commences. In one of my case studies, the interviewee postponed the scheduled interview to meet with someone else, thereby relegating the value of the interview. Many powerful interviewees will rephrase or not answer the question (Scheurich cited in Cohen et al, 2000, p. 123). Limerick et al. (cited in Cohen et al., 2000) suggest that it is wiser to regard the interview as a gift, as interviewees have the power to withhold information, to choose the location of the interview, to choose how seriously to attend to the interview, how long it will last, when it will take place, what will be discussed. Echoing Foucault, Cohen et al., (2002) argue that power is fluid and is discursively constructed through the interview rather than being the province of either party.

Interviewees who perceive their own state of being powerful, may well interrogate the interviewer – they will assume up-to dateness, competence and knowledge in the interview (Walford cited in Cohen et al., 2000, p. 125). This was evident in my interview with Deb:

Researcher: When you record this here, do you record it as a mark or percentage or do you record it as a code?

*“Both. We record it as a mark which might be based on criteria which were set out or right – wrong, we record it as a mark, then they get a percentage, it is then computed to a percent. And then all of those categories within a learning area is then added. It’s weighted and then you get a final percentage. That final percentage is then turned into a 1, 2, 3 and a four. **The question I thought you were going to ask me was, “Do I record it according to assessment standards and outcomes?”** No I don’t. I don’t do that because of my planning. When I plan.*

I plan from outcomes and assessment standards. When I assess that task, that task has been planned from outcomes and assessment. So, if you want to see what outcomes and assessment standards I use, it is in my planning, but what I do is that I just change that into a mark because we are using marks still. But the marks are not totally done, diagnostic, it is still outcomes- based. Did that help?"(Deb).

Deb perceives her own sense of empowerment as is evident in her interrogation of my questioning techniques and my knowledge of the assessment recording. My justification for asking the question as I did was to avoid a perception of an evaluation of the teacher's assessment practice, knowing fully well that the majority of the teachers are not recording according to learning outcomes and assessment standards. Deb herself indicated that marks were being used. Some participants may close up, or retreat if they felt that their professionalism is being questioned. From the response, it is clear that Deb's own perceived sense of expertise has enabled her to challenge the way the question was asked. Deb asserts herself in terms of her knowledge and competence. Foucault's theoretical framing on power and knowledge may well apply here. Danaher et al., (2000) state that knowledge and truth are tied up with the way in which power is exercised in our age. As a result of her teacher training status, Deb perceives herself to be representative or a voice of the official pedagogic identity and the relations of power play are evident in her asserting her knowledge of the 'abstract system' of the new assessment policy.

The extract below highlights the role of researcher who is like a vulture feeding off bits of information, interesting twists and dilemmas that provide rich data. With hindsight, the extract that follows provides humorous relief showing the power struggle between myself as interviewer and the participant being interviewed.

R: Yes. Would you be able to give me a copy of a blank report?

Deb: Okay, the blank report, our reports are changing, because it is based on really old stuff. But our new report, I will let you have.

R: Is that the one you are giving out to your learners.

Deb: We will be giving our learners. The one we are using now is an interim one. By next year it will change. Still based on kind of old policy but with outcomes based tasks. Alright, the LO and AS tasks. But we are still basing our symbols and things like that which will go away, next year. So I won't let you have this, I will give you a new one.

R: I needed to know for this current year, what you are using. It doesn't really matter. You have indicated to me that assessment standards are incorporated into tasks.

*Deb: I am not saying that Yeah. This is the last time we are going to use this report. As I said, I does take into account all of things that we do in all the learning areas, effort is there and so forth. **But but I am going to hesitate to give this to you because it is outdated.***

R: It is not going to appear anywhere.

Deb: It is totally outdated. I will give it to you as soon as our new one is developed.

So what I will do next week, if you do want my copies, I will have that ready for you.

R: Can I have a look at that? The previous one, the old one?

The 'tug- of- war' over the blank report shows the researcher's determination to get hold of a blank copy of the report and the participant's reluctance to give me the report that may 'open to the gaze' her practice at that time. As researcher, I attempted to negotiate, "It is not going to appear anywhere." However, I realized that I would have to back down, firstly, because it

was out of respect for the interviewee's sense of comfort and secondly as researcher one has to be wary of blocking further channels of communication through perceived threat. Deb is defensive, withholding information and possible reasons will be discussed further in the analysis chapter. This was included in the methodology chapter to highlight the power struggles, negotiations and compromising that exists in the social interaction between the interviewer (researcher) and interviewee.

As already stated, the interview schedules comprised two broad areas: namely, biographic details (life history approach, narratives included) and the second part was that on the professional experiences of teachers as assessors and their assessment practices.

4.7.1.6 Transcription of Interviews

I chose to do the voluminous amount of transcriptions on my own to avoid 'data loss, distortion and reduction of complexity' (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 281). In doing the transcription, I took into account the tone of voice, inflections, the laughter, the pauses and other relevant non-verbal cues. At times there were interruptions such as a knock at the door or the telephone ringing which were recorded accordingly. At times the speech was unclear and in those instances I listened to the tape repeatedly and also indicated within brackets next to the transcription that the speech was unclear. The advantage of having done the transcription on my own meant that I was able to consolidate through writing the spoken aspects of the interview.

I did attempt to allocate the task of transcribing to another person but after one paragraph of transcription it read like the end product of a listening skills lesson I taught called 'rumours' where the original message was distorted. The difficulty of having a third person (not in the teaching profession) transcribing, is that amongst teachers, myself included there is a special discourse that is unique to the teaching profession as one would get a special discourse among medical practitioners, for example. Discourse, as poststructuralists employ the term, communicates the social relatedness of the human world, and more specifically, our social

relatedness as inscribed in and expressed through language (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery and Taubman, 1995, p. 49). This specialized discourse will be highlighted in the analysis chapter on the teacher's use of assessment terminology.

4.7.1.7 Interviews: An enriching experience of mutual benefit

In terms of the methodology, I have identified an additional benefit of the research process for participants since most of the participants indicated verbally that the interview was an enriching and meaningful experience. Vee, had indicated his desire to leave the teaching profession and he felt that being part of the study provided an opportunity for him to tell his story. Atkinson (2007, pp. 235-236) also found a vast majority of people really want to share their life story and provides a list of benefits of the process. Other participants also benefited from the interview as is evident in the extracts from Alan and Deb.

"We are doing B.ed Honours. There is a group of us in school. One of the modules in Understanding Research. I've got an assignment coming up which says that I must choose whether I want to talk about the interview method, or the survey, or what ever method and I must do some research on it, read up and in other words write up a two page essay on it. But I am also interested in you coming in because it suits me this type of search for knowledge that is going on and I see that you are doing it in a similar field. So you've got my full co-operation" (Alan).

"I have never actually had the chance to put into words the thoughts that I've had way back, subliminal and submerged deep inside me way back then, but it has been wonderful sharing that with you. Hopefully, you can use that and I would just love to read that final presentation" (Deb).

In many instances, the interviews I had with participants were therapeutic. The following extract provides an example of the need for the participant to empty out his mind:

“I am hoping that we can talk about IQMS a little later, but I don’t know if you have included it. I have got a burning issue that I’d like to talk about” (Alan).

The participants wanted to speak out and would sometimes pre-empt the questioning. This participant had a *“burning issue”* which he wanted to talk about. The telling method seemed to offer some kind of release for the participants who had unresolved issues.

From their comments, I also perceived that the participants gained from this experience of ‘knowing themselves’ which is a pre-requisite for promotion applications and interviews as well as the completion of IQMS reports. Thus, by introspecting on a wide range of areas of their professional experience, both limitations and expertise, teachers were able to articulate their feelings and views on their practice.

4.7.1.8 Interviews: A Confessional Approach

For some participants, being a participant in the interview process provided an opportunity for confession. On planning the research design, I did not consciously plan to elicit ‘confessions’ from the the participants. The confession of participants emerged as a voluntary disclosure. Thus theory from data can be attributed to both inductive and deductive approaches. With reference to Foucault’s work, Besley (2007) states that in confession, the agency of domination does not reside in the person that speaks, but in the one that questions and listens. Besley (2007) explains that accessing this inner self or ‘truth’ is facilitated by professionals in the health sciences or helping professions (e.g. priests, doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, psychoanalysts, counselors, etc.) who may administer certain ‘technologies’ for speaking, listening, recording, transcribing, and redistributing what is said, such as examining the conscious, the unconscious, and confessing one’s innermost thoughts, feelings, attitudes, desires and motives about self and one’s relationship with others.

4.7.2 Observation

As far as observation is concerned, as a researcher, I have had to adhere as closely as possible to the claim that ‘the fieldworker must remain open-minded and aware in order to discover the elements making up the markers and tools that people mobilise in their interactions with others and more generally with the world’ (Henning et al., 2004, p. 86). In this regard, I have written memos and made notes on what happens in the environment focusing on relationships, actions and interactions. As a creative fieldwork or observer, I entered the site of investigation much like a forensic investigator with my senses peeled in an attempt to find clues to the puzzle as outlined by the key research question. The observation served to supplement data already gleaned from interviews and documents.

4.7.3 Questionnaires

Research is a complex and messy process. During the research design process, I compiled questionnaires to supplement the data collected from interviews and observations. Questionnaire one (Appendix 3) was intended to obtain a wide range of background knowledge on various roles of the teacher in addition to the academic role of facilitator and assessor. Questionnaire two (Appendix 4) was an addition to the original design and focuses on the teacher’s assessment practices. As a result of the rich and voluminous data obtained through interviews and observations, the data from the questionnaires were not used for intensive analysis but enabled me to develop a holistic picture of the teacher.

4.7.4 Documentary Evidence

Documentary evidence comprised:

Mark sheets

Assessment Records

Assessment Activities

Policy documents used by teachers

In some cases not all participants co-operated by providing the requested documentation. Some mark sheets were given with learners' names whilst others had deleted the learners' names before giving me the assessment records. Participants were assured of confidentiality.

4.8 Data Analytical Strategies

My research analytical strategy, determined through my 'logic of discernment,' draws from both deductive and inductive approaches to data analysis with the aid of 'tools' from discourse theory; grounded theory and narrative analysis. According to Gee (1999), tools of enquiry are designed to describe and explain what the researcher takes to exist and to be important in a domain. The main forms of analysis and its relevant tools are listed and discussed.

4.8.1 Forms of Analysis

- Grounded Theory Analysis: A tool for constructing substantive theories
- Discourse Analysis: Tools for finding meaning in form
- Narrative Analysis: Looking for story markers

4.8.1.1 Grounded Theory Analysis

The chosen research strategy of the study within the qualitative paradigm has necessitated an alignment of methods to conceptualise the data. Grounded theory methods, according to Charmaz (2006), can complement other approaches to qualitative data analysis, rather than stand in opposition to them. Charmaz (2006, p. 2) argues that by adopting grounded theory

methods, the researcher can direct, manage, and streamline the data collection and, moreover, construct an original analysis of the data. The originators of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967), claim that through inductive reasoning, substantive theory from the ground (the data) can feed into theory without being driven by theory. The theory emerging from data is referred to as 'grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 1). The main thrust of the grounded theory movement is to bridge the gap between the theoretically 'uninformed' empirical research and empirically 'uninformed' theory by grounding theory in data (Goulding, 2002, p.41). Whilst theory is a strategy for handling data in research and providing modes of conceptualization for describing and explaining, Glaser and Strauss (1967) explain that theory that is grounded fits empirical situations and is understandable by professionals and laymen alike. Grounded theory is derived from data and then illustrated by characteristic examples of data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Goulding (2002, p. 44) elaborates that theory should be supported by extracts from interviews, or recordings of observations, which show the fit between conceptual abstraction and reality.

Although Glaser and Strauss (1967) have subsequently pursued the development of grounded theory in different ways in terms of conceptualising and operationalising the method, there are certain constants with regard to grounded theory (Goulding, 2002, p.46). These include the constant comparison of data to develop categories; the gradual abstraction of data from the descriptive level to higher order theoretical categories; the writing of theoretical memos which help track the process and provide a sense of reorientation (Goulding, 2002, p. 46). Grounded theory also has a built-in mandate to strive towards verification through the process of category saturation (Goulding, 2002, p.44).

Charmaz (2006) explains that grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves. The guidelines offer a set general principles and heuristic devices rather formulaic rules (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). The foundation of the theory constructed by the researcher-analyst is the data. Grounded theorists start with data which is constructed through interactions, interviews, observations and materials that are gathered about the research question. The research-analyst studies the early data and begins to separate, sort, and synthesis these data through qualitative coding. Charmaz (2006, p. 3) explains that coding

refers to the labels given to segments of data that depict what each segment is about. Through the coding process, the data is sifted and sorted thus allowing for comparisons with other segments of data. The task of the research-analyst is to see the relationships between categories and continuously refine them until the theory is crystalised. Henning et al. (2004), however, emphasise that theories are not lists of findings, but coherent arguments that explicate and explain social processes and phenomena.

Like Charmaz (2006) I have adopted the perspective that we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct our grounded theory through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices (Charmaz, 2006, p.10). Henning et al. (2004) explain that the constructivist analyst accepts responsibility for what the data ‘says,’ because it is the analyst who awards codes and constructs categories, and is ultimately the one who composes theories. At the outset of this thesis, my position as researcher and analyst has reflected this perspective.

According to Koch (cited in Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 3), interpretive research requires a trail of evidence through the research process to demonstrate credibility or trustworthiness. Interpretive rigour requires the researcher to demonstrate clearly how interpretations of the data have been achieved and to illustrate findings with quotations from raw data (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 3) which my research strategy has taken cognisance of. I wish to highlight that I have presented raw data followed by a discussion of the findings. In research circles, this method of presenting may seem ‘out of the box.’ The richness of the data necessitates a research strategy that facilitates the voices of the teachers to be heard loudly and clearly.

4.8.1.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is based upon the assumption that ‘language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). The philosophical

catalyst for discourse analysis comes from the work of the philosopher Wittgenstein (cited in Henning et al., 2004, p. 46) who posited that language is more than a reflection of reality.

According to De Beaugrande (1997), '*a discourse is not merely a linguistic unit but a unit of human action, interaction, communication, and cognition.*' He elaborates that although analysis involves looking at the recorded text from the listed data sources, discourse transcends the language trace and must balance analytic and synthetic viewpoints. This principle has guided the handling of the data as well as the development of the discussion through the thesis.

Phillips and Jorgenson (2002) assert that the establishment of hegemonic discourses as objectivity and their dissolution in new political battlefields is an important aspect of the social processes that discourse analysis investigates. Thus Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theoretical point that discourses are never completely stable and uncontested can be turned into methodological guidelines concerning the location of the lines of conflict in one's empirical material. Discourse analysis aims at the deconstruction of the structures that we take for granted; it tries to show that the given organization of the world is the result of political processes with social consequences (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 48).

Discourse analysis is aligned with the adopted epistemological position of social constructivism. The guiding premise for discourse analysis is that there are multiple meanings and that clues to those meanings need to be found in discourse, the rule governed language behaviour of the participants and the way in which they make sense of their reality (Henning et al., 2004, p.117) and the main question to be asked is: '*What discourse(s) frame(s) the language action and the way in which the participants make sense of their reality and how was this discourse produced and how is it maintained in the social context?*' In relation to discourse analysis, Henning et al. (2004) assert that although the act of analysing the data may differ in nuance only, the theoretical position shapes the inquiry (This is a deductive approach). From this perspective, data is socially constructed within the broader social and historical context and conventions within which the text has been created.

Discourse analysis in social sciences is often strongly influenced by the work of Foucault (Fairclough, 2003). Foucault challenges individual will and reason by showing how every utterance is an utterance within a specific discourse to which certain rules of acceptability apply. (This position is not all encompassing in this study and will be challenged through data exploration). Foucault (cited in Fairclough, 2003) challenges knowledge as a neutral speech position by showing that humanities and the social sciences in particular are inseparable from moralising projects; that humanities and the social sciences do not simply elucidate the world but establish regimes of knowledge and truth that regulate our approach to ourselves, each other and our surroundings respectively. This position is an *a priori* in terms of the deductive approach which will be challenged in terms of data driven theory of the inductive approach. It must be emphasised that analysis of the interview transcripts is guided by, but not confined by the preliminary codes. An assumption that is made is that there is no such thing as a complete and definitive analysis of a text (Fairclough, 2003).

The rationale for using interviews to get inside the teacher's mind is supported by Gee's (1999) claim that whenever we speak or write, we always and simultaneously construct or build six things or six areas of reality: the meaning and value of aspects of the material world; activities; identities and relationships; politics (the distribution of social goods); connections; and semiotics (what and how different symbol systems and different forms of knowledge 'count'). Gee (1999) states that [d]iscourses are out in the world and history as co-ordinations ('a dance') of people, places, times, actions, interactions, verbal and non-verbal expression, symbols, things, tools and technologies that betoken certain identities and associated activities. Discourses always involve co-ordinating language with ways of acting, interacting, valuing, believing, feeling, and with bodies, clothes, non-linguistic symbols, objects, tools, technologies, times and places (Gee, 1999, p. 23).

Discourse analysis is a reciprocal and cyclical process in which we shuttle back and forth between the structure (form, design) of a piece of language and the situated meanings it is attempting to build about the world, identities and relationships (Gee, 1999, p. 99). In discourse analysis, what is looked for, is the type of language used and the nature of other

data, such as the use of imagery in language. Gee's (1999) suggestion that one can categorise statements like 'I- statements' is a useful tool for gauging how teachers feel and think about themselves.

Cognitive statements: I think, I know; I guess.

Affective statements: I want; I like.

State and action statements: I am mature. I paid the bill.

Ability and constraint statements: I can't say anything to them.

Achievement statements: I challenge myself.

The categorisation of these statements will be used in conjunction with the tools of discourse analysis described in this chapter.

4.8.1.3 Narrative Analysis

Henning et al. (2004), state that there are some characteristics that narrative analysis of data and discourse share. Narrative analysis may be seen as a specialised form of discourse analysis because it searches for the way participants make sense of their lives by representing them in story form that appeals to them for some reason, or is compelling (Henning et al., 2004, p. 122). In the words of Chase (2008), narrative researchers listen first to the voices within each narrative - to the subject positions, interpretive practices, ambiguities and complexities with each narrator's story. This process usually includes attention to the 'narrative linkages' that a story teller develops between the biographical particulars of his or her life, on the one hand, and the resources and constraints in his or her environment for self and reality construction on the other. Rather than unitary, fixed or authentic selves, researchers suggest that narrators construct 'non-unitary subjectivities,' 'revised' identities, 'permanently unsettled identities' and 'troubled identities' (Chase, 2008, p. 74).

First--person narratives are effective means for gaining an understanding of how the self evolves over time (Atkinson, 2007, p.226). Through the self narratives, researchers can

secure useful information and come to the desired understanding of the self as a meaning-maker with a place in society, culture, and history (Atkinson, 2007, p. 226). Atkinson (2007) comments further that these narratives may be used as case studies to determine a subjective sense of identity formation. In identifying different components of *story grammar*, such as characters, plot, action, setting, outcome, conclusion and so forth, the analyst reasons systematically about the nature of these and tries to see their discursive implications (Henning et al., 2004, p. 123).

In the exercise of compiling the research report and selecting extracts of data, I take cognisance of Gee's (1999) statement that to explicate the meaning of a sentence is to 'embed them in the conversational sea in which [the] sentence swims.' This provides justification for stating the question to which a particular response was provided and as well as presenting raw data accompanied by discussion so that the findings are not separated and generalized.

The three forms of analysis have been explained briefly in the paragraphs above. What follows are steps characteristic of each form of analysis. These are not boxed and used separately from each but used in conjunction with each other.

4.8.2 Basic Analytical Steps in Analysis of Data

4.8.2.1 Global analysis: Asking Questions and Making Comparisons (Metaphors)

Central to all the forms of analysis described in the paragraphs above is the starting point of a global analysis. In global analysis, the main themes are searched for through intensive reading of the text and making notes (Henning et al., 2004, p. 109; Tesch, 1990, pp. 142-145). Corbin and Strauss (2008), present certain heuristic devices for analysing data, highlighting two analytical strategies that stand out which are: asking questions and making comparisons. Heeding this suggestion, I have kept in mind the key question and sub-questions throughout the analysis. I also kept an open mind and noted responses that

participants offered without having been questioned about it. Corbin and Strauss (2008) also suggest drawing upon personal experiences and thinking in terms of metaphors and similes when interpreting 'raw data.' The patterns may be expressed in metaphors or in symbolic use of language or image.

As researcher-analyst, I employed my skills of literary analysis such as identifying main themes, plots, character traits, nuances, symbols, composition, location and so forth. The fact that data are not 'broken' into 'codeable' pieces does not mean that the analyst does not remain close to the data. It means that her interpretive abilities are focused in a different way – always looking for patterns and links first (Henning et al., 2004, p. 110).

The use of metaphors from the visual arts may be useful to help organise the data and to make data vivid and coherent for the purpose of analysis (Henning et al., 2004, p. 110). It is a way of reformatting the data. The text is not just verbal and the template that a metaphor provides for global analysis assists in giving the analysis a form that is suited to its meaning (according to the analyst) whatever the medium may be, including pictures, artefacts, household goods, houses and language texts. Henning et al. (2004) explain that the tradition of writing does not preclude the use of modes of representation that may capture the data optimally. This does not replace the systematic inquiry process, but enfolds it.

4.8.2.2 Steps in Grounded Theory Analysis

Step 1: Transcription of Interview Verbatim.

Step 2: Open coding. Read through the entire interview text to get a global impression.

Step 3: Identify units of meaning.

Step 4: Write down my impression of text in memos alongside page. Awarding codes.

Step 5: Related codes are grouped or categorised. Themes are constructed from categories.

Step 6: Refine categories and themes.

Step 7: Present extracts from data. Use themes as a basis for argument in discussion around them.

4.8.2.3 Steps in Discourse Theory Analysis

Step 1: Transcription of Interview verbatim.

Step 2: Using theory to Identify strands of analysis.

Step 3: Global Interpretation of ‘raw’ data – Looking for clues (Narrative Analysis).

Step 4: Linking data to identified strands of theory.

Step 5: Composition of categories.

Step 6: Identifying patterns from categories.

Step 7: Present extracts from data. Use theory to substantiate discussion.

4.8.2.4 Steps in Narrative analysis

Step 1: Thorough reading and familiarity with the interview transcript.

Step 2: Looking for Story Markers. Questions to be asked, for example:

In what kind of story does the narrator place himself or herself?

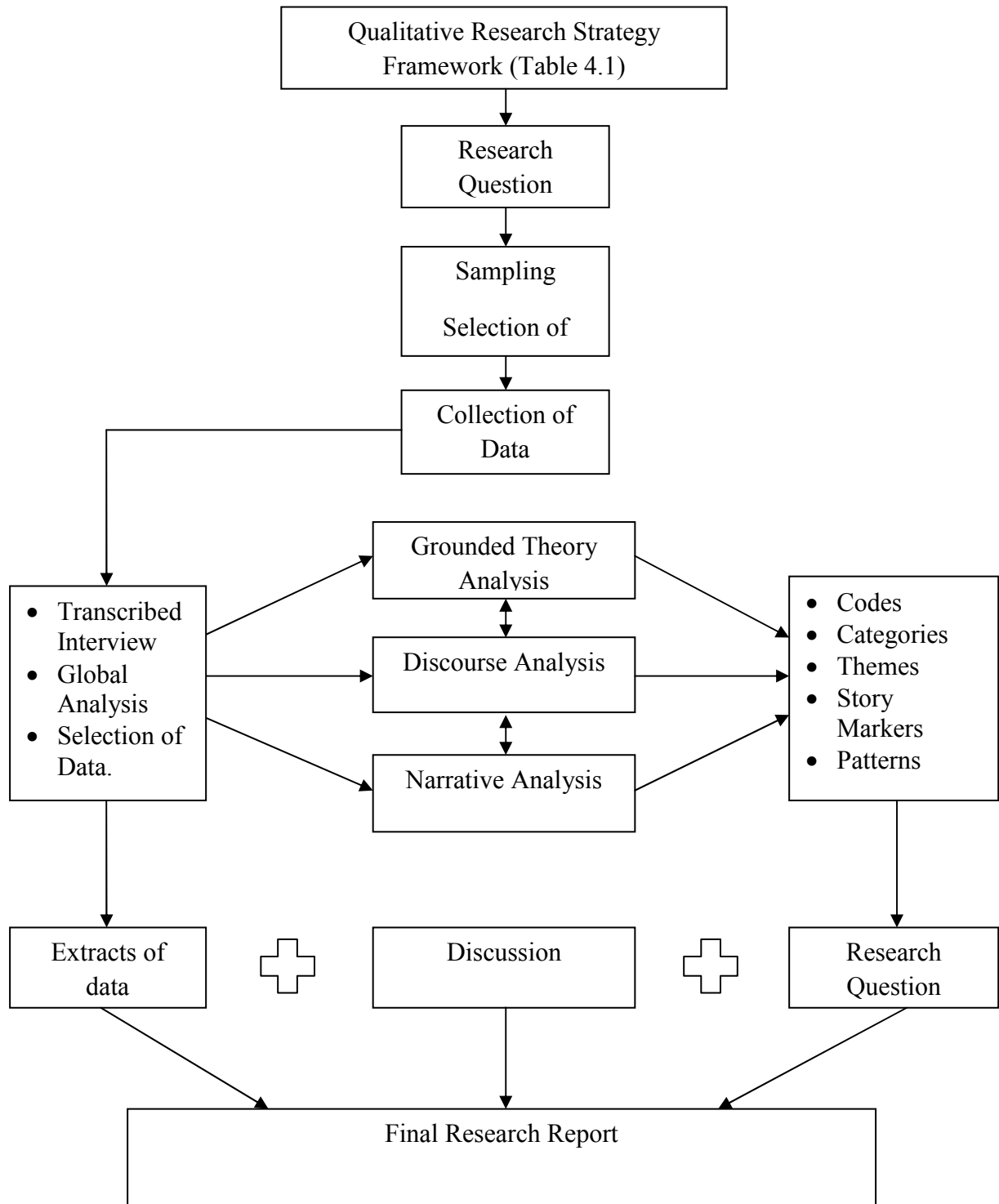
How is this story part of a larger societal narrative?

What discourses are evident in the story? (Henning et al., 2004)

Step 3: Story Markers linked to theoretical categories.

Step 4: Discussion of categories.

Figure 4.1 The Research Design Process



I represent diagrammatically the research design process in Figure 4.1 showing the qualitative research strategy that links the key components of the research process into a justifiable and coherent unit. The interrelatedness of components presupposes a ‘fitness of purpose’ towards the research aim.

4.8.3 Tools of Discourse Analysis

Within discourse analysis, my study draws on the various analytical tools, such as archaeology, genealogy and self technology, as espoused by Foucault. The tools are not used with equal weighting and the archeological approach is used indirectly since the genealogical approach derives from it and incorporates what is useful. The study is not restricted to the Foucauldian analytical tools but draws from the work of other scholars who explicate the themes in greater depth. Holding the frame of the Foucauldian analytic tools, I incorporate the work of other scholars and researchers. To conduct this research, I devise what I term my ‘logic of discernment,’ an approach that draws mainly from Foucault’s *genealogy* and *self-technology* as well as the *life history or biographical approach* to provide a theoretical framing for teacher identity or subjectivities within the discourses and discursive practices of the new assessment policy.

4.8.3.1 Archeological Discourse Analysis

According to Andersen (2003), the knowledge archaeology installs a distinction between statement, discourse and discursive formation. A *statement* is the atom of discourse – its smallest unit; *discourse* is the final, actually demarcated body of formulated statements; *discursive formation* is a system of dispersion for statements; it is the regulatory in the dispersion of statements. According to Foucault the object of discourse analysis is the statement. Foucault (cited in Andersen, 2003) states that ‘the question asked by the linguistic analysis, concerning a discursive act, is always: ‘According to what rules has this statement been constituted.’ The description of discourse asks: ‘How is it that this statement appeared,

rather than some other one in its place?’ This function of a statement’s existence contains at least four aspects: objects, subject, conceptual network and strategy (Andersen, 2003). Therefore discourse analysis consists of an analysis of statements, in which statements exist as an event, constantly enunciating subject positions, discursive objects, conceptual relations and strategies.

4.8.3.2 Genealogical Analysis

Genealogical analysis cannot be separated from archaeological analysis. The relation between archaeology and genealogy is frequently portrayed by Foucault, as two periods in his writings in which the genealogical breakthrough is articulated with the article ‘*Nietzsche – genealogy and history*’ (Foucault, 1971, pp. 351-369). Whilst the framework for the eye of knowledge archaeology is the regularity /dispersion of statements, the framework for the eye of genealogy is the difference continuity/ discontinuity (Andersen, 2003, p. 17). According to Foucault (1971), ‘genealogy does not oppose itself to history as the loft gaze of the philosopher might compare to the molelike perspective of the scholar; on the contrary, it rejects the metahistory deployment of the ideal significations and the indefinite teleologies. It opposes itself to the search for origins.’ Foucault (1971) states that ‘the researcher analyst must be able to recognise the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and the unpalatable defeats- the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities’ (Foucault, 1971, p.354). Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity rather it is concerned with discontinuities. According to Foucault (1971), ‘history becomes *effective* to the degree that it introduces *discontinuity* into our very being.’

Foucault (1971) describes three ways in which the historical sense (genealogy) is used. The first is **parodic**, directed against reality, and opposes the theme of history as reminiscence or recognition; the second is **dissociative**, directed against identity, and opposes history given as continuity or representative of tradition; the third is **sacrificial**, directed against truth and opposes history as knowledge (Foucault, 1971, pp. 364-366).

Foucault's genealogical approach contributes to identity studies since '[t]he purpose of history, guided by genealogy is not to discover the roots of our identity, but to commit itself to its dissipation. It does not seek to define our unique threshold of emergence, the homeland to which metaphysicians promise a return; it seeks to make visible all those discontinuities that cross us' (Foucault, 1971, p. 366). In Foucault's terms, the purpose of genealogy is not therefore a description of actual events. Genealogy is a history of the present designed to outline the historical conflicts and strategies of control by which knowledge and discourses are constituted and operate, and to use these descriptions as a counter-memory (Andersen, 2003).

Using the genealogical approach, Foucault's concept of governmentality is explored as a key feature of the theoretical framing used to analyse the data. According to Foucault's (1982b) reflections, the term 'government,' generally refers to the 'conduct of conduct' and 'government thus designates any rational effort to influence or guide the conduct of human beings through acting upon their hopes, desires, circumstances, or environment.' In using Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' to analyse data, three dimensions of this concept are explicated: reasons of government; technics (Inda, 2005) or techniques of government; and subjects of government.

According to Inda (2005), the dimension of *reasons of government*, encompasses all those forms of knowledge, expertise, and calculation that render human beings thinkable in such a manner as to make them amenable to political programming. The aim of Foucault's genealogy approach is to query the discourses and practices of the present by referring them back to the hegemonic conditions under which they have been established, which also includes pointing out breakages in the grounds on which strategies, institutions and practices are shaped (Andersen, 2003). Applying the dimension of *reasons of government* to the analytics of my study involves exploring specific rationalities that governments of the world and in particular which the post apartheid government of South Africa has imbibed in order to give legitimacy to its act of government. The term 'governmentality' transcends the boundaries of a single nation state, to authenticate the South African government within the global village. Thus within the analytics of government, more specifically the *reasons of government*, I use my 'logic of discernment' to select the genre of **globalisation** with its

concomitant discourse of **neoliberalism** as related to education and its vision of the post-apartheid South Africa as strands of analysis. Globalisation and discourses of neo-liberalism that propels the art of government, highlights issues of **marketability**, **efficiency**, **productivity** and **adaptability**. The phenomenon of globalisation is not a unique South African rationality, and like in the UK it features concurrently with the rationality of ‘social cohesion.’ In South Africa, this is referred to as **Ubuntu**. Amongst various rationalities of government, my guiding ‘logic of discernment’ has focused on the analytical themes of globalisation and social cohesion (Ubuntu) thus linking *reasons of government* to the creation of subjectivities. The rationality of social justice is incorporated within the aspects of critical discourse analysis with the underlying aim of illuminating how *reasons of government* impact on teachers’ identities professionally, emotionally and politically. The rationale for such understanding of teachers’ subjectivities is to serve the larger purpose of impacting positively on future decisions of government in relation to educational policies that impact on teachers, in the hope of a better society for all.

The second dimension to analysing governmentality is *technics/ techniques of government* (Inda, 2005, p. 9). The technical is that domain of practical mechanisms, instruments, and programmes through which authorities of various types seek to shape, normalise and instrumentalise human conduct (Inda, 2005, p. 9). In this study, the analytics includes reference to the *technics/techniques of government*, more specifically, the creation of policies, namely, the new assessment policy which is a feature of the overall curriculum reformation. However, the methodological difficulty of isolating a single policy as a ‘game of truth’ for exploring teacher identity must be made transparent since various policies (*technics of government* as well as biography and ‘habitus’) are simultaneously contributing to the way in which one is governed and the way one governs oneself. Hence, in the study, the new assessment policy is identified as one among many technics or instruments (policies) through which the government via the Department of Education seeks to shape the conduct of teachers. The word ‘seeks’ emerges from my ‘logic of discernment’ which emphasises intentionality but not necessarily inevitability.

Within the dimension of *technics of government*, the concept ‘game of truth’ is explored. In the *History of Sexuality, Vol 2*, Foucault (1986) asks, ‘What are the games of truth by which

man proposes to think [about] his own nature when he considers himself to be ill, when he conceives of himself to be ill, when he conceives of himself as a living, speaking labouring being; when he judges and punishes himself as a criminal.’ Rabinow and Rose (2003) explain that language (even as discourse) is only one of the heterogeneous and localised intellectual and practical techniques, the instruments through which human beings constitute themselves.

Finally, there are *subjects of government*. This dimension includes the diverse types of individual and collective identity that arise out of and inform governmental activity. In my study, I examine how identities are constituted (that is, how subjects govern themselves) through self-care by exploring the extent to which subjects heed the reasons of government and imbibe the technics of government as ‘games of truth.’ However, the technics of government has to be analysed in conjunction with biography and ‘habitus.’ Using my ‘logic of discernment,’ I do not claim that identities are constituted solely within discourses. Through the analytics of governmentality, I have endeavoured to illuminate how individuals care for themselves by firstly, becoming subjects of knowledge, secondly, through being subjects in relations of power and thirdly, by being subjects of morality. The following questions guide the analysis of data:

- *How are teachers constituted as subjects of government that articulate the rationalities of the new governmentality (for example, rationalities of globalisation and neoliberalism) within their discursive practices of assessment?*
- *How have teachers been constituted as ‘subjects of knowledge’ who have assimilated the new discourse as a ‘game of truth’ to become part of their strategy of ‘care of self’ to transform and sustain a sense of professionalism?*
- *To what extent have teachers as subjects in relations of power, adapted to or resisted the new discourse of assessment?*
- *How are teachers as subjects of morality, guided by their conscience in the practice of the new assessment policy?*

Through the axis of investigating how teachers as assessors become subjects of knowledge, the study will highlight through data how the new assessment policy (technics of government) is made to emerge as a ‘games of truth’ (Foucault) and used to legitimate the

government (reasons for government). In contrast, the teachers' resistance to policy (the hegemonic project) may lead to antagonisms. With regards to the constitution of subjects of government, I use my 'logic of discernment' to draw from Foucault's analytical tool of self technology to analyse the data.

4.8.3.3 Self Technology

Foucault's concept of technology pertains to the self-relation of the subject to its self-care (Andersen, 2003, p. 24). To Foucault, **subjection** means that an individual or collective is proclaimed subject within a specific discourse. The individual or collective is offered a specific position in the discourse from which one can speak and act meaningfully in a specific way. According to Andersen (2003), Foucault speaks of **subjectivation** when the individual or collective has not only been made the subject but also wishes to be so. Subjection, thus, signifies the space where one receives oneself, whereas subjectivation signifies the space where one gives oneself to oneself.

Foucault (1982a) opens up the question in his study of self-care by introducing technology as mediation and self-technologies. He sees the latter as 'technologies of self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality' (Foucault, 1982a, p.146).

Self-technologies are procedures that prescribe how the individual is to define, maintain and develop her/ his identity with a view to self-control and self-awareness (Foucault, 1982a). The purpose of these technologies is for the self to address itself. Andersen lists Foucault's elements of self-technology as follows:

- The transformational mode of subjecting
- The objectification of the self

- Self-activating activity
- Telos

4.8.3.1 The Transformational Mode of Subjecting

Self-technology can be understood as prescriptions for operations through which the individual, having received itself through *subjecting*, is able to reach a point of transformation so that it can give itself to itself in order to obtain a particular personal goal or condition. This understanding of self-technology analysis thus divides the world into **subjecting** and **subjectivation**, and constructs a sensitivity to the practices through which the self can summon itself and activate itself in order to master its own creation (Andersen, 2003). The analysis of self-technology permits studies of the practical staging of the relationship between individual and subject position:

- *How is the individual subjected with a view to crossing the boundary between subjecting and subjectivation?* (Andersen, 2003)
- *What operations can be discerned regarding their own bodies, thoughts and soul to transform themselves to achieve a desired state?* (Foucault, 1982a)

To explore this thread of analysis through my ‘logic of discernment,’ I have incorporated the levels of consciousness as a gauge for crossing the boundary between subjecting and subjectification.

Subjection, means that an individual or collective is proclaimed subject within a specific discourse. I argue that this could be ‘discerned’ at the level of the body and mind. **Subjectivation** is when the individual or collective has not only been made subject but also wishes to do so. I argue that this is at the level of the soul. Considering the nature of the soul as indicated by selected theories (see chapter 3), how will the researcher then trace this link from subjecting to subjectivation? The value of the genealogical approach becomes apparent. Foucault (1971) maintains that genealogy must be unobtrusive ‘Genealogy ... must record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality; it must seek them in the most

unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history – in sentiments, love, conscience, instincts; it must be sensitive to their recurrence, not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution but to isolate the different scenes where they engaged in different roles. Finally, genealogy must define even those instances when they are absent, the moment when they remained unrealised’ (Foucault, 1971, p. 351).

In terms of tracing the shift from subjecting to subjectivation, Foucault articulates this process through the concept of governmentality saying that ‘*Governmentality* implies relationship of self to itself’ (Foucault, 1984b, p. 41). Foucault (1984b) elaborates on the point of ‘freedom’ highlighting that the concept ‘governmentality’ incorporates ‘strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other.’ I argue that while subjecting is possible at the level of the body and mind, subjectivation (the giving of self to itself) occurs at the level of the soul. As Descartes (cited in Giddens, 1991) states, ‘I know my soul better than my body. But I can only know the body of the other, since I have no access to that person’s consciousness.’

The process of subjection to subjectivation can be viewed as a continuum that can only find temporary fixations (as is the nature of identity since the self continually seeks to transform). Using technologies of self further alludes to how the self governs oneself as part of care of self. The self in this transformation mode may be exposed to tensions as identified through the genealogical approach of uncovering ‘continuities and discontinuities.’ Using my ‘logic of discernment,’ I refer to the work of Giddens (1991), namely, the dialectic tensions identified by Giddens (1991) to analyse the continuities and discontinuities that occur during the transformation mode from subjection to subjectivation. Using my ‘logic of discernment’ to explicate data, I add to the work of Giddens (1991) by introducing the possibility of a fifth tension experienced by the self in its transitory mode.

4.8.3.2 The Objectification of the Self

The second criterion is the objectification of the self, which concerns the form of knowledge that the individual can establish about itself as self. Genealogical analysis seeks by gaze of

disruption, to open up the discursive field through tracing practices, discourses and institutional lines of descent, including the lines of connection to different historical conflicts and strategies of control (Andersen, 2003). According to the genealogical approach, the continuity and discontinuity of difference is a tool for observation, employed in order to distinguish discontinuity in that which presents itself as continuity and to examine possible continuities in that which presents itself as new, different or unique.

The genealogical method is concerned with the continued openness of the subject (Andersen, 2003). This is the premise on which the methodology was selected. The biographical or life history approach, of which the aspect of narratives amongst other emergences surfaced, has as its primary aim the configuration of continuities and discontinuities as a tool of observation. Andersen (2003) explains that instead of a preliminary definition of the object of examination, one will need to investigate how our object has been construed historically and in different settings.

My 'logic of discernment' draws from the genealogical approach, which seeks to illuminate specific strands in the constitution of the self in different historical periods, settings and phases of life. By using the work of other researchers in the field (Wedekind, 2001; Lortie, 1975; Jessop, 1997; Jansen, 2001) as well as my own intuitive and logical insights, categories for data collection via the method of interviews were created to elucidate 'the form of knowledge that the individual can establish about itself as self' (Andersen, 2003) through the life history / biographical approach. The loose or permeable categories to obtain data on the teachers' selves also become categories for the analytical strategy and these are:

Interview Schedule One: Professional Identity (Appendix 1)

Training and Qualifications (learning area specialisation)

Teaching and Assessment

Role as assessor (knowledge of departmental policies and school policies on assessment)

Views on assessment

Practices of Assessment

Professional Development as Assessor.

The data collection through interviews and documentary evidence focuses specifically on how the revised assessment policy has impacted on the lives of teachers. This is explored at several levels: **professionally**, in terms of their training and experience; **emotionally**, in terms of how they cope with the stress of the new impositions; and **politically**, by asking participants to consider why the assessment policy had changed from the time they were in school. Furthermore, the influence the specific contexts of their present teaching and assessment practices and the impact this has on their developing self is also explored.

Interview Schedule Two: Biographical Information (Appendix 2)

Work (Career aspirations, motivations, experience and work fulfilment)

Work Relations (Inter-personal relationships; school ethos)

Relationship with Learners (Discipline; change)

Early Education (Primary, Secondary and Tertiary)

Role as Teacher

Family Background

Social Factors (Role Models, Guiding Philosophy; Aspirations for the Future)

The choice of the biographical / life history approach to understanding the self emerges from my 'logic of discernment' which draws on the literature by (Thomas 1995) and Goodson (1992) which highlights the value of examining early childhood experiences of schooling to the understanding of the way teachers are (their current philosophies of teaching). According

to Atkinson and Delamont (2008), we collect and analyse personal narratives and life histories because they are a collection of types or forms through which various kinds of social activity are accomplished. They are themselves forms of social action in which identities, biographies and various other kinds of work get done (Atkinson and Delamont, 2008, p. 288). Narrative analysis addresses important kinds of social action.

One of the areas often neglected in research on teachers is their emphasis on values. Hence, teachers were asked to articulate their values through their motivations, aspirations, dreams and visions for their future. Using my ‘logic of discernment,’ I draw on Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy of needs to highlight how values reveal ‘knowledge that the individual establishes about itself as self.’ The notion that voids (gaps at various levels in terms of Maslow’s hierarchy of needs) influence ones values, will be explored via data.

4.8.3.3 Self-Activating Activity: The Confession

The third criterion is that of the self- activating activities, examples of which are the diary, as self activity that emerged in the 2nd century in the Roman Empire or the confessional practice of the Catholic Church (Andersen, 2003). Using my ‘logic of discernment,’ I draw on Foucault’s concept of pastoral power. The conscience becomes a point of discernment when the self in one’s own volition opens one’s soul through the method of confession where one reveals the ‘truth’ about oneself as part of care of self.

In the chapter outlining the theoretical framework used, I have presented extracts from Foucault’s (1982a) interview where he explicates the genealogy of confessions as ‘technologies of the self.’ Besley, (2007) on giving an account of Foucault’s work states that while confession means acknowledging, it also involves a declaration and disclosure, acknowledgment or admission of a crime, fault, or weakness. The acknowledgment is partly about making oneself known by disclosing one’s private feelings or opinions that form part of one’s identity (Besley, 2007, p. 63).

Foucault (1982a) points out the shift of confessional practices from a religious world to medical then to therapeutic and pedagogical models in secular contemporary societies. Foucault (1982a) moves beyond simply focusing on confession of sexuality, to a more general importance of confession in the contemporary world. Foucault concludes his lecture on *Technologies of Self* by asserting that ‘techniques of verbalisation have been reinserted in a different context by the so called human sciences in order to use them without renunciation to self but to constitute, positively, a new self’ (Foucault, 1982a, p.167).

The act of confession as a technology of self implies those confessing do so with the aim constituting a new self, hence the reconstitution of identities. Since language has a performative function, speaking the truth about oneself, also makes, constitutes, or constructs forms of oneself (Besley, 2007, p. 65). The Foucauldian perspective is that by these discursive means and through these technologies, a human being turns himself into a subject.

The confessional techniques directed towards ‘normalization’ are being replaced by the notions of self regulation. This new form of confession is an affirmation of our self and our identity that involves ‘contemporary procedures of individualization’ that ‘binds us to others at the very moment we affirm our identity’ (Rose cited in Besley, 2007, p. 65).

Besley (2007) explains that confession then is both a communicative and expressive act, a narrative in which we (re)-create ourselves by creating our own narrative, reworking the past, in public, or at least in dialogue with another. Foucault’s concept of pastoral power will be used to analyse data showing how teachers govern themselves as subjects of morality. The notion of ethics is explored through the data, to illuminate how ‘care of self’ includes ‘care of others’ and attempts to master the ‘game of truth.’

4.8.3.4 Telos

The word *telos* (from the Greek word for ‘end,’ ‘purpose’ or ‘goal’) is an *end* or *purpose* in a fairly constrained sense used by philosophers such as Aristotle (Wikipedia, 2008). The fourth criterion emerges from the fact that the self-activity needs to have a direction or an aim that extends beyond the mere activity. According Anderson (2003) the question is: ‘In what way does the self-technology provide the individual with a particular *telos* for life?’

Using my ‘logic of discernment’ I use the work of Viktor Frankl, (1984) *Man’s Search for Meaning*, which explicates man’s will to meaning (*telos*). The word *dharma* is also word to describe one’s life purpose (Chopra, 1993, p.313). In using Frankl’s (1984) work, I do not claim to know the suffering experienced by the Holocaust prisoners. Neither do I wish to equate any possible suffering between the Holocaust prisoners and those experienced by teachers. I merely wish to use this work as an illustration of man’s will to meaning even in the most extreme circumstances.

Identification of *telos* is central to understanding the constitution of identities. As pointed out: ‘The belief that our psyche and our desires lie at the very heart of our existence as experiencing human creatures now turned out to be, not a foundational point that can ground and justify our demands for emancipation, but the fulcrum of a more profound subjectification’ (Rabinow and Rose, 2003, p. viii).

4.9 Difficulties in Research: Claims, Limitations and Shortcomings.

In qualitative research the data analysis is interpretative and Stake’s (1995) comment that *the function of research is not necessarily to map and conquer the world but, to sophisticate the beholding of it*, has guided the methods, methodology and analytical strategies.

Whilst the interview as a method of getting into the minds of teachers was considered the most appropriate method of primary data collection, through the interview, the context is shrunk to a small moment in the person's life and this decontextualisation has an impact on the 'realness' or the 'truth value' of the data. In a research text, interested individuals will read an integrated understanding of the subjectivity in which the researcher 'describes, truthfully, delimited segments of real persons' lives' (Henning et al., 2004, p. 52). The complexity and also dynamic nature of the social world mean that a researcher can seldom make confident predictions about it. The qualitative researcher's aim is to investigate meaning and significance, rather than to predict and control.

Within the qualitative tradition, epistemological claims are that the knowledge obtained by research is **partial, situated** (i.e specific to particular situations and periods rather than universally applicable) and **relative** (i.e related to the researcher's world view and value system) (Wetherell et al., 2001a, p. 12). Another more complex premise is that no single truth is possible because reality is neither single nor regular: there are multiple realities and therefore multiple truths (Wetherell et al., 2001a, p. 12).

The researcher is part of the researched world (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 106). As we live in an already interpreted world, a **doubly hermeneutic** exercise (Giddens, 1979) is necessary to understand others' understandings of the world and the paradox here is that the most sufficiently complex instrument to understand human life is another human (Lave and Kvale, as cited in Cohen et al., 2000). De Beaugrande (1997) states that *discourse analysis obliges the investigator to engage and re-engage with discourse*. He asserts that the idealized separation of subject from object, or investigator from data is not feasible.

One of the tensions that I experienced is trying to maintain a holistic interpretation and report the findings of each of the participants as 'single cases.' However, in the words of Cohen et al. (2000), 'there is a tendency for analyses to atomise and fragment the data - to separate them into constituent elements, thereby losing the synergy of the whole.' In my study what compounded this dilemma, was that there were many participants' from whom data according to my 'logic of discernment' could be labeled as 'exceptional.' The selection

process was complicated by the sheer value that these participants brought to the study. I also wanted to trace the whole life history highlighting discontinuities /changes in the identity at critical or fateful moments. However, to have done that for the majority of participants would have resulted in a voluminous thesis. Editing and presentation proved to be one of the most challenging aspects in compiling this thesis.

To overcome the challenges of presenting, I have chosen to trace the life history of a few participants, (Alan, Vee, Rina and Deb) as closely as possible, showing links (continuities and discontinuities) between biography and professional identity. However, where there was an overlap of issues, I included the data from other participants to avoid repetition. Although efforts were made at reducing repetition, common categories are discussed in different contexts with different subject participants and wherever possible, ideas were amalgamated.

4.10 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented the qualitative research framework explicating the ontological, epistemological, human nature and methodological research assumptions; the interpretivist and social constructivist paradigm; the rationale for combining the inductive and deductive approaches; justification for using the case study methodology and data collection methods. The interview which is a key source of data collection is discussed with some examples from the actual data to support findings. The analytical strategy used in this study is explicated. Different forms of analysis such as grounded theory, narrative and discourse analysis are used in a complementary way to make sense of the data. I explain how Foucault's genealogical and self technology approach together with the work of specific scholars listed, are used to explore the various dimensions of governmentality, with a special focus on subjects of government.

Chapter Five: Introducing the Participants in the Field

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for the analysis of the data by providing a brief biographical sketch of the participants as well some background information about the institutions in which they teach. I emphasise that the context is more than the physical environment but is constituted by the relationships of members in the institute and the overall ethos of the school. The introduction of participations is a subjective exercise. Using ‘my logic of discernment’ I introduce the subjects in varied ways depending on what I perceive should be disclosed about each of them. Pseudonyms are used to name teachers and institutions.

5.2 The Discursive Field of Practice

According to De Beaugrande (1997) ‘a discourse is not a static, idealized or totalized unity of words and significances, but a dynamic field of interests, engagements, tensions, conflicts and contradictions.’ De Beaugrande (1997) elaborates that this field in turn reflects the organization of society and its institutions and the roles and power structures therein. Institutions invariably have a physical presence (for example, a classroom) but they should also be understood as being constituted by relationships: between school principals and teachers, teachers and students’ parents (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 37).

Henning et al. (2004), state that in qualitative study of a research case, one wants to find out what the actions of the people in the setting are, what they think, what they feel, what their setting looks like and what the significance of the signs and symbols in the setting is. According to Hamilton et al. (1977), the school context or ‘learning milieu’ is the social, psychological and material environment in which students and teachers work together. The learning milieu represents a nexus of cultural, social, institutional and psychological variables that interact in complicated ways to produce a unique pattern of circumstances, pressures, customs, opinions and work styles that suffuse the teaching and learning that occur there

(Hamilton et al., 1977, p.11). For example, teaching and learning in a particular setting are profoundly influenced by the type of assessment procedures in use; by the constraints of scheduling; by the size of classes; by the availability of teaching assistants, computing and copying facilities (Hamilton et al., 1977, p.13). These in turn are dependent on departmental priorities; on policies of faculty promotion; on institutional myths and traditions; and on local and national pressures (Hamilton et al., 1977). Taking cognizance of the setting during the data gathering process is essential so that methods selected will give the researcher access to this information and also opportunities to work with the data in different ways. Having established the importance of context, we must discard the convenient fiction of 'context-free' words or sentences and De Beaugrande (1997) argues that such items are merely transposed by our citation into a different context, and we should inquire how we may be changing their significance, for example, concealing constraints or mystifying institutional commitments.

De Beaugrande (1997) cautions that *the source of data should be naturally occurring discourses rather than isolated brief examples invented by investigators*. In my attempts to make sense and meaning of the discourse, I wish to situate my data as discourse within institutions in which they have emerged, heeding the notion that the context is more than the bricks and mortar that constitute the building but the relationships in which they are embedded and the ethos that prevails.

This is what Alan, one of the teacher participants, stated about context:

“Talking about context, you know we had a workshop on discipline and school safety. While some of us are talking about fences and security guards, one principal stood up and said how everyday their children have to pick up cow dung on their school terrain because there’s no fences. There is such a disparity between their contexts and what our contexts are” (Alan).

This extract alludes to different priorities faced by different contexts. Furthermore, the broader historical context of South Africa’s apartheid regime implies that all schools are not

homogenous in their infra-structure and demographics. The school fees give an indication of the value that a particular community places on school (See Table 5.1 in this chapter).

All the schools listed are situated in the Midlands Region of Kwazulu Natal. Given the historical context of South Africa, the impact of apartheid has left its mark on existing schools which remain unequal in terms of school resources and infrastructure and the subsequent cultural organization of the schools. The economic realities of class divisions in terms of the working and middle class transcends issues of race as those seeking ‘quality’ education are prepared to pay higher school fees. Thus school fees vary across schools, with a marked discrepancy between the former Model C, House of Assembly schools (HoR) and other schools, namely the former House of Delegates (HoD), Department of Education and Training (DET) and House of Representatives (HoR) schools. The school fees once again determine the number of learners in the class. Those schools which obtain higher fees are able to employ more teachers than are allocated by the Department of Education according to the teacher-learner ratio. My research intention in delineating the various categories is to highlight the uniqueness or identity of each institution and the subsequent impact it has on the identity of teachers working within that environment.

Table 5.1 List of Schools

Teacher/s	School	Ex-Education Dept	School Fees	Av. No. of Learners in a class	School Population
Vee	Valley Primary	HoD	R 650	40- 50	500
Rina and Ann	Peak Senior Primary	HoA	R 7500	27-33	500
Alan	High Tree Primary	HoR	R 963	45	963
Brian	Rising Sun Primary	HoD	R 600	40	600
Sipho and Nkosi	Rainbow Primary	HoD/ DeT	R 350	45-52	634
Deb	Star Primary	HoA	R 6 150	30-35	962
Anand	Primrose Primary	HoD	R 850	35-40	600
Maggie	Old Mill Primary	HoA	R 6 000	33-35	784

The schools listed above in Table. 5.1 are all within the urban areas of the Midlands Region of Kwa-Zulu Natal. All schools, except Peak School are designated the status of primary school and have learners in three phases namely, Foundation (Gr 1-3), Intermediate (Gr4-6) and Senior (Grade 7). Peak School has learners who commence in Grade 4 and proceed through to Grade 7. All the schools in the study were co-educational with the exception of Old Mill which, is co-educational in the Foundation Phase and “girls only” in the intermediate and senior phases.

Table 5.2 Teachers' Biographic and Professional Information

No	Name	Race	Sex	Age	Qualification	Level/ Position
1	Vee	Indian	Male	35 -40	Teacher's Diploma LLB (Law)	1
2	Ann	White	Female	50-55	Bachelor of Journalism	1
3	Rina	White	Female	40-45	Teacher's Diploma	1
4	Brian	Indian	Male	40-45	Teacher's Diploma Bachelor of Education	3
5	Alan	Coloured	Male	50-55	Teacher's Diploma	3
6	Deb	Indian	Female	45-50	Bachelor of Music Remedial Teaching. Eng. Honours	2
7	Anand	Indian	Male	35-40	Electrical Engineering Teachers' Diploma	1
8	Maggie	White	Female	55-60	Teacher's Diploma Bachelor of Arts	1
9	Sipho	Black African	Male	50-55	Teacher's Diploma	3
10	Nkosi	Black African	Male	50-55	Teacher's Diploma	1

Key

Level/ Position. 1: Educator level 1; 2: Head of Department; 3: Deputy Principal

In Table 5.2 above, I provide a composite table of all teacher participants in the study. As indicated, pseudo names were used. There were six male participants and four female participants. All race groups were represented in the sample since teachers trained in separate colleges of education and universities.

