THE ASSESSMENT OF TEACHER COMPETENCE, WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO POLICY AND PRACTICE IN NATAL : A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

MICHAEL ANTHONY MITCHELL JARVIS B.A. (HONS) N.T.S.D.

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that the whole of this dissertation, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work and that it has not been submitted for any degree in any other University.

M.A.M. JARVIS
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INTRODUCTION

1. The concerns of this work

In the educational world of the eighties, despite burgeoning technologies and the silicon chip, and despite a multiplicity of aims and philosophies of education, it is axiomatic that progress amongst learners depends on the effectiveness of teaching and so on the quality of teachers. The definition which "effective teaching" assumes in any particular society is determined, of course, by many inter-related factors, not least the prevailing political, religious and economic ideologies. The successful teacher is generally viewed, it would appear, as one who succeeds in the transmission or generation of "valid" knowledge, and judgment by others is implicit in the concept of validity.

Because participation in the process of learning at school is essentially a human experience, a matter of interpersonal relationships, any statement about it is open to question; but as the evaluation of teacher expertise plays an important role in systems of education, the methods and concerns of such evaluation merit close study. In the Republic of South Africa the evaluation of teacher competence has recently assumed considerable significance with the introduction of a "merit assessment" system, and one of the chief concerns of the present work is a critical study of such assessment. Related concerns include teacher attitude towards assessment (in which context the Natal Teachers' Society Conference motion 19 of 1981 is apposite :

> "That this Conference expresses its total opposition to the merit award system as presently implemented" - Mentor September 1981 p.152) ;

and the place of such assessment in the context of contemporary models of organization theory, of educational administration and of school management. Cognisance has been taken of the Report of the Human

Sciences Research Council Investigation into Education (1981) which was initiated, in part, by "grave dissatisfaction in the teaching profession" [1], and which proposes real consultation for teachers in the administration of education, based on participation, involvement and negotiation. Though seen from a wide-ranging and international perspective, teacher competence will in this work ultimately be defined from a South African perspective ; and as the data are Natal based, Natal will be taken as an example of the Republic of South Africa. However, sight will never be lost of broader perspectives.

The concerns, aim and scope of this work do not end with teachers, but are also bound up with children for it is they whose benefit or advancement depends on competent teaching.

In an attempt to determine what children thought about teacher effectiveness, Musgrove and Taylor (1969) analysed 1379 essays by school pupils on the topics "A good teacher" and "A poor teacher". Scales were drawn up with statements reflecting the ideas most frequently voiced by pupils on teaching method, discipline, teachers' personal qualities and organizing abilities, and these scales were subsequently tested on hundreds of other children and teachers. Musgrove and Taylor, in reviewing their research, concluded inter alia that

> "Pupils expect teachers to teach. They value lucid exposition, the clear statement of problems, and guidance in their solution. Personal qualities of kindness, sympathy and patience are secondary .... (teachers) are expected to assume an essentially intellectual and instrumental role."

(as quoted by Morrison and McIntyre, p.171)

The findings tended to uphold the idea of a structured "formal" relationship reminiscent of Waller's 1932 dictum that the effective teacher should maintain a social distance from his pupils and be relatively meaningless as a person. Other writers such as Postman

1. View expressed by Hartshorne, K., and reported in Mentor (Natal Teachers' Society Journal), November 1981 p.179.

and Weingartner (1969) suggest very different advice to teachers! The meaning of "good teaching" will be investigated in chapter three of this work, in terms of a survey of the appropriate literature - but the specific criteria of good teaching in a particular country, for example South Africa, depend on a range of overt and hidden factors, and are the material of much ongoing debate.

The variety of the comment calls to mind the important question of how a teacher's effectiveness may or (perhaps more important) should be judged: whether in terms of instrumental goal-attainment by pupils, or in terms of personal growth through satisfying classroom relationships or somehow in between these ends.

In a world where technology and its application in education through a skills-based or objectives-centred approach is tending to debase the essentially person-to-person element of teaching, the concept of competent teaching is in danger of being reduced to allegedly measurable entities. In true handbook tradition, some texts, for example Stones and Morris (1972), almost suggest checklists for success in teaching, thus reducing a complex act of communication to a set of clinical procedures. While inexperienced student teachers may need direction and guidance in the development of particular skills, there is a danger in viewing or assessing the qualified person merely in terms of such skills or categories.

Esland (1977) distinguishes between two extremes in teacher presentation. One, the "psychometric", stresses measurable advancement and reflects a behaviourist outlook. The other, the "epistemological", finds expression in education which stresses personal development. Depending on how a society interprets the elements of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, identified by Bernstein and Young (1970) as basic to any process of education, or on what view of the teacher and his task prevails, the criteria of good teaching will vary. Apart from the mere criteria, there is the important matter of interpretation and subjectivity on the part of anyone attempting to evaluate performance in a complex web of

interaction. When, in turn, evaluation (implying overall judgment) is linked with assessment (which by definition involves some kind of measurement and therefore presupposes valid units and instruments), as in the case in South Africa, the situation becomes more problematic.

Any assessment system is obviously grounded on a philosophical view of man within the organization. In this regard Ramos (1975) has warned social scientists and organization theorists about holding out-dated versions of the model of organizational man. He claims that many contemporary organizations have a mechanistic view or a humanistic view of employees, which ignore the fact that man has a rationality beyond administrative behaviour and that man

> "in striving to be autonomous, cannot be explained by the psychology of conformity" (Ramos, 1975, p.50).

This model of man, Ramos asserts, has emerged from a wealthy technological society, and (he)

> "would have a strong sense of self and an urge to find meaning in life. He would not uncritically accept standards of achievement, though he might be a great achiever when assigned creative tasks" (ibid. p.51).

It would be tragic if education authorities were to ignore the creative thinker with the capability to change the prevailing environment, or as Ramos terms him, the parenthetical man, through the development of assessment systems which promoted and rewarded conformity.

It must be recognised that the teacher has virtually unparalleled responsibility in society ; it is the teacher who, ideally,

> "critically appraises, edits, sifts and clarifies society's trends, extracts its highest values and makes them implicit in himself as a man .... and explicit in his teachings" (Prosser, 1976, p.6).

Such actions imply leadership and initiative of the highest order, and remind one of the importance of the teacher as a humanizing influence and as an element of stability in a world of increasing change.

A brief overview of the scope and coverage of this work now follows.

Chapter one reviews the concepts of assessment, evaluation and quality in teaching. It sketches problem areas such as the difficulties of assessment within differing political and social systems, the demands for the accountability of teachers because of massive financial investment in education, and the position of a professional in a bureaucratic structure. Semantic differences emerging from the terms assessment, evaluation and appraisal have largely been ignored in this work because of differing usages in which the words tend to blend into synonyms. In the writer's own use of the words, influenced by the Concise Oxford Dictionary, evaluation is seen as the act of observing a teacher's performance and indicating general aspects of strength or weakness (from OF aprisier, a - to and prisier - praise). Appraisal (from F évaluer, é - ex and valuer - value) suggests a slightly more judgmental response based on specific aims or values. Assessment (from L assessare - a combination of frequent and sit, originally to fix taxes) is seen more as an act of judgment based on numerical or other fixed expressions. As previously indicated, current practice in South Africa attempts to combine these processes.

In chapter two the focus shifts to the behaviour of people within organizations and the need to take into account organization theory, as well as administrative and managerial concepts, in order to establish implications for the assessment of teachers. Views of man, as an organizational being, are reviewed and current practices in hierarchical systems with regard to delegation of responsibility and development of

staff are indicated.

A specific consideration of the act of teaching occurs in chapter three, where a review of the literature on teacher competence is undertaken. No such review could be exhaustive, and is meant in the present context to serve as background rather than as a definitive pronouncement.

Chapter four includes a consideration of procedures for the assessment of teacher competence within centralized and decentralized education authorities, and a comparative study of methods used in England, the United States and Australasia. A full account is given of the policy and practices of all aspects of teacher assessment, including assessment for promotion, operating in the Natal Education Department, and comparisions are drawn with procedures in other provincial education authorities. The question of "merit assessment" of teachers in the Republic of South Africa is broached and teacher reaction to it is indicated.

In chapter five, an historical and critical account is given of the assessment of teachers in South Africa, with specific reference to Natal, and with emphasis on the "merit assessment" system as established in 1978. A detailed study is made of answers to a questionnaire drawn up by the writer and distributed to assessors of teachers in two education authorities in Natal.

Chapter six contains a summary of major conclusions arising from the study. Innovations are suggested, on established principles, with a view to recommending change in the assessment of teachers. The situation in Natal is borne in mind throughout, but the conclusions and suggestions are of a general nature.

2. Mode of investigation

The research prior to presentation of this dissertation was primarily an *ex post facto* analysis. The writer's own experience of and

involvement in the assessment of teacher competence, through his employment and related activities, helped to define the problem area. A library study of available texts on the evaluation of teachers, and of management in education, assisted in the highlighting of aspects requiring critical analysis and in the provision of theoretical underpinning.

Methods employed were generally of the survey type and included the administration of a questionnaire. Weaknesses inherent in this method are fully acknowledged and discussed in chapter five.

Access to primary and unpublished sources, including reports on teachers and internal policy documents of employing authorities provided invaluable insight, but the writer has obviously had to be discreet in making references to such documentation.

Critical analyses of existing situations, and comparisons with situations in other countries, have been central to the mode of investigation. An ultimate aim is, through such analysis, to lead to improved understanding or practice in a matter of considerable importance to the profession of teaching.

Much of the material involved, with respect to South Africa, relates to Natal and in particular to White teachers ; but where generalizations are made it is suggested that these are of broad applicability.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

ASSESSMENT, EVALUATION AND THE QUALITY OF TEACHING

> "The strength of an education system must largely depend on the quality of its teachers."
>
> - Year Book of Education, 1963, p.xii (introduction by Bereday and Lauwerys)

1. Introduction

The sentiments of Bereday and Lauwerys, as apposite today as two decades ago, have been echoed in South Africa in the Report of the Investigation into Education carried out under the auspices of the Human Sciences Research Council (1981, p.180) :

> "No other single factor determines to such an extent the quality of education in a country as the quality of the corps of teachers ..."

Truisms such as this find frequent expression in the literature on education, and with increasing agreement that education and teachers should be accountable, the need for teacher effectiveness has assumed key importance. The question of how teacher effectiveness or the quality of teaching may be assessed or evaluated, however, remains open to debate.

Becher and Maclure (1978) present a stimulating collection of papers on accountability in education, largely inspired by the so-called "Ruskin College Speech" by a British politician, James Callaghan, in 1976. Amid veiled threats to the teaching profession, Callaghan

had suggested a broadly utilitarian role for education, and that greater participation by non-professionals in educational planning and management was appropriate. Mclure, in his introduction, notes a prevailing "anxiety and uncertainty" among the public on, inter alia, standards of achievement, the content of the school curriculum, and the role of parental participation (p.13). Discussion in the press (or other public arenas) of topics such as these could easily lead to the suggestion that neat solutions may be found. For example, in respect of the quality of teachers and teaching, notions of specified criteria of effectiveness (and the idea of reliable evaluation in terms of them) could take root.

Bantock (1965, as re-published 1972) warns that before the question of criteria of teacher effectiveness can even be raised, it is necessary to undertake a conceptual clarification of what it means to teach. Attempting such a clarification, Bantock (p.45) suggests that "teaching" means "the conscious bringing about in others of certain desirable mental or dispositional changes by morally acceptable means." The success of a teacher would accordingly be measured in terms of the degree of desirable change brought about : "And here it becomes obvious that there is no possibility of setting up any general test of competence" (idem).

Teaching is an extremely complex activity, involving the interaction of various factors in a particular context. As analysed by Hargreaves (1972) it is an outcome of satisfying interpersonal relations. He feels that any prescription of teaching style is unacceptable, since

> " ..... the effectiveness of a particular role style depends on its appropriateness to the teacher, the pupils and the situation. Each teacher has to consider the uniqueness of every teaching situation in which he finds himself ....." (p.153)

At the same time, of course, some assurance of minimal standards of teacher competence (however defined) seems necessary in the interests of pupils and of society as a whole. Contemporary improvements in programmes for the initial and further training of teachers have been the topic of a recent World Yearbook of Education (Hoyle and Megarry, 1980) and much of the contemporary literature on the management and supervision of teaching has drawn attention to the role of evaluation as a means to improved performance (see for example Shipman, 1979 and John, 1980).

Wood et al (1979) are fairly blunt :

> "The effective teacher must be identified. If effective teachers cannot be identified how then can teaching be established as a profession ? Without adequate evaluation, effective teachers are equated with the mediocre or inferior, and the concept of individual differences among teachers is denied." (p. 101)

The writers go on to review some of the rather inconclusive research on teacher evaluation and to suggest possible improvements in method. One is reminded of the broad conclusion of Dunkin and Biddle (1974), that research on teaching is on the whole very young and that there is no universal agreement on the criteria of teaching effectiveness ; indeed, these writers show that because much recent research has focused on the activities rather than on the effects of teaching, "... researchers have appeared to retreat from the study of teacher effectiveness." (p. 16)

2. Education and its appraisal in schools

In 1977 the Taylor Report in England (Department of Education and Science, 1977) recommended that

> "Information and advice on the life and activities of the school should be brought together in each school with the purpose of creating an effective but unobstrusive information system for the governing body ..." (Recommendation 6.45)

John (1980) notes that recommendations such as this open the way to appraisals of education and of schools by relative outsiders. Understandably, teachers could react against such moves and feel vulnerable ; yet it seems that the evaluation of schools (in the tradition of accountability) is, in England as in parts of the United States, likely to become more and more a public activity. Shipman (1979) has recommended that staffs of schools, under the direction of a senior colleague, should be prepared to meet the demands by ensuring that open channels of communication exist between schools, governing bodies and other interested parties and that schools themselves initiate schemes of evaluation including, for example, ongoing discussion of objectives and a system of peer evaluation where appropriate (Shipman, 1979, p.167). John (op.cit. p.159) emphasises that teachers need to be involved in the planning of evaluation

> ".... so that they perceive evaluation as non-judgemental and as a contribution to the satisfaction which their work can afford them."

Whether (to take extremes) one accepts the task of education as a social institution to be the maintenance of political, moral or other standards (as is clearly the case in the U.S.S.R.), or to be an instigator of critical awareness and possible political change (as does Bellaby, 1977) it is clear that the teacher's role is of vital importance. From a premise that effective teaching is desirable, it is logical to conclude that systems of education should provide for the ongoing improvement of teaching by such means as in-service training. The evaluation or appraisal of teacher performance is also justified as a means towards the improvement of teaching, in some education systems and some publications - for example that by Lewis (1973) whose work is billed as

> "a dynamic new program that scientifically appraises the performance of educators ... and provides concrete corrective steps to improve performance skills" (note on front cover).

The improvement of "performance skills" in teaching tends to reflect a technicist model of what Gilbert Highet (1951)clearly categorised as an "art" not easily open to assessment, and to uphold a competency-based philosophy as for example described by Houston and Howsam (1972). Writing in their volume, McDonald notes that competency-based teacher education may lead to trainees who are demonstrably more effective (p.56). In a quest for "scientific measurement" which stresses a psychometric rather than a human-relations approach to the act of teaching, McDonald defines teaching as "the ability to behave in such a way that another person learns" (p.59). Although the approach may appear innocuous, it predictably leads to a categorical description of teaching behaviour ; and although few would doubt that learning by pupils is a necessary outcome of teaching, it seems that the reduction of the complex nature of classroom interaction to a series of units in a taxonomy of teaching ignores many important features.

Shafer (1980) draws attention to the limitations of a competency based theory of teacher education (and, by implication, of subsequent teacher evaluation) and notes the link between such approaches and "the current 'back-to-basics' and 'accountability' era" (p.17) but he has hope for the future, for it may well be

> ".... that we are seeing the pendulum begin to swing from an excessive preoccupation with the empirical-analytical model which has led us into the 'performance-based teacher education' movements of the 1960's and '70's to a more person oriented teacher education. A recently done summary (Heath and Nielson, 1974) of all of the research on performance-based teacher education has shown that these results lead us to conclude that an empirical basis for performance-based teacher education does not exist." (idem)

Economists, politicians, research sponsors and others who pay for educational development have in recent times sought to demand evidence of benefit deriving from their investments. Current moves towards

the involvement of the private sector and of parents in the provision and control of education (an underlying theme of the Report of the Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into Education, 1981) may extend demands for accountability to South Africa ; a modern version of "payment by results" could find logical if not moral justification.

In some parts of the United States, the abilities of teachers have been called into question, and assurance of minimal standards has understandably been demanded by the public. Apparently falling standards of achievement among pupils have drawn attention to inadequate teachers, to the extent that in North and South Carolina, teachers are required to attain a minimum score on a standardized National Teacher Examination before they are allowed to teach. All who have an interest in education seem to demand evidence that their needs will be met ; as House, cited by Becher and Maclure (1978), has pointed out :

> "Parents want better care for their children, not necessarily more efficient schooling. Minorities want a better chance in society and see education as a way of attaining it. Conservatives want a tightening of standards. Liberals want more equality. Each group looks for an accountability procedure that will serve its purpose." (pp.204-5)

Although much of the accountability debate has occurred in the United States, England (for example through the foundation of the Assessment of Performance Unit) has acknowledged the importance of monitoring pupil performance and, therefore, of teacher competence.

Whatever the weaknesses of a mechanistic approach to the training and evaluation of teachers may be, the approach has left its mark on education in the United States. Evaluation and appraisal, terms which suggest overall response and appreciation as an outcome of two-way communication, have at times given way to arithmetical assessment.

Williams (1972) recalls "near-obsessional attempts both to quantify performance .... and at the same time expunge any suggestion of evaluating people's behaviour" (p.50, emphasis added) in the context

of business management, and warns that in fact no attempt to measure "performance" can escape the personal business of passing judgment on another ; such judgment, indeed, would seem to be an inescapable responsibility of the manager. The administration of education is as much concerned with human relations as is business management, and attempts to assess teacher competence cannot presume to avoid subjective judgment by seeking refuge in an arithmetical calculation of merit.

Assessment, appraisal and evaluation are inescapable aspects of any system of education, but the forms which these processes take depend on a wide range of factors and reflect the forces which exert control in the education system. Henderson (1978, p.53) distinguishes between goal-directed evaluation (which sets out to establish the extent to which educational objectives have been achieved) and approaches to evaluation which consider instruction in the context of the particular learning milieu in which it takes place, thus avoiding over-generalization. While goals or direction are important in teaching, Henderson warns that assessment of teachers in the light of established goals for their subjects may be too simplistic, particularly where these subjects are expected to develop taste and critical ability among pupils.

MacDonald (1976) describes three styles of evaluation : "bureaucratic", "autocratic" and "democratic". In the first, the evaluator accepts the values of those in office, and makes judgments in the light of established policy. The evaluator has no public independence and, as an employee, would be unlikely to lay the policy open to public criticism. In "autocratic" evaluation, the evaluator is a relative outsider, in the tradition of a researcher, who is called in to provide advice ; his advice may or may not validate policy, and he may publish his report. "Democratic" evaluation sets out to shed light on a situation, partly by promoting communication : like a marriage counseller, the "democratic evaluator" primarily assists two parties to know and understand each other better. It seems that all three styles of evaluation identified by MacDonald have something to offer in terms of the evaluation and assessment of teacher competence. Where inspectors or other supervisors are responsible for such

activity, the format is clearly "bureaucratic", on the other extreme peer involvement (possibly in a group counselling situation) could well demonstrate "democratic" evaluation. The point of interest, again, is that the whole matter of assessment (suggesting though not necessarily relying on quantification of behaviour) and of evaluation (implying the passing of judgment) of teachers is inescapably linked with the whole spectrum of educational administration in which it occurs : assessment and evaluation being extremely complex issues.

Neagley and Evans (1970) consider that evaluation plays a central role in the improvement of the learning situation :

> "Individuals serving in a supervisory capacity should attempt to create an atmosphere in which everyone is constantly on the alert to improve himself ..... authorities for a number of years have suggested that a good supervisory program emphasizes strengths rather than weaknesses." (p.176)

This view is shared by Harris (1975), particularly in terms of "process variables" and the interactions between the variables (such as discipline style and responsiveness to pupils' ideas). The processes involved in classroom behaviour are increasingly seen as being highly complex (p.148).

The appraisal of teacher competence as part of the education offered in schools has for some time assumed growing importance in the United States and more recently in Britain, and in other countries as will be shown in the third and (particulary) the fourth chapters of this work. Johnson (1970) reminds us that James Coleman and his associates found (in their Report of 1966) that

> " .....teacher quality as they defined it had a much greater effect on pupil achievement than school facilities, particularly among pupils in the upper grades" (p.242).

The meaning of "teacher quality" equated with "teacher competence" has been the subject of much argument and will be investigated fully in chapter three. Meanwhile, it seems necessary to attempt some clarification of the term so that its importance in the present chapter may be appreciated.

3. Towards an understanding of "teacher competence"

Many texts suggest qualities or competencies considered desirable in a teacher. Combs et al (1974) note that the qualities of the effective teacher are not easily measurable because

> "what goes on in the classroom can only really be understood in terms of what the teacher is trying to do .... and what the child thinks is happening. Whatever teaching is going on in the classroom will be a consequence of this dynamic interaction." (p.171)

The complexity of the teaching-learning situation (so different in contemporary times from the way Mr Gradgrind viewed it in Dickens's Hard Times !) is frequently referred to in texts on effective classroom management. The multiplicity of factors involved warns against any oversimplification in the establishment of criteria for teacher effectiveness. However, most education systems seem to provide for the evaluation, in some form, of teacher competence - usually with a view to the promotion of those found most competent. Grace (1972) notes that in the absence of reliable assessments, teachers may concentrate on a wide range of factors in efforts to demonstrate their effectiveness.

> "The wider repercussions of this situation are that many teachers feel that mobility, showmanship, paper qualifications and examination cramming become the ingredients of career success and advancement" (p.114).

In Australia, inspectors and school principals combine efforts to assess readiness for promotion of an "assistant teacher" to the next rank. Jones (1975), p.137, reports that in South Australian schools, the assessment is made under four headings : Personality (including integrity, tact and judgment) ; Scholarship and teaching skills ; Breadth (" ... his vision, progressiveness, interest in students' full educational development, and his involvement in sports and extra-curricular activities ...") ; and finally, Energy and Strength (including moral courage, reliability and wise interpretation and implementation of school policy).

It may readily be appreciated that such headings, while having the advantage of considerable room for interpretation, require subjective assessment for the most part. This is in line with contemporary sociological and psychological theory which stresses the inevitability of subjectivity in any investigation of human beings, the results of such being an outcome of interaction between the observer and the subject of observation. Attempts to render assessment more "objective", for example through the introduction of rating scales, seem to cause more problems than they solve. Any attempt to quantify human personality ignores the warning offered by William Shakespeare in King Lear, the protagonist of which invoked his own doom by attempting an arithmetical analysis of filial love ; Lear's original folly in attempting to divide his kingdom in terms of "which of you .... doth love us most?" (I.i.50) is compounded later when he chooses to live with one daughter, Goneril, rather than with another, Regan, because

> "Thy fifty (attendants) yet doth double
> five and twenty,
> And thou art twice her love" (II.iv.258-259).

There can be few better examples than this play, of the unreliability (and subsequent dangers) of judging humans.

It is clear that among teachers, initial qualification suggests a minimal level of competency. But such level may be only what

Marland has called the "ability to survive" in a teaching situation (Marland, 1976) and may have been judged in terms of simplistic notions of adequacy, such as an up-to-date lesson preparation book and pupils who, in the presence of a tutor, appear controlled.

It is generally agreed that length of training is no necessary guarantee of teacher competence, although there is a worldwide trend for the length of teacher education courses to increase (Henderson, 1978, p.12).

Most employers of teachers (certain provincial authorities in South Africa, for example) require at least a year's satisfactory teaching performance before confirmation of appointment, which presumably implies confirmation that the teacher is competent on a practical level. Thereafter, professional development and in-service education may lead to higher levels of expertise and the teacher may need to demonstrate such expertise when being considered for promotion or when being assessed for meritorious service. Later, in posts of increased responsibility, teachers are still subject to evaluation, either on a formal level or, perhaps more demandingly,on a non-formal level by the communities they serve. Their competence is constantly under scrutiny, and scrutineers are subjective because they are human beings with values and wishes.

Recent applications of sociology and social psychology to the study of classrooms have led to further problems of interpretation. Delamont (1976) points to the sheer complexity of interaction in the classroom :

> "The classroom relationship of teacher and pupils is seen as a joint act - a relationship that works, and is about doing work ..... The process is one of negotiation - an ongoing process by which everyday realities of the classroom are constantly defined and redefined." (p.25)

Such a process, by its very nature, is very difficult to judge or assess. The competent teacher is one who makes the situation work productively. Besides examples of manifest ineptitude, the judgment of teacher competence is problematic. Yet, despite the difficulties involved, such judgment has assumed importance in various countries in recent years partly because (as already suggested in passing) of demands for accountability. It seems necessary at this point to consider in a little more detail the implications of these demands.

4. Accountability - how, and to whom ?

In broad terms, to be "accountable" means to be able to demonstrate that one has achieved certain tasks or goals - for example, goals set by employers or others who lend financial support. In the case of teaching, such support stems ultimately from the taxpayer.

In the United States the debate on the accountability of teachers and their educational institutions has led to the development of statewide goals under which teachers and their institutions can be evaluated. The intricacies involved in this evaluation are indicated by Wolf (1973), who clearly distinguishes between accountability and evaluation as he indicates the problems facing schools :

> "Accountability is dependent upon evaluation, but it is a broader concept. The responsibility of accountability extends beyond appraisal, it includes informing constituencies about the performance of the enterprise. Similarly it connotes responding to feedback. Schools, however, have always had difficulty in processing data about school outputs or process performance. This is their chief problem with accountability." (p.156)

And schools will always have difficulty in evaluating performance of teachers because data can only be achieved from behaviourally precise

statements of what teachers are supposed to do. The criteria to be used to evaluate the total process of teaching seem impossible of universally acceptable definition, perhaps because (as Dunkin and Biddle point out in the first chapter of their 1974 textbook) we simply do not know everything which the act of teaching involves.

Goodlad (1979) is one of the American voices expressing concern about the effect of the intensive accountability lobby on education in the U.S.A. He quotes Leonard Gardner who sees the accountability model as typical of Western concepts of work : first the setting of goals, and then the relating of activities to them. Gardner sees accountability "as a scientific approach to education, science in the sense of a methodology for the management or control of the educational process." (p.26) And Goodlad is in agreement as he states that "accountability has come to mean reforming education through science" (idem).

An area of concern for Goodlad is the creating of goals which should not or need not exist, with the result that attempts to reinforce goal-attainment could destroy the educational experience which is for both teacher and pupil "intrinsically beautiful and satisfying in the experience" (idem).

Although he accepts the need for accountability, Goodlad is concerned that the narrowness of objectives in both school and teacher evaluation has led to interest only in aspects which can be easily quantified and measured. Most states have set out goals in traditional major categories : academic, vocational, social and civic, and personal - but Goodlad argues that "the process of reductionism required to translate these into precise behavioural objectives defies the methods of logical or scientific empiricism" (ibid. p.28).

In England, John (1980) sees accountability as a concept viewed favourably on the whole by teachers who accept that "in education, as in all other public services, the professionals are answerable for

their performance. It is when the general principal of 'accountability' is translated into 'evaluation' that opinion is much more divided." (p.156) He affirms the view that education is too complex and fragile a process to make for easy measuring ; and warns that teachers will oppose the concept of evaluation as "arbitrary, unreliable and imposed" (ibid. p.158) unless they are actively involved in the planning and operation of the evaluation system.

Harlen et al (1978) draw attention to the importance of self-evaluation by teachers who need to be able to monitor their own progress and be guided to improve, to obviate notions of 'accountability' (perhaps re-inforced by assessment procedures) which could be damaging or restricting to teachers. According to an article in The Times Educational Supplement of 27 February 1981, local education authorities in England are seriously considering the introduction of self-criticism sessions. Doe, the writer of the article, notes that

> "These local authority schemes usually consist of lists of questions for individual teachers, heads or whole staffs to answer. They cover various aspects of teaching and school life." (p.11)

It appears that while the "schemes" envisaged are initially intended for whole-school evaluation in the quest for accountability, the trend could develop into individual self-assessment of performance by teachers. Doe's article, reporting on a conference on school evaluation called by the Schools Council, quotes the head of the Inner London Education Authority's research and statistics branch as saying that self evaluation could only work when teachers were assured of total confidentiality and knew that any "admissions of failure would not count against them" (idem). It appeared that a separation between accountability and self-enquiry was called for.

An article in the same newspaper,nine months later, notes that "Evaluation by teachers of their own classroom performance is now

commonplace" (The Times Educational Supplement, 20 November 1981, p.4). Holt, the correspondent, expresses the view that

> "Using an x-ray to discover tuberculosis will do nothing to effect a cure. But while the x-ray will have a negligible effect on the patient's health, the effect of self evaluation may be harmful to school, teacher and pupil." (idem)

Holt goes on to note that most evaluation schemes use "checklists and guidelines based on the discredited 'objectives' model for curricular development". The assumption, he notes, appears to be that through dissecting teaching into components, the activity can be explained and improved. The risk is that

> ".... by making explicit the subconscious acts which constitute effective teaching, self evaluation will lead not to teacher self knowledge, but to teacher self-consciousness" (idem).

As a renowned expert on curriculum development and on the process of schooling, Holt seems qualified to cast doubt on a process which superficially may seem to be linked with the democratization of education and therefore be of value to the individual teacher. Any consideration of evaluation in the context of accountability needs to bear in mind the nature of the person or group seeking the accountability.

Morrow (1980) reminds us that any notion of accountability implies being accountable to someone for something. The "someone" could vary from the local school principal to the parents, the employing authorities, the pupils themselves or the providers of resources. The "something" could be "preparing little citizens for the state", providing manpower, or anything else depending on the particular commitments involved. Morrow concludes that whereas accountability, in terms of conceptual analysis, is linked with autonomy, this is not true of the South African situation ; because "autonomy"

(particularly for teachers) can find no foothold in the area of centralized control, accountability

> "..... becomes merely satisfying others, in terms of their definition of one's task, that one is performing one's task satisfactorily." (p.96)

Such a view of accountability would clearly be degenerate, and in teaching could lead to something even more questionable, the notion of competency - based instruction.

McDonald (1972), after noting the lack of universal agreement about what is to be measured in the assessment of teacher performance, concludes that "there is an obvious and compelling need for a taxonomy of teaching behaviours - a taxonomy that will organize the many descriptors of teaching behaviour into common and interrelated categories" (p.61), and he goes on to suggest a taxonomy derived from Guilford's structure of the intellect (1967). McDonald's contribution is but one of those which suggest a categorization of the act of teaching into identifiable "boxes" for relatively easy assessment and use in teacher training.

Justification for the competence of teachers to be demonstrated finds support on various levels. In the first place, it is reasonable that the public should be protected against incompetent teachers just as it is protected against incompetent doctors. Where there is full co-ordination of teacher-education courses, or provision for a professional council to grant accreditation to qualifications (as is the case in Scotland) such protection is easier to ensure ; but it is the very lack of co-ordination in some countries, and the well-documented unreliability involved in predicting teacher success (for example by Crocker, 1974) which have drawn public attention to the low standards of some teachers. Even where some co-ordination of training, and subsequent professional registration as teachers are aspects of the eductation system (as for example among Whites in South Africa),

initial certification can only presume to indicate minimal competence. This is partly because actual teaching practice tends to form only a small part of the typical teacher-education course, a situation which is not easy to change.

In reviewing movements towards "skill training" for teachers, Orlosky (1980) reports the use, in some teacher education programmes, of "protocol materials" to assist in the development of conceptual knowledge (e.g. of the differences between questioning and probing) and of microteaching techniques to focus on specific skills. Such approaches presuppose that the act of teaching can be conceived of as a body of knowledge and skills. This is difficult to accept, as Orlosky points out, because

> "..... different philosophical views will always prevail about the role and purpose of schools, and agreement will not be reached on conditions that optimize learning. The variables that promote learning include such factors as student motivation, parental influence, maturity, social conditions and other factors that cannot be isolated and conclusively measured ....."
> (Orlosky, op. cit., p.278).

Another problem with any neat description of effective teaching is that it may assume a causative relationship between certain teacher behaviours and desirable pupil responses, rather than merely a high correlation between these two elements of classroom activity. One is constantly reminded that

> "..... educational evaluation inescapably involves sociological or cultural value judgments in the establishment of norms or criteria ... Even in the evaluation of individual performance, judgments of the adequacy of many of the professional roles of teachers cannot be absolute and what becomes important is therefore perceived adequacy, as influenced by certain social and educational expectations."
> (Henderson, op. cit., p.51 : emphasis added)

It is clear that the concept of "teacher competence" has links with many issues and cannot be simplistically analysed. Apart from being a person who prepares his lessons adequately, interacts without undue conflict with his pupils, supervises and controls their work to the satisfaction of his immediate superiors, and keeps abreast of current developments in his subject, a "competent" teacher may have to do much else. Where the criteria for competence are beyond negotiation, his ultimate choice is to conform or to opt out ; in practice, a more likely response is to become ritualistic, i.e. to accept uncritically the goals laid down and to become mechanistic in the means of achieving them. Such a response would indeed be depressing, for it would deny the teacher's personal autonomy in choosing to accept responsibility for his actions and beliefs.

Accountability in the American and British sense has not yet found implementation in South Africa - neither has a competency-based approach to teacher education. Such implementations would render even more problematic the notion of assessing teacher competence, though administrative convenience could well be facilitated. Any consideration of the topic of teacher assessment, however, needs to reflect awareness of the demands of accountability and of the effects of all who have "a say" in an educational system.

5. Conclusion - and implications for South Africa

This chapter has sought to introduce in broad terms the topic of investigation. It appears that a judgmental response to teaching, whether in the interests of accountability or with a view to the genuine improvement of teacher competence, finds expression in the Western world. Because of the complexity of the act of teaching, however, such judgments are problematic : the criteria of effectiveness in teaching are involved.

While "evaluation" of persons and situations is an activity in which most normal human beings are involved almost daily, the notion of

"assessment" brings with it the possibility of a more rigorous type of judgment, possibly involving numerical or arithmetical estimates of worth. Such judgment, it seems, may not be appropriate if applied to the act of teaching.

Partly as a result of demands for accountability, there have been increased demands for the demonstration of teacher competence. Such demands have affected the initial training of teachers, through the introduction of competency-based "programmes", and to an extent also the subsequent attempts to measure teacher merit.

While it is logically defensible that teachers, like other professionals and employees, should provide some kind of evidence that they are worth employing or that they have achieved the goals set, there is support for teacher involvement in the setting of goals and criteria, and in the process of evaluation. The "good" teacher may, otherwise, be defined in terms of sectional or pressure-group interests.

In South Africa, for historical, religious and other reasons, education is generally considered to serve a conservative function. Legislation decrees that (for Whites) it should be Christian and national (i.e. encouraging feelings of identification and patriotism) in character, and that there should be parental involvement at some levels of decision-making. In practice, too, there is subscription to the belief that education should be "formative", i.e. directed towards a particular kind of adulthood and involving the transmission of cultural orientation. Beard, Enslin and Morrow (1981) conclude that in South African education,

> "..... the stress is upon what the child is to become, in this case an adult with certain characteristics. In other words, teachers are to teach with adulthood in view." (p.9)

These writers state that legislation and policy-making in education (at least for Whites) in South Africa support the ideas immanent in "Fundamental Pedagogics", the philosophy of education taught at many

South African teacher training institutions, and described by Margetson (1981) as the "mystification of education". It seems probable that if teachers are trained according to a particular tradition, entrenched in the law and even in some of the aims of subjects as expressed in syllabuses, their subsequent evaluation is likely also to be in that tradition.

Although the "tradition" in South Africa is a topic of debate, it certainly seems to find application in the overall administration of education in the country. Because the teacher is seen as one vested with the responsibility of leading the child towards adulthood, the "good" teacher is by implication one who succeeds in socialization. This view of education has fairly obvious implications for teaching method, teacher evaluation and teacher promotion. The point at issue is that where educational policy is co-ordinated and centralized to the extent that criteria of teacher effectiveness are nationally determined, it is inescapable that the predominant educational philosophy will find expression in the practices devised.

In South Africa at the present time, teachers are subject to "merit assessment" at regular intervals. Weighting is given to the competence of the teacher in the classroom situation, but other areas considered include the extra-curricular involvement of the teacher, factors of personality, and the "professional image" displayed. High assessments result in monetary reward and the designation "Senior Teacher". Because of subjectivity, lack of standardization and other problems which this dissertation will investigate, not to mention the obvious point that the attraction of a higher salary may mean enforced compliance to established norms rather than innovative performance as an individual, the prevailing system of "merit assessment" has been criticized or overtly rejected by sectors of the organized teaching profession.

The following principal conclusions arise from this chapter :

5.1 Although the criteria for assessing teacher competence are debatable, with no universal agreement having yet

been reached on what is effective teaching (a topic to be explored further in chapter three), it is generally acknowledged that the successful teacher is a "valid" transmitter of knowledge. Because "validity" requires to be demonstrated, the assessment of teacher competence can be justified in broad terms.

5.2 In the RSA the importance of the quality of the corps of teachers in the fabric of the State has been stressed in the recent Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into Education report, the publication of which followed shortly after a major change in the procedure for the assessment of teachers in South Africa.

The introduction of "merit assessment" created fairly widespread resentment among teachers and certain pertinent questions emerged. The centralized nature of the administration of education,its bureaucratic structure, and its demands for teacher accountability in terms of determined roles and obligations brought into focus the control of education in RSA.

5.3 Some approaches to evaluation were mentioned in this chapter, including democratic evaluation and goal-directed evaluation. The need for ongoing improvement of teaching has been suggested, while the difference between skills based methods of testing vis-à-vis human relations viewpoints was sketched.

5.4 The topic of minimal teacher competence was explored and it was noted that various employers of teachers approach the definition of such competence in different ways. Because of lack of agreement on what the act of teaching means, there is a predictable lack of agreement on the meaning of teacher competence. However, some areas of the world have introduced competency-based teacher education, and in the final

analysis teacher competence may be defined by the law. In the RSA, a competent teacher may informally or formally be required to conform to certain norms.

5.5 Contemporary demands for "accountability" in teaching were mentioned, as was the disquiet which these demands cause.

Considerations of the assessment and evaluation of teachers have clearcut connections with the overall administration and management of education, and it is on this topic that the emphasis will fall in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS : IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF TEACHERS

1. Introduction

The nature of schools as organizations, the application of principles of management in their administration, and the importance of adequate preparation for leadership roles within the teaching profession are all topics which in recent years have enjoyed increasing attention.

Banks (1968) and Musgrove (1971) are among the many who have contributed chapters or complete texts which provide organizational analyses of schools. Special courses have been developed at universities (for example, Course E 321, "Management in Education" of The Open University), at colleges and within teachers' associations, with the general aim of developing awareness of and expertise in goal-setting, delegation of authority, personnel development and other matters of management originally associated with industrial or commercial enterprise.

It is probable that all these developments, which ultimately focus on the public responsibility of school principals and others in management positions in education, are linked with a growing debate on the "accountability" of education as reviewed, for example, by Becher and Maclure (1978).

Morgan (1976) in outlining the first unit of the course in Management in Education prepared for The Open University (Course E 321, mentioned above) notes certain presuppositions :

> "(i) that education cannot now be exempt from the thinking and techniques of management ;
>
> (ii) that management is subject to change ; that there is (perhaps always) a managerial revolution ;

(iii) that educational management shares communality with all other managements, yet may have distinctive features ;

(iv) that management is always ideologically located and management ideologies should be questioned." (p.4)

Taking inspiration from Fayol (1949), Morgan notes that the development of management principles has shown that all organizations share certain common features and that for effective functioning they need to observe the same general principles. The elements of management, he observes, reflect "a high degree of agreement" (p.10) and to illustrate his point he tabulates key concepts deriving from the work of a range of writers on the topic. The table includes the contribution of the American Association of School Administrators, and is reproduced below in full :

Table 2.1 The Functions of Management

(Source : Morgan, 1976, p.10)

Fayol (1949)	Gulick (1937)	Sears (1950)	Drucker (1954)	American Association of School Administrators (1955)
Planning	Planning	Planning	Planning	Planning
Organizing	Organizing	Organizing	Organizing	Allocation
Commanding	Staffing) Directing)	Directing	Creating) Motivating) Communicating)	Stimulation
Co-ordinating	Co-ordinating	Co-ordinating		Co-ordinating
Controlling	Reporting) Budgeting)	Controlling	Controlling	Evaluation

The development of organization theory over the years has been extremely complex but, as a generalization, it may be said that an increasing awareness of the human factor within organizations has emerged. McGregor (1960) has been criticised for the perhaps extreme models of man he described, but the "human relations" approach in management which his "Theory Y" suggests still finds wide application. Some claim a superiority for the co-called "human resources" approach but in any event it is the human being who is paramount : Process is seen to be more significant than structure.

Evaluation and appraisal, of both goals and personnel, are generally viewed as necessary in management, despite the difficulties they may engender. Hunt (1981) points out that while it may be easy to criticise aspects of these processes, "it is impossible to ignore the continually cited need we all have for feedback on how we are doing" (p.164).

Hodgkinson (1978), in reviewing the development of management studies, draws attention to the humanist reaction against "the untenable classical assumption of the human factor as a quantifiable and predictable variable" (p.14). Later, in noting that the principal mission of administration is "the civilization of power" (p.100), he reminds us that current philosophies of management stress the value and importance of the individual, whereas more traditional approaches (as, for example, expounded in McGregor's original "Theory X") suggested that human beings had to be coerced to work and that the goals and interests of the organization were paramount.

King (1977) notes that schools"are the legally established organizations of the educational process" (p.54) set up by society to serve specific functions. Like all organizations, they have informal as well as formal structures ; like all organizations they need to be administered and, as King has shown elsewhere (1973), such administration is normally along bureaucratic lines. Management, defined by Peterson and Plowman (1962) as "a process of exerting leadership upon followers and the creation of an organization logically and systematically devised to allocate authority, responsibility and accountability within the group" (p.51) is clearly linked with administration and the two terms are sometimes used as synonyms.

The intention in the present chapter is not to explore in depth the myriad of associated topics which seem to arise in studies of management, for such an approach would involve tilting at many windmills and lead the writer on a journey as amateurish as Don Quixote's ! In any case, the wealth and range of research and literature often fails to reach definitive judgments on some central issues. The essential aim is rather to examine some generally accepted aspects of management as these find direct expression in schools as organizations. It is to the structure of organizations, and of schools as examples of organizations, that the writer will turn in order that the aspects of management selected (for example, the evaluation of personnel) may be clearly defined ; first, however, it is necessary to draw attention to some of the effects of organizational structure on the interaction which occurs.

2. Organizational Structure and Process

The so-called "classical theory" of organizational structure reflects the early writings of Taylor and Fayol, who saw the importance of planning and co-ordination. Their work (as for example reviewed by Pugh et al , 1971) stressed clear segmentation or specialization of work and what is commonly referred to as a "pyramid of control". Objectives were considered important in that the whole effort of the organization would be directed towards the attainment of objectives. Although the approach is now considered to rest on too simplistic a view of man, and to be mechanistic, some of its key concepts have not been superseded and their importance will be returned to in subsequent pages.

Complex organizations tend by nature to be bureaucratic and to display some or all of the features summed up by Weber in his well known description of the "ideal type" of bureaucracy. Weber's work has found wide application in contemporary organization theory, and is well summarised by Banks (1977, p.191) after Blau as follows :

> " .... a bureaucracy is characterized by a high degree of specialization ; a hierarchical system of authority ; explicit rules which define the responsibility of each member of the organization and the co-ordination of different tasks ; the exclusion of personal considerations from official business, and impartiality in the treatment of subordinates and clients ; recruitment of experts ; the existence of a career ...."

It seems immediately clear that a school typically displays several of the characteristics mentioned, "impartiality" being an obvious exception. The criticism of bureaucracy springs from one of its key characteristics, the hierarchical system of authority from which over-centralization and so-called "depersonalization" may result. However, there seems general agreement that within a large and complex organization, bureaucratic structuring is the most efficient means to ensure progress toward goal attainment. The structuring need not impose particular behaviour patterns on the personnel involved, however.

Some writers view organizations from the perspective of a "systems approach". Such an approach conceives of interdependent or interacting elements constituting a whole which takes in raw material and processes it so that desired and predictable "outputs" occur. The organization could be open to the influences or effects of other agencies, or it could be totally closed to them, or occupy some state between the extremes. Prisons, for example, are frequently referred to as closed systems for they are cut off from and usually unaffected by any surrounding systems; the inputs are deviants who, it is hoped, emerge as resocialized outputs after undergoing specified processes. The systems approach to organizations sees them as clearly defined and predictable states of being, set up for particular purposes. Davies (1976) notes that

> "In most systems models, there seems to be an assumption that something is made or manufactured. However, in the case of organizations concerned almost entirely with people - schools, hospitals, prisons, churches - the product idea becomes difficult to sustain" (p.49).

Johnson (1970) agrees that an input/output model is insufficient to describe the real nature of a school, despite the fact that

> "Schools resemble total institutions, such as prisons and mental hospitals, in that one subgroup of their clientele are involuntarily committed to the institution, whereas another subgroup (the staff) has greater freedom of movement ....." (p.31)

The "human relations" concept of organizations has found wide support in recent decades, and dates at least to McGregor's Theory Y of human motivation (1960). McGregor's views of behaviour have assumed major significance for students of management theory and for sociologists. Theory X indicates the traditional view of direction and control found in most of the literature of organization prior to McGregor. The basic assumptions of this theory are that humans inherently dislike work, that they need to be directed and controlled, and that they actually prefer avoidance of responsibility and have little ambition. In commenting on the model of man implied, Hodgkinson (1978) notes that because work and responsibility are distasteful,

> "Work must therefore be extrinsically motivated, chiefly through the means of pay and security measures. Herzberg's and Maslow's lower-level needs dominate. It follows that monitoring must be rigorous. Workers should not be left unsupervised nor should subordinates be left to their own devices. Caution should prevail over trust. In general, people are above all self-seeking, they will take advantage if they can, and they are notoriously incompetent. They adulate power and despise weakness ..... Hierarchy is the natural order. Fear is the prime mover." (p.127)

McGregor, through a study of human behaviour in many specialized fields and through practical investigation of his own, developed a new theory about the management of humans. This Theory Y includes the following assumptions, and basically reflects a "human-relations" approach:

> " ..... Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed ....." (p.47) ;

> "The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility ....." (p.48)

> "..... The potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized." (idem)

McGregor questioned the very nature of the processes involved in the "making of managers" in most of the industrial concerns of the U.S.A. He saw such efforts as largely mechanistic in concept because of their premise that management development could be studied through theoretical knowledge and that people with management potential could be correctly selected for management positions through the use of scientific selection processess. In McGregor's view even if selection methods were perfect "the practical gain for industry would be negligible" (ibid., p.vi), because "we have not learned enough about the creation of an organizational climate conducive to human growth" (idem). Perhaps the value of his stated concerns about the need for human development within business concerns, and his major thesis "that the theoretical assumptions management holds about controlling its human resources determine the whole character of the enterprise" (idem) have been somewhat overlooked because of concentration on and criticism of his "human relations" model of man, expressed in his Theory Y.

Hodgkinson (op.cit.) sees the "human resources" school of thought developed subsequently

> "as an advance on the human relations theory of management which now is held to be manipulative and unauthentic and to some large extent corrupted by administrative practice" (p.14).

But in his endeavour to discredit some of McGregor's achievement Hodgkinson fails to note that his own claims for the "human resources" school : i.e. that "it elaborates upon the possibilities for more creative organizational structures and a more fulfilling work environment" (idem), is essentially the same in concept as the central claim of

McGregor if one does not become blinded by the broad differences between his Theory X and Theory Y and their human stereotyping.

The human-relations approach presupposes that man is committed to the goals of the organization in which he finds himself, and holds that as a result of participation in the organization he will display improved compliance and improved satisfaction. The formal authority of the structure of the organization is not, however, open to change and for that reason the human-relations approach has been criticised in favour of a "human resources" model, although the former appears to remain dominant in organization practice.

According to O'Maera (1978), the basic assumption of the human resources model is that the human being is an untapped resource of abilities and capabilities. Organizations geared to reflect such a view of man would, clearly, be extremely fluid and stress inter-personal communication and development. O'Maera (op. cit.) refers to the work of Bennis and suggests that as a general trend business organizations will move towards the human resources model, with a greater stress on adaptive, temporary systems.

The human resources model (clearly influenced as it is by the work of Maslow and other motivationists) stresses acceptance and recognition and the social perspective of personnel management. Miles, quoted by Hodgkinson (op. cit. p.129) states that people like to work

> "if it be fulfilling, especially if they have had some say in the determination of the work and in shaping the organization's objectives. They can be creative and can enjoy responsibility. Each individual represents a wealth of 'resources' which can be 'tapped' by right administration ...."

Such an approach could be considered inappropriate in a Western context with optimum time use and a stress on the profit motive, but seems to underline a "Theory Z" described by Ouchi and reported in Time magazine

(30 March 1981). In attempting to account for Japan's phenomenal increase in industrial production, Ouchi is one of those who have drawn attention to the involvement in Japan, of employees concerned in decisions which affect them. Management practices stress the importance of consensus, and in the report of the periodical concerned, readers are told that

> "Japan feels itself to be a 'family' because in a real sense nearly everyone has at least some voice in running society. No matter what the group - from the smallest upstart enterprise to the largest multibillion-dollar multinational - nothing gets done until the people involved agree. The Japanese call this nemawashi (root binding). Just as a gardener carefully wraps all the roots of a tree together before he attempts to transplant it, Japanese leaders bring all members of society together before an important decision is made." (March 30, 1981, p.51 : article by Christopher Byron).

The implications for commitment to goals are fairly obvious, and it seems that Japanese managers in the United States have been able to transfer their skills successfully. Building strong ties between management and employees (in the belief that workers will show loyalty in return) is typical of these skills. As part of the process status differences are played down, communication links are kept open and, because promotion from within a firm is often enforced, employees (or "associates") perceive the opportunities of career development.

Thus far the significance of organizational structure for human behaviour has briefly been described. Each variant is open to criticism, and each implies different styles of administration, depending on the structure of the organization and the view of man it upholds. Whatever the structure, however, it is generally agreed that organizations have goals, and that beneath the surface powerful forces operate in terms of "informal" or interpersonal relations. Goals have been identified (for example by Lambert et al., 1970) as being instrumental, expressive, or organizational in nature - depending on whether they are means to

ends, ends in themselves, or directed towards the smooth operation of the organization, respectively. The nature of the goals will, clearly, depend on the particular type of organization concerned and the reasons for its existence - possibilities are virtually limitless. The web of relationships which characterizes the informal structure of any complex organization plays a very powerful role in the operation of the organization. The informal system has been the subject of considerable study especially in the analysis of schools as organizations (e.g. Hargreaves, 1967).

Hodgkinson (1978) sums up to good effect the difficulties which beset the philosopher of administration as he studies any organization :

> "He has first to discover the true allocation of power (necessitating an intimacy with the informal structure) and secondly to find the true allocation of value (necessitating an intimacy with the personality structure). When organization members are ready, for whatever reasons, to 'overaccept' authority, they yield power to the administrative hierarchy which permits the actualization of the administrator's values ....." (p.163)

This comment reminds one of the great complexity, in human terms, of any organization and the importance (in attempting any analysis) to establish clearly the bases of power and authority.

Musgrove (1971) stresses that "authority rests on agreement that an office has particular powers attached to it ; power exists regardless of agreement" (p.3), a view which supports that of Dahrendorf (1967) in his words (p.167) :

> "The important difference between power and authority consists in the fact that whereas power is essentially tied to the personality of individuals, authority is always associated with social positions or roles."

It seems generally agreed that authority systems can and usually do act as braking forces on the abuse of power ; in other words that power

and authority should not be too disparate.

Barr Greenfield (1975) stresses that a tendency to consider organizations as entities that are self-sufficient, blinds one to their complexity "and to the human actions which constitute the facade which we call organization" (p.74, in Houghton et al, 1975). The closer one examines organizations, he points out, the more likely one is to find that they are comprised of human expression and meaning. For this reason,

> "The possibility of training administrators through the study of organization theory has been seriously overestimated. Such theory does not appear to offer ready-made keys to the problems of how to run an organization." (ibid., p.76)

Hodgkinson (op.cit., p.3) notes that "Human nature is the basic stuff of organizations" and reminds us that "administration and administrative processes occur in substantially the same generalized form in industrial, commercial, educational, military and hospital organizations" (p.6). While Hodgkinson distinguishes between administration and management as concepts, he submits that their functions overlap in organizations and in persons, regardless of title. Both are seen as generalisms underlying the attainment, within organizations,of agreed aims. The concept of management seems, however, to suggest more executive or decision-making activity, while administration suggests the carrying out of decisions or policy. Both are important aspects of the control of organizations.

It seems clear that the structure of an organization, the type of administration adopted and the style of management implicit, are all interacting features of a whole. It is also clear,as already noted, that recent studies in business management stress the importance of interpersonal relations and maximum utilization of human resources in the control of an organization. Commenting on the movement towards "industrial democracy", Hunt (1981) points out that contemporary work-forces demand more say in what affects their daily lives. This

inevitably means a devolution of power, so that human beings are involved in making decisions which affect them. He notes that this does not mean the end of bureaucracy or centralized structures, but

> "within these structures, most of the day-to-day decisions will be decentralized into smaller units. Within those smaller units, work groups will gain autonomy over their work, the selection of their supervisors, and the distribution of their rewards." (p.274)

The history of management and administration has shown interesting developments over the years, and broadly parallels the development of organization theory. "Classical" approaches typical of the early twentieth century restricted administrative thought to time and motion studies and to the rational analyses of organizational structure and function. Later approaches stressed the importance of clear delegation and division of labour, reflecting the ideal of a bureaucratically-structured organization but with cognizance of interpersonal relations.

Herzberg (1959) and Maslow (1970) were among those who drew attention to the parts played by needs, satisfactions and self-actualization in the effective management of human beings, and were typical of those who provided a humanist reaction to earlier views of administration and management. Argyris (1973) later concluded that strong support had developed for

> "an ethic or philosophy of administration which would result in the reconstruction of organizations with a view to allowing increasing opportunities for organizational members to grow towards fuller and more fulfilling maturity"
> (as quoted by Hodgkinson, op. cit., p.11).

Although the broad goals of schools are established at least as much by society in general as by personnel within schools, the administration of

schools cannot merely be seen as a mechanical process. As organizations, schools may display characteristics of bureaucracy, efforts at democratic involvement of pupils and staff, opportunities for charismatic leadership, conflict between the formal and informal structures, and several other features which render any kind of categoric analysis difficult.

The writer now proceeds to consider some aspects of schools as organizations. The analysis will ultimately focus on the management schools and the assessment of personnel as part of such management, in the light of the general overview already presented.

3. Schools as Organizations

Etzioni (1964, p.1) has noted that "Our society is an organizational society. We are born in organizations, educated by organizations, and most of us spend our lives working for organizations ...." It seems immediately clear that a school (or college or other agency providing formal education) shares the established features of an organization *per se* ; the operations are directed towards the achievement of specific goals, there are internal and external systems of control, and various provisions (such as examination results) exist to monitor progress and accountability and to suggest possible recombinations of resources. Communication systems, leadership, evaluation of the extent to which objectives have been achieved, and provision for the training (perhaps through evaluation) of personnel all find expression in schools, and will be among the topics considered in the present section. The extent to which schools can be compared with business organizations, and the extent to which concepts of management are directly relevant to them, are topics open to debate. Loose application of organizational theory to the school tends to see the school only as a unit of production, involving roles and resources arranged to yield a product which conforms to predetermined goals. Greenfield (*op. cit.*) warns that "We are often so accustomed to this model that we fail to notice the enormous

discrepancies between it and what typically goes on in schools" (p.77). Schools are, of course, far more than units of production ; depending on the particular society in which they exist or the predominant ideology of education, they may serve to effect rigid socialization (a "pattern maintenance function", after Parsons' well-known description) or, on the other extreme, to question or resist existing social practice.