Valley School, a former HoD school, is typical of the many schools that had been built to serve the Indian community. The school demographics comprise mainly Indian staff with learners being predominantly Indian with some Black African. Valley School is situated in a lower middle to working class residential area. That, however, is not indicative of the economic status of learners who attend the school as issues of class are rapidly and constantly evolving within the new democratic South Africa. While preference for access into schools is given to those learners who reside in the area, schools are increasingly accommodating learners who live in other areas. Schools, too, are becoming increasingly market oriented working on a first come, first served basis. The affordability of school fees is also a determining factor in terms of choice of school for most parents of school attending children. Valley School is an adequately resourced institution with the basic operational equipment like photocopiers and worksheet duplicators. It does not have a school hall or a swimming pool.

The outlay of the office and administration or reception rooms of a school is often an indicator of the soundness of the resources or financial status of the schools and to some extent the vision, ethos and image of the school. The administration block of Valley School is a fairly mediocre as is typical of state-built schools, with a waiting facility in an outdoor quad. The school is fenced and the main gate, however, is left open with easy access into the school. The sizes of the classrooms are standard with approximately 40-45 learners per class.

Rising Sun School is very similar to Valley Primary in its design and structure and is also adequately resourced. The demographics of the school comprise a predominantly Indian staff with a mixed balance of learners that are Indian and Black African with a few Coloureds. The school is fairly secure, fenced with an automated gate controlled at the receptionist's office.

The classrooms had the appearance of being full with approximately 40 learners per classroom.

Peak Senior School is an ex-model C school (HoA) that is well resourced. The demographics of the school comprise mainly White staff with one Indian and one Black African. The learner population is more than fifty percent White with a mixture of Indian, Black African and Coloured learners. The recently renovated entrance hall framed with brightly coloured paintings, created a pleasantly warm and inviting atmosphere. However, it was more than just the physical environment that was welcoming. The teachers at Peak School were the most welcoming group of teachers that I had met during this research. They were always courteous to me on the corridors, willing to assist in any way possible. This is significant for my research because one is ready to absorb everything in a setting in order to form intuitive impressions of the context. The pleasant and cordial outward behaviour of the teachers led me to assume that this must surely be the most relaxed and content staff in the Midlands area. The data obtained from interviews, however, indicated quite the contrary.

Two of the participants in this study taught at Peak School in different Grades. The physical environment, however, was perceived quite differently by the two teachers. The Grade 7 teacher (Ann) was quite content in her classroom feeling that it was big enough to accommodate the needs of the learners. However, the Grade five teacher (Rina) had indicated that traditionally, the school classrooms were designed for smaller numbers of learners per class than they had at that time, saying that this has caused her some discomfort in terms of moving freely among the learners. However, she indicated that the school was well resourced materially in other ways. The school had a huge hall, a swimming pool and specialist rooms for Art, Technology and Computers.

High Tree School is an old school which was renamed since it was first established. The school lies in the outskirts of the city centre and the residential areas. As a result many learners travel from the outlying areas. The demographics of the staff is mainly Coloured with a few Indian teachers. The majority of the learners are Black African and Coloured. The classroom sizes are standard, however the number of learners in the class are far too many for

comfortable teaching and learning. This is what Alan, a teacher participant from High Tree School stated:

“I can show you some of the classrooms and the space, or lack of space. You need space, well space will deal with the problem of groupwork. Now if a teacher cannot walk freely about the desks, it is really problematic. And that is what I find inhibiting here. But sometimes we take children outside and we find that works for us, where they can sit out. But your discipline must be such so that you can actually do justice to it. You are not going to let the lesson collapse because those children are distracted easily outside” (Alan).

In terms of the category of space, ‘a competence model’ of pedagogic practice is evident which is ‘facilitated by the absence of regulatory boundaries limiting access and movement’ (Bernstein, 1996, p.59). This weak classification of space which is reflective of a progressive approach to teaching and learning, sounds appealing in theory. However, in practice, this does not eliminate the problem of space experienced by Alan who has a large number of learners in his class. What Alan had said in the interview was validated by my classroom visit. My observation confirmed Alan’s statement that there was very little space in front of the classroom between the teacher and the chalkboard. My immediate response on entering the classroom was that that kind of learning environment was not conducive to quality teaching and learning, as the teacher could barely move around the 44 desks placed in rows. Furthermore, the distance between the chalkboard and the first row of learners was very close. The Grade 4 learners that I observed in the participant’s class were easily distracted and quite noisy.

During the interview, this is what the participant, Alan, said about the numbers of learners and the conduciveness to assessing effectively in his environment:

“I am not sure whether we are copying other countries, whether people go overseas and come back with these wonderful ideas. I am still of the view that assessment has got to be South Africanised, if there is such a thing. We’ve got to make it work for us. Now we take a

model from maybe Canada, or New Zealand. Then we come and try it here. We know the pitfalls are the great numbers that we have in our class” (Alan).

The participant is drawing attention to the idea of policy borrowing from other countries but comments on the unique South African context in which it is implemented. He cites the “*great numbers*” in the class as a “*pitfall*” to effective assessment.

This is how the interview developed further:

“It was yesterday that we had a hockey lesson, I’m coaching hockey and the youngster that comes in says to me, ‘Sir, in the model C schools, where I was in Remedial Class,’ he was quite honest, ‘there were five in the class. And I could work and it was quiet.’ Then I explained to him, ‘Look, this is not the same type of school, this is a South African School not an ex-model C school.’ Then I said to him, ‘We have these big numbers. This is the way it is now,’ but we have to assess children. Whether we are using the right system, I don’t know” (Alan).

This extract presents, from the learners’ perspective, the effectiveness of working in small classes that is possible in the ex model C schools (Former HoA). It highlights the disparity among school contexts in South Africa. The number of learners in the classrooms varies in different schools. In schools where there are higher school fees, the school is able to employ additional teachers and these schools have smaller numbers of learners in the classrooms. The participant explains: “*This is a South African School,*” implying that the ex-model C schools do not represent the realities of the majority in South Africa. Yet policy-makers model the policies in accordance with the ideal situation that is typical of ex-model C schools such as smaller numbers and classroom based-teaching in the Intermediate and early Senior Phases. The participant repeatedly alludes to the number of learners in class as being an obstacle to effective implementation of assessment.

Rainbow School is situated in a fairly ‘newly’ developed urban area where some industrial development takes place. The homes in that area were developed for the lower middle class group of mainly Indian occupants. The school built for that new community was initially started by a full Indian management staff. However, migration occurred as a result of Indians leaving the area and Black Africans entering the area, and the constitution of the school governing body, changed as well. Subsequently, the all Indian management team was replaced by a Black management team with the exception of one Indian in the team. The staff demographics changed as well. There are approximately 50% Indian teachers and 50% Black African teachers with an almost 98% black learner population.

Old Mill School is one of the older schools in the Midlands town of KZN. The school is fairly well resourced. Some of the teachers at the school were also relatively old with the grumpiest faces that I had observed in schools. Perpetual frowns were etched on their faces suggesting that they were stressed, when actually the interview with one teacher revealed quite the opposite.

Star School, a former HoA school, is well resourced. A school established more than 50 years ago. The school boasts a progressive ethos and the reception hall of the school has pictures and thematic displays of ‘modern methods’ of teaching. One of the challenges facing this former HoA school is the influx of various cultural groups. This is how Deb, a teacher participant in my study described it:

“Inside the school, significant changes that have occurred, is the multi-cultural classroom and with that multi-cultural demands on leadership. Alright, so you have had changes of management. You’ve had an amalgamation of cultural background, language background, life worlds that have come together and the diversity and richness that it can bring, if only it is allowed to happen. And maybe we’ve come a long way in allowing it to happen and perhaps policy has forced it to happen. But it is a role we’ve got to take” (Deb).

Once again, I emphasise that the school is more than just the physical structure. The relationship between the staff members, management of the school and the community in which it is situated is an important cultural determinant in the development of the teacher's identity/ subjectivity.

5.3 Introducing the Participants

All ten of the participants would be introduced in the paragraphs that follow in a summarized form which is non-standardized. In introducing the participants, I do so briefly, generally withholding information about some participants that I think would be better presented in the form of data in chapter six or in some cases in the actual words used by participants themselves. The biographic and professional information of the selected participants would be presented in varied formats. As a result of the voluminous amount of data, the criteria of selection is indeed the privilege of myself as researcher using my 'logic of discernment' by taking into account what I perceived to be honest, authentic, interesting and contributing significantly to the research project.

5.3.1 Vee

The importance of good data to any researcher is crucial. As a researcher I am grateful for the opportunity of having a participant such as Vee in my research study. I approached Vee via his school principal. From our first conversation, he had indicated to me his intention to exit the school system shortly. He also indicated that his participation would mean that he would be given an opportunity to present his voice on certain matters. This was a very positive start and at the initial meeting it became clear to me that this participant was not afraid to talk and that he would present an open and honest perspective. Honesty from participants is highly sought after by researchers as it would authenticate the data. The added bonus was that the participant was confident, extremely articulate with a great sense of humour. His incredible talent for using images and metaphors to emphasise and clarify points makes his contribution all the more interesting. This is how Vee describes his personality:

“I don’t feel that there is someone I don’t get on with. I relate to everybody. I think it’s because of my character and my nature. I find it hard, not talking to a person. So whatever issues there are, I just push it aside and I allow a person to be... if a person has a rough day and I have spoken to someone, and they were harsh to me, I forget about it. So I don’t have conflict” (Vee).

From his description, it appears that Vee is an easy going personality and has a positive outlook on matters especially those regarding interpersonal relationships.

5.3.2 Ann

Ann who initially qualified as a journalist was attracted to teaching as this brought her greater fulfillment. She is an experienced teacher in the age category of 50-55 and she appears to have a passion for teaching. She is motivated and receptive to change regarding the new approach to teaching incorporating National Curriculum Statement principles. She adopts a child-centred approach to teaching and the notion of multiple intelligences to foster success among learners. She is keen to embrace new ideas, however, feels tremendous disillusionment of being caught up in the conflictual policy requirements between the assessment policy and the examinations board. Her struggle is further exacerbated by what she knows and what she thinks she ought to do which are contradictory to policy ideals. She is currently a classroom-based teacher teaching a Grade 7 ‘express’ class. The ‘express’ class means that the learners in that class are rated academically capable and competent which in the previous discourse was known as ‘above the norm.’ She expressed satisfaction of teaching that particular group of learners. Her teaching identity seems to be strongly embedded within the community of practice. Ann, who is married, spends more than half the year alone in her small-holding farm which she manages while her husband is overseas coaching sport.

5.3.3 Rina

Rina is a dedicated white female educator from an English speaking background whose determination to train as a teacher resulted in her enrolling in an Afrikaans medium college.

Her commitment to the teaching profession is reflected in these words:

“Initially when I prac (practice) taught, I thought, gee, these teachers are heartless, you know, I don’t understand and I thought that I could come in and change the world and I really did” (Rina).

Rina’s commitment to bring ‘heart’ into teaching is reflected in her own practice and techniques of self governance through the dictates of her conscience. From the data obtained, Rina has attempted implementation of the assessment policy as closely as possible, almost to the letter as stipulated. This implementation is indeed interesting since she lacks belief in the prescription of the policy-maker and is frustrated by bombardment of policies with ‘no real practical model.’

This is how Rina describes a typical day in her life as a teacher:

“Even in the very few times where our children [learners] are not with us, and are in a specialist lesson we are trying to either mark work or prepare for another lesson. Typical day, by the time the day ends, we all have to do at least two days of sport or activities, the cultural activities in a week. Right, so you finished your activity, at half past three.

Now you get home and I’ve got my own children’s homework to see to, being a mom, I’ve got my cooking to do, I barely get time to greet my husband. We kind of have a quick

conversation over supper, bathe the little one and then, get my children to bed by eight o' clock in which time they will have their sort of snuggle time. Some evenings, I am so exhausted that I don't get off their bed. And then my husband will gently wake me up and say, just go to bed. Other times, I feel that if I still have some energy left, then I work from that time through to eleven, twelve, depending on what needs planning. **I am never ahead with my work. I am always on the backfoot so to speak. If I do not work in the evenings then I tell my husband to set my alarm clock for 4 o' clock in the morning and I get up and work from 4-6. Once again those two hours of work over and above my normal day, is not adequate to get me up to date with everything and weekends the same scenario.** One tries to fit in your shopping, what have you, during the morning and the late afternoon or evening depending on what my families' activities are, it will be spent planning or marking generally. I think I'm carrying quite a heavy load this year because I have two classes for English, main language, so the mark load is quite heavy. Every activity that I, our children do in subjects like NS [Natural Science] and Social Science, we mark all those activities. It is extremely time consuming to do that because there are many activities of everything.

Sundays same story, you know, you fit in your own private life in between. I am finding that if you look at a 24 hour day, there's no time for myself. I don't want to watch TV. As a matter of fact this weekend was a prime example of me not having time for my own family. My husband took my sons to the movies, and I said, 'Sorry, I can't go. I've got work to do.' Sometimes, I don't even make it to church, because if the workload is really that big, and I need that quiet time without background noise if I am preparing tests. And I say to my husband, you go, I need to have quiet time, to work and I find it is not fair. It is taking a big strain on my family life. I am feeling guilty all the time. I feel like I am not being a good wife, I am not being a good mother and you know what, just for myself, I am not nurturing myself anymore, and I think that it is starting to show. When I look in the mirror, I look a whole lot older than I should be looking and I don't feel fulfilled as I used to feel before. Everything is so, I feel like I am running on a treadmill, like one of those lab rats. It's just same thing different day. Same thing different day and it will never never end. It never never ends.

The most disheartening part is when after all your effort, you don't always get the results that you were hoping for. You don't get the appreciation from the children. The work that is

presented to you is often shoddy. And you think, gosh, this is what they did with the work that I've spent the whole of last night trying to type up when I should have been spending time with my own family. It does something to one on the inside. And you think, 'Why am I doing this?' You start to question yourself, 'Why am I doing this?' 'Is it myself that is ineffective?' 'Or what is going wrong here?' So lots of unanswered questions. Lots of feelings of guilt. And lots of feelings of 'Am I in the place that I am meant to be?' Those questions I obviously don't have every single day. It is quite an emotional ride. One day you are feeling, okay I can face the day and the next day, boom, you are down there again. And I don't think that I'm alone in experiencing that. But having said that, once we have confided in as colleagues we confide in each other, but it is not making the situation, the situation is not changing as yet. And when there's no hope you sort of feel hopeless" (Rina).

5.3.4 Maggie

In introducing Maggie, I thought it would be best to report her profile in her own words. Maggie is a white female educator who taught from 1973 to 1977. She had 'a huge break' and returned to teaching in 1995. Maggie's own schooling commenced about half a century ago and this is how she described her schooling:

"I had a bit of a privileged education. I went to a private school" (Maggie).

This is how she described her teachers:

"Oh, they were awful. They were dreadful when I started primary school in the late 50s ... you got hit in those days and hard" (Maggie).

What is interesting is that in her own practice as a teacher, this is how she describes herself:

“I think I am a bit of a dragon. I always have been. Some teachers are quiet but I am not quiet” (Maggie).

When asked about what she derived her greatest satisfaction from, she replied:

“I actually think being in this school atmosphere; being with the children; staff intermingling throughout the day, just chatting” (Maggie).

Maggie presented an honest account of how she copes with the assessment:

“We’ve got to assess these children on each of these assessment standards. I’ve got them all in files beautifully filed away in my top drawer and I haven’t looked at them” (Maggie).

5.3.5 Brian

Brian is an Indian male deputy principal with approximately 22 years teaching experience. His entrance into the field of teaching was one of convenience as a result of the lure of a bursary. His early family background and his survival within a poverty stricken environment give some insight into his future driven goals where remuneration and financial gain are high on his list of priorities. In terms of his assessment practices, his flair for Mathematics and the privilege of teaching a single learning area has enabled him to gain expert status within that learning area. His membership into a Maths Association has enabled him to gain insights into the unpacking of learning outcomes and assessment standards. His willingness to gain knowledge is part of his strategy of survival in the teaching fraternity – implicit in the notion of ‘care of self.’ His frustration comes from his current work environment which does not support his value system for change. Being in a leadership position, he aspires to be principal in the near future. His discontent stems from impetus for change which is met with resistance

from both the senior management and older staff members. The school environment is not supportive of his goals.

5.3.6 Anand

Anand is a hard working, competent educator whose interesting account of assessment is presented in the opening lines of my thesis. His positive outlook in life allows him to embrace challenges as opportunities for survival, growth and development. In a nutshell, Anand is a qualified electrical engineering technician who is a ‘natural born’ teacher. He has a keen interest in sport, especially cricket. He attained South African School colours and also had the opportunity to play with a well known cricket player, Shaun Pollock. This is how he described his first experience of teaching without any formal training:

“When I first went into the classroom I don’t know something had taken control of myself. Probably it was my intuition or in my genes because my family is a family in teaching. And I just never felt like I did not belong here. I actually felt that this job is for me” (Anand).

In the year 2000, he obtained an ‘Outstanding Teacher Award’ for his learners’ performance in a Science Olympiad. He created many exciting opportunities for his learners such as inviting international cricket players and The Natal Dolphins to his school. He also arranged for the MTN gladiators to visit his school (a popular television reality series) and provided the learners with an exciting experience of meeting famous gladiators such as Wildebeest and Sahara.

His disappointment was leaving one school for another. This is how he described it: *“In the school that I am in, I give in my all and I make it my second home, I get to know people and then I have to up and go. It feels terrible.”* Furthermore, as a result of his personality, he has won the hearts of learners even those who had to repeat the year of schooling.

5.3.7 Deb

Deb is an articulate empowered Indian educator who is holding a Head of Department position in a former model C school predominantly for whites. Within the ex-model C schools, the leadership is still mainly white and she has certainly broken down stereotypical barriers to have secured a position in such a school. Her theoretical knowledge on assessment is indeed impressive.

5.3.8 Sipho

Sipho is a 50+ Black African educator in a deputy principal position. He has openly admitted to belonging to the old school of thought. Overall, as researcher my observations confirm that he comes from the old school of thought where learners should sit, listen carefully, and speak only when spoken to. He appears to be a strong disciplinarian who believes that learners will co-operate if the teacher is able to “*give them something*” (alluding to corporal punishment). In terms of assessment his practice still relies heavily on pen-and-paper tests and he tries, however to include other types of assessment for good measure. His articulation of changes in curriculum is embraced at a level of theory which emerges from his enrollment in a B. Ed. (Honours) course.

5.3.9 Nkosi

Nkosi is a 50 + Black African male in a level one position in school. He has had broken service in the teaching profession due to resignation and then returning to the teaching profession. He is explicit about his desire to leave the profession and he is whiling away his time in the school eagerly awaiting his retirement within the next three years. In terms of his values, his aspirations are for the fulfillment of basic needs in terms of a comfortable life. Throughout the interview one gets a sense of his fatigue in the profession and this culminates in his assertion that on a Friday not much teaching gets done in the school and his longing for

rest during the weekend. Given the fact that he has 52 learners in his class, this is not surprising at all.

5.3.10 Alan

In terms of the South African demarcation of race groups, Alan is designated Coloured. He has approximately 30 years of teaching experience and currently holds the position of deputy principal. This extract epitomizes Alan's positive outlook in life and this is what motivates him in life:

"I think it's my nature. I like to help other people. And there are rewards. And I make friends easily, that's another reward. You know, it is not money. Just when you see people in the street and they greet you and there's a smile that's what it is all about for me and it really does motivate me. There is always something interesting that happens in education, it is not always downhill, there are even things like new salaries, as I said earlier I am not interested in all that but it does make you live comfortably. There are crisis that happen in the education. Until recently, our union did not take part in strikes, but we did have to take part in ... I was once involved in Durban where we walked from Curry's Fountain to town. That was an amazing experience but we didn't take that decision lightly. It was taken in conjunction with other unions and we realized that we had to make a stand" (Alan).

At face value, Alan is generally optimistic and celebrates life. He seems to look at things as being half full rather than half empty. What is interesting about him is that he does not alienate himself but rather surrounds himself with others and generally operates within collective decisions.

His contribution to this study is invaluable as he fearlessly discloses the inside story of assessment and its contribution to teachers' identity. His biography is indeed colourful with its kaleidoscope of experiences told through his enchanting stories. His honest articulation of

issues is portrayed so poignantly that it has disrupted my original plan of data presentation. As a researcher I feel the necessity to present this case in its entirety as the biographical information throws much insight into the professional identity of an educator caught up in the game of survival.

Having established that the school context is more than buiding and is constituted by relationships between school principals and teachers; teachers and students and so on, the following discussion highlights some of these relationships.

5.4 The School Ethos

5.4.1 Ubuntu or Alienation?

Alan describes the constraining influences of following or adhering to protocol within the school.

“In the situation here, the principal works a bit autocratic. When he discusses things with me, he’s already got more or less an idea of what he wants to do. But he is very decent in that he’ll consult with me and say ‘look, this is what I would like to do.’ And I must acknowledge that many times, his ideas are good ideas. So it’s pretty much cut and dried that the thought processes have happened already and it’s just to get an opinion from me. And I do point out sometimes my misgivings about things. But when it backfires, what ever I pointed out would happen. I am part of the clean up operation, anyway, you know the damage control. I am part of the staff, I don’t really point fingers and say, I told you so, because it is not productive. I just fall in line and fix up what has to be fixed” (Alan).

Wenger (1988) identifies a dimension of identity within a practice which is negotiated. It is within the arena of negotiation that Alan knows his boundaries. Within the process of negotiation, he presents his ideas but knows fully well that the principal’s ideas are going to

go ahead anyway. He knows that the principal is presenting the idea as a mere formality and it is already decided, so Alan in his capacity as deputy principal, acquiesces. Identities are thus contestations and negotiations within a given practice.

When Vee was asked about the ethos of the school where he taught, this was his response:

“The upper levels in my school, come from the old system and in the old system, they are so used to telling people what to do. Now we have a new dispensation, we have new policies but it is still the same manner, same behaviour in which the policies are put forward to the staff. Policies are expected to promote democracy such as by the staff for the staff, whatever, but it is not like that. Quite often, we have meetings where the principal would say, ‘Okay, this is it, I’ve had enough. This is what you are going to do. This is how you are going to do it.’ And because staff come from that background, they don’t mind putting their heads down, taking the scolding and going by it. As a young teacher, I felt put off and I told the principal, ‘Look this is it, I am not going to put up with it any longer.’ I actually reached a stage one day of telling my principal, ‘Look, we are not children, stop scolding us. If there is somebody that you need to scold, call that person to your office, and scold him alone.’ (Unclear) ... that’s the kind of situation we are in. That’s the kind of ethos that exists in our school. I don’t know. I don’t think it is very healthy. If there were a person younger than me coming into this system and they know much more about democracy, than our indoctrinated educators, I am sure you would have had more of this” (Vee).

According to Jansen (2001, p. 243), ‘under apartheid the teacher was conceived as a state functionary with limited autonomy. The sole requirement of teachers was bureaucratic and political compliance with the state education. Compliance was ensured through a complex of instruments, including a system of school wide and individual teacher inspection, a rigid syllabus outlining official content, objectives and methods of teaching, and a hierarchy of internal and external controls.’ Jansen (2001, p.243) emphasizes that such images, while powerful and imposed, did not create a uniform teaching force constrained by official knowledge or contained by the stated instruments of control.

With reference to Vee's extract, any attempts to analyse or make sense of this context or field of practice must take cognizance of Cross's (1999) cautioning that the mere denial of old identities, as constructed by apartheid discourse will be insufficient, for it leaves that terrain open and uncontested. The habitus of the older generation of teachers or management members seem to be relatively fossilized in comparison to the younger generation. In the opening lines of this extract, "*The upper levels in my school, come from the old system and in the old system, they are so used to telling people what to do,*" the reality of a unique South African context is displayed, a case of old wine in new bottles. An autocratic way of management is now intersected with liberal-democratic policies. This is an interesting dilemma and a catalyst for resistance which policy-makers need to take cognizance of. Principals and players from the old regime still operate under the illusion that power is indeed a thing to be possessed. In such a context, there is bound to be resistance and antagonisms.

The participant, Vee's response shows that governmentality at the level of the state does filter to the subjectivities of teachers. In the new dispensation, there are laws that protect the teacher from fear of victimization which used to be the order of the day during the days of apartheid characterized by zealous subscription to protocol. The teacher feels empowered to speak out against domination and autocratic management styles unlike his older counterparts who are more subservient to autocratic demands. The older teachers silence is indicative of a previous strategy of 'care of self' under apartheid governmentality, whilst the younger teachers' notion of 'care of self' is more vociferous in line with democracy, a new governmentality. Hence, in this context, which in the opinion of the participant is not 'very healthy' alludes to Foucault's notion of bio-power and the creation of healthy populations.' 'The basic idea of biopower is to produce self-regulating subjects. We take it upon ourselves to make sure that we function in these ways, and remain good, healthy subjects' (Danaher et al., 2000, p.75). Within the new discourse, the notion of being healthy, that is the 'game of truth' is to promote democracy and resist top down strategies of control.

A school is a hierarchically designed structure. It is interesting to note Anand's relationship with his school principal:

“Well, at my school I think I provide support for most others but my principal provides most support to me. He’s very intelligent, very meticulous in what he does. I am the same way. I think we have similar attributes and he told me when I came to the school that nobody can teach with him and nobody liked to teach with him and I told him that I don’t mind at all and we started teaching. He said, ‘You know what, this is the first time somebody is cutting worksheets and I am using it.’ He is used to cutting his own worksheets. Even during the holidays when we had our Maths classes he just sat in while I taught, then he took over whilst I sat in. He said that it is the first time in his life , and he’s taught for so long , that he has come across somebody who can team teach with him. I said, no for me it is not a problem. If I’m wrong you just tell me and you help me and guide me along, that’s it. I think that he is very grateful to me. I offer that support to him. He knows that he is not an isolated someone in the school that he can be just like one of us as well. I think that when it comes to the other teachers whenever there is a problem there and they come knocking at my door looking for support before going up to the office” (Anand).

I wish to declare that my interpretation of this extract as researcher emerges from my own identity as a teacher and experience of the politics and working dynamics of the school. The above extract is an interesting one. From the interview as well as my knowledge and perceptions of the scenario, the principal and the teacher concerned were acquainted prior to his teaching at that school. As with most work opportunities, in colloquial terms it is ‘who you know’ and in Bourdieu’s (2004) terms it is cultural capital of social networks which one uses as an opportunity towards social upliftment.

The important aspect that emerges from this interview extract is that the principal believes in the teacher. The teacher also holds the principal in high esteem. This is clearly a relationship of trust. This relationship offers the opportunity for the development of trust based on voluntary commitments (Giddens, 1991, p.186). When trust is achieved and relatively secure, such trust is psychologically stabilizing and is a key environment for building the reflexive project of the self (Giddens, 1991, p.186). The knowledge of this mutual trust allows one to move forward with confidence. Wenger’s (1998) theory of community of practice describes

the mechanism of social cohesion by which configurations are produced, sustained and reproduced over time. These are solidarity, commitment, common interest and affinity (Wenger, 1998) which are very apparent in the given extract.

This secure bond between the teacher and the principal provides mutual support. Other colleagues may well perceive the teacher's ability to influence the principal as cultural capital and may see the value of having Anand as an ally. Anand's confidence in supporting and having the support of his principal is 'mantle of trust that makes possible that sustaining of a viable Umwelt' (Giddens, 1991, p. 129). It is within the backdrop of this security, that we see how Anand's identity has been reconstituted within the discourse of the new assessment policy. In the opening lines of this thesis, we are introduced to the reflexivity of the self where Anand's sense of security is articulated in his optimism for new constructions of identity.

Not all schools provide an environment that supports the individual teacher. In Vee's case, the lack of enthusiasm on professional matters among "*well matured educators,*" and he perceives the staff members to be working in isolation:

"I play a very active role in our school. I think it's because age is on my side. I am sitting with very well matured educators who simply slump back when it's time to do things" (Vee).

"If integration does take place, it is most probably by coincidence because everybody is working in isolation" (Vee).

Although Alan has been unsuccessful for the principal's position for which he applied, he has not alienated himself and experiences a strong sense of community within the institution.

“I don’t know if you apply for a position and not being successful for it. As I was saying before this I was very chuffed to be Deputy of this school. Off course the principal and I were candidates for the same post. ... Although at many times I am called on to run this school, I sometimes feel a bit sheltered in tha, the buck stops by the principal if anything happens. We are both answerable, but he’s got a lot of skill. I must say that I actually do find the confidence in that. So if you ask me would I like to start a school somewhere I would say not really. I wouldn’t want to re-invent the wheel. We have done at lot at this school as a team” (Alan).

Alan has a gentlemanly approach to not being successful for the principal’s position. He acknowledges the principal’s skills and expertise however, has no fervent desire to head a school which entails much responsibility. Alan acknowledges the team spirit towards the development of the school. He aligns himself within the group of the school where his identity is constructed.

Alan’s fulfillment in his profession is derived from the success of the learners which he attributes to teamwork.

“I said earlier that it gives you such a good feeling when you see that people that we’ve had an interaction with and to teach them and they achieve, remembering that I was not the only one that was instrumental, there was a whole lot of teamwork, the parents but with the teachers in general we celebrate when we see somebody that we’ve had experience with and we have taught along the line, excelling. Well, in the school situation, we are very much a team. I am a great helper of people myself. I would sooner rather do things than ask the others for help. That is a weakness that I have, that I am there for everybody. But people are supportive. We get support from the principal as well, very knowledgeable, very skilled, multi-skilled. And I know that I can always go to him and ask for help on issues that other teachers have. It does not only have to be an HOD,[Head of Department] level 1 teachers , you go right up to the Grade 1 teacher where you will get help of all sorts” (Alan).

In a professional sense and within the practice of being a teacher, the teacher's identity is closely aligned with that of his colleagues. He describes the situation as being one of team work and support from various levels of teachers within the school context. According to Wenger (1998), our identities are rich and complex because they are produced within the rich and complex set of relations of practice. One of the dimensions in which, identity is created is the social. One's membership thus manifests itself in the familiarity one experiences with certain social contexts. The community of practice described by Wenger has similarities with the concept of Ubuntu, which is one of the rationalities of the new governmentality.

Rina also has a strong sense of community in her school environment:

“We find, I don't know I speak for this school, I know that for sure we spend ... there is no such thing as school holidays anymore, you know. One is sitting preparing for the next term. Even in the December holidays we were already preparing for the first term and we still feel inadequate” (Rina).

The teacher has a strong sense of belonging with the community in the school, hence the pronoun, “we.” Within the context of the school there are obvious standards that are motivated internally from the school itself. The use of school holidays to prepare for the following term emerges from intrinsic motivation for the desire to master, maintain control and feel confident. This mastery is part of ‘technologies of self’ aimed at ‘care of self.’

The community of practice provides an environment of support and trust alleviating feelings of alienation.

“I find that my immediate colleagues the ones that are in my grade are probably the ones that I'm most in tune with because, they know where you are at as far the work load goes, so we kind of confide in each other a lot. And encourage each other and say, gosh, you know, this is going to be one of those weeks again. In that way, we keep in tune. Also at our grade

meetings, we discuss issues and discuss how we are feeling about something and that is pretty much an open forum. It is not one person, dictating, although they are imparting information from what happened in management meetings” (Rina).

According to Hargreaves and Fullan (1992), cultures of teaching help give meaning, support and identity to teachers and their work. Physically teachers are often alone in their classrooms with no other adult for company, but psychologically, they never are. The outlook and orientation of the colleagues with whom they work now and have worked in the past powerfully affect what they do - their classroom styles and strategies (Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992, p.217). Within a relationship of trust, Rina feels secure to confide, her inner most thoughts to her colleagues.

5.4.2 Multi-membership

Although Vee feels isolated in the school environment because of his colleagues’ resistance to change on professional matters, at a personal level, however, he has tremendous support that he appreciates.

“As I said, I am the baby. I can’t have a problem and enjoy it because the moment I have a problem, they are there to help me. But I am not talking about school, I am talking about any other problems – family, what ever. They are willing to help me, they are willing to give me advice. But in terms of school-work related, they fall far from any support because they don’t understand what’s going on. The policies that come to school, they don’t grasp much of its contents and I end up being frustrated because half the time I have to end up doing workshops in school just to make them understand the policies. So in terms of the support outside the profession, excellent support I couldn’t ask for better support. I mean all their worth combined is like 2000 years but in terms of professional support I ‘ve got very little. I find myself doing the work” (Vee).

This presents an interesting dimension to the understanding of identity which can be understood via the approach of positioning. As an individual, one holds different subject positions. According to Wenger (1988), our membership in any community of practice is only a part of our identity. Our various forms of participation delineate pieces of a puzzle we put together as whole as opposed to sharp boundaries between disconnected parts of ourselves. An identity is thus more than just a single trajectory; instead it should be viewed as a nexus of multi-membership (Wenger, 1998). The participant acknowledges that whilst he is *au fait* with professional related issues and is able to mediate the understanding of policies to his colleagues, on a professional level, he does not consider his colleagues' contribution to be significant in developing him. On a personal level, in other areas of life not related to school, his colleagues are able to guide and direct him. In the creation of oneself as a social being there are a number of groups that one can align oneself to. The very notion of identity entails an experience of multi-membership and the work of reconciliation is necessary to maintain one identity, albeit a temporary and fragmented one, across boundaries.

5.5 Chapter Summary

In chapter five I contextualized my research by describing the field of research comprising the research institutions. I emphasised the fact that the context is more than the physical environment but is constituted by the relationships of members in the institute and the overall ethos of the school. I introduced the participants by highlighting their most distinguishing personality traits that emerged from my interaction with them. I presented extracts of data with discussion to emphasise that the school context and ethos can have differing effects on the development of the teachers' identities. Whilst some environments foster a healthy environment that enables the teacher to develop professionally, others may hinder teachers' attempts at initiating change.

Chapter Six: Data Presentation and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six is the heart of this thesis in that the dynamic workings of governmentality at the micro-level of classroom practice is illuminated by data and discussion. Taking cognisance of Hargreaves's (1994) comment that the ways teachers teach are 'grounded in *their backgrounds, their biographies*, in the kinds of teachers they have become,' is the starting point of the discussion.

This discussion is based on data obtained from participants via a series of interviews using the life history or biographic approach. The life history approach is holistic and probes into the past uncovering the various stages of one's life ranging from early childhood, youth, young adulthood to the present showing how the self has reflexively reconstructed itself through its journey.

According to Giddens (1991, p. 54), the existential question of self-identity is bound with the fragile nature of the biography which the individual 'supplies' about herself. Giddens (1991) adds that a person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self. As Taylor articulates it, '[i]n order to have a sense of who we are, we have to have a notion of who we have become, and of where we are going' (cited in Giddens, 1991, p. 54).

Chapter six is divided into seven sections, excluding the introduction. In sections 6.2 to 6.4, through the narratives of teacher participants, I explore selected aspects of the formation of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977). The data highlights the effects of disciplinary techniques aimed at docility. These sections highlight early biography, cultural and historical influences as well as critical incidents that impact on one's sense of self. Having established that the assessment

policy is not the only policy that impacts on one's sense of identity, section 6.5 illuminates how changing policies impact on paradigm shifts and changing identities. Sections 6.6- 6.8 discuss the effect of the new discourse on assessment on varied aspects of the teachers sense of self including the professional, emotional and political dimensions of sense of self. The stories by Alan, Vee, Rina, Deb, Anand, Maggie, Siphon and other participants highlight the methodological and theoretical value of the biographical/ life history approach as a means of 'getting inside the mind' of the teacher through their narratives in order to understand the process of identity construction. The threads of Alan's story are interspersed with other teacher participants into a tapestry that is rich and insightful. Throughout the data presentation, I have allowed the teacher's voice to emerge 'loudly and clearly' (Goodson, 1992, p.10).

To commence, section 6.2 explores teachers' reasons for entering the teaching profession that give some indication of the values that they attribute to their work. The teacher's initial training draws attention to possibilities of deskilling in the wake of new approaches to teaching and assessing. Furthermore, the variations in teacher training as a result of the separate training institutions are highlighted in terms of teachers' coping strategies.

6.2 Why Teaching?

6.2.1 Reasons for choosing teaching as a profession

Lortie (1975) has explored the theme 'special but shadowed' with regard to teachers, emphasizing that teaching as a profession has its fair share of status anomalies from being honored to disdained. The reasons that teachers generally attribute to entering the teaching profession gives some indication of the values linked to the individual's world of work (Lortie, 1975, p. 10).

Lortie (1975) states that any occupation, that fails to recruit new members, will not survive. To draw in new members, an occupation must possess certain 'recruitment resources.' From

the data obtained, the offer of a bursary (as a recruitment resource), is one of the most frequently cited reasons for choosing to become a teacher and for the teacher participant, Alan, it was no different. This is how he describes it:

“Okay, it was bursaries being offered by Beachway College (fictitious name). They were called inspectors then but they came to interview us at the school and the lure of a bursary largely influenced my decision” (Alan).

Another teacher participant, Vee, was also lured by the incentive of the bursary in financially trying times. Lortie (1975) writes that teaching has attracted many persons who may have undergone the uncertainties and deprivations of lower and working class life. Vee’s articulation of the situation is presented in the extract that follows:

*“In matric my choices were narrowed down to whether I would get a bursary or not... My Mum and Dad weren’t well off... My father is a leather union worker. He was not earning much. My mother was a cashier at Pep store and there were four children. I was the eldest... **I think that my father came from the background that believed that when you were big enough, you fend for yourself and that attitude, basically he rubbed it off onto me. So every thing I did, I worked for.** I worked for Muggles’ Shoes ... I worked there from Standard Five to Matric. Every Friday and Saturday and whenever I could get to work, I worked. And the owner Mr Muggle, he used to pay me. So whatever I had, I worked for and I realized that I could not work for my education fees. So in matric it was either I became a teacher if I had a bursary, or if I had a bursary to become an attorney and I would have loved to have did that, and I applied for a bursary to Springfield College... that was what motivated me to become a teacher: the fact that I had a bursary”* (Vee).

Biographical information provides a rich understanding of the teacher’s ‘habitus’ in Bourdieu’s (1977) terms. Habitus, the way a culture is embodied in an individual, has implications for choices we make in our social interactions in our field of practice given the limitations or advantages of various ‘forms of capital’ (Bourdieu, 2004) and thus contributes

to our identities. The participant's habitus is based on his values at the time that the choices were made. Vee adopted his father's philosophy of 'you fend for yourself' (survival mode). This resonates with the basic living trait of existentialism which was supported by his values.

The teacher has a propensity for hard work which is evident in his commendable work when he was only in Grade 7. As part of his survival strategy, he latched onto a life-line of a bursary offered to study to become a teacher because he knew that he could not afford to pursue his dream of becoming an attorney without financial assistance. This brings to light Maslow's (1943), *A Theory of Motivation*, in which he explicates his concept of the hierarchy of needs where the person can only aspire towards self actualization after his basic needs are met. The offer of a bursary was a motivating factor in Vee becoming a teacher.

However, in Alan's case, the influence of family members and cultural ideas with regard to choice of career cannot be ignored as is evident in this extract:

"Not only that, most of the members of my family are teachers. My mum was a teacher, uncles, my aunts are teachers and then my late grandfather, actually started the school in the Eastern Cape in Mount Freire. He was instrumental in building a school for the so called Coloureds. And my late granny also did some teaching and up to the time she should have retired she was helping at a nursery school in Wentworth" (Alan).

Lortie (1975) has identified family encouragement as a powerful recruitment resource. Similarly, Vee has indicated that his choice of teaching was supported by a family member.

*"...[B]ut I think growing up my Granny always told me that, **"It would be so nice if we could have one teacher in the family."** It could have been the other motivating factor: having one teacher in the family. I don't know how it is, but it ended up like that"* (Vee).

In the apartheid years when career choices were limited due to financial constraints, teaching as a profession was held in high esteem by certain community members. Respect for family values also motivated Vee to become a teacher thus alluding to the shaping of our values by society and our times. Society valued teachers as hope for their upward economic and social mobility where education was viewed as an act of liberation towards empowerment (self and community). Lortie (1975) also states that for many Americans, teaching as a profession has provided a significant step up the social ladder.

According to Becker and Strauss (cited in Sikes et al., 1985, p. 2), a frame of reference for studying careers is, at the same time, a frame for studying personal identities since central to any account of adult identity is the relation of change in identity to change in social position.

For other teachers, the voids that were evident in their own schooling had become values that they wished to incorporate as teachers. Rina describes what she perceives as a void in her own schooling:

“The assessment was pretty much formal assessment... I don’t have a problem with the formal testing side of things except that the teachers never really got to know us personally and draw us out of our shells, so to say. Had they done that, they would probably have seen a lot more of other creative sides of many of these kids” (Rina).

Rina’s experience of the impersonal side of teaching prompted her to become the antithesis of what she hopes to achieve with her own learners in terms of developing their self-esteem.

This is how she articulated her goal as a teacher:

“To see a child’s self-esteem, grow more than anything else. To see them walk out of my classroom confident, and having a sense of knowing who they are and it is not about what

they achieve. It will just be them, growing within themselves and learning to love who they are and without comparing themselves with anyone else” (Rina).

Rina’s mission for entering the teaching profession is reflected in this statement:

*“Initially when I prac.[practice]taught, I thought, gee, **these teachers are heartless, you know ... I thought that I could come in and change the world and I really did”** (Rina).*

This statement exemplifies Rina’s personal goal and values to bring her heart into teaching and exposes her life purpose (*dharma*) and motives which provide an insight into her ‘will to meaning’ (*telos*). Noddings (cited in Ben- Peretz, 1996, p. 179) has probed practical ethics and the caring relation from a feminine view, and claims that ‘it is necessary to give attention and credit to the affective foundation of existence.’ Noddings (cited in Ben-Peretz, 1996) concludes that this longing for caring provides the motivation for being moral and states that women define themselves in terms of caring and work their way through moral problems from the position of ‘one-caring.’ The emotion that Rina brings to her teaching is the life force within which her identity is constituted in terms of the revised assessment policy.

For many teachers, the initial trauma of socialization into the role is the biggest crisis in their lives (Sikes et al., 1985, p. 2). Sikes et al. (1985) cite Lacey who argues that there is evidence that initial teacher socialization is traumatic, involving deep changes in self and perspectives. Rina describes her initial teaching experience:

“I remember starting my teaching and I did not know how to fill in my register. Yes, so I was largely unprepared for what lay ahead. I had all the theory behind me, all the head knowledge, but putting it into practice was a whole lot different” (Rina).

Like most newly qualified teachers, Rina was faced with the challenge of bridging the gap between theory and practice. However, in Anand's case, this was quite the opposite. Anand qualified as an electrical engineer at the Technikon and as a result of being unsuccessful at finding a job in the field, commenced teaching without formal training. This is how he described his experience:

“When I first went into the classroom I don't know something had taken control of myself. Probably it was my intuition or in my genes because my family is a family in teaching. And I just never felt like I did not belong here. I actually felt that this job is for me. So I picked up the chalk and I remember doing the weather for the Grade 3's. The HOD walked in and she said, 'Somebody walking in here would think that you are teaching for ten years.' I just laughed it off at that time. I was like what 21 years or so!” (Anand).

Anand took to teaching naturally. He attributes his flare for teaching to a source other than the discourse of teacher training which is inferred by his reference to *“intuition or genes.”* The early accolades (compliments) he received from the Head of Department about his practice may have affirmed, at an early stage, Anand's belief in his own ability as a teacher and his sense of belonging within the teaching profession. Later in the discussion, it will become more apparent that Anand's early confidence as a teacher or 'ontological security' in Giddens' (1991) terms, contributes to his response to the new assessment policy.

6.2.2 Teacher Training

Alan attended 'Beachway College' where he completed his teacher training. This is how he describes his experience:

“Beachway was the nearest and it was apartheid years, we had Coloured colleges and Indian colleges and so on. Then we were pretty much treated like learners in college I must say. We had to be in collar and tie. It was very disciplined. We could not really talk out as I imagine

is happening now in colleges. It was a very different set-up. But I enjoyed it, I was involved in the choir and in acting, a little bit of acting, you know speech and drama sort of thing. We went on excursions, at least one tour to Swaziland, that was very nice. I did not like the pressure of preparing lessons over weekends. You had to teach them on Monday at some school. I was basically a nervous person, maybe not now, because of where I am at the moment. But in those years there was a lot of nervousness and that makes you a bit ill at ease in situations” (Alan).

The formation of teacher identities cannot be separated from the discourse of apartheid since teachers from various race groups in South Africa were trained in separate colleges. The “*nervousness*” that Alan describes refers to the collective consciousness of the majority of non-white citizens of South Africa who were living within the political rationality of apartheid. The indelible mark of the discourse of apartheid on the formation of identities at the time meant that the youth were silenced (*‘we could not really talk out’*). The ethos and atmosphere of these training colleges were “*disciplined*” meaning that freedom of speech in a political sense was curtailed. However, this extract also adds to the notion of the fluidity of identities that are ever changing within discourses and practices. Alan describes himself as “*being nervous, maybe not now,*” has shown his development through the years.

Alan describes the nature of his training in the extract that follows:

“The training was good. You know in the first year, the level of content was very much like we revising STD 8 in those years, STD 8, 9 and 10 work, you know, even lower. Then we specialized in the next year and even more so in the third year. But it did prepare me, of course when I started teaching proper, I learnt a lot of other things on my own” (Alan).

In the previous discourse, training at colleges was aimed at a level of content based on a performance model of pedagogy where learner deficits were addressed. Furthermore, specialization of subjects mainly within the collection code (strong classification) meant that teacher identities were closely linked to their subject area of training. Soudien (2003) has

done extensive research on teachers' early training in separate institutions and documents a clearly racialistic experience of the interviewees' experiences.

Similarly, Vee's training focus was on his subject of choice:

"I started with Art and there were fourteen of us in the College, and by the end of the fourth week there were only two. So they gave me a choice, they said you can either go to Woodsville and do your B. PAED (Fine Arts) or you stay here and change your course. So I changed the course from Art to Phys Ed. So for the next four years from that point onwards that is how I became a teacher"(Vee).

Vee's decision to become a Physical Education teacher was more than circumstantial although Art was no longer a study option at the College. Vee chose to remain at the College and pursue a different course rather than change institutions to pursue his original choice. In a philosophical sense, too, our course in life is determined by personal choice.

This extract from Deb's interview, in addition to drawing attention to the ongoing dilemma of choice between degree and diploma, also serves to highlight the depth of motivation and the value attached to subject choice. In the case of Deb, as well, we see the influence of family values on career choice.

"In terms of the choice between [Star University] and [Spear College], for some reason and I do appreciate, my dad felt that doing a varsity degree would be better and it may hold me in a longer stead and so forth and expose me to an academic route. I had also done Music at my dad's prodding. But it also came quite naturally throughout my primary school years and I did it as a Matric subject as well. So the follow through into the tertiary years was just a feather in his cap, more than anything else to see his daughter pursuing music. And I come from a musical family and my mum is a singer and so on. The option to teach just happened

to happen. What was for me the driving force was that I was going to pursue a career in music” (Deb).

Within my frame of reference, especially within the Indian community, I am aware that, parents who had their dreams thwarted either by the legacy of apartheid, financial or for whatever other reason, gently (and sometimes not so gently) nudge their offspring into careers that they would have liked to pursue. From the data, it is apparent that Deb’s choice to study Music was deeply supported by family members and in her words, *“The option to teach just happened to happen.”* It should be noted that this construction of identity for Deb as a music expert served specific needs or values at a point in time. Later in her teaching career, Deb had to relinquish that status as music expert and develop herself in other areas as an act of governmentality or ‘care of self.’

Like Rina, Alan also found that the administrative aspects of teacher training were lacking. This is encapsulated in the extract below.

“Where we were sadly neglected was in the admin part of teaching. We did not have any experience whatsoever. Maybe only once, you know on how to mark a register. But when I walked into a high school in it was Snowyvale High School in Elanville. I remember the Deputy giving out the timetables, but from a composite I did not know how to read what subjects I was supposed to be doing and how to put them down on paper. That’s how poorly, we were prepared. It was really bad. I compare it to today, where we have the [Sector Education and Training Authority] SETA, people are at the school and learning, from us now. It is a different set up altogether” (Alan).

Early teacher training as described by Alan, neglected skills on certain practicalities that assisted the teacher in the school context. In addition to showing how training contributed to the development of early teacher identities, this extract serves to highlight the positive changes in the South African education system with the introduction of a SETA where teachers can train within a school environment.

This is how Vee described his early training as a teacher:

“And the block teaching never ever concentrated on the assessment aspect of teaching. Most of the time, the teacher looked at lesson preparation, and pupil contact, and how you would handle misbehaviour in class” (Vee).

“We never did anything in regard to assessment, anything with marking, nothing, never touched on that. Some from the didactics of teaching, some from the ways in which you will curb behaviour problems, but that too, I may be moving away from the topic, but when we did block teaching, I never experienced 42 (learners) in the class. And all of a sudden now I am ill-equipped to deal with 43 in the class. This is like what: 3, 4, 5 classes a day? So my block teaching prepared me for the manner in which I am going to teach the lesson, and the dynamics in the class but to handle that. Unfortunately, to handle that, what I learnt in those years has to be forgotten when doing RNCS. So it’s a different ball game” (Vee).

When Vee trained as a teacher, training in assessment was almost negligible. In the context of this scenario, Vee’s description in the last line: *“It’s a different ball game”* is ironic since it rings true now that new discourses in curriculum and assessment have changed the ‘game of truth’ (Foucault). What were acceptable practices in the past have to be revised and the initial teacher training seems quite inadequate to *“handle”* or get to grips with the new curriculum. In Giddens’ (1991) terms this can be regarded as **deskilling**. Dealing with a large number of learners in the class is something that the initial training has not prepared the teacher for.

6.2.3 Summary

One identified strand of analysis, namely, teachers’ values, has been explored via data obtained from individual cases for choosing teaching as a profession. Amongst the externally driven values cited for becoming teachers are: the offer of a bursary, family encouragement, cultural incentives and convenience. The internally driven values emerged from a keen desire

to fill voids created by the teacher's own schooling experience such as building self esteem and bringing the heart into teaching as in the case of Rina. These findings emerge from individual cases and are not generalizations. However, there might be similarities amongst cases.

Since teacher training during the apartheid era took place in separate institutions, there were varied forms of training and initial teacher experiences. Data highlighted the specificity of time to certain identity constructions emphasizing that the tracing of discontinuities is a way of highlighting the contingencies of identity.

6.3 Influences of History and Culture

6.3.1 Introduction

Section 6.3 examines, more closely, Burr's (1995, pp.1-5) statement that 'the ways we commonly understand the world, the categories and concepts we use, are historically and culturally specific.' Data on teachers' early childhood, schooling and culture provides insight into early forms of socialization which impacts on the formation of habitus.

6.3.2 The Early Years

The life history approach which, is concerned with a teacher's total life and career, and not just isolated segments or aspects of it, is useful to delve into early childhood and schooling experiences to see the changing responses of the self to life situations (Denzin, 1970). Weber and Mitchell (1996) report that there is growing acknowledgment that many aspects of being a teacher is rooted in childhood experiences and culture. It is useful to consider the teacher's own childhood experiences of early schooling in understanding his or her perception of teaching.

Alan describes his early schooling with nostalgia:

“Okay I started in a school in Mount Freedom in Kent. It was called the Transkon then. My teacher had to do two classes at a time, Grade 1 and 2, Sub A and Sub B then. It is just incidentally that later on in life she became my neighbour here in Millburg. It is amazing, my very first teacher. We weren’t very well resourced in that school for as far as I can remember, but there were fond memories of it. This very same teacher put me through my first concert ever. Although my part there maybe lasted a few seconds, it was amazing, I still remember it. And it was a rich teaching”(Alan).

*“We sat in groups, we memorized things, we drew things, **I remember my writing, my hand writing was looked at by some teachers and they sent me around the school because they felt that my writing was very nice.** It has deteriorated since. I think that it was because we used first the slate and the stone and then I went to pencil and then when we got to Durham, we changed to ball point. Sorry, it was first the ink well and then to ball point. My writing just went bad after that”* (Alan).

During Alan’s early schooling years, memory tasks were very popular. The three Rs: reading, writing and arithmetic were emphasized. What was interesting about schooling in the past was the emphasis placed on good hand writing. The good hand writing symbolized conformity and adherence to the norms. During those times, the disciplinary technologies seemed to be at its peak and one’s handwriting was the most visible expression of oneself. Foucault uses the term ‘descending individualism’ to indicate that the more individuated we become, the more prone we are to the power of the gaze (Foucault, 1977, p.193). At the heart of disciplinary techniques is normalizing judgement. In schools, the disciplinary mechanisms resulted in dividing practices (above the norm or below the norm) where learners could be tracked and controlled. By virtue of ‘*being sent around the school,*’ shows that this practice of good handwriting was opened to the gaze of others and rendered as an exemplar of the norm. It is interesting to note the change, from slate and stone; to pencil; to using ink and then ball point pens, which reflects the changes in modernity. The fluidity of identity is

further emphasized by the fact that Alan's handwriting deteriorated, emphasizing that the self is reflexively reconstituted during different phases in one's life span.

Alan recalls stories of corporal punishment during his early school years. In his narrative, reference to corporal punishment has been listed approximately six times highlighting the powerful influence of this form of control in his life history. Corporal punishment, as a form of traditional authoritarianism was a major contributory factor to the teacher's habitus and will be explored in greater depth (within this chapter). Alan's exposure to corporal punishment began at an early age:

"I was very small, I was easily distracted to walk such a long distance, you get distracted then you are most likely to get to school late and you have a person standing with a stick there, get the hiding and that was not so nice"(Alan).

6.3.3 A Biography of Changing Identities: Fragile and Robust

The life history approach through interviews and story telling as a 'primary act of mind'(Thomas, 1995) or 'getting inside the mind' of the teacher had resulted in Alan disclosing personal information of a sensitive nature that has impacted on the construction of his identity during his early childhood years. Alan's perception of self has been influenced by his knowledge of his very emergence into this world which he wanted to talk about without probing from myself, as researcher.

"Well, I did not know my dad really because my mum and dad did not have a chance to marry. It was one of those things and my mum then fell pregnant soon after, in fact when my grandfather died, she was already in the family way with me. And then as soon as I was born, my granny said to her, 'You are a disgrace, go and work for this child' So then my granny then raised me and later on when I was about 7, 8 they told me that whom I thought was my elder sister, was actually my mother. I felt quite a bit of rejection then, from my granny, and I

felt, well here's this mother who is telling me: 'Well, I am not your mother.' Now when I look back, I actually did feel quite a rejection" (Alan).

Feelings of self-identity are both robust and fragile (Giddens, 1991, p.55). Fragile, because the biography the individual reflexively holds in mind is only one 'story' among many other potential stories that could be told about her development as a self; robust because a sense of self-identity is often secure enough to weather major tensions or transitions in the social environments within which each person moves. In this case, for Alan the disclosure of the identity of his biological mother was indeed a fateful moment that temporarily left him in a fragile and fragmented state. However, the self is also robust having the potential to reconstitute itself repeatedly. Further, in the construction of one's identity, one is able to infer the influence of significant others. Alan's grandmother commented to his mother, "*You are a disgrace.*" This statement is reflective of society's norms for that particular cultural grouping at the time. Although Alan felt rejected at the time, it is the reflexive nature of the self to reconstitute itself instead of giving up.