In the terminology of Katz and Kahn (1966,p.112) the school may be described as a maintenance organization for it generally maintains and supports a society's ideology and belief systems (for that very reason, of course, traditional systems of schooling are rejected by Marxian critics of education in that such systems maintain inequalities and resist change). Etzioni (op.cit.) has drawn attention to the importance of the informal organization within most structures, and writers who have specifically concentrated on schools as organizations (e.g. Hargreaves, 1967) have shown how important the informal systems are.

Banks (op.cit.) concludes that despite all that has been written, the study of schools as organizations remains one of the least satisfactory aspects of the sociology of education. While she agrees that schools display certain of the characteristics of bureaucracies, bureaucracy tends to legitimate authority only in terms of rank and deference, obedience being due from those of lower to those of higher status in the organization. For the professional, however, such legitimation is clearly not enough, for to him deference is due only to competence or expert knowledge. Consequently,

> "the loyalty of the professional is to his professional standards, whereas that of the bureaucrat is to his superiors and to the organization itself. Moreover, whereas the bureaucrat obeys orders and carries out the tasks allotted to him, the professional fulfils his professional duties according to his own or his profession's decisions". (p.193)

Musgrove (1971) argues that the typical nineteenth-century public-school headmaster was in some ways more effective than his contempory

counterpart because the latter often does not have the opportunity of leading a wider intellectual life :

> "A nineteenth-century headmaster could run his school and make a serious contribution to scholarship. It was, indeed, an expectation that he should do both. Senior positions in schools, like senior positions in the civil service, did not preclude scholarly or literary pursuits. Anthony Trollope in the Post Office, James Mill at the India office, Matthew Arnold in Her Majesty's Inspectorate and his father in the headmastership at Rugby combined scholarship with the conduct of responsible administrative offices." (p.108)

The increasing size of schools, more involvement by local communities and other changes have rendered the tasks of headmasters and teachers (as professionals within large organizations) very difficult, and given rise to conflict. Conflicts faced by professionals in a bureaucratic system can be traumatic. Grace (1972) showed that teachers reached a high level of satisfaction when they were given autonomy in the classroom work (pp.64-70). Many teachers will, it seems, accept a principal's general policy ideas if there is no interference with their professional autonomy in the classroom.

That teachers often have a negligible control over important decisions has been argued by Corwin (1965) when he indicates that the participation of teachers in the decision-making process "is usually limited to either (1) interpretation of established policy, (2) advice, or (3) the execution of established policy. The actual policy decisions are usually reserved for the chief executive". (p.56)

Apart from a frequent lack of autonomy, teachers may experience dependence on lay persons for approval, particularly in terms of the American conception of education "governance". Clark (1964) writes of schools as "vulnerable bureaucracies" because of a tendency to decentralization of control, and notes that in addition,

> "..the ideologies of public school administration have adjusted to this vulnerability, with administration often guided by conceptions of service to lay demands, and efficient operation of the schools in line with community dictates." (as quoted by Banks, op.cit. p.196)

Corwin (1967) has provided an excellent analysis of how the characteristics of a complex organization find expression in the school situation. He notes that in organizations there are power and authority structures, including the hierarchy of official statuses and the informal social systems ; rules and procedures assisting in the control ; and a division of labour leading to specialization of function (1967, p.161-2). Not much originality or imagination is required to infer that Corwin's description finds ready applicability in most school systems, including those in South Africa.

Hargreaves (1972) has provided a standard work in terms of interpersonal relations within the school situation, and has clearly shown that whatever structures or formal provisions exist, it is interaction and relationships which mark the school as an organization. He reviews a wide range of studies and literature on the topic, in particular on the question of negotiation between teacher and pupil and among staff members. The dynamics of groups within the school, the various "definitions of the situation" which exist, the importance of friendship ties and the channels of communication within the organization, all come under his scrutiny and Hargreaves warns against those who pay only lip-service to the need for the involvement of a range of persons in the decision-making processes. For example "consultation" may mean a variety of things, including

> "..... a full discussion at a staff meeting, with policy being determined by consensus or majority vote. It can also mean ..... obtaining staff views and then ignoring them. When a head tells us he is keen on consultation, he tell us nothing. The same may be said of 'delegation', the other fashionable concept. If the head delegates only minor or routine tasks and decisions there will be no meaningful transference of power" (p.411).

It seems that the school as an organization offers opportunities for both participatory management and autocratic rule, and that the latter may actually exist in the guise of the former. Because neither teachers nor pupils really have effective courses for redress (except perhaps where teacher unions can bring about the closure of schools), and because those in management positions in schools may have little or no training in the skills required (particularly in terms of inter-personal relations) the school as an organization is not like many other organizations.

Writing of elementary schools Cohen (1973) finds that as organizations they provide few rewards for competence and loyalty, and that payment is rarely related to competence (p.333). The causes for teacher dissatisfaction which Cohen pinpoints in respect of elementary schools could apply to schools in general :

> ".... teachers are socially isolated from their colleagues ; they do not see or hear each other in the act of teaching ; they rarely meet for the purposes of planning or evaluation of teaching tasks. Indeed, there are very few mutual or common tasks. The traditional isolation ..... is such that there are norms against visiting a fellow teacher .... Teachers talk to one another, but their conversation rarely occurs in a formal occupational context where decisions are being made on school policies, discipline, curriculum or evaluation of the teaching process." (p.332/3)

Schools largely depend on communication processes for their operation, and the frequent absence of real or successful communication (as revealed by writers such as Cohen) must give cause for alarm. In general terms the sociological analysis of schools as organizations is problematic, and Davies (1974) concludes that

> "Despite some recent work like that of Hargreaves (1967) and Turner (1969), one must still inevitably agree with Floud (1962) and Floud and Halsey (1958) that we lack anything like an adequate sociology of the school, and that one aspect of the lack is in terms of our knowledge of schools as organizations." (p.250)

Contemporary studies of the school as an organization tend to lay emphasis on the professionalism of the teacher. Hoyle (1974, in Houghton, et al) indicates that both the National Union of Teachers and the National Association of Schoolmasters have recommended the "principle that teachers should have an increasing opportunity to participate in collective decision-making with regard to school goals and organization" (p.317) and further, that

> "..... greater professional control would appear to require a more extended form of professionality, a professionality which is not limited to classroom skills alone but embraces a wider range of knowledge and skill". (p.318)

The transformation of hierarchical power to collegial power in the school seems to be a predominant area of interest, and stresses a professional model of the school as an organization rather than the previously relevant industrial model, which sees

> ".....an inevitable conflict between workers (teachers) and management (head, governors) and takes the protection of the teacher as its dominant theme". (ibid. p.316)

Dahrendorf has distinguished clearly between industrial and bureaucratic organizations (1967, p.296) :

> "Whereas the authority structure of industrial organizations ipso facto defines the borderline that divides the two aggregates of those in positions of dominance and those in positions of subjection, and whereas industrial organizations are in this sense dichotomous bureaucratic organizations typically display continuous gradations of competence and authority and are hierarchical."

In these terms the school would, as previously indicated, qualify as a bureaucratic organization : not in the strictly Weberian sense, but in terms of structure. Democratization of management, and Musgrove's

hope for "a general expansion in the power of teachers at all levels of the school hierarchy .... for increased effectiveness" (1971, p.13) would lead to the school adopting characteristics of the human-relations type of organization : a kind of humanized bureaucracy. But such moves would require a foundation of management principles and the training of personnel in these, particularly in terms of staff evaluation.

Grace (1972) reveals the variety of expectations and attitudes which characterize the teaching situation : and shows that teachers may be socialized into roles which preclude them from having meaningful say. Clearly such a situation has the potential for conflict, which must render any objective assessment of teacher competence difficult.

The management of schools as organizations raises many difficulties, and it is to some of these that the writer now gives attention.

4. Management and the School

Coincident with the development of a professional model of the school as an organization, has been a growth in management studies with reference to education. Because by definition management implies assuming responsibility for decisions or policy, rather than merely administering th policy formulated by others, it is clear that the greater the extent of local responsibility for schools (as distinct from central responsibility), the greater are the demands for effective management. The United States and England have, of course, long known decentralized educational control. In South Africa, on the other hand, all major educational policy is centrally determined and the autonomy of individual school principals is by comparison not great. However, recent developments (for example the Report of the Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into Education 1981) have drawn attention to the importance of more local control of education, and if the recommendations made are accepted

even in the broad term, the management of schools will acquire a new focus. In various parts of the country, in any case, provincial departments and teachers' associations have run courses in management and leadership in education.

The writer proceeds to a consideration of some central concepts in the literature on management, in an attempt to consider their general applicability in terms of the management of schools.

Authority and the delegation of authority is a major concept in management. Peterson and Plowman (1962) define four kinds of authority : firstly, the authority to plan and co-ordinate, held by the highest executive (in terms of education, the prerogative usually of the government of a country); secondly, functional authority, which involves the issuing of orders and decisions solely as to the methods and processes whereby the policies or plans will be carried out (in terms of education, this would normally be held by the Provincial or Local Authority personnel); thirdly, line authority, involving a vertical pattern of those entitled to give orders or make decisions regarding those of lower rank (in education, probably the headmaster, his deputy, department heads, and individual teachers) ; fourthly, staff authority, which is the horizontal pattern of those involved on any one level of the line of authority (in education, this could concern the relationships between a department head and individual teachers of the subject).

Allen (1958 and 1964) has formulated several key concepts in management, and his widely-used "unified concept of management", involving planning, organizing, co-ordinating, motivating and controlling, has been the inspiration for several later writers. Each aspect will now be briefly considered, in relation to the school.

Planning involves several activities, including the setting of objectives and policies, determining the procedures by which these will be attained, and setting programmes or schedules. The setting of objectives is seen as very important by most writers on the subject of management,

particularly Allen, who states that "Effective management is always management by objectives" (1958, p.27). Objectives are set at all levels in management, but they tend to become more specific and detailed at the lower levels of management. The general concern of education in the West is well summed up in an internal document of a typical South African school as "The development of the spiritual, intellectual, creative, social and physical potential of each pupil", such concern being expressed in these aims :

> "To teach pupils to be able to live comfortably in a changing world ; to deal with political, social and racial tensions ; to live responsibly and communicatively in a world of international tensions." (Source : policy document of a Durban school, issued to parents.)

It is evident that, following on the statement of such aims, specific objectives or direction would be formulated.

The establishment of a policy is another important aspect of planning in management, and particularly the management of education. The basic policy of education is usually determined at a parliamentary level and, in democratic countries, provides a basic framework within which flexibility, individuality and experimentation are allowed. The system in England is a typical example ; the modern policy of comprehensive secondary education for all, allows for great variety and freedom within the basic limits. Here is an example of management in its broadest sense, the policy laying down the principles and rules for action. As with objectives, policies tend to become progressively more specific as one descends to the lower levels of management, and at the school level the headmaster is normally responsible for the execution of the policy according to the particular circumstances prevailing. Even the basic "rules" of a particular school or classroom can be classified as "policy", which, according to Allen, is "a continuing decision which applies to repetitive situations and which is permanent until repealed" (1958, p.32).

Planning also includes the establishment of procedure, the manner or method by which work is to be done. In the commercial sphere, as Allen has pointed out (ibid., p.34), each level of management involves the setting of its own procedures. In education at the school level, this principle is apparent in the establishment of subject committees, headed by the department heads, where procedures for the execution, setting out and control of schoolwork are decided upon. The establishment of procedure, in the words of Allen, "ensures a uniformly high level of performance." Once the routine is established the manager (i.e.,the subject-department head in a school or, indeed, the individual teacher) is freed of decision-making, which may be time consuming.

Subject committees in schools have an important task in the establishment of procedure ; for instance, not all the written work required of pupils in English can be marked in detail by the teacher ; the department head, in consultation with his assistant teachers, can formulate a procedure in this respect, as to what work will be marked and when. Such a procedure establishes uniformity and relieves the individual teacher of the decision.

The second major concept involved in management which can be applied to the administration of education is the concept of organization. This involves the identification and grouping of work according to some pattern established at the planning stage in management. An organization is not the people, but the arrangement of work to be done by them. Allen states that good organization involves "the systematic and consistent delegation of authority to the levels where the work is performed"(1964, p.209).

Organization in management involves differentiation between the kinds of duties performed by the individual members of the management group, and it results in departmentation. This point is supported by Peterson and Plowman (p.179). Allen defines organizations as "the process of identifying and grouping the work to be performed, defining and delegating authority, establishing relationships for the purpose

of enabling people to work most effectively together in accomplishing objectives" (1958, p.57).

In an individual school, organization and the consequent departmentation may result in teachers being grouped under department heads whose duty it is to co-ordinate and if necessary supervise the activities in their particular subjects. In the large comprehensive schools of England, and also the even larger public schools in some parts of the United States, this system of "internal government" is structured in fine detail. The larger the enterprise, the more levels of departmentation there tend to be, and since organization involves the delegation of authority, good organization should properly define the extent of each leader's authority - and provide for his being able to use that authority. As Allen points out, "One of the greatest failings in organization is to give people work to do but to withhold the power to make the decisions necessary to carry out this work effectively." (ibid., p.206)

The structure of a large comprehensive school (for example, as reported by the Inner London Education Authority, 1966) is so complex and businesslike that such schools can be said to embellish the principles of good management. This structure warrants special mention. The Inner London Education Authority points out that the organization of staff under departments is helpful because the department heads share the work of the Headmaster : "Each has full authority for many routine decisions affecting staff, pupils and parents - he has complete charge of his subject and allocates work to colleagues, and they share in the planning of syllabuses" (1966, pp.37-8). Such a structure opens up almost limitless possibilities for initiative and individuality - for flexibility within a basic framework, surely an important quality of effective management. As Puckey points out, "The organizational structure must be capable of flexibility to allow full scope for the personalities comprising the organization" (1945, p.45). It seems clear, too, that the structure should free the school principal from routine tasks, a point of view supported by the London Authority, which notes :

> "The large school must have an experienced administrative officer of high quality as the school secretary. It is by this means that the head of a school is enabled to remain an educator and avoid becoming submerged in administrative detail" (I.L.E.A. 1966, p.44).

Co-ordination, Allen's third component of management, occurs at all levels wherever individuals have to draw together the results or efforts under their supervision : for example, the Head of Humanities in a secondary school may co-ordinate the activities of the individual subject courses. It seems that in the light of clearly defined objectives and established procedures, co-ordination should not provide much difficulty.

Another important concept in management is that of motivation. Under this heading can be grouped all those aspects of management concerned with personnel administration, which is

> "that staff function of organizational management that is designed to secure, develop, and retain the skills, attitudes and knowledge essential for the accomplishment of the goals of the organization"(Fawcett, 1980, p.1) .

All managers on all levels are also personnel administrators, for as managers they lead and direct people. Allen states that

> "The manager must know how to direct others without arousing offence or resentment, and must secure obedience without destroying initiative and creativity." (1958, p.44)

The latter part of this statement seems especially important as it acknowledges the necessity for flexibility and individuality within any management pattern.

The functions of a manager as a motivator of his personnel are varied. It is partly his task to promote compatibility among his staff.

Without such compatability, co-operation among the teachers of a subject would be virtually impossible, and the manager of the group (probably the head of the department) needs certain qualities of leadership to ensure the smooth operation of their work. Through compatability comes ease of communication ; if the channels of communication between individual workers (for example, subject teachers) and their superiors (the department heads, vice-principals or headmaster) are kept open, the easier attainment of the particular goals is assured. Fawcett (op.cit.)claims that

> "It must be clear ... that the success of any institution must be based on an exchange of information by all participants" (p.107).

Such exchanges at the school level could take place at regular full staff meetings where open discussion on school policy or methods could take place, and also at more frequent subject committee meetings, under the chairmanship of the department head or senior teacher, where all teachers concerned in a particular subject could express their own views and discuss any difficulties.

Allen's fifth concept in management, which he calls controlling , is of particular significance in the assessment of teacher competence. Allen notes that

> "Once work is under way, it is necessary to have a means of checking up to make sure that performance is what we want and that results are satisfying - this is control." (1964, p.215)

At the school level, the principal is responsible for ultimate control and, through his implicit role of ensuring that "performance is what we want", he is involved in judging teacher success. It is this function of management, staff appraisal, which may be the most troublesome ; it seems widely agreed in the literature on teacher appraisal, that such judgment should be linked with (indeed, be preparatory to) the professional development and improvement of teachers.

Drucker points out the essentiality of training for management : "To-day's managers must systematically provide for tomorrow's managers." (1954, p.80) Puckey (op.cit. pp.156-160) adds that aspirant managers need opportunities to obtain greater appreciation of "organizational" principles with special emphasis on the importance of personnel problems, and opportunities to develop and exercise their personal qualities in the technical, organizational and social spheres of their work. In terms of education at the school level, the idea that managers need training seems of considerable importance.

It seems accepted by most writers on management, that certain qualities of personality are required of those in positions of leadership. Both Puckey (p.1) and Drucker (p.310) write of the need for vision and a willingness to make decisions, even if this means taking risks.

Lynch (1950) believed that a manager needs a special personality, involving a great sense of responsibility, a feeling of selflessness, a belief in the fundamental goodness of the human being, and an ability to perform whatever taks his duty demands of him, including firing unsuitable people. In his work Leading and Managing Men, he presented a series of "letters" to prospective managers, outlining recommended attitudes and procedures, in such topics as relations with subordinates. The outstanding feature of all these "letters" is the desirability in a manager of flexibility, knowledge, firmness, and interest in the group as a whole. The implications for a headmaster or other-level manager in a school seem similar.

Managers, then, require special characteristics of personality : Peterson and Plowman state that

> "Executive proficiency has its roots in the personal qualities of the individuals who are charged with the duties of management." (1962, p.65)

Because many writers on the subject view management as a "trainable" capacity, it seems that early selection of prospective managers in

education, and awarding them experience in positions of delegated authority, with guidance and assistance from superiors in the development of these qualities of personality, could lead to greater efficiency in the administration of education. Not only managers, however, but ordinary members of the workforce need education in the principles of management lest those in supervisory roles become too distanced from their subordinates. It is unfortunately true that in some quarters anyone in a position of authority is viewed with suspicion. John (1980) draws attention to the disillusionment which, "bred from a feeling of isolated helplessness", seems common in organizations :

> "The disillusionment leads to the assumption that leadership means power and privilege, and that people in authority are there because they think they know best and because they want advantages for themselves which others may not share. The isolation means that leaders are perceived as ignorant of the needs of ordinary mortals and insensitive to their problems. It also means that the actions of leaders appear arbitrary and dictatorial." (p.1)

Current Department of Education and Science research in England indicates that heads of schools should be taught skills of an inter-personal and group nature to enable them to co-ordinate and control large organizations by "consent". Further required skills are knowledge of financial control and knowledge of evaluation techniques to be used for the improvement of school performance.

A report commissioned by the Centre for the Study of Comprehensive Schools and produced by an industrial educational advisor, Dr. K.B. Everard, on the experience of teachers who had been seconded to industry, makes the following criticisms : (as reported in The Times Educational Supplement)

> ". Many heads fail to see their role as managerial ;
> . L.e.a. advisors are not competent to help heads learn to manage ;
> . Public sector courses which offer heads a largely theoretical training instead of the practical learning they need are rapidly proliferating ;

> . There is little off-the-job training, a key part of good industrial management development." (July 2 1982, p.1)

Everard stresses that heads should be trained in similar ways to chief executives in industry and suggests that this can be done through employing reputable training consultants and organizations to do the work. He warns against consultants who try to sell packaged answers to problems, and "commends training organizations who are prepared to help heads learn by working with them on their real problems rather than by giving them talk-and-chalk instruction." (idem)

5. Performance appraisal and career development as an aspect of management in education

It seems widely agreed that one of the primary responsibilities of managers is their appraisal of staff members. The very act of delegation suggests that personnel who are accorded specific authority have been judged as suitable (or at least potentially suitable) to bear such authority. A memorandum of the Greater London Council notes that

> "When a manager issues directives, gives his suggestions, plans and organises the work of his subordinates, he does this with an implicit assessment of the abilities of his subordinates and the problems of their work ..." (GLC/ILEA, Internal Memo, 1980).

Such assessment of ability, however, is not guaranteed to be flawless in any organization. For effectiveness, it requires detailed planning and systematic execution ; for legitimation among staff, its objectives and values need to be made explicit. The memorandum quoted above goes on to name what its writers consider to be basic principles of any appraisal system, among which principles appear the following :

> "The appraisal system should be supported by both top management and unions ... Managers should be properly trained to implement the appraisal system .... Methods of appraisal should be as uniform as possible throughout the organization ..." (GLC/ILEA, Internal Memo, 1980).

The memorandum concerned, made available to the writer as a result of private communication, has formed one of the sources from which the Inner London Education Authority has begun to construct an appraisal scheme for teaching staff - a scheme which, it is hoped, will lead to school principals and other supervisors coming to know whether teachers are performing well, where they need help, what can be done by all concerned to provide the necessary help, and what potential the teachers demonstrate.

This kind of appraisal, structured about the broad aim of personnel improvement and staff development, would seem to offer much for the teaching profession. While (as will be shown in later chapters) the assessment of teacher competence is a fairly commonplace aspect of most systems of education, such assessment has typically been performed with the question of "promotability" in mind ; by contrast, continuous appraisal has in mind the improvement of an existing force - indeed, it is highly questionable whether promotion should be a reward for "good performance" in one's present job, unless there are many features common to one's present and future positions. Appraisal with diagnostic and developmental aims in mind would seem to be an obvious way of exploiting to better effect, existing manpower or personnel resources : a planned provision of opportunities to help the individual to improve performance and develop potential.

Performance appraisal aimed at staff development suggests provision for self appraisal, or at least for follow-up discussions between those being assessed and those responsible for the assessment. Interviews or discussions before or after appraisal seem to be an accepted part of procedure in personnel management in business, and increasingly are being recognised as a necessary aspect in the appraisal of teachers.

Although education authorities tend to look to business management for ideas on staff appraisal, it seems necessary to point out that appraisal schemes in business concerns are not always based on sound behavioural or communication principles. Most of these schemes are linked to salary improvement and promotion prospects, which introduce further problems.

The strategy of performance appraisal, as originally indicated by McGregor (1960) generally contains the following steps :

1. A job description indicating parameters of responsibilities and authority.

2. Daily organization of work tasks and control by the superior. Praise and criticism of work would evolve.

3. A formal appraisal of the subordinate's performance based on a rating form which would include criteria such as : quality of work ; attitudes toward work and employer (loyalty etc.) ; personality characteristics ; judgments made ; suitability for promotion.

4. A discussion of this appraisal, including criticism and advice.

5. The use of the formal appraisal for salary and promotion purposes.

(Procedures would presumably be evolved to enhance the objectivity of the superior's assessment and to standardize judgments.)

Inherent faults in this type of appraisal procedure are indicated by McGregor. The job description he sees as a delusory instrument which often covers up the reality of a position and confuses assessors who tend to look at the description rather than the behaviour displayed.

Demands for efficiency have led management astray, he asserts, whereas the only real values in a job description are

> "(1) to satisfy the needs of organization planners for order and systematization, and (2) to provide reassurance to top management that everyone has a piece of paper which tells him what to do." (ibid. p. 81)

Very little concern has been given to the superior's psychological make-up or to "the fact that any individual's performance is, to a considerable extent, a function of how he is managed." (ibid. p.83)

Efforts to refine appraisal techniques are also seen as delusory, and McGregor states that his research revealed that even by using procedures that had safeguards against prejudice and bias "it is probably fair to say that we can discriminate (only) between the outstandingly good, the satisfactory and the unsatisfactory performers." (ibid. p.82)

Most rating forms used in industrial concerns are based on subjective ratings by superiors on criteria which have been developed without any scientific precision and which are in themselves subjective. For example a quality such as "loyalty" may be used as a criterion for assessment without any consideration being given to the fact that a blindly "loyal" employee would never question poor policies and so be of less benefit to the organization than a critically thinking employee. McGregor's comments on rating form development in the U.S.A. are apposite to a consideration of the development of the merit assessment system for teachers in South Africa, introduced nearly twenty years after he first made his comments :

> "Normally, the rating form is a series of variables which are simply assumed without any test whatever to correlate with overall contribution to the enterprise. They are rated by the individual's superior, weighted (or not) according to arbitrary rules, and combined in some fashion to give a general 'measure' of performance." (ibid. p.95)

Although McGregor was highly critical of the dualistic nature of performance appraisal in which a superior is required "to occupy simultaneously the role of judge and the role of counselor to a subordinate .... circumstances which force incompatible roles on the individual and create tension and confusion in the relationship" (op.cit. p.30), even his immense influence has not been strong enough to separate influences from scientific-management and human relations schools of thought. In a recent article (1982) Pansegrouw concludes that performance appraisal

> "is a single event with two objectives namely performance evaluation and coaching and development ..... Assigning two objectives to the P.A. event was probably an easy way by which the values of both schools of thought would be given recognition in personnel management." (op.cit. p.3)

It seems ironic that the performance appraisal (merit assessment) scheme introduced for all State school teachers in the RSA as late as 1978 and 1979 contains, in principle, the inherent problems involved in performance appraisal as indicated by McGregor and others from the late 1950s onwards.

To require a superior to be both "judge" and "counselor" when discussing the performance appraisal of a subordinate is to ignore basic behavioural patterns and communication processes. To offer negative criticism for past performance and then to offer positive developmental ideas for future performance demands an impossible marrying of conflicting roles. Beer (1981) observes that negative feedback can only produce a "defender" mechanism in a subordinate, while Pansegrouw (1982) denies that any guidelines or techniques could be invented to make negative criticism palatable. Pansegrouw quotes a survey carried out by Alpander on the performance appraisal interview, which revealed that the most disliked role for 78% of the sample of supervisors was "communicating negative performance evaluation results" (ibid. p.4).

It would appear that researchers have not produced an appraisal scheme which has been positively accepted by experts in the field ; neither have McGregor's views been invalidated. Mintzberg (1973), Hunt (1981), Pansegrouw (1982) and others indicate the problems of performance appraisal in large organizations. It seems largely agreed that "appraisal schemes are one of the most controversial of the personnel manager's procedures." (Hunt, p.164) And it is certainly not only in Public Service institutions that performance appraisal is used uncritically. Beer (1981) and Pansegrouw (1982) point to dilemmas in structure and unthinking usage of programmes in numerous industrial organizations. Pansegrouw refers to "various reviews lamenting the sorry state of P.A." (op.cit. p.3) and agrees with criticism of current performance appraisal processes which do not reveal an effective management of human resources.

It seems also agreed by experts that there is no single appraisal technique that can be used for all jobs. The complexities of job specificity have been shown by Perrow (1967) and Brinkerhoff and Kanter (1980) among others.

Pansegrouw attempted to indicate guidelines for the selection of appraisal techniques in a situational model he drew up, based on the tenet that

> "the performance appraisal technique can only be as specific as the job performance characteristics allow it to be" (op.cit. p.5).