Alan continues with the narrative:

"But then my mum went to Durham, she qualified as a teacher and she qualified as a nurse, she had seven other children and then married my step dad, which is unusual. She had all her children, then she went to court to get married. Back home, my granny was very much my mother, and my uncle stood in as father for me because I did see my dad once and I ran away from him because I was told that he was going to steal me. Politics, family politics. Strangely now, I am so close to my late dad's brothers and sisters. I found them or they found me. There was always a relationship between them and my mother although it was difficult because she was now married to somebody else. And he, my late dad was also married to somebody else. I have a brother and four sisters from my dad's relationship with his wife. That was a strange one, when I was teaching in Elanville, I actually taught my brother. I knew I called him into my room at the hostel and I showed him a photo of my dad's and said, 'Do you know this chap?' He said, 'It's daddy' He said it was daddy in his own words. And I said, 'Well, it's my dad too.' And we've kept contact ever since, you know. He comes to

Millburg, he lives in Durham. Funny enough, you know, my son is diabetic. My half brother is diabetic from my late dad. And a lot of my family from my dad's side are diabetics. So if ever there was some fight about paternity, who is my dad and so on, I think that is laid to rest that I actually do belong to those people which means that my surname would have been Trent and my surname is Joseph. This is my mum's surname”(Alan).

Following from the previous discussion, Alan has had an interesting childhood. As a child, his perceived emotional rejection could have left him scarred for life, but seemingly didn't, thus alluding to Giddens' (1991) description of the self-identity being both fragile and robust. He moved on from the fragility of rejection, in his early years, to develop into more robustly in many spheres of life including a career as a teacher and deputy principal.

The content of self-identity, the traits from which biographies are constructed, varies socially and culturally (Giddens, 1991, p. 55). In some respects this is obvious enough. A person's name, for example, is a primary element in his biography; practices of social naming and how far names express kin relations (Giddens, 1991). He states, *“I actually do belong to those people.”* Thus, in essence his name contributes to his sense of belonging, which can be both biological and social.

The biography of Alan is fraught with mistaken identities much like a Shakespearean play, where it was revealed that who he thought was his sister was actually his mother and who he thought to be his mother was actually his grandmother. However, the crisis of identity does not end there as his mother was misidentified as a student and Alan as the teacher.

“My mum and I were in college together. That is another strange thing. She went to further her studies. And there I was in the second year, my mum came back to college. She was wearing the Beachway uniform which was the white blouse and the navy blue skirt. And people did not believe that this was my mum. And at least once the bus driver kicked me off the bus. I was dressed in a suit. He insisted that I was a teacher, he let my mother in and believed that she was a student. So I missed that bus from Seelville to Wentville. I had to wait

for about another hour later. It's funny... There were other things happening at the college where students were unhappy and wanted to stage a sit in and (when) we had this debate in the hall. My mum actually took me to task on something in public and I sank down and I looked such a fool where she asked me something but I could not show her to be wrong. So I just answered so that she looked good and I tell you I came into so much derision from my friends" (Alan).

One holds different subject positions simultaneously as an individual. Foucault's (1984b) comment on the subject is as follows: *'It [the subject] is not a substance. It is form, and this form is not primarily or always identical to itself. You do not have the same relationship with yourself when you constitute yourself as a political subject who goes to vote or speaks at a meeting and when you are seeking to fulfil your desires in a sexual relationship ... In each case one plays, one establishes a different type of relationship to oneself. And it is precisely the historical constitution of these various forms of the subject in relation to the games of truth which interests me'* (Foucault, 1984b, p. 33).

The situation described by Alan is interesting because it poses a challenge for the individual: when faced with a dilemma, which aspect of identity takes precedence? In this case, it is one's identity as a son versus one's identity as a friend. As a 'self-determining individual' (Frankl, 1984) it was Alan's respect for his mother, the relations of power that influenced his decision as he could not *"show her to be wrong."* As Demartini (2008) explains: 'the hierarchy of your values determines how you perceive (what you selectively attend to) and how you act (what you selectively intend upon) your world and therefore determine your transient destiny.' Since your values change over time your destiny therefore changes over time. In this case, Alan's high priority on family values supersedes his value for his friend or his belief in the freedom of expression.

6.3.4 The Influence of Culture and Religion

Religion, the discourse of both peace and war has a marked influence on the development of the self. Alan has disclosed his religious beliefs as follows:

“I believe in... look it has to come out eventually. I believe that I am an atheist. I was brought up very strictly in a Methodist Church. My granny was staunch. And there again there were influences within the church that drove me out of the church. There was a clash between my involvement in the church choir and the Durham Choral society. We pointed out that it was difficult for us because the days were now clashing on the days that they were asking for. And then I remember one of the seniors saying, ‘Well, the bee goes where it would find the most honey.’ Those were very hurtful words for me and I left the church under great pressure. I was really in trouble with my late granny. She whipped up so much anti me because of the stance that I was taking” (Alan).

Within specific communities, religion is generally a unifying practice which forms the basis of one’s identity. It is a key factor in governing oneself, governing households and governing a nation. Karl Marx (1844) states, ‘Religion is the opium of the masses,’ and the extract that follows thus emphasises Alan’s individual stance on religion:

“And it was difficult teaching through the years where the religion was such a strict thing in the schools that I dare not even reveal what I believed in. But many times some of my leading pupils will ask me, about the theory of evolution about the theory of creation. I had to be very careful and responsible to point out to them, ‘Look, these are both theories.’ And they both claim to be very staunch and that they actually need to listen to their parents till they can make up their minds. It is not my duty to mislead people” (Alan).

In the context of apartheid, society was autocratic and intolerant to the diverse religious and cultural practices in South Africa and was used as justification for the practice of apartheid to

keep cultures separate from each other. Marx (1844) also states that ‘the struggle against religion is therefore a struggle against the world whose spiritual aroma is religion.’ In the case of Alan, exercising restraint in keeping his beliefs to himself is part of the individual’s strategy of self governance and care of self. But it also alludes to the self-determination of the individual against the collective consciousness of community and societal beliefs.

Alan explains his personal philosophy:

“But I do believe in good. So things that I learnt from what my granny taught me about the bible about the ten commandments, it is a solid philosophy. And even though I believe it was the man who made the laws, they are very good laws. Because how else will we interact with each other? How else would we socialize if we did not have rules like that? And my belief in doing good and being good to others guides me along” (Alan).

Rawls (1973) defines a person’s ‘good’ as the ‘successful execution of a rational plan of life which is closely linked to moral philosophy and self-respect’ (Rawls, 1973, p.433). Alan provides justification for the establishment of norms and laws of society which does not contradict his ‘rational plan’ (Rawls, 1973) or his guiding philosophy of “*doing good and being good.*” What is interesting about the extract is Alan’s status as observer to stand back and reflect on the normalizing rationalities of whole populations [bio-power] (Foucault, 1979a) which acts as an adhesive in establishing a collective conscience. Alan even justifies the normalizing tendency of the rules of society. Cognisance of Alan’s notion of good has to be taken into account with regard to his assessment practices.

For Alan, the concept of Ubuntu is not a new one. In his early childhood years, his interaction with other non-white children, contributed to his development of self. This is how he described his experiences:

“But also my upbringing was a very rich one in that the children I played with as a little boy, they were Xhosa children. Xhosa speaking and I spoke Xhosa and Afrikaans, those were my first two languages. Then, I moved to Durham where I learnt English. But I learnt customs of Xhosa people. I lived like them. We did things as little boys where we hunted together, I ate things that people would really be shocked at and say ‘Did you really?’ The things that we see on Survivor and all these things - they are really nothing new to me”(Alan).

By his own admission, Alan has had a rich upbringing in his interaction with Xhosa people which was more than learning the language, and included their culture. As part of his growing up, he adapted to the environment and formed part of the group culture. In Giddens’ (1991) view, intersubjectivity does not derive from subjectivity, but the other way around. Learning the qualities of others is connected in an immediate way with the earliest explorations of the object-world and first stirrings of what later become established feelings of self-identity (Giddens, 1991, p. 51). In the case of Alan, these early beginnings of playing ‘Survivor’ through hunting and learning the ways of others provides grounding for his later adaptability to various environments and life’s challenges and in Foucault’s terms ‘care of self.’

The issue of culture was also reiterated by another participant, Rina, who described her experience as an English speaking white female studying in an Afrikaans medium college.

This is how she articulated it:

*“Well, I stayed in Res.[residence] and that really helped a lot as well, you heard the language, all day, everyday and I actually say that you live a culture, you live a language and I had to learn to think in that language and not translate all the time. The first year was difficult and after that I got it right and **when you live a language then you really get to understand it. And it is definitely more than just words, you live the culture, you understand it when you live with people speaking a different language**”* (Rina).

Like Alan, Rina concurs that the language and culture of people becomes a shared experience and a contributory factor to the formation of one's identity. Richard Dawkins (1976) used the term 'meme' to refer to any cultural entity as replicators, generally replicating through exposure to humans, who evolved as efficient copiers of information and behaviour. Rina has imbibed the Afrikaans culture to such an extent that she married an Afrikaner and I observed her communicating with colleagues in Afrikaans in a bi-lingual medium school which highlights the fluidity and reflexivity of identity.

Bourdieu (1977) described cultural influences as habitus (the way we are). The impact of Rina's habitus on the interpretation of policy is evident in the following extract:

*“Ya, I don't know whether it falls into your area of research, you know. If you look at the Life Orientation, for example, what they are doing in the lower grade is often repeated. Maybe in a little bit more depth but they are rehashing the same thing over and over and over again. And I just don't see the point in that. A lot things too, I don't see the point. I don't think that it is age appropriate. But **perhaps I'm coming from a more conservative background.** I think that one needs to be sensitive and particularly in a multicultural society in a multicultural class when you have to deal with these issues and I don't always know if it is our place as teachers to be sometimes dealing with this information that we have to impart to these children”*(Rina).

The sentence in bold print in the extract alludes to the temporarily (transient) 'fixed' identity of the teacher regarding her subject position as a white South African female with an individual sense of what is appropriate in terms of curriculum and assessment which, is at loggerheads with the official pedagogic identity. Using Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) language of description, 'antagonisms' can be found where discourses collide. There seems to be a lack of alignment in the teachers' value system and the policy-makers' vision.

Rina's conservative cultural upbringing can be contrasted with Alan's exposure to multicultural influences. Alan describes his interaction with people of different racial groupings and different religious denominations:

“Then we moved to Durham, we stayed with Indian people. My aunts, two of them married Indians, one married a Muslim, Uncle Ossie Sayed, Osmond was his name. He was a well known boxer in Durham. And then it was my Uncle Mr Logan Ramsamy, married my other aunt. But I am saying married, it was frowned upon by the apartheid years, So they had to actually duck and dive. I remember just by the way, Uncle Ossie, he was smuggled into the Transkon. And my uncles, I remember, he came to ask permission, smuggled him in his own truck. He owned a cartage business and taxis and they were well known in the Leopold Street area in Durham, but was smuggled into the Transkon by family in his own transport. That was quite a laugh I tell you, but it was true love in a sense though. So I learnt about Muslim ways and I learnt about the Hindu ways. I stayed in Claireville, we would be called to on a Thursday the Mosque is giving out dhall to poor people and I was always there with a bowl. In Wentville itself we stayed in a tin shanty amongst Indian people. That was a rich upbringing for me. Now when I talk to children, I know what I am talking about. Then I talk about tolerance for people, I know about prejudices about people. So I think I am really an asset when it comes to that. Not just talking about what I am reading. I really did experience things” (Alan).

This extract serves to highlight that one cannot rationalize the experience of apartheid through collective amnesia. Apartheid did happen. Despite the repeated efforts of the government to keep people separate during the days of apartheid, people are actually ‘self-determining beings’ (Frankl, 1984) and relationships and “*true love*” conquered the oppression. Whilst the government at that time was able to control the people, it was only at the level of the physical body and perhaps the mind to an extent. However, in the case described by Alan, the soul triumphed in its pursuit of its mate. As Demartini (2007) states, ‘All there is, is love: everything else is an illusion.’ This extract also points to the diverse cultural influences on Alan's life with people of different race and religious groups which has contributed to what he describes as a “*rich upbringing.*”

6.3.5 Apartheid: Identity Crisis and Cultural Conditioning

Alan describes his experience of being questioned about his physical characteristics in the days of apartheid:

*“I experienced an **identity crisis** when my mother brought me to Durham. She had to register me and because I was from the Transkon, my ID, my birth certificate said that I was Coloured but Xhosa speaking. Then it was the years of the Kent Coloured and the other Coloured. All that, I went through. I was interviewed at Stranger Street by a white guy who asked me about my father’s complexion, and about his hair texture, all that. Amazing, but I went through that. But nevertheless there’s no regret about it. I find that it was really amusing, I look back at it, you know and I can laugh about it”*(Alan).

Throughout this research study, acknowledgment is made of Cross’s (1999) warning that changing identities throughout the history of South African education have highlighted the fact that new identities are constructed only with reference to old identities. Experiencing apartheid firsthand cannot be equated with a textbook version of it. In the previous discourse of South Africa, categorization of people on the basis of body characteristics such as skin colour and hair texture was actually the norm of a previous governmentality. As Descartes (cited in Giddens, 1991) claims, ‘I know my own soul better than my own body. But I can only know the body of another, since I have no access to that person’s consciousness.’ Disciplinary techniques of the apartheid system targeted the physical being and hoped that this separateness would be internalized at a deeper level. Literature on spiritual matters intricately espouse to the oneness and the universalizing tendency of the soul (Sharma, 1997; Rinpoche, 2002; Demartini, 2002, 2007, 2008). Modern disciplinary techniques are aimed inwards towards the soul and one’s conscience. However, what is of note here is that Alan is now able to laugh at the experience indicating the transient nature of one’s identity. One’s identity is constituted reflexively by moving on from negative experiences to find balance in healing and reconstituting the self.

Alan is not the only participant who has experienced apartheid as is evident in this extract from Sipho:

“The changes, you know to me, my child times, this country was controlled by in a very bad way because we were classified according to our colour, race that there was that apartheid. I was not happy at all during that time because I remember one day, when my sister was three days old. When you are having a child in Imbali you were supposed to go and report so that the name of the child is going to be recorded, family record because at night they used to raid our houses at about 11, 12.

(Sipho knocks on the desk- demonstrates and shouts), ‘Open the doors!’

Well, this day my mum was from Durban, after having this baby, she came home late, after 5[p.m.] so it was not easy for her, to take the child to go and register.

They said, ‘Open now because there is a new baby now, all of you into the van.’

We were taken all of us, at best we had to wait until the superintendent comes the following day after eight and registration starts. You spend the whole night sitting on the bench”
(Sipho).

For Siphoo, this story stands out among the stories of his life. The ‘violence’ with which he demonstrates the action by knocking on the desk and shouting, “open the door” indicates that this experience has left an indelible mark on his memory since the age of ten. This scenario described by Siphoo, also has some semblance to the Nazi raids described by Frankl (1984) where people were packed into carriages and taken to strange destinations to meet their fate.

After Siphho had described the ‘apartheid raid,’ an obvious change was noted as is demonstrated in the following extract:

“Eish, I was very young about ten or eleven. I started saying, hey, this country is very bad, very bad. After they changed in 1994, I said, thanks God, we can share with other people. During that time I used to be scared when seeing a white man coming, because of the way we were brought up. I can see that we were human beings. Indians there’s nothing wrong with them, Coloured there’s nothing wrong with them. It is only because we were created by God to be what we are. So now we are now living in a democratic country. Then I said, in the year 2001 because I have taught in that school for so many years, let me go now and meet with this other people so that we can live peacefully together, because now we are an elected democratic country. I think that the change that has come to this country is very good. Although there are still problems, but it is better than before. It is better than before”(Siphho).

The effect of biopower (governmentality) on the development of the individual’s habitus is evident in Siphho’s case where as a result of cultural conditioning he feared the “*white man.*” For Siphho, and perhaps the many millions of South Africans, post 1994, marks a shift in the collective consciousness of the people of South Africa as a period of reconciliation. This was a time of healing for the nation as a whole towards a united South Africa as is evident in a change in Siphho’s paradigm. The governmentality functioning at the macro-level of the state had penetrated the individual (self-regulation in the form of change in mind set) operating at the micro-level of society.

Anand recalls his experience of being marginalized in the days of apartheid.

“My matric results weren’t bad. My father said that I could have done better. I thought that it was fine. But it managed me to get a place at the Tech. and I studied, I did electrical engineering after that. I finished my diploma there. I went around, SASOL, ESKOM, looking for jobs. But I think that at that time apartheid was very very rife. Whilst I was the top student at ML (Name of Technicon) when it came to that course, surprisingly I could never get a job.

But the others in my class, they did get the job. And I knew it was only because they could be controlled by others. I sat across a guy at SASOL, and he had a look at my CV. And above him on his wall he had his N1 and N2. He straight away thought that this guy is too highly qualified and he actually started to interview me in Afrikaans. And I told him, 'No, my first language is English.' He said, 'Listen here, over here, everybody speaks Afrikaans, so I am interviewing you in Afrikaans. If you don't like it, you can take your CV and walk.' So I tried to give it my best shot but when I came out of the interview, a colleague from my class who was perhaps the weakest of us got the job there. And I asked him, 'So how was your interview?' he said, 'It was fine.'" I asked, 'Did they interview you in English or Afrikaans?' He was laughing, because he was interviewed in English. So that's how it was and that's how I ended up at home" (Anand).

According to Howarth (2000), there are two intersecting areas of investigation that call for special attention within discourse theory. They are the formation and dissolution of political identities, and the analysis of hegemonic practices which endeavour to produce social myths and collective imaginaries. Both these objects of investigation are premised on the centrality of social antagonisms in constituting identity and social objectivity by drawing of political barriers between social agents. In Norval's (cited in Howarth, 2000, p.136) accounts of apartheid discourse, she focuses on how and under what conditions the apartheid project was able to hegemonize the field of discursivity in South Africa. She shows how in the 1940s apartheid discourse was a means for establishing a distinctive Afrikaner identity (Howarth, 2000, pp. 136-137).

Once again, the constitution of identities must be understood against the backdrop of apartheid. The opening extract of the thesis presents Anand as a self-determining being who has the power to set and realize goals. However, individuals find themselves in various situations or discourse contexts, each requiring a different response or presentation of the self. Although identity is constituted in the various discourses that the self encounters, this does not, however, exclude the role of agency.

Yet another instance of being culturally conditioned by fear of ‘social myths and collective imaginaries’ (Howarth, 2000, p. 136) through the discourse of apartheid is evident in this extract from Alan:

“Then I was in traffic one day and Mandela was released. I was travelling from Kirkstad and we decided to come through Edenville, the place was choked with people and it was only black people. We were so intimidated. I remember removing my watch and putting it in the cubby of the car. Swamped by these toyi-toying people, coming up this hill, and they sort of allowed us through. And then there were two drunk guys who couldn’t keep up with the rest of them, they stopped us, and asked who are we, whose side are we on and I said, to this guy, ‘I am like your brother’ and I said to him in Xhosa, in Zulu too, and there was hand shaking and we got through, we were very nervous. We got through greater Edenville area unscathed but it was a terrifying experience” (Alan).

The laws within the discourse of apartheid in South Africa sought to divide and rule. People were governed by fear. Black people were labelled terrorists to be feared by others. Sterotypical behaviour or the impact of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), that is, culturally embodied ways of thinking, led Alan to put his watch away. Dawkin’s (1976) concept of ‘memes,’ which states that the building block of culture spreads through diffusion from one mind to another, may well apply here. As part of his survival, he used his ‘cultural capital’ (Bourdieu, 2004) accumulated from his childhood, that is, his ability to use languages (Xhosa and Zulu) to say “*I am your brother*” emphasizing the unity in diversity. The release of Nelson Mandela, a watershed in South Africa’s history is often cited as the most significant event of our times.

Talk of apartheid, is disturbing for both the oppressor and the oppressed. However, Jansen (2008) warns that ‘with atrocities like apartheid or the Holocaust, shutting down talk about the past is a guaranteed way of ensuring massive social conflict and instability.’ He emphasizes that there are long term social and mental consequences of shutting down historical conversations. In relation to my research project, the stories that participants have volunteered are useful in attempting ‘to get inside the teacher’s mind.’ The theoretical

guidance of concepts like ‘habitus’ and ‘memes’ shows how history and culture have contributed to what subjects perceive to be ‘good’ or ‘bad.’ These stories bring to the consciousness those aspects that have been repressed. The act of verbalizing suggests that these issues have been submerged but not totally erased from the consciousness and the confession is an endeavour to ‘know oneself’ and ‘care for self’ (Foucault, 1982a).

6.3.5 Summary

In presenting Alan’s account of the emphasis on good handwriting, the changing perspectives of what is considered worthwhile in terms of education according to specific periods in history as well as the disciplinary techniques governing that paradigm, become apparent. As the ‘game of truth’ shifts from an emphasis on good handwriting to critical thinking, for example, the teacher has to reflexively reconstitute himself. Through the biographical approach, the transient nature of identity is illuminated by Alan’s description of his survival games as a child as well as Rina’s adoption of Afrikaans which was more than a language to her, but a culture, a way of life.

Rina’s questioning of the appropriateness of the curriculum alludes to the idea of discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) that social phenomena are never finished or total. This view suggests that meaning can never be fixed and this opens up the way for constant social struggles about society and identity (Jorgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 24). Furthermore, Siphos change in perception that “*the country is very bad*” to “*the change that can come to this country is very good*” points to the reflexive nature of one’s sense of identity/subjectivity. Although changing ‘games of truth’ have contributed to one’s sense of self, ultimately it is the individual who chooses a particular paradigm. The impact of the ‘game of truth’ on Siphos cannot be equated with the impact of the ‘game of truth’ on Rina, and cognizance should be given to ‘habitus’ and the notion of agency.

Burr’s (1995, pp. 1-5) social constructivist approach that our ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative finds support in Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ and

Dawkin’s concept of ‘memes’ which implies that our identities are contingent to historical and cultural change over time as is depicted in figure 6.1 below. In addition to cultural and historical influences, *telos* or one’s will to meaning is also a determinant. I argue that although discourses do constitute identity, this is partial or relative to the individual’s own will to meaning (*telos*).

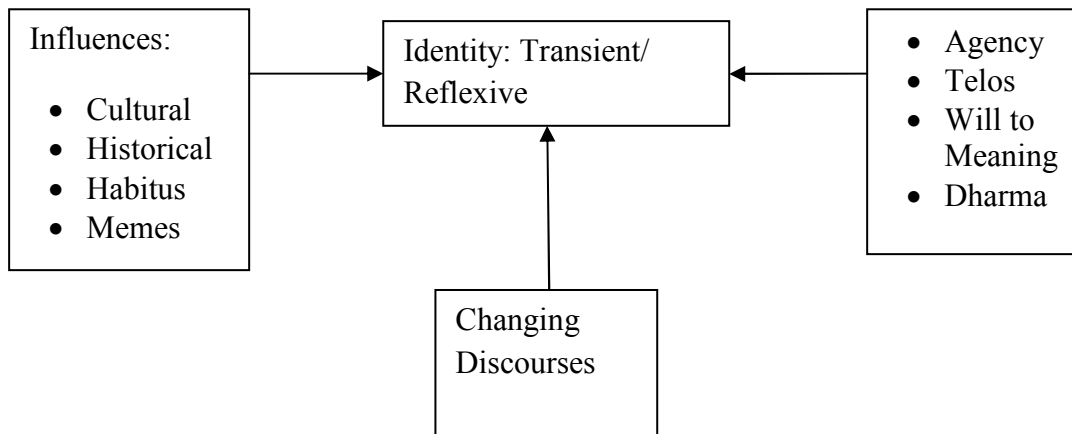


Figure: 6.1 Reflexivity of Identity

6.4 Smudges of Biographical Portraits

6.4.1 Critical Incidents

In the telling of his story, Vee narrates critical incidents, which involves claims about himself. According to Sikes et al. (1985) critical incidents are key events in an individual’s life, and around which pivotal decisions revolve. They provoke the individual into selecting particular kinds of action, which lead in particular directions. Becker (cited in Sike et al., 1985) describes critical incidents as ‘these crucial interactive episodes, in which new lines of individual and collective activity are forged ... and new aspects of the self are brought into being. Strauss (cited in Sikes et al., 1985) argues that the critical incidents are ‘turning points and frequent occurrence of misalignment such as surprise, shock, chagrin, anxiety, tension, bafflement, self-questioning and also the need to try out the new self, to explore and validate the new and often exciting or fearful conceptions.’

For reasons explained in the methodology, the biographical interviews took place only after the participant had been interviewed about his or her professional development. In presenting the case of Vee, the wonderful accolades of this dynamic subject are captured to highlight discontinuities and emphasise the reflexive nature of the self.

“So I had a beautiful school life. My art pieces, nine out of my ten art pieces were chosen for exhibition in Durham and they were given to dignitaries as presents and I’d love to see those paintings. I don’t know where they are lying. I took quite a few awards in school in Grade 1 and standard four. And the Art Award, three years in a row, Standards 8, 9 and 10. And when I was in college I got the Sportsman award in my 3rd and 4th years. And at my Graduation, I achieved the Outstanding Student of the Year Award. So those were a few things that I’ve achieved. Oh, yes! I was Head Boy in High School in 1987 and that came as a total surprise. That was a shock. My father was drunk for weeks. He had my photograph in his pocket and he would tell everybody at work, ‘Look at my son, the Head Boy.’ What delighted him was that his son had beaten the sons of doctors and accountants and he was a leather union worker. I don’t think it sunk in. But yes, those are the enchanting stories of mine” (Vee).

The participant is without doubt a person of talents and an achiever. His capacity for hardwork and dynamism has already been noted. In section 6.2 the economic hardships of Vee’s life and the self determination to survive (self sustainability) is made explicit. In the context of Vee’s humble socio-economic beginnings, the narrative presented above needs to be heard in society for it presents a heartwarming relief and inspiration to those coming from less privileged backgrounds. As our esteemed former President, Nelson Mandela (1994) states in his book *The Long Walk to Freedom*.

‘Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of a mine, that a child of farm workers can become the president of a great nation’ (Nelson Mandela, 1994).

In highlighting Vee's achievement, I consciously reflect on my own path of emerging from a working class background where I helped to sell vegetables to supplement the family's income to entering the teaching profession. The role of agency in the construction of identities cannot be dismissed. Agency is the idea that individuals are equipped with the ability to understand and control their own actions, regardless of the circumstances of their lives: usually termed 'intentionality' and 'individuality' (Webb et al., 2002, p. ix). For Bourdieu (cited in Webb et al., 2002), the possibilities of agency must be understood and contextualised in terms of their relation to the objective structures of a culture. Despite economic hardships, one's will to search for meaning (*telos*) in one's life is the driving force of agency.

Further, from a methodological perspective, in presenting the case of Vee attention is drawn to the value of biographic work. Giddens (1991) states that self-identity is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography. He adds that the existential question of self-identity is bound with the fragile nature of the biography which the individual 'supplies' about himself or herself. Vee's identity is also determined by his capacity to keep a particular narrative going. In the construction of his identity, we see how his 'individual biography must continually integrate events which occur in the external world,' (Giddens, 1991) into the ongoing 'story' about self. It reiterates fluidity of the nature of one's identity which is continuously constituted in the discourses of the outer world through the will of agency.

In Vee's continuation of the narrative of self, he describes the first two years of his teaching career in another province, which at that time was referred to as 'Tallwood.' There was a shortage of teachers in the 'Tallwood' and other provinces and those teachers who trained in Durham were posted to outlying areas.

"I was two years in Tallwood, and then in my second year, the principal approached me and told me, "you know what, you have pulled your time and now I want you to pack your bags

and go.” So I asked him what happened. He said, “You’ve done your time, you go home. You’ll get a call and they’ll tell you exactly which school to go.” So that’s when I got to Millburg (unclear) and everything had changed. In the Tallwood the mood was so calm. When I got here, it was so frustrating, you know, books were called for, records were called for, meetings, it was a rude awakening but I adapted eventually”(Vee).

In the career of Vee, the move from the Tallwood to Millburg may be noted as a critical incident which had a subsequent impact on the teacher’s identity and called for new coping strategies. The difference between teaching in the Tallwood and Millburg was that in Millburg, the issue of accountability became more apparent. “*Books were called for, records were called for*” indicates the increased measures of visibility. Accountability in terms of visibility and policing were what Foucault (1977) described as techniques of discipline. Increased visibility shows strong mechanisms of control which, for this teacher was actually a “*rude awakening.*” The rude awakening shows that as part of ‘care of self’, one had to tow the line as it were, adapt or die and the teacher “*adapted eventually.*”

By examining critical incidents, we gain insight into the processes by which identities are built by the individual during particular points in their life cycle (Sikes et al., 1985). In order to highlight discontinuities, the extract that follows is juxtaposed with the previous one.

In another critical incident which relates to the school’s policies of rationalization, this is how Vee responded:

“Well, because I am the youngest in our school staff, I was the excess teacher from 1997. And I had that burden on my shoulders from 1997. And I took to the bottle, I began excessively drinking, I ignored my family, my wife, and when my daughter came along in 1999, I did not care about that because all that was eating me up was that when am I going to be pushed, when am I going to be shunted to another area. It was playing on my mind that I had already spent time in Tallwood and just when I thought I am going to be back home now and settled,

you know, I thought of it as 'I'd pulled my time,' but it wasn't to be. I really loved school and I think maybe that's the reason I don't want to leave school for another profession''(Vee).

The extract above is a far cry from the glory days of accolades described in the previous extract. Identity is fluid and is constructed within the various discourses of society. We are reminded of Beck's (1992) description of modernity as a risk society. The teacher was in "excess" in the school means that his services at the school were no longer needed. The notion of excess came into play with the passing and implementation of rationalizing policies addressed at redress which was termed 'right-sizing.' The policy on 'right-sizing' is influenced by the rationality of neo-liberal governmentality which was instigated at a state level to increase performance, efficiency and economy. As a result of economic imperatives, that is, reducing expenditure on costs of employing more teachers, the state through the Department of Education had recommended the teacher-pupil ratio in classes at schools. This teacher-pupil ratio has varied through the years as a result of negotiations and at the time of study was operating at 32:1. This means that for every 32 learners, 1 educator is paid for by the Department of Education. This presented a dilemma for most teachers in schools, including Vee, who found himself buffered from side to side like a boat in a sea of insecurity.

In addition to being bombarded with a host of policies regarding the curriculum and more specifically assessment, the participant is also faced with policy issues that hit at the very core of his sense of security. According to Maslow (1943), one's sense of security is indeed a base value which must be fulfilled before other 'higher values' can be aspired to. The uncertainty took its toll on the participant who then chose the comfort of the "bottle" to deal with the challenges. The participant openly and honestly admits to neglecting other areas of his identity including being a parent, as a result of the insecurity of his job which was "eating" him up. Being "shunted" into an unknown area was indeed the fear that the teacher anticipated. His referring to "pulled my time" does in fact have connotations of a prison sentence. Whilst this discussion alludes to the influence of discourse (policies) in the constitution or reconstitution of identities, the actual response to the policies, this fear of the unknown although triggered by the discourse of right-sizing, was essentially self-imposed.

In the narratives that followed and with regard to the issue of satisfaction of career, Vee replied, “*Not anymore.*” The dissatisfaction within a career may occur because of ‘critical incidents’ or what Giddens’ (1991) terms, ‘fateful moments.’

He continues his narrative in the following extract:

*“And then in 2000, I sort of woke up and smelled the coffee and I told my wife, ‘Look, love there is something I always wanted to do, I wanted to do law. So let me write to varsity to see if they’ll accept me, accept my application to study law.’ And so I wrote the initial letter and they replied that they were willing to accept me to study law but I must submit proof of my previous qualification and my matric result. And so I did that and they said ‘yes’ you can study part time. But in my first year they only allowed me to do two modules. So in 2001, I did just two modules and I scored in the top 15 and The Golden Key surprised me. I got a letter from Golden Key, the International Law Society congratulating me on my results saying would you like to be a member of this International Society. So I became a member of this Golden Key Society and the following year they allowed me to do part time, you are only allowed to do three and four. I did four and I passed through with flying colours. And the next year I did five and I passed that with flying colours. I knocked my degree out in four years. And now I’ve got my Llb degree. And hopefully, through positive thinking, **I am going to try and work my way out of teaching, I can’t manage anymore**” (Vee).*

In earlier discussions, it was established that Vee was indeed a competent, motivated individual who entered the teaching profession. However, in response to the various policies, he temporarily fluctuated between experiencing feelings of ‘powerlessness and appropriation’ (Giddens, 1991). Those feelings of ‘powerlessness’ were actually self-imposed through his fears which were ‘false expectations appearing real’ (Walsh, 1997). The circumstance of being placed in “*excess*” was indeed a ‘fateful moment’ (Giddens, 1991) for him. Fateful moments are transition points which have major implications not just for the circumstances of an individual’s future conduct, but for self-identity (Giddens, 1991, p.143). Another fateful moment that led to his regaining his sense of control was the enrollment for studies in another field. Goffman’s (cited in Giddens, 1999, p. 127) concept of *Umwelt* may well apply here, as

the notion of *Umwelt*, signifies a core of (accomplished) normalcy with which individuals and groups surround themselves. Giddens (1991) emphasises that the individual creates, as it were, a ‘moving wave-front of relevance’ which orders contingent events in relation to risk and potential alarms. The protective cocoon is a mantle of trust that makes possible the sustaining of a viable *Umwelt* (Giddens, 1991, p.131). The chronic constitutive intrusion of abstract systems into day-to-day life creates further problems influencing the relation between generalized trust and the *Umwelt* (Giddens, 1991, p. 129). In the case of the participant, Vee, the potential risk has gone beyond the umbrella of his feelings of trust and *Umwelt*. In trying to reflexively forge his identity, the participant becomes aware that current practice will shape future outcomes. The moment of this awareness, a fateful moment, led him to weigh the risks in his current profession, and then take constructive steps that lead away from ‘fatalism’ (Giddens, 1991), and the “*bottle*” to question routinised habits that are closely linked with self-identity. The ‘fateful moment’ obliged the participant, Vee, to enroll for a degree in Law, which was indeed a turning point for him. As Dreeben (cited in Sikes et al. 1985, p. 3) aptly states, ‘The occupational irony of teaching is that teachers must renounce their occupation in order to advance.’

This idea is reinforced by the following extract, where he talks about his guiding philosophy:

*“I write it on the board for children, ‘**Be good, Do good!**’ And I think that that philosophy has carried me a long way. There is another one that I came across and I simply love it. I put it up on the fridge. ‘If you do the same thing you did, expect the same thing you got.’ Now for anyone who reads it for the first time, it like ... but it took me a while to realize what we are talking about. Well, I’ve been drinking for ...well I only started drinking when I was 21 and by the time I reached the thirties, I was getting heavy into drinking. And I came across the saying ‘**If you did the same thing, expect the same thing you got.**’ And I realize that if you drink a bottle of brandy you get drunk. And you get the same thing you got, a ‘Bubbelaas’ (laughter). And that is another thing that always came to my head. If you want to change, ‘**If you want things to change in your life, stop doing things, that you did.**’ So that’s it. Be good and do good, that’s the other one” (Vee).*

The participant's philosophy is stated explicitly: "*If you want things to change in your life, stop doing the things you did.*" On a philosophical level, it was Vee's intention to pursue a career in another field in order to put an end to the negative spiral caused by the uncertainty and potential risks of the teaching profession. This philosophy emphasizes the 'self-determining' (Frankl, 1984) nature of humans. A common strand between Foucault and Frankl was the influence of Nietzsche. Nietzsche provided Foucault with novel ways to re-theorise and conceive anew the operation of power (Besley, 2007, p. 57). This extract highlights Foucault's theory of the productivity of power and Frankl's (1984) quotation of Nietzsche that, '*He who has a why to live can bear almost any how.*' Although in Foucault's view a subject's identity is constituted within discourses, the role of agency cannot be dismissed. The power of agency is reiterated in Frankl's (1984) conviction that man is a self-determining agent.

6.4.2 Summary

In this section, the notion of agency (Bourdieu 1977; Webb et al, 2002) that is, the idea that individuals are equipped with the ability to understand and control their own actions, regardless of the circumstances of their lives, is highlighted. The value of examining critical incidents from data to gain insight into the process by which identity is recreated during various points of the individual's life-cycle is emphasized. Although fate moments or critical incidents may be instigated through discourses, the turning points in one's life cycle are attributed to individual choices as exemplified in Frankl's (1984) concept of the self-determining human nature.

6.5 Changing Policies, Changing Teachers

6.5.1 Introduction

Section 6.5 explores changes in core areas of teaching and assessment approaches and previously established mechanisms of control to highlight discontinuities and changes in

teachers' identities. This chapter also engages some aspects of teachers' careers, their hopes and dreams, their opportunities and aspirations, or the frustration of these things which according to Hargreaves (1994) are important for teachers' commitment, enthusiasm and morale. I argue that in addition to the changing assessment policy, other significant changes in policies such as corporal punishment and teaching methods, for example, also impact on teachers' habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) with its consequent effects on teachers' potential to make a paradigm shift.

I emphasise that teachers' responses to the change in the assessment policy should be viewed concurrently with parallel changes in other policies as part of the Government of National Unity's strategy of governmentality (the art of governing). However, for most teachers who themselves were products of traditional authoritarianism, the habitus is deeply entrenched.

With regard to the ways in which the individual's past affects the present attitudes and behavior, Thomas (1995) states that there is strong evidence that what teachers 'know' about teaching derives from links between personal life history and professional career. In this way, 'experience' and 'self' become key constructs and biographic work must entail an examination of these (Thomas, 1995, p.11).

In the previous discourse of curriculum and assessment, I argued that traditional authoritarianism reigned in two ways. Firstly, in terms of the teacher being the main source of knowledge and secondly, in terms of the sovereign power of the teacher to control the body and behaviour of the learner by corporal punishment. The traditional authoritarianism manifested itself in the teacher's teaching approach, classroom control and the relationship between teacher and learner. Changing discourses through changing policies have resulted in changing teachers.

6.5.2 Corporal Punishment as a form of Disciplinary Power

The backdrop of Foucault's theory on disciplinary power provides an analytical perspective on specific areas of the teaching and learning process, especially the relationship between learners and teachers. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) defines discipline as the collective term to describe a 'set of techniques and procedures designed to track, transform, and optimally utilize humans' (Piomelli, 2004, p. 431). Foucault stresses that such discipline was not simply imposed from above. Rather, people submitted themselves to be able to operate effectively in the new social and economic conditions that were emerging in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Danaher et al., 2000, p.51). Disciplinary techniques arose in monasteries, schools, barracks, and hospitals and then spread throughout the rest of the social body from the late seventeenth century through the eighteenth century (Foucault, 1977, pp. 137-138). The aim of these procedures, which paid far more attention to detail than ever before, was to make individuals simultaneously more productive and more manageable or 'docile' (Foucault, 1977, p. 136). Foucault (1977) characterized discipline as a 'political anatomy of the human body' that treats the body as a machine or object to optimize. In this way, discipline acted concomitantly on human souls as well, impacting minds and spirits by inculcating values of productivity and efficiency (Foucault, 1977, p. 138).

Foucault (1977) explains that the success of disciplinary power derives from the use of tools such as hierarchical observation (surveillance), normalising judgement and the examination. Discipline is described as the political anatomy of detail (Foucault, 1977, p. 140). In the school situation, for example, attention was paid to the minutest detail of handwriting. Foucault (1977) presented detailed prescriptive accounts of the positioning on the body in relation to the hand to master the art of handwriting.

According to Foucault, (1977), '[t]he **Normal** is established as a principle of coercion in teaching with the introduction of a standardised education' and 'disciplinary punishment aims at reducing deviation from the norm. In a sense the power of normalizing judgment imposes homogeneity.' Foucault, 1977 argues that '[t]he power of the Norm appears through disciplines' (Foucault, 1977). Disciplinary techniques are essentially corrective and works in

terms of practice, learning which is intensive, duplicated and repeated which leads to an inculcation of habits (Pongratz, 2007, p.35). Pongratz (2007) adds that disciplinary punishment operates as a ‘micro-physics’ of power acting on the body and seeks to link minimal expenditure with maximum effort. In the apartheid era of South Africa, teachers operated mainly within the habitus of an old regime where they themselves were products of disciplinary techniques which included that of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment implies physical force on the body. In the previous discourse, corporal punishment was established as a ‘regime of truth’ that is, an accepted form of discipline. Amongst the policy changes of note, is that of the abolishment of corporal punishment by The School’s Act of 1996.

Foucault asserts (1977) that ‘[a]t the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism. The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institution: compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes’ which Foucault (1977) refers to as normalizing judgment. Foucault (1977) explains that normalizing judgement also ‘individualises by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another. The norm introduces, as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 184).

What follows is a discussion of corporal punishment through the lens of Foucault’s theory of disciplinary power.

6.5.2.1 Cut off the king’s head; cut off the teacher’s head!

Foucault (1976) in an interview entitled, *Truth and Power*, stated that ‘*political theory has never ceased to be obsessed with the person of the sovereign.*’ He explained that ‘*we need a political philosophy that is not erected around the problem of the sovereignty ... we need to cut off the kings head*’ (Foucault, 1976, p. 309). The extract that follows highlights perceived notions of the teachers’ sovereignty especially in relation to learners.

When Deb was asked about what influenced her decision to become a teacher, this is how she responded:

“In my standard five year, in my school, corporal punishment was a huge huge thing, a part of life. In my standard five year we were graded, in A, B, C and I was always in the A class. But there was this boy in my class who always came late, never finished his work on time. He was just one of those difficult children for a teacher I can imagine from a teacher’s side now.

*[I] had a male teacher and I remember him [Essop, the boy] sitting down. Probably was mid-year. He’d be beaten every day with like ten rulers on his hands at the back of his hands and I would sit and cry. I’d see it, you can hear a pin drop, because Essop, his name was Essop because Essop came in late, spilt something on his book. He did something. He was scruffy or whatever the reason was. I did not want to show my tears but I remember sitting there and saying to myself, when I was Standard five, this was 1975, 1974. I said, ‘**When I’m a teacher I will never hit my children.**’ And I remember that because at my interview at Varsity when you are interviewed... I remembered that incident and I shared that at my interview at the Education Department Faculty. There was some question about why did you want to be a teacher. And I have always, that has been my stimulus, my impetus. I couldn’t bear that one child was... I mean being hit was normal. If you spelt something wrong or if you did not write neatly, your page was torn, you were hit for it. And most often you did not even know why you were being hit. If you were late or whatever it was, it was the order of the day” (Deb).*

In the previous system of education, many young children grew up with the notion that corporal punishment was the “*order of the day*,” a norm. The teacher operated very much like a king whose sovereignty reigned over his subjects (a monarchy). With the change in policies, the teacher has been dethroned, like the king (whose head has been cut off).

In the extract that follows, Vee describes his experience of disciplinary power:

“My earliest memories of primary school was being hit on the head with a chalk board ruler. This was in class one. And I remember it as if were yesterday. I wasn’t using the cards that the teacher gives to copy down the letters, I was just copying down the letters without using the card, and there was this lady teacher Mrs S Naidoo, she hit the ruler on my head and the ruler broke and just at that time, my granny walked in and what made matters worse was that I wasn’t crying at the time that the teacher hit me. And this teacher was shocked, because in walks the guardian and my granny walks out because she doesn’t see me and I’m sitting right under her nose right by the door, and she doesn’t ... and that made me cry. And she asked me why I am crying, and the pupils said that ma’am hit him. That is the first incident that I recalled” (Vee).

The participant who was a learner at the time was able to account for the reasons for the corporal punishment. Lack of obedience by not following the instructions had led to the teacher hitting him on the head. Punishment or discipline was used to extract productivity and conformity from the learners. Here, the norm that operated was designed to instill a sense of homogeneity in learners so that a certain level of efficiency can be achieved.

Yet, another participant, Anand, relates an incident of corporal punishment.

“I remember that I was in Grade 3, that is standard one and we were doing phonic on the board. The teacher had some words on the [chalk]board, I had already learnt those words in Grade 2 in the farm and in Doon Road [another school]. I knew that one of those words did not fit in there and I told that to her. She pinched my cheeks so badly and gave me a slap and asked me if I wanted to teach. And I said, ‘No.’ When I think back now, I should have told her ‘Yes.’ (Laughter). Yes, that was a bad memory” (Anand).

This extract, in addition to demonstrating how teachers used corporal punishment to encourage ‘docile bodies’ (Foucault, 1977), also highlights the relationships between learners and teachers. Teachers perceived that they had the knowledge and that knowledge flowed from the teacher to the learner which was the norm and any deviation from that flow implied

disorder or entropy. Thus the habitus was established on a previous discourse of culturally accepted values. At that time, the society placed an emphasis on the education of the child and accepted the methods used under the premise that the teacher was the only source of knowledge. The idea of democracy was not the norm as the nation operated within the apartheid system where governing through coercion was the order of the day. However, in Foucault's terms all is not lost, since the learner is not 'powerless' and power can only be exercised in relations between individuals. The learner has a choice and in order to protect himself and in response to the teacher's question of whether he wanted to teach, he said, "No." Through this discourse, the identities of both the teacher and the learners are created within the sphere of individual freedom. The teacher demonstrated 'care of self' by silencing the learner with a slap in order to protect her position as a teacher since the norm at that time indicated that teachers are the only ones who teach. The identity of the learner is created by acquiescing through 'care of self,' the same norm, that the teacher should teach. Thus subjectivities are created by 'technologies of self' through 'care of self.'

In this extract, Alan narrates how corporal punishment was related to school assessment and performance:

"I enjoyed the high school. The pressures were there, we memorised things, there were tests, if we failed certain things we got a hiding. I did not enjoy the primary school in Durham, in particular the History teacher was also a relative who would make us stand in a line and we had to recite dates and I hated dates. You would get a hiding for every time you couldn't remember a date, you go to the back of the line and you get a hiding. It was very bad because in matric, I remember writing the paper. I did not write a single date and I lost marks because of that we wrote essays and so on and I think I passed matric History with an F" (Alan).

This extract indicates that although corporal punishment was used to modify the behaviour of learners, it was not an all powerful tool since learners resisted. Despite the consequences of "not remembering dates" the participant still did not heed that warning, even in matric. What can be inferred from this example is that resistance to specific discourses, alludes to the

notion of freedom within relations of power. An interesting observation is that even though the teacher himself related negatively to instances of corporal punishment, he too, as a teacher used corporal punishment. He explains his use of corporal punishment in the early years of his teaching experience.

“I started at a high school in Zululand and taught for five years there. Then we were using the stick a lot in the years of corporal punishment. But I did make a lot of friendships amongst the kids there, the high school children, made some enemies too, I can imagine. And when I came to this school, the first thing that I was amazed at is how children would walk up to you and pull your sleeve. But it was a very different child, a very different age group. Then I was pretty much like a father to them but I was young. I started when I was twenty three, and some of my learners were a couple of years younger than me. So there’s been a change. I am much more of a father to them now and given that I am now so much older, and you know, my outlook has changed, a lot. I am much more patient with children, I am absolutely off using the stick. It is something I am trying to pass on to the other educators that I am still tempted to use a pointer, and I said to them, you are going to lash out, you rather not have it at all” (Alan).

In terms of identity, this extract shows how corporal punishment which was a nodal point of the previous discourse of discipline, has lost its temporary ‘fixation’ and is no longer given legitimacy in current discourse. This demonstrates that in the face of changing discourses or ‘games of truth,’ one’s sense of self also undergoes reconstruction. There is a change in the teacher’s idea of discipline from using the ‘stick’ in his early years of teaching to now trying to discourage other teachers from using corporal punishment. With age and experience the participant seems to have mellowed from a teacher who used to control learners with physical force to one who is “*absolutely off using the stick.*” In Alan’s case, ‘to speak of punishment produces unease: to all appearances, punishments demonstrate the failure of well-meaning pedagogic intentions. Educationists, nowadays, would rather speak of classroom management, self-steering or prevention, instead of discipline and constraint’ (Pongratz, 2007, p.29), which, could be attributed once again to the norms or ‘games of truth’ of the times.

In response to the question, “Would you say that you are a strict teacher?” Siphho replied.

*“Oh yes, I am. (laughs) Because I belong to an old school of thought because when a learner has made something wrong, **you just give**. I belong to that. But now I have to be very careful, **I have to loosen some ways so as to meet with these learners**. Ya, with learners, ya we got a problem. The Department of Education now, in the past **we were allowed to give them something**. (Laughter) But now it’s against the law. So you can be fined or you can walk out of this gate if you are found using it, so we have to exercise certain ways and means on how to deal with discipline”*(Siphho).

This extract is crucial and is worthy of a phrase by phrase analysis. “*Oh, yes I am*” is confirmation of habitus, culturally engrained ways of being which is confirmed by the statement that “*I belong to an old school of thought because when a learner has made something wrong, **you just give**.*”

Sikes et al. (1985) comment that ‘teachers belong to, can draw upon and are influenced by a latent culture based on the experiences and observations of their pupilhood’ has relevance. To some extent partly perhaps because of habituation and the special sense of security the past offers, their perceptions and actions perpetuate the order and norms they experienced as pupils which is usually that of traditional authoritarianism’(Sikes et al.,1985, p. 143).

“*Give*” in Siphho’s context means exercising corporal punishment. He indicates that he still believes in the value of corporal punishment “*but now I have to be very careful.*”

The constitution or the reconstitution of identity is linked to ‘governmentality’ and ‘care of self.’ According to Foucault (1984b) ‘care of self is, of course, knowledge [*connaissance*] of the self (this is the Platonic-Socratic aspect) but also knowledge of a number of rules of

acceptable conduct or of principles that are both truths and prescriptions. To take ‘care of self’ is to equip one’s self with these truths: this is where ethics is linked to the game of truth.’

The exercise of ‘care of self’ in essence means regulating oneself in accordance with the rules of acceptable conduct and prescriptions and in Foucault’s (1978) terms, ‘governmentality’ which is ‘conduct of conduct.’ The participant in his freedom acts in a manner that prevents him from being punished for breaking the law with the resultant consequence of losing his job as a teacher. One sees how the art of governing at a macro level, by instituting laws and norms which protect learners intersects with governmentality at a micro-level through the teacher governing himself by technologies of self, namely, ‘care of self’ where he has to “loosen some ways so as to meet these learners.” In this interaction and negotiation, one’s sense of self is constituted.

Tough physical punishments were considered ‘normal educational tools’ in the pre-modern era and Pongratz (2007) notes that ‘the basic framework of medieval-feudal forms of punishment was modeled on the figure of *repressive exclusion*.’ Pongratz (2007) explains further that anything that opposed the expressions of hierarchically organized social power was excised.

Alan describes his experience which is not only of subjecting himself to external norms but internal **attempts** of ‘subjectivating’ which is ‘to give itself to itself,’ (Andersen, 2003, p.34) where the individual believes in it as well.

“So discipline is an ongoing thing, we are limited, we don’t go for corporal punishment because not only is it the law, but we also are trying our best not to fall foul of that, but to discipline children we are always looking for ways of making it effective where we try the highlighting the positives in class with children and at assembly” (Alan).

However, engaging with the new discourse is not automatic. It presents a struggle, a site of contestation for governing oneself in the grey areas between what is considered acceptable and unacceptable.

“I struggle a lot with discipline, the fine line between what is corporal punishment, what is assault of a child. If you squeeze a child on the shoulder, to try and get their attention, is actually view as an assault by the police and the human rights issues come up there. But we try to get on with children, and it works... But it is frustrating at times” (Alan).

In the above extract, the internal battle within the teacher is evident, firstly, in terms of the habitus of culturally developed ways of using force to work on the body to gain attention or to subjugate the body. On the other hand, the ‘game of truth’ as exemplified by laws governing the protection of the child is competing for internalization within the individual. Hence, there is a struggle, where one side is subjugated (physical punishment) and the other is elevated (issues of human rights), which inevitably leaves the teacher in a state that is *“frustrating at times.”*

Another participant in this study, Maggie, describes incidents from her own schooling which she despised for its repressive and controlling aspects. Yet, she herself practiced the same techniques of discipline to varying extents in her early teaching and in the recent years.

“Not really. I think that the way I used to deal with them when I was twenty is still the same. I don’t think I have changed. You are with the changing face of education. Once in the class, I tapped the child at the back of the head and said, ‘Come on do your work!’ And she looked at me and said, ‘You are not allowed to do that. That is something I would do, you know, ‘a tap on the head’ as you are walking around the classroom. And I had it out with her. I said, ‘Don’t you ever say that again. You are a trouble-maker!’ We chatted it out (laughter). We were not brought up with that rule where teachers were not allowed to hit. Probably the children went a little bit overboard. It could have become a bit of a racist thing but it did not

take long to sort that out. It never happened again. The child turned out to be a very good child. But it was just one of those things” (Maggie).

Maggie was working at the level of sovereign power, to control the physical body. The teacher’s tendency was to mold the child physically and to ply the child into submission and render him / her ‘docile.’ The teacher, Maggie, claims that her ways of dealing with discipline has not changed. This is not surprising, given the fact that she has had an absence from teaching for many years. Tapping the child on the head was the norm of her early practice. However, the field of practice has now changed but she is still operating with the habitus of the old discourse which is probably as a result of the gap in her teaching experience. **“We were not brought up with that rule where teachers were not allowed to hit”** is, indeed a powerful statement that supports the notion of habitus in constructing one’s identity.

This experience for Maggie was indeed a culture shock, where a child of colour (an inference drawn from the word ‘racist’) has indicated to her what she can and cannot do. It also demonstrates that identities/ subjectivities are created within relations of power. It is interesting to note the manner in which the teacher responded. She did not retaliate with further physical punishment but with words, *“Don’t you ever say that again”* which signifies a change in her response.

The teacher’s open and honest relation of the incident indicates some sort of admission or reflection that she is aware that she has transgressed in terms of the ‘norm’ which is established by South African Council for Educators (SACE). She stated that *“it never happened again.”* One has to question, why? Could it perhaps be because of a certain realization within the teacher that in changing times and changing fields, she will need to modify her own behaviour as part of care of herself if she wishes to survive in the teaching profession? This extracts lends some support to the notion of identities being constructed within discourses in which ‘care of self’ implies equipping one’s self with ‘games of truth’ and ‘practices of power’ (Foucault, 1984b, p. 33). However, to act in a particular way requires an individual decision which is guided by one’s values, thus highlighting the role of

agency. If one values one's work as a teacher, then one would fit oneself in with the 'game of truth' as part of 'care of self.' This also highlights the nature of power which Foucault (1976) considers as 'a productive network that runs through the whole social body.'

The extract above also demonstrates the contrasting and changing identities of learners. Earlier in the discussion, it was noted that during the childhood years of the teacher participant, Anand, who, when he was a learner did not challenge his teacher when she asked him whether he wanted to be a teacher. However, in the times of political change and democracy, learners too construct their own identities as a result of the norms of the day, as was demonstrated by the learner who challenged the teacher when she tapped her on the head. Therefore, habitus is no more fixed than the practices which help its structure (Harker, 1984, p. 120).