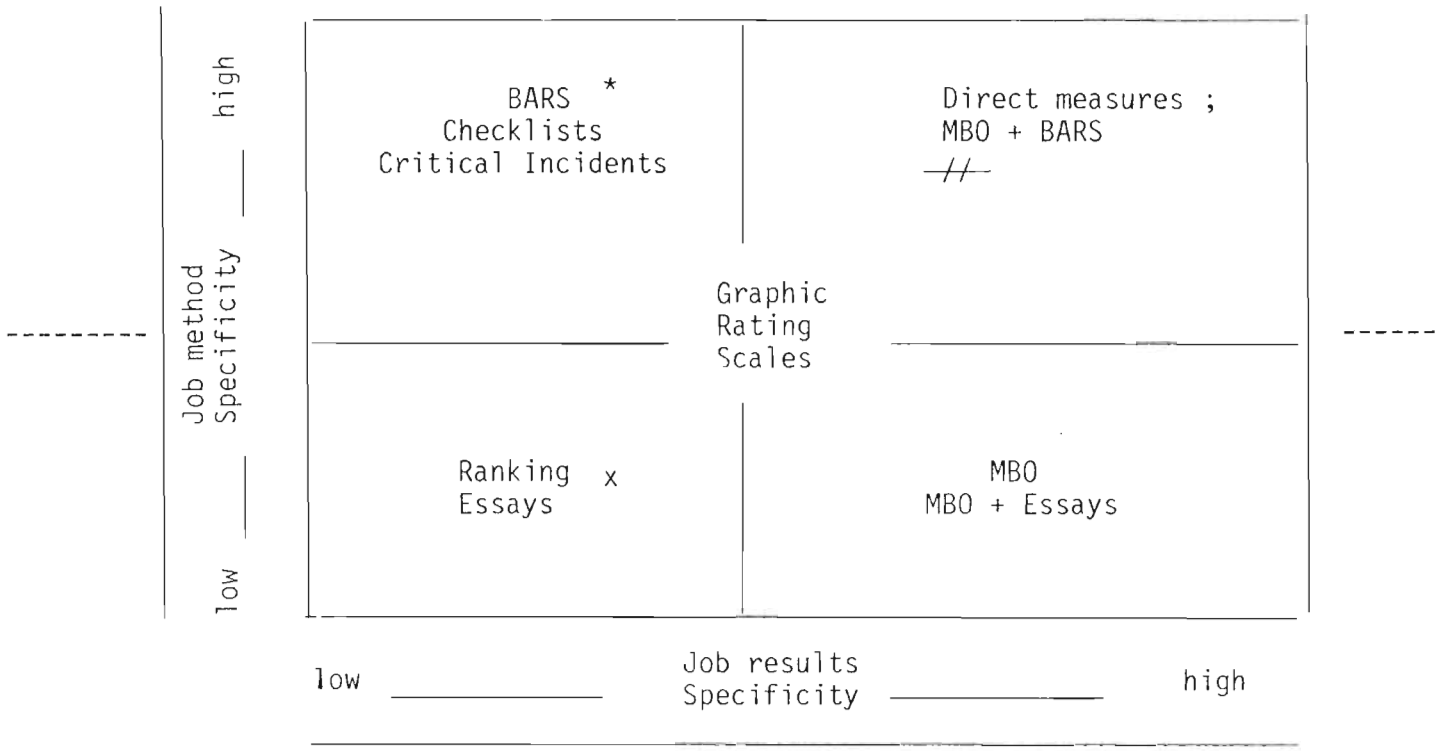
The model is reproduced over page :

Figure 1 A Situational Model for the selection of Performance Appraisal Techniques

(Source : Pansegrouw, 1982)

More appropriate for performance appraisal where job method is highly standardised and routine but job outcomes cannot be specified at a high level of certainty and many exceptions are likely to occur i.e. engineers, trainers, and marketing managers.

More appropriate for performance apprai where job method is highly standardisec and routine and job outcomes can be specified in advance with low probabili of exceptions occurring i.e. machine operators, clerical staff, accountants.



More appropriate for performance appraisal where job method is not standardised and non-routine and job outcomes cannot be specified at a high level of certainty and many exceptions are likely to occur i.e. top managers, public relations, basic research, industrial relations managers.

More appropriate for performance apprai where job method is not standardised an non-routine but job outcomes can be specified in advance with low probabili of exceptions occurring i.e. salesmen, craftsmen.

* BARS are behaviourally anchored rating scales

// MBO means management by objectives

x Ranking essays suggest a comparative appraisal technique.

In terms of Pansegrouw's model, it would appear that appraisal techniques for teachers should be drawn from the lower left-hand block ; teaching has low specifity of method and results. The inclusion of "ranking essays" as the method of appraisal for jobs in this block, indicates that the complexity of teaching does not lend itself to an appraisal system based on merely an investigation of objectives and results, or on one using rating scales based on the specifics of job method.

In an attempt to move away from the common dualistic nature of performance appraisal, Pansegrouw (1982) suggests

> "the concept of performance management which includes performance planning (goal setting and organising) coaching (counselling and development) and performance review (evaluation)." (op.cit. p.4)

This concept is of an integrated whole as far as the management process is concerned, but with the components being separated. It seems to offer interesting possibilities for teaching : counselling and development would precede evaluation, stressing the importance of a progression.

Exemplifying trends in staff appraisal as they find application in business concerns, Parsons (1979) advocates a "personal and institutional growth" approach to the assessment of teacher competence. Inter alia, the approach involves joint clarification of objectives and the opportunity for an individual undergoing appraisal to offer critical

response to the procedure. By definition, Parsons sees the appraisal of teaching personnel as

> "..... a broad, continuous ... enquiry to determine the effectiveness of content and process in the light of clearly defined goals." (p.1)

He stresses the value of a"post-appraisal conference" as an important part of the process of two-way communication between supervisors and staff, a process which he feels should be marked by mutual respect and trust, and leading to professional growth :

> "Evaluation of teacher performance through the growth process provides continued opportunities for each teacher to grow in competence .... Such an evaluation provides a record of professional services and assurance to the public that the utmost care is being taken to obtain and retain the best teachers for the children of the community". (ibid. p. 9)

Redfern and Hersey (1980) also support the idea of personnel appraisal in teaching being a co-operative, goal-centred activity, in which both the evaluatee and the evaluator have an investment. The process of evaluation which Redfern and Hersey recommend includes provision for discussion interviews between those being evaluated and their assessors, with a view to establishing full information on performance and commitment. Checking on the extent to which goals have been achieved should, these writers feel, be a joint venture occurring in an undemanding, unthreatening atmosphere. If direct classroom observation forms part of the assessment, a post-observation conference is recommended, in which no more than three or four issues are discussed.

The idea of "conferences" taking place before and after performance appraisal seems important in that it focusses attention on the process of teaching and learning, rather than merely the outcomes or products. Clearly, such conferences need to be planned and

managed in such a way that they are productive and purposeful. They presuppose meaningful discussion and the elimination of "secret reporting", so that the overall goal is the development of professional commitment :

> "Commitments to performance improvement relate to evaluation in a unique way. The individual, in cooperation with his/her immediate supervisor, annually undertakes job-related, self-improvement steps. Together they initiate, develop and pursue a plan of action designed to fulfill these commitments. Evaluation, the culminating activity, indicates the extent to which goals are realized." (spelling, sic) (Redfern and Hersey, op.cit. p.1)

What of the performance appraisal of teachers ? The Inner London Education Authority, referred to earlier, has since 1979 been preparing a "career development scheme" for teachers. Such scheme, according to the Report of the relevant working party made available to the writer, will involve performance assessment, of which an "appraisal discussion" will form part. [1]

The Report notes that :

> "Nationally there is an increasing emphasis on induction and in-service training, and teachers are coming to expect a properly structured career with expert guidance at all stages." (p.1)

While noting that career development (through appraisal) is not the same as promotion, the Report (ibid.) notes that an appraisal system is only likely to win the support of teachers if it is seen to be part of a procedure which may lead to promotion. The object of the "appraisal discussion" would be "to enhance the

[1] Footnote : The writer records with appreciation the receipt, from a private source, of the material pertaining to a career development scheme proposed by the Inner London Education Authority.

teacher's performance by identifying his strengths and weaknesses and arriving at a mutually-agreed course of action aimed at improvement and development".(p.2, op.cit.) The discussion would take place between a teacher and a senior colleague, be adapted to the situation and persons concerned, and set out to achieve specific purposes through a face-to-face two-way process of communication. In a supporting document appended to the Report, the Education Authority points out that

> "..... it is clear that there cannot be any infallible advice which could serve as a guideline for every interview. Management requires judgement and it is the manager's responsibility to adapt the process of the interview to achieve its purpose."
> (GLC/ILEA internal document)

More detailed reference will be made in chapter four to the appraisal scheme planned by the Inner London Education Authority ; suffice it to say, at the present time, that personnel appraisal and resulting improvement is accepted as a necessary aspect of management and in the present context, of the management of schools. The role of the teacher-supervisor is of key importance.

Performance appraisal, linked with increased salaries for the more competent, is a topic central to this dissertation and one which is currently enjoying attention in England. Sir Keith Joseph, as the Secretary of State for Education there, was late in 1981 reported to have observed to the National Association of Schoolmasters that

> "It must be right to devise a management system which encourages the best teachers to stay on and which rewards leadership and responsibility."
> (as reported in The Times Educational Supplement)

Referring to moves to link a pay structure for teachers with assessed merit, Sir Keith expressed approval for such moves but warned that

> "To pay above average salaries to our best teachers presupposes that we have or can develop ways of identifying them.
>
> "And to speak of rewarding responsibilities presumes a clear perception of what should be expected of any teacher and what should be regarded as constituting a higher level of professional responsibility." (idem)

These words draw attention to the immensely complex task involved in specifying the meaning of "good teaching", and ignore the possible backwash of teacher resentment as pinpointed by Wragg when addressing the same conference : he stressed it would be difficult to identify the best teachers.

> "Professor Wragg added that it could be argued the price of such a scheme would be 'that jealousy and hostility in the staff room would increase at the very time when personal and professional relationships are crucial. 'Teachers must decide whether the price is worth paying,' he added." (The Times Educational Supplement, 1.1.82).

It is clear that politicians and educationists view the same topic in different lights!

In the late 1950s McGregor was highly critical of many of the then current individual incentive plans which were based on the assumption that "people want money, and that they will work harder to get more of it" (1960, p.9). He outlined the importance of higher behavioural needs and demonstrated that antagonism of workers towards incentive schemes usually led to tighter supervision by management. Appraisal programmes which were designed to test the performance of a subordinate against a job description and to provide more systematic control of the subordinate's behaviour by management, were in his view based on a faulty premise.

Industrial psychologists such as Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959) had seen financial rewards as part of a group of needs including good working conditions and fair treatment by management. According to their findings the fulfilment of these needs merely led to "the prevention of dissatisfaction and poor job performance" (p.115), but did not "motivate the individual to high levels of job satisfaction and ... to extra performance on the job" (ibid. p.114) .

Incentive plans, methods of personnel evaluation and worker satisfaction (particularly in teaching) are all inevitably linked with the systems of supervision involved, and it is to a consideration of these that the writer now turns.

6. Supervision as part of management in teaching : implications for the assessment of competence.

The supervisory aspect of management in education has received considerable attention in the literature in recent years. The well-known "Organization in Schools" series of publications (published by Heinemann under the general editorship of Marland) has as its underlying purpose "to help schools use the freedom that there is in the devolved British system of education, and to create and develop schools in which the organization assists the educational experience" (from the Foreword to John, 1980). Harris (1975) sees teaching, management, supervision and administration as all inter-related in terms of the fact that they are directed at learning outcomes :

> "Supervision is what school personnel do ..... to maintain or change the instructional operation of the school in order to facilitate the learning tasks." (p.24)

Implicit in this comment is that supervision (including supervision of teacher competence) leads to improvement. Harris sees improved

communications between supervisory personnel and other teachers, and a move from purely subjective response to a more structured kind of teacher evaluation, as basically necessary in the school system.

Bloomer (1980) reports on workshops set up through the University of Southampton, to investigate what sort of functions a (subject) head of department should have, and how these functions should be carried out. The workshops concluded that such a person should display a democratic leadership style (i.e. involving staff in decision-making), and that one of the many roles he or she needed to perform was the evaluation of staff, which according to Bloomer's article,

> "..... should be unobtrusive and rarely involve formal 'sitting-in' on lessons. The head of department can have informal, routine, one-to-one discussions with staff about their work .." (p.91)

The workshops produced a check-list of nineteen specific tasks which it was felt a head of department should perform (pp.95-6) : none of the tasks makes specific mention of the assessment of teacher competence, but all imply that through promoting communication, co-operation and innovation, the head of department would ensure the maintenance of acceptable standards. As a manager, he would "recognise that his major function is to promote a situation in which staff and pupils approach as closely as possible their full potentials in teaching and learning" (p.95). This clearly implies adequate supervision.

Evaluation seems to be an inevitable part of supervision, and in the context of the school the evaluation of teachers may rouse many emotions. Getzels et al (1968) remind us that "Few issues in education are more explosive than the evaluation of teaching and of teachers " (p.332). They go on to suggest that in planning any system of evaluation, certain key points should be borne in

mind : for example, aims need to be clarified and the role expectations of teachers made explicit, so that when evaluation occurs it is not seen as merely the outcome of personal whim on the part of the evaluator. In defining teacher effectiveness as the congruence of actual behaviour and expectations, Getzels et al point out that the expectations are, at times, not clearly stated :

> "Often criterion statements have been unavailable or have been kept at such a level of generality that raters and rated have perceived their meaning differently. In the appraisal of work performance, organizations need to make explicit the expectations held for staff members." (p.337)

The implication is that the same behaviour may be assessed as differently effective if evaluators have different expectations, so it seems clear that such expectations need to be made explicit and the standards of judgment known : a task for the management of the organization.

In arriving at the standards of judgment, the supervisors would be advised to take into account the views of those who are to be evaluated. Davies (1974) notes that in terms of the relationships between teachers and their superiors,

> "there is almost always a tension produced by the bureaucratic urge for clearly demonstrated criteria of 'successful' performance and hence justifiable resource utilization, on the one hand, and the claim of the teacher to judge the appropriateness of technique, content, and evaluatory methods as a 'professional', on the other." (p.275)

Joint agreement on criteria of successful teaching would appear to be another task of management in education, even if the solution rests on allowing teachers to observe their peers at work, a privilege usually lacking in schools. Cohen (1973) reminds us that

> "There are few opportunities for teachers to earn professional respect from other teachers on the basis of proven skill in teaching or skill in planning and evaluation within a collaborative teacher group." (p.333)

Hunt (1981) notes that appraisal schemes are among the most controversial of the personnel or supervisory manager's procedures but that, despite the inherent difficulties, feedback arising from personnel evaluation can improve performance given certain conditions. These include (p. 165) an absence of documentation where possible, the joint setting of objectives by managers and subordinates, and the offering of criticism in a friendly rather than aggressive way - all in the context of honesty :

> "We should tell people openly what the chances for them are in the organization, rather than perpetuate the myth that everyone will be managing director one day". (p.165)

Hunt's quest for minimal documentation is ideal rather than practical, and he admits that the realities of organization management "force documentation upon us" (idem). He goes on to suggest ways of coping with this, suggesting also that

> "..... groups should be encouraged to use the team critique methods of team building to assess the performance of the team. Or, in other words, attempt to make the appraisal more like that which exists in a family - not a once-a-year activity, but a continuing process related to the objectives important at the time. In small organizations, this is how appraisal is handled." (pp.165/6)

John (1980) agrees that as the unit of evaluation diminishes in size (for example, from a whole school to an individual teacher) the need for openness and trust increases. He suggests that an individual teacher is more likely to co-operate in evaluation by others if he knows or initiates the criteria to be used, if the

assessment is factual rather than emotive, and if he knows that the data assembled will not be disclosed to others. John's suggestions imply active participation by a teacher (or other subordinate in an organization) in the process of evaluation - an interesting possibility but something unusual in the evaluation of teachers and certainly unprovided for in South Africa. John's later ideas may appear even more radical to us :

> "When classroom performance is being evaluated, pupil opinion might be sought when conditions are favourable ... identification by pupils of which (listed) procedures used by the teacher they find most helpful to their learning and which least helpful may furnish the teacher with valuable guidance for future lesson planning..." (p.165).

As will be shown in the next chapter, the use of pupil opinion in teacher evaluation is considered perfectly acceptable in some areas of the United States of America.

There seems general agreement that in any organization, one of the tasks of a supervisor is the development and improvement of subordinates, inter alia, through the process of evaluation. In the school situation, the implication is that the principal or departmental head uses evaluation not as a threat or a means to alienation, but as a valuable aid in improvement of staff function. Evaluation per se is necessarily part of any organization intent on self-preservation and Harlen (1978) stresses that it is particularly necessary at points of decision-making. He states (p.ix) that the purpose of his own text is "to discuss how evaluation can assist in taking decisions about the organization, methods and content of work in schools." Shipman (1979) believes that evaluation of all aspects of a school should be part of an ongoing process, and that there should be constant discussion of objectives, collection and dissemination of data about the school and its members, comparisons between the school and others, and peer evaluation by teachers (p.167).

In terms, specifically, of the evaluation of teacher competence, certain recent developments have stressed the role of such evaluation in professional development. The Teacher Assessment Project of the College of Education, University of Georgia, was primarily set up to design instruments for the measurement of competence in basic skills, but the same instruments (according to their designers) can be used for in-service teacher improvement :

> "In anticipation of the assessment, the teacher prepares a portfolio containing plans for teaching an instructional unit or set of lessons ..... The assessment period can be as long as three weeks." (Johnson et al, 1980, p.11)

A team of assessors studies the teaching material, discusses it with the teacher, engages in some direct observation (particularly of interpersonal skills) and interviews colleagues and the teacher himself in terms of "professional standards" (total contribution to the school). Questionnaires may also be issued to pupils. The results of the various kinds of assessment lead to the establishment of improvement objectives, and "Teachers, with the assistance of the staff development personnel, engage in activities designed to provide an improved conceptual understanding and use of target skills in the classroom" (ibid., p.13). The Teacher Assessment Project of the University of Georgia, which will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter, has involved thousands of teachers over at least four years and offers exciting new perspectives on the whole matter of teacher assessment.

Parsons (1979) sums up the task of a supervisor in terms of the professional development of subordinates, as follows :

> "..... clarification of job content ; secondly, the establishment of standards of excellence of performance for professional workers ; thirdly, clear formulation of objectives, fourthly,the implementation of an action programme ; and fifthly, an assessment of what is being done for the purpose of formulation of future plans." (p.5)

According to Parsons, a proponent of the "personal and institutional growth" style of supervision and evaluation, the supervisor's tasks include encouragement of professionals to question accepted routines. In so doing, the supervisor needs to provide an enabling environment, avoid bureaucratic standardization and provide professional leadership, so that

> "Professionals, through the process of supervision and evaluation, (will) endeavour to effectively and efficiently meet the goals of the organization." (p.11, ibid.)

Farquhar (1978) in a paper which analyses the many problems and difficulties associated with the evaluation of teachers, notes that dissatisfaction is largely due to the failure of research to provide a shared definition of effectiveness in teaching, let alone an absence of a universally supported measuring instrument. He proposes for consideration an alternative system, where supervisor (principal or department head) and teacher jointly set objectives and jointly engage in the teaching activity. Thereafter, "the supervisor and teacher together make comparisons between the anticipated and actual outcomes" (p.9) and as a team seek to make improvements. Such a system could possibly side-step the major weaknesses in typical efforts at teacher evaluation but as Farquhar points out, "it would require a major commitment by the organization to instructional improvement, particularly in the form of time and talent on the part of the supervisor ...." (ibid., p.10)

Noting that assessment procedures are often feared or distrusted by teachers, Hatfield and Ralston (1978) propose that an emphasis should be placed on "professional development with teacher assessment an integral part of the developmental process which encompasses the total career of a teacher" (p.2). They define professional development as

> "Personal growth, through internal and external assessment, for the lifelong pursuit of excellence in a given field of professional expertise as reflected in the achievement of personal, client and institutional goals." (idem)

The approach proposed by these writers places the responsibility for professional development firmly on the shoulders of those in supervisory positions, and provides that such persons should use assessment of subordinates as a means towards the latter's total personal improvement.

A similar approach is taken by Redfern and Hersey (1980)who propose an alternative to "inspectoral"-type assessment. Their basic premise is that continuing improvement in performance should be the prime commitment of all professionals. The writers feel that "both the evaluator and the evaluatee have an investment in the outcome of (their) efforts" (p.1) and they recommend joint establishment and discussion of goals which, in the light of experience, may be re-defined. As school principals, these writers voice current moves (in the United States) which stress a more participatory style of teacher assessment and a strong focus on staff development as the outcome of evaluation. Such moves will be referred to again in the next chapter, which involves a survey of literature on the topic of teacher effectiveness and implications for the evaluation thereof.

7. Summary and conclusions

7.1 Administration in Western democracies tends towards being seen as the civilization of power. Political and management decisions are translated into action which takes consideration of the people involved in an organization. A human relations or human resources model of man has become paramount in management, but

the controlling or evaluation of staff members with a concomitant need for feedback, is seen as a key concept in management.

7.2 Complex organizations tend to be bureaucratic in nature and over-centralized with an hierarchical system of authority. Moves to improve human interaction in organizations have followed studies by behaviourists who have emphasized human needs at variance with "classical" theories. Administration, which has been seen to be a similar process in all organizations, is now generally being carried out on democratic principles.

7.3 Schools are acknowledged to be particularly complex organizations, although the study of schools as organizations has not revealed definitive findings. Conflicts are inherent between the position of teachers as professionals within bureaucratic organizations, and within schools as organizations which offer opportunities for participatory management and autocratic rule. A professional model of the school as an organization seems to be more acceptable than an industrial model : with teachers being used in collective decision-making as part of a democratization of management which shifts emphasis from hierarchical power to collegial power.

7.4 The importance of more local control in education in the RSA was a cornerstone of the HSRC (1981) Report, and is echoed in the literature which stresses that local responsibility leads to more effective management because it demands greater responsibility for decisions.

7.5 Implications for schools of central concepts in the literature on management : planning, organizing, co-ordination, motivation and controlling - have been

recognized by education authorities in the RSA who have run courses for school management staff. Controlling which has an evaluatory function, has been seen to include two factors : checking to ensure that performance is what is wanted and that results are satisfying, and the professional development of staff. In England recent pronouncements agree on the need for heads to be taught skills of an interpersonal and group nature as well as evaluation techniques. In the USA and the United Kingdom, the indications are that heads should be trained in similar ways to chief executives in industry, for all such persons are ultimately concerned with the management of people.

7.6 Appraisal of staff is seen as a primary responsibility of a manager. How it is to be done has caused much debate in the literature. The I.L.E.A. appraisal system for teachers has been structured about an aim of "personal improvement" and includes self-appraisal, follow-up, and interviews before and after lesson observations. But like most performance appraisal schemes it has two objectives : evaluation and development, and numerous authorities have indicated that negative criticism and promises of financial reward do not aid staff development.

7.7 McGregor (1960) declared that job appraisal could not become too refined because of prejudice, bias, and the influence of how a person is managed. He thought human performance could be established as only outstandingly good, satisfactory and unsatisfactory. Pansegrouw (1982) agrees that most rating forms are unscientific and that there is unthinking usage of them in many organizations.

7.8 Political moves in the United Kingdom towards financial reward for "good" teachers have been criticized on the grounds of no instruments of evaluation being acceptable, and because of the hostility and jealousy that would develop in staffrooms. The introduction of a teacher reward system in the RSA has had just this reaction from teachers. McGregor's claims about the impossibility of refining the assessment of human beings and the worthlessness of financial incentive schemes based on assessment, have not been refuted in the literature. Herzberg and others have demonstrated that financial rewards do not necessarily lead to job satisfaction or extra performance.

7.9 Performance appraisal schemes for teachers should be focussed on teaching and learning and not on outcomes ; be co-operative and goal-centred ; allow for discussion interviews before and after performance ; follow a purposeful plan of action ; and be open - according to Redfern and Hersey.

7.10 Harris claims that supervision leads to improvement and pleads for a more structured kind of teacher assessment. Bloomer, Getzels, Davies, John and other writers regard various factors as vital to the supervision of teachers :

- a democratic leadership style
- openness and trust in relationship
- clarification of teaching aims, with role expectations made explicit : a joint setting of objectives
- criteria of assessment being either jointly agreed, or made known to teachers
- factual assessment
- friendly criticism

- development and improvement being the basis of assessment : no threats or suggestions of alienation
- the views of the teacher, as a professional, being taken into account
- data not to be revealed to others
- little documentation
- assessment as a continuous process, not once a year
- improvement objectives to be drawn up.

Although the use of pupil opinion and team critique methods were supported by only some writers, agreement was obvious on major premises that professional growth is the responsibility of a supervisor, that the style of supervision should be participatory, that there should be a major commitment by schools to the improvement of teachers, and that no universally supported measuring instrument has been developed.

7.11 The conclusions of and inferences from the various sources cited in this chapter all have broad significance in moving towards a consideration of the policy and practice of teacher assessment in the Republic of South Africa, with specific reference to Natal. Such significance will become clear as this work proceeds.

CHAPTER THREE

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF "GOOD TEACHING"

1. Introduction

This chapter will review some of the many statements about effective teaching, in an attempt to draw attention to the formidable task facing anyone attempting to specify criteria of effectiveness in teaching, let alone presuming to carry out judgments in terms of these. Because of the vast range of possible sources, selection of references is unavoidably personal - and certainly no claim can be made to exhaustiveness. The survey of the literature on the topic of "good teaching" will focus on the views of some contemporary writers. The chapter will conclude with reference to some of the current concern for the improvement of teacher performance through evaluative and supervisory techniques, and is meant to serve as background to the ensuing two chapters in which specific examples of policy and practice in teacher evaluation will be considered.

2. "Good Teaching": dependent on prevailing aims and ēthos?

Socrates, one of the earliest and greatest Western teachers, anticipated much contemporary educational thinking by seeking to activate his pupil's reasoning powers through discussion, so that what was latent became apparent. The same approach underlay Plato's image of humans as prisoners in a cave, seeing only shadows rather than reality until led towards the latter. Both these philosophers saw learning as a process of individual realization, rather than the result of imprinting by a teacher. Clear though their message was, education in the West was doomed to pass through centuries of misdirected theory and it is clear that good or effective teaching has often been judged in terms of prevailing educational aims as decided in different societies, rather than on the development of the individual child.

Because the nature of schools and of teachers is so largely influenced by the society of which they are a part, it is inevitable that the evaluation of teaching should take account of the context in which the

teaching occurs. For Mr Gradgrind (in Dickens's Hard Times, 1854), an industrial model of teaching - stressing productivity in the form of easily testable "knowledge" - was quite acceptable, for his pupils were by and large concerned with the need to acquire those basic skills which would equip them for employment. With his stress on "facts", Gradgrind exemplified the notorious "monitorial system" developed in England by Bell and Lancaster. The system provided for the teacher to instruct a select group of pupils, who would then (as monitors) go on to teach other pupils. The system was

> "a travesty of education, reducing understanding to rote learning, processing children like so much raw material ..... But it worked: it could mass-produce low-level clerks and semi-skilled operatives."
>
> (Watts, 1974, pp. 49-50)

The idea of industrial efficiency did, in such circumstances, become equated with "good teaching" because short-term objectives were (superficially at least) attained; the system should serve as a warning to any who set out to judge teacher competence only in terms of results.