With the abolishment of corporal punishment, as in Foucault's exposition in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), forms of punishment are no longer directed at the body, but the soul. In the view of Pongratz (2007), what has happened is that the physical punishment, has been replaced by quite different modes of punishment, which may be more silent and unconscious than their predecessors, but no less effective. This is evident in the following extract from Brian:

"Fortunately, being a male and being forceful in the way I present my voice plays a great part in my discipline. I find that there are times when you are able to stand still and wait for learners. And I am able to cope with learners through different techniques that I've learnt over the years. Being in a school where you cannot detain learners because of learners coming from different areas because of transport. So one has to rely on one's own technique. So basically I rely on punishment techniques in terms of giving extra homework. I rely on withdrawing certain privileges, sport privileges, allowing the child to stay in class and basically giving the child a task. These are some of the discipline techniques that I use. Also I have a system of merits and demerits where if the child is performing and not following the

rules of the class, the child gets a demerit. And there again the demerit is linked to the assessment and the moment that it is linked to assessment, learners become very concerned. Although I am not enforcing, it is more of a threat that it will be linked to assessment, it does help” (Brian).

Feminists would, indeed, have a field day shredding Brian’s comment or admission about his patriarchal approach to discipline articulated as, “*being male and being forceful.*” However, what is significant, is the establishment of this approach which can be attributed to the previous discourse of gender inequality that was perpetuated within the male dominated society. Brian uses his voice to control learners instead of using physical punishment. Teachers are adaptable beings whose natural instinct for survival, result in creative forms of coping strategies. What emerges from this extract is that the teacher was trained to teach a group of homogenized learners who were expected to follow the “*rules of the class.*” Brian’s statement, “*Although I am not enforcing, if it is more of a threat that it will be linked to assessment, it does help,*” is crucial to understanding his practice. The punishment is linked to assessment implying that the teacher is now targeting the value system of the learner. If the learner values a good assessment, then the learner will regulate his or her behavior accordingly. Despite techniques of transparency and criterion referenced assessment that are created from ‘games of truth,’ the teacher can manipulate the classroom context using learners’ assessment as leverage. While Brian as a teacher adhered to the policy by refraining from corporal punishment (alluding to identities being constituted within discourses), the extract also firmly points to the power of agency where the individual teacher shifts the rules to a game of his own making.

Although, teachers appear to have lost control in terms of corporal punishment, their control is gained by other means through their gaze on the learner, through increased visibility.

This is evident in the extract from Alan’s interview:

*“This is the message you are trying to give and you as facilitator, I walk around the class. I try to use the clipboard saying, **Right, I am watching today and I am going to give marks here there**” (Alan).*

The identities of teachers are not created only within a single discourse, that is, the discourse of the new assessment and its practice. There are a multitude of other discourses that simultaneously forge their way into constituting the identity of the teacher. Alan tells learners, *“**Right, I am watching today and I am going to give marks here there.**”* This scenario has some semblance to Foucault’s (1977) description of Bentham’s *Panopticon* where the supervisor is placed in the central tower observing inmates housed in the perpheric building. Foucault (1977) explains that the effect of the Panopticon is to induce in those being observed ‘a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.’ Similarly, I infer that the aim of Alan telling the learners that they are being observed is to increase their ‘productivity’ in terms of their contribution to groupwork.

Furthermore, the teacher is consciously trying to bring to learners’ attention, and to his own that his role has now changed from teacher to facilitator and that one of his tasks as assessor involves observation of learners. In terms of power relations, in a context of apparently weak framing where learners are working in groups, the context is simultaneously framed strongly where the teacher has control over the learners’ assessment. The learners are made aware of the teacher’s gaze and learners will have to regulate their own behavior to earn the assessment since their performativity is at stake. Alan’s honesty about his assessment practice gives us tremendous insight into how he interpreted and practiced policies in the classroom.

6.5.3 Changing Teaching Approaches

Changing policies, require changing teachers as is evident in the extract from Vee:

*“I think that the significant changes were the re-naming of learning areas. And coupled with that the approach that this the entire curriculum brings with it. When we were training in College, when we did block teaching, the central theme was teaching. **And, in those days, if you weren’t teaching you weren’t doing your job. And all of a sudden now there is this new approach now where there is no teaching. You ask questions, provide guidance and you allow the pupils to make discoveries and I think that that has been a significant change in terms of what I loved doing and what I have to do now are two different things. I used to love to come to school to teach and now I just come to school.** There is a little bit of teaching taking place in terms of core knowledge, but thereafter we just tell our children to get on”*(Vee).

One of the changes, that the new curriculum initiated, is the renaming of what is known as ‘subjects’ in the previous discourse to ‘learning areas’ in the new discourse. The approach that Vee refers to is OBE, (outcomes-based education) which is the underlying approach of C2005 and the NCS. Furthermore, the status of the teacher has also changed to that of being an educator and facilitator. This is delineated in the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) (DoE, 2000b) document which also explicates the role of the educators into seven areas of which one is that of assessor.

In Jansen’s (2003, p.243) words, ‘Suddenly, without warning the teacher disappeared. Teachers, instead of becoming the dominant force in the classroom that liberates young minds from the evils of apartheid, now became re-imaged to become soft facilitators of a new pedagogy.’ In the context of data presented, Jansen’s (2003) argument seems far from melodramatic, but instead reflective of the classroom realities of South Africa.

To use Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) language of description, what seems to occur in this extract is an antagonism. This antagonism comes from the teacher, Vee’s, intuitive sense that things could be different. Vee talks of emotions which are linked to his sense of identity as a teacher: *“what I loved doing”* - his use of past tense is significant in terms of understanding his loss. The line that follows is crucial to understanding his sense of loss: ***“I used to love to come to school to teach, now I just come to school.”*** The love and enjoyment associated

with his profession is now absent. The current changes in the curriculum have impacted on Vee's subject position as a teacher. His professional development trained him to be a teacher. Teaching was regarded as the norm at a given moment in time. Zembylas (2003, p.1) comments that, 'while much teaching experience is deeply imbued with normalizing power, the negotiation of subjectivity and emotion provides spaces for self-formation and resistance.' This perceived resistance emerges as a result of the teacher's habitus, a culturally perpetuated myth about teaching and the idea of the teacher being the expert, or in Jansen's (2003, p.243) depiction, 'Teachers are now the guide on the side rather than the sage on the stage.' This habitus, that is, the already established moments of the old discourse resists interpellating elements of the new discourse as part of the articulatory practice.

6.5.3.1 The Discovery Approach

The following extract presents Vee's response to discovery learning:

"The discovery that the child makes in class is only as much as another child knows. In terms of me teaching, I can offer so much more, you know. I could lead children down the paths that they never would have ever come across though discovery, even if I have to move away from worksheets that are prescribed by textbooks or the textbooks that we use to develop or plan our lessons. I still feel that the way I would have approached things / teaching is far different from the way the curriculum wants us to develop the child. I feel that we can pack in more with what I know and what I could share with them, [than what they would] learn or discover on their own in a one hour lesson" (Vee).

This extract is significant because it presents the voice of the teacher who according to Hargreaves (1992) has been in the 'shadows' for far too long. This extract represents the clash between the policy-makers' view and the implementers' view of teaching. Whilst policy-makers advocate a learner centred approach and discovery method, the teacher subscribes to the mode of teaching which is inductive rather than deductive.

The justification by policy-makers for using the discovery method is that during this particular historical period, this method is deemed superior in comparison to direct instruction. Anderson et al. (2000) argue that there is little positive evidence for discovery learning and it is often inferior. Anderson et al. (2000) asserts that discovery learning, even when successful in acquiring the desired construct, may take a great deal of valuable time that could have been spent practicing this construct if it had been instructed. This is confirmed by Vee who in his professional capacity as a teacher states: *“I feel that we can pack in more with what I know and what I could share with them, [than what they would] learn or discover on their own in a one hour lesson.”* The words, *“pack in more,”* has connotations of filling an empty vessel. However, this is justified from the teachers’ perspective in terms of an urgency to deliver which, in the teachers’ opinion, can attain the similar effect in a shorter time. Perhaps this incongruence, could be related to the internal contradictions within the policy itself (The OBE approach) which simultaneously states that learners should learn at their own pace (competency model) and then stipulates the need to cover certain learning outcomes within specific phases of schooling (performance model). The ambiguity of the discourse thus intersects with the teacher’s sense of knowing as a result of habitus or intuition, and the self upon heeding the interpellation of the discourse then has to find ways of recreating itself as part of ‘care of self.’ The subject makes an outright declaration that his approach would be very different from that of the policy-maker. The pressure of performativity as exemplified by reference to time and achievement has contributed to teachers’ constituting themselves within discourses. However, this is at the level of ‘subjecting’ and not ‘subjectivation’ (Andersen, 2003).

This dilemma is also experienced by Alan as is articulated in the extract that follows:

“And when I sat last term and I was recording in pencil, I then realized: ‘Wow, we are way behind.’ But I expected that because our pace is so slow. For Maths, for instance, one addition of two digit number has taken me almost a week to do. Division of three digit numbers by one that takes a week. And it is not only confined to Maths. In the higher standards like Grade 7, Science, the children are battling with language skills, so when I say

to them, okay, we are doing investigations, we are doing experiments now, I have to go back to the method of almost dictating to them the aim and the method and helping them with verbalising what they want to say”(Alan).

The teacher’s realization, “*Wow, we are way behind*” is as a result of his comparison of what he is doing now with what he did in the past. Through his professional experience, he is able to gauge whether the learners have achieved the milestones according to schedule. The teacher feels the stress of not keeping up with the “normal pace.” This could be as a result of the influence of the ‘performance model’ of attaining the necessary outcomes within a given time. The problem of the pace of learning may be attributed to the fact that learners have different learning styles and are at different stages in learning acquisition. According to Alan, learners lack skills for independent tasks. In that particular context, the discovery method seems problematic since learners are “*battling with language skills*’ and Alan has to “*go back to the method of dictating.*” Learners seem to need the teacher to tell them, to help them verbalise. In order for the discovery method to work, learners should be *au fait* with the language of instruction and confident in presentation skills to work independently or in a group.

Alan is not averse to a change in methodology as he sees much value in the discovery method as is depicted in the extract that follows:

“But at the beginning I agree fully with the change in methodology. By letting children explore. Of letting them move up with their age groups. If it was a small class, I can see a lot of value in it. It makes sense to me that the children become investigators, they know what they want, they are finding out things. I’ve been in the old paradigm or dispensation where we used to lecture to the children. And we had the syllabus to finish, memory based, now I wish that I had grown up with the latest, you know, RNCS. But as I am saying, we are just, swamped by numbers” (Alan).

In Alan's professional experience as a teacher, he feels that the exploratory type of learning can only occur under the right conditions. The two paradigms are explicated by the teacher who endorses the new methodology. The issue of class size is cited as one of the reasons for non-implementation according to policy-makers vision.

6.5.4 Role as Teacher

In the light of changing policies, the role of the teacher has been broken down from the rigid boundaries of stark traditional authoritarianism, to incorporate multi-faceted dimensions as articulated by Rina:

“There are many facets to our role as teacher and I think that with the changing of our society, our role is becoming more complex and there is so much more expected of us. Really multifaceted. Obviously, what is expected of us by the department is that we must be facilitators. I can't think that you can only be a facilitator, you need to be an educator as well. These children come with a knowledge from a previous year but they are all at different levels. So there is some form of teaching that needs to be done if before one can say, now you go ahead and they cannot merely discover things on their own. There is some formal teaching that has to take place. So that's from the educational side. You are both educator and facilitator as such and assessor, yes, absolutely. That is a part of it. Because you need to assess to know whether they have made progress and whether they are ready to go to the next level. But you are also assessing them in their growth, and maturity, and emotionally and that as well. So that comes into play as well. And I think that sometimes that gets overlooked. And I think that should also come into play with when deciding whether a child is ready to progress to the next grade or not. You cannot quantify that though. It is something that you cannot intuitively know whether that child will cope higher up or not. As I said, your role also extends further to being the confidante, the one to pick them up when they have been hurt, ya, that's multifaceted” (Rina).

This extract alludes to the educator's role being far more complicated and complex than that espoused in the NSE. The role of facilitator is misconstrued to create the false impression that the teacher does not teach. Teachers do have to impart knowledge to a certain extent as learners may not come into the classroom with the prerequisite language skills to access information or knowledge. From Rina's experience and intuition as a teacher, she feels that the discovery method alone is insufficient where the teacher is a mere facilitator. She advocates for the necessity of direct instruction. Whilst policy documents describe assessment in terms of learning outcomes and assessment standards the teacher in her professional role includes the emotional quotient of learners.

Inherent, in the nature of a teacher, is the desire for learners to succeed and perform according to an ideal as is articulated by Alan:

"I try to pass on the knowledge that I have acquired over the years. I realize that the child is not in my age group and they might not see the world as I see it or maybe, I want to fast forward their learning and maturity. And it does not work like that. But it is to take them along step by step. So we are the nurses, we are the lawyers, we counsel them, we reprimand them, the parents, we are their friend" (Alan).

Alan has disclosed an inner need that he feels to '*fast forward their learning and maturity*' which is the driving force (*telos*) behind his role as an educator. However, introspection on the matter has enabled him to see that his role is far more complex than that of being an educator. Alan describes his role as deputy principal which includes more than the formally designated roles set by the Department. The professional identity is intertwined with his personal identity and his belief system.

6.5.4.1 'A Powerful Place to be and a Powerless Place to be'

Deb describes her experience as a teacher as:

“You know it’s a scary place to be when you are in front of people or even children because you’ve got the power to make it go either this way or that. It’s a powerful place to be but it is also powerless place to be because you are giving that power away. You are a resource and you are resourcing the people around you, those children. And it leaves you powerless. This is saying I am not a fountain of knowledge and there’s nowhere else you can go and seek. This is saying I am part of a fountain of knowledge and it’s there for you to have. So it’s both. That’s a rewarding place to be where you can actually, you know it’s what my husband gave a talk about once, the word, ‘guru.’ What the Indians call their guru. It’s their teacher who has all of this but nothing also because he has given it away. You give each year, each day in every way, a little bit of yourself because it is okay to be like that. Because you are not the source of all knowledge. There’s the internet; there’s books; there’s other people who are part of the knowledge, you know you are part of the skills. So it’s a humbling place to be, and a very powerful place to be as well” (Deb).

An interesting paradox is presented by Deb who describes the position of the teacher as vacillating between being powerful and powerless. Teaching is viewed as a *“giving of yourself.”* According to Deb, not being the source of all knowledge can be a threatening place for most teachers, especially, with the competing media, the internet and other readily available resources. For the teacher, the constant upgrading of skills and knowledge, becomes a necessity in the interface of policy reforms (education, politics and economic) as part of ‘care of self’ due to changing ‘games of truth.’

Alan describes the multifaceted nature of his job:

“To me given my position in the school, as the Deputy, my job is a very multi-faceted one. It demands a lot. I have to be a leader, I have to nurture these children. They don’t only have academic needs, I have got to look out for issues where a child for instance, might not be happy, having nutrition and having adequate nutrition at all. Where a child exhibits

behaviour problems, those all come to the office eventually and I have to intervene. Not because it is my job, I must also believe in it” (Alan).

Alan’s comment indicates that his motivation to act stems from a value which is more than vocational and financial and in Foucault’s terms ‘subjecting’ (Andersen, 2003, p. 25). His impetus comes from a deeper level which is that of the soul, which, recognizes the oneness between himself and the learner and thus, inspires him to ‘nurture’ the learners in his care as part of care of himself, thus alluding to ‘subjectivation’ (Andersen, 2003, p.26).

This is how Vee described his role:

“You know I think ‘teacher’ is a very general term for what we do. I say that because my role as a teacher is so diverse, at times I’m a mum, at times I’m a dad to boys, at times I’m a bigger brother, at times I’m a psychologist, at times I’m a first aid man, I’m the police sometimes, I’m the judge because somebody stole something and I have to file a case, call the people, ask them to give evidence. You know, my role as a teacher, it spans itself to extremes, because I don’t know when and how I am going to be faced with issues and surely I have to make the best of it. My role as a teacher as I said is exacting” (Vee).

The teachers’ identity which is a ‘temporary fixation’ or fluid is constituted within multiple roles as described. The roles described by Vee can be juxtaposed against the seven roles in the Norms and Standards document, designated to the teacher, one of which is that of the role as assessor. The role of being an assessor takes place in the midst of a myriad of other roles described by the participants.

With regard to the attributes of a good teacher, this is how Alan responded:

*“You need to believe in what you are doing. **You need to look beyond the pay packet.** You know there are people who asked me, ‘What notch are you on?’ I actually can’t tell you straight off. That’s how removed I am from the issue of pay. Other people might be much more budget conscious and watch for various reasons. But **you need to be dedicated,** you need to be a step or two not only with the children but the teachers. You need to read up, you need to communicate. Go into situations, **I don’t believe that you should be in a cosy office and read up literature and that is it. You are not prepared to go the coal face.** I enjoy mixing with people of various levels in society and that’s where I find out what our children are going through. **You know if you go into our places called ghost town, where you see ten eleven people, sharing a one bedroom I am serious about this, or a room and a kitchen, and people are sleeping under double bunks, on double bunks and then you realize that when the kids come to school why they look like the way they look.** (interruption - someone comes into the room.) and you **have an idea what you need to do for children,** your late-comer children you know that you need to at least ask the child before you raise your voice, ‘Why are you late! It’s you again.’ You need to find out. Sometimes their reasons are very legitimate. The taxi people they insist that the adults are front in the line, when you arrive early, you have to step back for an adult, which is common sense. And culture, you know, which we would be teaching in the school. Now the child arrives late and you are not backing up that ideology: that they gave up their space in the queue, because of an old lady or something. So one has to know and you have to be quite thorough before you chastise children for things” (Alan).*

Alan seems to be intrinsically motivated as a teacher looking “*beyond the pay packet.*” His service to the community is not mere lip service because he has indicated visits into certain areas of abject poverty like “ghost town” therefore, he knows how people live. From what he says one can make inferences about his empathy for the learners and his determination to understand their circumstances and their diverse cultural practices. In this way, he seems to be committed to the over-arching hegemonic project of nation building in South Africa. This extract also serves to indicate that there appears to be a change in his identity from being a tyrant stick wielding teacher who made some enemies when he first started teaching to a mellowed out, compassionate teacher who takes cognizance of the child (learner) as a holistic being. There is evidence to suggest that identities then are constructed within historical cultural contexts and individuals do change with times.

Similarly, Rina's personal or guiding philosophy in life indicates that as a teacher she is certainly not in the profession for the monetary incentives.

“Do what you do to the glory of god and not for man around you, I don't believe in doing things for personal gain that is you know from the outset of something, what you are going to be remunerated for that thing and if you are in this profession, you certainly aren't in it for the money. I think one is basically looking for satisfaction, to see a child's self esteem grow. That is the most satisfaction that anyone can ask for. You cannot place a monetary value on that. And If I can make a difference to things that area , - What's the word I am looking for -, that will make a difference in eternity, then wow, what an awesome contribution I would have made” (Rina).

Rina's comment supports the importance of taking cognizance of one's values in the construction of one's identity. Rina's motivation for her work is intrinsic rather than driven by a monetary value. Rina's goal to “make a difference in eternity” alludes to that which is eternal, that is, the soul. Her deeper purpose in life (*dharma*), that is, to make a difference in the lives of her learners alludes to her ‘will to meaning’ (*telos*) to make a difference beyond the here and now, in what she describes as “eternity.” She clarifies that it is not monetary gain or bodily- related issues that drives her but a desire to make a difference in eternity and that which is immaterial, in Platos's terms not ‘a substance.’

From the data it becomes evident that ‘in teaching, it is difficult for the teacher to separate, convincingly and reliably, his or her self from the professional persona’ (Thomas, 1995). Thomas (1995) further asserts that teachers are under intense scrutiny from an audience of psychologically acute observers that the professional persona becomes permeable to their gaze. According to Thomas (1995) some teachers will attempt to inhabit their professional persona to the utmost, whereas others agree with Paulo Freire on the value of ‘being human in the classroom,’ while for most, teaching involves a continuing shift from person to person and back again.

Being human in the classroom is an important priority for Rina, who like most of the participants, sees her role as being more than an academic one. This is how she articulated it:

*“I think I go through stages. I have to be honest with you. I can’t see my purpose here as a teacher, particularly nowadays, to impart academic knowledge is almost like a side issue to me. I see my role more as a counselor, mother, confidante. More so in the changing society we are dealing with now. There is a lot needed out there. Children need to be heard. And all those things are impeding the actual reason why we should be here and that is to impart academic knowledge, because they come with so much baggage that is stopping them from really achieving any good form of education. No matter how good the education, they will not progress or do well because they are carrying so much baggage. **And sadly I find that a large portion of my time is spent disciplining, trying to repair broken spirits, and yes, that’s how I see my role, in school, and I guess I am, I think it is very demanding and it is very emotionally draining as well.** But I think that I am sticking it out for those reasons because I feel that my task is not yet done. And the day that it is, that’s the day I walk out”* (Rina).

The roles of the teacher as espoused in the *Norms and Standards for Educators (2000)*, is clinically demarcated into seven areas as the official pedagogic identity. However, for Rina being a teacher is more than imparting academic knowledge. The baggage that learners carry as described by Rina, is an important one in that it represents the habitus that the learners come with as a result of varying contexts. Learners, too, are caught up in this modern era of temporality where parents are getting divorced or values are changing which impacts on their identities. It is not written in the *Norms and Standards for Educators* or the Assessment Policy (DoE, 1998, 2002) that teachers are expected to “*repair broken spirits*” as part of their official pedagogic identity, yet Rina assumes the role of spiritual guide or in Christian terms, an angel. In the case of Rina, teaching is viewed as a calling or a divine purpose (*dharma*-purpose in life).

The word “*disciplining*” is followed by “*repair broken spirits,*” reiterating Foucault’s quotation of Mably that, ‘Punishment, if I may put it, should strike the soul rather than the body’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 16). Rina indicates that teaching is an “*emotionally draining*” task which is then juxtaposed by the cold, harsh reality of rational accountability as espoused by policy-makers. The rational planning process of outcomes based education is sharply at odds with the emotionally charged way that teachers plan in practice (Hargreaves, 1997).

According to Hargreaves (1997), good teaching is not just a matter of being efficient, developing competence, mastering technique and possessing the right kind of knowledge. Good teaching also involves emotional work. Nias (cited in Hargreaves, 1994, p. 145) found that primary teachers spoke of their relationships to children in terms of care, affection and even love.

6.5.5 New Policies and Older Teachers

Research by Sikes et al. (1985) has supported the notion that new policies are not interpreted in a homogenous manner by all teachers. Teachers during various cycles in their lives respond differently to policies. Teachers don’t teach in isolation, and the response of older teachers does impact within a community of practice on those with a more flexible approach as is shown in the data that follows:

“I am the baby in our staff. I think the next person close to me, is the HOD, he is three years elder than me and there is another HOD who is about four to five years elder than me. And then the rest, they are all in their late fifties and in their sixties... Yes. I am given every opportunity to initiate changes because I am one of the ones that really understand what’s going on. But that change is met with resentment and many of them don’t want to change. So no matter how many workshops you have, it does not matter. No matter how many workshops you have in terms of RNCS, in terms assessment, in terms of showing them rubrics, and how to use worksheets, it does not matter, they are too used to going about everything their own

way. Our school does not function the way policies want because they're happy with the old style. They won't change" (Vee).

Many of the teachers that the participant describes are near retirement age. The older teachers are experienced within the old discourse and the new discourse threatens this identity and professionalism. The context as described by the participant is a relatively static and somewhat stagnant one. The underlying question is why "won't they change?" According to Sikes et al. (1985), change of any sort, whether at work, or in any other area of life, provokes anxiety because it threatens a person's life world, their reality, their identity, their sense of security.

Changes and implementing policies require investment of time and energy. The strategy that these teachers employ is to ignore the changes because these changes don't serve their value system any longer. In a sense, they wish to conserve their energy as part of their 'care of self' as they anticipate shifts in identity as they exit the system.

One of the participants Nkosi was asked if he had the opportunity to choose any other career, which one he would choose and why? What follows is a dialogue between myself as the researcher/ interviewer and the teacher, Nkosi.

Nkosi: Hey. I will choose something else. I believe that I will choose something else. It is a long way now I cannot change my career now. I am old.

R: And how old are you now, Mr M.

Nkosi: I am 52 years old.

R: So for how long more do you expect to be in the system?

Nkosi: Maybe I will take about two or three years more.

Nkosi has displayed open dissatisfaction with the system. At the age of 52, he has clearly defined his exit path within the next few years.

Nkosi: I am waiting for my retirement. But since I have this broken service in this department, I don't think I'll come up with something that is good for me. But what I have decided is when I've retire, I just have to start a small business just to keep myself living.

Nkosi, is waiting for the closure of this chapter of his life as a teacher. In terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, he aspires to having his basic needs met.

R: So what is a Friday like? I was quite interested when you told me about your Friday. What is your typical day like?

Nkosi: My Friday, here at school?

R: Yes.

Nkosi: My Friday at school, here at school, I feel very very tired.

R: So on a Friday you exhausted.

Nkosi : I feel exhausted. I do need a rest. By Friday, eish, I am feeling exhausted. I feel like going and sit down. Have a rest. And make sure that I am doing nothing. On these days Saturday and Sunday, I don't really do anything.

R: So on a Friday no real teaching goes on?

Nkosi: Ya, I mark the books and wind up all the work we have done in that week most of the time on Fridays because of the attendance, the attendance is not good for our learners on a Friday.

With numbers such as 52 learners in a class, Nkosi experiences burnout by Friday. When talking to Nkosi, one gets a sense of the teacher's fatigue. This burnout is symptomatic of the teacher's stress. As a teacher, Nkosi, perpetuates the culture of lack of productivity on a Friday which has become a country wide phenomena especially for people who are employed within the civil sector. For Nkosi, who is ready to exit the system, his strategy for survival is to rest on a Friday.

By contrast Maggie who is 55 years old states:

"I want to carry on teaching. I am 55. I think we play it by ear. You can say up to 65. When I exit I would like to keep a finger in the pie" (Maggie).

R: So you are not also intimidated by changes that have come along with regard to policies.

“I don’t worry. No. I might just take extra lesson with individuals. It could be a nice thing to do” (Maggie).

Nkosi at age 52 is experiencing burnout and is preparing to exit the system. Maggie on the other hand at the age of 55, will still go on. Perhaps this could be attributed to her long absence from teaching when she was raising her own children. This does not, however, imply that Maggie is interacting with the new policy since she declared that:

“We’ve got to assess these children on each of these assessment standards. I’ve got them all in files beautifully filed away in my top drawer and I haven’t looked at them” (Maggie).

From data obtained, I can perhaps infer that the school itself could be an insulator for changes. If the school does not place enormous pressure on teachers to modify their teaching according to new policies then the individual teacher will get along with minimal change. When Maggie says: *“I haven’t looked at them,”* she reveals her strategy or tactic of coping in the specific environment in which she works since non-implementation is not threatening to her stay in that school. The coping strategies among teachers are varied and so are their motivations. When individuals are driven by an internal locus of control, they feel in control of the situation. In the case of Maggie, there seems to be no evidence of despair. In contrast, when one is driven by an external locus of control, this leads to despair that no matter what one does, it will not make a difference which in turn, results in apathy.

In contrast to Nkosi, Vee, another participant, sees himself as the baby of his staff and he laments that being in a staff with older teachers has its drawbacks.

*“...then my job, because I was the last in, the last in first out principle began to be applied and every year my job was on the line. I was being stressed, from 1997 I have been declared as excess but I still hung on and God knows how I am still here. But that has been hanging over my head. **I really wish that I was in a school where there was a younger average age***

where people are still productive and not in their twilight years, then my profession would have been different” (Vee).

Being part of an older fraternity of teachers in that particular school context, has meant that in terms of right-sizing (adjustment of teacher-learner ratio), ‘the last in, first out principle’ was applied and being the last in, did not help. Vee’s insecurity of the potential threat of being declared in excess resulted in stress. Being in a school environment where the majority of the staff is older is not professionally stimulating for Vee.

Similarly, another participant, Brian has also indicated that the older teachers do not support him professionally:

“I find that in the current institution, I am with a lot of senior educators and to me they are very disgruntled. And they tend to be, I call it energy drainers. They do hinder what you want to do. You want to bring about new ideas, talk about changes and this is run down immediately by the majority of your colleagues, who basically do not want to change” (Brian).

Brian feels that the senior staff members stifle his attempts at change. The question then is, why don’t they want to change? Sikes et al. (1985) in their study of the life cycle of the teacher have adopted the model of Levinson et al., arguing that life structure evolves through a relatively orderly sequence (of eras) during the adult life and that each era is characterized and identified by its own distinctive and unifying qualities which have to do with the character of living. Sofer (cited in Sikes et al., 1985, pp. 52-53) states that ageing, occupational development and identity are linked. From around the age of 50 even if their morale is high, energy and enthusiasm for their work as teachers are often felt to be declining since retirement becomes an increasingly attractive prospect. The fatigue experienced by Nkosi, for example is evidence of this phenomena and his strategy for survival is conservation of energy. New ideas and changes threaten to deplete that energy, hence the resistance to such changes at a period close to retirement. As far as Brian’s assertion of

teachers being “*disgruntled*,” literature suggests that those teachers who do not adapt successfully find it difficult to come to terms with their position and age (Sikes et al., 1985, p. 52), perhaps because they may be disillusioned with promotion prospects.

6.5.6 ‘Knowing Teachers’

Good teachers are reputed to be ‘knowing teachers.’ The term ‘knowing’ includes a ‘sense of expanded and deepened awareness of the roots of professional practice: beliefs, behavior and values’ (Thomas, 1995, p.11). Thomas (1995) adds that these roots or foundations reveal the armature between propositional and non-propositional professional knowledge which are linked to formal training and in-service experiences, as well as those formative experiences and relationships of a personal character which lie outside the narrowly defined professional life.

6.5.6.1 Knowing learner’s names

One aspect in terms of the teachers taken for granted sense of expertise is the knowing of learners’ names. The following extract portrays Alan’s dilemma:

“One of the major things that I find difficult for myself, I don’t know if it is age because I am fifty three now, is to learn the children’s names. You are in a class of 44, I am teaching five classes and there are favourite names among the children especially the Zulu children where the names like Sinethemba, and Thabo, they are favourite names. So in every class there is bit of repetition of names and surnames too, you know, so that there is quite a challenge. Children don’t really co-operate very well when you tell, ‘Look, here I would like you to wear these cards,’ I am making them, laminate them, but we’ll do that. You’ll find that it fails eventually. I find that after we have prepared reports, I will become more conscious of other children because of their progress because they have surprised me. The child that I thought was just not was passive, did not understand but when the child does things and the written

tests are evaluated, I find an achiever sitting here. And my attention then goes slightly then from the naughty child, the child that is an attention seeker, the child that is fidgety or can't concentrate, the child who's never prepared properly. So as the year goes along, you get to know some of them. But it is a major concern that you are assessing children and you actually can't walk in and know their names pat off. I think that it is much more valuable that you knew them, the sooner in the year, the better. We have on the computer system, that we've borrowed from other schools, a range of comments attached to a percentage. And it will say certain things about children, but you have to know which child I am speaking about" (Alan).

The teacher discloses that he experiences difficulty learning children's names. Knowing learners' names is a key component of the teachers' professional self and is linked to the notion of good teacher. However, Alan finds himself in an unfamiliar space where he feels that he is not as good as he used to be in remembering names. The honesty of the participant is what makes the data compelling. He provides reasons for not knowing names due to different cultures and repetition of names among learners. Another reason could be attributed to the contextual factors such as large numbers in his class. Alan has embraced the concept of being a life-long learner therefore he registered for the Bachelor of Education course because he trusts his memory. However, his classroom circumstances make him doubt himself, his previous capabilities and he uses his current age to rationalize the fact that he experiences difficulty remembering names.

In terms of knowing the learners, those learners who are "*naughty, attention seekers, fidgety ones*" and "*those learners who are not prepared,*" generally get the teachers' attention. The other extreme is the "high flyer" that gets noticed. This also highlights the value that is placed on academic success. Those that do well in tests are labeled "*achievers*" and are noticed by the teacher. This is typical of societal pressure exemplified in 'dividing practices' (Foucault, 1982b, p. 126) to separate the 'normal' from the 'abnormal' in academic terms.

Knowing the child is an important part in the whole assessment process and as the teacher pointed out that even if one knows the learners' marks, one cannot place a computer prepared

comment without knowledge of who the learner is. Knowing learners' names is crucial to reporting the progress of learners. Assessment is expected to be a holistic measure of the child which includes the performance as well as other non-verbal constructs such as attitude. Even when the criteria are present, the whole assessment is still subjective depending on the expectations of the assessor. There is a human element about the whole assessment process. Alan states:

“So ever so slightly you'd change that comment because now we are dealing with people we are not dealing with an item like a car. And say, there is a scratch on this one, we need to spray it. This is a child and we have to verbalise about the child. That, too, is another concern of mine” (Alan).

Alan points out that reporting on someone's child is a sensitive matter. The teacher is accountable to the parent for what he or she says about the learner. Herein, lies the impetus for the teacher to 'know' the learner especially in the light of teachers' accountability to parents. According to Alan, the teacher knows or should know the learner best:

“Ideally the teacher would assess and the learners should peer assess. It's quite informative you know when you use a rubric or grid and you ask the learners certain questions. Did they work together, did they follow instructions and did they score themselves. It is a useful exercise. The teacher has to assess, you can't pass on that responsibility to anyone else and the teacher knows the ..., should know the children best” (Alan).

“Knowing the learners” is a common concern from teachers with regard to assessment. Yet Alan expressed his dilemma of not being able to remember learners' names because of the sheer number of learners and the repetition (or commonality) of names amongst certain cultural groups. Deb elaborates on the concept of knowing the learners:

“You’ve got to know them so well. And it is knowing them beyond their written work. This is not about what they’ve written. This is about how they think, how they feel, how they behave, how they are growing, you know, their emotions, all of those things. So that’s huge pressure. Huge pressure. There’s a fair side to it. It comes with the job, but there is also an unfair side, because it has caused a lot of frustration to those teachers who are not equipped to deal with it. And therefore the need to continually upgrade, to continually develop, because our definition of teachers are much wider now. You are the nurse, you are the parent, you are the social worker, you are the remedial teacher, the definition of what a teacher is, is far wider than before. Then you just went in, taught the syllabus and left. You could very easily, just go home, take your books and mark them and your day is done. It is not like that anymore”

(Deb).

Deb refers to knowing the learners *“beyond their written work”* which alludes to Deb’s own life-purpose (*dharma*) as a teacher to reach out to the learners at a level beyond the body and the mind, that is, at the level of the soul. The importance of knowing learners and showing parents that the teacher knows the learners is also crucial in Deb’s practice. Deb experiences *“huge pressure”* as a result of her attempts to master the knowing of learners. The parental gaze of the teacher will be explored during the discussion on accountability.

In her interview, Deb on more than one occasion makes reference to a distinction between herself and the majority of other teachers. In this extract she says: *“it has caused a lot of frustration to those teachers who are not equipped to deal with it.”* Using Demartini’s (2002) rationality of the ‘seer, seeing and the seen,’ I can infer from the extract that there is a hidden frustration in the professional life of Deb which she sees in others. In Foucault’s (1982a) lecture on *Technologies of self*, he discusses Plato’s *Alcibiades I*, with reference to *‘[t]he soul cannot know itself except for looking at itself in a similar element, a mirror.’* This explains Deb’s own drive to develop professionally which she expresses as *“the need to continually upgrade.”* As a researcher I can identify with Deb who is mirroring my own restlessness (frustration) that I felt as a teacher to go *“beyond”* and *“to continually upgrade”* as part of *“care of self.”* In Deb’s case, whilst the impetus for change of identity may be triggered by new discourses, it is the Deb’s will to meaning (*telos*) that steers her practice.

Challenges experienced by teachers are not only those in terms of policy reforms dealing with curriculum and assessment issues. Changes in the identities of learners, too, are impacting on how teachers view learners and how they assess them. To highlight these challenges, probing into the lives of teachers when they were just pupils or learners themselves provides interesting insights about the past.

When Siphso was asked about the qualities that a good teacher should have, this is how he responded:

*“Oh, qualities: He must always be exemplary. Come into school, dress properly, the language you speak, with learners must be that language that is helping the learners not destroying learners. Don’t gossip, you must talk straight. Don’t lie. Let’s say, when a learner says, what’s wrong, Mr G, ‘This is the answer.’ and you say, ‘Yes,’ I know because they think you are a teacher. **Sometimes you must respect the learners’ opinion. Even from a child...**You remember when we were doing the exercise with the learners in Grade 7B, when one of the learners said, ‘No, Mr G we have done that,’ when I was still repeating it thinking that, no I thought that I did not do it, but learners were insisting, ‘No, Mr G, we have done that.’ I had to think a little bit and say, ‘Okay, they are really telling me the truth.’ I made a mistake. So sometime, you must accept to be corrected by the learners” (Siphso).*

“In my time I have had educators who used to say, “Hey, keep quiet you are a child. And I am your teacher. You cannot tell me anything. There was a teacher in the secondary school and he was teaching us Afrikaans. But the only problem was that he was teaching us Afrikaans in English. Then I raised up my hand, I said: ‘eh, Mr So and So, the way how you are teaching us Afrikaans is confusing. How can we deal with this so that you can just teach us Afrikaans. Not involve English because now, we are a little bit confused.’ He said, ‘Oh, a child cannot tell me anything, I am a teacher, So and so just keep quiet and listen to me.’ Then after that I said, mmmm, I had to keep quiet because, I had nothing to do” (Siphso).

This is an interesting extract explicating the formation of identities within relations of power.

In Siphos view, the discourse between teacher and learner can have the potential to destroy a learner emotionally. Siphos own teacher told him, *“Oh, a child cannot tell me anything, I am a teacher.”* This can be compared to Siphos current practice where the learners insistence resulted in him reconsidering his position and accepting that he had perhaps made a mistake. From a researchers point of view, I had wondered if my presence in the class had anything to do with the way that Siphos responded to the learners remark given his claim that he is from the old school. I also heed Giddens’ (1991) comment that ‘all human beings, in all cultures, preserve a division between their self-identities and the ‘performances’ they put on in specific social contexts.’ However, changing discourses has resulted in change in Siphos identity to accommodate the changes in policy and laws regarding learners’ rights. Changing times, require changing teachers, hence Siphos remark that the teacher will have to respect the learners’ opinion.

This is how Rina described her primary school years:

“I think it was a lot different from what it is now. You did not see your teacher as a human being. They just stood there in the front of the classroom and they imparted this knowledge... One or two of them kind of reached out to you and you got to know a little bit more about them on a personal level. But most of them pretty much imparted that academic knowledge and that was that, even on a primary level. You kind of never thought did they have families and children of their own. It never crossed your mind”(Rina).

In Rinas experience, she perceived teachers to be impersonal and cold. In her own practice, however, true to her commitment to changing the world, she has brought in humanity in teaching. In her practice, the imparting of knowledge is almost secondary to being a caregiver as will be demonstrated by data in this chapter.

In addition to changing policies, teachers seem to be encountering a new type of learner. What follows is data and discussion on a different type of learner.

6.5.7 A Different Type of Learner

Another participant in the study, Deb also remarked about the significant changes that have occurred within learners.

*“But outside of school the significant changes that have occurred, is within our children. Personally in their lives the world is a much bigger place, and far more available to them in terms of the media. With the access of resources, I find that there is a greater growth with our younger children than we have ever experienced before. We have ten year olds and nine year olds that know about the world and their opportunities. Their awareness to resources and products and provisions that they know what they want, going to the movies, going to MacDonalds, you know, the demands that they place on parents and just the growth spurt among our children. In terms of being streetwise. **You know they know their rights and so forth. Now that’s not negative. But it has considerably changed the way we have to deal with the children. The way we have to approach children. They are not little commodities that need to be pumped with knowledge and sent through the system, you know, they are far more responsible or far more aware of what they can do and it is starting to happen much younger in their lives”**(Deb).*

Deb observes that the status of learners has somehow shifted. Shifts in discourses, in terms of children’s rights and concurrent changes in technology have opened up the world of information to learners. Learners now have access to information through technological development and the teacher is no longer the sole provider of education. The deficit model of education no longer applies and the teacher instead of being the only source of knowledge is dethroned (like the sovereign king). As part of self regulation, the teacher heeds that learners are “*not commodities.*” The demand for the teacher as a giver of knowledge has diminished to an extent. The implications of this, is that the teacher will have to change his or her strategy to meet the demands of a new clientele.

Alan also laments about being trained for a different type of learner:

“Under interventions, in the file that is put in place in terms of the old syllabus approach, we have discarded that. But there a greater hurdle than dragging the kids around, because I am using that work, because I feel that I was trained for a different type of child”(Alan).

As a result of change in discourses the teacher finds himself deskilled, *“trained for a different type of child”* Changes in government at a state level have reached the individual teacher. Techniques of government have resulted in policies which make provision for the rights of children and learners. Contravention of policies and laws has a consequence of placing teachers’ professionalism at risk because of their membership to SACE and teacher unions which stipulate their code of conduct and boundaries.

The different type of child according to Alan, has *“got a lot of freedom.”* This is how Alan articulates it:

*“There’s a whole lot of issues: children’s reading ability, children’s watching of television, are they reading the newspaper, what sort of TV are they viewing? And when I question the Grade 7s with their Natural Science, very few are actually following the wild life programmes. When I talked to them yesterday about by-products of coal, some of them say, no, they don’t believe what I am saying. So that shows that they are not reading, they are not up to date with current things that are discussed in the papers and on TV. **They, children have got a lot of freedom that is what you asked me, what has happened. Can they manage it, I don’t think so”*** (Alan).

The teacher is dealing with children with exposure to technologically advanced entertainment like playstations and televisions where they become couch potatoes, and are relatively inactive in terms of exploratory play in the natural environment. In the opinion of the teacher,

Alan, the learners have been given the flexibility or freedom to make decisions for themselves and he does not think that they can “*manage it.*”

This is how Alan has modified his practice in the light of the new type of learner.

*“When I walk into class, first of all because it is of discipline issues, it is very difficult, we lose time in settling kids down. And with the approach of children’s rights, human rights, with the abolition of corporal punishment, I am not one for corporal punishment although I worked in that system. And at that time I don’t know if I believed in it, I practiced it because it was the thing at the time. **But now, with the freedom that the kids have, I then would introduce the lesson** , then see whether they have done their previous task that I have set them for homework, if it hasn’t been done, by the majority of them I pretty much can’t continue with the new work. I have to deal with that issue that they are not working with me. And there’s one or two children that I have seen make the attempt, I see to it that they have something to go on with. I mustn’t deprive them. It is not their fault that --- **(deleted by researcher)** and it is sort of now on an unconscious go slow, but that’s what happens”* (Alan).

Using the imagery of the king, the dethroning implies the loss of the crown, sceptre and most importantly, control. In the case of the teacher, the symbolic apparatus of control, corporal punishment has been removed. The teacher is alluding to a disparity among the learners in his classroom. Furthermore, also apparent is the teacher’s reflexive competence to be able to change the way he dealt with misdemeanors in the class (by using corporal punishment) to more acceptable ways of coping with his dilemma. This last statement ultimately alludes to the frustration of the teacher in response to changing discourses.

(Certain phrases have been deleted and reasons for this will be discussed in chapter seven.)

6.5.7.1 Freedom Vs Control

In the following extract, Alan reflects on the freedom of learners.

*“Children learning from each other. **Children still have to be taught how to use their freedom.** There is a lot of freedom in the new set up in the groupwork, for example, saying make a new chart for me” (Alan).*

Alan has a concern that children have to be taught to use their freedom. The ambiguity lies in this statement. If it is taught, then is it free? When children enter school, they are initiated into the discourse of the school that curtails free expression by imposing ‘rules and regulations’ (governmentality and disciplinary techniques) on them. Children are taught ‘normalizing techniques’ so that they can fit into society according to the ‘game of truth’ that is accepted by society. The aim is to instill in learners a philosophy of ‘care of self’ by their internalization of norms or self-disciplining mechanisms (self-regulation). *“Taught how to use their freedom”* implies knowing that they are not free to do as they please. Freedom implies responsibility and in their freedom, learners are to practice the norms associated with the creation of groups, that is, the responsibility that learners have within the group to make choices and communicate this to each other in an acceptable way. Within this sphere of freedom in the group, learners will have to practice negotiation without any direct control from the teacher. This for the teacher is indeed a paradigm shift in terms of his perception of the learner and he now has to view learners through a different lens of greater autonomy. In the previous discourse, the teachers would have informed the learners about requirements of the task thus creating solid boundaries for working. Now the boundaries are more fluid with discipline being self-imposed rather than imposed externally.

Within the classroom, the dilemma that the teacher faces is on how to strike a balance between children’s autonomy and teacher’s control. Biographic work with the teachers produced evidence that the handling of such dilemmas was not only a matter of technical judgement, but arose from tensions within the self derived from ‘unresolved’ conflicts over

matters such as freedom and discipline (Aufenanger cited in Thomas, 1995). Classroom dilemmas highlight aspects of the personal biography which are unresolved or unsettled, which compound the difficulties of professional judgement. For Aufenanger (cited in Thomas, 1995), teachers' behaviour can reveal 'patterns of reaction' or 'every-day life theories', which the teacher may use automatically as recipe solutions. The dilemma faced by teachers like Alan and others will be a matter of 'unlearning' typical responses.

6.5.7.2 Change in learners' roles

Vee has perceived a change in learners' role from being knowledge receptors to knowledge providers with greater responsibility. This is articulated in the extract that follows:

"The significance in terms of the curriculum change in terms of the child ...er I think for the majority of the pupils in South Africa it benefits them. And for the minority for those that are in well established homes, for those that have proper backgrounds, for those that are well grounded, the curriculum seems to be a waste. Those pupils inadvertently become teachers in class. The teacher is not teaching, he is just a facilitator and the pupil that knows everything becomes burdened by those" (Vee).

In terms of the learners, the participant perceives a role reversal where learners become teachers. Thus the new discourse results in a change in identity for teachers where they have to share their status as knowledge providers, to include learners in that ownership. Vee's argument is supported by Anderson (2000) who concurs that learning requires a change in the learner, which can only be brought about by what the learner does. For those learners that come with the necessary 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 2004), Vee argues that they become burdened by those that don't. This suggests that teachers and learners heed the new discourse, new roles are articulated and new identities are constituted.

6.5.8 Summary

The previous discourse of traditional authoritarianism manifested itself by the use of corporal punishment; teacher-centred approaches to teaching and a largely homogenous group of learners whom teachers could mould. In this section, the powerful disciplinary technique of corporal punishment is explored against the work of Foucault (1977) in *Discipline and Punish*. The aim of corporal punishment is to encourage docility among learners. Due to governmentality at a macro-level, techniques of government in the form of new policies and new norms have resulted in the abolishment of corporal punishment and a review of teaching approaches. With teachers being stripped of this mechanism of control (that is, using corporal punishment), they have had to modify their behavior and tactics in the classroom. In terms of policy changes pertaining to curriculum and assessment, older teachers are more likely to employ the strategy of ignoring the change if they do not have the incentive of promotions or they can already see the date of retirement approaching. Data has revealed that in specific cases, teachers are caught up in struggles where due to ‘habituation’ it has become increasingly difficult for teachers to ‘unlearn’ certain habits. The practices of new discourses have become sites of struggle. From the data, it emerged that teacher’s self comprising their professional self and intuitive sense of knowing often clashes with the policy-makers ‘game of truth’ that is a product of rationalities and techniques of government. Furthermore, data obtained from Alan, Deb and Rina allude to the workings of the soul. Rina has indicated that her *telos*, her will to meaning is not motivated by the material world but in that which is eternal and her purpose is to “*make a difference in eternity.*” This alludes to governmentality at a level beyond the body and mind, to include that of the soul.

6.6 Assessment Discourse and Practice

6.6.1 Introduction

Within the current wave of curriculum change in South Africa, are new forms of assessment that requires a paradigm shift for teachers (Pahad, 1999). This section explores some of the nodal points of the new assessment policy.

6.6.2 Nodal Points of Assessment

According to the RNCS documents (DoE, 2002, p114), ‘outcomes based education is a way of teaching and learning which clearly stipulates what learners are expected to achieve. The principle by which it works is that the teacher states beforehand what the learners are expected to achieve.’ The document further explicates that: *‘To help learners to reach their full potential, assessment should be:*

- Transparent and clearly focused;
- Integrated with teaching and learning;
- Based on predetermined criteria or standards;
- Varied in terms of methods and contexts; and
- Valid, reliable, fair, learner-paced, and flexible enough to allow expanded opportunities.

These are the key elements or ‘nodal points’ of assessment or the new discourse of assessment around which new roles are articulated for both learners and teachers. In terms of who should assess and how to assess, there have been subsequent amendments which have had a reciprocal change in the teacher’s perception of self. Whilst the previous discourse, placed sole responsibility on the teacher, the new discourse is one of negotiation between

learner and educator. Thus changing assessment policies have resulted in new nodal points of the discourse.

One of the nodal points of the key discourse on assessment is that of **varied methods** of assessment, which includes peer assessment. The following extract presents Rina's views on who should assess:

“At times there is learner assessment. I’m a bit skeptical about that because I really don’t believe that and I’ve heard cases that in the higher grade where learners are put in charge of what a child should receive for whatever presentation. I don’t think that they have the background to make an accurate assessment. Their assessment could be very biased according to their relationship with that particular child. I feel that if that assessment is done and it doesn’t count per se’ for purposes of school reporting, fair enough you can let that slide. But if that’s going to determine what goes on or how it is affecting that child’s future in that particular subject I don’t believe that it should be left unto any other pupil. I don’t believe that they are qualified to do that. I don’t believe that they can be impartial” (Rina).

In the opinion of Rina, assessment is the responsibility of the teacher and peer assessment can be used in an informal way. For purposes of reporting and promotion, the teacher feels that as a result of subjectivity, peer assessment would not constitute a fair practice. Yet, in the policy documents, peer assessment is encouraged. This once again becomes an area of contestation whereby the ‘game of truth’ as propagated by policy is challenged at a micro-level by the teacher’s perspective emerging from intuition and professional experience. It also becomes a grey area open to debate and further deliberation regarding accountability, fairness, reliability and validity amongst other potential factors.

Heeding the new discourse with regard to varied forms of assessment, is evident in the Alan’s school as the staff members attempt to plan or project these forms of assessment in their teaching and assessment practices.

“We have strategies to this is where we have worked on the child and I must give the principal credit for that where we project what assessment tasks we do for the term. And we make sure that in that term we try to visit the different forms of assessment. I know that it sounds like a contradiction to what I said earlier but we try to have groupwork, we try to have pairwork, and individual work and we project it” (Alan).

The projection plan is a table which schedules the different forms of assessment activities for the term. This is a concrete way of implementing the policy.

“And difficulty about reality that we found, where I say to myself, okay, it’s the 17 August, on such a day I will be doing this particular assessment. On the 17 August I find that I am still bogged down with two weeks ago’s goal. But we discussed it in our management and we said. That might not be such a bad thing. We were aiming for this but the children’s progress is different. So we pencil in our plan, we pencil in that we actually didn’t meet that deadline because of this that and the other” (Alan).

The school is a dynamic vibrant institute and there are many activities that sometimes cut across the school’s scheduled programme. Although having projections in place provides a useful guide, it also places the teacher under pressure to accomplish these. There is a danger that assessment could become ‘contrived,’ which is, trying to look good by showing that the different forms of assessment have been completed with little emphasis on how best these forms of assessment would demonstrate whether the learner has achieved the outcome.

Another nodal point in the discourse of the new assessment revolves around **groupwork**. Alan relates his classroom experience of groupwork with learners:

“So the groupwork, it works to an extent in the Grade 7s. Some of them will come to the party. In many cases the child will say, ‘Sir, I’d rather work alone because so and so is not working, he is not bringing things from home’ and it impacts” (Alan).

The idea of groupwork is linked to the critical outcome of ‘working co-operatively’ which is linked to the overall hegemonic project of producing ‘critical, responsible and productive citizens.’ Such an ideal will work if most other factors are kept constant. However, that is not the case in the context of Alan’s classroom where children do not co-operate or are unable to bring materials requested from home.

In the extract that follows, Alan explains why he thinks parental assessment won’t work:

“They talk about, the parents assessing children, that I haven’t managed to do. It’s just on paper, it can’t work in the class. Classes are too big” (Alan).

Alan also indicates that the idea of parent’s assessing will remain an *element* rather than be converted as a *moment* in the new discourse. Alan justifies the non-workability and non-implementation of the policy-makers ideas on the basis of having large classes and a varied school population.

The guidelines of the policy-maker suggest that parents should be involved in assessment and the participant is saying that he is unsure whether this would work for the reasons stated.

“And then I am not so sure whether parents’ assessment can come in because we have a range of parents and a variety of skills. And how competent are some of them to assess, what we are doing and what the child is doing. Some of the parents they say that they might just be looking for a percentage at the side of the page. And they would know and they think that 80% is good and not really knowing we have arrived at that. So I would say that those

parents that are skilled in enough, yes, they should assess, but are we disadvantaging the other children and the children must get that hands on and they must also self assess, each child must honestly or after a number of exercises of self assessment they child would soon be able to answer honestly about himself, or herself: Are they meeting the standards that are required?" (Alan).

If teachers themselves are having difficulty with assessment, is it then practical for parents who come from a variety of backgrounds and many of whom have never been schooled in the OBE approach, to then assess? The policy guidelines are sometimes ambiguous and open to varied interpretations.

Another nodal point of assessment is that of **feedback**. The Norms and Standards for Educators (DoE, 2000b), stipulates that the educator should provide '*feedback to learners in sensitive and educationally helpful ways.*' The RNCS documents state that the methods of feedback includes '*appropriate questioning, focusing the teacher's oral and written comments on what was intended to be achieved by the assessment activity, and encouragement to a learner*' (DoE, 2002, p.115). The official expectations that are outlined by the policy-maker are often interpreted by the teacher in varied ways. However, with regard to giving feedback to learners' work, Alan states that it is mainly about presentation.

"Everyday. Everyday, I give a feedback. It's mainly about presentation. Our children are not house-proud. You must underline. You must have a full stop at the end. I am one that is meticulous about that. I don't know if other teachers share my views, I feel that you must present something. You must head it properly. And rule off to show that you've actually completed. I've to talk to them about neatness, then I have to talk to them about quality of the work. Are they accurate? Are there misconceptions? I clear that up" (Alan).

The teacher provides much feedback on presentation of work. The teacher's early biographical history should be noted here. At the time that Alan was in school, he recalled being sent around the school to show off his good hand writing. To some extent partly

perhaps because of habituation and the special sense of security the past offers, their perceptions and actions perpetuate the order and norms they experienced as pupils (Sikes et al., 1985, p. 143). It is not surprising that many years later Alan values similar neatness from his learners that was expected of him when he was a pupil. The uniformity and emphasis on neatness emerge from the teacher's habitus and accumulated experience. However, new discourses also point to learning styles, where some learners prefer to present their work in a haphazard way. Descriptions from official documents about what feedback should be, varies from Alan's interpretation and practice.

A nodal point of the new assessment is assimilating the **new assessment language**.

In Alan's description of the discursive practice of assessment, he incorporates the new language:

“Rubrics, we have to do something about that because it guides the children as to what they want. For instance for technology, I am saying this is what we are looking at. This is the problem that we are investigating, the brief. And we are going to go through these steps. It is a major battle to get to the final product” (Alan).

Alan has, however embraced some aspects of the new discourse on assessment, by using the term ‘rubrics.’ The aim of the rubric is to delineate the steps, which is supposed to aid the child through the process of working through a given task to the final product. However, Alan states that it is still a “battle.”