Broader-minded thinkers in the nineteenth century were, however, concerned with improving the educational system through a re-examination of its concerns. An important but rarely-cited contributor was Leo Tolstoy, who in 1861 founded an experimental school for peasant children on his estate, and later on an educational magazine in which he expounded his views. For Tolstoy, there was no commitment to prevailing educational theory and no undue concern even for ultimate aims. Rather, the pupil was seen as the central element, and the purpose of education was generated from the educational process itself: increased awareness, choice and understanding. Archambault, in his introduction to Tolstoy's writings on education (1967) sees him, though chronologically about mid-way between Rousseau and Dewey, almost as radical as A.S. Neill:

> "It is by now a cliché that Rousseau was one of the first to see pupils as children rather than diminutive adults. But, for Rousseau, the process of educating was still a subtle one of moulding a child.....Tolstoy saw education as striving to maintain and enrich the child's original spirit." (p. xiii)

The idea of education as a process of socializing a child into an already-existing culture was one of the basic assumptions which Tolstoy rejected:

> "The so-called science of pedagogy is interested only in education, and looks upon a man receiving his culture as being entirely subject to the educator ..... The whole external world is allowed to act upon the pupil only to the extent to which the educator finds it convenient."
> (Tolstoy, 1967, p. 107)

Such words, of twelve decades ago, attain an ironic significance when one recalls that in present-day times in the country of Tolstoy's birth, the teacher is definitely regarded as an agent of socialization. Grant (1979) quotes the twenty standard "Rules for Pupils" in the U.S.S.R. and notes:

> "Not only are the children supposed to know what they are, but also why they are made ... (and if a rule is broken) why they should have observed it." (p. 55-6)

The twenty rules (pp. 56-7) set a standard of behaviour and attitudes: the Soviet school "takes moral education very seriously indeed." (idem)

Closer to home, the need for the school to exert a moulding influence, and the conception of the teacher as a guide towards acceptable adulthood, finds expression in the writings of some South African educationists; Cilliers (1975) notes that

> "The immature adult, put particularly the immature child is compelled to turn in good faith for guidance to the one who seems to be an authority on the norms and truths of right-living ....." (p. 26)

Cilliers asserts that the learner craves direction, and an indication of society's expectations - an immense task, for the teacher must (he feels)

> "assist the educand to know .... what is right and what is wrong, and hence what is good and what is evil.... The educand (must) be convinced that what is right is better then what is wrong." (ibid., p. 82)

While, in the broad term, few would contest the basic moral responsibility of the teacher, the form which such responsibility takes and the implications it has for teaching method and teacher image are indeed relevant in any discussion of what makes for effective teaching. The school in any society is an organization which exemplifies the norms or appropriate attributes of the society, so that the definition of effective or even competent teaching is inevitably connected with what the society (or at least the power group within it) considers appropriate. By deduction, there can be few universally acceptable criteria of effective teaching apart from what may be expressed in very general terms.

It seems, however, necessary for particular systems of education to set about deciding what is or what is not acceptable behaviour in a teacher, and what makes for effective teaching within a particular system. In Scotland, the General Teaching Council acts as a watchdog on qualifications and misdemeanours, while in South Africa a body with broadly similar functions (but to date more closely associated with the governing authorities), the South African Teachers' Council for Whites, expresses appropriate norms in a Code of Conduct which all White teachers must by law accept and which decrees, inter alia, that a teacher

> "accepts character development as part of the task of education and promotes the highest moral standards by word and example" (Section 3.3) and
> "practices (sic) his calling in an awareness that education in this country is founded on the Bible" (section 3.1).
>
> (South African Teachers' Council for Whites, 1979, pp22-3

In South Africa, breaches of the Code of Conduct as established by Act 116 of 1976 may lead to a registered teacher being struck off the roll and thus prevented from practising. While legislation such as this is not very common in the world as a whole, it seems that pressure (both formal and informal) may often be brought to bear on teachers to require them to conform to accepted norms. "Good teaching" can presumably only be expected to occur within the parameters of such norms. It appears that besides the effect of a society as a whole, the ēthos of a particular school (and the teacher's own background in relation to that ēthos) can contribute towards

the definition of "good teaching" - once again, a warning against generalization. Farley (1960) described the particular kind of approach then considered necessary in secondary modern schools in socially depressed areas - an approach verging on total repression. Grace (1972) found that graduate teachers with grammar-school backgrounds, who worked in secondary modern schools, had a greater sense of conflict than any other teachers. A.S. Neill, known for his rather extremist views and freedom in pupil control, summed up the point as follows:

> "When lessons are not compulsory you should be a very good teacher if you are to have any pupils attending your classes... It would be almost impossible to teach in Summerhill if one had dignity, worse still if one had no sense of humour. I have more than once written that my test for a teacher is the question: Can a kid call you a bloody fool without any reaction on your part?" (1967, pp.72-3)

Schooling in South Africa has traditionally favoured firm pupil control by teachers and such control appears as a key factor in current provisions for the assessment of teacher competence. Particular schools, of course, may have different interpretations of the idea of pupil control.

Being in accord with the éthos of a school means being in accord with the norms of one's peer teachers, especially if feedback (even of an informal nature) from peers contributes to the assessment of a teacher. Watts (1974), describing his first days as a teacher, recalls that the staffroom "might have passed muster as an interrogation cell" (p. 29). Its untidiness and the coarse language of its inhabitants made for

> "good-humoured knockabout stuff and an exact indication of life in that school. Probably it was ideal training for below decks in the Merchant Navy, where indeed many of the boys made their way on leaving." (idem)

The kind of atmosphere described by Watts (above) suggests that a particular kind of teacher and of teaching would be appropriate. Apart from the atmosphere set in a school, however, the particular subject taught affects the definition of "good teaching". A publication edited by Spaventa (1980) adds to the thousands of texts on the teaching of

English, but in a more lively and exciting way than most. It stresses the value of drama, music and role-play in the English class. The competent teacher, by implication, is one who can utilize these resources so that pupils are motivated; but the problems posed by a requirement for teachers to be assessed are obvious: does one examine the singer or the song? In an earlier text on the teaching of English, Fowler (1965) presents a synthesis of "a philosophy of what good teaching of English should be" (p. viii), drawing on the views of both teachers and students. Referring to social change and the "phenomenon of instantaneous communication", Fowler notes the additional demands placed on the teacher. Team teaching, the media, and the greater versatility required in contemporary society combine to make even a definition of good teaching rather tenuous, let alone a judgment of it. Fowler envisages a teacher with

> "adequate background in language and literature, knowledge of the science and art of teaching these subjects, a knowledge of adolescents ... and a dedication to humanistic values." (idem)

Such a description is somewhat humbling, and attempting to prescribe standards of effectiveness in the light of it seems presumptious. The criteria for effectiveness in teaching would presumably vary according to the age and ability of the pupils taught, in the same way as they vary according to the subject taught, the expectations of society and the ēthos of the school: meaning, in sum, that any attempt to define effectiveness in teaching is fraught with complications.

In the foreword to an exciting text which sets out to describe and analyse only a selection of teaching styles (Joyce and Weil, 1980) Schaefer warns that there are no ready solutions to the question of what "good teaching" actually means, for

> "... there is no royal freeway to pedagogical success, no painless solution to complex instructional problems, and no future in our persistent effort to describe 'best teaching practice'." (p. xix)

The text presents "families" of approaches in teaching and the message of the authors is that in asking the meaning of "good teaching", one should ask "good for what?" - a reminder of the importance of prevailing goals,

whether long-term or short-term. Whether a teacher is concerned with cognitive growth, counselling, training awareness or reducing anxiety (to mention some of the topics investigated by Joyce and Weil, op. cit.), the approaches, methods and styles will be different. Bearing in mind all the variables, it is clear that the rating of teacher competence must therefore be problematic. No one could know all the answers, and

> "what is needed is a proper recognition of our ignorance, - combined with acceptance of the stance that we have many reasonable bases to use for present action... So many approaches are available that the likelihood that any one of us has opened the way to all the truth is ridiculously unlikely." (p.487, ibid.)

Having mentioned some of the constraints on any definition of "good teaching", the writer now moves on to a review of some definitions or explanations which have been attempted.

3. Statements about "good teaching"

In 1969 Postman and Weingartner caused concern by suggesting that schools did little more than re-inforce traditional ideas. Their call for teaching to be "subversive" of prejudice and to encourage critical thought remains challenging, though one is reminded that innovation by any individual teacher is difficult. In a highly centralized system especially, "good teaching" may mean conforming to rules.

The question of what makes for effective teaching has been the topic of much descriptive research and literature. Bond (1972) notes that any answer to the question depends on prior agreement on the goals of teaching and suggests that while a distinction of approaches in teaching may be valuable (e.g. by Joyce and Weil, op. cit.), strategies and guidelines for method are no guarantee of actual success:

> "A poor teacher might well be defined as one who knew all the rules, did all the right things, taught the correct materials, but was never anywhere near being completely successful." (p.74)

In terms of Bond's conclusions, a good teacher is one who knows the rules for success, and can apply them; who carries out his enterprise "in harmon

with the rest of the school" (p. 75); who can adapt his style to achieve his desired objectives; who has imaginativeness and "is not a plodding, purely rule-following teacher"(p. 81); who has a thorough knowledge of his subject; who is a person of principle and integrity and who "must be truthful, honest, fair and respect other people" (p. 85). Bond's overall conclusion is that technical expertise alone, will not do: the teacher is far more than an artisan. The good teacher, he stresses, is above mere rationality; he "must intend to bring about desirable changes in his pupils by morally unobjectionable means" (p. 84), and clearly needs to be an adaptable individual. It is clear that Bond's ideal teacher, intent on "desirable changes" and on bringing about "what is worthwhile" would be rejected from a Marxian standpoint, but the ideal is reminiscent of what is expected of a teacher in South Africa, in terms of "standards" and moral responsibility. It is clear from Bond's findings that the assessment of a teacher meeds to take into account what he is teaching and to whom - there are no absolutes of judgement.

Hunter (1972) set out to ascertain the views of teachers on what constituted good teaching. His respondents included tutors, school principals and student teachers, and an overall conclusion was confirmation of the view of Biddle (1964) - that how to define or measure teacher competence is simply not known. Hunter shows that the assessment of competence is difficult because the interaction between teacher and pupil is a personal and highly complex matter: rating scales ignore the "complexity and spontaneity involved in a real classroom situation" (p. 10). Likewise, personality traits in teachers are "not easily subject to analysis and measurement" (p. 13), and the criteria for competence cannot be universally applicable. Hunter shows that the complexity of abilities required in modern teaching mean that any generalization is dangerous, and that the complexity of teacher roles makes difficult any analysis of teacher role performance. The objectives of education in any particular society will obviously shape the roles expected of teachers:

> "... the good teacher is likely to command a variety of skills appropriate to the forms of those tasks most likely to be met in the particular school setting." (p. 20)

Hunter's summary of a "good teacher" draws together many important points and the following quotation, though lengthy, illustrates this:

> "... he first needs to be aware of the nature of his objectives and to have a clear idea of what he is seeking to achieve. Secondly, he must be equipped intellectually, emotionally and socially to achieve these acknowledged aims and objectives. Thirdly, he must possess certain practical skills and a body of knowledge related to methods of instruction. Fourthly, he must bear in mind a body of theoretical knowledge drawn from a study of Educational Theory concerning factors most likely to influence success or failure." (p. 20)

In the light of such demands, the assessment of teacher competence is clearly difficult. Recent developments, for example the Teacher Education Project in England, have set out to consider how the qualities considered desirable in a teacher can be engendered through training. Financed by the state, the Project has set up working groups at various universities and has led to publications (e.g. Kerry and Sands 1982) of interest to practising teachers as well as to persons responsible for teacher education. It seems that research into improving the effectiveness of teaching is vital if there is to be any general consensus on "good teaching"and its assessment.

In describing the immensely complex nature of the teaching situation, Hargreaves (1972) gives the lie to claims that it may be easily analysed. So much depends on how teachers and pupils "define the situation", how they agree on a basis for interaction and how they communicate, that generalization is not profitable. The social class of the participants, pupils' friendship choices, and the extent to which a teacher assumes dominance in a particular school or class are some of the many factors which affect relationships in teaching: and most important, Hargreaves notes, is that the very structure and approval-based nature of the typical classroom limits the development of fully open relationships. Hargreaves suggests that

> "Perhaps a more adequate analysis of classroom relationships will permit many more teachers to undertake the adventurous experiments intuitively pioneered by the few." (p. 218)

Dunkin and Biddle (1974) note that direct research on teaching is a young science, and they plead for its expansion and co-ordination:

> "Scores of instruments have been used for observing classroom events, along with literally hundreds of different concepts... Research on teaching to date raises more questions than it provides answers." (p. viii)

While almost any method textbook directed at teachers (e.g. Rettig and Paulson, 1975) offers homely advice on such generalities as providing for individual differences, maintaining appropriate pupil control, ensuring adequate preparation of material and using a pleasant tone of voice, it is true that the statements made tend to rest on anecdote or assertion rather than on empirical evidence.

How a classroom situation actually gains meaning for its participants, how some teachers and methods succeed in some circumstances and not in others, are complex issues beyond the scope of this dissertation and ultimately linked with a phenomenological understanding of the teacher-pupil situation. That situation, in turn, is defined by social, political and other issues beyond the control of the individual teacher. The very range of such factors possibly accounts for the mass of literature on teacher effectiveness: for example, a computer search on behalf of the present writer through the Educational Resources Information Centre in September 1981 revealed the existence of 17 262 references published since 1966. As long ago as 1953, the literature on the topic was considered inconclusive by the Committee on Criteria of Teacher Effectiveness of the American Educational Research Association, which after reviewing 40 years of research noted that

> "... one can point to few outcomes that a superintendent of schools can safely employ in hiring a teacher or granting him tenure, that an agency can employ in certifying teachers, or that a teacher-education faculty can employ..."
> (as quoted by Dunkin and Biddle, op. cit., p. 13)

In succeeding decades, studies of classrooms have focussed more clearly on processes of teacher-pupil interaction, and observation of classroom behaviour has become more systematic. In the collection edited by Stubbs and Delamont (1976) a range of authors present the fruits of their classroom-based research, including studies of interaction among pupils and the role of classroom talk. These studies tend to adopt "anthropological" stances and techniques such as participant observation, rather than the "interaction analysis" approach in which the behaviour of teachers and pupils is coded in the manner of Flanders (1970). The point at issue is that each classroom is so different, and each teacher's relationship patterns so complex, that any ready-made system of analysis or rating is fraught with danger.

The research reported by Stubbs and Delamont meets in part the complaint by Dunkin and Biddle (op. cit.), namely, that the literature on effective teaching has rested on ideologies and rhetoric rather than on evidence derived from empirical research. Typical ideologies have included the claim that teaching is an art not open to scientific analysis (Highet, 1951); and on the other extreme, that "performance criteria" can be specified for effective teaching, a belief which has contributed to the growth of "competency based teacher education" and an undue concern with measurable outcomes. Where there is central prescription for the assessment of teacher competence, the way is open for particular leanings or ideologies to predominate. Much depends, as already noted, on how a society views the role of a teacher.

Esland (1977) draws the distinction between "psychometric" and "phenomenological" paradigms in teaching. The latter paradigm implies a more open approach than the former, and "is likely to allow the pupil more control over structuring his own curriculum knowledge than is the case with the other paradigm" (p. 27). The teacher's role as provider of factual information is reduced, and the interests of the pupil assume heightened significance. It is, of course, easy to see how such an approach is "potentially disturbing in a system of schooling which is geared to psychometric assumptions and organization" (idem). South African high schools, with a stress on measurable

standards even among teachers, accord more with a psychometric paradigm, which clearly has specific expectations of teachers. In somewhat uncomplicated advice addressed to parents and teachers, Ginott (1972) advocates "congruent communication", by which is meant mutual awareness by teacher and pupil of the other's needs. Such communication, according to Ginott, underlies the activities of a successful teacher, who is "the decisive element in the classroom ... (possessing) tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous" (p. 15).

Successful interpersonal contact between teacher and pupil is recognised as an elemental characteristic of good teaching. Watts (1974, op. cit.) notes that the provision to pupils of opportunities for first-hand experience is a technique of the successful teacher who, with his pupils, will

> "bring things into school, the sorts of things that tend to upset tidy housewives and are therefore probably banned at home... And they will make untidy messes by seeing what happens when you turn a rat loose, or lubricate a crankshaft, or hatch out tadpoles..." (pp. 55-6)

Highet (1951) nominates the requirements of a good teacher as being knowledge of the subject; humour; an enjoyment of the subject and of young people; and being "a man or woman of exceptionally wide and lively intellectual interests.... (who must) see more, think more, and understand more than the average man or woman of the society in which they live" (p. 48). Highet goes on to say that a good memory, will-power and kindness are the three qualities (pp. 57-63) which are necessary in good teachers. It is easy to see why Highet, in an apparently simplistic analysis filled with anecdotes and solecisms, is a target for criticism by those who insist on more verifiable outcomes or checkable claims; his statements make no pretension to being anything other than a personal interpretation of the "art of teaching", something which he felt was akin to painting and composing and therefore not subject to scientific analysis. In this respect Gage (1964) notes that

> "Painting and composing, and even... friendly letter-writing, have inherent order and lawfulness that can be subjected to theoretical analysis... So it is with teaching. Although teaching requires artistry, it can be subjected to scientific scrutiny."
> (as quoted by Dunkin and Biddle, 1974, p. 18)

Gallagher (1970) goes as far to say that teaching is "too much of" an art and that its form requires more order, especially if truly artistic teaching is to be emulated:

> "Those interested in the improvement of education and teaching would like to remove some of the mystery of the art of effective teaching through systematic study." (quoted idem)

The heart of the argument about whether teaching is an art or a science hinges on the definition of these terms, particularly the latter. Presumably not even Highet would have opposed the need for systematic planning and an orderly approach. From such, suitable criteria could be logically derived; but the practical problem of how to assess teachers in terms of the criteria would not be overcome.

Mursell (first published in 1946) took inspiration for his pronouncements on successful teaching in the psychology of learning, which he linked with everyday classroom practice through specific principles: the need for appropriate context and for focus in learning; the facilitating of social relationships; individual activity; the need for developmental sequence so that the learner could be aware of progress; and the need for good evaluation to provide re-inforcement. Motivation, commonly cited as important in effective teaching, he saw as an outcome of these principles, rather than as an underlying principle itself. In defining successful teaching as that which "brings about effective learning" (p. 1) Mursell stressed results: but not the narrow accountability - fired results of contemporary writers:

> "... results that a learner can and does use freely, flexibly and confidently in his life are clearly far superior to those which he can produce only when he is given the right cue or asked the right question." (p. 2)

Like Highet's, Mursell's text is sprinkled with pieces of advice and statements which, at first sight, are very general: for example, he states that:

> "The business of successful teaching is to organize situations and activities in which learning will be as meaningful as possible." (p. 45)

In respect of each of the principles he identifies for successful teaching, Mursell provides a scale in terms of which appraisal may be carried out; for example, in appraising the principle of suitable social relationships, these levels of success are discerned (p. 153):

1. Social pattern characterized chiefly by submission. Function of the group is to respond to questions and directions from the teacher; imposed discipline.

2. Social pattern characterized typically by contribution: members of the group allowed and encouraged to volunteer suggestions, raise issues etc. Discipline still imposed, but sympathetic.

3. Social pattern characterized chiefly by co-operation: group function is to carry through a common undertaking in which all have a responsible share; self-generated discipline.

Mursell's provision of check-lists of criteria for each of his principles itself invites criticism, for the principles, criteria and levels for appraisal are all given only as "suggestions" rather than as the result of research; nevertheless, they exemplify common-sense judgements with which anyone experienced in teaching can in some way identify. In his final chapter, Mursell stresses that all the factors are inter-related in that they stem from the same trunk.

The effectiveness of teaching depends on its meaningfulness to the learner. Appraising teaching, Mursell points out, means that

> "... all the six principles are involved. In the same way they are the guide lines for good and intelligent planning. One cannot give thought to a few aspects of the situation and ignore the rest without coming out with a misleading appraisal, or an unbalanced and disappointing plan." (p. 289)

The implication here is for a necessary unity in the act of teaching and in its appraisal: one is reminded that whatever sub-sections of teaching may be identified, the overall or"global" synthesized effect is of primary importance. Herein, it seems, lies the greatest value of Mursell's work: good teaching is shown to be more than just the sum of its component parts. By corollary, the judgement of teaching cannot be merely concerned with an analytic rating of separate aspects.

Verbal interaction seems fundamental to teaching and has been an area of considerable concern in the literature over about the last twenty years. The importance of classroom talk and language has been the focus of descriptive studies, for example by Barnes et al (1971), and of intense classroom observation, for example as decribed by Flanders (1970). Amidon and Hunter (1967) acknowledge the great influence of Flanders on their work, which shows teaching to be an interactive process primarily centred on talk and including specific activities named as motivating, planning, informing, leading discussion, disciplining, counselling and evaluating. Each activity (whether initiated by teacher or pupil) implies a different type of talk, classified by the writers according to a Verbal Interaction Category System. Although such systems of classification have been criticised for being too rigid, it is patent that talk is a most important feature of any teaching situation - if only because it occupies so much of a typical lesson! For that reason, it seems that a better understanding of the nature of classroom talk could lead to better teaching. Whether the route to such understanding lies in analysis at three-second intervals (after Amidon and Hunter), or in a broader overview of the classroom as a "verbal community" (Phillips et al, 1970), spoken interaction needs to be borne in mind when the quality of teaching is considered.

Kerry (1981) in an examination of problems associated with classroom discussions, gives simple but useful suggestions toward their solution. One such is the need for teachers consciously to manipulate their gestures and in general "the messages we give in words and with our faces" (p. 64). Good teaching clearly involves controlled audible and visible movement, and any assessment of teaching should presumably include reference to the quality and appropriateness of the teacher's spoken and body language.

In a chapter with the same title as Highet's text (op. cit.), Hughes and Hughes (1959) stress that a knowledge of how children learn is the first essential for success in teaching. Teachers, they say, are "subsidiary to the process of learning" (p. 354) and their main responsibility is to put the child's world and the world of school en rapport. This does not mean leaving the child to his own devices:

> "We must, however, know when to teach
> and when to stand aside, when to explain
> and when to leave children to make discoveries....
> When to require children to listen and when
> to give them scope for free expression." (ibid., p. 356)

The inference is that there can be no fixed rules for defining effective teaching - all depends on the particular context and circumstances. The individuality of teaching occurs, for example, in the interpretation of such basics as Herbart's steps in a lesson - and such individuality is difficult to measure. The result is that it is the more obvious aspects of teaching - for example the orderliness of a class - which attract the attention of an observer. Sloane (1976) notes that teachers who "inherit" disruptive classes or products of mismanaged teaching may themselves be judged ineffective, and he sets out to provide advice on this score.

Because of growing concern about the quality of teaching in some parts of the United States, partly linked with demands for accountability in education, several groups and institutions in that country have set up research projects or issued guidelines in connection with the idea of teacher competence. A publication (Bradley et al, 1980)

for the National IOTA Council (IOTA meaning Instrument for the Observation of Teaching Activities), a pressure-group concerned with the improvement of teacher competence, attempts to define competence in six broad areas. The document is the outcome of work by the California Teachers' Association and other bodies, and claims to present criteria which are refinements and adaptations of material proposed or agreed to by the organized teaching profession over thirty years.

In their introduction, the IOTA editors (mostly academics from Western American universities) note that "Agreement concerning the nature of teaching competence was at best nebulous until the present definition was developed" (p. ii). In identifying six areas of teacher behaviour, divided into approximately 160 activities, the document sets out to analyse "the total task of the teacher in a dynamic democratic society"(idem).

The broad areas of competence identified are:

Adequate direction and management of learning;
Understanding, through counselling and advising;
Successful mediation of the culture;
Working in and with the community;
Participating in the school as a whole;
Accepting responsibility for professional growth.

Within each of these areas, the document identifies sub-sections which its authors consider to be essential markers of success. Thus, under "successful mediation of the culture", seven sub-sections are named - for example helping pupils to accept the values of society, enhancing multi-cultural activities, and preparing pupils for participation in a world of change.

The catalogues of behaviours in the IOTA document are challenging, but the major problem of how teachers should be rated in terms of each of them is not answered. It is suggested (p. 19) that teachers should study the document "in order to test their personal perceptions of the 'whole teacher'." Likewise, it is suggested that all connected with a school (including parents) be familiarised with the qualities desirable in a good teacher. The aim of the compilers is not just to provide check-lists but

> "to assist school personnel to improve their instructional practice through voluntary, personal behavioral change in the direction of improved competence as described in The Role of the Teacher in Society." (p. 21)

It is likely that few of the qualities named in the IOTA document would be resisted by or be new to teachers, but actually having them listed could serve as a starting-point for discussion. An important aspect, too, is that the document is the product not of an "official" (employing) body but of members of the teaching profession itself.

The involvement of teachers themselves in deciding how teaching should be assessed seems to be of key importance in the acceptability of an assessment system. Farquhar (1978), in a paper on this topic, notes the failure of educational research to yield an adequately shared definition of teacher effectiveness, or adequate instrumentation for measuring such effectiveness, and cites failure in these regards as a reason for dissatisfaction among teachers. His paper will again be referred to in chapter four.

A recent and interesting development towards the accurate description of "good teaching" in the United States has been the Teacher Assessment Project of the College of Education, University of Georgia. This, after four years' research, has evolved five interesting "teacher performance assessment instruments" which draw attention to what the researchers have concluded to be the qualities of good teaching. Johnson et al (1980) have described the instruments, and have drawn attention to their uses and limitations. Four of the instruments are meant for use in both the initial certification and the later professional growth of teachers, while the fifth instrument (involving assessment by pupils) is reserved for the latter. The five aspects considered in the instruments are the planning of an instructional unit (e.g. part of a syllabus) and of appropriate materials or resources; actual methods and techniques used in the classroom; interpersonal skills displayed by the teacher (the management of interaction in the learning situation); the professional standards of the teacher in terms of his total contribution to the school; and the pupils' perceptions of the teacher's success. The method of assessment varies slightly with the concern of each instrument, and

methods include direct observation, prolonged discussion and completion of questionnaires. Each of the five instruments identifies specific "teaching skills" (in the first four instruments, 16 skills in all) and "indicators"(51 in all) which are rated according to given "descriptors". The provision of numerous lengthy lists may at first seem overwhelming, but the intention within the Project as a whole is to provide some reliable kind of structure for assessment. Teachers are assessed by two or more persons on each instrument and profiles are built up over a period of weeks or months. A minimum of one hour's discussion (preferably not on the same day) precedes any directly observed lesson, so that there is no "surprise factor". Identified weaknesses become guidelines for professional growth, rather than tests of minimal competency.

The limitations of the instruments reported by Johnson et al are fairly obvious : for example, they are chiefly concerned with actual skills and not with the wider ramifications of teaching as provided for in the IOTA approach. However, the instruments have been well researched and validated, and teachers were involved in their construction - a situation somewhat different from that prevailing, for example, in South Africa.

Gray (as published 1982) suggests that the problems of teacher evaluation can be prevented by the evaluations following "proper procedures". He suggests guidelines which he feels "will not only help in avoiding the pitfalls of a grievance hearing but should also bring the administrator closer to the goals of evaluation : increased student achievement and improved teacher performance" (p.36). His guidelines may be summarised as follows :

> Making teachers aware of the school system's expectations ;
> Informing teachers fully about the evaluation plan ;
> Informing teachers of what their problems are considered to be ;
> Developing a plan to correct deficiencies ;
> Providing adequate time to improve (3 to 6 months);
> Reviewing observation data with the teacher ;
> Returning written reports within a reasonable time ;

Remembering that "we are here for the students".

Gray's approach tends to be more conventional than that underlying the work of Johnson et al, and stresses the importance of procedural regularity.

Whatever approach finds favour would seem to depend on the existing characteristics of a school system and its administration. The important point seems to be that evaluations should be recognised as a necessary part of any system.

4. Implications for teacher education

Texts prepared for student teachers often provide insight into what societies expect of teachers and what kinds of behaviour are appropriate in effective teaching. Likewise, courses in teacher training institutions are presumably directed at a development towards recognised criteria of competence. McFarland (1973) draws attention to the basic requirements for clear objectives, "humanity" and motivation, and warns that much learning on the job is bound to occur, for immediate success is a rarity:

> "Teaching involves a great deal of marginal coping with new and complex situations, where even 'getting by' may be a minor triumph...".(p. 8)

The author goes on to stress that teaching is more than just objectives or technique:

> "It is partly a revelation of oneself and of others, a sophisticated exploration of intellect, personality, circumstance and social interaction".(p. 15)

In the light of these statements, the assessment of teaching competence beyond the minimal levels required for initial certification is once again shown to be very difficult.

Such South African texts as exist for student teachers tend to refer in broad terms to the generally acknowledged aspects of good teaching described in the previous section. Allsopp and Olivier (1955) draw attention to the need for careful planning, oral questioning, and other aspects of methodology. The writers see personality as

the key to success :

> "And in his personality, the ultimately decisive, the crucial factor, is his philosophy of life.... Yet it must not be supposed that there is anything approaching a standardised model of teacher-personality; things would be too incredibly dull for the children if there were! " (p. 171)

These words, written about 25 years before the introduction of "merit assessment" in South Africa (in which assessment of "personality" has caused strong adverse reaction in some quarters) seem worthy of emphasis.

Duminy (1969) sets out to provide a practical guide for teachers in training, but his orientation is within a particular tradition - pedagogy, he tells us,

> "... deals with the problems encountered in the guidance and assistance of a child on his way to adulthood..." (p. 4)

The text tends to be prescriptive and mechanistic, and to uphold a particular type of approach on the part of the teacher. Such definition of type in a textbook used by South African student teachers is important, for it contributes to the image of an "effective teacher" in this country: an image in terms of which the readers will be assessed during their careers.

A volume edited by Houston and Howsam (1972) presents a range of contributions suggesting the value of"competency-based" teacher education; the editors state proudly that

> "Learning goals or objectives can be made explicit by and for the learner. The individual then can pursue learning acitivities and can develop performance skills or competencies...." (p. 3)

This sounds very efficient, and would no doubt be suitable as an approach to training machine-minders - but if used in the training of teachers (as the text goes on to suggest) the results

could be far too impersonal. Shafer (1980) recalls that competency -based instruction "ignores what is to be taught and it also ignores who is to be taught" (p. 18) and appeals for a return to personal-growth education such as that described by Hart (1934) whose research concluded that the most important reasons for pupils liking a teacher were that he was helpful, cheerful, interested, commanding of respect, impartial and a master of the subject (as summarised by Shafer, op. cit. p. 19). One is, once again, reminded of the obvious difficulties involved in training human beings along these lines, or - on completion of training - of measuring competence along them.

Although the criteria used in judging the competency of experienced teachers are presumably more comprehensive than those used for initial certification, or at least require evidence of more development on the part of the teacher, it is of interest to note the aspects of practical teaching considered in some initial training courses. Stones and Morris (1972) did this with regard to postgraduate training in England and Wales. Fifty-one institutions submitted printed assessment schedules and fifteen sent in detailed lists of criteria used, the most frequently named ones relating to observed teaching skill, the existence of "desirable traits" in students, and evidence of "professional characteristics and behaviour". Actual definitions of such criteria would presumably depend on the particular tutors or departments concerned.

In South Africa there are no universally used criteria or norms for the initial certification of teachers, though minimum periods of teaching practice (and certain other requirements in the curriculum) are laid down. Teaching practice is assessed by tutors in terms of standards established within each training institution and in terms of criteria which vary although ultimately concerned with basic teaching skills. At the University of Natal, Durban, lessons are assessed under three broad headings: preparation, presentation, and general aspects; each heading has sub-divisions. Institutions generally require reports on student teachers from the schools in which they have practised, and those required by the University of Natal (and the Technikon Natal) ask for comment by supervising teachers on aspects such as general teaching

ability, professional attitudes, contact with pupils, and social qualities. Assessment during training, then, is fairly generalised and norm-referenced rather than in terms of specific points such as those developed by Johnson et al (op. cit., 1980).

It is reasonable to conclude that programmes of teacher education could profit through greater awareness of the means or criteria by which qualified teachers are evaluated in later years; likewise, evaluations by employers or others could profitably be built upon the kind of training undergone by the evaluatees. It would appear that the idea of "good teaching" and of its assessment needs to include teachers in training as well as those actually in schools, where in-service education should surely lead to improvements.

5. Teacher assessment and supervision as a means to growth

Whereas the traditional role of assessment in teaching has been to ensure or check on standards, there has in recent times been a growth of interest in the use of evaluation procedures as agents of professional growth. Some of the literature already cited (e.g. Johnson et al, 1980) has noted that evaluation can shed light for the teacher on areas which could be improved or developed. Other writers, who focus specifically on this role of assessment or evaluation, will now be considered.

Redfern and Hersey (1980) propose an alternative to "inspectorial" assessments. These writers' basic premise is that continuing improvement in performance should be the prime commitment of all professionals, and they suggest that ongoing evaluation can assist in this. The writers feel that those being assessed should have opportunity for input in the matter of criteria, and they suggest a three-step process towards professional growth. First, the current performance of a teacher should be established, largely as a result of repeated observations and discussions. Next, the ensuing discussions or interviews should have as an aim the establishing of commitments (to improve) on the part of the teachers. Finally, a schedule of "performance improvement commitments" should be drawn up so that a teacher knows exactly what he should do, how he should do it, and how well he is able to meet requirements.

Individual plans of action are seen to derive from the initial evaluations, and progress is monitored thereafter.

Redfern and Hersey feel that provision should be made for intensive support or assistance towards achieving the commitments agreed upon: the evaluator, then, is more than a counsellor - he provides practical assistance, and is seen as engaged in a helping relationship with the teacher. Described in the introduction as "a practical approach to evaluation", the system's provision for improvement and its reduced emphasis on written reports seems highly professional. The "post-observation conference" which the writers recommend finds parallels in some other systems of assessment, as will be indicated in chapter four. The system would, of course, require experienced and understanding supervisors for its successful implementation.

Parsons (1979) shares the views that through the evaluation of personnel such as teachers, improvement should come. He advocates the "personal and institutional growth" style of behaviour in assessment, and shows this to consist of specific stages which in some ways are reminiscent of those identified by Redfern and Hersey (op. cit.). The stages involve a clear establishment of objectives, and assistance to the teacher in using his talents. The teacher contributes to the identification of goals, and may critically appraise any controls on him. The advisory or counselling role of the evaluator is again to hand:

> "In evaluating professional performance it is necessary to provide an enabling environment so that both the individual may grow and the organization improve..." (p. 8)

Parsons stresses that evaluation through the "growth process" provides for the teacher's recognition of his own successes so that he is

> "...stimulated to even greater accomplishments and thus maintain(s) a continued high standard of efficiency." (p. 9)

The type of "growth process" envisaged requires a specific environment for successful nurture. It is clear that blocks exist in the effective

evaluation of most professional persons, who may see the process as a type of invasion. As in the approach advocated by Redfern and Hersey, particular supervisory styles would be necessary among heads of department or principals: these would include real empathetic understanding, avoidance of bureaucratic standardization, the provision of real professional leadership, and the realization that the underlying purpose of teacher education is to improve service to society rather than merely to improve efficiency in an organization. It is probable that the approach described by Parsons would be more likely to succeed in a locally-administered education system than in a centrally controlled one.

In a paper presented at the 1978 Convention of the Association of Teacher Educators in Michigan, Hatfield and Ralston stress that assessment is likely to be feared unless it is part of a teacher-improvement programme with positive follow-up activities for weaker teachers. A central proposition in their argument is that anyone professionally uncommitted needs a

> "strong and objective type of performance feedback (supervision) to become involved in professional development." (p. 3)

Hatfield and Ralston propose an emphasis on professional growth, with teacher assessment as an intergral part of the development process. This implies a holistic approach to the idea of good teaching, rather than a concentration on specific areas of it. The suggestions made, in terms of strategies for teacher improvement, are challenging and call for in-service experience of all kinds (whether run by teachers themselves or by outsiders) including

> "...visitations, peer conference, readings, development and study time, meetings, or team planning. Improvement is based on the specification of an area of need and is followed by the determination of what is important for improvement." (p. 11)

Defining professional growth as involving a life-long pursuit of excellence, the authors present a paradigm which provides for frequent reports or feedback on an individual's performance, with a view to improvement. Such reports are envisaged as playing

motivating rather than judgmental roles, and have ultimate benefit for all in mind:

> "Professional development, based on teacher assessment, can be the basis for continuous improvement in an individual's competence and, therefore, enhance the attainment of personal goals, school goals, and ultimately of student learning." (p. 33)

Neagley and Evans (1970) sum up the importance of evaluation, in terms of improvement, as follows:

> "Evaluation is an essential process in the improvement of the learning situation. Self-evaluation, evaluation by peers, evaluation by supervisory personnel.... and evaluation by pupils should all be encouraged. Evaluation of the administrative and supervisory activities by other professional staff members also should be invited." (p. 176)

Lewis (1973), in a text which purports to give guidelines to evaluators of teachers, stresses that evaluation should show the way to improvement. Instead of "comparative rating" of teachers, Lewis proposes a system whereby individual teachers (through assessment and related discussions with evaluators) can become aware of how or why their behaviour needs change. Well-defined objectives, "post-appraisal conferences" and practical assistance to teachers from their supervisors all combine to bridge the "communications gap" between teachers and administration.

Professional growth whether based on assessment or other means, presumably leads to "promotability" and career progression. However, it is apparent that in schools as in other organisations, promotion may derive from astuteness or from being at the right place at the right time, as well as from merit. A report by Doe in The Times Educational Supplement of 24 April 1981 suggests that teachers who have

> "... a clear idea of where they are going, who bring themselves to the attention of important people, are the ones most likely to get promotion." (p. 1)

The report, based on a survey published by Lyons, found that aspirants for promotion

> "Showed themselves to be eager and ambitious and to have a strong sense of commitment to both the school and local community." (idem),

and they were not short of "animal cunning". One teacher was quoted as saying that to go on a course organised by the inspectorate meant one was "halfway there" (to promotion). These remarks remind one of the subjective elements in any kind of evaluation of personnel , and particularly warn one against easy recipes for teacher evaluation.

6. Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with an overview,based on some of the multitudes of sources, of the characteristics of "good teaching". An immediate conclusion is that there is no readily-acceptable definition of effectiveness in the act of teaching, and even less chance of a generally relevant approach to the assessment of teaching. Smith(1977) in reviewing a conference on"The Practice of Teaching" notes that the search for teacher characteristics which are universally and inevitably effective and which thus constitute "essential attributes of the good teacher" has now largely been abandoned. If anything, more emphasis has been placed on "identifying teacher competencies which are regarded by teachers and educators within a particular school system as necessary...." (p. 24) How these more limited competencies may be judged is, again, another matter.

Combs et al (1974) have noted that the attributes of teaching are simply not measurable by traditional techniques:

> "They are internal matters having to do with questions of belief, attitudes, purposes and values that cannot be simply pre-defined as a set of specific behaviors...." (p. 170)

Despite the problems inherent in identifying, let alone measuring, the characteristics of good teaching, the assessment of teacher competence forms an important element in many school systems in different parts of the world. The next chapter will consider some examples of how assessment of competence occurs in specific systems. Ultimately the dissertation will focus on the particular example of Natal in the Republic of South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ASSESSMENT OF TEACHER COMPETENCE : A COMPARATIVE STUDY

1. Introduction

Although, as concluded in the previous chapter, there seems to be no universal agreement on what constitutes "good teaching" or the "good" teacher, it is also clear that in the light of increased demands for accountability and increased awareness of the importance of effective management within schools as organizations, the evaluation and assessment of teacher competence is a matter of important concern. While no procedures for such assessment of teacher competence could be acceptable to all, it seems vital that any policies and practices in this regard should take some account of international developments.

In this chapter, the writer sets out to review how teacher competence is assessed, and by whom, in specific areas of the world. References are made to England, Australasia and the United States of America in an attempt to provide a basis for comparison with the situation in the Republic of South Africa, where the province of Natal is considered as an example.

It is within the context of a system of educational administration that the assessment of teachers takes place. For that reason, it is necessary first to note the effects of centralized and decentralized administration on the assessment and career progression of teachers.

2. Centralized and decentralized control

The form which educational control and direction assumes in any country is closely related to the overall political system prevailing. There would appear to be two extremes : one, where central prescription and co-ordination imposes a fair degree of uniformity ; the other, where

local authorities have considerable influence. An immediate example of the latter is in the United States of America, where virtually every town has control over the education of children in its area. In 1964 Hartford wrote of the Americans that :

> "They will not permit too much control from the state capital, and they will permit no control from Washington. The local school board is one of the strongholds of our American democracy." (p.145)

Reller and Morphet (1962), in noting the importance of local control, asserted that a typical attitude among American citizens was that :

> "..... the residents of each local school system should have opportunity to decide upon the kinds of schools they want and the extent of financial support they desire to provide." (p.170)

While it is true that the central Office of Education in Washington, and other bodies such as the College Entrance Examination Board, do exert influence on policy and practice (the national requirement for a balanced racial intake to schools being a pertinent example) it is reasonable to conclude that in a country such as the United States there are likely to be few uniform requirements in terms of educational provision. Minimum qualification requirements for teachers vary, as does expenditure on education and procedure for pupil assessment. To conceive of a co-ordinated system for the appraisal of teacher performance would be out of the question ; rather, those states which choose to do so have the opportunity to follow trends set by others. The states of Georgia and Florida are among those that have devised tests for minimal teacher competency, but generally such measures refer to the criteria of initial qualification for employment.

If one accepts democracy as the dominant political ideal of the West, it seems that a system of educational control which permits the maximum possible diversification and flexibility within broad national policy would be preferable to a centrally-controlled system. The idea of

regional and local control in South Africa is an important component of the recommendations of the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981), and has long been a feature of the provision of education in England and Wales where the 1944 Education Act defines the responsibilities and powers of local education authorities. Section 24 of the Act notes that :

> "..... the appointment of teachers shall, save in so far as may be otherwise provided by the rules of management or articles of government for the school, be under the control of the local education authority, and no teacher shall be dismissed except by the authority."

Such authorities are :

> "..... conscious of an increasing public demand for higher standards, of the inevitable effects of a rising population and its greater mobility", (Parry, 1971, p.155)

and are therefore likely to ensure that they provide the best possible services. With falling pupil populations, as in the 1980 s, the responsibility of local authorities to select competent teachers is even greater. The appointment and promotion of teachers in England and Wales is entirely a matter of local concern, with school principals having considerable autonomy, and inspectors little final influence. The situations in England and the United States, thus far generally introduced, will be expanded upon in the ensuing sections.

2.1 England

Although Parry (op.cit.) points out that local authorities are ultimately constrained by financial and political considerations (the 'request' to move towards comprehensive education in 1965 being an example of central government influence) the management of schools is certainly a local affair. The ultimate duty of the Secretary of State for Education is to ensure that all agreed proposals are carried out - in

effect, this means that each local education authority is responsible for making its own rules : and a striking feature of the English educational system is the variety of developments which have taken place within the basic policy laid down by parliament. Such variety, of course, may and does imply a variety of standards. Recent stresses on accountability (for example as reviewed by Becher and Maclure, 1978), and the evolution of the Assessment of Performance Unit have drawn attention to feelings among the public and the teaching profession about alleged declines in standards. King (1977) notes that the big transition in an English teacher's career is at the point of entry, after which he

> "..... may gain promotion by obtaining a scale post or becoming a head of department or deputy head-teacher. These posts may refer either to instrumental responsibilities .... or to expressive responsibilities ...." (p.112)

King notes further (idem) that a teacher's prospects stem from his initial qualifications, the possession of a degree being an advantage - graduates being apparently favoured for headships. King feels that a teacher's career shows many of the features of Weber's ideal-type bureaucrat. "Promotion is gained by superior qualifications and/or long service. The career is full-time, lifelong and pensionable" (op.cit., p.113). There appears to be no provision for career progression to be based on a concept such as "merit assessment", particularly assessments by inspectors. Indeed, the inspectors are free from political control, and because of the decentralized control of education, teachers themsleves are free and education proceeds as might be expected in a democracy.

In South Africa, by contrast, the education inspectorate in most authorities performs key functions in terms of the assessment of teacher competence, but does not have the autonomy of its English equivalent.

The idea of a school principal as the management leader of an organization finds full expression in the English (and Welsh) system of decentralized control. Dent (1977) has pointed out the English belief that :

> "The Head Teacher's task is .... to create an autonomous society and to maintain it in a state of good health." (p.87)

In such a society, it is clearly the principal and other management personnel who organize the appraisal of teachers (or assess their competence) in a manner suited to the individual case. By offering posts of responsibility and by having much say in their staff appointments, principals in England can ensure that they obtain the best or most suitable teachers available, and develop the expertise of those already in the organization. The idea of a centrally-determined policy for teacher assessment would not be acceptable to such principals and would in all likelihood meet with strong opposition from the powerful teachers' unions.

One cannot, of course, conclude that the decentralized system of educational control in England permits total autonomy and unbridled innovation ; in fact, recent writers draw attention to the increasing control which the central Department seems to wield. Ultimately such control has always existed in terms of financial allocation, but developments such as the Assessment of Performance Unit, pronouncements on the curriculum (D.E.S., 1981) and moves towards a common system of examining at 16 + are among the indications that although local responsibility will continue to exist, local authority may not. Richmond (1978) notes that particularly since the 1972 regional reorganization of local government in England and Wales, a "distancing of officialdom from the electorate has been further increased" (p.153). He adds that the man-in-the-street actually has little meaningful say in the local organization of education (it has never been possible for the electorate to vote in members of their local education committee, but because of the reduction in the number of local authorities an even

more tenuous link prevails). In predicting a new Education Act (probably with more centralized control), Richmond (op.cit.,p. 153) notes that more and more, "the concentration of power is located in the uppermost echelons of bureaucracy - the new ruling class." Whatever changes may be in store, however, the case of England as an example of decentralized educational control remains valid at the present time.

The pattern of school inspection in England is indicative of the flexibility of educational organisation and control. Unlike their counterparts in South Africa, school inspectors in England (whether employed by the local authority or the Department of Education and Science) have little influence on teaching method or the career profession of teachers, though the I.L.E.A. plans that they should be involved. Their main concern appears to be staff development and subject guidance, particularly through in-service training. Edmonds (1963) gives a review of the history of school inspection in England over two centuries. He points out that inspectors were essential at first because of the necessity for setting some sort of standard in schools where many teachers were academically and professionally untrained. The inspectors performed many supervisory functions, including the examination of pupils, and teachers were often paid according to the progress made by their pupils. The inspectors were fearful figures who exerted considerable power over the general organization of schools, and actually "graded" schools as late as 1882, into "bad or unsatisfactory" schools, in which they observed "a preponderance of indifferent passes, preventible disorder, dullness, or irregularity" ; "fair" schools, which were "free from any conspicuous faults" ; "good" schools when both the number and the quality of the passes were satisfactory ; and finally "excellent" schools, which were characterized by "cheerful and yet exact discipline .. fluent, careful and expressive reading .... and an orderly collection of simple objects and apparatus adapted to illustrate the school lessons" (pp.117/118). In present times, school inspectors have, at least in England and Wales, assumed more advisory roles and no longer perform

administrative work such as the promotion of pupils.

The function of an inspector is that of a "pollinating agent" who forms a go-between between the local and central authorities. He is an independent adviser whose main task is to render all possible assistance and guidance to principals and teachers ; under a decentralized system of education administration, much flexibility is naturally possible, and in this respect the inspector is a figure not of restriction but of encouragement. Edmonds (op. cit.) reports that after the system of "payment by results" ceased at the end of the nineteenth century, teachers were more free to experiment with new or "progressive" ideas in education ; the inspectorate guided teachers and principals in these efforts.

The local inspectors are employees of the Local Authority in the same way that the principals and teachers are employees. They carry out advisory tasks and, through reports to the Authority, assure the public that the money allocated to education and obtained from public rates, is being spent in a suitable manner. They advise governors or managers who, in terms of the scheme of decentralized administration, appoint principals and staff (subject to confirmation by the Authority). Because they usually have considerable experience in teaching they are able to guide teachers and to spread ideas in education from school to school.

2.2 The United States

In this country, the administration of education is kept apart from other public services and citizens themselves are able to elect their own school board representatives. Comparing a system of centralized control with that of his own country, Kandel (1960) noted that

> "..... the bureaucratic system aims to secure a standardised product, while the democratic system stresses the importance of the development and self-realization of the individual as a person." (p.10)

The idea of participatory democracy is of course a basic tenet of everyday American philosophy, and any attempts to impose nation-wide systems (for example of teacher assessment) would no doubt be resisted by teachers' unions and the general public.

Because the Constitution of the United States makes no specific provision for education, the administration of this service is entirely a matter for individual states, each of which carries out its own responsibility. Differences between and even within states (because of local school boards) are considerable. King (1973) points out that "Important and active responsibilities include the definition of courses of study, terms of working, and certification requirements for work in publicly financed schools and similar enterprises" (p. 282). Implicit in the State's responsibilities are programmes for the assessment of teacher competence, where such programmes exist. School districts vary from those with single one-roomed "little red schoolhouses" to that of New York City, and many school boards are directly elected by and representative of the community.

After reviewing attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of schools in the United States since about 1965, House (1978) concludes that no one system has been or could be suitable.

> "There are not a few objectives on which everyone agrees nor outcome measures everyone will accept nor cause and effect relationships in which everyone believes. A monolithic evaluation is not appropriate for a pluralistic society." (p.401)

The unsuitability of a single system for evaluating schools is compounded in terms of attempts qualitatively to analyse teaching, and in the United States the general freedoms which teachers enjoy in terms of method and content renders fatuous any attempt to measure competency according to uniform standards. Summing up this point, Hughes and Schultz (1976) point out that

> "Teachers differ greatly in personality and in the kind of personal and professional philosophy that guides their teaching. They differ in social background, in education and in many other ways ..... All such factors contribute to the encouragement of the qualitative differences so characteristic of teaching." (p.41)

In such circumstances, the assessment of teacher competence (at least after initial qualification) is problematic.

Armstrong, Henson and Savage (1981) note that in the United States public disenchantment with schools has grown in recent years : incompetence in basic skills is not unknown among school-leavers with high school diplomas, and schools have been sued by persons who feel that they ought to demonstrate greater effectiveness in return for the public expenditure on them. In return, teachers have demonstrated increased militancy and it seems that teachers' strikes have become an annual event of early autumn (p. 141). In drawing attention to public demands for accountability, however, the writers note that

> "..... it has been easier to express a need for accountability than to develop procedures that assure accountability ..... should teachers be expected to produce learning when nonschool variables do not appear conducive to learning ?" (idem)

While some benefits have accrued from the contemporary concern with accountability in the United States (for example, it is reasonable to assume that teachers have become more conscious of the need for effective instruction, if only to ensure that their pupils meet the demands set by the state-wide competency tests which are being introduced), the question of how best to evaluate the act of teaching remains unanswered.

Whatever trends in this direction may emerge, it is clear that in the United States, as in England, local autonomy is a key principle and stands opposed to any idea of a centralized system of teacher assessment.

3. Teacher assessment in some Western countries

It is reasonable to state, with regard to the assessment of teacher competence, that the more highly centralized control there is in an education system, the more uniform any requirements for teacher competence will be. In France until barely two decades ago, administration was so highly centralized that at a given time on a particular day of the week, as Capelle (1967) has pointed out, virtually the same lesson would be presented to all children in the state schools throughout the land! In New Zealand in about the same years, teachers had to submit to the authorities copies of their lesson-notes - for virtually every period in the teaching day. In such circumstances, the criteria for teacher competence could no doubt be defined fairly predictably.

This chapter is ultimately concerned with the manner in which assessments of teachers are made, and by whom. After a survey of selected areas in the contemporary Western world, the situation in South Africa will be considered with a view to making critical comparisons.

3.1 Australasia

Control of education in Australia is vested in each state, and administration is centralized in the state capitals. New Zealand as a whole has, until fairly recently, also been characterized by a centralized system of control.

Jones (1968, as re-published 1973), writing as a school inspector, stresses that inspectors can assist teachers' professional growth in three specific ways : through encouraging further learning, involving teachers in works which will "nourish" others, and by regular, meaningful evaluation. The first two ways are certainly acceptable, and Jones concludes that

> "The healthiest and liveliest teachers are likely to be those who participate in innovation, enquiry and change ; the most enthusiastic teacher will be the one who knows that the fruits of his labours will be used to nourish others." (pp.239/240)

In terms of evaluation, Jones considers that how inspection occurs will largely determine how teachers teach ; he expresses the view that selection or ranking for promotion purposes should not be a primary purpose in evaluation, and cites E. Stoops's view that

> "An evaluative procedure should ... be used with rather than on teachers. Discussion on the items of an evaluation may serve as an effective stimulus to desirable classroom results ...." (ibid., p.239)

Such comments on the role of inspectors in the evaluation of teachers are important to bear in mind when considering the Australian education system, in which inspection has always played a vital part. Reasons for the status of inspectors being so different from that of their English counterparts may be many and varied, but are no doubt linked to a history of relatively underqualified teachers, vast distances creating physical isolation, and other factors typical of a "colonial outpost" type of existence. The fact is that in Australia, school inspectors play a dominant role in the assessment of teacher competence and this role does not seem to be resented by the teaching force.

Moore and Neal (1973) refer to the important role of the inspectorate in Victoria, Australia, where at the time of writing evaluations were carried out without the evaluators having any written guide or checklist. Moore and Neal remind us that increasingly complex school administration has meant that

> "..... a particular assessment of teaching performance is usually vital to the teacher in that it represents a condition of promotion through the service to more senior positions." (p.243)

Of the inspector himself, these writers note that

> "It is (the) psychological distance which enables him to make comparisons and to set standards of performance, and which places him in the best strategic position to carry out evaluation." (ibid., p.245)

With a view to establishing what criteria inspectors in Victoria, Australia, actually used in their assessments of teachers (bearing in mind that such inspectors had no formal instruments or units of measurement) Moore and Neal (op.cit.) carried out a study by means of questionnaire distribution among inspectors, and established interesting findings.

Inspectors were asked to list criteria which they regarded as essential for good teaching. This "critical incident technique" was not fruitful and indicated that inspectors had personal outlooks on what constituted good teaching. A second instrument using criteria acknowledged by a majority of inspectors was then distributed. 30 criteria were selected, such as "1. Provision for individual differences and group needs .... 10. Class control .... 20. Examination results ..... 30. Training of pupils in civic competence and responsibility." (ibid., p. 249) Inspectors were asked to respond on an always used, frequently used, seldom used, never used basis, and to indicate criteria on which a principal could make a more accurate assessment than an inspector. 11 criteria were indentified as those which helped to constitute good teaching :

		Percentage response
"1.	Class control	97
2.	Teacher-pupil relationships	94
3.	Pupil participation in lessons	91
4.	Pupil attitudes of courtesy, industry and self-reliance	83
5.	Lesson preparation and planning	80
6.	The personality of the teacher	80
7.	Energy, force, and enthusiasm displayed in the teaching	74
8.	Supervision and checking of written work	74
9.	The teacher's standing with the pupils	73
10.	The loyalty and dependability of the teacher	71
11.	The attitude of the pupils to the school and to authority	71 " (idem)

As will be indicated later, the establishment of criteria for the "merit assessment" of teachers in South Africa was not based on any empirically determined data.

It is interesting to note (Moore and Neal, op.cit.) that the preferred criteria were mainly (according to Mitzel's terminology) process criteria, but that the central position of the principal in assessing presage criteria was mentioned. "Even though the principal is not formally involved in teacher assessment, he obviously plays an important role." (ibid.,p.251) And it was established that he should influence the inspector on presage criteria such as :

"1. The teacher's ability to get on well with other staff members

2. Evidence of an insincere attitude towards the school on the part of the teacher

3. Doubts about the loyalty and dependability of the teacher

4. The degree to which the teacher cooperated in the performance of extra duties

5. The qualities of leadership and example shown by the teacher

6. Punctuality and consistency of performance as against spasmodic effort on special occasions."

(ibid., p.250)

In South Africa the principal is formally involved in teacher assessment and does assess the presage criteria mentioned above ; this is a topic of considerable debate, particularly in terms of the heading "Personality" which appears on assessment forms in South Africa.