Similarly, with regard to rubrics this is what Rina remarked:

“We make a lot of use of rubrics at our school. Yeah, It's become quite a buzzword. Yeah we use a lot of that. Obviously there are those formal ones. It depends on the content as well or when it is oral work or creative writing, we make a lot of use of the rubrics. Obviously when

you are assessing content then you would have your normal memo drawn up as you would have done in the past” (Rina).

An interesting dimension to the assessment discourse is the use of language to suggest that one is in the game as well. Rina has identified the word “*rubric*” as a buzzword in the circle of assessment. By using the word “*rubric*,” then one demonstrates that the elements have indeed changed to moments. To stay in the game, one has to be seen and heard to be doing the ‘in thing.’ Using rubrics in practice and throwing up the word in formal and informal conversation, to an extent, secures one a place in the new community of practice.

Another term of the new discourse is that of *teacher portfolio* and *work schedules*. This is how Alan describes the new discourse:

*“I am talking about, I have **a journal** in the old speak, where I’ve got, these are the topics, that are according to the policy that we were given for Natural Sciences, for Maths, or EMS or whatever the cases might be. The MMLS [MLMMS] whatever, they call it now. Then the principal says, let’s get together, then let’s get the **teacher portfolio** together. For each learning area, I have the plan for the year. **The work schedule**, this is new terminology. I have the learning outcome, the assessment standards, for instance for Maths, I went to another neighbouring school and I spoke to the principal there. He is the Maths teacher too. And he showed me how they were unpacking their learner outcomes and assessment standards. How they want to approach everything and I said that I approached other schools and they don’t have a clue about what to do. Eventually I did come up with my own. I sat and I tried to make it simpler where at a glance you can see where you are going with all these assessment standards and the learning outcome. I want to tell you another thing, about the assessment is that ideally every child’s name should be on a sheet. At the top of the sheet would be the child’s name. And say for Mathematics, we’ll have learning outcome one,- two,- three. Assessment standards this that that. And I must be able to tick against the child’s name, that Benny actually, has reached this level. But it is impossible with 44 children, look at that, look at the enormous amount of work that you have to do then to do justice to that. We are just a bit over the top” (Alan).*

With reference to the discourse of the new assessment policy, Alan firstly goes into the community, that is, to neighbouring schools before coming up with his own plan of action. In “*unpacking*” the new assessment policy, Alan also assimilates the language of the new discourse into his frame of reference. The teacher has the will or desire to implement ideally as expected by the policy-maker, however, according to Alan it is the sheer number of learners in the class that is drowning the process, hence he states “*we are over the top.*” According to the teacher’s reality, the policy-maker’s vision is not practical and Alan articulates this as being “*impossible.*” Thus in assimilating the new discourse, change is effected more on a theoretical level than a practical one. The following extract also indicates the teacher’s willingness to make meaning of the new assessment.

“And in that teacher portfolio is the task that I project I’ll be doing, there would be a memorandum against each task, showing how we’ll assess the work, what we are looking for, for every worksheet that I have given the children, I am not assessing the same thing. I might be focusing on another skill there, so I am building that up so it is the things we are doing in term 2, term 3, term 4. There’ll be a record of things done. Records of intervention with me, when I wrote letters to parents, I highlight when a child is not handing in homework, that type of thing. So at a glance, it’s a very valuable book that we are working on. It is not complete. By the end of this year, I would consider it a first draft of that book” (Alan).

The new assessment talk is being imbibed into the habitus of the teacher. In terms of bio-power, one is able to infer that governmentality as occurred at the level of the self in terms of the conscious attempts at taking note of the new discourse of assessment.

Similarly, another participant, Rina describes what happens to feedback given to learners:

“That gets done immediately. As soon as you have assessed, that’s given back to them and that goes into their portfolios or their books and you have to report back to them immediately”(Rina).

One of the techniques of disciplinary power, that is, increased visibility or the power of the gaze is evident in the new discourse of assessment, via the **portfolio**. The concept of the portfolio is new to South Africa and is one of the policy borrowing nodal points of assessment. The portfolio, a concept used in the UK (Webb and Ashton, 1987) decades before South Africa, is a tool of visibility to make explicit, enhance transparency, accountability and provides evidence of the achievements of the learner. This is a contributing factor to the intensification of teachers’ work.

The following extract, indicates Vee’s attempts to internalize the discourse of assessment:

“And in terms of assessment this curriculum lends a lot to make sure that every child passes at the end of the year. I don’t know why I am using the word pass ... to progress at the end of the year” (Vee).

Change in terminology, or ‘jargon’ as described by Jansen (1997), is a distinguishing feature of the assessment reform. Interpellation of this is evident by the teacher, Vee, who has chided himself for not using the jargon stipulated by the new discourse, “*progress*” not “*pass*”. It reflects, to an extent, the challenges of relinquishing a mindset, a language or habitus of the previous discourse. The correction of the use of terminology alludes to the governmentality (self regulation) of the teacher to integrate the new discourse into his current repertoire of professional teacher language.

At the micro-level of implementation, teachers, too, conjure up their own assessment talk as is evident in the following extract from Alan:

*“As a deputy of the school, I find that I am marking everyday, into the evening, I mark every weekend. There’s seldom a time that I am not marking unless **I decide that I am tired and I am going to leave that bundle. We say that we let it mature**” (Alan).*

The practice of marking is an exercise in self discipline which the participant finds time-consuming. What is interesting is that there is a distinctive discourse that teachers bring to the already established formal discourse of assessment. Informally, within that particular community of teachers, new assessment talk is established: the learners work activities that are to be marked are referred to as **bundles** and when it is not done by the stipulated time they say that they “**let it mature.**” As a researcher, I feel privileged to be let into the teacher’s world where Alan openly and honestly reveals what actually happens in practice.

‘**Integration**’ is another buzzword in terms of the new discourse. Integration in assessment is one of the nodal points of the new discourse and this is how Alan approached this issue.

“I try to integrate within a subject and there is also across curriculum, learning areas, I find the newspapers valuable. And by the way, I deviate ever so slightly from my portfolio if I have an article like yesterday’s biomass energy. Now I’ve been talking to the children in Grade 7 about limited resources about renewable fuels. Now we have the conflict in the world with Lebanon, Israel and so on and to get a fix on oil prices, so I try to keep them up to date about that. And I say to them, look the race is on to look for alternative fuels. Again when I told them about by products of sugar cane, they could not believe it. They know that only sugar is made from cane. So I said to them, no these are the other things. These are the projects. These are the gas drilling projects off-shore that South Africa spent millions on. They haven’t shown a profit yet but in the long term, would probably show a profit and the pressures on. There was a story I think in The Times for one of these projects to start showing results because we started SASOL so many years ago. SASOL 1, SASOL 2, why are we paying so much for petrol? Electrically driven cars or hybrid cars. This is the integration I

believe which we need to be actually teaching children, because it can't be set down in a text book. Simply because the content is changing according to the context of the child" (Alan).

This extract brings to the fore some interesting and vital facts regarding the identity of the teacher in relation to new discourses. Firstly, the expertise and knowledge of the teacher cannot be taken for granted. In order to integrate effectively the teacher would need to step outside the parameter of what is presented by policy, to relate the curriculum to everyday life contexts. Secondly, this extract highlights the rapidly changing nature of knowledge in the growing modernity. As Alan states, *"the content is changing according to the context of the child."* The global concern for alternative energy, for example, is a pressing issue that needs to filter into the classroom. Nowadays, the effects of load shedding are sending the country into a frenzy affecting every sphere of society. However, at the time of the interview (2006), the issue of energy crisis was relegated to the back pages of the newspaper rather than claiming headlines. This fact is highlighted because it alludes to the applied competence (NSE, 2000b) and expertise of the teacher. Alan's reflexive competence is demonstrated in his being proactive in keeping abreast with these issues and mediating this to learners. This is often a professional call that the teacher will have to make that may not necessarily be directed by the policy-maker. In recreating the self, the teacher has to balance the imperatives that emerge from his own professional and personal identities, (his own intuitive sense), with the prescription as espoused by the policy-maker.

According to Vee, integration is strongly influenced by the context of implementation.

*"You know, integration, it's a beautiful concept but it is only beautiful as long as a teacher is class-based. **And in our schools, we don't have class-based teaching. We have subject-based teaching.** Ideally, it would have been nice for all the staff members to sit down at the beginning of the year, and choose a theme, plan lessons so that integration takes place so what happens is that the topic goes around to all teachers via paper and they are asked to plan lessons around that topic. If integration does take place, it is most probably by coincidence because everybody is working in isolation... As I said, it could be very realistic if it is class-based, but not if it is subject-based. And the developers definitely had class-based*

in mind when they thought about this curriculum and not subject-based. I think we are still moving in the old style of teaching where it is still subject-based” (Vee).

The concept of integration has been explored by Bernstein as, ‘collection and integrated codes.’ The collection code indicates that ‘academic subjects become highly organized social systems with heavily defended boundaries’ (Bernstein, 1996, p 70). The integrated code weakens the boundaries among the learning areas. Vee argues that teachers have been allocated to teach the learning areas across a range of grades, which makes integration difficult to implement. In Vee’s words “*we don’t have class-based teaching. We have subject-based teaching.*”

Ideally, policy-makers would have the Intermediate (Grades 4-6) to Senior Phase (Grade 7) teachers do class-based teaching where one teacher generally teaches many learning areas in the same class. In the context in which Vee works, this is clearly not the case. In Vee’s work context, teachers operate as subject ‘specialists’ whereby they teach specific subjects to various grades. In the opinion of the participant, there are constraints from the environment with regard to the integration of learning areas and assessment tasks. In this extract, nodal points identified in the new discourse, that is curriculum 2005 and the RNCS, such as **integration** of learning areas and **teamwork** amongst teachers does not seem to transmute in the words of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) from *elements* into *moments* within the context of Vee’s practice. Thus the participant establishes that the environment or ethos in which he teaches is not conducive to implementation of policies as envisioned by policy-makers.

This extract, whilst delineating the field of practice, depicts traces of resistance or antagonisms where the participant explicitly states that the practice of the new curriculum is not as the policy-makers intended. He is not assuming responsibility for the situation but rather projects it onto factors other than himself thus emphasizing his external locus of control. Resistance to the new discourse implies a lack of will or motivation to convert *elements* into *moments*. Thus the concept of integration which is a *nodal point* for the new assessment discourse becomes a *floating signifier* in the stipulated context (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

Within the new discourse of assessment, are new ways of assessing through integration of learning areas and the integration of assessment tasks. The participant's response when asked about the integration in assessment tasks, is as follows:

*"I know that in the many workshops that we attended, that was one of the facilitators' trump card. 'Why do you take assessment so seriously?' 'Can't you ask a child to make a house and assess it for the scale he used, in terms of Maths, then for colour co-ordination for arts and culture' It just doesn't work. It doesn't work because what the curriculum developers fail to realize is that if a teacher is not class-based and he is subject-based that is not the only subject he is going to worry about. And if you are looking at small schools, ours is a small school, You've got grade 5, 6 and grade 7 and you are moving from Senior Phase down to Intermediate Phase. And just how well developed one should be to remember that there must be integration and for you to think about ... sitting down and think, Yeah let's have one project and these children assessed. **I have great difficulty integrating lessons, especially because I am not clued up in Geography and History.** It hasn't been my specials and now I'm teaching Social Sciences. And I don't really know how to integrate. I integrate very well with Natural Science and Mathematics, because, you know in terms of Maths, capacity, that goes very well, but the other learning areas I am sure that English is not so bad in integration, but the other learning areas it is quite difficult"(Vee).*

Vee indicates that the facilitators of workshops on assessment, have simplified or played down the intricacies of the concept of integration as in the example provided. The teacher development of the new discourse on assessment is inadequate and in the participant's opinion, fails to instill confidence in the teacher to implement effectively. Policy is developed as an ideal and is based on an assumption that all schools have class-based teaching. However, we should take note of the historical context of South Africa and heed the fact that teachers in the various former departments of education have worked separately. Whilst the more privileged former NED (ex- HoA) schools were predominantly class-based, that was not the case for the other former Departments such HoR, HoD and DET. Policy-makers often assume that policies reach a homogenous group of teachers who are skilled in content of all

learning areas. Govender's (1999, p. 126) research study showed that with regard to the initial implementation of C2005, not all teachers were skilled in the content/knowledge of learning areas which impacted on the integration of learning areas. The participant confirms that as a subject specialist of specific learning areas, he is not confident to teach all learning areas and in his words, "*I don't really know how to integrate.*" Furthermore, he states that the learning areas (subjects) "*hasn't been my specials*" which, is also indicative of deskilling.

Vee, has made a confession clearly articulating (verbalizing) his shortcomings. Foucault's hypothesis with regard to confession is that the 'method of self disclosure' (*exagoreusis*) (Foucault, 1982a, p. 164) is based on verbalization exercises. Foucault (1982a) argues that 'from the eighteenth century to the present, the techniques of verbalization have been reinserted in a different context by the so-called human sciences in order to use them without renunciation of the self but to constitute, positively, a new self.'

In Foucauldian terms, (taking cognizance of Foucault's use of Plato's work), 'knowing oneself' is a precursor to 'care of oneself.' The participant is honest about his own capabilities. In order to be a master, self concern is not enough: 'truth telling' (*Parrhesia*) must be practiced (Foucault as cited in Coelen, 2007). *Parrhesia* is generally defined as 'telling everything,' the ability to speak freely (Coelen, 2007, p. 48). The subject, Vee, is able to disclose this information about himself because essentially although he is a teacher, he has also developed himself in a field other than teaching which is law. The threat to his identity at the time of the interview is somewhat not as devastating as in 1998 when he was told that he could no longer work as a Physical Education subject specialist. 'Care of self,' took the form of assessment of risk within the teaching profession and subsequent steps towards preservation of self, was followed through by Vee's mastering of knowledge in another field, that is, training as a lawyer. The self is indeed a reflexive project and identity is not entirely ontologically determined or fixed but rather historical-contextual.

In the following extract, Brian describes the changing form of the practice of assessment from a collection code to an integrated code in Bernstein's (1996) terms.

*“As far as my delivery of lessons go, in terms of Mathematics, it has changed slightly, and I would not say considerably, because with Mathematics I believe that concepts have to be formally taught, so one does rely on the traditional methods, especially where chalk and talk is part of the lesson. **But as far as assessment goes, it has changed. It is not only based on concepts now, it is based on a more holistic approach where you judge the child on his participation in class, his group work, projects and the way he completes activities so you don't only test the concept basically but testing the general aspect. This seems to give every learner a chance to be able to pass or to be able to get some marks at the end of the term because you find that learners who don't easily catch on and are unable to grasp concepts are able to get marks in other ways by doing a project, or assisting in a group to complete a project or by participation**”*(Brian).

Brian presents a critical dimension of assessment in this extract. In terms of collection and integrated codes (Bernstein, 1996), the assessment has changed from the collection code with strong boundaries and being 'sacred' in Bernstein's terms to being 'integrated' and 'profane.' This watered-down effect of the assessment results in the pure concept not being assessed within the boundaries of a single learning area but has been integrated with other learning areas. There are several implications of this type of assessment.

Firstly, this has served to upgrade scores which is quite positive. However, learners' true or pure Mathematical ability is masked. If learners work in a group, the group effort boosts the marks. A learner, for example, may be able to upgrade his scores in Mathematics because he is good at Art and has produced a good poster for Mathematics. We need to consider these questions: Are we elevating scores at the expense of competency in South Africa and within the global arena? Furthermore, how realistic is the success rate in Mathematics? Is the higher rate of success in Mathematics superficial?

Secondly, it is common knowledge that the architect of apartheid Dr. Verwoed said, ‘What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practice?’ (cited in Jansen, 2008, p. 6). Through apartheid, the majority of people in South Africa were deprived of the ‘sacred’ form of Mathematics through formal education. Are we not further disadvantaging the people of South Africa in terms of access to true or pure Mathematics? Once again this has implications for competency amongst all the people of South Africa.

The issue of competency is also of concern to Rina who stated:

*“To a large degree in the classroom that we are teaching nowadays but I wonder if it is not in the structure of the assessment if it is also not pervading that area as well where everybody is made to look good on paper. Maybe it is just a shield what the truth really is about children’s abilities and **the sad part of that is, is that it is somewhere going to come out in the wash.** And those children... are we going to be turning to countries like England and those with a problem where children have completed school but they are illiterate. Or in America where the same thing has happened. Are we not heading down the same road. And here it is not about a black-white thing. Don’t get me wrong, you know, no matter who is at the helm of our country, no matter which field, in law in medicine, or whatever, we need competent people to do the job. Because if we don’t have competent people in those positions then ultimately we all suffer in this country. Both socially, both economically. Ya, we are all going to feel the brunt of that. I think we need to look way beyond self-serving ideals and look at the bigger picture”* (Rina).

Rina explores what she perceives to be a hidden agenda, of “*everybody is made to look good on paper.*” As a teacher who is working in a multicultural environment, one cannot ignore the suspicion with which she views the government, emphasizing that it is “*not about a black-white thing.*” She expresses her fears that the ‘looking good’ is just on the surface and that eventually this façade will manifest itself in a lack of competency. “*Come out in the wash,*” has connotations of visibilities and revelations which, if it is being down played will eventually lead to ruin for all in the country. Her concern is more than a local one as she has misgivings that the system is designed to serve an idealistic vision to the detriment of real

education aimed at making a difference to the country as a whole. The need for competency which is assimilated at the level of the individual body has a ripple effect of impacting on the system as a whole. Rina alludes to romanticism or ‘pie in the sky’ at the expense of pragmatism. Her concern stems from insight or intuition (emotional intelligence) that what is required for a productive South Africa is more than a vision.

6.6.3 Neoliberalism, Governmental Gaze, Accountability and Performativity

Foucault’s notion of governmentality is used as a lens to examine governing, as a deliberate, purposeful, technicised activity, which is directed towards the constitution of the self (subject), that is, the configuration of the subject under the action of government (Doherty, 2007, p. 196). However, the citizen is free and within that freedom, the citizen internalises norms that regulates his or her own behaviour (governmentality) (Doherty, 2007, p. 197). Governing operates within the sphere of globalization which is the cultural, social and economic movement that displaces people, goods and values from local or national settings and makes them subject to global forces (Webb et al., 2002, p. xii). Neo-liberalism, the discourse of globalization, signifies a market-centered philosophy of life, in which human beings and their actions are understood in terms of their market value and participation, intense competition is viewed as necessary, and virtue is aligned with entrepreneurship (Fenwick, 2003, pp. 335-336). Within the arena of globalization, accountability and performativity have become the nodal points in the discourse of neo-liberalism.

6.6.3.1 Governmentality: The Global Gaze

Central to the idea of governmentality is the concept of liberty, which, in turn becomes a ‘resource of government’ (Doherty, 2007, p. 197). Doherty (2007) explains that this theory of governing evolves in reaction to a realization of the limits of the state to know, to see, to govern through pervasive observation, measurement and regulation of every detail of life. The liberal state assumes a certain type of citizen, a responsible, socialized citizen, who within and because of, their arc of freedom, serves the well being of the state (Doherty, 2007). Alan refers to this notion of governmentality in the extract that follows:

“I mean the new generation would surely be our new South Africa we are hoping for. I am very much excited about those developments in the country. Disappointed about other developments and the arrogance of the ruling party, when they do wrong and they don’t show humility. They are harming the image of our government, of our country, I don’t think they realize that they are being seen all over the world. And you know you have countries like Japan and China when a leading figure when he feels that he has made a mistake he even goes as far as wanting to take his own life. I am not advocating that this is the way to go. This is how seriously they take this position. They take their office and I am dismayed that there’s no end to this honeymoon of our government. And the rich are getting richer, there’s no doubt about it” (Alan).

Governmentality at a national level filters right down to the individual teacher who also has globalization in mind. The teacher is concerned that the poor behaviour of some government officials who *“are harming the image of the country... they are being seen all over the world.”* Image has connotations of visibility and the gaze. What Alan is advocating for the government officials is that they regulate their own behavior, that is, self regulation and governmentality at a micro-level in order to promote governmentality at a macro-level. Thus governmentality filters down to the smallest unit in the country, the individual. In terms of Foucault’s (1977) concept of ‘descending individualism’ South Africa as a whole is given the status as an individual prone to the gaze of the mighty global monetary funding organizations of the world such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Bank.

The teacher, too, poses questions with regard to what is best for the learner and the act of governmentality at a state level:

“But then you have to ask, are we providing the right curriculum for the child? Or the modern day child, or this context that the child is in? Are we just sort of going with a certain political group that’s in power that is dictating the curriculum to us and trying to make it work? Are we borrowing from some countries which were said to be successful and maybe

because it is just fashionable to throw what they did in Canada or what they did in America and try it here” (Alan).

Alan raises issues of governmentality at the level of the state; and makes reference to world wide trends and policy borrowing, whilst simultaneously asking if this is in the best interest of learners. Rina also questions governmental rationality for policy borrowing:

“What also gets to me from what I understand and by no way do I know this for sure, it is hearsay on my part, that this whole NCS system has failed in other countries and I can’t understand it if that is so, why we have adopted a model that has not worked elsewhere. Ya and then we are setting ourselves up for failure. Or is it perhaps, I am afraid that I really believe what is happening in our education is closely linked to politics. And I believe that they have their finger in the pie in a lot of this” (Rina).

Rina’s cynicism of the new governmentality is evident in the extract above. She has doubts about whether the assessment within the new curriculum model which has “failed” in other countries, would work. She has identified the link between education and politics and attributes the change in curriculum and assessment to an act of governmentality. However, she stands outside this dominant discourse, and refers to the politicians as “they.” This is in sharp contrast to a community of practice to which she belongs in her school.

Furthermore, Rina’s cynicism towards the new governmentality can be explained via Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) notion that society is ‘radically indeterminant.’ According to Webb et al. (2002), this implies that every identity in society (individual or communal) is both a kind of ‘empty signifier’ (a term which has no intrinsic meaning, and hence can mean anything) and the site of struggle.

Rina's own political identity which is juxtaposed against the dominant discourse of the new governmentality is revealed in her response to the question: "Why do you think assessment has changed from the time you were in school?"

"My word, I am concerned that ... I am not sure which door to put this one at. Perhaps we're trying to cloud where children are really at. I don't know whether it is part of a larger plot well where we are all 'threes.' If you one day want to apply for a job, she's got a three, she's got a three, Right they all will be able to perform whatever task in the same way. And that is not so, you know. I think it is a way of denying... a way of shielding those who cannot cope with the realities of school at a particular level. I don't know, it's just a thought" (Rina).

Rina's cultural embodiment of being white female embracing the Afrikaner culture and her own self confessed conservatism, is the lens through which she sees the world. From that lens, she is sceptical about the intentions of the new government, hence her use of words like "cloud" and "plot." The plot that she sees underlying the new assessment is one of neutralizing or diffusing 'normalizing judgements' among the various race groups of South Africa, so that in assessment terms "we are all threes" which she alludes to as serving the dominant culture. This will probably explain that although she mechanically and efficiently implements the new discourse, she does not believe it to be in the best interest of all South African citizens. She is 'subject' to the new discourse but has not reached the level of 'subjectivation' since she does not believe in it (Andersen, 2003).

6.6.3.2 Accountability

The new government has to demonstrate its ability to govern within the global discourse of neoliberalism, of which a nodal point is that of accountability in relation to the new discourse of assessment.

According to Laffitte (1993) accountability is in itself a complex concept that tends to be present implicitly or explicitly in every social context. Laffitte (1993) adds that it can be used to refer to the wide range of mechanisms controlling the relationships between the state administration, public institutions, the organs of government within these institutions, the individuals who work in them and society in general. Ranson et al. (1987) assert that in a service which has formally divided functions and responsibilities between ‘partners’ to the service - national and local government, the teachers and parents - then patterns of mutual answerability are to be expected. A multi-lateral discourse and negotiation within accountable relationships is further to be expected.

This is how Deb described the issue of accountability in the education system:

“Everybody is accountable. Department of Education certainly, right up to National is accountable to see but there’s a whole hierarchy of people and finally it comes down to the child, comes down to the parent, hugely, but there are absent parents, parents that are not around so, somebody has to take on that responsibility”(Deb).

In terms of accountability, Deb feels that everybody is accountable. The Foucauldian notion of bio-power, and the creation of healthy populations, implies that everybody has a role to play. The very notion of assessment standards being a benchmark for specific grade or age groups is in itself the strategy of government (governmentality) to make visible through surveillance learners performance for purposes of systemic evaluations.

6.6.3.3 Parental Accountability

According to Ranson et al. (1987), to be accountable is to be ‘held to account’ but also ‘to give account’ and these elements reveal the distinctive social characteristics bound in relations of control but also of discourse. Power and purpose are brought together in the institutional arrangements of accountability (Ranson et al., 1987, p.4). Accountability as

‘being held to account’ defines a relationship of control. It implies rather formal ties between the parties, one of whom is answerable to the other for the quality of their actions and performance. According to Lello (cited in Ranson et al. 1987, p. 4), accountability ‘involves being called upon to give an account, sometimes mandatorily, but always with a clear and special responsibility.’ The concept of accountability within the new discourse of assessment can be linked to the neo-liberal philosophy of market-centredness. Within the rationality of neo-liberalism, parents and learners have been identified as clientele and due respect for them as consumers is given attention by relevant stakeholders.

In the following extract, Alan describes measures taken to communicate learners’ progress to parents:

“So it’s a management thing. Management of time. And how to make sure that there is progress. Today is Wednesday, more than 8 tenths, more than 80% did not do my homework. And today, it was the second round of homework not done the day before. They still did not do it. And I am highlighting next to each child’s name, the number of ... let me say when they have failed to do my work. And that is also going to be part of my homework. I’ve got to send letters again to the parents and bring it to their notice, look this is the fourth time your child is infringing, it’s about homework. Something really needs to be done” (Alan).

As a mechanism of accountability, Alan keeps a record of learners not doing their work as part of his insurance policy to protect his professional conduct should there be investigations at a later stage that may require him to provide justification for the learner’s performance. Furthermore, the accountability tasks are costly in terms of time and effort and have to be followed up with communication to parents.

Alan explains further the necessity to inform parents in the extract that follows:

“For instance, I can show you letters that I have written to parents. Now, where the letters don’t get to the parents, the kids are afraid to give their parents or they will give you an excuse that they have forgot or that they gave their parent and their parent wouldn’t sign and then I am ever so sorry why I wrote the letter in the first place. I should really have done my own internal discipline. But that comes with dangers too. At the end of the term you tell the parent, ‘Your child hasn’t been doing well.’ And the parent would say, ‘But you didn’t say anything. When did you find out that the child is not doing well? What intervention did you do? You did not tell us.’ See the problem with that” (Alan).

Despite the problems of having large classes, learner absenteeism or learners that do not want to work, the teacher is still accountable for the performance of that learner. The teacher in his professional role is obliged to inform the parent about the progress of the learner even outside the parameters of formal progress reports and he has additional responsibility to account for the remedial measures that were taken to assist the child. According to Giddens (1984), to be accountable for one’s activities is both to explicate the reasons for them and to supply the normative grounds whereby they may be justified.

Accountability, in terms of holding parents responsible for payment of school fees is described in the extract:

“At end of term we have reports. The parents come for the report. We have a system that also works for us in terms of school fees. We don’t withhold the reports because children haven’t paid but we say to the parents, we would like to discuss your child’s progress. And at that time we can also discuss other issues. So at that time they get a briefing on their children’s progress” (Alan).

This presents an interesting example of how the system is manipulated to yield the desired outcome. Although schools are not allowed to withhold reports because of non-payment of fees, the school has devised a way of getting parents to school on the premise of giving them

their children's progress report (which is valued by parents) and at the same time they extract that which is valuable to school, that is, school fees.

Deb brilliantly discusses the issue of accountability at a level that goes beyond the body and mind. The accountability that she describes in this profound extract emerges from the level of the soul where judgement and evaluation are non-existent and mere illusions.

“I kind of introduced it in a way ‘out of the box thing’ I might say. And certainly we are in boxes for various reasons. I do believe that things have a right time to happen. And it must also journey through its course before it is valued. That’s a sad reality of human life, human existence that we’ve got to learn it for ourselves, we’ve got to experience it before we see its value or its devalue. I’ve come, although I am not doing this fully, to a point where I say to myself, what is assessment? Who am I to say to you that you are a 4 or you are a 1? Who am I to say that to you when you know at this particular time that that was the best you gave? That was all the effort you put in and you can vouch for that because you’ve journeyed through the learning process and you’ve produced something that says to you, that you’ve done well. That’s an inner deep sense of intrinsic reward that no external assessor can dare say, can dare rate you. That is the deep side inside of you which, I can’t say very loudly but maybe there’ll come a time where assessment as we know it, will be long forgotten in our memory” (Deb).

The fluidity and multilayered dimensions of identity together with deeply philosophical perspectives on assessment, provide ground for internal negotiations which stems from the very core of one's ontological self (the soul) as is evident in Deb's extract. Deb deeply and intricately reveals that at this deep level, that of the soul, there is no separation between her and the one she assesses.

After a momentary state of soulful oneness with the universe, Deb has gravitated towards the reality of her everyday practice:

“However, there is a journey that is, everybody has to take and we’ve taking it as a country, right now. And at this point in time where I am with assessment as an assessor, I believe that learning and teaching and assessing is part of the process. And yes, there is a product at the end of the journey, end of the process that shows what I, that is, you have learnt. Okay, and I believe that my role is to take children through or teachers whoever it is that I work with through that process, owning that learning, producing something at the end of that learning whether it is written or unwritten and being able to stand back and say, and assess it. To judge it based on the evidence of that journey, based on an objective appraisal of that journey, based on criteria that you have set before hand. To say this is what we are going to look for and that will then lead to how we journey through that learning process. And when we assess it we are all involved in it. Not just one person. So I get my children to assess, I get groups to assess, the other evening I had parents coming in to assess. They did not know that they were doing an assessment but they came to look at my class’s work, that were on display, and certainly there is judgement involved there. So assessment is judging how we’ve learnt and what we have learnt. And the process at this moment in time, the implementation, where we report on what is learnt based on a rating scale. We’ve made the numbers more important than the actual work. And that’s the other thing, where it’s a 1 or a 4 or 10 out of 10. It stands for something. It stands for the actual evidence of work that has been produced whether it is written or unwritten. So for me I make the learning more important than the assessment. But I do believe that we’ve got to assess what we are doing for the sake of reflection, for the sake of improvement for the sake of reward, intrinsically more than anything, and mainly for the sake of growth. For the sake of development” (Deb).

Whilst on a deeply philosophical level, Deb questions, *“Who am I to say to you that you are a 4 or you are a 1?”* and this type of questioning is certainly out of the box. On a pragmatic level, however, Deb makes a case for the necessity of assessment and justifies who is allowed to make a judgement, *“not just one person...self, groups, parents.”* She also makes a case for assessment which actually contradicts her initial position of asking ‘who are we to assess’ by emphasizing the value of symbols which she states *“stands for the actual evidence”* of work so that one can reflect on it. She is alluding to accountability in assessment which is a nodal point of the neo-liberal discourse of globalisation. In the constitution of identities there is a

constant push and pull between the macro-level forces of government policy and the personal value driven motives of the individual that provide meaning to life. There is a struggle within the teacher's soul.

With regard to the issue of accountability, Deb feels that governmentality (self regulation) is evident:

*“So the school day is far too short, far too unrealistic, because certain needs go far beyond the school day. You've got parents that you've got to meet, phone calls to make, and depending on your resources, so is there a huge pressure on accountability, absolutely, daily, you sleep with it. You get up with it. **Tomorrow I've got parents coming in, although my children are all on track, I've got to tell those parents, I've got to be able to talk to those parents like those children were the only ones in my class. You know, and that's huge pressure**”* (Deb).

Deb notes that *“the school day is far too short, far too unrealistic because certain needs go far beyond the school day.”* It is the discipline that comes from within the teacher that extracts her time and energy. Foucault (1977) argues that discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility by increasing aptitude and capacity) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience through subjection). Danaher et al. (2000) explain that discipline individualises bodies by providing them with a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations in terms of time and space (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 51). In Deb's case, it is the relations that she has with her learners and the parents that extract her time. The stretching of the day beyond normal school hours attests to a social and moral responsibility directed by her internal goals to make a difference and in Rawl's (1973) terms, her rational plan. Yet in her words, *“**I have got to talk to those parents, like those children were the only ones in my class**”* shows the power relations between teacher and parent and the teacher's accountability to the parent as well. Accountability is linked to the issue of **marketability and consumer satisfaction** where the school's clients are the parents and learners. Within the context of South African schools being unequal in terms of its resources and payable school fees, there

is a **market competition** that also guides the conduct of teachers. In terms of the market forces, there is pressure on the teacher to become more than the designated role through professional development or in Deb's words "*upgrade.*"

However, what is in operation is more than disciplinary power since internal self-regulation is indicative of governmentality within the broader scope of bio-power. In terms of accountability, Deb's statement that "*you sleep with it and you get up with it*" shows how identities are constituted within discourses. This does not play down the role of agency since the teacher makes choices which are driven by her value system.

In Brian's opinion, accountability is a key nodal point of curriculum and assessment change in South Africa.

"I think that that is basically the biggest change I've seen from the past years to the present is that there is more accountability in both the learners and the teacher and not as in the past. The accountability was of a different kind, for example, during the term it was the teacher and at the end of the term or during the testing it was the learner who was to be accountable. But now the accountability is immediate. The teacher delivers the concept and you are able to judge by your activities and assessment whether the learner is responding to you" (Brian).

According to the RNCS document (DoE, 2002, p. 119), 'teachers need to be accountable to learners, parents, the education system and their broader community in assessing their learners.' The document further states that this takes place through reporting. According to the RNCS document, national codes are used. Initially, there were four codes, 1- 4, denoting the learner achievement in terms of learning outcomes specified for a grade:

4 - has exceeded; 3 - has satisfied; 2 - has partially satisfied; and 1- has not satisfied .

The four point coding system was then replaced by the 7 point coding scale as denoted in the National Assessment Protocol (DoE, 2005).

“When we look at the keys we use to score children, 1, 2, 3 and 4, I am constantly telling the teachers, the four is not a mark. It is not 4 out of something. The four is saying about the child’s ability. But there is a clash of interest because when we talk with management even, there is a strong leaning towards percentage. A 4 is between this and that. But I also stress that a 4 means about the ability of the child, this is what the child can produce. This is the potential of this child. To say that the child attained 40% for Maths, the parent might like that approach, perhaps in terms of money, R40 rand out of R100. It’s alright, it’s not bad but it’s not good and my child has 70% for Natural Science. The parent likes to hear that. But we are not looking at that, I think that we are looking at, we are saying that the child has leadership qualities. The child is helpful. The child can make decisions, the child can be responsible, makes mistakes but is responsible. We’ve got to marry the two but the pitfall is the use of numbers, and the use of words and trying to make the two compatible” (Alan).

There are issues of interpretation regarding the code rating scale of 1- 4. There seems to be a lack of consensus among teachers about the meaning of 4 in a rating scale of 1- 4. When Alan refers to “management” he talks about the team as if it were a third person and he is not part of it, yet he is a deputy principal. Alan makes a case that it is not only teachers who need to understand the assessment but parents, too. Parents themselves are products of the previous system where assessment was norm-referenced. Even the matric examination is norm referenced where university candidates are weighted against a specific point system for entrance and competitiveness is the order of the day. Against the backdrop of that scenario, parents want to know from as early as possible in their child’s schooling career what percentage their child is obtaining. Amongst the dilemmas that the teacher faces is an internal battle of reporting to the parents in a way that is accessible to parents and also meets the department requirements for reporting. Caution is exercised in the choice of words when reporting to parents since the teacher does not want to deliberately offend parents. After all, parents are represented by the SGB which is in charge of promotions and employment

responsibilities. In the market oriented world of performativity, parents are the new consumers, a notion that Alan is indeed wary of.

6.6.4.4 Performance versus Competence Models

The characteristics of the performance and competence models which have been explicated in chapter two, provide the backdrop for the analysis of Brian's perceived practice.

“Basically in the classroom I will have to ensure that the learners have achieved the outcome as laid out in the assessment standards documents in the curriculum statements. So that is my first guiding factor, is to structure my lesson, to structure my topic and content in accordance with these outcomes and to ensure that learners achieve some or partially achieve some of these outcomes, that is as far as the classroom is concerned. In terms of the general school is to ensure that I assist in the development of child in terms of extra-curricular and co-curricular activities. To be able to develop the child holistically to be able to inculcate various, what shall I say, the manners and so on to them. So that is as far as the teacher goes” (Brian).

In terms of teaching and assessment, Brian's practice is largely dominated by the performance model. Assessment is deterministic, strongly framed and guided by outcomes. The performance model, is focused on the output, that is, achievement of learning outcomes and assessment standards within a stipulated time-frame of four terms within a year or three years which is a phase (foundation, intermediate or senior). The competency model advocates a more learner-paced approach. In the following extract, Alan presents his dilemma of working within learner's pace:

“But then it's the sheer numbers that defeats that what I would like to do because I don't want to leave children behind. At the same time the absentee child or the child that is not ready to work can't dictate the pace in the class that's problematic” (Alan).

In the extract above, Alan describes the pressure of performativity and attributes the non-workability of the competence model to the ‘*sheer numbers*’ in his class. Policy-makers may need to re-evaluate how the strong framing according to learning outcomes and assessment standards (performance model) reconciles with the loose framing and flexibility of the OBE framework that suggests learner-paced instruction (competence model).

In the extract that follows, I infer that Rina’s implementation is mechanical to an extent. Rina is using the code of 1- 4 because of a policy expectation and not a personal belief that this is the best way to assess. In Fullan’s (1991) terms, this amounts to *painful unclarity*. The teacher’s own experiential knowledge leads her to doubt the effectiveness of the stipulated coding system. This is how Rina articulates her concern:

*“Because let’s go for the middle of the road which is a 3 which means that ‘you have achieved.’ Achieved to what degree? That there is so broad, Are they lower than a 3 bordering on a 2 or are they upper 3 bordering on a 4, you know and if you try to relate that to a mark, the range could be so wide, so wide. I just get the feeling that with this new **system is more mark orientated than ever before. Whereas in the past, you know that you had your different learning areas, you had your reading in English; you had your reading study; your oral work and your language work, fine you assessed under those headings. But you did not have to pick each little thing apart”** (Rina).*

The heeding of the new discourse is apparent in the teacher’s practice, but the belief is missing. The teacher is wrestling to find the congruence with the new discourse and her own value system. The new discourse is not merely assimilated, as its meanings are contested and negotiated as is exemplified by the teacher’s comparison between the previous and new discourse. The idea of “*picking each little thing apart*” is indicative of the policy-maker’s vision for transparency and accountability. This dissection of learning outcomes into even smaller units such as assessment standards is reflective of the policy-maker’s disciplinary power aimed at increased visibility.

Rina perceives a fabrication or façade in the policy-maker's rationale for using the coded assessment system, thus questioning the value of codes for entrance into universities:

"I know it worked. What concerns me is that these children go to high school and they move on to varsity. Are they Do they do 1, 2, 3, 4 ? How do they take them into varsity on 1, 2, 3, and 4. Or even if you want to put it from a one to seven scale that they now want to use. Well, how does that qualify you for anything. It is not just for here and now. It is affecting the child's whole future. And I am concerned that we might bring the child and parent under a misconception of where they're really at. It might not really be what they really need 5-6 years down the line"(Rina).

Rina is making a valid point about university entrance as learners are not accepted on a scale of 1, 2, 3 or 4. Rina is concerned about misperception of learners' performance by parents. The stipulated rating system is problematic for Rina for the reasons given and she is concerned that this may lead to false clarity (Fullan, 1991) about the learner's performance.

"The skills that come into the NCS, they are good, they are good, but you know that comes naturally if you are an experienced teacher. You are naturally bringing it into your field. We've been teaching theme-teaching for years here at Peak School, where you have integrated your themes with your languages, we've done that for years, I can't see how that cannot be a good thing. We've done 'teach backs' for years, it is not something new that we are doing, None of that is new, but when you look at the assessment side of things, you would grade up to the side of English. Your reading and oral will carry a certain weighting, in your markbook, you would have your reading study, spelling, and your language your formal language testing, and that would make up your mark. Now with the code system, everything is equally weighted, but within that if you take that particular LO (learning outcome), now you break it down further into a whole lot of ASs (assessment standards). It is just dissecting too much. You're losing track of. I find that distressing. Very distressing" (Rina).

Rina is not contesting the value of the skills advocated by the NCS, which she claims they have been practicing for years. Rina does not agree with the new weighting system where everything has the same value. The so called dissection of the learning area breaks the flow of the teaching process. Teaching is a fluid process and the Gestalt principle, that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts may well apply here. She adds that the dissecting of the learning process into learning outcomes is distressing and fragmenting. The focus on accountability occurs at the expense of enjoyment which should be a natural part of learning. The C2005 and the NCS are based on a competence model of pedagogy. However, the OBE approach as originally espoused by Spady (1994) is a performance based model. South Africa has borrowed these approaches and 'Africanised' them to the extent that the traditional deductive approach or telling method is made to appear outdated or antiquated in global terms and the discovery approach or inductive approach is emphasised. In terms of the discovery approach, the assessment, then, should ideally be aligned with the competence model. However, this is not the case. The stipulation of outcomes and assessment standards from which teachers should map backwards is a performance model aimed at accountability. The hybrid approach of competence-performance model is the contradiction within which teachers are working. Whilst teachers are required to heed the policy of the OBE discourse which suggests learner- paced instruction (competence model), they are simultaneously required to cover the learning outcomes and assessment standards (performance model), thus presenting a dilemma for the teacher.

Furthermore, Hargreaves (1997) found that teachers typically do not plan their courses or units of work in a linear way that starts with the outcomes first, then map backwards to identify the methods and materials. Hargreaves (1997) argues that teachers start with knowledge and feelings about their students with their intuitive understanding about what is likely to excite and engage those students, and with their own passions and enthusiasm about ideas, topics and materials that they can picture working with their classes.

Brian, who is a deputy principal, describes the assessment policy used in his school which is significant in terms of the confusion experienced:

*“I think basically that school at the moment is not too clear in terms of their assessment policy in the school, namely because it still hinges quite a bit on the past assessment where some form of accountability is shown and accountability shows very easily in the old system where it shows tests and marks per se. But in terms of the new assessment we are required to indicate achievement and outcomes within a scale of 1 to 4. And when you indicate a 1 and 2 for that particular child, accountability as far as upper management goes does not go far, you cannot really see what you have achieved, what you’ve done, they still rely a lot on the old system of the mark. So the school is adopting a middle approach, in terms of they are looking at the 1, 2, 3, 4. They are converting the 1, 2, 3 4 into percentages to a mark. The reason being also is to satisfy the parent. Parents are also finding it difficult to read the report of the child at the end of the term. They find it easier to look at percentages. **As a result, as an educator you are lost, or you are faced with more work at times because you are bringing in the old in terms of summative assessment, via tests and you are trying to link to satisfy the department by using the rubric of 1, 2, 3, 4.** So as far as the school’s policy is concerned, we are in a dilemma at the moment. When it comes to department we satisfy the department at the end of the year only in terms of schedules where the department requires schedules done in terms of a rubric. And there we are going back and changing the percentages back to a rubric. There isn’t really one system that we are following at the moment we are trying to fit the old and the new” (Brian).*

According to Brian, accountability seems to be more effective with a performance model where there is tangible evidence of showing marks. Management in schools hold level one teachers accountable. They want to see evidence of how the teacher got to assess the learner in a particular way. Writing a 1, 2, 3 or 4 does not tell them “*what you’ve done.*” The school’s approach is a balance to try to accommodate everyone including the parent. The use of terms like “*unclear,*” “*lost*” and “*dilemma*” indicate in Fullan’s (1991) description ‘painful unclarity’ about Brian’s practice. However, what is evident in the extract is the desire to survive by keeping all the bases covered in terms of accountability aimed at trying to please all relevant stakeholders which range from the department to the parents to the School’s Management Team. The teachers try to survive by keeping some of the old and blending in what the Department requires.

Anand indicates how accountability as a nodal point of assessment features in the school's policy and practice:

*“Okay, in terms of the policy that covers the entire school, we have an Assessment Committee in school. The Assessment Committee was in charge of drawing up the policy that everyone in general can follow. We found that in the end we need to have a report done that will be presented to parents. So we used that as a starting point and we worked backwards from there. But if that is going to be our end product, what do we need to do to achieve that. So what we have done, we’ve given an overview in our assessment policy as to what test it is, what the teacher’s role is and what the learners roles are, what parental involvement there is and whoever else is interested in assessment. **For example, if an SEM [Superintendent of Educational Management] walks in, and he wants to look at assessment, it must be clear to him, it must not take somebody time to read through this, and then decipher what is. You must be able to look at it a glance and know what is happening**” (Anand).*

What is evident in the extract presented above, is the heeding of the Departmental requirements in terms of the assessment policy. Anand and his colleagues sought to identify the nodal points of the new discourse to change these from elements into moments. Attempts to clarify the teachers and learners’ roles as assessors, point to making explicit the norms associated with the roles. This would alleviate misconceptions and lead to the standardization of practice. This shows that disciplinary norms have been internalized to such an extent that those who have been interpellated by the discourse are advocating transparency (visibility), hence making provision to ease the work of the SEM who may come to check on them. *“It must be clear to him”* shows that the gaze or need for visibility has been internalized into their repertoire of behaviors. Anand together with his colleagues have demonstrated ‘technologies of self,’ where ‘care of self’ occurs through attempts at self-governance, self-mastery (self regulation) as they participate at a micro-level, in the ‘game of truth’ explicated at a macro-level in the form of policies.

In terms of power relations, there are no technologies of domination. The actions are voluntary ones where an individual in his own capacity and through his own self-

determination has sought to care for himself by internalizing norms. Power is a ‘productive network that runs through the whole social body’ in Foucault’s terms (1976) and is circulated from policy-makers to the teachers who in their own freedom, have chosen to reconstitute their identities within the new discourse. As Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) state, in common with discourse, power does not belong to particular agents such as individuals or the state or groups with particular interests; rather, power is spread across different social practices. Foucault (1976) postulated that power should not be understood as exclusively oppressive but as productive ‘it produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, [and] produces discourse’ (Foucault, 1976, p. 307).

One of the techniques of accountability is that of recording to make visible to the gaze of others. In the following extract Rina indicates what she does with the assessment results?

“Those get recorded in a very very thick assessment file. The way we do it is that we decide at the end of the term which one of those assessment results we are going to record for report purposes. Sometimes we would have done a task and we might have felt that that task wasn’t really...that did not lend itself to good assessment. Perhaps the task was far too difficult and we all felt that way, then we won’t use that mark. We then select the ones that we feel are on the mark and it is we’ve got that right there. And we’ll use those for our record purposes and reporting back” (Rina).

In the case of Rina, she works closely within a community of other teachers. The teachers decide among themselves whether a task was worthy of being recorded as an assessment. Recordings are techniques of visibility. In Rina’s practice, the assessment is recorded in a “*very very thick assessment file*” which alludes to the voluminous amount of record keeping. The aim of recording is to make the performance of learners available to the gaze of the relevant stakeholders.

The implementation of the performance model of assessment is taxing on Rina’s time and energy. There is strong framing in Rina’s classroom practice to the extent that the learning

outcomes and the assessment standards are indicated on the worksheets. Observation of classroom practice has also indicated that in the layout or format of classroom activities, learning outcomes are made explicit (A sheet of paper showing the format of written activities indicates that the learning outcome for the given lesson should be explicitly stated. This was pinned on the chalkboard in Rina's classroom).

The following extracts indicate the intensification of Rina's workload as a result of the new measures of record keeping:

*"From the time I get up in the morning, and I have left and I arrive at school, it is go, go, go, all day long. I find that it is a paper shuffle all the time, planning out worksheets that we have typed out, that we have spent the night before or our holidays typing out for the children. **On these worksheets we are indicating the various learning outcomes (LOs) and the various assessment standards (ASs)**" (Rina).*

In terms of how discursive practices impact on Rina's identity, we see it being shaped by governmentality (self-regulation) geared towards increased visibility and opening up the gaze to an exaggerated extent of indicating the learning outcomes and the assessment standards on the worksheet. This emphasizes accountability and transparency in its extremity.

"What I am saying is that I don't see the point of recording individual marks under all these ASs. To me that is just unnecessary work. When we are reporting back to parents, on a report, we are only reporting back under an LO, not under individual ASs. So that's why I think that if I had my way, I would say, all I would need to say is to have the LO above to have the separate list where we in our planning tick off, gosh I have done AS5 now. I still have to do ASs 1, 2 and 6 but not have six separate marks. You might have one test under a LO that covers all of these but maybe only in a small way. You might have one question to have covered AS1" (Rina).

*“But at the present moment, I haven’t filled in ASI because, I need to set at least five marks for questions to be able score it as a 1, 2, 3, 4 or a 4+. In other words you are **forcing**”* (Rina).

Rina describes her assessment practice:

*“In a particular text, let’s use comprehension, you might have a few questions in your text that lend themselves to a particular AS. Now you are trying to **squeeze** at least five or so to a code. It’s ridiculous. It’s ridiculous. It is much easier just to group all those questioning styles under those learning outcomes or else as I said, tick them off, under a checklist which you should have in your journal. To say, yes, I have included this in my test. You’ll use various ones at various times. You’ll repeat various ones at various times and that’s fine. And that checklist should just be there to remind you, ‘Oh gosh, look here’s one I haven’t used before’. Well, enough and you can do that but to actually dissect a whole test and to go and look for marks so that you have a particular AS, I think it is **artificial**”*(Rina).

The practice of assessment has become contrived and frustrating for Rina in her efforts to eek out a match between the assessment standards and assessment tasks such as setting questions (a practice which I refer to as ‘contrived’ assessment’). Whilst one of the nodal points of assessment is that of predetermined criteria or standards’ (performance model), another is ‘valid, reliable, learner-paced and flexible enough to allow expanded opportunities’ (competence model). It is this contradiction that Rina wrestles with, in trying to reconcile the demands of both. The governmentality in terms of the performance model dominates Rina’s practice and in describing this practice her choice of words “*we are forcing;*” “*squeeze*” and “*artificial*” indicates an unnatural or contrived act in assessment.

When asked about the significant changes in teaching and assessment, this is what Anand said:

“The most significant changes came in the form of record keeping that the teachers had to do. I think that most teachers were very unfamiliar with what records should be kept. And what was actually required in terms of promotion and retardation at the end of the year. I think it took teachers a long time to develop and understand that. The Department had given very broad guidelines but each school had to develop their policy in terms of what you wanted to achieve at the end of the year with each child. But also the Department in giving the new curriculum, the guidelines to support the teacher has not been there at all” (Anand).

Foucault’s account of disciplinary power frames the analysis of the above extract. ‘[d]isciplinary power ... is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility.’ Thus disciplinary power and surveillance elicit from teachers a set of practices that give legitimacy to the ‘game of truth’ in terms of transparency and accountability. Techniques such as record keeping systems, on-going surveillance, normalizing judgment, and the examination, each contributed to the ability to govern individuals to the point where it becomes self-governance.

The previous discourse of assessment was typically characterized by the giving of an unsubstantiated mark (like 4 out of 10) followed by a comment like “can do better.” Teachers used their judgement to intuitively evaluate learners’ work. Within the discourse of traditional authoritarianism, teachers rarely gave learners 10 out 10. Alan’s discussion in the extract that follows revolves around this issue:

“But there is a mark sheet and I put in the columns and headings and what the work was about and we record those marks. At the end of it all, with the Grade 4s, there’s a lot of marks that will assimilate with the Maths. And I can also decide, which ones, I will ignore. Where the kids are scoring too well, let’s say everybody was getting 10 out of 10. Then that’s not a worthwhile mark to include” (Alan).

As a result of certain culturally established ways (habitus), a score of ten out of ten is a rarity and teachers reluctantly if ever give a mark of ten out of ten. If learners are all getting a score

of ten out of ten, then Alan questions whether the mark should be included. The teacher is still operating within the norms of the previous discourse which reflects the bell curve or norm referencing as opposed to criterion referencing. This is quite ironic given the fact that the teacher (Alan) himself complained about the Department being skeptical about a score of 4 out of 4 for the IQMS (which is the teachers' assessment).

The issue of accountability is not always external and may be implicit in the general functioning of institutions.

"I am very much into talking with other schools. I must say that one or two schools that I approached said, 'Let's get together and work on the teacher portfolio together.' Some of them are saying what are we trying to do? We are racing ahead like this. They don't see the urgency, why are we overworking? Who are we trying to impress. But it is not an impressing exercise, it is about sitting and looking up fresh information in curriculum to make it meaningful" (Alan).

The need to engage with changes in the curriculum is not perceived by all teachers in the same way and some have a *Laissez Faire* attitude to what is happening. For others, implementation becomes a pressing issue that needs urgent attention. At the end of the day both sorts of attitudes are self-imposed depending on the choices that we make which are driven by what we value. In Alan's school context, there is a pressing need because a member of the staff is a public figure. The school then becomes more visible to the public in terms of accountability.

The issue of accountability is more explicitly stated in terms of the school's protocol:

"We have our HODs and I am the Deputy in charge of the HODs. They are in charge of certain people in their phases and we see books, my plan is see books fairly regularly, from the different persons but at least twice per term. I call for samples batches and just see how

things are going and I say to the teachers, look there is enough done, for the level, the Grade that the child is in or we need to pick up the pace a bit and so on. So in terms of the school, we do... I would not say police, but we do keep productive where we say to them 'Look, you must be able to be showing us certain things' ” (Alan).

The school system is hierarchically organized with the principal at the top, followed by the Deputy, the HODs and then the level 1 teachers. There is a certain protocol that is adhered to in terms of seniority with the principal on the top of the rung. To ensure productivity of the institution, there is evidence of disciplinary power (Foucault) which functions in a similar way to the gaze of the Panopticon, which means that the level 1 teachers are most visible and most policed. The level 1 teachers are compelled to make visible their productivity (“*you must be able to be showing us things*”). The teachers’ work and their learners’ work are exposed and made visible with the idea of governing them until they have reached a point of self-governance.

6.6.4.5 Performativity

Performativity which is another nodal point of the discourse of neo-liberalism, ‘is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation, or even a system of ‘terror’ in Lyotard’s words, that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as a means of control, attrition and change’ (Ball, 2003, p. 216; Ball, 2004, p 144). The performances of individual subjects or organizations - serve as measures of productivity or output, or displays of quality and these represent the worth, quality or value of an individual or organization within a field of judgement (Ball, 2004, p. 144).

When asked about whether he was clear about the expectations of the Education Department or the policy-makers, this is what Alan said:

*“I am clear about that and then look we say, the children are supposed to move up in their age groups. Yet we still use the word fail. For instance to me there is a bit of a contradiction and I know that in a phase the child can only fail at the end of a phase with the parent’s permission. Parents must know, look this is what is I don’t see the policy of the Department, I am a bit confused in a sense that we are still holding back certain children. When we said at the outset, with OBE, I am going back to OBE, we said that the kids will move along with their age groups. And children will be assessed and that one that is lagging behind in certain areas for instance in a learning area will be given **intervention** until they catch up. Eventually all those who are coming out of matric will be more or less the same group. That is not happening. And because of children that we take in, from other areas, there is language problems, all sorts of problems we find that there is a age discrepancy to where you can find a child that is actually very old to be in grade 3, is in fact sitting there. There is this historic thing, and so assessment on the one hand and policy on the other, let us all move together. **And there you have the SEM who say that there must be no bottle necking. Children must move along. ‘There are too many failing in Grade 3, you hear that. There are too many failing in grade 6. There’s too many failing.’ That sort of intervention”** (Alan).*

Once again there is incongruence between policy and practice and the participant explains why policy and practice are not synchronised. He states that learners who come from other areas, experience problems with the medium of instruction which he refers to as “*language problems*.” The age factor is another limitation where older children are sitting in the lower grades.