The Criteria Preferred for Selection for Promotion to Administrative Posts (Moore and Neal, op. cit.) were mainly presage criteria and seven were seen as being particularly significant :

"1. Qualities of leadership displayed by the teacher

2. The personality of the teacher

3. The methods of lesson presentation used

4. The degree of cooperation by the teacher with other staff members

5. The teacher's participation and standing in the community

6. Academic qualifications and knowledge of the curriculum

7. The professional activities of the teacher."

(ibid., p.250)

Moore and Neal suggest that a guide should be drawn up for inspectors which would not attempt to stifle the prized individuality of an inspector, because :

"At present it seems to be impossible to divorce the image of a good teacher from the value judgments of the inspector, and therefore attempts at this stage to derive completely objective measuring instruments seem to be impracticable." (ibid., p.251)

They pose a warning about assessing without a guide :

"Unless the basic criteria are considered, however, there is danger of a halo effect operating to influence the assessment. Because a teacher performs well in some areas he may be judged to perform well overall. There may, too, be a halo effect associated with impressions formed on previous occasions. Undoubtedly inspectors are faced with a complex task, one which is difficult to analyze, and one on which it is even more difficult to make definite pronouncements, but it seems that a guide could be developed to assist them in reaching agreement on certain basic criteria for promotion." (ibid. pp.251-252)

Although the writers' views seem valid when cognisance is taken of promotion procedures followed by most other countries in the Western world, A.W. Jones, director-general of education in South Australia, does not share their views.

Jones (1975), in contributing to a volume on the administration of education, draws attention to the role of the inspector in Australian education. Such role, he points out, includes the dissemination of ideas and encouragement of subject development ; on the other hand, the role also includes the assessment of schools and teachers. Jones stresses that in his experience most inspectors in the Australian system seem able to cope with the apparently conflicting aspects of the role, partly because

> "the assessment role of the inspector is no longer regarded as his sole and major function. He comes to teachers more as a counsellor and friend to discuss matters of common interest and concern, though undoubtedly in these discussions he is usually at the same time assessing." (p. 136)

In formal assessment, the Australian inspector's ultimate task is to recommend applicants for promotion. Though methods vary from state to state, the example of South Australia is examined by Jones (op. cit.) as a case in point. Promotion is performed by the central administration on the advice of inspectors. On visits to schools inspectors write brief reports on all teachers, using senior masters' comments ; but when assessing readiness for promotion to the next rank, of teachers who have applied for promotion , two inspectors complete an assessment after discussing the teacher's capability with the headmaster. The assessment is made under four headings :

> "1. Personality - They will consider whether he has the respect and confidence of his fellow teachers and his students ; they consider his integrity, tact and his judgment.

2. Scholarship and teaching skills - Here they consider his depth of knowledge of his subject field and his sentiment for it ; his ability to set standards of scholarship ; his general effectiveness as a teacher.

3. Breadth - Here his vision, progressiveness, interest in students' full educational development, and his involvement in sports and extra-curricular activities are weighed.

4. Energy and Strength - This rubric covers his will and ability to work, to persist, to be thorough ; his moral courage, reliability, loyalty, wise interpretation and implementation of school policy."

(ibid. p.137)

Jones is implying that a rough guide to assessment does exist for inspectors in South Australia, but it would appear that this guide is either too general and unscientific in scope, or that it is not in general use by inspectors.

Teachers' unions have the right to negotiate changes in the above criteria, but Jones implies that teachers are satisfied with the current criteria. Inspectors then place promotable candidates in order of merit on a promotion list, which is open to view. Teachers may appeal to a chief inspector if they are dissatisfied with their positions on the promotion list. Vacancies which occur are filled from this list and it would appear that the promotion system in South Australia is even more centralized than in the Natal Education Department where teachers do apply for promotion posts in specific schools. In South Australia the education authority considers the suitability of those highest ranked on the promotion list for promotion to a specific school, although the applicant has not applied for that specific post but for promotion in general.

Criteria for positions of deputy headmaster and headmaster differ because of the changed requirements in these positions.

> "Attention will be paid to the applicant's ability to maintain good discipline and tone, and to promote a good working atmosphere. The power to act with strength and judgment, so important in dealing with staff and the public, is also carefully considered. Credit is given for evidence of ability in organization and practical school management." (ibid., p.138)

Jones indicates that a search for more objective methods of assessment in Australia has been long, but not fruitful. He justifies the methods in use by the assertion that capable and imaginative men have been promoted to positions of authority in Australia and that they in turn will continue to select good people for promotion.

Although Moore and Neal's experiments revealed that, in Victoria, inspectors assessed teachers in very personal ways, Jones asserts that South Australian inspectors are trained in "assessment" as well as in many other fields. New inspectors go through an induction course and are first sent into the field with a senior inspector. The directors-general of Australia sponsor a Biennial National Seminar on Administration and Supervision to attune inspectors to the "'new development' movement in educational administration developed in North America." (ibid., p.139) It must be granted that these induction and in-service courses would be valuable in the training of inspectors.

Jones supports the centralized system of education in Australia when compared with the decentralized system in the U.S.A., in that there are more dedicated and professionally aware teachers, a superior quality of inspectors, more guaranteed career prospects for teachers, and better service for children of all abilities in Australia. His standpoint is based on the report of an Australian colleague who surveyed the American system, but does not have empirical backing. Having been, at the time of reference, director-general of education in South Australia, Jones is understandably biased in favour of his own system.

It is interesting to note that public concern over standards in Australian schools seems to be growing and even the chairman of the Australian Law Reform Commission, Mr Justice Kirby, has warned teachers that they may be giving opportunities for parents to sue them for inefficient teaching or neglect of pupils. He feels that the situation may "lead to a legal determination of teacher obligations to supply pupils with a certain standard of education." (The Times Educational Supplement, 7 May 1982, p.16)

In a conversational article (1975) Adams examines the assessment and accountability of teachers in Australia and New Zealand. In the latter country, he notes, teachers can seek inspection or not (as they wish) and the assessment of teachers "is now justified .... to separate the promotable from the non-promotable" (p. 157). It seems that major differences between the Australian and New Zealand systems rest in the extent to which evaluation criteria are made explicit and the process of evaluation rendered open. Adams notes that whereas in Australia the broad categories of suitability, experience and qualifications seem to be sufficient bases for evaluation, because

> "New Zealanders .... can use grading as a means of self-evaluation, the specification of performance is more detailed." (ibid., p.158)

Adams indicates that all New Zealand teachers, who wish to be, are assessed on one of three levels of evaluation. Reports are written by inspectors who have to list performance grading in the following categories :

1. personal professional qualities ;
2. relationships with children ;
3. planning preparations and records; and
4. school or class atmosphere.

Other categories which are assessed, depending on the position held by the teacher are :

5. class (or school) programme in action ;
6. methods of teaching ; and
7. capacity to carry out the duties of a higher appointment.

Each category is divided into sub-sections, thus a specific report is written. This is close in concept to the "merit assessment" report in use in South Africa. Centralized control comes into assessment in New Zealand because each teacher is given an overall mark "and each district is required to produce roughly the same distribution of each". (ibid., p.158)

Adams sees positive value of teacher improvement emerging from the assessment programme in New Zealand since reports are open to teachers and are discussed with them by the inspectorate. Review is allowed and he states that

> "dissatisfaction with the current procedures seem minimal. In contrast with early years 'the grading system' is certainly not the centre of controversy it once was." (idem).

Interesting similarities with controversy in South Africa following the introduction of an assessment system are apparent, and although the writer has no evidence to refute Adams's assertion that dissatisfaction is minimal in New Zealand despite earlier controversy, he will later assert that the "controversy" in certain areas of South Africa has only diminished through usage and teacher acceptance and not through teacher satisfaction. Openness between teacher and assessor is, however, acknowledged as vital in any assessment programme.

A specific report based on stated categories, frank discussion of the report and of reasons for a particular grading with the assessing

inspector, plus the inspector's acceptance of the teacher's right of review, do support Adams's view that the assessment programme in New Zealand is superior to the confidential and personalized assessment of teachers by inspectors in Australia. He states that in Australia :

> "To the teachers, the inspector is obviously not the ogre of half a century ago but his influence is often seen as somewhat malevolent." (ibid., p.159)

3.2 England

As pointed out earlier, the school principal (together with governors or managers) in England is ultimately concerned with the assessment of teacher competence and consequent promotion to posts of responsibility. Despite apparent possibilities for moves toward more control by the central Department, the inspectorate play relatively low-level roles. Recent debate in The Times Educational Supplement (circa December 1981 - February 1982) drew attention to the possible introduction of competency tests for practising teachers. In the Inner London Education Authority, a working party has been involved in proposals for a new system of career development for teachers, in which evaluation and assessment play key roles. The proposals have to an extent been based on a previously-existing career development programme for non-teaching employees of the I.L.E.A. and of the Greater London Council in general,(1) described in an internal document as "of benefit not only to the individual but also to the organization for which he works". The aims of the original scheme dating from 1967 (for non-teaching staff) included improvement of the performance of each individual, the development of each individual's potential, checking on the effectiveness of recruitment and training policies, and assisting in the correct allocation of manpower resources.

Footnote :(1) The information in this section was made available to the writer through unpublished memoranda and policy statements of the GLC/ILEA, Westminster.

The Report of the Working Party on Career Development for Teachers (dated 1979 and made available in typed form to the writer) concludes that "a system of appraisal and career development for teachers is both feasible and desirable" (p.1). The view was expressed that as an employer the I.L.E.A. had an obligation to manage more effectively the careers of its teachers "so as to help them to maximise the personal satisfaction they get from their work and thus their efficiency and their contribution to the service" (idem). The assessment of teacher competence was, then, immediately linked with professional development and improvement.

A summary of the major recommendations of the working party led by G.E. Andrews, Assistant Education Officer of the I.L.E.A., now follows, the points having been extrapolated from the material available :

(a) While the appraisal of the individual teacher's performance was the aim of the assessment programme, sight was not lost that the éthos of the school and the quality of the head could affect a teacher's performance. Career development provisions would be made for teachers who could not work happily in a particular school.

(b) The need for a formal structure for an appraisal interview was established, to provide a framework for the discussion and to standardize the information recorded so that it could be used in career development.

(c) A more structured report form was envisaged, than the prevailing probation report, to give a more clear appraisal of performance. This report would be "the initial stage in the introduction of a complete career development scheme." (ibid., p.2)

(d) An awareness was expressed that standardized information would be needed for career development purposes. And the need for job descriptions was indicated, although a warning against inflexibility was made.

(e) Appraisal was seen as a continuing process, and it was stressed that observation of a teacher's classroom performances was an essential part of an appraisal interview.

(f) The method of appraisal would operate through the normal management structure of the school. A superior would assess colleagues within his area of responsibility. "A deputy head would normally be appraised by the head, with the District Inspector as 'grandfather'. The District Inspector might appraise the head, the 'grandfather' being the appropriate Staff Inspector." (ibid. p.3)

(g) A 'review panel' would operate at an organizational level above that of a school. An inspector would sit on this panel and one of his tasks would be to advise the teacher of the review panel's recommendation regarding his future career.

(h) The introduction of an appraisal scheme would demand the training of all appraisers. Training courses and television learning packages were suggested.

(i) Staff problems were considered and although time-table problems facing heads of department who would have to appraise teachers were noted, it was decided not to provide additional teaching staff but to provide additional clerical staff to schools.

Moving from the actual mechanics of the proposed scheme which has some striking parallels with the South African merit assessment scheme and some notable differences, as will emerge in later chapters, the writer will now consider some important principles which emerge from the I.L.E.A. document. Most striking is how the proposed scheme is people-oriented with the compilers stressing that "the possible benefits of a scheme of this sort cannot begin to be realised without the co-operation and support of teachers generally, both as appraisers and appraisees." (ibid., p.4) The organizers in the I.L.E.A. want to be able to offer a properly structured career for teachers with expert guidance.

Guidance and job satisfaction are key aspects of the scheme with its aim to "maximise personal satisfaction from work" (ibid., p.1) firstly, although obviously this concept carries within itself concomitant aspects of greater efficiency and an increased contribution to education.

The appraisal scheme seems to involve two processes : namely an appraisal of performance and an appraisal of potential, though it must be stressed that appraisal of potential is regarded within the parameters of an advisory function on career development and is not part of a promotion scheme. A factor which seems to have been accepted by the compilers is that promotion should not be seen as a reward for good performance in the present job. Self appraisal is involved in appraisal of performance, where the teacher will need to assess his aims and achievement before exploring both with a senior colleague. What is expected of him should be clearly stated by the senior colleague and a mutually-agreed course of action drawn up to promote his development. The face-to-face appraisal interviews to be held during the ongoing assessment are considered vital to a developing process. This type of interview is sadly lacking in the South African scheme.

The appraiser in the I.L.E.A. scheme will be able to review the appraisee's needs for in-service training and be able to give advice about career progression. This personal interest should bear fruit.

When the appraiser's full and carefully structured reports are read by the review panel, further consideration will be given to appraisal of potential and, as already indicated, the district inspector will be expected to advise the teacher about his future career.

A major problem which could emerge from this attempt to personalize an education authority's appraisal scheme is that it would appear to be a difficult task to co-ordinate career development across the I.L.E.A. service when individual schools are becoming accustomed to enjoying increasing autonomy in terms of management.

In England during the past five years the concern over management of teachers in a time of falling pupil numbers has led to much debate in teachers' journals. The 'Green Paper' of 1977 pointed out the problem of discharging incompetent teachers when there was no recognised procedure for the assessment of teacher performance :

> "There remains the problem of those teachers at all levels whose performance clearly falls below any acceptable level of efficiency .... the difficult residue of cases where no effective remedy presents itself, and where the interests of the schools would best be served by dispensing with the service of the teacher concerned ..... The establishment of standard procedures for the assessment of teachers' performance, for advice and, when necessary, warning to teachers whose performance is consistently unsatisfactory, and for all the other steps required by employment protection legislation, or judged necessary as part of a fair procedure for considering dismissal of staff, are matters which unquestionably call for the most extensive consultation with the teachers' associations."

(as quoted in The Times Educational Supplement 15.1.82 p.2)
An almost revolutionary concept for the decentralized educational system in England was the suggestion of "the establishment of standard procedures for the assessment of teachers' performance". Apparently this suggestion has not been taken up publicly at the national level and "little formal progress has been made towards a system of regular appraisal." (idem, editorial). Opposition from the teachers' associations has been

strong, among other reasons, because of the number of jobs that could be threatened if assessment of teacher performance were used as a system for dismissing teachers, which could be allied to the carrying out of a redundancy programme for an educational system which is shrinking.

Speaking at Leeds in January 1982, Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education, provoked angry response from teachers' associations when his statement : "We shall be failing in our duty .... if we keep ineffective teachers in the schools", (idem) was misinterpreted as "demanding that dud teachers should be weeded out as part of local redundancy schemes." (idem)

The Secondary Heads' Association drew up guidelines for its members in which they were advised not to identify individual members of staff to face redundancy, but to designate areas of the curriculum which could be cut - and, presumably, this would lead to the redeployment of staff. Hesitancy in assessing teacher competence because of pressure from teachers' associations against heads nominating redundant teachers is one of the keynotes of the guidelines, as reported by Richard Garner in The Times Educational Supplement 22.1.82 (p.7) :

> "If the impression is given that heads are directly nominating for replacement those teachers whom they consider to be ineffective or troublesome, then there is some danger that this will lead to painful repercussions with the unions involved."

In a written answer in the House of Commons (as reported idem) Sir Keith Joseph stressed the aspect of teacher accountability and affirmed that his duty towards children, parents and taxpayers was to ensure that he did not "keep ineffective teachers in the schools or employ more teachers than we can afford". He went on to deny that he had suggested that ineffective teachers should be weeded out as part of a compulsory redundancy programme :

> "..... Incompetence and redundancy are quite separate issues. If a teacher is found to be incompetent, and is not able to improve his performance satisfactorily with appropriate support from his employer and perhaps additional training, then the employer should consider dismissing him in the interest of the children in the schools. Such cases are not properly described as redundancies.
>
> It is where a local authority or a school as an employer has more teachers with particular qualifications and skills than are needed, either because of a decline in school rolls or changes in the curriculum, that redundancies may occur, without any reflection on the competence of the teachers concerned." (idem)

Although the distinction made by Sir Keith Joseph is clear enough in theory, in practice heads or local education authorities would presumably tend to nominate weak teachers for redeployment with little regard for curriculum requirements.

A front-page headline in The Times Educational Supplement of 29.1.1982, "Incompetent teachers on secret blacklists", indicated the passions involved, but revealed that some chief education officers had drawn up lists of incompetent teachers over the previous two years and had on the whole received co-operation from teachers' unions in helping "incompetent teachers out of the profession." (idem)

Apart from the undeniably incompetent who seem to be easily identified despite the lack of a clear legal definition, attention has been drawn to those who are not demonstrably incompetent but are time-servers through laziness or through having become jaded. Philip Venning in an article (p.22) entitled "What shall we do about the time-servers?" reveals that heads see their main concern with time-servers as building on their strong points. Staff development programmes, such as regular interviews to discuss their work and to advise methods of improvement, and others even involving pupils in course evaluation, were suggested. No suggestions about quantifying teachers on some established

assessment of teacher competence scheme were made.

Professor John Honey's idea of regular re-certification of teachers on approximately a ten-year basis received a hot response from English teachers in 1981. In an article in The Times Educational Supplement 29.1.82 he defends his view, which develops from criticism of the present system "in which there was no organic relationship between initial training, the probationary year, and the 40-plus years of the teacher's career." (p.21) He envisages a system in which re-assessment of teachers would be followed by intensive in-service training to improve performance, and stresses that teachers will not be able to make necessary adjustments within future decades of massive technological, economic and social change without a carefully structured programme of in-service re-training. He sees increasing the length of pre-service teacher training as a waste of resources which could be more profitably used on "long-term and systematic updating and upgrading of the competence of the already committed teacher." (idem)

He claims that teachers criticized his proposals but did not answer his case, except through an assertion "that the assessment of a teacher's continuing competence was an impossible task" (idem) by the National Union of Teachers. Honey obviously recognises the difficulties involved in a re-assessment programme, but poses his own challenges to defenders of the present system. Firstly he queries whether incompetent teachers are still allowed to continue teaching after a few years ; secondly whether there are sufficient rewards and encouragement for competent teachers to improve their skills ; and thirdly whether the demands for greater accountability are being met by emphasis on pre-service training and little in-service training.

Honey claims that his request is for a form of "democratic accountability and control", which in essence is similar to Caroline Benn's description of the reasons for her Socialist Education group's attack on church schools. Because of political affiliations he implies that spokesmen for teachers' unions criticized his views but not her views on accountability.

Differing political views on education make it difficult to predict developments in teacher assessment in England. Strong socialist forces in education seem to be gaining ground in the literature. A rather extreme example is the concern about the authority and power of head teachers that has been expressed by the Socialist Educational Association in an unpublished draft document "Democracy in Schools." The authors propose extreme democratic changes such as the head teacher being replaced by "a chairperson elected from a body largely composed of the school's own staff". (The Times Educational Supplement, 9.7.1982, p.1)

The writer has given a rather detailed summary of the debate on the issue of teacher assessment in England in order to stress that there can be such public debate over such an issue. Politicians, professors of education, journalists, representatives of teacher unions and teachers themselves can give their views openly before the procedures for any major change eventuate, unlike the centrally determined introduction of "merit assessment" in South Africa.

3.3 Scotland

In Scotland, teacher competence is assessed on a more formal basis than in England because of the existence of the General Teaching Council (G.T.C.). All teachers have to register provisionally with this body and then serve two years' apprenticeship. Final registration is based largely on head teachers' reports, and although teachers may have their probationary period extended, if the G.T.C. decides that they are still unsatisfactory teachers at the end of this period, their provisional registration is cancelled.

Once teachers have been registered, the G.T.C. has nothing further to do with their professional competence unless they are charged and struck from the register for disciplinary offences.

Venning (idem) indicates that very few probationary teachers are denied final registration and, obviously, this indicates the low standard of what is seen as "satisfactory" teacher performance. About 3000 probationers are registered each year, but only 13 had their provisional registration cancelled in 1981-82, 4 in 1980-81, and 13 in 1979-80. The problem of unsatisfactory registered teachers remains, although Mr James McLean, chairman of the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland, has said that education authorities in Scotland "may take 'more positive steps' than those in England to get rid of unsatisfactory teachers" (ibid., p.1). A definition of incompetence has been given by Mr Sandy Niven, convenor of the Professional Practices Committee of the Headteachers' Association, as "lack of preparation, lack of attention to work, lack of class control and habitual absences from the classroom." (idem) This lack of performance is easily identifiable and would find general acceptance among teachers, but Mr Niven pointed to what he called the "real menaces" in teaching as being teachers who could not be classified as incompetent but who merely "ploughed on".

3.4 The United States of America

This country has a predictably large range of local solutions to the question of how teachers should be assessed and by whom.

Wynn et al (1977) indicate that about 40 percent of the states in the United States have introduced requirements for the evaluation of teachers, without, in most cases, even trying to indicate how this should be done ; although many negotiated contracts between teachers and school boards include the right of the boards to evaluate the teachers. The writers define "evaluation" as "the gathering of evidence regarding the quality of teaching or educational practices in the light of objectives, criteria, and standards as the basis for decision making," (p.56) and then indicate evaluation trends which could help school boards in producing viable systems.

The writers point to a truism of teacher reaction to evaluation :

> "The close relationship between evaluation and factors such as salary differentiation, promotion, tenure, and dismissal is not lost by either teachers or their employers. Consequently, evaluation schemes tend to produce anxiety and generate controversy." (idem)

In chapter five of this work, the bitter reaction of South African teachers to the introduction of the "merit assessment" scheme in 1978 will be indicated. Wynn et al are critical of the primitive instruments of evaluation which have been in use in the U.S.A. They show how the criteria of evaluation were often poorly defined and had little to do with effective teaching ; and how the assessors, usually principals and supervisors, "were incapable of delivering reliable and valid judgments". (idem) The writers distinguish between "formative" and "summative" evaluation and stress that the movement in the U.S.A. is towards "formative" evaluation which they state "is continuous, diagnostic, remedial in nature, bilateral and individualized ; and (it) aims toward the continuous improvement of teaching and learning." Emphasis of evaluation shifts from character traits of teachers and students' achievement towards "combinations of teachers' behavior teacher-student interaction, and students' learning behavior." (idem) The objection of many South African teachers to the assessment of character traits in the "merit assessment" procedure, discussed in chapter five, seems to fit in with the research done by Wynn et al.

Wynn and his colleagues suggest that performance evaluation can be used to answer questions such as : What are we trying to do ? What evidence do we need ? How well are we doing ? How can we improve ? They suggest that teachers themselves should be brought into the evaluation process which would capitalize upon "the formidable advantages of self-evaluation". (idem) High school students are also used in the performance evaluation of teachers in the U.S.A. and "evidence supports the belief that students can make valid and reliable assessment of teachers' performance". (idem) Peer evaluation by other teachers is also becoming more common. According to Wynn et al.,

"the major trends in evaluation of teachers include :

- Increased involvement of teachers in the development of evaluation programs and procedures
- Greater linkage among educational objectives or goals and teachers' behavior and students' achievement
- Displacement of rating scales by qualitative descriptions of teachers' behavior students' achievement, and teacher-student interaction
- More attempts to combine processes with input
- Increased emphasis on formative evaluation and less on summative evaluation
- Increased use of students and teams of persons in the evaluation
- More careful attention to consideration of due process regarding teachers' right of appeal, hearings, and reviews of evaluations." (idem)

The "summative" form of evaluation, which the writers have regarded as primitive in scope, is defined as :

> "..... terminal, unilateral, adversarial, and uniform ; it aims toward quality control and administrative decisions bearing on tenure, dismissal, and salaries." (idem)

The "merit assessment" evaluation scheme introduced in the Republic of South Africa in 1978 is a "summative" form of evaluation, in Wynn's terms.

In the State of Georgia, considerable progress has been made in the design of "teacher performance assessment instruments" through the Teacher Assessment Project of the University of Georgia, Athens. The "instruments", originally devised for the initial certification of teachers, as indicated in chapter three, have been utilized in assessing competence during the career progression of teachers, and are in part an outcome of the extensive debate on accountability. In the United States

teachers have been sued for educational negligence, and in a court case quoted in The Times Educational Supplement of 7 May 1982, "an 18-year-old high school graduate claimed unsuccessfully that his school was negligent because it allowed him to graduate with an inferior reading ability". (p.16)

The design and usefulness of the instruments as described by Johnson et al (1980) will now be considered.

> "The University of Georgia Teacher Assessment Project in cooperation with the State of Georgia Department of Education has over a period of four years involved thousands of teachers and other professional educators in the processes of designing, developing, and field testing the Teacher Performance Assessment Instruments, (TPAI). The product is a set of instruments sufficiently valid and reliable to be used as one source of data in fulfilling the original purpose for which it was intended - that of certifying beginning teachers." (p.iii)

The immense nature of American research in comparison with South African can be seen in this TPAI project which involved the sorting through hundreds of comments which describe teaching skills, the sorting and editing of these, before a survey instrument was drawn up and administered to a sample of 4 668 subjects. Subgroups studied the findings and placed teaching skills in an order of priority. "Only teaching skills classified as generic and essential were (finally) used in the construction of the TPAI". (idem)

The topics of the five instruments are :

(a) Teaching Plans and Materials : Teachers must prepare a portfolio for an instructional unit. This will be discussed with a supervisor.

(b) Classroom Procedures : Teaching methods and techniques are directly observed.

(c) Interpersonal Skills : Direct observation of the social atmosphere created in the classroom, and the management of interaction , are undertaken.

(d) Professional Standards : Interviews with teacher and colleagues, in respect of total contribution to school, compliance with norms etc., are held. (This instrument has been developed for use during in-service training of teachers.)

(e) Student Perceptions : This is a combination of (b) and (c) seen from pupil perspectives. Questionnaires on this topic are filled in by students, but obviously not for original certification of teachers.

Johnson et al exemplify how skills are monitored through various indicators. For each indication there are five statements in respect of which the indicator is measured. For example in Table 1 : Content Outline for TPAI under sub-section Classroom Procedures Instrument, there are six Teaching Skills to be assessed. One of these is "Communicates with learners", which is placed opposite a number of Indicators for Assessing Teaching Skills. Indicator number 7 reads : "Provides feedback to learners throughout the lesson". (ibid., p.5) Five statements or "descriptors" are used to rate a teacher's performance on this indicator :

"Indicator 7. Provides feedback to learners throughout the lesson.

Scale of Descriptors

1. Accepts learner comments or performance without feedback about their adequacy.

2. Responds to negative aspects of student work, but few comments are made about positive aspects.

3. Informs students of the adequacy of their performance. Few errors pass by without being addressed.

4. Helps learners evaluate the adequacy of their own performance.

5. In addition to 4, the teacher probes for the source of misunderstandings which arise." (ibid. p.4)

The skills tested plus the indicators and descriptors have gained wide acceptance in the U.S.A. because they have been well researched and substantiated. They seem to be acceptable to teachers since thousands of teachers were involved in their conception. Assessors of teachers are trained in the TPAI procedure to ensure high rater reliability. There is a standardized training programme which includes a guide and numerous video films on teaching. Two or more persons assess a teacher's skills and collect the necessary data. Peer teachers, deputy heads, heads, or supervisors are used in the assessment process.

For certification purposes (close to the Natal equivalent of the confirmation of a probationer's appointment) a one hour interview is held with the teacher and a forty minute lesson is observed. Computer scoring of the independent assessments is done and a performance profile is drawn. A normative, mean summary of actual and recommended competency according to TPAI indicator ratings is produced.

The TPAI instruments may be used in in-service professional development courses (to "improve generic teaching skills"). In this case the modus operandi is for two or three persons to assess the teacher over a period of from two to three weeks. All this may assist in diagnosing weaknesses, which is the object of this individualistic and goal-centred development programme. In-service scores are "secondary to the main objective of identifying a teacher's relative strengths and weaknesses." (ibid. p.12) Discussion of the findings and re-assessment follow. This scheme is, of course, limited to fairly simple objectives and does not presume to assess the teacher in all aspects of his "multi-faceted" role.

A detailed description of the assessment of teachers within the administrative framework of state schools in the Republic of South Africa will now be given, in order to clarify the prevailing situation, so that the contrast with the international trends indicated in this chapter can be established, and so that suggestions for change made in later chapters can be seen against the appropriate background. Natal will receive attention first.