A crucial point is articulated in the last three lines of the above extract. The SEM declares that too many are failing. At a systemic level, the SEM is accountable to higher authorities with regard to the number of learners who fail in that particular circuit. Everyone wants to look good and the system needs to look good. The SEM expects that learners must “*move along*” the various levels without achieving the expected levels of competence to ensure that there is “*no bottle necking*.” According to Foucault, fabrications are versions of an organization (or person) which does not exist - they are not ‘outside the truth’ but neither do they render true or direct accounts - they are produced purposely ‘to be accountable’ (Ball,

2004, p.148). Ball explains that in one sense organizational fabrications are an escape from the gaze, a strategy of impression management that in effect erects a façade of calculation. He adds that in another sense the work of fabricating the organisation requires submission to the rigours of performativity and the disciplines of competition, resistance and capitulation.

It is not surprising that the teacher uses the words “*I am a bit confused*” and “*contradictions*” because on the one hand the teacher is expected to be professional who is competent enough to interpret policies within his working context, and on the other hand, turn a blind eye to the assessment standards which were designed in the first place to ensure the development of productive citizens for South Africa. The achievement of learning outcomes are then sidelined to ensure that there is no bottle necking in the system. Hanlon (cited in Ball, 2004, p. 144) states that ‘we are ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ in the struggle for the soul of professionalism.’ In the face of such contradictions, how does the teacher reconcile his own identity from a moral and ethical perspective?

Amongst the participants in my research study, Alan is not the only one who wrestles with moral and ethical implications of the fabrications of the education system. This is how Vee articulated his concerns:

*“In terms of quality, it is **my duty to make sure that these children have achieved 35 specific outcomes**. I think in terms of policy that’s the bottom line. Because, if you do that then the child seems developed in his knowledge, attitudes, skills and values. That is it. **But what we do on the other hand, is completely different. I guess sometimes, we don’t even worry about the LOs. We are just worried about to ensure that the upper levels are satisfied at school.** Ideally, you know, as I said, its all about making sure that the children have developed in terms of quality. But I don’t think that we achieved or satisfied that requirement. I say that because a lot of pupils have been **pushed** through from Grade 4 to Grade 5. **They are not supposed to be there. These children, sometimes it’s about 40% of the class that are not supposed to be there, that are there. And at the end of Grade 6 you send them through as well. So have I achieved a lot? No, I haven’t**” (Vee).*

The participant is able to articulate the official requirements according to policy in terms of achieving the specified number of outcomes. He admits that he disregards the policy in favour of his own intuitive sense of what the learner needs. This is a direct clash or antagonism of the new policy given the context of the teacher's working environment.

The idea of children being "*pushed*" is forceful and has connotations of an unnatural progression. His description of children going through the system, resembles that of a sausage machine where children are being processed. This extract reveals systemic flaws where on the one hand the ideal of the policy states that learners should be assessed in terms of achievement of learning outcomes and on the other hand the false notion (fabrication) of success is uncovered where children who have not achieved these outcomes are still allowed through. The various regional sectors of the education department then report a glorious pass rate and reality is distorted. What is perpetuated as success in this case, is partially a façade since the learners who have not achieved the necessary learning outcomes are "*pushed*" through.

Teachers are not the only ones open to technologies of visibility. It occurs across various Departments with some being more intensive than others. Once again, the domino effect of accountability ranging from the individual teacher, the class unit, the school, the district, the region and the province are all responsible for the scenario as presented. The governmentality at the level of state filters to the individual class to the individual teacher and once again cyclically impacts on the whole nation.

Governmentality in terms of self-regulation and the idea of the sausage machine implied in Vee's extract is elaborated by Rina in a separate interview which is what follows in the extract below:

*“I don’t think I’ve mentioned this before. What really frustrates me is that if one is busy with a theme and you start to discuss the certain aspects in that theme. In the past we would run with that and diverge from that and say, oh, lets go and find out more about that topic. Now one cannot go off, and go and explore something that does not in the fall into the category of the LOs or ASs that you were working with. **Why? Simply, because one is geared towards fulfilling that assessment standard that lies ahead of you. And because of time constraints, you are basically forced to push these kids through a sausage machine to make sure that you get that set outcome and there is no time to veer off the path and to do things spontaneously and that is sad. Learning should not happen like that. There is a lot of incidental learning that takes place or that will lead itself onto further things. And we are far too regimental because we have to stick to the system and cover all these outcomes and ASs. That is sad**” (Rina).*

This extract points to Foucault’s concept of governmentality, where as a result of governmentality at the level of the state through the production of the assessment policy, teachers govern themselves according to the new discourse. Rina’s own self governance and regulation of practice is quite “*regimental*” in that she keeps to the goal of achieving the assessment standards and in her words, “*there is no time to veer.*” As part of self discipline and the heeding of the official pedagogic identity, spontaneity is curtailed in favour of accountability and standardization. The emphasis on production and efficiency, perceived as a gain on the one hand, leads to loss in terms of personal fulfillment and happiness on the other.

The intensification of teachers’ workload is a widely researched area of education (Chisholm et al., 2005, Hargreaves, 1994, pp. 117-140). In the extract that follows, Rina asserts that assessment has an enormous impact on her workload and her conscience:

*“Enormously. It encroaches so much on our private lives. I speak here for absolutely everyone, from the unmarried staff to those whose children are grown up and not in the house, everyone feels the same you know. As I said to you, it is not only your weekends it is your holidays. There is never time when you really feel that you can sit back. **And one is***

always filled with that sense of guilt if you do actually take the day off, and decide, ‘Gosh, today I am not going to do any school work’. Because you know that if you take that day off then tomorrow you are sitting with double the load. So it really has an enormous impact on what we are doing” (Rina).

The neo-liberal trends of modern society perpetuate an individualistic and competitive trait amongst workers of the world in terms of productivity. Yet, it is interesting to note that Rina finds her sense of security within the community of practice, where unity is forged in response to a common dilemma and that they are able to find solace in the fact that everyone, irrespective of age or circumstance feels the pressure of the workload. Teaching and planning encroaches on one’s private space and the identity of being a teacher overshadows other identities that comprise the self. This imbalance in the various elements of the self is further exacerbated by feelings of guilt when one does choose to take time off to recharge the body and mind. Frankl (1984, pp. 45-46) writes of similar strains on the bodies of prisoners in the Nazi concentration camps. Rina’s ‘care of self,’ entails pushing herself to the limit “ *because you know that if you take that day off then tomorrow you are sitting with double the load.*”

In Rina’s case, the articulation of that guilt of taking time off for herself, signals the ‘emergence of a new form of subjectivity’ (Ball, 2004, p. 145). As part of technologies of self, maximum labour is extracted from the body in an attempt to preserve the body. Thus what is evident is a particular set of ‘practices through which we act upon ourselves and one another in order to make us particular kinds of being’ (Rose, 1992, p. 161). Foucault’s (1979, p. 140) notion of bio-power as an increasing ‘subjugation of bodies and the control of populations’ for the sake of generating greater utility, efficiency and productivity is evident in Rina’s self-regulation (governmentality) to extract maximum use of her body in an attempt to ease the dictates of her conscience (pastoral power). Ball (2004) states that this form of regulation or governmentality has a social and interpersonal dimension which, enfolds into complex institutional, team, group and communal relations as is evident in self regulation of Rina and her colleagues in response to the intensification of the workload. Hence, Foucault’s statement that ‘the *subject* is both tied to someone else by control and dependence, and being tied to one’s own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge has relevance (Foucault, 1982b, p. 130).

The cutting effects of modernity on the subject's awareness of time and space is explored in the data presented below:

"I find even because we are so intent on making notes all the time and making assessments and finding new learning material and assessing whatever tasks the child has completed, not even finding time or making new posters for your classroom wall, creating your displays as we used to. You look for the quick fix solutions. You wait for people to come up with the poster and you come up with a bought poster. To me it is not the same as you know the ones we used to make on our own. And often I used to, and it was wonderful, the children used to make the displays in the class and just spend an hour just drawing and cutting and they would make the displays for the next theme. There's no time for that any more" (Rina).

Due to being consumed with drawing up content and assessing which is the requirement of the official pedagogic identity, the teacher's sense of self which is reflected in her personal environment has also been affected. Her personal working space has not been allowed to flourish due to intensification of the pressures of the official pedagogic identity. Traditionally, the disciplinary powers were exemplified by practices requiring outward visibility in teaching and a well decorated classroom earned accolades. Disciplinary measures are still operational and are now directed inwardly at the teacher who has chosen to shed some of her old patterns of behavior (previous measures of performativity) as a strategy of 'care of self.' The teacher's sense of creativity has been minimized and this is outwardly displayed or made visible in her environment. Those aspects of her teaching practice that she values like making her own posters are now being replaced by bought posters. The idea of 'bought pictures' once again alludes to the effects of modernity where activities that used to be done by the individual are now done by others (division of labour) aimed at saving time. This indicates that in her attempts to heed the new discourse, aspects of her self had to be evaluated and her identity reconstituted as a result of the cutting effects of modernity.

In the extract that follows, Alan's reference to 'pressure' alludes to the shortening of the space/time dimension to achieve necessary goals (performativity). He raises the issue of remedial work in his discursive practice:

*"I want to say and I should have said it earlier, that we also because of the pressure of working with all these kids, we are finding it very difficult to do justice to remedial work. Whereas in those days, you were not allowed to carry on with any new work, you would do the remedial work which was called corrections. And that is such a battle because if a child does let's say out of five sums, Maths, and the child does one, and in the next lesson, you have to dwell on that, talk about the problems, but problem won't exhibit themselves if children doesn't do anything on the paper where they don't know what they actually did not understand. So that is problematic as well. **If you had to look at my children's books, I think that you would criticize me and say, but your children are really not doing remedial work.** What is happening? It is not that I haven't thought about it, but it's just that it is one of those difficult areas" (Alan).*

To use Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) language of description, in the previous discourse, the *element* of remedial work had become a *moment* in that articulatory practice. Teachers have already established moments which formed temporary fixations. The cycle of 'teach, correct and remediate' was instilled in Alan's teaching repertoire or habitus. The word 'criticize,' is typically what happened to teachers who omitted the remedial work. The teacher's accumulated professional experience of knowing the value of remedial work forms the basis on which he criticizes his own practice for neglecting this aspect. The learning problems that are experienced in the classroom are real ones that are privy to teachers. The question that remains is whether policy-makers know of these problems, for example, learners not doing their work or there being limited time to remediate, let alone assess.

From this extract, it appears that the teacher feels that there is a gap in his task or even a sense of guilt, for sidelining the remedial aspects because he does not have the time. According to Giddens (1991) guilt essentially depends on mechanisms extrinsic to the internally referential systems of modernity. Guilt carries the connotation of moral

transgression: it is anxiety deriving from a failure, or inability to satisfy certain forms of moral imperatives in the course of a person's conduct (Giddens, 1991, p.153). In the case of Alan, his internal referential system or his inner voice tells him that remedial work is important. However, he does not have time for remedial work because he needs to demonstrate that the learners are 'moving along' (performativity), which, is important for his 'care of self' as a teacher. Ultimately, this is the struggle for the teacher's soul- the internal contestation between what ought to be done (intuition) and what must to be done (performativity).

Rina has found that the emphasis on performativity, is contradictory to the principle of learners working at their own pace and she too, raises the issue of remedial work.

"In the past because you weren't chasing so many ASs and things like that, there was more time to remediate. So if you found that they were struggling with a particular section then once you assess them you realize that there is so many of them that battled with this concept, you would go back and re-teach that section, we are finding now that because there is so much content, and so many ASs that need to be covered that you cannot go back. So we are finding that the children that need the remediation, they are getting left behind. What we do try to do and I know a lot of teachers give up their break time to try and help children. Often that is not enough, so it is a very difficult situation at the moment. That we are definitely not, because there is so much that needs to be covered in that year. There are many outcomes that need to be achieved, that we are not getting to remediate as well as we used to before" (Rina).

The issue of remediation was not initiated by me as researcher during the interview. Participants identified remediation as an area requiring attention in the context of the reality of the teaching and learning process. Different learners have different learning styles and thus different rates of learning. In Rina's view since there is pressure to cover content and link these to the necessary learning outcomes and assessment standards, those learners who are in need of remediation, that is, the disadvantaged learners are further disadvantaged. The hegemonic project of the state encompasses the issue of social justice and in terms of John

Rawls (1973), *A Theory of Justice*, ‘the principles of justice are chosen behind the veil of ignorance. This ensures that no one is advantaged or disadvantaged in the choice of principles by the outcome of natural chance or the contingency of social circumstances.’ In Rina’s practice, her knowledge and experience points to consideration being given to certain learners who don’t work at the same pace as others. However, due to pressures of performativity she does not remediate as she would like to.

Remediation as part of the teaching cycle is the habitus of teachers in an established discourse. Abandonment of this aspect leads to feelings of guilt. Rina alludes to some teachers giving up their time to alleviate the situation and remediate where possible. Teachers are giving of time in terms of bio-power and giving of themselves (self regulation) in response to their own conscience, purpose or dedication. This self governance is further highlighted by Foucault’s (1982b) reference to ‘tied to his own identity by his conscience or self-knowledge.’ There are voluminous amounts of work to be covered and one gets a sense of the teacher being overwhelmed due to time constraints.

When Alan was asked whether he felt compelled to accomplish those learning outcomes and assessment standards, at the expense of the remedial work, this is how he responded:

*“I can say that there is pressure. There is a sort of an unsaid deadline because of the topics that are suggested in the learning area. And I **have to be seen to be moving along** let’s say with the majority of the children. We must at least go through those concepts because they are going to be at a different grade next year. **And the outcomes, I must tell you that I am not really consciously looking at the outcomes.** I wouldn’t be standing in the class and saying look this is the outcome, this is what I am doing. The learning outcomes that I am doing now, I might not consciously do it. But the night before when I am looking for my journal I will say okay, that is the outcome. This is what we are saying here. In Maths it is quite explicit, it will say, children are able to multiply by this that and the other. They can count forwards and backwards and as I said that is quite specific. In science it is a bit of a repetition, simply talk about, investigation, observation and so on. So you are coming through those skills, all the time. The same with technology, You have the design, brief*

approach where you look at the problem investigate argue about it think of a solution and then you workout something in terms of a project or something kids have to make. But it does dictate pace also. It really does” (Alan).

The assessment standards and learning outcomes are characterized by strong framing (control) in Bernstein’s terms. Yet, the OBE approach is characterized by weak framing, that is, learners are expected to proceed at their own pace which is characteristic of a competence mode. The teacher feels that this is a contradiction because he is being pressured: *“I have to be seen to be moving along.”* The *“moving along”* would show progress and this may result in superficiality or fabrication of actual progress made. The *“moving along”* is for the sake of looking good and not necessarily because learners are ready to progress. A dilemma is faced by the teacher since different learners work at different paces. Thus the lack of remedial work actually further disadvantages the already disadvantaged learners who are more likely to grasp concepts at a slower rate.

Alan’s idea of not consciously thinking about the learning outcomes is contrary to policy expectations where teachers have to explicitly state in the preparation of work, which learning outcomes will be covered in a specific lesson. It is expected that learners too, have to be notified of the learning outcome of that lesson.

Rina’s practice, however, seems to be more in line with what the policy-maker envisioned.

“I get this feeling that it is this whole big paper chase, you are churning out this notes you are giving it to the students. Whilst putting together these worksheets you have to keep in mind well what LO or what AS this is. The LOs are not so difficult to define those are fine, but when you are breaking things down into ASs sometimes they cover quite a few in a single time, fine so you list them there on your worksheet. Now you have to assess. Under which assessment standard do you place your 1, 2, 3 or 4. You know. I am concerned that at the end of the day you are sitting with a worksheet full of ASs with all these numbers 1 to 4 and I look at the codes and I ask, what do those codes really say?” (Rina)

Matching content with the required learning outcomes and assessment standards is challenging for Rina and her colleagues as these are prescriptive and strongly framed in Bernstein's (1996) terms. Keeping an account of the learning outcomes and assessment standards is equally demanding for Rina and her colleagues who are trying to work according to the letter as far as the assessment policy is concerned. Attempts to satisfy the demands of policy, result in what Foucault terms 'self governing techniques' aimed at normalizing practice to force a fit between the content and the assessment standards. Rina practices what I have termed "**contrived assessment**" where she attempts to force a fit between the assessment tasks and the learning outcomes and assessment standards. [The term "contrived assessment" emerges from my 'logic of discernment.' The word contrived is an adjective used to describe or highlight something that is planned or artificial].

6.6.4.6 Teacher Assessment: A Matter of Performativity

6.6.4.6.1 The Merit System

The concept of teachers working together, community of practice, is a relatively new concept amongst South African teachers. In the previous discourse, teachers functioned mainly in isolation from each other as knowledge dispensers, in very separate workspaces and predominantly within closed doors. Before the establishment of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), and the introduction of the Integrated Quality Management Systems (IQMS), the **merit system** as a form of teacher performativity was in place. Alan describes his experience of the merit system:

"One of the things is that I was selected for merit awards in the years of merit in Eshowe. When the principal found out that I was planning to leave the school, my scores just dropped. I can't remember any sort of scores like IQMS, but I was put forward for merit. Off course when I came to this school, other people who were in the game, much longer than I was, were

up for the merit system, and there was no chance that I would be recognized. What was strange about that was that you could be so good, and the very next month I was not so good anymore. Then I proved myself again over the years, and went up the rung” (Alan).

The system of allocating merit awards was a very subjective one as espoused by the participant. From my own experience as a teacher in a former HoD school, I am able to concur with Alan that the process was controlled by the principal. It is interesting that the participant describes it as: “*people who were in the game*” because the merit system was really a game with rules. It provided an incentive for teachers who played according to the rules by putting on a show or display of effective teaching. The show was a visible construct so that others could see evidence of “*good teaching.*” The greater the visibility in terms of decorated classrooms and fancy records, the greater the chances of success. Teachers under this self disciplinary mode, found creative ways of convincing the management staff that they were doing work of a far superior quality than other members of staff. This type of assessment of teachers’ performance was a norm referenced one (teachers compared to each other) where only a few teachers would qualify for this monetary gain. Some principals, and in my experience those from the ex-HoD schools would behave as if the merit bonuses were coming out of their pockets and they would zealously restrict these awards to only a few teachers in the school.

The teacher’s description, “*went up the rung*” refers to teachers’ aspiration to move up to management positions. According to Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy of needs, individuals seek to move up to achieving other needs as the basic needs are met. The management position would mean a higher salary and greater security. The management positions also imply that the higher up the rung you go, the less the scrutiny one is exposed to from those in the higher rungs of management. Foucault’s notion of ‘descending individualism,’ and the ‘power of the gaze’ may apply here. To date, level 1 teachers, besides governing themselves and internalizing the disciplinary measures, they are also under constant surveillance (in some cases more than others depending on the context). The management position means that one gets to do the scrutinizing rather than being scrutinized.

6.6.4.6.2 IQMS: Assessors being assessed

Within the schooling circles there are buzz words that capture the attention of educators and other stakeholders involved in education. These buzz words are: **assessment** and **IQMS**. In addition to the task of assessing learners and recording learners' progress in terms of achievement of learning outcomes and the assessment standards, teachers are also faced with the challenges of the Integrated Quality Management Systems (IQMS) which refers to the assessment of teachers for quality control purposes and pay incentives. In other words, the assessors are being assessed.

Alan had indicated that he had a '*burning issue*,' and asked if he could talk about the IQMS:

“But then there is IQMS, this is also doing that. We are very busy with that IQMS, in fact on Monday, the principal wants to sit with admin and look at the scores that we have done in this round because, there’s a document out in the Department that says that there must be some sort of moderation. Because apparently, I am talking about teacher assessment now, some schools are very unrealistic. I have a problem with that too because, somebody higher up is saying that these people should not be getting ‘fours.’ Why are they getting ‘fours’? But they are not in schools and it is a very debateable [sic]. I believe that if a person in a rural area can get a four even if they don’t have projectors in their classrooms [sic]. Why can’t they score a four?” (Alan).

In addition to coping with the interpretation and implementation of new policies (such as the Assessment policy), teachers also have to deal with the stress of their own assessment as educators which threatens their professionalism. The IQMS challenges teachers as professionals as they try to convince the management staff and their seniors that they are competent. Often teachers don't want to disclose to colleagues and more so to management staff that they experience difficulties with assessment of learners. Such disclosure would

jeopardize the teachers' competence as professionals in terms of how others view their capacity and productivity. Assessment becomes an area in which they require development but disclosure of such shortcomings would hinder their own chances of obtaining a higher rating for IQMS which has implications for their salary bonuses.

In the extract that follows, Alan alludes to teachers grappling with assessment but seek to cover up this insecurity and frustration by projecting it onto learners:

*“When we had 66, of these criteria, critical outcomes, that was mind boggling. ...with RNCS, they did a lot of work with it. And they really did water it down. But even then, it is very daunting task, it still remains in many cases an ideal. Personally I don't think we are very clear where we can say, ‘Hey, we are really on top of things’ because **judging from comments by teachers where ever we go and meet, some teachers don't really give you much information but they complain like anything, they really complain about children not doing their work and stuff**” (Alan).*

With regard to the assessment standards and learning outcomes, even though these have been reduced, Alan still feels that it is an ideal. He is being honest and openly admits experiencing a lack of clarity and confidence. He makes an interesting comment about teachers withholding information. This can be attributed to teachers' attempts to protect their professional status which is masked. However, when teachers do meet there is a need to give vent to frustration. They complain because they are dissatisfied. However, they are guarded in that they do not disclose their feelings of insecurity about their professionalism and their frustration is then projected by complaining about learners.

6.6.4.7 Performativity: The gaze takes the fizz out of teaching

Rina describes the pressures of performativity:

“You don’t have time to take the children, gosh you know, before we were discussing something, let’s go and find out more about that in the library you know. Or if something out of the ordinary had to happen, to break away from your normal set work for that week. We cannot do that because you are going to fall behind” (Rina).

The symbolic structure of Bentham’s Panopticon as explicated by Foucault (1977) is evident in this extract. The teacher’s conduct is governed as if she is watched by the police (policy-maker) and has to function within a given structure. There seems to be enormous pressure (which is self imposed as part of ‘care of self’) to avoid falling behind to deliver. The inference that can be drawn from that is that spontaneity is traded for production, with the emphasis on product rather than process. This also alludes to disciplinary power (Foucault) where the body is controlled to maximize production through self-regulation.

“You need a receptive class, you know, and sadly, I say this sadly, I think in the context in main terms in the context nowadays, the children are so aware that everything that you are giving to them is for assessment purposes. And they feel that they are under the spotlight all the time. All the time, you know, and they would often tell, ‘Oh, is this for assessment.’ And it kind of takes the fizz out of just doing something out of enjoyment” (Rina).

As is evident in the extract above, based on classroom experiences of assessment, it appears that the issue of accountability filters through all participants in the teaching learning process including the learners. Learners also realize the impact of assessment in their lives and strive for the sake of assessment rather than the sheer enjoyment of the task. ‘*Under the spotlight*’ alludes to the disciplinary power that exposes the learners as well to the scrutiny of the gaze. The technique of ‘making visible,’ according to Rina, “*takes the fizz out of doing something for enjoyment.*”

6.6.4.8 Performativity Perpetuates a Cycle of Fabrications

“When I say that I am giving the child marks I am really on a scale from one to ten on each worksheet I give the child a 2, so that they are getting 20%. I can’t give the child a 3 because there are some children who haven’t missed a day but they are so weak that they might score a 2. You see the dilemma. And that I find really problematic. So even giving them marks is dangerous. I am actually at a stage when it is difficult to say the ability of the child. Without blaming the teachers that were before us, you ask yourself, ‘how is the child getting to Grade 7? What are we doing with assessments?’ How are they getting through?’ Are we forced by the system to give them marks. I actually don’t see a way out of it because these kids are going to be in high school. The Grade 7s next year they present themselves in high school. And I know that those teachers are going to be horrified that they have a child sitting in Grade 7 that actually shouldn’t be in grade 7, but we are caught in that cycle” (Alan).

Part of the teacher’s strategy of survival is to give marks so that something appears in the learner’s report. However, it is not as simple as that. He is then faced with the dilemma of giving the child who has not done the task a higher mark than one who has attempted the task and obtained a low mark. He admits that the giving of marks is dangerous, but for him that appears to be the most feasible situation. This alleviates an external battle with the management of the school and the parents to some extent, but instigates an internal crisis within the individual. Accountability to others is ‘fixed’ (as in taken care of) but that leaves him with the onerous task of wrestling with his soul: ‘tied to his own identity by his conscience or self-knowledge’ (Foucault, 1982b, p. 130). He questions himself and the system to fathom where the accountability lies. He admits that he is part of a vicious cycle and he actually perpetuates the deceit that the assessment system fosters.

6.6.4.9 Performativity: A Matter of standards

The ‘**dropping of standards**’ is a common theme in conversation within the teaching circles. As a researcher, I was momentarily interested in exploring teachers’ perceptions and

concerns for ‘dropping standards.’ I voiced this concern that is often articulated by teachers in a research group meeting. There was an individual who took offence and verbally attacked me in the corridors after the meeting saying that she did not like what I said although I was merely presenting the views of teachers and not myself. When one talks of standards, there needs to be an understanding of why C2005 and OBE were introduced in the first place. The issue of governmentality cannot be ignored. Governmentality, the art of government, to show that the new South African dispensation knows how to govern and is able to fit in with the global trends of first world countries, has fostered a vision for productive citizens to take their place in the global arena:

“Or the system was different then. So many years back. Now it has changed, and I feel disappointed that standards are dropping. People would ask me: whose standards? We were in a talk, in fact Professor Johansen (fictitious name) came to visit us in High Tree, and I asked that question, I said that the standards are dropping and he said, “Whose standards are you talking about?” and he was quite abrasive” (Alan).

The issue of standards is a sensitive one. What is a standard? According to the NSE (2000b) policy document, a ‘standard means registered statements of desired education and training outcomes and their associated assessment criteria.’ When one refers to a standard there are inferences and assumptions made that one is referring to the standards of the previously advantaged white schools. In a sense this rings true, since policy-makers in their ivory towers have carved their notions of the ideal from the misperception that South African schools/classrooms are typically ex-model C ones. However, that does not detract from the pressures of international standards that are imposed on learners’ performance. When one compares South Africa’s performance in Mathematics and Science globally, for example, it has been rated amongst the lowest in the world. Writing about the huge skills gap in South Africa, Mamphela Ramphele (1997), asks ‘Why are South Africans unwilling to talk about the legacy of apartheid on the quality of human resource base? If one accepts that Bantu education discouraged, and in some cases prevented, the teaching of Mathematics and Science in most schools, one will not be surprised, let alone embarrassed, to admit that most teachers would not have the requisite skills to perform at the appropriate level to prepare pupils for the 21st century’s knowledge driven society.’ In the context of Ramphele’s

argument, the impact of apartheid cannot be ignored. However, the question of standards goes beyond the racial divide of apartheid to encompass national pressures of global competitiveness.

“But he was interrogating the thing. He made us think. ‘Whose standards are we talking about?’ In terms of my training and my potential and what I think I can impart to these children, that is where I say that the standards are dropping that I ‘d like to see the progress of the pace pick up a bit” (Alan).

What is presented here, to use the language of Laclau and Mouffe (1985), is an antagonism. The teacher as a professional with his accumulated experience and knowledge makes a comment about standards dropping. The ‘ideal self’ is a key part of self-identity, because it forms a channel of positive aspirations in terms of which the narrative of self-identity is worked out (Giddens, 1991, p 68). There is an intuitive sense of other possibilities derived from Alan’s training and professional experience from which he provides justification for saying that the standards are dropping. By virtue of his conscience, the teacher speaks out as a concerned citizen (positive aspirations - Giddens, 1991) thus contributing to the hegemonic project of building a productive country with a competent workforce.

When Deb was asked about the recording process, this is how she responded:

*“We record it as a mark which might be based on criteria which were set out or right – wrong, we record it as a mark, then they get a percentage, it is then computed to a percent. And then all of those categories within a learning area is then added. It’s weighted and then you get a final percentage. That final percentage is then turned into a 1, 2, 3 and a 4. **The question I thought you were going to ask me was, ‘Do I record it according to assessment standards and outcomes. ?’** No I don’t. I don’t do that because my planning, when I plan. I plan from outcomes and assessment standards. When I assess that task, that task has been planned from outcomes and assessment. So if you want to see what outcomes and assessment standards I use, it is in my planning. But what I do is that I just change that into a mark*

because we are using marks still. But the marks are not totally done, diagnostic, it is still outcomes- based. Did that help?”(Deb).

According to the requirements of the assessment policy, learners’ achievement should be recorded against the learning outcomes and the assessment standards. Hence her remark: *“The question I thought you were going to ask me was, ‘Do I record it according to assessment standards and outcomes?’ ”* Deb is aware that this is the requirement and she rationalizes this by stating that the task has been planned from the learning outcome and assessment standards. Deb has described herself as a *“teacher training teachers”* and has claimed ownership of the process of policy interpretation and development in terms of responding to draft documents, yet she interprets the policy in a way that suits her. In comparison, Rina, who lacks belief in the policy, implements it according to the letter, that is, by recording learning outcomes and assessment standards. There is no doubt that Deb knows exactly what is required by the policy-maker, yet she chooses to implement in her own way. Deb has not adhered to the policy-maker’s requirement, yet has immense faith in her own ability to implement. Triangulation as a methodological device for testing authenticity has been useful. Deb did not allow video recordings of her classroom practice and did not give me copies of her learners mark sheets or assessment recordings (even with names blotted), indicating that she was protective of her practice.

This following extract also presented in the methodology chapter, depicts Deb’s reluctance to give me a copy of a blank learner’s report that the school was using at that time.

R: Yes. Would you be able to give me a copy of a blank report?

Deb: Okay, the blank report, our reports are changing, because it is based on really old stuff. But our new report, I will let you have.

R: Is that the one you are giving out to your learners.

Deb: We will be giving our learners. The one we are using now is an interim one. By next year it will change. Still based on kind of old policy but with outcomes based tasks. Alright, the LOs and ASs tasks. But we are still basing our symbols and things like that which will go away, next year. So I won't let you have this, I will give you a new one.

R: I needed to know for this current year, what you are using. It doesn't really matter. You have indicated to me that assessment standards are incorporated into tasks.

Deb: I am not saying that Yeah. This is the last time we are going to use this report. As I said, I does take into account all of things that we in all the learning areas, effort is there and so forth. But but I am going to hesitate to give this to you because it is outdated.

R: It is not going to appear anywhere.

Deb: It is totally outdated. I will give it to you as soon as our new one is developed.

So what I will do next week, if you do want my copies, I will have that ready for you.

The excerpt above can be juxtaposed with the extract that follows:

“Assessment was also a huge part of my training. I have been involved with that Protocol, quite a lot, before it became the Protocol, the Assessment Policy, OBA, facilitator assessment all of this has been, from a teacher organization perspective, an education perspective. I haven't made the time actually to continue it at a tertiary level, but I must. I have lots of people coming in and asking me about it. And I do a lot work with individual schools as well you know, asking me how to go about the actual implementation” (Deb).

When asked about whether the ideals and expectations of the department are realistic for her as a teacher, this is how Deb responded:

“You know I am going to very honest and say ‘Yes.’ But I am only able to get to that answer because of my personal journey of interacting and interrogating this curriculum. So I am going to say, ‘Yes’ but I tell you for many thousands of teachers it is very idealistic, it’s really far-fetched, its unattainable because they don’t know how the integration works. They don’t know how the implementation works. You know, and I also think that there is a lot of fear. There is a lot of apprehension about whether it is going to work. Many just don’t do it because they are afraid that it is not going to work” (Deb).

Deb has communicated her expertise in the area of assessment. She attributes the key to her success to her personal journey of interacting and interrogating the curriculum. Having explicitly stated her expertise on knowledge of the assessment policy, it appears that she lacks belief about the form of the report that the school is currently using. As part of her survival technique, she withholds the blank form of the report from the gaze of others. This does not lessen her expert status on the knowledge of assessment, but it alludes to the fact that implementation of assessment needs time and a whole school approach including taking cognizance of the culture of the school. Deb could not suddenly throw out the old report, since it was the ‘truth’ of a previous discourse and representative of another colleague’s expertise. She had to gradually ease it into the culture of her school.

Deb has clearly positioned herself outside the context of the majority. She does not align herself with most teachers because of her implicit belief in her own ability as a teacher trainer of assessment. She sees herself as a master of the assessment rather than the masses who are grappling with it. However, despite Deb’s expertise in the theory of assessment, a perceived guarding of practice was detected.

6.6.4 Summary

This section presented data on issues at the core of this thesis related to the nodal points of assessment. The policy prescription that emerges from the macro-level of governmentality and presented as a ‘game of truth’ are interpreted and responded to by teacher participants at a micro-level of governmentality. In the case of Rina, the ‘game of truth’ regarding peer assessment is challenged on the basis of her professional experience and intuition. Other policy guidelines of assessment such as groupwork, parent assessment as well as feedback are perceived in ambiguous terms and consequently have led to varied interpretations of implementation. The new discourse of assessment has brought with it new terms of descriptions such as portfolios, work schedules and rubrics. However, in terms of teachers responses interesting informal references to acts of assessment have emerged from data obtained from Alan. In the specific cases of data, it emerged that in recreating the self, the teacher is faced with attempting to balance intuition and professional experience with prescription. The analytical strategy of analyzing power relations through antagonisms and forms of resistance, has shown that Vee attributes antagonisms to external factors. Vee confesses his shortcomings with regard to assessment because that practice no longer threatens his professional identity since his overall strategy to exit the teaching profession has been disclosed.

This section holds valuable lessons for policy-makers since it highlights the ambiguities in the nodal points of assessment that shift between competence and performance models. In the cases as specified in data, this leads to “*forcing*” or “*artificial*” forms of assessment which I have termed, ‘**contrived assessment.**’ The practice of assessment as an integrated mode opens up possibilities (as in the case of Brian) of a watered-down effect instead of pure Mathematical concepts being assessed. This definitely opens up areas for exploration by future researchers in the field of education.

Data has revealed that rationalities of government (globalization, neo-liberalism) with its concomitant discourses of accountability and performativity have influenced the ‘techniques of government’ through the assessment policy which has filtered into the practices of

teachers. The norms of assessment practice induce disciplinary techniques and mechanisms for self regulation. Issues of performativity, accountability and fabrications are causes of concern for participants as shown in the data. In the cases of Alan and Rina, this concern extends beyond the concern for self but for the nation as a whole as it strives to find its niche in the global arena. Concerns stem from the global gaze as well as competency levels needed to satisfy the criteria of global standards. In the case of Rina, her sense of knowing (professional insight and intuition) of what is required for a productive South Africa is not matched with the vision of policy-makers. The macro-goals of performativity and accountability lead to fabrications and contrived assessment and results in the production of subjects, 'both tied to someone else by control and dependence, and being tied to one's own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge' (Foucault, 1982b, p.130).

6.7 Professional Development

6.7.1 Teachers as Subjects of Knowledge

The knowledge base of teaching according to Shulman, (cited in Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996) should consist of a 'codified or codifiable aggregation of knowledge, skill, understanding and technology, of ethics and disposition, of collective responsibility as well as means of representing it.' Further, a vital aspect of this knowledge base is referred to as 'pedagogical content knowledge' which is 'that amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding. Pedagogical content knowledge is the knowledge of how to teach one's subject or subject matter. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996), argue that by explicating this knowledge, one can make teachers intuitive, practical know-how and technique into visible, codifiable, professional knowledge.

As a result of teacher training in different institutions and separate departments of education, most schools (with the exception of the Ex-NED schools) operated according to subject or

learning area specialization. Alan discusses subject or learning area specialisation in the following extract.

*“But I enjoy Maths, I enjoy, English, Afrikaans, biology especially, Geography, I’ve enjoyed Arts and Culture in the new learning area. I really enjoyed it but it can have limitations because of the numbers, like how much can you do. **Again it is with numbers, I was caught up by the way we were taught at the colleges. Today, if you take Arts and Culture, just about every book has the notion that you are a specialist.** So if you are teaching dance, they are using terminology that you should be au fait with. If you are teaching music, then you should be able to read music and that is not the case. **I play music, I play guitar but by ear. And these things catch up with you and when you must assess children. Sometimes that, to me as a teacher, is the stumbling block. Because the kids are there, I am just pulling them along. A lot of them are talented. And if I had more expertise in certain things, I know that those children will excel. So very much the disadvantage factor is there”** (Alan).*

The teacher’s initial training has not prepared him for the large number of learners in his class. With the renaming of “*subjects*” and the inclusion of some new learning areas, aspects of the curriculum require specialized skills and knowledge. This is ‘abstract knowledge’ in Giddens’ (1991) terms and policy-makers and text book writers make an assumption that teachers are *au fait* with this kind of knowledge. Not all teachers in the intermediate and early senior phases are able to guide learners to actualize their potential in the learning area of Arts and Culture, for example, if they are not trained in Music, Drama or the teaching of Art. Although the teacher Alan can play music, he has no formal training which then impacts on his performance as an assessor for that particular learning area. Once again, Alan’s honesty about his practice as a teacher takes on a confessional dimension. He expresses verbally some of the issues that he wrestles with internally in terms of his own professional expertise or lack thereof in trying to develop the talent of learners.

Incidentally, having explored the biography of Alan, it becomes useful to understand him as a professional as well. In his narrative, he lamented about how his mother had paid for piano

lessons for his half brother which his brother did not explore further. Having a natural affinity for music, Alan speculated what he could have done with similar training.

In comparison, in Peak School, for example, where teachers are class-based, there are specialist teachers who teach subjects like Art, Isizulu, Music or Computers. This is possible in schools that have a higher fee paying structure that budgets for the payment of additional teachers. In High Tree School where Alan teaches, within the context of subject-based teaching, the lower school fees means that specialist teachers cannot be brought in specifically to teach these learning areas. By Alan's own admission, "*Because the kids are there, I am just pulling them along.*" However, he states that "*these things catch up with you, when you must assess children,*" which points to the reality that within the discursive practice of assessment, the teacher is brought to account for the teaching and learning process. The learner's performativity is linked to teachers' own performativity within the discourse of neo-liberalism. This is reminiscent of Earl and Katz's (2000), comment that assessment is one of the most challenging areas of a teachers' work that carries a high emotional charge because it is where teachers' relative success becomes visible to parents and to the public at large.

With regard to visibilities, Ball (2004) alludes to a new mode of social and (moral) regulation that bites deeply into the practice of state professionals and 're-forming' meaning and identity, producing or making up new professional subjectivities. Ball (2004) cites Deleuze who describes it as a shift from 'societies of disciplines' to 'societies of control'. One of the controls is that of routines (record-keeping).

6.7.2 Teachers' Accounts of Professional Development

In the extracts that follow, the participants have unanimously declared that their professional development in terms of the new assessment has been inadequate. Alan explains his concern:

“And in terms of assessment, we really need a lot more workshopping. But to all the workshops I’ve been to, they haven’t really answered my question about assessment and the big class numbers. I don’t think that anybody has that answer at the moment. And it is the reality” (Alan).

In the following extract, Rina expressed her dissatisfaction, at the Education Department’s attempt at professional development for teachers:

“I just find that these workshops are extremely drawn out and long. They don’t get to the point fast enough, and trying to labour on a point over and over. They get stuck in terms of didactics, terminology and they trash that out over and over and over again. And they tend to skirt around the issues and they dish out more things...and I think what our teachers are looking for, we want practical advice, don’t give us this theory. Give us practical things that we can do that we can implement and use. There’s too few models, that have actually been put into practice where they can tell us, yes, this school, this school is using this model and it works well. We don’t have any of that. So, yes, we have been given a lot of background theory work, but not enough practical advice to say that this school has done this, this is what has worked for them. Go and try that” (Rina).

According to Rina, the professional development in terms of mediating the new assessment discourse is inadequate which she attributes to too much theory and not enough practical models for implementation. This alludes to facilitators themselves experiencing difficulty in attempting to translate the ideals of policy into practice. Joyce and Showers, (1980; 1994) have identified a number of key training components which when used in combination have much greater power than when used alone. The major components are the following:

- Presentation of theory or description of skill or strategy;
- Modelling or demonstration of skills or models of teaching;
- Practice in simulated and classroom settings;
- Structured and open-ended feedback (provision of information about performance);

- Coaching for application (hands on, in-classroom assistance with the transfer of skills and strategies in the classroom).

Ideally, Joyce and Showers' (1980; 1994) model of teacher development emphasizes the strength of the combination of all key training components rather than being used in isolation. In the opinion of most teachers interviewed in this study, the teacher development focused on presentation of theory without adequate models, without simulation of skills and without coaching for application.

The inadequacy of Alan's professional development, is articulated in the following extracts.

*"I am far from ready to say that I know completely what I am doing. It is always intimidating. The workshops that I went to, people that workshopped [trained us] were themselves given a crash course with all respect to them. The workshops, they were more or less crash courses. And we work on that brainstorming strategy, so the ideas come from the teachers mostly. The facilitator is there but a lot of problems and issues are raised at those workshops and many times the presenters would say, look they are just the messengers from elsewhere and there is a certain amount of discontent about it. Because when we come here, we've been workshopped, so we must produce the goods. **And assessment for me is never pleasant. It's got to be a sign that I am not actually equipped enough to do justice to it. That is the long and the short of it.** It is coupled with the workload and the busy classrooms and the big numbers in the classroom. With absenteeism and late coming, all those factors too. When I talk about absenteeism it also goes to teachers and things that happen when teachers get called to workshops and usually in the system of relief where you plan to do certain assessments during your own time now, collating stuff, that does not happen now because you are going to go fill in else where. So it's dynamic, there's a lot of things that happen but I am not happy with assessment as such 'Are we equipped enough and to do a good job?' **The answer is, 'No. Really, I am not equipped'** " (Alan).*

The expert knowledge termed abstract systems (Giddens, 1991) has potential disembedding effects for the existing identities of teachers. In the face of global and local change, the need

for professional development is imperative. However, in the case of Alan, attempts at professional development have been inadequate.

The approach used by the workshop facilitators have failed to instill confidence in Alan who describes the experience as a crash course. Alan feels ill-equipped or in Giddens' (1991) term, 'deskilled,' to cope with his current workload and the large number of learners. Furthermore, planning is hampered by the fluidity and dynamism of the day to day events. Departmental efforts at contributing to teachers' professional development have been inadequate and has left the teacher feeling "*I am not equipped.*"

Alan comments on workshops that he attended on professional development within the area of assessment:

*"Well, I've been to a number of them. They would visit things like the policy document on the learning area. Then they'll talk about the learning outcomes and assessment standards and they would ask us to unpack what that assessment standard is. And then we report back. That type of thing. When you sit in a workshop, there are moments when you actually think that you know what is going on. **Then there are other hazy areas when you realize that I don't actually know where we are now. And we battle through it.** Eventually, you are back in class and you got to plan now, from your own planning for the year. This is where you check whether you did, how much you learnt from the workshop. **You've got to develop your own strategies and make things work for you, like I had to do with the Maths.** I had to thoroughly unpack the syllabus. I still call it the syllabus for the work schedule formats and simplify it, water it down and then I look at my plan for the year. I actually have a good idea what it is saying. It is not packed with words. When I read the beginning of something, I don't know whether I would reach the end. I don't know why I would start it. **A lot of it in the documents the way they clarify issues is not really clear enough I must say.** The teacher, I feel, the school has to go and tailor-make it for themselves and maybe that's the way of learning, to make it meaningful to you, you as the educator. Of course in primary school, we hop around from one area to the other. So you are always working on the policy document,*

on learning outcomes, assessment standards, I suppose that is the nature of learning. They talk about life-long learning” (Alan).

The workshops attended by Alan did not necessarily provide clarity. Teachers depend on their own coping strategies to make sense of the practice. The documents are unclear, open to various interpretations and are described as not being user-friendly.

With reference to Alan’s extract, that is, within the context of assessment changes, there are many tensions and difficulties at the level of the self. These ‘dilemmas have to be resolved in order to preserve a coherent narrative of self-identity’ (Giddens, 1991, p.188). An identified dilemma experienced by Alan is that of ‘unification versus fragmentation’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 189). According to Giddens (1991, p. 189) as far as the self is concerned, the problem of unification concerns protecting and restructuring the narrative of self-identity in the face of massive intentional and extentional changes which modernity sets into being. Thus the reflexive project of the self incorporates numerous contextual happenings and forms of mediated experience, through which a course must be charted. The actions of Alan in terms of developing his own strategies show how the self can reconstitute itself as a form of adaptive response. Another dilemma experienced by Alan is that of ‘authority versus uncertainty’ (Giddens, 1991) in circumstances where there is no final authority (as in the ambiguity of policy documents and inadequate professional development) the reflexive project of the self must bridge the gap in terms of alternate strategies in order to cope.

In terms of the teacher’s understanding of the Department of Education’s assessment policy expectations, there are varied responses.

“We have policies in place from the Department. Assessment, there’s one [Assessment Policy] that has just come out and talks about progress, promotion and the criteria. But within the school, we have agreed that we are doing continuous assessment and that on an everyday basis. We are looking at the child. We have to try and assess the child in terms of their ability. I did say earlier that I have a problem with collecting and collating of marks.

But you would argue that if I am supposed to assess on a continuous basis, why is there a problem? It's because of progress of children, co-operation levels, handing in of tasks, and so on" (Alan).

Although policies have been sent from the Department, Alan states that they have agreed to do continuous assessment. Continuous assessment has been in operation from 1995 (Jansen, 1999a, p.7) long before the introduction of OBE and Curriculum 2005 in South Africa. Whilst the school has received the Departmental policies on assessment and have made attempts to interpret the document, they have decided that their internal policy will focus on the child. Assessing the child in terms of their ability does not state whether they have been assessed according to the outcomes and assessment standards as is expected from policy-makers. There are whole-school decisions with regard to assessment as is generally the case in most schools. According to Alan, the problems with assessment lie in the collecting and collating of marks as well as the co-operation of learners.

In the extract that follows, Vee describes the ambiguities that plague various stakeholders:

"To be honest, the department doesn't not know what they want. And as a result management does not know what they want. And as result teachers don't know what to do simply because for the last 2 - 3 years now we've been having this debate about whether to keep marks or whether to keep a scale. Now we all know ... the teachers about 4-3-2-1 ... 4 is excellent, 3 is good, 2 is satisfactory and 1 is not satisfactory. So at the end of the year, the department sends schedules that require percentages. So the dilemma is, we weren't asked to keep percentages. For every workshop that we attended they tell us to keep scale, 1,2,3,4. But at the end of the end of the year, when the schedule is to be filled in they're asking for percentages. Now this is what confuses us. Now last year things changed. Last year teachers kept percentages but they wanted a scale last year. So what really happens now is that teachers to be on a safe side, they keep percentages and they keep scale. So if the department wants percentages we give them percentages. If they want scale, we give them scale. That's the safe side" (Vee).

*“But when I ask facilitators this question about the assessment; when I ask them about what’s needed; when I ask them about giving us more direction; when I get to the facilitators at the workshop the most recent one is at the er STP (Venue), the RNCS, Joan Candel (fictitious name) was the facilitator there. When I asked her, I told her why doesn’t the department formulate a small booklet that teachers could use as a guide for assessment because assessment is such a big ... it is so broad, wouldn’t that be good to help educators. **And she said that the examinations board works separately from curriculum development. So I asked her, ‘Why doesn’t the brain know what the hand is doing. Shouldn’t the brain and the hand work together?’ She said, ‘Yes, that’s an ideal situation but unfortunately the exams department is not the same as curriculum.’ And I told her that that is why we teachers in the school are having such a big problem. Now you telling us use 1,2,3,4. and the exams department wants percentages. I said to her, ‘Why don’t we have a workshop where you invite exams department, and the principals and the level ones [teachers] so that all three of the officials know exactly what they want.’ So she laughs about it and it was basically about laughing it off. I should have sounded serious about it”**(Vee).*

Fullan (1991) cites Charters, Pellegrin, Huberman and Miles as having found that abstract goals combined with a mandate for teachers to operationalise them resulted in confusion, frustration and abandonment of the effort.

‘Rational’ solutions to the problem of change usually backfire because they ignore the culture of the school (Sarason cited in Fullan, 1991). Fullan states that the result has been two forms of non-change: *false clarity* without change and *painful unclarity* without change (Fullan, 1991, p. 43- 45). ‘*False clarity*’ occurs when people think that they have changed but have only assimilated the superficial trappings of the new practice. ‘*Painful unclarity*’ is experienced when unclear innovations are attempted under conditions that do not support the development of the subjective meaning of change. Both these forms of non-change were observed.

In the extract that follows, Ann's practice of assessment can be described in Fullan's (1991) terms as 'painful unclarity' since the directives from workshop developers and the examinations board are fraught with contradictions and inconsistencies.

"The first thing that we found is that we can't assess in that way at all because the exams department expects a different thing from us. So if we think now for the moment we been only assessing using a four point scale and we even used a five point scale we have added a full star for something that is absolutely outstanding as well. But now we need to think again because we've got a seven point scale which is strongly tied to percentages. We went through what each one means, like for example, the four point scale, it makes so much sense. We got 'have not achieved', But with the new seven point scale you can't really work with the words because the words if it is 'meritorious or outstanding', we don't really know what that means. But it is also linked to percentages and we feel that we are now forced to use percentages again which we were excited not to use" (Ann).

Ann, as part of the school's community of practice has attempted to make sense of the four point scale stipulated in terms of the Department of Education's Assessment Policy. The adding of an extra rating to the scale is indicative of the school's creativity in engaging with policy in a meaningful way. However, just as teachers came to grips with the four point scale, another scale, a seven point scale was introduced. The language used to describe the scale as well as its link to percentages has not been well received by Ann.

*"Now what the lady doing our RNCS assessment workshop told to us is that we must get a page per LO (learning outcome) alright and we must break it up into the assessment standards, and we would record in anyway that suited us, so for one particular activity, we may have a tick or a cross, Yes, the child can do this, or NO the child can't do this. The next activity, it might be Maths, it might be out of 10 and we will record there 8 out of ten. **The next thing we might give them a straight face, a smily face or a happy face and we would record that. Then for the next we will run our eyes along and using our own judgement our own professional judgement we would say okay this child has got ten out of ten and a six for those three, this means that the child now has a FOUR overall...** On our new report,*

we have no place, for an overall English mark. But now we hear from the exams section that we must have an overall English mark and it must be 75% continuous assessment and 25% exams. So you find five Grade seven teachers who are very very puzzled about what the way forward is” (Ann).

Ann’s perception of the assessment model is that of a competency one where the teacher’s professional judgement and intuitive sense is valued. Ann’s logic implies that if the teacher analyses the 8 out of 10, the straight face and a tick, this may equate in the teachers professional judgement to a ‘4.’ Unclear guidelines lead to varied forms of implementation and the end result in Fullan’s terms is ‘*painful unclarity*’ or even ‘*false clarity*.’ In the last extract Ann describes her bewilderment and her comment about teachers being puzzled supports Vee’s lament about a confused Department that does not know what it wants.

6.7.3 Bringing in Sanity and Humanity into the Practice of Assessment

“I kind of felt that if I had my way, I would say, yes, let’s stick to the LOs in the different learning subject areas, and do away with the ASs, when it comes to the recording of actual marks or codes or what have you call them. And perhaps in your planning, your work, to tick those assessment standards off saying, yes I have covered them, because when we take a look at our school report, you see the LOs are outlined in the school report. It would be insane to try and put the ASs, there as well, because you would end up with pages and pages of report. Then why is it necessary in our assessment of, record books to show, to divide up the LOs , okay, into ASs, rather group them, all our assessment under that, LO and kind of come to some sort of total and that total you can put your code onto your report. Also we both agreed that by doing it that way you are getting a more, general feel of that child’s ability under that, LO umbrella, with us nit picking and pulling that LO apart, it becomes disjointed and does not really have any meaning. So that I think is a way forward to try and get try the system and maybe, cut back on the book work and also for it to become more meaningful” (Rina).

Rina presents her ideas of what can work in practice. In a sense, the idealistic notions of the policy-maker to meet the day to day demands of her work as a teacher is described by Rina as “insanity.” Rina questions the rationale supporting the policy-maker’s expectation of teachers to record assessment standards as well. Furthermore, she states that the policy-maker’s logic of deconstruction leads to fragmentation and loss of essential meaning which is an ‘antagonism’ in Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) terms.

6.7.4 Deskillling, Bio-power and Subjects of Knowledge

6.7.4.1 Deskillling: A Painful Process

Change is a painful experience for most teachers who in the prime of their careers have to re-orientate themselves as is expressed by Rina:

“Everytime the system changes, everytime they change the goal posts, it leaves teachers with more uncertainty, with more feelings of being incompetent, frustration, I am frustrated because now you have to redo all your worksheets again. One is inclined to get the idea, and a feeling that our subject facilitators and the Department are not really clear themselves on how this implementation should take place. They have never physically implemented and yet they are forcing something on us which has not been tried and tested by themselves. And I challenge them to do that and then come back and tell us that this can be done and one can still have a life outside school after that”(Rina).

The ‘deskilling’ (Giddens, 1991) leaves teachers with feelings of incompetence and frustration and the reskilling leads to intensification of the teacher’s work. Fullan’s (1991) research commentary ‘that abstract goals combined with a mandate for teachers to operationalise them resulted in confusion, frustration and abandonment of the effort,’ once again has relevance. Rina challenges the Department of Education to physically implement the policy themselves alluding that the policies look fine on paper but are practically non-

implementable (In Rina's words "inhumane"). This has been a frustrating experience for Rina who has introspected by asking, "Now why am I here? What am I doing? Am I effective?" Rina asks these existential questions in order to find meaning in life and purpose in her vocation.

Teachers as subjects of knowledge experience feelings of 'deskilling' in terms of being given 'new' learning areas as initiated by C2005, which further impact on teachers' effectiveness as assessors as explained by Alan:

*"The subjects, well, every year the subjects change according to how we share out the work load. So this year, I am doing Maths in the three Grade Four classes. I am doing Science. That is one class. And Grade 6, Technology class. You were asking about assessment earlier on and that is also another thing that happens in a school. **Now every year you may be asked to teach different things because we follow a specialist route in Senior Primary.** But when you are given a new subject to teach, you have to do this frantic orientation and sometimes you find that where you take over from a certain teacher, they actually haven't been following the prescribed or modern approach to subject then you might ask yourself, Then what was the HODs doing? Were they in fact checking up on the people and helping them empowering them. There's a lot of gaps in that regard. For instance this year the three teachers that have been doing technology, we've called in 'Mrs Hound' (fictitious name) who is...she has written a book to give us guidance because we were really in the deep. We worked on it and assessing children also then becomes a learning curve through that year and who knows at the end of this year I will be asked to teach something else and I leave the technology again. That to me is always something that impacts on our effectiveness as assessors of the work that is being done" (Alan).*

The role of the teacher in the primary school has somewhat changed. Previously, specialist areas used to be adhered to. Nowadays Alan has indicated that teachers are asked to teach learning areas that they are not *au fait* with. This practice takes place under the guise of subject specialism, and not class-based teaching, as indicated by Alan. The changing of the subject allocation each year has a deskilling effect on Alan as a teacher, leaving him feeling

particularly vulnerable as far as his experience is concerned. This results in him having to reskill himself to cope with the demands of the revised curriculum. One has to be *au fait* with the learning area which, according to the teacher, impacts directly on his effectiveness as an assessor. Alan says that he has to go through that learning curve. As part of his survival strategy, he also prepares himself for further changes in the following year so that he is not caught unaware. The self thus braces itself for change as part of its reflexivity.

Alan has indicated that his expertise in certain learning areas impacts on how he assesses:

“I’m a bit of an all rounder except for history. I don’t think that I have a good ground foundation in history and one of the reasons is that my early schooling was done in the Eastern Kent in the Transkon. And when I look back we were very disappointed. But fortunately we moved to Durham and so then a lot developed. But the initial weakness in History and Geography it sort of walked along with me. But I am good at Geography now. But History, I don’t really care for, I have taught it though. But that too I had to sort of learn with the children. And I think that that also impacts on assessment as such” (Alan).

The value of one’s early biography data according to Sikes et al. (1985) reveal that teachers are influenced by their past since ‘they belong to, can draw upon and are influenced by a latent culture based on the experiences and observations of their pupilhood.’ The inadequate grounding that Alan obtained in the subject History is attributed to his early schooling. The love for a subject usually commences when one is still in school. The teacher has reiterated that one’s expertise in a learning area will determine the effectiveness of the assessment practices of the teacher.

Vee’s disillusionment as a result of being stripped of his subject area specialization is encapsulated in this extract:

“In terms of sport, I had quite a few boys, selected for Midlands, and Natal and that is for cricket and soccer. And now that Phys Ed is over. And with the latest RNCS now, I don’t really know what is happening. I am getting ready to exit” (Vee).

This extract shows the effect of deskilling and disembedding mechanisms. In earlier discussions, it was established that Vee is a talented person who has excelled in various areas. However, through “*latest RNCS*” which is perceived by Vee as an abstract system, he feels “*I don’t really know what is happening.*” It has an effect of disembedding his expertise and experience and the self has to be remade, hence he states, “*I am getting ready to exit.*”

Vee describes the loss of his subject area specialisation:

*“In this school I’ve been teaching Phys Ed. (Physical Education) As long as they allowed it. And when the curriculum changed I taught English and Natural Science. Yeah, I have a natural affinity for Natural Science. **My pet as you would put it was Phys Ed. But my pet died. The curriculum killed it. So I had to settle for second best: Natural Science.** I love Maths. I really enjoy teaching Maths but in our school we are well endowed with Maths Teachers so I had to always wait for whatever was left. Now some of the teachers have been promoted and some have been transferred, they needed Maths so for the last five years I’ve been doing Maths” (Vee).*

When asked about how long he had stopped teaching Physical Education as a subject specialist, Vee’s response was:

“Well, I can remember in 1997, we went to Indumiso and they introduced the OBE. And I laughed when I heard that there was going to be no more Phys Ed. Because they told us about the learning areas. I laughed. Then I spoke to one of the facilitators during the break and I asked him, ‘What’s going to be my future?’ so he said, ‘You know what you’d rather

think about some other learning area quickly.’ So from 1998 onwards that was it. Phys. Ed. was stopped”(Vee).

There are strong emotional links for subjects of specialization linked to their initial training. As subject specialists, teachers functioned in very discrete subject departments. The subject (learning area) can provide a sense of security. With regard to the subject (learning area) they are specialists, experts in the field, and it gives them an identity (Sikes et al., 1985). Research has shown that teachers of all ages and lengths of experience may use the subject (learning area) as a personal defence (Sikes et al., 1985, p 31). From this perspective it is not difficult to see why the devaluing of Physical Education as an area of specialization was experienced as a deep loss by Vee who lamented, ***“My pet died. The curriculum killed it.”***

Vee’s response to the loss of his learning area of specialization, is similar to the stages as delineated by the Kubler-Ross Model of grief. His initial response was laughter since there was disbelief, shock and denial. Laughter was a defense mechanism, as if to say ‘this cannot be real! You must be joking.’ In the previous discourse, the subject (learning area) of Physical Education warranted having teachers as subject specialists. However, within the new discourse, a different ‘game of truth’ (Foucault) shifts the emphasis to other areas rendering the subjects’ expertise displaced or devalued. The new discourse, as an exemplar of the state of modernity and global imperatives, poses a risk to the day to day life experiences by ‘disembedding’ (Giddens, 1991) the individual in his (habitus) established ways of being.

Vee’s statement *“I had to settle for second best”* almost alludes to a scavenger status, thus feeding off the leftovers of others for his survival. The new discourse has disembedding effects, which then prompts the subject to reflexively recreate itself as part of care of itself.

Webb and Ashton (1987) state that the conditions of teaching promote the loss of meaningful relationships with one’s work which is a form of alienation that social psychologists have called ‘self-estrangement.’ Webb and Ashton (1987) further explain that, ‘when an individual lacks control over the work process and a sense of purposeful connection to the work

enterprise, he may experience a kind of depersonalized detachment rather than an immediate involvement in the job task.’

During the interviews with Vee, his reference to being deskilled in terms of qualifications are numerous, signifying the impact of that deskilling on his professional sense of identity. In the following extract he describes his perceived deskilling:

I’ve got a four year “Higher Education Diploma” from Spearfield College of Education. I was actually qualified in Physical Education, but because of the changes in our curriculum I can’t teach Physical Education anymore. So I basically had to settle for Natural Science and Maths initially but now whatever we get we have to teach. In terms of my qualification, what I am qualified to do and what I am teaching are two different things” (Vee).

For Vee, qualification as reflected in obtained diplomas or degrees is related to the teacher’s sense of expertise within that field of practice. The new curriculum has somewhat displaced the teacher’s sense of ownership of the qualification rendering it ‘less valuable’ in terms of the new discourse, that is C2005 and RNCS. Thus what Vee considered as an ‘abstract system’ in a previous system is now superseded by a newer discourse redefining the boundaries of normalising practice. Within this arena, Vee finds himself deskilled. The word ‘settle’ suggests that within the arena of negotiation, he perceives his bargaining power to be somewhat diminished as a result of deskilling of his expert knowledge and sense of professionalism. From an emotional base, he seems to be disillusioned. The incongruence of what he is qualified to teach and what he is actually teaching invokes feelings of being in an unfamiliar space, which appears unsettling.

Vee is not the only participant who is dissatisfied with teaching as a profession. In the extract that follows, Alan, describes his desperation for temporary relief from the teaching profession.

*“But then our role as facilitator, we have to be there. It is a very difficult road going there, a lot of teachers talk about looking for other jobs. I myself, there was an advert in the Sunday times and it was land reform. I know nothing about it but when I spoke to my principal he said, ‘Look, I don’t have no problem with that. There’s actually nothing in the criteria that disqualifies you.’ They say, you must have, this, that and the other. **I felt that I needed to get out of teaching a bit. But I do love teaching. It’s the realities, things that are going on that are the policy-makers, I am not so sure that once they leave the classroom set up, I am not so sure how in touch they are and that’s very problematic for me, when if you present a problem and the person may be a senior says to you, ‘What are you doing? You are trained for this, you must intervene, you musn’t come and complain,’ and I agree with that too. But there are realities and it’s the big classes, I really have to stress that although I am sure that I have stressed that enough now”**(Alan).*

The teacher vacillates between referring to himself as facilitator and a teacher. There seems to be a crisis in his professional role as ‘educator.’ This results in the teacher feeling frustrated and wanting out although he loves his job. Once again, the teacher finds himself in a heterotopia (an uncomfortable space). Alan is looking for that space to get in touch with who he is. The feelings of being in an uncomfortable space, resulted in an evaluation of risks and a ‘fateful moment’ which is a defining move towards career change. Vee’s change of field of study is a life changing experience, a critical incident orientated towards his survival (existentialism).

“I was studying. I completed my degree last year. I’ve actually completed my law degree , the LLB last year. At the University of KZN ... I enrolled in 2001 and got it done last year” (Vee).

The deskilling process, whereby Vee’s loss of status as a Physical Education Specialist created feelings of loss, led to Vee’ strategy for survival by empowering himself through knowledge. In terms of identity, Vee becomes a subject of knowledge within the ‘game of

truth.’ As Foucault (cited in Deacon, 2003, p.128) aptly states ‘One cannot care for self without knowledge’, but in addition, ‘to care for self is to fit one’s self out with these truths.’

Similarly, another participant describes the importance of knowing one’s subject.

“You need to know your subject, first of all, you really must know your subject. Once you have internalized that content then you bring your own particular brand of flair will come to the fore, in your presentation” (Rina).

Knowing the content and having a flair for the subject are often cited as prerequisites for best practice in teaching and assessment. For many teachers, whose training focused on content, the learning area specialization is likely to be perceived as a crucial element of being a teacher. Furthermore, ‘as pupils and students, most teachers experienced a subject based education and are likely to have developed subject loyalties and identities which they are concerned to protect’ (Sikes et al., 1985).

Deskilling does indeed result in a temporary condition of heterotopia, until one chooses to care for oneself firstly by re-evaluating one’s situation and then taking appropriate steps to reskill oneself. As Foucault, states, *‘[t]o take care for self consists of knowing one’s self ... and knowing one’s self becomes the object of the quest of concern for self’* (Foucault, 1982a, p. 152).

6.7.4.2 Reskilling: Mastery of the ‘Game of Truth’

In the extract that follows Deb describes the impact of deskilling and the process of reskilling.

“And what I did is that when the new curriculum was launched, prior to 2005, well in the 1990’s, the early 90’s. I found myself asking, ‘What was all this about?’ And I been what I deemed as a successful teacher at brilliant matric results and in terms of the requirements of the day, and successful children, you know, and I certainly found myself ill-equipped. Certainly asking what was all this about? So without any prompting and it was before implementation, I got myself involved in going to short courses and going to, and finding out and exploring outcomes-based, what was this about. And before long, and this was 1994, I saw the need and saw the value of this whole concept, not just process but the concept that was going to be student centered learning, which wasn’t totally foreign to me, at the High School in which I taught Music which was very practical and hands on” (Deb).

Similarly, Anand found the new assessment to be a challenge.

“In the beginning, yes, it was a huge challenge and hindered a lot of the progress that we had made as a teacher over all these years, just when you thought you knew it all, then they throw this thing at you and you know nothing again. And it sounds again like you are a first year teacher. But I enjoy it now. I felt that it was a huge challenge. We are beginning to make sense of it” (Anand).

The extracts taken from interviews with Deb and Anand respectively, serve to emphasise the deskilling effects of the new curriculum and assessment policy. These teachers achieved a sense of expertise which was a comfortable zone only to be deskilled by the effects of abstract systems. However, the self is resilient and carries the *Umwelt* (Goffman), a core of normalcy with which individuals and groups surround themselves (Giddens, 1991, p.127). Giddens states that in the globalised circumstances of today, the *Umwelt* includes awareness of high consequence risks. The participants have weighed the consequent risk of deskilling and in Deb’s words “*without any prompting*” made efforts to get involved.

What is at work in terms of Deb fitting in with the new knowledge is ‘bio-power’ (Foucault, 1979a, p. 140) which is an increasing ‘subjugation of bodies and control of populations’ for

the sake of generating greater utility, efficiency and productivity. The basic idea of bio-power (governmentality and pastoral power) is to produce self-regulating subjects, and in Foucault's (1979a) words, 'supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: bio-politics of the population' (Foucault, 1979a, p.139).

From the extract it becomes evident that Deb's introspection about her professionalism alludes to technologies of self, namely self governance. Her desire to upgrade her professional status is far from imposed ('without prompting') but emerges from her own regulation of self as part of care of self. Her motivation is intrinsic and she says "*I saw the need and saw the value of this whole concept,*" reaffirms the productivity of power. Deb's perception of herself as a successful teacher motivated her to maintain this healthy state by preventing any deficiencies that may arise due to changes in knowledge and what is considered 'truth.' Similarly, in the case of Anand, he has made an effort of interact with the new policy to make sense of it. In psychological terms this is referred to as an internal locus of control where there is a belief that the individual is responsible for his or her choices. Foucault would allude to this as the productivity of power, 'care of self,' governmentality, and more specifically the constitution of identities within discourses. Frankl (1984) would attribute this to the self-determining nature of man in his search for meaning.

Deb describes the process of empowering herself by mastering the 'game of truth.'

"And before that in 95, I was approached to be a facilitator for Curriculum 2005 in the Senior Phase, under Suval Govender of North Durham region, Curriculum Division. I was put through a facilitator course and C2005, but also at that time, the document itself was out for comment just before the re-training, I was involved at that level as well. When we get to know, initially out of curiosity, and a need to be equipped, and later on actually implementing, when the new curriculum, when the curriculum was revised, into the RNCS, I got very involved with that through the North Durham Region of the Department along with school organisations, teacher organizations in commenting, specifically on the languages, Technology, Arts and Culture, I was a facilitator and still am I suppose a facilitator of languages, it was Language, Literacy and Communication (LLC) in those days and

Technology. Come right to the nuts and bolts of it, my job was at stake. That's how simple it was" (Deb).

'Care of self' led to empowerment of another kind, namely personal and professional development. The theme of survival is central to this thesis. The case of Deb, is an example of how a teacher is able to govern herself within relations of power in terms of what is considered 'truth' in the production of knowledge. Therefore, Deb has chosen to become a subject of knowledge as part of care of self.

"Assessment was also a huge part of my training. I have been involved with that Protocol, quite a lot, before it became the Protocol, the Assessment Policy, OBA, facilitator assessment all of this has been, from a teacher organization perspective, an education perspective. I haven't made the time actually to continue it at a tertiary level, but I must. I have lots of people coming in and asking me about it. And I do a lot work with individual schools as well you know, asking me how to go about the actual implementation" (Deb).

Expert systems refer to systems of expert knowledge, of any type, depending on the rules of procedure transferable from individual to individual (Giddens, 1991, p. 243). In Deb's case, specialization is a key feature of the 'modern abstract system' (Giddens' 1991). Giddens' (1991) adds that the knowledge incorporated in modern forms of expertise is in principle available to everyone, if they had the available resources, time and energy to acquire it. Modern expertise is reflexively highly mobilized, and is generally oriented towards continual internal improvement or effectiveness (Giddens, 1991, pp. 30-31). Deb has become a self-regulator of her own subjectivity by mastering aspects of assessment as part of being an 'enterprising self' (Fenwick, 2003). Once again, Foucault's notions of power, namely bio-power and governmentality, are useful framing devices to explain that the participant's desire for self-improvement stems from the value placed on maintaining a healthy state of being. However, it is more than that. In terms of Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, one can infer that goals for self-actualisation and self transcendence are in place which, go beyond care of self to extend it to care of others.

Foucault's concept of power/ knowledge also has consequences for his conception of truth. Foucault claims that it is not possible to gain access to universal truth since it is impossible to talk from a position outside discourse; there is no escape from representation (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002, p. 14). According to Foucault the knowledge that is produced in our *epistemes* is also our 'truth' and it ends up becoming everybody else's truth as well. This implies that knowledge and truth are tied up with the way in which power is exercised in our age (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 29). For example, governments use the human sciences to help frame laws and policies. The assessment policy is the result of techniques of government influenced by specific rationalities of government.

Deb's zest for mastering of knowledge is depicted in the following extract:

"Most recently I spent five weeks in the University in Indiana, where I did a Master's module or module towards a Masters in Languages, but on Creative Writing. Looking at writing through a constructivist approach. It was brilliant and it was just this year and so, and I still don't know it all and I still want to learn, I really do" (Deb).

From a Foucauldian perspective, Deb has certainly imbibed the rules of the 'game of truth.' In the view of Danaher et al. (2000), the way people behave, their values and aspirations emerge from the technologies of bio-power. Herein, lies the paradox: Man in his freedom is simultaneously tied since 'habitus is as a result of the effects of bio-power' (Danaher et al., 2000, p.74). Deb's words "*I still want to learn*" is indicative of her self regulating mechanism which links truth effects to discourse. The relationship between knowledge and power is evident in Deb's internal drive to master the 'game of truth' or what society deems 'expert knowledge' (Giddens, 1991).

6.7.5 Summary

The new discourse, as an exemplar of the state of modernity and global imperatives, poses a risk to the day to day life experiences through ‘deskilling and disembedding’ (Giddens, 1991) the individual in his established ways of being (habitus). Curriculum changes result in teachers teaching learning areas that they were not trained in which impacts on their performance as assessors. Changes and termination in subject area specialization has led to intense feelings of loss, as in the case of Vee.

Furthermore, inadequate professional development on the new assessment could be attributed to one shot workshops that emphasized theory, rather than practical models for implementation. Specific teachers have confessed to not having the requisite skills for appropriate assessment implementation. Data has revealed two forms of non-change identified by Fullan, which are *false clarity* without change and *painful unclarity* without change.

From the data, it emerged that the deskilling of teachers in the prime of their careers can be a painful experience that leaves those affected by it feeling incompetent and frustrated. This loss of meaningful relationships with one’s work is called ‘self estrangement.’ However, for some teachers, the change is perceived as an opportunity for further professional development in terms of the workings of bio-power to ensure self regulating citizens who take it upon themselves to fit themselves with the new ‘games of truth.’

6.8 Teachers’ Confessions

6.8.1 Introduction

‘So powerful is the impulse to tell stories, there is a sense in which ‘we are told by our stories’ (Thomas, 1995, p 3). The stories that participants tell about their lives are imbued with deep emotional responses to professionally related issues. Emotions such as guilt,

frustration, uncertainty and even sadness permeate the lives of teachers as they attempt to implement the new assessment policy.

6.8.2 Assessment, a Game of Survival: The Inside Story

Research reported by Lortie (1975) claims that the aspect of teachers' lives that evokes the most emotion is that of assessment. Some teachers in this research study are not opposed to the new discourse on assessment but the conditions under which they are required to implement. This is how Allan articulated his concerns:

“In smaller classes, in smaller numbers, I would do a more detailed assessment of a child. I would go more into what makes the child and emotion and characteristics displayed. Sometimes our assessment, it leans on the naughtiness of the child. And we drift away from academic and say that this child is like this or like that and very often it becomes a negative thing and that should not be what the assessment is about. But we should be able to highlight the positives and work on that and I would go more for that. I would still say that the numbers defeat the whole thing. Even if I agreed with all the policies, to do justice with it is very difficult” (Alan).

In Alan's professional opinion, smaller classes are required to do justice to the assessment. He admits that because of the context, the emphasis on assessment is misdirected at the negatives rather than the achievements. The teacher's introspection shows that in trying to reconstitute his identity, he confesses that the way that assessment is being done does not serve the child. This confession emerges from a moral and ethical perspective according to the dictates of his conscience or in Foucault's terms 'to constitute positively, a new self' (Foucault, 1982a, p. 167).

Alan is not lacking in belief of the new discourse as is evident in the following extract:

“I want to start off by saying, look we have to assess what we are doing. Because what’s the point otherwise. We wouldn’t know how we are progressing the kids whether we are effective in what we are doing and whether we are actually getting to the children, or are we just clocking in at school and clocking out” (Alan).

According to Alan, assessment is viewed as a necessary part of the teaching and learning process. Alan frequently cites large class sizes as one of the impediments to implementing assessment according to the policy-makers’ vision.

*“One has to really look at the limitations of one really big bug which is the class sizes. And for me it’s making me do more like a **survival teaching** where I know I have to have my assessments in by a certain time. Now when we look at methodology and so on, they have the different types of assessment. But can I really reach all those ideas, I can’t. The truth is that I can’t. I find that many times in Maths I am stuck in the testing of children. I will try peer groups where they do something together. But the sheer numbers and the lack of space in the class defeats the thing” (Alan).*

In keeping with the focus of the study of looking at how identities are constituted within the discourse (and practice) of assessment, the identity of **survivor** emerges. By his own admission or in Foucault’s term, *parrhesia*, (telling of truth) (Besley, 2007), Alan states that he has to do “*survival teaching*” since there is pressure created in terms of accountability and performativity in completing the number of units of assessment needed for the term. He goes on to stipulate what exactly he has to survive. The class sizes which equates to the “*sheer numbers and the lack of space*” is described as a big bug. There are additional burdens of time constraints and pressure “*I have to have assessments in by a certain time.*” Once again, it is noted that this is a contradiction to the OBE approach which stipulates that children should develop at their own pace (competence mode).

Furthermore, according to the policy-makers, there are ‘different types of assessment’ comprising the new assessment discourse. However, Alan states that he can’t reach those

ideas. Alan is honest about his capabilities and limitations. He uses the word “*stuck*” to indicate that the implementation of the assessment in non-conducive conditions is a burden. The disjuncture between policy and practice is highlighted.

“I eventually like go back to the old syllabus where I note that by now I should have done this. And it is not like the kids must go at their pace. What they understand dictates whether I can move on to the next concept” (Alan).

The teacher’s accumulated experience and his habitus form part of the *Umwelt* or protective cocoon that he carries around with him (Giddens, 1991) and which he falls back on in times of risk and uncertainty. Furthermore, teaching is not a one way process where the teacher is the only one that influences the process. The pace of the learning process is also determined by the learners’ demonstrations that learning has occurred.

Teachers are not the only ones that are caught up in the game of survival as is explained by Alan:

*“I’ve given children, the other day I said to them, ‘Write one sentence about safety in the school.’ Because I mean I am charged with that portfolio in school and this one child wrote, ‘I am worried that I can’t read.’ in Grade 4. And that explained to me why this child was so fidgety in the class. Why is it that this little girl and her brother and a couple of them from the same family who are very busy in the class, but they are actually not doing much. **It’s they’re also surviving. They try to look within my eyes but also they mustn’t be caught up or caught out by me.** And this is really where I am with assessment where I know that we are nearly at the end of term now”* (Alan).

If such an extract had been given a title, it would surely be ‘Struggle for the Soul’ used by Popkewitz (1998). The practice of assessment is being directed towards underlying ontological questions of existence where the theme of survival keeps rearing its head. It is not

only the teacher who has to survive, but the learners too. The poignant highlighted line has impacted on me not only as a researcher but has tugged at the emotional strings within me for it encapsulates the struggle for the learners' soul as well. The learners are more than mere bodies (Giddens, 1991) and as in Frankl's (1984) *Man's Search for Meaning*, they too, are self-determining agents who sometimes like the Nazi concentration camp prisoners, practice disassociation of body and self in order to survive.

The work of Jonathan Jansen warns of children who are passing through the system being unable to read and write and yet these claims are often dismissed as propaganda or exaggeration. Mamphela Ramphele, a university-vice chancellor and World Bank director, says that the system 'has failed our children' (cited in Serraq, 2008, p. 1). In this specific case, Alan states that there are children in Grade 4 who cannot read. These learners like other stakeholders (teachers and SEM) are caught in a spiral of fabrications that emerge from the pressures of performativity. The surveillance runs like a thread through the system and no one is really immune to it unless one chooses to govern oneself through fabrication as a strategy to care for oneself.

Alan's narrative continues:

*"Yesterday, in fact, I gave kids (pause) I said to them take this sheet with you. These are the dates I want you to look at. These are the worksheets we did. Write the dates, these are the headings. And write down your mark that you've got on your page. Now they are working on memo pads for me, this year I've tried not to use the books. 44 children in a class. That A4 size book it just becomes too much to carry around. And it was a major struggle to get them to write that list and yet they were copying from the board. So they have reading skills problems. They have attention problems. And some of them are naughty, but because the class is so big the naughty group are [is] quite a big majority. The children that don't do homework are a lot. About three quarters of the class. So in terms of assessment, practical part of it, I find most difficult to do. So I end up just saying to them give me those marks and I remember telling to the child **I am going to see whether you actually have got that mark because you know children will also try to survive and will be devious and try to survive***

and they will invent marks” (Alan).

The theme of survival in relation to the discourse and practices of assessment is recurrent and both teachers and learners are caught in a game of survival. Similarly, in the opening lines of my thesis, for example, one of the teacher participants, Anand, compares the new assessment to a Tsunami, which teachers have to survive. Alan, too is caught in the game of survival because he feels overwhelmed by the sheer recording of activities and gives the learners’ tasks to complete in order to survive the administrative burden of recording. As part of his strategy of survival, he delegates the task of entering marks to learners on a given sheet. In his method to balance emotions, Demartini (2008), states that what we see in others is a reflection of ourselves which he draws from the work of Plato and the notion of holding a mirror to one’s soul. Within this framework, it becomes apparent to me as researcher that what Alan sees in his learners is a reflection of his own survival. The learners may conjure (invent) marks in some instances to protect themselves (to survive) but they are not the only ones that do that. As the discussion progresses in the chapter, this strategy of survival becomes more apparent and the extract from Alan’s interview that follows is crucial to understanding this survival:

“And in the last term, as far as assessment was concerned I gave children a lot of marks. I had the majority of grade 4 children I had to give them marks. Let’s say I had ten worksheets, that I would forecast for doing through the term. Many of them were given marks just to fill up something for the report. And that’s the worrying part for me” (Alan).

Researcher: When you say that you have given learners marks, what do you mean by that?

“I don’t give a nought because first of all it is frowned upon by those in management because there is an argument that: You are doing Revised National Curriculum, the child is absent for that task and that task, task 1 and 5 but that child is now in school. So why is that child getting a nought. What have you done about that work when the child was absent. And then I

agree with that argument that I should give that child that worksheet to work through. But it's the practicality that is the problem where a child gets back to you doesn't announce that he or she was absent. I am not a class teacher for instance. The class teacher could have picked up that the child was absent and brought a note and then I would try to give that child the opportunity to actually attempt that work with guidance from me" (Alan).

As the interviewer, my intention in asking the question for a second time is to avoid ambiguity and obtain clarity. It was not intended to force the participant into a confession since he had voluntarily disclosed that information. *"I gave children a lot of marks"* means that Alan wrote in marks next to the child's name even though the child had not completed the task. The learners were unable to complete the stipulated tasks for various reasons (absenteeism, lack of skill or other reasons). As a result of the discourse and practice of assessment, the teacher fills in marks for that report, *"I don't give a nought because first of all it is frowned upon by those in management."*

The scenario described above raises several issues: Firstly, Giddens (1991) comments that how far normal appearances can be carried on in ways consistent with the individual's biological narrative is of vital importance for feelings of ontological security. The teacher's ontological security is being threatened hence he says: *"that's the worrying part for me."* Giddens (1991) further asserts that all human beings, in all cultures preserve a division between their self identities and the performances they put on in specific social contexts. The teacher constitutes management, since he is a deputy principal. He cannot be seen to encourage false practices. He has to put on a performance for other relevant stakeholders as part of his strategy for survival. In essence, he would have to frown upon his own practice. It is within this context that the teacher constitutes his identity and the "worrying" part is not surprising. Ball (2003, p. 217) argues that the enterprising subject in his quest to 'add value' to himself, actually comprises his values.

The avoidance of giving a nought lies in the teacher's protection of himself. To give a nought, would be to reveal information about himself to the gaze of others and in keeping with the context of modernity which he is currently operating, exposes himself to the risk of

being accused of inefficiency, being unproductive or lacking in control. To give a nought, leads to consequences of accountability. Accountability is directly linked to neo-liberalism which is related to marketability and efficiency. In an arena, where the teacher is expected to be a role model to others he cannot afford to be seen as lacking in performativity. The conjuring of marks is one of the strategies that this teacher uses to ‘stay in the game.’

Secondly, related to the issue of accountability is also the notion of pastoral care (one of the seven roles of the teacher) where the teacher has to take care of the child. If the child is absent, it is the duty of the teacher to ensure that the child’s needs are taken care of. He admits that this issue of accountability is a justifiable one.

Thirdly, and equally significant, is the idea of governmentality and self- regulation which is central to the notion of care of self. “*I gave the children a lot of marks*” means that this is the life line that Alan uses in the game of survival. Ball (2003, p. 225) describes this fabrication of giving marks as ‘creative accountancy.’ Alan directs his behavior in a way that protects his professional identity.

Fourth with regard to the extract above, Foucault’s idea of bio-power has relevance from both a theoretical and methodological perspective, through the idea of confession. Alan has confessed to me as researcher about his actions of giving marks. As a researcher, I have questioned, “Why?” According to Piomelli (2004), historically, this interpretation was facilitated by a clergy, but increasingly from the nineteenth century on, the role of encouraging individuals to reflect upon and speak their truths about themselves increasingly spread to a series of interpretive experts: doctors, psychologists, therapists and counselors. Pastoral power depended for its exercise on a knowledge not only of the actions of ‘each and everyone’ (Foucault 1979) but also their minds, souls and innermost secrets. Bauman (1978) argues that ‘within the structure of the society, a unique group, the intellectuals, has been brought into being which is determined by its structural location to think and act rationally. The intellectuals are to act as a sort of collective messiah, bringing the ‘truth’ into human understanding (Bauman, 1978, p.19). Through the technique of confession, Alan verbalises or in Foucault’s description ‘opens up entirely to its director – to unveil to him the depths of his

soul' (Foucault, 1979, p. 190). In terms of Foucault's concept of pastoral power, the idea of confession is linked to one's conscience. In this extract "*The worrying part for me*" signifies the dictates of his conscience and in Foucault's words: a subject 'tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge' (Foucault, 1982b, p. 130).

6.8.3 Beyond the Numbers Game

The assessment practices of teachers moves beyond the numbers game as is evident in the extract from Alan.

"In the whole profile of the assessment, problem areas are children who don't co-operate, who are absent for some reason and when we get back they don't inform you, that is an-going battle because the idea is that the child who is absent and returns to school should actually do those tests, but how far do we actually get to keep up with that plan, it is not really feasible. So at the end of the term for instance, I will advantage the child that has worked steadily and if he has done his ten worksheets I will add up and divide by ten. The child who hasn't been playing the game, hasn't been coming to the party. I will add up as if he has also done the ten and divide his marks by ten. So that will show the disparity between those that worked with me and those that did not. I've said earlier that giving them marks has been a dilemma for me because now I get a child getting two out of ten and I give him a 2 out 10, because I don't want to give a nought"(Alan).

"But you have a child who is regularly here but is not achieving, and he is getting a two, despite being present everyday. So that child is weighed against the child that has been absent, that's the problem. I said to my children this term that I will actually consider giving a nought again, for no work done. Not coming to say to me, 'look I've tried, now, I was absent. This is what I have done.' I give some sort of a score. On certain occasions, I look at the remedial work, if it's been done. I give, I award a mark to that. But they sometimes copy what I have written on the board. So I can't very well give them a very high mark. I mark for a remedial work not exercise" (Alan).

Assessment is actually a painful exercise for the teacher that presents all sorts of dilemmas. There are internal battles going on; decisions to be made, conscience to wrestle with and accountability to those who may gaze at their work. The issue of nought seems to emerge ever so often and the teacher's avoidance of giving a nought is part of his 'care of self' or strategy of survival.

In the extract that follows, Alan makes a confession about "*stealing a bit of teaching time*"

*"But, really there's always marking. I get marking in dribs and drabs and carry it home in envelopes, you know the A4, the postage envelopes, I carry it like that and I tick off and I try to record as soon as I've marked. Sometimes, I get back to class the next morning and we record in class, but that means that **I am stealing a bit of teaching time** where I should have been continuing maybe, with remedial work"* (Alan).

Assessment is time consuming. The teacher "*steals*" time to record. He has an awareness that this is not a good practice. This kind of confessional talk is aimed at truth telling. With reference to Foucault's work, Besley (2007) notes that a shift occurred in the classical Greek conception of *parrhesia* from a situation where someone demonstrated the courage to tell other people the truth, to a different game that focused on the self and the courage that people displayed in telling the truth about themselves. This new 'game of truth' concerning self requires *askesis* which is a form of practical training or exercise directed at the art of living which was aimed at permitting the individual 'to fully confront the world in an ethical and rational manner,' (Foucault cited in Besley, 2007, p. 62) thus establishing a specific relationship to oneself of self-possession, self-discovery and self-mastery. Alan makes himself known by disclosing his private feelings that form part of his identity, his perception of self. Thus the crime of "stealing time" is somewhat venerated (in Christian terms) by the confession of the act.

Foucault's notions of the workings of bio-power (governmentality and pastoral power) is a useful starting point to understand how the dictates of one's conscience shapes (or regulates) the identity of teachers in different ways as is exemplified in the extract from Vee's interview:

“Really, assessment is one thing I think that many teachers are doing because they have to do it, number 1, and number 2 many teachers are doing it and they don't know what they are doing. They are doing it to be safe with everybody else, I know that there are some teachers who haven't even assessed but they have marks. That there is not just. Totally unfair. But the management is happy that there is a mark, the teacher is happy that they gave a mark and everyone is happy. But actually that assessment has never taken place. For those that are quite earnest about doing things, the assessment fails us but for those who don't care, the assessment is easy” (Vee).

The last two lines of Vee's statement draw attention to diverse ways of implementing assessment which some teachers use to survive the policy changes. In view of Alan's confession that he gives marks, the statement by Vee that *“I know that there are some teachers who haven't even assessed but they have marks,”* is not conjecture. The idea of manufacturing marks is not unheard of in schools. The need to survive is upper most in teachers' minds. It is ironic that a change in assessment with its emphasis on authenticity, transparency and accountability aimed at a more just education system for all concerned, actually perpetuates situations of varied practice (perceived as unfairness) amongst practitioners who find creative ways of surviving the demands of assessment.

Foucault's concept of *parrhesia* (truth telling) is also a common thread that runs through the stories of other participants as well. This is how Vee articulated it:

“The way we are asked to keep marks, the way we are asked to assess children. That's all different compared to the past. We were so used to having our quarterly tests, you know drawing up diagnostics from that, informing parents that the child is weak in certain areas

and then moving on towards the next text. But now because there is an absence of instruction we've [unclear] ... all these other aspects of assessment it has taken on another dimension. I worry so much these days by making sure that there is marks by the end of the term that sometimes I forget that I should be offering more to the child in terms of knowledge, in terms of skills, and that's what we are talking about in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes and values and that is what we should develop in the child. But because there is so many assessments that we have to worry about, so many learning areas, we forget that" (Vee).

The participant feels that assessment hinders what he considers to be worthwhile teaching practices. Although he embraces the inclusion of knowledge, skills and values as part of the new curriculum, he states that the assessment practices subvert this outcome. Assessment is seen as a burden and the participant views it as an end in itself, rather than supporting the development of the child. The lines, "*I worry ...offering more to the child*" shows the impact of the new discourse on the teacher's sense of self and conscience. The inner disciplinary power or self governing strategies of the new discourse is operating to such an extent that the teacher, modifies his behaviour to deliver in terms of the new requirements. The delivery in terms of the assessment is the policy-maker's vision, not the teacher's sense of what is worthwhile teaching and learning practices.

Rina had similar misgivings as is evident in the extract that follows:

"At the moment I just feel that we are really just working for a mark book, you know. You are so intent, gosh I need to cover all these ASs that it becomes your total focus. And your focus is away from actually enjoying the children and exploring things outside the framework of that LO or that AS" (Rina).

As a self determining being the teacher disciplines or governs herself towards adherence of the policy imperatives rather than working within a broad framework. Thus she finds that

enjoyment is lacking and creativity to work outside the box is restrained by herself as a disciplinary or self-regulating measure.

Similarly, Vee states:

“At the end of the day we want to know that we’ve got marks for this learning area, marks for that learning area. And the assessment itself is so broad you cannot concentrate on one thing and be satisfied, you know, there’s something at the back of your mind that’s telling you, ‘Hey, you know what? Something is missing here or maybe I haven’t done enough here and if you do that then the other learning areas that you are teaching also suffers.’ And before you know it you are frustrated and there’s some questions that you need answered but you just can’t get the answers. That is basically what is different nowadays from what I was doing to now. Everything revolves around assessment. And it’s sad”
(Vee).

In contrast with ethics, which has to do with freedom, morality has to do with truth, with ‘games of truth’ as Foucault (1982b) calls them. Foucault places a certain kind of ethics and conventional morality among the essentially repressive technologies of power, where one is made ‘subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience of self-knowledge’ (Foucault, 1982b, p. 130). Both kinds of technology suggest ‘a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to.’ This type of power is termed pastoral power by Foucault. This knowledge about the subject himself was obtained through the technique of self-examination and expressed as a *confession* to me as researcher. The extract above alludes to the conscience of the teacher especially because he feels a sense of “*something is missing here or I haven’t done enough.*” We see how in Foucault’s terms, ‘identity is tied to one’s conscience.’ In the making of himself, as a subject of morality, the teacher relies on the dictates of his conscience. He uses words like “*worry and frustrated*” which describe the emotions he feels as a result of the enormous demands of the new assessment. The word frustration highlights that his goals are being sidelined to accommodate the policy-maker’s vision.

The above discussion highlights the value of Foucault's (1982b) notions of pastoral power from two perspectives where confession as methodology simultaneously serves to illuminate the theoretical perspective, where confession reveals how 'the subject becomes tied to his own identity by a conscience or self- knowledge' (Foucault, 1982b, p.130). Through this method of confessing, the participant Vee unveils aspects of his soul.

His apparent lack of fulfillment and satisfaction is articulated, "*at the end of the day... marks.*" The new discourse on assessment as the participant describes is "*broad,*" meaning that within the designated learning areas, there are learning outcomes and assessment standards which need to be accounted for by the teacher. However, the learning outcomes (LOs) and assessment standards (ASs) seem to be somewhat subverted, in favour of marks as a construct to measure learners' performance or progress. The symbol for the recording of that assessment is a mark or percentage which is then converted into a rating scale. It is within this discourse, that the subject is able to constitute himself as worried, frustrated and incomplete. The teacher feels accountable, but herein lies the question: to whom is he accountable? Is he accountable to the parent, the learner, the management staff, the Department of Education, the government or most importantly, is he accountable to himself? This presents the ethical basis for the constitution of oneself. He states, "*at the back of my mind,*" which further reinforces the element of self-governing whereby the inner voice or the dictates of the conscience contributes to the constitution of the self.

The teacher, caught in a web of uncertainty regarding the new discourse is simultaneously 'tied to his own identity by his conscience,' and states "*maybe I haven't done enough.*" This self-repudiation or introspection evokes feelings of guilt. Guilt is anxiety produced by fear of transgression: where thoughts or activities of the individual do not match up to expectations of a normative sort. Guilt concerns things done or not done. Guilt experienced thus impacts on the formation of the self-identity (Giddens, 1991, p. 64).

We cannot forget the humanity in teaching. Teachers are human beings, too, with their own desires, values, motivation and sense of identity (including habitus), which may not necessarily be congruent with the policy-makers' vision. One needs to take cognizance that amongst the various dimensions of the creation of the self, there is also the emotional side of teachers' identity. In this case, the participant describes the influence of the new assessment policy on the teaching and learning process as being, "sad." As Frankl (1984) states: '*Man's search for meaning is the primary motivation in his life and not a 'secondary rationalization' of instinctual drives. This meaning is unique and specific in that it must and can be fulfilled by him alone; only then does it achieve a significance which will satisfy his own will to meaning ... Man, however, is able to live and even die for the sake of his ideals and values!*' (Frankl, 1984, p. 121).

In the following extract, Rina articulates the role of spirituality in her life.

"My spiritual, that is, my belief system, my value system, that's the only thing that keeps me grounded in a world and in a society that, ya, where things, change. We've grown up in a country I think where we experience so much change particularly in the last ten – fifteen years. In education there has been so much change. Emotionally we change all the time. So the only thing that is constant is one's spiritual basis" (Rina).

At the core of one's multifarious identities, both personal and professional, is a human being, comprising the body, mind and soul. When the mind is drawn towards the soul the individual is more likely to experience the lightness of being. When the mind gravitates towards the senses and the body, the individual is more likely to experience emotions (Demartini, 2008). According to Demartini (2008), the hierarchy of your values determines how you perceive and how you act upon your world, which in turn determines your transient destiny.

In analyzing Rina's discursive practice of assessment within her transient professional identity, cognizance must be taken of her values, which drives her practice.

“My frustrations are with what is happening in the past couple of years. It is not borne out of not having the facilities or the equipment to be able to do my job. But it is borne out of generally the whole assessment structure and the fact that we’ve been dictated to and there has been no real practical model of how to implement this or teachers are given all the pedagogics on this, you know, and what we really need is practical sort of guidance. This is how you put together a theme, you know, this is how you take this theme and get it under these LOs. And as far as that goes you have to figure it out on your own, you know. Even working out your journal and your assessment sheet please give us a couple of examples. But in practice the time it takes to actually put something like that is enormous you know. But we’re finding even implementing, it is so time consuming to do all this bookwork. It is over and above your normal preparation. I must say. I am behind, quite behind with my recording. You are never ahead of the game”(Rina).

Frustration is an emotion that occurs in situations where one is blocked from reaching a personal goal and the more important the goal is, the greater the frustration. It is comparable to anger and for Rina, this feeling has not been a once off occurrence but rather over a period of a few years since the inception of curriculum and assessment change. The teacher has spelt out in no uncertain terms her frustration of being “*dictated*” to by policy without having practical guidance of how to implement assessment. Her frustration stems from the lack of clarity on the assessment structure and the top- down model of its implementation. She has also hinted to the gap between theory and practice which has been created as a result of inadequate professional development.

For Rina, it is a process of trial and error in her own learning curve where she has to ‘figure it out’ on her own (and within the community of practice) just how the assessment works, which is costly in terms of time. Giddens (1991) notes ‘the reorganization of time and space, disembedding mechanisms and the reflexivity of modernity all presume universalizing properties that explain the expansionist, coruscating nature of modern social life in its encounters with traditionally established practices’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 21). In Rina’s case the established practice refers to the previous discourse of assessment which has constituted her

professional expertise. Thus Rina's experience and practice is a case in point of governmentality expressed through the hegemonic project of curriculum and assessment reform influenced by global neo-liberal forces which intersect with the life of the teacher at a local level. Techniques of self governance are evident in the teacher's attempts to '*figure it out.*' The urgency arises from the need to bridge the gap between the process of mastering the issue of assessment in a collapsed space of time which, in Rina's intuitive sense, can be met through examples of how it would work in practice. The collapsing of time is a common theme and concern for high modernity as depicted by the world of cinematography through movies like *The Matrix* and *DeJavu* and for Rina, her concern is with mastering the art of assessment in a short space of time as well as finding ways of managing time (efficiency) in line with neo-liberal notions of productivity.

In the extract below, Rina describes her feelings about her work as an 'educator':

"Very frustrated. At time I feel inadequate. It is really a range of emotions. Being a parent myself, I feel a huge, an enormous responsibility. Sometimes a feeling of guilt that I am failing the children in some way that I am not equipping them with what I believe, what I believe is the basics and the core that they should know because I am suddenly changing from AS [Assessment standards] to LO[Learning Outcomes]. That is very difficult for me because I have this awesome sense of responsibility towards the children because their parents are trusting me to do the best job and I only have one chance with their children to succeed with their children on a level that they need to succeed in this grade before I have to pass them on to someone else. But there is no room for error" (Rina).

This deeply emotional extract epitomizes the teacher's frustration which emerges as a result of her perception that her personal goals are being thwarted or not allowed to develop. However, frustration is not the only emotion that Rina experiences, since she is plagued by guilt in many areas of her life. According to Strickland (2001), guilt is a cognitive and an emotional experience that occurs when a person realizes that he or she has violated a moral standard and is responsible for that standard. The inadequacy experienced by Rina emerges from the disembedding mechanisms of the new discourse. The teacher simultaneously holds

different subject positions, of which one is that of a parent or mother. Wearing the hat of a parent, she expresses her sense of responsibility towards her learners. The teachers' internal belief system, her intuition as a woman, as a mother or parent represents one end of a continuum which has as its opposite end, the prescription of the policy-maker. This is the tension or the dilemma that is the cause of the teacher's sense of guilt. The guilt that Rina experiences, is one that is linked to her life purpose (*dharma*), since she perceives that she is "failing the children in some way" that she is not equipping them with what she believes.

Rina's lack of belief in the reporting system is a consistent theme in her dialogue on assessment. This is how Rina explained the use of the coding system of 1- 4, in terms of its representation.

"1 is not achieved. 2 is partially achieved. 3 is achieved, and 4 is achieved with merit.

Now it comes to the end of the term and you do a summative assessment and you set a large test, what the child gets for that test and what they have scored on that little test out of ten its weighted exactly the same. So when you are reporting back to your parents, and you see the coding in your markbook, 2, 3, 3, 3, 3 basically how would you then, you would kind of average out all but in the summative assessment they did not have it all together, they did not get to grips with it there. I get very frustrated because of it. Because I don't know how accurate this information really is at the end of the day. As I say I feel that that terminology, to be a 3 is far too broad, the range is just far too broad. And it is not... parents could get the wrong perception of their child's ability or It doesn't give a clear perception of where their child is really at" (Rina).

Rina lacks belief in the reporting system using a 1- 4 coding system to report progress accurately to parents. The system of assessment as postulated by the policy-maker is not meaningful to her and it leaves her with a feeling of inadequate culmination of the teaching – assessment cycle. This antagonism goes beyond the level of the body to the teacher's inner sense of knowing which has not reached temporary closure or satisfaction of the teaching assessment cycle. Rina expresses her frustration that the given approach of reporting to

parents is not supported by her own personal and professional belief that it is the best possible way of reporting. Her practice is marred by feelings of doubt and uncertainty.

The Norms and Standards Policy, however, stipulates in terms of teacher competence that the teacher should be capable of ‘understanding descriptive and diagnostic reporting within the context of high illiteracy rates among parents’ (NSE, 2000b). This rephrased implies that learners’ progress should be communicated to parents in a way that they understand. In contradiction, other policies that have emerged such as the guidelines presented by the National Assessment Protocol, stipulate that a coding system should be used. To the teachers in this study: Rina, Alan and Vee, this method of communicating to the parent is meaningless given the broad range of meanings that a code like ‘three’ might represent.

One of the seven roles delineated by the Norms and Standards for Educators Policy (2000b) is the pastoral role of the educator. In addition to the legal obligation of the teachers’ responsibility towards learners, teachers sometimes of their own volition assume the pastoral role at a level beyond policy expectations.

“I feel like this because I am a mother too. There are other mums and dads, trusting me to do the best job I can. And I just feel that if I am not equipped right to do what I knew I was doing in the past and now I don’t feel that confident. It is not about the content. It is about going about, it is how they want me to assess it. That largely says, how they want me to assess it and to report back to parents and tell them, ‘Oh, your child is a three’ ” (Rina).

The above extract is indeed a heart wrenching lament of a professional whose personal identity as mother and the dictates of her conscience presents a dilemma or internal battle for the self. Not only does the ‘abstract system’ (Giddens, 1991) of the new assessment present deskilling of the professional, it challenges her personal belief system and strips her of her confidence. There is more than bio-power (Foucault) that is operating here, it is ‘a struggle for the soul’ (Popkewitz, 1998).

“If the child is even absent then, you say, Oh, my gosh I haven’t got an assessment under that AS for that child. Suddenly everything is a train smash, you know, because you haven’t got an assessment. So we’re working for assessment, whether you want to call... assessment is still your 1s and 2s and 3s and 4s assessment. And I always thought that the whole purpose of assessment is to get away from being mark orientated. I find that very frustrating, because I find it stifling in that you are actually working in more prescriptive boxes than ever before” (Rina).

The intention of the assessment policy is questioned by the teacher. She admonishes her own conduct with regards to the assessment policy implementation. An antagonism is created by her understanding of what assessment is all about and her perceived notion of the policy-maker’s intention. Rina experiences feelings of being frustrated and stifled, yet one is reminded that the teacher has chosen to modify her practice, within the tensions of the dialectic between the official pedagogic identity (Bernstein) and her own personal and professional identity. Giddens (1991) states that everyone continues to live a local life, and the constraints of the body, ensure that all individuals, at every moment are contextually situated in time and space. Governmentality is at work at both a macro and micro level. Giddens (1991) identified four distinctive tensions or dilemmas of the self and a fifth that emerges from this study is that of **prescription versus intuition**. In the game of truth, it is not difficult to see why policy-makers’ globally directed (external) discourse clashes with teachers’ local and sometimes unarticulated inner voice. Hence, Foucault’s assertion that subjectivity / identity is constituted in discourse, knowledge and power relations has partial relevance. However, whilst Rina subjects herself through self-regulation in terms of discourses, there is a resistance that emerges from deep within her, the soul. Thus, to add to Giddens (1991) four dilemmas is the fifth that emerges from the data: **prescription versus intuition**.

“So yeah I’ve got very mixed feelings about certain things. What I do like is the guidelines presented by the learning outcomes. Even so the ASs, but I don’t feel that we should be so rigid that that should dictate everything we teach, you know. It should be a natural flow of

ideas and of information and conversation between teacher and pupils and what's happening is that you have to remain so focused so that you can achieve those ASs that you are really steering the whole conversation just to focus on those things and nothing else and I feel that that inhibits what you are doing” (Rina).

Disciplinary power, as typified by the gaze, governs the teacher's conduct to the extent that she experiences feelings of being trapped. She modifies her conduct as if she is under constant surveillance to closely resemble what she perceives to be policy expectations. Thus governmentality at a global level intersects with governmentality of the self at a local level resulting in identity being reconstituted within the dominant discourse. It is interesting to note that although the teacher has her own personal philosophy that teaching should be a natural flow of ideas, she articulates the official pedagogic identity which defines her practice. Why then does she do this? Foucault attributes this self-governing to 'care of self.' The power of the dominant discourse of the state (policy) circulates to the teacher when she enacts practice of this discourse as part of care of herself.

When Rina was asked why she assessed, this is how she responded:

“Well to see if they have understood what they need to know for that particular grade. Why I am assessing all the ASs I don't know. I am doing it because I have to do it. I don't see the point in a lot of them. And I'll be absolutely honest as far as that is concerned. I am doing it because I have to do certain things and also because we have been prescribed and told alright you have to do so many assessments for each assessment standard. And that is why I feel that it is very prescriptive and often that is why a lesson won't flow and we won't go exploring outside of the box. And I find it very ironical that previously the very thing that we were led to believe that we were moving away from is the very thing we seem to be hanging ours lives on, that is, you know, marks” (Rina).

The teacher is not opposed to assessment and within reason, she accepts the value of the learning outcomes, however, she sees no point in assessing all the assessment standards.

“Why I am assessing all the ASs I don’t know. I am doing it because I have to do it. I don’t see the point in a lot of them.” The teacher’s notion or purpose of assessment differs from the policy-makers’ official pedagogic identity especially with regard to the assessing and recording of assessment standards. There is a lack of belief in the system and her views of teaching and assessment are clearly not aligned with those of the policy-makers.

As an assessor, Rina complies with the policy as prescribed. However, this does not mean that her identity is constituted solely within the discourse of assessment. This alludes to the critical question that has guided this research study: how is teacher identity constituted within the discourse and practice of the assessment policy? Why does Rina practice assessment like the way she does? A theoretical explanation emerges from Foucault’s concepts of governmentality and technologies of self. Discourse is a product of governmentality and through heeding that discourse, the subject also governs herself or regulates her behavior as part of care of self. In terms of the analytical strategy, Foucault’s concept of self-technology pertains to the self-relation of the subject to its self-care (Andersen, 2003, p. 24). To Foucault, **subjection** means that an individual is proclaimed subject within a specific discourse. Foucault speaks of **subjectivation** when the individual has not only been made the subject but also wishes to be so. Subjection, thus, signifies the space where one receives oneself, whereas subjectivation signifies the space where one gives oneself to oneself (Andersen, 2003, p. 24). From the data it has emerged that Rina has not crossed the boundary between subjection and subjectivation since she does not believe in the discourse. In terms of my delineated analytical strategy, I argue that the subjection to the discourse occurs at the level of the body, however, subjectivation at a level of beyond the body has not occurred for Rina. In response to the key question *‘within the historical context of the current wave of curriculum reform in South Africa, how is teacher identity constituted in the discourses and practices of assessment reform?’* I argue that in relation to the constitution of teacher identity there is a tension between prescription of discourse and intuition which is a deep inner sense of knowing.

In the extract that follows, Rina describes the impact of assessment on her teaching.

“It depends again on the subject matter. Take for example, Afrikaans second language. And languages are one of my passions. I am finding that if you look at there’s six LOs in every language. Because I have to assess under all those learning outcomes, I find that the children cannot cope with the second language. I’d like to be spending the larger portion of my time doing oral work. Developing communication there and not worrying about the thinking and reasoning. These children cannot even speak the language and we want them to think and reason in the language. I think that because we are forced to teach them under all those learning areas (outcomes) and proportionately need to spend time on all those learning areas not forsaking one for the other. You actually taking off too much from what I feel is the essence of learning a new language. I would be spending more time just reading to them, trying to get them to read and oral work. Ya and because you need to get to the other learning outcome, you cannot spend so much time on one area” (Rina).

Rina makes a crucial observation and critiques the overall policy in place that does not serve the needs of second language learners. In Rina’s professional experience, acquisition and development of a second language works best with the communicative approach. However, the learning outcomes for languages are stipulated and policy directives emphasise the achievement of all outcomes. Rina’s professional experiential knowledge and wisdom which emerges from her professional identity is not aligned with the official pedagogic identity, denoting the tension between the discourse and intuition. Once again, macro-level forces intersect with the self operating within the micro-level of implementation, forging the identity of the teacher.

When asked about whether her work has been fulfilling or satisfying, this is how Rina responded:

“Yes, it has been in many ways. It has changed over the years. I think that has been largely influenced over the years by the fact that once I became a mother, everything else became more demanding. It was a more difficult thing to divide my time and try and find the right balance. I am still struggling with that” (Rina).

When Rina was asked about whether her relationship with learners had changed over the years, this is how she responded:

“Yes, it did. Absolutely. The day I had children of my own. I think I became a lot more empathetic and understood where they were coming from. It certainly did change my relationship. It made it a lot deeper, before it was more textbook, understanding of children, until I had my own. I am kind of the mother hen” (Rina).

Each life experience transforms one’s identity. For Rina, the experience of motherhood has made her more empathetic to the needs of learners. Wenger (1998) uses the concept of trajectory to argue that identity is fundamentally temporal; the work of identity is ongoing; because it is constructed in social contexts, the temporality of identity is more complex than a linear notion of time; identities are defined with respect to the interaction of multiple convergent and divergent trajectories. Rina’s membership in the community of practice in the school is only one part of her identity. Her membership within the community of the family as a mother is another membership. There are various memberships and what is required is reconciliation of these various memberships to fit together harmoniously. However, that may not necessarily be so and in Rina’s case there appears to be an ongoing tension where the role of mother threatens to tilt the balance. One of the challenges that Rina faces, is her attempt to find a balance between the necessity to work in order to fulfil her perceived calling in life and the desire to spend quality time with her family.

6.8.4 Communities of Practice: Shared Experiences: The Inhumanity of Assessment

“ I was discussing this whole assessment issue with a colleague, yesterday, I think, because I was taking part in this study of yours, and I was really trying to fish to see if I was the only one feeling this way. And she as a single woman, she doesn’t have dependents whatsoever, she is the most calmly natured person I know, and she said just confided and she said, she is at the end of her tether. She has no time to see her family, she spends all her weekends

*planning, she felt practically the same way I did that the assessment doesn't carry any weighting, the marks aren't weighted in any way and that we feel that the scale, don't give a very clear picture of where that child is at. One would always have to go back to the actual assessment that the child did to see that mark to get a very clear indication of where they are at. But she said that she spends hours and hours in preparation, paperwork, recording, and whether it be a journal or whether it be in her assessment file. She says that it just never ends. (You know) **Then I kind of thought, I am not alone.** And I said to her. This is ridiculous. We need to refine this system than one we've got. We put into practice what we believe is the way, of going forward, doing what the department requires of us. But physically to implement it is an inhumane task." (Rina)*

The last line, "*But physically to implement it is an inhumane task*" is noted since the description here bears resemblances of torture in terms of an unnatural extraction from the body and on a symbolic level like that of Frankl's (1984) description of the prisoners in the Nazi concentration camps.

This extract draws attention to the numerous references already made with regard to community of practice thus emphasizing that 'subjectivity is only as a result of intersubjectivity' (Giddens, 1991, p.51) and the value of the African concept of Ubuntu. It also alludes to Rina's self-reflective persona where she tests reality in her own search for meaning. This is part of her self-regulation: "*Is it me? Or do others feel this way?*" She questions her own sanity and sense of professionalism. In terms of Foucault's notion of dividing practice, of normal and abnormal, Rina draws comfort from the knowledge that another teacher feels the same way, "*Then I kind of thought, I am not alone.*"

In the following extract, Rina describes her plans for the future in terms of dreams and aspirations:

"Oh, they are very simple, I would like to leave teaching, honestly I would. I think and I don't know what's God's plans are. Maybe, he's got a couple of years for me yet that I have to be

here. I would like to become a full time mother. I feel I owe it to my boys, they are still young and they need me. It would not be a permanent thing, what the future holds then, I don't know we have to wait and see."

It seems as if Rina is serving her time at the school as a larger part of god's plans for her and this alludes to Rina's search for meaning in her practice (*dharma*). As a self-determining individual, Rina chooses to govern herself by a standard that she has created in terms of "God's plan for her."

6.8.5 Summary

This chapter is indeed the heart of the thesis where participants confess their practices and views of assessment in a soul cleansing act. It highlights the mirror of 'truth' through the eyes of another and in Alan's case, the eyes of the learners. Alan sees the survival in the eyes of his learners and articulates this as follows: "*They're also surviving. They try to look within my eyes but they mustn't be caught up or caught out by me.*" What Alan sees in his learners is a reflection of his own attempts at surviving. Alan confesses to "giving learners marks" and "stealing time" which are strategies that he adopts in a game of survival. Through his confession and his articulation of the "*worrying part for me,*" it is discerned that Alan, is a 'subject is tied to his own identity by a conscience or self knowledge' (Foucault, 1982b, p.130).

In the case of Vee, he expresses feelings that assessment hinders what he considers to be worthwhile teaching practice. He says: "*I worry so much these days by making sure that there is marks by the end of the term that sometimes I forget that I should be offering more to the child in terms of knowledge, in terms of skills.*" Like Alan, Vee, too confesses that his practice is not supported by his conscience. As a subject of morality, his deep sense of self alerts him that "*something is missing here.*" Although he adheres to the prescription making sure that there are marks, by subjecting at the level of the body, there is no evidence to suggest that there is subjectivation where the self gives itself to the self (Andersen, 2003).

Further, Vee articulated emotions such as guilt, frustration and sadness (“It’s sad”) with regard to his practice.

In the case of Rina, she too experiences immense guilt although her practice is closely aligned with the policy-makers’ expectations. Her guilt stems from a mismatch between what she sees as her life purpose (*dharma; telos*) and the prescription of the policy. Her internal belief system or her intuition as a mother and caregiver results in her feeling that she is “failing her learners in some way.” Foucault’s assertion that subjectivity / identity is constituted in discourses has partial relevance. Whilst Rina subjects herself through self-regulation in terms of discourses, there is a resistance or antagonism that emerges from a level beyond the body.

Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks

7.1 Introduction

I commence with closing remarks on the reconstitution of teachers identities within the discourse and discursive practices of assessment reform. I conclude that the process of identity construction and re-constitution is a multifarious, fluid and dynamic one intertwining various strands of discourses, forms of power, knowledge, political rationalities, culture, economics, habitus, socio-historical circumstances, the power of agency and levels of intuition.

With regard to discourses, changing assessment trends is a world wide phenomenon that has touched South Africa, through the whirlwind of globalization. Data has shown that globalization, which can be understood as a ‘metaphor for the economic, political and social forms of regeneration and expansion of capitalism under new political and economic conditions, which vary over space and are shaped historically’ (Chisholm, 1997), has implications at a local level and more specifically the changing identities of teachers who heed the new discourse. Giddens (1991) calls the new trends in knowledge, ‘abstract systems’ and emphasizes their potential disembedding effects. In the face of global and local change, reconstitution of identities is an inevitable outcome for teachers whose need for professional development is more urgent than ever.

7.2 The Reflexivity of Self

Giddens (1991, p.1) reminds us that a distinctive feature of modernity, in fact, is an increasing interconnection between the two ‘extremes’ of extensionality and intentionality: globalizing influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other. The transformation of modernity is not only extensional, (at a macro-level), as data has revealed that modernity ‘radically alters the nature of day to day social life and affects the most personal aspects of our experience’ (Giddens, 1991, p.1). Data has shown that ‘the self is not

a passive entity, determined by external influences and in forging their self identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications' (Giddens, 1991,p.2). This reflexivity of the self is evident in the case of Anand. This extract which formed the opening lines of this thesis is crucial in linking the main findings with theories:

“Well, for me assessment was like this huge tidal wave or tsunami that struck the teacher. And everybody was just grabbing at anything they could to survive. But with time as the tsunami subsided, you also subside and try to make sense of things. I suppose, it was more building and rebuilding, understanding the concepts and so on” (Anand).

This powerful imagery formed the opening lines of my thesis because it poignantly describes the effect of the new discourse on the identity of the teacher. What this imagery suggests is that the new discourse of assessment, as an outcome of the practice of macro-level governmentality, globalization and the move towards neo-liberalism, serves to shatter or fragment existing illusions that individual teachers (micro-level) have established with regard to their professional expertise within the previously established discourse. It is in the context of this extract that one is able to appreciate the value of the early biographic information. Anand, a secure and confident teacher with many accolades to his early practice as a teacher found himself “struck” by the new discourse of assessment. One is able to visualize assessment as a huge wave engulfing the teacher and the theme is one of survival. The text suggests a frantic grasp at any available crutch to survive this discourse. In this period of Anand being floored or struck, I had given him a questionnaire (Appendix 4) to complete and in the extract that follows he explains his response:

“I think that in the questionnaire that you sent me, I put very negative things because I think it was mostly disappointment with the department more than anything else. Although they had given us the workshops, and provided the information there has to be that guidance that support. You need people coming to school to see what you are assessing and then tell you, ‘Listen nothing is wrong but perhaps you should try this or try that.’ But from what I can see

now, we learnt from our mistakes in our previous years and we certainly have something in place now that I am quite happy with in my learning area”(Anand).

At the moment of completing the questionnaire, it is evident that Anand was caught in a spiral of negativity. However, a few months had lapsed between the completion of the questionnaire and the interview and the reconstitution of the teacher’s identity is evident. From Anand’s biography, I can infer that the relationships that he formed and his own ‘rational plan’ (Rawls, 1973, p.433) enabled him to form a protective cocoon or mantle of trust from which he could recreate his identity. The relationships of trust and sheer self-determination to survive the assessment enabled him to pick up the pieces to reconstitute his identity. The feelings of deskilling and powerlessness which were evident, were temporary fixations which were soon replaced by feelings of reskilling and appropriation. Hence, the self is a reflexive project that is not static or given but is dynamic in a state of reconstitution. The self has veered around what Giddens (1991, p.191) described as the dilemma between powerlessness and reappropriation. Critical events that saw the pull towards appropriation included his being elected to the assessment committee as chairperson; being given verbal accolades by the principal and his own initiatives at self development.

7.3 Tugging at the Teacher’s Soul. Performance vs Competence Modes

Data comprising subjectivity, which is ‘patterns by which experiential and emotional contents, feelings, images and memories are organized to form one’s self-image, one’s sense of self and others, and our possibilities of existence’ (De Lauretis, 1986, p. 5) in relation to the discourses of the new assessment policy, revealed that amongst individual cases reported, there was considerable lack of clarity and a sense of confusion. The findings of the study has repeatedly drawn on the work of Fullan (1991) who reports that abstract goals combined with a mandate for teachers to operationalise them resulted in confusion, frustration and abandonment of the effort. *False clarity* occurs when people think that they have changed but have only assimilated the superficial trappings of the new practice. *Painful unclarity* is experienced when unclear innovations are attempted under conditions that do not support the

development of the subjective meaning of change. Both these forms of non-change were observed in teachers' articulation of their practice.

Firstly, the lack of clarity or ambiguity with regard to assessment implementation stems from teachers' attempts to forge a balance between the competence and performance model of assessment. According to Bernstein (1996, p. 62) in competency models the transmission costs are likely to be higher than in the costs of performance models. This occurs, firstly, in terms of the costs of teacher training which are likely to be high because of the theoretical base of competency models. Changing the approach to teaching and assessment is indeed a paradigm shift for most teachers in South Africa. However, in terms of economics, once off work-shops to train teachers are cheap (low cost) strategies. These training endeavours with facilitators who in a teacher participant's opinion "*have been given a crash course themselves*" leave teachers feeling inadequate and lacking confidence to assess effectively. The theoretical base of the competence model involves more than just knowledge of the principles. The effectiveness of the theory should be evaluated in terms of application or practice in models of inservice training like that espoused by Joyce and Showers (1980, 1994) for example, where 'coaching' is included in the five procedures for effective training. In terms of the training of teachers, data from most participants reveal an emphasis on theory with a lack of appropriate models. Most participants attribute the reasons for non-change to be that of inadequate professional development to cope with a large number of learners within unsuitable contexts.

Secondly, the hidden costs for the success of the competency model are time based (depending on the teacher's resourcefulness, creativity and efficiency) (Bernstein, 1996, p. 63). The teacher has to construct the pedagogic resources; evaluation requires time in establishing the profile of each acquirer; and in discussing projects with groups, socializing parents into the practice is another requirement; establishing feedback on the acquirer's development (or lack of it) is a further cost (Bernstein, 1996, p.63). The competency approach suggests flexibility of time frames and highlights learner-paced teaching and assessment. Data has revealed that the dilemma of the teacher is that he or she is expected to construct pedagogic resources, compile profiles on learners (record achievement in terms of learning outcomes and assessment standards), provide feedback on learners' work within a

specific time frame that obliges them to show progress or to be “*moving along*” (Alan). Generally those teachers who taught in schools that were mainly subject-based (teaching specific learning areas) had larger classes (numbers greater than 40 learners per class) to contend with. The added issue of accountability to parents compounds the teachers’ dilemma.

According to Bernstein, (1996, p.63), ‘within the institution, extensive interaction between teachers over the practice is required for the purposes of planning and monitoring, as the structure is constructed rather than received.’ These hidden costs are rarely explicitly recognized and built into budgets, but charged to the individual commitment of teachers. Bernstein (1996, p. 63) adds that this lack of recognition of hidden costs may lead to ineffective pedagogic practice because of the demands of the practice, or if these are met, the lack of recognition may give rise to ineffectiveness because of the fatigue experienced by teachers.’ In terms of the competency model, data has revealed that the commitment of teachers is usually taken for granted as is evident in the wide discrepancy of practice among teachers. In two very similar ex-model C schools, for example, one teacher implements the assessment policy to the letter and thus burns out in the process whilst in another school the teacher has the learning outcomes “*beautifully filed away.*” Without clear guidelines and effective models, teachers are most likely to experience *false clarity* and *painful unclarity* (Fullan, 1991).

An example of *false clarity* it presented by Alan, who for example, as assessor in a class of 44 learners walks around the classroom saying, “***Right, I am watching today and I am going to give marks here there.***” This is Alan’s attempt at self regulation to implement the new discourse of assessment to suit his context. It is hoped that this research presents more questions than answers, especially to the policy-makers with regard to their intention in relation to the revised assessment policy.

Accountability, according to Bernstein (1996, p. 63), is facilitated by the ‘objectivity’ of the performance model and thus outputs can be measured and optimized. The new discourse on assessment whilst embracing the principles of the competence model simultaneously stresses the recording of learning outcomes and assessment standards as benchmarks for progress or

achievement. This expectation is contradictory and results in a continuous push and pull with the teachers' practice vacillating between both modes. Data has revealed that a deficiency on either mode results in guilt, shame and feelings of inadequacy amongst teachers interviewed. Data has revealed that the influence of both the performance and competence models of the new assessment discourse has resulted in self-regulation (governmentality). The teachers' inner sense of knowing, together with their accumulated professional experience conflicts with that of policy-makers' rational plan articulated in policy. Alan and Rina who teach in different contexts disclosed that the pressure of having to cover the learning outcomes within a stipulated time frame, often leaves little time for remediation which further bridges the gap between the learners who can cope and those who can't. In teachers' attempts to keep up with the pace of performativity, that is, the showing of progress in terms of covering learning outcomes, assessing and recording these, they often neglect remedial work which leaves them in a state of guilt. In John Rawl's (1973) terms of social justice, the disadvantaged are further disadvantaged. This tugs at the soul of the teacher who is caught between trying to fulfill the demands of the policy-maker and satisfying the dictates of his or her conscience, hence the dilemma of **prescription versus intuition**.

Fabrications (giving of marks), and other strategies of coping (such as ignoring the learning outcomes) that are employed by teachers are deemed necessary for their survival. However, it is not only teachers who are involved in fabrications. Whilst assessment revolves or hinges on the achievement of learning outcomes, there are learners who do not achieve the outcomes, but are '*pushed*' through the system by SEMs who want to increase the pass rate of learners and look good themselves. Teachers (Alan and Vee) wrestle with the knowledge that they are accomplices in the shadowy workings of the Department officials, thus calling into question their role in the fabrications of the Department of Education, and in terms of their own practice of assessment, wonder, "*Why, bother?*"

In the case of Rina, governmentality or self regulation occurs in its extremity where the guidelines of the policy-maker are followed closely, yet *painful unclarity* (Fullan, 1991) is experienced because she does not believe in it. This practice is mechanical and not meaningful to her set of values. Teaching is practice that comes from Rina's soul in her attempt to fulfill her life purpose (*dharma*), yet the soul is missing from her assessment

practice because Rina does not believe that this is the best that she can offer to learners and parents. The search for soul alludes to reaching one's highest level of consciousness which Maslow (1943) describes as *self-transcendence* and Frankl (1984) as *man's search for meaning*.

7.4 The Researcher and Biographic Work: A Confession

Peters (2007, p. 188) states that in terms of the subjectivity of the educational researcher we can perhaps best highlight the Foucauldian notion of 'practices of self' by briefly examining qualitative research and the way in which the now traditional concept of 'participant observer' already tacitly triggers the process of 'unbracketing' the subjectivity of the researcher, that is, challenging the objectivist ideology associated with bracketing one's own beliefs, assumptions, tastes and preferences – in order to acknowledge how deeply they enter into knowledge constructions. As already disclosed at the beginning of this thesis, every argument presented in this thesis stems from my own identity and awareness of the reality of data presented. The data that I have interacted with represents parallels in my own life.

This research project has been a journey for me in more ways than one. I see this thesis as a converging of three strands: My own journey in life; the reconstitution of teachers' identities within the discourse and the discursive practices of assessment reform and lastly; Frankl's (1984) portrayal of the prisoners in Nazi concentration camps and their will to meaning. Central to all three are common threads of suffering, awakening, survival, man's search for meaning and reconstitution of identities.

The thesis highlights the methodological value of the biographic or life history approach. One of the advantages of a life history approach is that delving into various phases of the teacher's life from childhood experiences of their own schooling to their current status, enables the researcher and reader to see not only the ways that the structural constraints vary over time, but also the way the coping strategies, too, vary during the life cycle of the teacher, and according to the historical conditions in which they find themselves. Prime examples of

cases used in this study are those of Alan and Vee. Studying the childhood experiences of the participants has facilitated an understanding of their 'habitus' (the effects of bio-power). Sikes et al. (1985), conclude that teachers belong to, can draw upon and are influenced by a latent culture based on the experiences and observations of their pupilhood and that to some extent partly perhaps because of habituation and the special sense of security the past offers, their perceptions and actions perpetuate the order and norms they experienced as pupils. Data has revealed that the norm of traditional authoritarianism, a previously established discourse with a major impact on teachers' habitus, has had to be 'unlearned' or adapted to newer discourses as part of 'care of self.' Two forms of traditional authoritarianism identified in the study are: the teacher as a source of knowledge and corporal punishment and these were major paradigm shifts in the teachers 'unlearning' metamorphosis. Data has shown the strategies that teachers have employed in order to respond to new discourses of assessment in which identities have been reconstructed.

Methodologically, the study serves to highlight the value of biographic work, as a means of getting inside teachers' heads. The research study for me was more than an academic one. During the period of my study, I was plagued with the puzzle of my own life and my attempts to search for meaning led me to the work of Frankl (1984). Thomas (1995) states that it seems hardly possible to engage in biographic work without the writer coming up against the universal questions of personal identity and the meaning and purpose of existence.

In terms of getting into the minds of teachers, the life history approach with its main feature of a series of interviews unveils a broad or holistic picture of teachers' lives rather than selected aspects. The biographical account presented by participant teachers gives tremendous insight into their motives and values. The life story or biographical approach serves to bridge the gap between the macro-level of governmentality and its intersection with the lives of teachers in a micro-level institutional setting. Atkinson (2007, p. 225) highlight that life stories serve four functions of bringing us more in accord with ourselves (psychological), others (sociological), the mystery of life (spiritual), and the universe around us (philosophical). Gidden's (1979), states that another aspect of this holism is the fact that life histories can embrace various modes of consciousness.

As Goodson (1980, p. 74) puts it: 'Through life history, we gain insights into individuals coming to terms with imperatives in the social structure.' This research is not intended to generalize. However, by closely examining life histories via individual case studies, one is able to identify some aspects which are general thus forging links between macro theories which are earthed by biographical selves.

In doing biographic work, the participant, Alan, in his own volition, disclosed personal information that went beyond the level of the academic study. I will present an example of this:

In terms of relationships, Alan considers his relationship with his grandmother to be a significant one.

"Relationships with my late granny, I was very close to her. I wanted to when I started teaching I had all this great ideas and I shared a room and a kitchen, it was a tin shanty.

When I came out of hospital my granny said to me, you know my child you are growing up we can't actually be sharing a room, you need to go to your mother. So I went. I remember that I was actually like an alien going to my mother's place with her husband and my seven step brothers and sisters. I wasn't warmly accepted because it was their territory. And there were a lot of incidents that were unhappy one's for me. But eventually, now that we are grown up, I get on very well with brothers and sisters.

Influences, it was my granny, then, my mum and I, we are not really close. She says she loves me but I can't really bring myself to say that to her. I go and see her in Durham, she is a retired teacher. And I am always seeing that she is comfortable, and I enjoy that type of visit

to her. And I am not so sure that what I had for my granny was the same that I have for her. She is still my sister, you know.” (Alan)

This account, adds value to biographic work as a methodological tool of ‘getting inside the teacher’s mind.’ The emotive language of the extract alludes to the multiple spheres of identity. Alan speaks with pride of the closeness that he felt towards his grandmother and their humble sharing of a ‘tin shanty.’ He articulates his sense of alienation and unhappiness of having to live with his mother and his siblings. The last line of the extract, “*She is still my sister, you know*” alludes to Alan’s resistance to the acceptance of the woman as his mother. The decision to leave the image incomplete is a personal one and goes further than multiple identities that comprise the self even though the self is reflexively reconstituted.

The suffering experienced by Alan is at a deep level. As researcher, I then question my own insistence on probing the suffering of Alan. While working through the data, I would observe the emotional and painful episodes that caused participants to experience an internal struggle. In recognizing Alan’s internal struggle, I have probed the depths of my own soul asking: to what extent does it reflect the issues of resistance and non-acceptance in my own life?

We hold multifarious identities, albeit temporary ones in the span of our lifetime. I was challenged with the identities of being a daughter, mother, student researcher, teacher and wife. My decision to grasp the opportunity of the scholarship to pursue a childhood dream, meant that I had to relinquish some responsibility to care for my mother. In my study, I was able to identify a similar dilemma with one of the participants, Rina, who was torn emotionally between what she saw as her life purpose as a teacher and being a mother. After, my interview with Rina, I cried as I drove back home.

In one’s search for meaning, one tries to find solutions to the dilemma of one’s identity being pushed and pulled by various forces. A certain philosophy urges the individual to transcend the suffering through acceptance. Frankl’s (1984) suggestion is that to survive is to find meaning in the suffering.

Frankl (1984), writes: “*once the meaning of suffering had been revealed to us, we refused to minimize or alleviate the camp’s tortures by ignoring them or harboring false illusions and entertaining artificial optimism... But there was no need to be ashamed of tears, for tears bore witness that a man had the greatest of courage, the courage to suffer. Only a few realized that. Shamefacedly some confessed occasionally that they had wept, like the comrade who answered my question of how he had gotten over his edema, by confessing, “I wept it out of my system.”*” (Frankl, 1984, pp. 99-100). Confession as a means of verbalizing has been a key feature of this thesis from both a methodological and theoretical perspective.

In essence, this thesis highlights a double confession since this study is a confession within a confession. The thesis is about my confession as explicated right at the outset. The second confession comes from participants who confess within the confession of my work.

7.5 Prescription Vs Intuition

Through this research journey, it has emerged that the very notion of identity is a mere starting point of my study. In the words of Rabinow and Rose (2003), an attempt to ‘make visible the vectors that shape our relations to our selves,’ – history inserts itself not in our psyche but in that silent thought that inhabits the most intimate aspects of our experience of our selves. One of the key findings of this study can be framed within the theory of Giddens (1991), who states that the self in late modernity typically confronts four major dilemmas: 1) unification vs fragmentation 2) appropriation vs powerlessness 3) authority vs uncertainty 4) personalization vs commodification. My study alludes to the possibility of a fifth dilemma which is **prescription vs intuition**. The teachers find that their own practical wisdom is often at loggerheads with the hard prescription of the policy-makers. I conclude that in the constitution of identity, there is a tension between discourse and intuition. This can be represented diagrammatically in Figure 7.1 as follows:

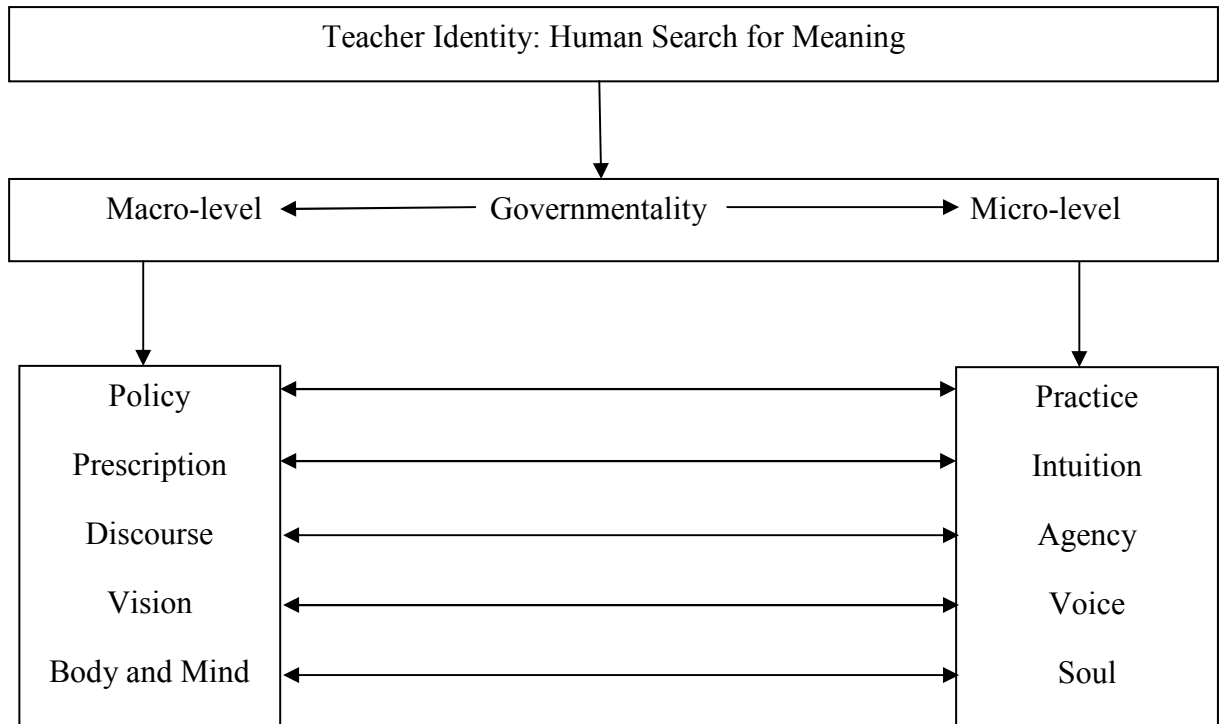


Figure 7.1 Prescription Versus Intuition

Figure 7.1 represents diagrammatically the tension or dilemma of prescription versus intuition that is teacher experienced by the teacher. The policy that is created at macro-level of governmentality intersects with the teacher at a micro-level of implementation or practice. In this thesis, the voice of individual teachers is articulated in response to the policy which is symbolic of the policy-maker’s vision. I argue that identity is constituted by discourses to an extent but there is something deeper, at the very core of existence, **the soul** that drives the teacher to do what he or she does. This does not discount those aspects of identity constituted by discourse. Whilst the policy can subject the teacher at the level of the body and mind, I argue that subjectivation occurs at the level of the soul.

7.6 The Teacher as Subject of Knowledge

Foucault's concept of bio-power (governmentality and pastoral power) has thrown light on the subject, more specifically, between forms of power and processes of subjectivation. In his history of governmentality, Foucault endeavours to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other's emergence (Foucault, 1978). Thus, from Foucault's perspective of governmentality, the polarity of subjectivity and power ceases to be plausible: government refers to a continuum, which extends from political government right through to forms of self-regulation, namely 'technologies of the self.' (Lemke, 2000, p. 12).

With reference to Foucault's concept of bio-power in the twin forms of governmentality and pastoral power, I argue that the production of identities and knowledge occurs through disciplinary techniques and norms internalized through increased attempts at visibility and technologies of the self. The technique of self-regulation as part of 'care of self' has been in relation to policies instituted to serve as the norm. The compelling drive to fit in the range of normal rather than the opposite is a motivating factor for most teachers attempting to survive. Furthermore, the cutting effects of neo-liberalism has resulted in increased forms of visibility and accountability. These are evident in the increased demands of the new discourse for detailed record keeping in assessment practices. This was observed in the practice of Rina, who records learners' performance in every learning area, according to every learning outcome and every assessment standard. Hence, 'governmentality' in the words of Doherty (2007), 'is very much what subjects do to themselves as what is done to them.' Other measures for accountability, as part of governmentality, are the learners' portfolios which is a record of learners' performance that should be available for scrutiny by relevant stakeholders, especially parents. Within the discourse of neoliberalism, parents are now given the status of consumers. An additional burden for teachers is to increase communication with parents, involve them in the process of learning and even assessment. Parent accountability is crucial to the market related status of schools as determined by its School Governing Body.

The pressures of new discourses accompanied by issues of performativity and accountability, necessitates a re-constitution of one's identity in order to fit one's self in with the 'games of truth.' The search for meaning commences with questions. Weber posed the question: 'If one wants to behave rationally and regulate one's action according to true principles, what part of one's self should one renounce?' (Foucault, 1982a, p. 146). Foucault in response to Weber stated, 'What must one know about oneself in order to renounce anything?' (Foucault, 1982a, p. 146). Knowing one's self has emerged as a key construct in the constitution of self. In her search for meaning, the participant Deb had to also re-evaluate her position as a specialist as is evident in the following extract:

*"I had to re- evaluate. If I had to proceed through as a specialist, Music teacher or teacher of Music at the high school, I believed that I was meant to be a teacher, I believed that that was my calling, and I was going to be the best teacher that I could be. And suddenly I found myself, at that time there was no risk to my subject or anything, at that time, but I was listening to people talk and I was aware of a new system coming up our way and I had to re-direct not to give up what I was doing but to take on role that was then being handed out down to us, in terms of what now constitutes a teacher. You were n't just going to flow with some specific little place with a group of children, and so forth, **the whole definition of who a teacher was, was being questioned.** And with that with me finding out what this new definition was, I realized that I couldn't just stay as a specialist high school Music teacher. I had to widen my definition. And that was a big transition, that was the big mindset, to take on. The second thing, the transition that had to happen was that I questioned, **Okay, I was this good teacher, everything was moving peacefully, and successfully, and something new was heading my way. Was I still going to maintain my professionalism and my expertise?** And the answer would have been, 'No' if I did not get to know what was heading my way. So in order to sustain my belief in what I was doing. I was called to be a teacher and called to be a good teacher. **That was my own yardstick, it was not anybody imposing that on me.** I had to be equipped I had to know, what the new curriculum was about, where was it coming from, why it was coming to us and how I needed to go about doing it. And yes, teach the teacher trainer; **the teacher teaching teachers** was the approach that the powers that be, took. But I was not just going to get it from another teacher. I didn't believe and probably going right back to school days when I decided whether to go to a college or university that was perhaps the root of my view, my dad's and mine, get it from the best, know the best, do the best. You*

know that sort of stimulant was there or motivation. I really wanted to get involved on a provincial level, regional provincial and National and I've had a wonderful opportunity to get that. I was not going to be satisfied, hearing it all and then just grumbling my days through, being dissatisfied. I had to do it for myself. So that was the second big change that I had to take over. Here I was this qualified woman in Music and suddenly, feeling not qualified. I had to do something to get there again” (Deb).

Using the extract from Deb's interview, I endeavour to weave the strands together in a meaningful culmination of this tapestry. Deb commences with the notion of “re-evaluating” and “questioning.” Similarly, I had to re-evaluate my position as a teacher. In my search for meaning, my soul beckoned me that I needed to ‘know thyself’ in order to ‘care for self’ (Foucault, 1982a, p.150). Just as Deb felt the need “*to re-direct not to give up what [she] was doing,*” I, too, knew that in order to be the best teacher, I had to re-direct what I was doing. This thesis is about the journey of “knowing myself” by looking into the mirror of the souls of others (Foucault, 1982a).

Deb's determination to ‘care for herself’ meant that she as a subject of knowledge had to master the ‘game of truth’ which was the new discourse of curriculum and assessment. It is her life purpose or *dharma* that was the driving force since she states that, “*That was my own yardstick, it was not anybody imposing that on me.*” This targets one of the pillars on which this thesis rests: Foucault's concept of governmentality. Government in this sense only becomes possible at the point at which policing and administration stops; it is a point where government and self government coincide and coalesce’ (Peters as cited in Doherty, 2007, p.197). The following statement from Deb, reflects my own life purpose (*dharma*) or search for meaning (*telos*): “*I was not going to be satisfied, hearing it all and then just grumbling my days through, being dissatisfied. I had to do it for myself.*”

It is the temporality of identity that typifies the ontological being that drives the individual soul to continuously seek meaning. The universe upon obeying the soul's request throws challenges to make the soul grow. The deskilling that Deb experiences is symbolic of my own deskilling and those of the teachers, of which I see similarities in Frankl's description of

the arrival of Jewish prisoners at Auschwitz, “*We were waiting for the shower, our nakedness was brought home to us: we really had nothing now except our bare bodies – even minus hair; all we possessed, literally was our naked existence*” (Frankl, 1984, pp. 33-34). On a metaphoric level of description, the deskilling or stripping of teachers, that is, being left bare of their professional experience, was like that of the holocaust prisoners who had nothing but their ‘naked existence.’

Thus the extract from Deb is a crucial one, showing the effects of power/ knowledge and discourse as one aspect of the constitution of subject identities. Bio-power is manifested in two ways: via governmentality and pastoral power. Governmentality at a macro-level brought about by rationalities of government, with resultant changes in policy as techniques of government with specific reference to curriculum and assessment, intersects with changes at a micro-level with the individual teacher. Governmentality is at work and the teacher through her own volition, in her own liberty whilst simultaneously addressing the threat of neo-liberalism in terms of marketability, seeks to make changes. The redefinition that Deb refers to is actually the changing identity of herself. Once again, it is a case of survival. In order to remain healthy and normal, professional development is needed. Similarly, in Frankl’s, (1984) *Man’s Search for Meaning*, the Nazi prisoners were advised by fellow prisoners to shave regularly even with a piece of glass in order to look healthy enough to work or face death in the gas chambers. This healthy state perpetuated by Foucault’s notions of bio-power as well as notions of normalizing judgements of disciplinary powers has led to the teacher’s decision to: “*maintain my professionalism and my expertise.*” Although, Foucault’s notion of the subject being constituted within discourses has relevance, cognisance is given to the teacher’s inner sense of knowing and will to mean (*dharma; telos*). Frankl (1984) states that self actualization occurs only as a side effect of self- transcendence. To state that human beings are constituted within discourses alone, eliminates man’s search for meaning: his will to meaning.

Teacher participants in this study, however, are survivors. As Frankl (1984) states: ‘*Life holds a potential meaning under any circumstances even the most miserable ones.*’ Teachers do work under a number of given structural constraints, but perceive them differently, and they react to them differently on the basis of their personality, biography, and their work

context (Sikes et al., 1995). Data has revealed that teachers grab onto any available life line. One such lifeline is attending workshops on assessment. Participant teachers have reported a failure of the Departmental workshops to develop them professionally and provide adequate models of implementation. However, teachers as self determining beings did not stop there. They took it upon themselves to make sense of policies as a strategy for their own survival. The data supports Frankl's (1984) contention that individuals are self determining beings.

Whilst discourses provide benchmarks and catalysts for change in identity at an existential level, it is the core of the self, the soul that drives the formation of the self. At an existential level of survival, the fear of being deskilled as a result of change in discourses steers the individual towards self-actualisation. In one's journey towards this end, the individual searches deep within his or her soul and in so doing makes the realization that the meaning to life is more than self-actualisation but self transcendence.

Deb subjects herself to becoming master of the new discourse at the level of the body and mind, but in her soul, this is what she feels:

“That is the deep side inside of you which, I can't say very loudly but maybe there'll come a time where assessment as we know it, will be long forgotten in our memory” (Deb).

It was Albert Einstein who stated that “God does not play dice with the universe.” The synchronicity of events in our lives inevitably ties events to each other in a balanced equation. To have used Foucault in my research study is no coincidence. Rabinow and Rose (2003) in reference to Foucault rationalize that ‘thinking was action, and action was motion – and as a thinker Foucault sought to be in motion – as a thinker and as a person.’ Foucault wished to stand back in order to see more clearly just as Eckhart Tolle (2001), writes of ‘watching the thinker’ and ‘observing your mind.’ The only ‘game of truth’ that remains relatively timeless, as in science, is that change, re-evaluation and reconstitution is the order of the universe. The motion that is described depicts my own search for the meaning which

has resulted in this research study that delves into more than identity, but encompasses **the soul**.

7.7 A Search for the Teacher's Soul

With hindsight, a researcher may feel that things could have been done differently. However, I feel that I would not change anything except for the title. 'Teacher Identity in Assessment Policy and Practice' is as cold and impersonal as the Department of Education and its representatives as described by the participants in the study. I would change the title of this research to '*A Search for the Teacher's Soul.*'

As a researcher, I do not wish to 'claim to capture the truth of reality but to offer an interpretation or version which is inevitably partial' (Wetherell, 2001a, p. 11) and Stake's (1995) comment that 'the function of research is not necessarily to map and conquer the world but, to sophisticate the beholding of it,' is reiterated. The subjectivity of the researcher whether consciously or unconsciously has to be acknowledged. As I have stated at the outset of the research, the data resonates with my own identity in a personal and professional way where all identified aspects of the research are parts of myself that are either owned or disowned. The involvement of the researcher can be made in De Beaugrande's (1997) terms 'the object of reflection.' Furthermore, Fontana and Frey (2008), report that some researchers are becoming keenly attuned to the fact that in knowing 'others' we come to know 'ourselves.'

Another confession of mine as researcher emerges from the issue of 'double hermeneutics' which according to Mottier (cited in Henning, 2004) occurs when the researcher takes on the role of author and presents readers with her final text, the reader again interprets the twice interpreted 'reality.' I wish to disclose that the teacher is not the only one caught up in a game of survival. Whether one refers to it as habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) or a meme (Dawkins, 1976), survival is more than merely culturally transmitted, rather it is instinctive or innate. As researcher living within the game of survival too, I admit that I have edited the last statement

in the extract below to protect myself even though it was the participant that spoke those words.

“And there’s one or two children that I have seen make the attempt, I see to it that they have something to go on with. I mustn’t deprive them. It is not their fault that --- (deleted) and it is sort of now on an unconscious go slow, but that’s what happens” (Alan).

I cannot claim total objectivity of the data, since as interviewer I am ‘co-creator of the meaning’ brought to data (Henning et al., 2004). Although every endeavour was made to ask questions in a way that avoided leading participants, my very presence in that interview situation, indicated that I was interested in what they had to say. I would seek to identify and fill gaps, and at times even act as devil’s advocate by drawing from my own experience as a teacher with the aim of obtaining authentic data. However, I cannot ignore the fact that to get participants to trust me to open up their minds to me, involved the projection of an image (which is real as well) that I was sympathetic to their plight. Even non-verbal cues like the nodding of my head and the mere utterance of “hmmm” conveyed the message that I was in support of what teachers were saying. Talking to a sympathetic listener provides a way for the person feeling frustrated to vent one’s feelings and regain control over oneself. From the researcher’s point of view, the bias is inevitable as explicated at the outset. However, the researchers’ consciousness of this fact is an immediate antidote.

The participants in my study indicated that the questioning techniques used in the interview process in addition to facilitating them becoming known to the researcher, also simultaneously unearthed or opened up past chapters of their lives and ‘forced’ them to articulate issues that would have been submerged in their subconscious. The therapeutic process revealed things about themselves that in turn helped them to constitute themselves.

The words “humanity and inhumanity” were frequently articulated by participants in their talk about their work. Policy-makers will need to heed that the policy as discourse that is filtered to the teacher, meets a human being, not a number. Goodson (1991, 1992) alluded to

this when he argued that ‘researchers, even when they had stopped treating the teacher as a numerical aggregate, historical footnote or unproblematic role incumbent, still treated teachers as interchangeable types unchanged by circumstance or time.’ In the light of this remark, I have opted for contextually sensitive research that should be noted by policy-makers.

Deb, one of the participants who vociferously endorses the new assessment, describes her disappointment in response to a rationalizing policy influenced by the discourse of neo-liberalism as noted in the following extract:

*“My second disappointment came when, the whole rationalization happened. And although I was not averse to the thinking behind the rationalization and redeployment, but the way the schools handled human beings. **They just became an acronym. You were a CTT (Conditional Transfer Teacher) or a surplus or whatever the words were. And that’s how it was for me right up to this day, I am not in that situation and so forth and I feel for those teachers again in terms of the system. You will always have surplus teachers because of attrition and movement, people resigning and so forth. There has to be transfer and movement. That’s a dynamic environment. But the way it is handled in schools, you become dispensable, you just a number of the years that you served, last one in so you are the first one out, you are not needed anymore. There’s no humane... you know there’s no humanity in the way it is being implemented and that’s a huge disappointment for me in terms of the way the department, and the schools the principals and others handle this delicate situation.**”*

This lack of humanity described by Deb and other participants is reminiscent of Frankl’s (1984) description of the holocaust prisoners:

‘One literally became a number... What stood behind that number and life mattered even less: the fate the history, the name of the man’ (Frankl, 1984, p. 73).

“[E]ach of them was nothing but a number. On their admission to the camp (Auschwitz) all their documents had been taken from them...The authorities were only interested in the captives’ numbers. These numbers were often tattooed on their skin, and also had to be sewn to a certain spot on the trousers, jacket, or coat. Any guard who wanted to make a charge against a prisoner just glanced at his number; he never asked for his name’ (Frankl, 1984, p. 23).

At that time the Nazi guards were merely acting on governmentality in the dual connotations of the term: firstly, governmentality of the state (macro-level) and secondly, governmentality of self (micro-level) by which one regulates one’s self to fit in with the truth of the times. Yet, in the historical presentation, this action is regarded as inhumane. Similarly, the question that remains is whether the actions of the Department of Education and policy-makers who act in terms of the art of governing would be regarded as inhumane in future ‘games of truth’? Language, even as discourse, is only one of the the ‘instruments’ through which human beings constitute themselves. Rabinow and Rose (2003) suggest that the ‘games of truth’ which make up the history of our relation to ourselves should not be studied in terms of ideas, but of technologies: the intellectual and practical instruments and devices enjoined upon human beings to shape and guide their ways of ‘being human.’ Ball (2003, p. 215) compares education reform to a policy epidemic that does not simply change what people as educators and scholars do, it changes who they are.

From the bleeding heart data presented, it is evident that there are distinct ‘disjunctures between policy ideals and practice, expectations and reality; requirements of the role and personal predilections, capacity (of knowledge, skills and work load) and demands (Sikes et al., 1985). For many teacher participants in my study, stress continues to be a key feature of their everyday assessment practices. Hargreaves (1998) describes the debilitating occupational disease of teaching. It is not surprising that South African teachers caught up in post-apartheid governmentality find themselves in situations of stress, low morale and insecurity.

In the opening lines of my research, the participant compares the assessment to a Tsunami. The most devastating effect of the new assessment discourse is the direct attack of teachers' professionalism whereby accumulated experience was wiped out with one huge tidal wave. The impact of the changing 'games of truth' and its deskilling effects resulted in one of the participants, Vee, going through the stages of grief as exemplified by Kubler-Ross, which are denial, anger, bargaining depression and acceptance. Vee described strategies of denial, such as "you must be joking" with attempts to laugh it off. After his depression, he awoke one day and decided he was going to change his field of work. Policy-makers need to heed the potential threat of loss of a dynamic workforce if teachers continue to be treated, in "inhumane ways," (Rina, Deb) as being just another number.

The prisoners of the Holocaust, teacher participants and myself are human and it is human nature to question the struggles in life. The issue of finding meaning is also explored by the literary genius Salman Rushdie (2006), who in his work *Shalimar the Clown*, writes, '*Didn't human beings need pain and suffering to learn and grow? Would a world in which only good things happened be a good world, a paradise, or would it in fact be an intolerable place whose denizens, excused from danger, failure, catastrophe and misery, turned into insufferably big-headed, overconfident bores?*' In relating this to the Holocaust prisoners, the teacher participants in this study and my own journey in life, Frankl (1984) suggests that one finds meaning in that suffering. Teachers need to stand back and see the order of the universe: the ebb and flow; the rise and fall; or the highs and lows which are all dualities in the game of life.

The challenge that awaits the education system (policy-makers) is to uncover the 'game of truth' that transcends space-time dimensions so that discourse and practice are directed towards a single consciousness as was brilliantly articulated by Deb in her account of future assessment.

"That is the deep side inside of you which, I can't say very loudly but maybe there'll come a time where assessment as we know it, will be long forgotten in our memory" (Deb).

In closing, I suggest that we heed the words of Albert Einstein who said, ‘The intuitive mind is a sacred gift and the rational mind is a faithful servant. We have created a society that honours the servant and has forgotten the gift.’

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1: Professional identity

1. What are your qualifications? In which year did you obtain the qualification? What is the name of the institution where the qualification was obtained? Category M2? M3 or REQV. If you are currently studying, state the name of the qualification and the institution concerned?
2. What subjects or learning areas have you taught? Do you have a special subject that you enjoy teaching or feel particularly confident to teach? Which subject or learning area is that? Why do you enjoy this subject?

Teaching and assessment

School curriculum change in the form of curriculum 2005 was of a scale arguably unparalleled in the history of South Africa. (Harley and Wedekind, 2004.)

3. Several changes have taken place within the education system. What in your opinion were the most significant changes in teaching and learning. After the introduction of C2005 and the RNCS, what you are doing differently? Is there integration across subjects? Is there integration in assessment tasks? Do you think it is realistic?

Role as Assessor: (Policy-makers' vision: Official projections)

4. What is required of you as a teacher? What do you do?
5. Which departmental policies are you aware of or familiar with that tells you about your role as assessor?
6. What is expected of you (by the school and the education department) in terms of teaching and assessment? Are you clear about the expectations of school and policy-makers. (If not, which aspects are you unclear about). How do you feel about these expectations? Are they realistic? Can they be achieved. If not, what are the obstacles?

School Assessment Policy:

7. Can you tell me about your school's assessment policy? Is there a separate assessment policy for your subject area? How was the assessment policy formulated? Were you part of the process. If yes, what were your contributions? Does the assessment policy make provision for integration of learning areas. Are you satisfied with the policy? If not, what would you do differently?

Views on assessment

8. Why do you assess? (Purpose)
9. How often do you assess?
10. Who do you think should assess? Teacher ? learners?
11. What methods of assessment do you use?
12. What do you do with the assessment results?
13. What, if any, feedback do you give to students?
14. How does assessment influence your teaching?
15. How does assessment impact on your workload?
16. How are parents informed about learners' progress?
17. Have parents questioned your assessment of their children's potential?
18. Why do you think assessment has changed from the time you were in school?
19. Do you have an idea of how you are going to assess, what you are going to assess before the commencement of the term?
20. Have you integrated assessment with other learning areas? If not, why? If so, describe what went on. Was it effective? Did it work well? If not, why?
21. Do you think that assessment determines or influences what you teach? Do you think that assessment determines how you teach?
22. In a nutshell, what impact has assessment had on you as a teacher? In what ways has it changed you as a teacher? Has assessment supported or hindered what you consider to be worthwhile teaching and learning experiences?

Practice of Assessment.

21. List the assessment tasks for one term. Explain how you went about it. (Include assessment criteria). How did you assess learners? How do you feel about learners involvement in assessment? (Practical? Fairness?) How do you strive to achieve *validity* in your assessment? (*Sound or justifiable?*)

To what extent does the assessment sufficiently sample the content covered in the course or part thereof? (Content validity).

To what extent does the assessment assess the construct it claims to assess?(Construct validity)

Professional Development- - Teachers' role as assessor.

22. What special skills, knowledge or values do you think a teacher needs to assess effectively?

23. What classroom conditions does a teacher need to assess effectively?

What kind to support do teachers require to assess effectively?

24. Since the introduction of C2005 and RNCS, what professional development have you had? List the workshops offered by department of education. Comment on the effectiveness of these workshops? Have these workshops been sufficient to enable you to assess with confidence. What was the nature of the workshop? (Hands on approach, lecture, theory, explanation). What did you gain from these workshops. Which issues did the workshop not address?

25. Have you been exposed to other professional development? Own initiatives? University studies? What motivated you to pursue further training?

This interview schedule is subject to minor modifications after the piloting process to enhance efficient data collection.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Work:

1. In your matric year, what aspirations did you have? Were you able to fulfill those aspirations. If not, what thwarted your goals and aspirations? (In your final year at school, what did you hope to do when you had completed matric? If teaching was not your first choice, what prevented you from entering another career?)
2. Did you have any other previous work experience before you started teaching?
3. What influenced your decision to become a teacher?
4. Did you obtain your initial teaching qualification whilst you were teaching (as a locum tenens) or did you first qualify at an institution?.
5. Has your work been fulfilling / satisfying for you?
6. From what do you derive your greatest satisfaction?
7. Are you satisfied with your choice of career?
8. If you had the opportunity to choose any other career, which one would you choose and why?

Work Relations:

9. Tell me about people that you relate to at work. (What type of support do they provide for you? Personal? Professional?)
10. Tell me about people that you don't relate to at work. (Do you feel that they have hindered your development as a teacher in anyway?)
11. What sort of ethos prevails in your school? Is it democratic? Has it always been this way? Are you given the opportunity to initiate changes? How well are these received? Are your skills and expertise acknowledged by others.

Relationship with learners.

12. How do you cope/ deal with discipline?
13. Would you say that you are a strict teacher? Do learners approach you with their problems?
14. Did your relationship with learners change over the years. If so, what do you think contributed to this scenario?

Early Education

15. Which schools did you go to?

Primary school. Tell me about your primary schooling.

Prompts – if necessary

(What was school like? How were you taught? What were the main teaching styles. What did you like about school? What did you dislike about school? Are there any memories of school that stand out? Were there teachers who were role models? In primary school were you aware of how you came to be promoted to the next grade standard. Did the teacher tell you when you were having tests?)

Secondary School. Tell me about your secondary school years.

Prompts – if necessary

Did you have a choice of which school you had to go to? How would you describe your high school years? What were some of the pressures from parents/ peers? Did you have any dreams or aspirations during secondary school? How were you assessed?

Tertiary Education.

16. At which institute did you study? What influenced your decision to go to that tertiary institute? What were your experiences of studying in that institute?
17. Did the teacher training prepare you adequately for the classroom? Did your teacher training prepare you for assessment or evaluation of learners? What were your first experiences of teaching? What contributed to those experiences?
18. How many years full time teaching experience have you had?

19. What were some of the highlights of your teaching career from the time you started teaching to the present.
20. What were some of the disappointments in your teaching career from the time you first started teaching to the present.

Role as teacher:

21. What is your role as a teacher?
22. What sort of attributes must a good teacher have?

Early Years:

23. Can you tell me about your family background. Prompts: The place you grew up. Occupation of Parents (Economic status while you were growing up)

Social factors:

24. Which people in your life have influenced you significantly. Role Models?
25. What is your personal / guiding philosophy in life?
26. What sustains you or keeps you motivated? (What role does spirituality play in your life?)
27. South Africa has a rich history. What would you say were the most significant events that have taken place in our history – what impact has that had on your life?
28. What relationships in your life have been most significant?
29. What are your dreams and aspirations for the future?

This interview schedule is subject to minor modifications after the piloting process to enhance efficient data collection.

APPENDIX 3

TEACHER'S PROFILE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is confidential. The data will be used for research purposes only, and neither the name of the participant, nor the name of the school will be divulged.

Completion of this questionnaire is voluntary. A decision not to participate in this research will not result in any form of disadvantage.

Thank you for your time and effort in completing the questionnaire.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. a Please list your qualifications in the order in which these were obtained.

Qualification	Year of commencement and completion.	Institution. e.g Name of College/ University	Category e.g M+2	Area of Specialisation

1.b If you are currently studying, state the name of the qualification and the institution concerned. _____

2. How many years full time teaching experience do you have? _____ years

3. Please complete the following information regarding your teaching experience

Schools	Subjects / Learning area taught	Year	Reason for leaving

If you have tertiary experience, please complete the following table:

Institution	Subjects / Learning area .	Year	Reason for leaving

4. Do you have an area of specialization as an educator? If so, elaborate?

5. Have you had a full time job other than teaching in the past? Yes

No

If yes, what job(s) did you have?

6. What is your official position at your school?

7. School Responsibilities:

In addition to classroom and administrative duties, what other extra-curricular activities are you involved in?

Name Activity: e.g. drama, chess	Term/s; Day	Times
Nature of activity: e.g. coaching/ refereeing		

8. Participation in School Committees:

Name of Committee	Position held. e.g Chairperson / secretary/ member	Duration of Meetings? Term? Days? Time?

9. Participation in other committees or teacher organizations. Regional / zonal.

Name of Committee	Position held. e.g Chairperson / secretary/ member	Duration of Meetings? Term? Days? Time?

10. What factors attracted you to teaching?

APPENDIX 4

Questionnaire on Assessment Practices of GET Phase Educators.

This questionnaire is CONFIDENTIAL. The data will be used for research purposes only. Neither your name, nor the name of the school will be divulged.

Thank you for your time and effort.

Section A: Educator's Background information:

1. Please place a tick in the appropriate the column.

Your gender	Male	Female

2. Please place a tick in the appropriate the column.

Your Age	20-25	26- 30	31- 35	36- 40	41-45	45-50	51-54	55-60	61+

3. How many years full-time teaching experience do you have? -----years

Section C: PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

4. PRE-SERVICE (Initial Teacher Training)

4.1 Did your initial teacher training qualification include any formal training on the **assessment of learners**? Please explain.

5. In-service training: assessment

5.1 Did you attend in-service training on the implementation of National Curriculum Statements: NCS (RNCS)? Yes or No? _____ If yes, state the dates and venues.

Date	Workshop (Title) e.g RNCS training	Venue

5.2 Did the NCS training include assessment training? _____

5.3 Use the following scale to give your opinion about the assessment training course.

Strongly Agree	Agree	No particular View	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

The in-service course:	1	2	3	4	5
Had too much emphasis on theory					
Had too little emphasis on practice in the classroom.					
Was sufficient to enable me to implement assessment with confidence.					
Offered practical guidance for the integration of assessment among different learning areas.					

Offered clarity about the recording of Learning Outcomes.					
Provided strategies for assessing a large number of learners in classes.					

5.4 Do you think that the training on assessment was sufficient to enable you to assess with confidence? Please explain.

6. Assessment Policies:

6.1 What departmental policies are you aware of that informs you about your role as an assessor or the requirements of assessment? Also state from where you gained access to these documents? (School meetings, workshops, NCS training etc?)

Policy Documents	Obtained from:

7. Teacher Attributes for EFFECTIVE ASSESSMENT.

7.1 List three qualities that you think a teacher should have (ideally) in order to ASSESS effectively. Some alternatives are provided. Please add to the list if necessary.

Qualities	TICK	Other Qualities (Please Specify)
Warmth		
Intelligence		
A capacity for hard-work		
Patience		
High moral standards		
Knowledge of subject matter		
Leadership ability		
A love for children		
Being well organized		
Firmness		
Efficiency		
Good interpersonal skills		
Creativity		
Highly motivated.		
Other		

8. CURRENT ASSESSMENT PRACTICES:

8.1 CHOOSE ONE OF THESE LEARNING AREAS:

Mathematics, Natural Science, HSS, English or Life Orientation:

Submit a photocopy of your assessment in that particular learning area for one term. Please ensure that you have indicated the grade.

- List the assessment tasks given for one term (Give as many details as possible)
- State **when** these activities were assessed/ evaluated (During class or teaching time , after teaching hours, at home, afternoons, weekends)
- State **who** assessed these tasks (Teacher only, Peers or whole class (other learners); both teacher and learners)
- State whether marks, percentages, rating scale or comments were used. (A combination of these)

8.2 Did you experience any difficulties with this assessment. ? _____

If “YES”, what are some of the difficulties or problems that you experienced with the assessment? Please explain.

8.3 Learner Profile of the chosen Grade:

8.3.1 Number of learners on roll: _____

8.3.2 Average attendance: _____

8.4 Learners’ Seating

Which one of these statements best describe your classroom? Place a tick in the appropriate column.

No desks/ Tables. Learners sit on the floor	
Desks / Tables very close, difficult for teacher and pupils to move among them.	

Desks / Tables have adequate space for the teacher and learner to move among them.	
--	--

9. What guidance has been provided to assist you with the implementation of NCS assessment by various personnel?

Very useful	Useful	Of some use	Of No Use	
1	2	3	4	

Guidance provided by:	Level of Usefulness
HOD (Grade / Subject)	
Other Senior Management in the school	
SEM	
Workshop Facilitators	
Subject Advisors	
Level 1 Educators: (Colleagues)	

10. What impact has assessment had on you as a teacher? Has assessment supported or hindered what you consider to be worthwhile teaching and learning experiences? Please Explain.

11. THE TEACHER'S VOICE

11.1. In the **block** below, express how you **FEEL** about this “new” system of Assessment?

Written Expression of Feelings.

I feel that assessment

11.2 **Comparisons:** What would you compare the new assessment to?

Assessment is a Assessment is like a.....

11.3 You have just been appointed as a representative of the Department of Education (or a policy-maker) in charge of assessment. What changes would you make to the current system of assessment?

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11.4. Use the space provided, **Drawings/ Cartoon Depictions/ Pictures to SHOW how YOU FEEL about the assessment.**

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12. Facilities: Does your school have the following facilities? And if “yes”, what is the condition of each item.

Item	No	Yes	Condition	
			Good	Poor / Bad
Telephone: Principal				
Telephone: Staff use				
Telephone: Reception Area				
A fax machine				
A store room				
A staff room				
A photo-copier				
A sports field				
A swimming pool				
Library				
Duplicator				
Computers for learners				
Computers for staff				