4. Assessment and its effects on the career progression of teachers in provincial employ in the Republic of South Africa, with specific reference to Natal

As Behr and MacMillan (1966) point out, the administration of education in South Africa is highly centralized. This implies considerable co-ordination of policy and practice, such co-ordination having both desirable and undesirable effects.

The writer now proceeds to a consideration of factors and procedures affecting the career progression of white teachers in the employ of provincial authorities in the Republic of South Africa, with particular reference to Natal. Although such factors and procedures are, in broad terms, co-ordinated throughout the country in terms of Act 39 of 1967, as amended, the different provinces interpret the system by means of second-level legislation : in the case of Natal, through Provincial Ordinance No. 46 of 1969 and later amendments.

The "post levels" through which a teacher could progress are co-ordinated within all employing authorities in the RSA and since 1 April 1981 have been :

LEVEL OF POST	POSTS
1	Teacher Senior Teacher (after "Merit Award/s") Assistant School Psychologist
2	Principal P IV Head of Department (P) Head of Department (S) Lecturer Assistant Education Planner School Psychologist Principal Education Librarian
3	Principal P III Deputy Principal (P) Deputy Principal (S) Senior Lecturer Subject Adviser Senior School Psychologist
4	Principal H II Principal P II Head of Department (T.C.) Senior Subject Adviser Senior Education Planner Principal School Psychologist
5	Principal H I Principal P I Vice Rector Inspector of Education Principal Subject Adviser Principal Education Planner Chief School Psychologist
6	Rector (College of Education)

In the province of Natal, Level 1 posts are filled by the central office while posts on Level 2 and above are advertised internally (and in the press for College of Education posts) as promotion opportunities. At Level 1, a system of financial reward for assessed teaching merit exists.

With regard to the initial appointment of teachers, Natal Ordinance No. 46 of 1969 states that :

> "All appointments whatsoever to the teaching establishment and all promotions therein shall be made by the Administrator." (Education p.17)

In reality, all appointments are made by the staffing section of the Natal Education Department operating under instruction from the Chief Inspectors of Education. Although teachers applying for an appointment may request to be posted to specific areas and even to specific schools, they could, in fact, be posted to any school in Natal. First year teachers who are under obligation to repay provincial study loans through service, accept in their contracts the possibility of being posted to any school in Natal. Principals may request the appointment of a specific teacher to their schools, but in general have little say in the appointment of teachers. The operation of this central staffing system is purported to ensure a fair distribution of talented teachers among the schools and in particular to safeguard country schools which would allegedly be unpopular choices if Level 1 vacancies were advertised.

The lack of freedom to apply for a specific position and the actual posting of a beginner teacher to an area he has not requested, must have some effect on his attitude towards the employing authority. His initial view would probably be that the authority is a bureaucratic and authoritarian organization which has little regard for the personal desires of teachers in its employ. Unhappiness at being posted to country areas has led a small proportion of beginner teachers to resign before taking up their appointments. By contrast, in the Cape Province all teaching vacancies are advertised in the bi-monthly Provincial Gazette. Beginner teachers may apply for positions at specific schools of their choice and could be appointed there after being interviewed by principals and their school committees. This de-centralized system offers professional choice, but results in some rural schools having great difficulties with staffing.

An indication of the requirements for permanent appointment [1] in the Natal Education Department seems appropriate at this stage. A candidate

1. In this section only candidates for permanent appointments will be considered. Requirements for *locos tenentes*, temporary teachers and contract teachers will be ignored as they are not necessarily part of the mainstream of those seeking career progression in education.

for permanent status is not appointed

> "unless he is a South African citizen, or is a citizen of any territory which formed part of the Republic and in terms of an Act of Parliament became an independent State, and is of good character and free from any mental or physical defect, disease or infirmity which would be likely to interfere with the proper performance of his duty, or to render necessary his retirement earlier than at the age prescribed by any law relating to the superannuation of retirement of teachers." (idem)

School principals and counsellors, in conjunction with the training institutions, estimate character traits which are considered necessary among pupils who wish to enrol as student teachers, but little overt consideration is given to the "good character" requirement in the Ordinance. In fact no clear definition or interpretation of "good character" has been attempted. Selection of mature students is in the hands of the training institutions.

In effect all students who have been granted loans by the Natal Education Department to complete their teacher training courses, and are South African citizens, are offered the possibility of permanent appointment following a probationary year. Exceptions are single women who marry before taking up their first teaching appointments, and who are employed "indefinitely" on a temporary basis. Non-beginner teachers who apply to the Department for employment are offered vacant posts and all men and most unmarried women who fulfil the legal requirements for permanent appointment are normally placed on probation for a year. Married women applicants are not eligible for permanent appointment. It is necessary to stress that this non-appointment to the permanent staff refers to married women applicants for posts and not to all married women in the employ of the Natal Education Department. Over 30% of permanent posts in the Department are held by married women, a higher percentage than in the other provinces, but the difficulty married women temporary teachers face in being placed on the permanent staff has caused much uncertainty and anguish in their ranks. Merit assessment is a factor in their being

able to achieve permanent status, because permanent appointments have been offered to married women temporary teachers who have been granted a merit award. [1]

The first competency assessment in the career of a newly appointed teacher in the Natal Education Department is completed during his probationary year. Teachers in the other provinces are not appointed on probation and so are not assessed in their first year of teaching.

4.1 Assessment of probationers

During the probationary year, a teacher in Natal is assessed by the school principal, the subject adviser involved (except in the case of senior primary teachers who have no subject advisers), and the district inspector. A certificate of confirmation is used for the purpose of confirming the probationer's appointment, and reports are written by the principal and the subject adviser. Teachers may submit comments on their reports should they consider such reports not to be a true and fair reflection of the work they are doing at the school. A six point scale is used for the assessment of the probationary teacher by the subject adviser and the district inspector : Outstanding, Good, Very Satisfactory, Satisfactory, Fair, Weak. An assessment of "fair" or "weak", means that confirmation of appointment is not being recommended. The district inspector has the final decision and must endorse the principal's report and countersign the certificate of confirmation if he approves of the confirmation.

The qualities of the teacher which have to be assessed are indicated in the Natal Schools' Handbook : "(1) Character and Personality (2) Dependability (3) Initiative (4) Relations with pupils and others (5) Attitude to work." (p.3) The following aspects also

Footnote : [1] In 1982 only secondary school married women temporary teachers who achieved merit awards were eligible for permanent appointment.

have to be assessed : "(1) Language and Speech (2) Teaching ability (3) Supervision of work (4) Progress of pupils (5) General usefulness in school." (idem)

Although the above are the officially recognised criteria for assessment of probationers, more detailed guidelines for the inspectorate have been laid down, which are closer in concept to the criteria involved in the "merit assessment" system, to be discussed later. General aspects of the teacher's personality, discipline and class control, general planning and lesson preparation, lesson presentation, teaching skills and techniques, supervision and control, evaluation and follow-up of pupils' work, organization and administration, subject knowledge and insight and use of departmental guidance and facilities, language competence and involvement in the extra-curricular programme all have to be considered by the inspectorate. The criteria involved seem to have been evolved out of the experience of a few senior educationists, as no massive teacher participation in defining skills and levels of competency required of teachers has been undertaken in the RSA.

Recommended advice to principals, which stresses the central role of the school management team in the guiding and assessing of new teachers, is included in the guidelines :

> "It should be emphasised to principals that their reports are of paramount importance in any confirmation since the principal together with his/her management staff are (sic) best able to assess a teacher's personality, discipline, relationship with pupils, as well as the outcomes of his teaching. The principal should be urged to be absolutely frank about a teacher's shortcomings and to state it (sic) unequivocably when a teacher on probation does not measure up to the required standards. The principal should, however, also realise that a first year teacher is in effect still in training and that his/her first year can be looked upon as 'in-service training.' Hence the school's responsibility to give continued guidance and encouragement to probationers."[1]

1. Undated document : N.E.D. Recommended procedure for confirmation of appointment and proposed criteria p.15 General 3.2

This is inherently good advice and indicates a tendency to move away from formal centralized control by a district inspector, to the involvement of those most closely concerned with the teacher in a specific school and an awareness that they are "best able to assess" most aspects of a teacher's performance. This view is substantiated by the research of Moore and Neal (op.cit.) in Victoria, Australia, who submitted that principals were in the best position to assess presage aspects of a teacher's performance.

The importance of confirmation of appointment is indicated to the inspectorate under a separate note :

> "It is further pointed out that the confirmation of appointment is one of the highlights of a teacher's career and that due consideration should be given to those probationary teachers who are not solely to blame for the inadequacies which may result in the withholding of their confirmation of appointment. Examples are transfers, frequent time table changes, inadequate subject training, teaching subject(s) not fully qualified to teach or other valid, acceptable reasons." (ibid. p.2)

This again seems good advice, giving a humanistic slant to the evaluation of a beginner teacher.

If confirmation is withheld the probationary period is normally extended by six months, although it is possible to have it extended for a longer period. Automatic termination of service ensues if a probationary appointment is not confirmed after three years.

The second major assessment process a teacher has to undergo, takes place during his second year of teaching. In fact all teachers, whether permanent or temporary, are "merit assessed" during their second year of teaching. [1] The general competence of a teacher is assessed against set criteria ; and those teachers who are assessed as meritorious,

1. Men who have completed two years of compulsory military training are merit assessed during the first actual year of teaching.

qualify for a "merit award" which is a monetary award of the equivalent of one extra salary notch, and are designated as Senior Teachers.

4.2 Merit assessment

In 1980 the Natal Education Department was forced by a Cabinet decision to comply with Inter-departmental procedures regarding merit assessment, and the established format was introduced in Natal. The more closely analytical report form then introduced is based on a seven point numerical scale and a written response is required under the heading of each of 18 criteria. Although the development of the merit award system will be discussed in chapter five, details of the criteria currently in use are indicated here for the convenience of the reader :

"1. The Teacher in the classroom situation

1.1 Discipline and class control

1.2 General planning and lesson preparation

1.3 Lesson presentation

1.4 Teaching skills and techniques

1.5 Supervision and control

1.6 Evaluation and follow-up of pupils' work

1.7 Organisation and administration

1.8 Subject knowledge and insight and use of Departmental guidance and facilities

1.9 Language competence

2. Extra-curricular component

2.1 Involvement in the extra-curricular programme

2.2 Discipline, leadership and initiative

2.3 Organisation and administration

3. The teacher as a person

3.1 Character

3.2 Personality

3.3 Human relations

4. The professional image

4.1 Professional conduct towards pupils, colleagues, employer and the community

4.2 Contribution to the betterment of the image of the profession

4.3 The teacher as a professional educationist."

(N.E.D. circular 11/1980 pp.6-14)

It would appear that the RSA "merit assessment" system, which shows features typical of a centralized bureaucracy and not of a democratic system of education as indicated by Kandel (op.cit.), is looking for a standardized product and not the self-realization of the teacher. Whatever the aims of the system are, they run counter to Wynn's (op.cit.) research that assessment of teachers should be "formative" and not "summative", and be goals-based.

The classroom criteria are, in the main, fairly predictable indications of what teaching is supposed to be within the prevailing éthos of education control in the RSA. Stress is on structured planning, discipline, order and control. These aspects are also easier to assess than interaction criteria which actually make up a small percentage (about 22%) of the overall criteria. This would appear to be an imbalance if the assertion that teaching is largely concerned with verbal communicative skills is accepted. The problem of appraisal systems tending to concentrate on what can most easily be appraised has been indicated in this dissertation through the views of McGregor (op.cit.) among others.

In the research of Moore and Neal (op.cit.) inspectors in Victoria, Australia, saw class control as the most important factor in teaching. And control or order is generally seen as important by most researchers, but more complex criteria of interaction are also involved and Moore and Neal saw that teachers should be evaluated on pupil "attitudes and courtesy" and would be expected to improve "attitudes of pupils to school and authority."

The RSA "merit assessment" descriptions of criteria lack the precision of, for example, the "descriptors" established by Johnson et al (op.cit.), whose TPAI system was based on large-scale empirical research. Johnson et al restricted their work to classroom skills and did not presume to enter into any evaluation of a teacher's character. Intricate aspects of teaching such as interpersonal skills, management of interaction and student perceptions were, however, evaluated.

These aspects are far more complex than the blunt "relationship with pupils" in the RSA system which involves a view of a "correct" form of behaviour from the teacher and not an assessment of complex human interaction.

It would seem that the compilers of the RSA "merit assessment" system have had to create a pseudo-scientific format of assessment in trying to carry out their brief of establishing criteria within a quantitative instrument to be used for the assessment of all state teachers. As no readily acceptable view of good teaching has ever been established, the quantitative assessment of teachers on a 7-point criterion scale, including testable criterion such as "follow-up of pupils' work" and untestable criterion such as "character", and with an aggregate mark out of 126, is scientifically untenable. Most modes of evaluating teachers have performance profiles drawn or use qualitative statements and do not use rating scales.

The method of implementation of the RSA merit assessment system ignored the "co-operation and support of teachers" seen as essential in the I.L.E.A. document (op.cit.), and did not include a formal and detailed

training of assessors which is seen as a vital prerequisite by Johnson et al (op.cit.) among others.

At the time of writing, the situation in the Natal Education Department is that all second-year teachers who achieve a merit award are "automatically" considered for another merit award after a further two years' service. If these teachers achieve a second merit award, they are considered for their third award two years thereafter. Teachers achieving "unsatisfactory" assessments are also "automatically" re-assessed. All other teachers, judged as "satisfactory" but not as meritorious (having failed to achieve a merit award), have to apply for re-assessments later - on an annual basis if necessary. Unconfirmed information made available suggests that about 30% of the teaching force are in receipt of at least one merit award and are therefore categorised Senior Teacher. This high percentage of "meritorious" teachers is at variance with the view of McGregor (op.cit.) who claims that only a very low percentage of employees could be assessed as outstanding in any organization, and probably accounts for some of the uncertainties expressed about a number of the recipients of merit awards by assessors and teacher colleagues. This point will be considered further in chapter five.

Probably the most important assessment, as far as career progression is concerned, is when the teacher applies for a promotion post. In the Natal Education Department vacant promotion posts are internally advertised and applicants are assessed against the requirements of each particular post. Because of the significance of promotion to the individual teacher and to the educational system, the writer intends to give a full description of the promotion system in operation in the Department and to make some comparison with the promotion systems in operation in the other provincial education departments.

4.3 Assessment for promotion

4.3.1 Introduction

The position regarding the promotion of teachers in the Natal Education

Department is promulgated in Natal Ordinance 46 of 1969, as reflected in paragraph 52 (Education) :

> "52. For the filling of any teaching post of higher grade than assistant teacher, the Director shall recommend either -
>
> (a) the transfer or promotion of a teacher who is already on the teaching establishment ; or
>
> (b) the appointment of a person from outside the teaching establishment, if in his opinion the post cannot be satisfactorily filled by the transfer or promotion of a teacher ;
>
> and in making any such recommendation the Director shall have due regard to the qualifications, relative merits, efficiency and suitability of the person whom he considers to be eligible for promotion, transfer or appointment."

And in practice the "relative merits, efficiency and suitability" of the teacher applying for promotion are left to the Director's discretion for definition, because no attempt to define these qualities is made in the Ordinance.

A further reference to the promotion of teachers is made in Natal Ordinance 46 of 1969 under the insertion of Provincial Notice 554 of 1970 which deals with Advisory School Committees and Councils. The influence Advisory School Committees could have on promotion of teachers is limited in terms of their defined functions.

> "Functions of Committee
>
> * 9 (1) (b) to make recommendations in accordance with the policy of the Department, regarding the appointment of Principals and Deputy Principals."

The policy of the Natal Education Department in this regard is for Advisory School Committees to indicate the type of person they would like to be promoted and even for the name of a specific person to be mentioned.

* Substituted by R.(b) P.N. 601/1976 dd. 23.12.1976

The only reference in the Natal Schools' Handbook to promotion of teachers is found in Chapter B : Conditions of Service of Teachers (Provincial Notice No. 328/1972), which contains a brief definition :

> "B.10 Promotion of Teachers (Reg. D.1)
>
> Promotion shall mean the appointment of a teacher one or more grades higher than his existing grade ...." (p.2)

4.3.2 Promotion procedure

Vacant promotion posts are advertised in schools three times a year. A list of vacant posts, above Level 2, is advertised in the first school term with effect from 1 July. The second list is advertised in the second term, with effect from 1 January of the following year. All vacant promotion posts are advertised in the second list. Usually only senior posts, of principal and above, are advertised in the third list which is distributed in the third or fourth term also with effect from 1 January of the following year.

The circular minute used to advertise posts is accompanied by annexures giving details of salaries and related matters. The form to be filled in by applicants is a simple one page document with space for brief personal and professional details of a factual nature. Room is provided for the applicant to add information which might enhance his application, and for him to insert his order of preference if he has applied for more than one post.

Computerised lists of applicants are produced in order of seniority for each advertised post and are sent to all who will attend the Evaluations Meeting. Seniority is firstly based on the post level of the applicants, so that a P III Principal, for example, who is on post level 3 would be senior to a P IV Principal who is on post level 2. The second determinant

of seniority is the date of entry to a post level ; but if applicants have the same date of entry to their equivalent posts then a seniority date (determined by previous service) is established. If applicants are not separated in this way, salary is considered (salary recognition as well as rank progression) to finalise the seniority order.

An Evaluations Meeting is held on a suitable date after the closing of a list of advertised vacant posts, and obviously prior to the date the promotions go into effect.

Both Chief Inspectors, all district inspectors, the Chief School Psychologist, either one or two representatives of each of the two recognised teachers' societies (Natal Teachers' Society and Natalse-onderwysersunie), and two administrative officials attend the Evaluations Meeting. The senior Chief Inspector chairs the meeting.

Teachers' societies representatives may ask questions and query principle or procedure, but they may not assess applicants for promotion.

The district inspector of the school which has the advertised vacant post may indicate the ethos of the school to the meeting, and recommendations by Advisory School Committees would be read out.

Evaluation of teachers is performed by inspectors in accordance with the guidelines established which, in summary, may be described as follows :

1. Applicants must be assessed against the requirements of each post.

2. Knowledge of the applicant should be obtained from documentation in his file.

3. The applicant should be observed in the classroom.

4. In an interview with the applicant, various questions ranging from his ideas on discipline, initiative, loyalty, approachability etc. should be put ; and he should be faced with scenarios such as acting as a principal (if he is not applying for a post of principal) and handling conflict situations with parents and staff.

5. Planning books and records should be examined.

6. Discussion should be held with superiors where possible.

7. It is stressed that evaluation must be done thoroughly, but that no false hopes should be raised.

8. The criteria to be used in evaluation should be similar to those laid down for the evaluation of teachers, (i.e. from the "merit assessment" system), heads of department, and deputy principals where applicable.

In practice the guidelines are carried out with careful consideration by the applicant's district inspector and subject adviser, but the district inspector doing the second opinion on the applicant usually basis his independent assessment only on an interview situation because of the pressure on the inspectorate to complete assessments during the period available from the closing date for applications to the Evaluations Meeting. It is submitted that the administration should ensure a lengthier period of time for the assessment of applicants for promotion.

Assessment for promotion is done on a four-point scale :

A. Excellent
B. Highly suitable
C. Suitable
D. Unsuitable

It seems usual that an assessment is a prognosis of how an applicant will perform in the post for which he is applying, and that the first question to be asked of the assessor is whether he would be happy to see the candidate in the post. If the answer is YES then a rating of A, B or C is given ; if the answer is NO then a rating of D is given A D-rating, which has always to be motivated, could be based on factors such as a weak personality, incompetence, poor human relations, inappropriate language and cultural preference, or not being sufficiently bilingual for a parallel medium post.

A C-rating means that the applicant is promotable ; a B-rating that he has been given a good assessment ; and an A-rating that he is an outstanding applicant and one of a very small percentage of the teaching force.

Assessments of A, B, C or D are given by the district inspector and then independently by another district inspector.

A subject adviser's assessment is also indicated. Any district inspector, Chief School Psychologist or Chief Inspector may assess an applicant if his knowledge of the applicant is based on the past two years. This time stipulation is not generally adhered to, and applicants for promotion are seen on a more regular basis than that of two years.

All assessments given and the major reasons therefor are copied down by the two Chief Inspectors, senior district inspectors nominated by the Director, and the two administrative officials. A final symbol is then established for each applicant.

The district inspector's written report is handed in, as are subject advisers' written reports when available.

Bilinguality ratings are given by district inspectors for applicants who have applied for parallel medium posts. A minimum rating of E2 or A2 is a requirement.

After the Evaluations Meeting, a meeting of the Promotions Committee is held. This committee is comprised of the two Chief Inspectors and senior district inspectors nominated by the Director of Education. Representatives from the two teachers' societies and administrative personnel are also involved in this meeting. Assessments of applicants are correlated. For each post the name of the most senior applicant who has received the highest awarded symbol, with consideration taken of his order of preference, is drawn to the attention of the Management Committee, consisting of the Director of Education and his Deputies. The full lists of applicants, plus all written reports by subject advisers and district inspectors on these applicants, are considered, if necessary. Management then selects the successful applicants and submits the list to the Administrator-in-Executive Committee.

Although Natal Ordinance 46 of 1969 states that "All promotions in the teaching establishment shall be made by the Administrator" (op. cit. p.167) in effect only promotions to posts of H I principal, equivalent, or higher, are considered by the Administrator-in-Executive Committee, whereas lower ranked posts are filled by the Director.

4.3.3 Assessments in promotion posts

The policy of the Natal Education Department, is that all professional staff should be assessed. This policy followed the introduction of merit assessment for teachers and carries within it the inherently democratic viewpoint that if classroom teachers are accountable under an assessment procedure, then their senior colleagues should also have their work evaluated. A further consideration is that if merit assessment of teachers achieves the professed aim of improving their performance, then assessment of teachers in promotion posts should have an even more important and salutory effect for education in Natal.

All heads of department and deputy principals who had been in their promotion posts for at least a year were due to be assessed in 1982.

The appraisal document to be used covered areas of personality and the professional image of the teacher, identical to those covered in the teacher merit assessment form ; but it covered classroom work in less detail, concentrating more on planning, advice to colleagues and follow-up. A new area introduced was "leadership", which was sub-divided into three descriptions :

1. "ability to plan and to identify and to solve problems" ;

2. "ability to implement planning, to control, to guide and to inspire ...." ; and

3. "rapport with principal, colleagues and pupils." (Natal Education Department circular minute 11/1980 p.12)

Some overlap in the criteria is obvious with, for example, implementation of planning being covered under points one and two, while similar aspects of personality are assessed under point three and under other sections of "human relations" and"professional conduct". It is submitted that the leadership model supported is a conservative and administrative one along the lines of the "operational man" and "reactive man" as established by Ramos (1975), and not his "parenthetical man", who is critical and creative. The experienced assessor, however, would probably take creativity into account in his judgment - but all assessors work in terms of the ultimate constraint of the assessment form. A 7-point scale is used for each criterion on the analytical report, which remains confidential.

A global report is seen by the assessed head of department or deputy principal, and so is the final mark assessment which is established from the analytical report.

This assessment procedure is too much in its infancy for there to have been much reaction to its implementation. Concern has been expressed,

however, about the lack of job descriptions by the Department for these two posts, which makes assessment difficulty because heads of department and deputies perform such differing functions in different schools.

The evaluators for heads of department are the principal and a deputy principal, or the district inspector, if there is no deputy. Evaluators for deputy principals are the principal and the district inspector. Subject advisers report on the classroom performance of heads of department.

Another fear expressed is that as there have been no attempts to standardize evaluations, district inspectors will be working to varying standards. This fear probably arises out of the "competitive" nature of the assessment procedure because the assessed will be graded on a numerical scale and that this mark may affect further promotion chances.

Principals are assessed in a far more detailed way than any other teachers. The so-called "A form inspection" is usually carried out by two district inspectors and often takes three days or longer to complete. The questionnaire used is over forty pages long and covers all areas of a principal's responsibility, under major headings of :

organization
administration
educational leadership and control of tuition
liaison skills
control of physical amenities
general tone of the school
hostel supervision (if appropriate).

The major aim of this assessment is for it to be valuable in-service training for a principal, and many of the principals assessed have seen the inspection in this light. Some have complained about being assessed in areas over which they have little control, such as physical amenities

which are provided and maintained by Provincial Building Services.

An assessment on each section is made on a 5-point scale and then a global assessment is made. Although the result of an "A form inspection" could have an effect on a principal's application for further promotion, it is necessary to recall the point made when assessment for promotion was discussed, namely that any applicant for promotion is assessed against the requirements of the post and that evaluation symbols may merely have an influence on the final decision.

The major limitation in the "A form inspection" is that the questions asked are based mainly on procedural aspects as laid down in the Natal Schools' Handbook. Although assessors tend to concentrate on the section entitled educational leadership, rather than on sections dealing with financial control and general office administration, the tenor of the assessment is not particularly creative. The ability of principals to carry out policy is firmly established ; but their philosophies of education, their styles of leadership, and their long-term goals are not probed deeply enough in the format of the assessment.

Having considered the procedures for the assessment and promotion of teachers in the Natal Education Department, the writer now proceeds to highlight certain aspects of the promotion procedures followed by other provincial authorites.

5. Promotion procedures in other provincial education departments in the RSA

It is interesting to note that the supposed co-ordination of "conditions of service" for teachers in the employ of provincial education departments as laid down in the National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967 and which does not extend to probationary teachers as indicated earlier, also does not extend to promotion procedures.

A major difference between the promotion system in operation in Natal when compared with the systems followed in the Orange Free State, Cape Province and Transvaal, is that the parent community is involved in the promotion of teachers in the other provinces. In general, parents are voted on to School Committees which have a prominent place in the promotion system. This appears to be in accord with principle (h) of the National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967, namely, that :

> "the parent community be given a place in the education system through parent-teachers' associations, school committees, boards of control or school boards or in any other manner." (2 h p.4)

5.1 Promotion procedure in the Orange Free State

Schools are asked to notify the Department of vacant promotion posts and the School Board of Control has the right to ally a subject with any vacant post from head of department to principal, although this is done infrequently and only in small country schools.

Lists of posts are published three times a year and applicants submit their applications plus testimonials from three sources to the Department. District inspectors go through the list of applicants for each post, consider the testimonials and visit the applicants if necessary. At a Promotions Meeting the two chief inspectors and the six district inspectors draw up a preferential list of three names in alphabetical order. This list, plus the names of all the applicants, is sent to the School Board of Control. The top three candidates have their travelling costs, to attend an interview with the School Board of Control, covered by the Department. While the School Board of Control has the right to request interviews with other applicants, these other applicants have to meet their own travelling costs.

The School Board of Control places applicants in rank order and returns

the list to the Department. An offer in writing is made to the top applicant.

From discussion, it appears that there is a close liaison between district inspectors and School Boards of Control, so that little friction develops and generally the Department's choice is ratified by the Board.

Many Natal teachers have voiced concern over non-professionals being involved in the promotion of teachers, but the O.F.S. system offers parental involvement after professional decisions have been made and seems to be a fair compromise.

Two aspects which would be unacceptable to most English speaking teachers in Natal are the insertion of "Kerk verband" on the promotion list and the necessity for one of the three testimonials to be written by a minister of religion : "Getuigskrif van Predikant". The English speaking community sees a distinction between Church and School and interprets principle (a) of the National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967, that

> "the education in schools .... controlled by a .... provincial administration shall have a Christian character, but that the religious conviction of the parents and the pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies",

in a much broader way than that of the majority of the Afrikaans speaking community. This is because education, by Calvinist definition, is a matter in which Church and State must be involved.

5.2 Promotion procedure in the Cape of Good Hope

Vacant promotion posts are advertised in the Cape Gazette and applications are sifted by a Selection Committee. Since 1970 the Selection Committee

has operated with three members : one from the South African Teachers' Association (from a panel of 3 submitted by SATA) ; one from the Suid Afrikaanseonderwysersunie (from a panel of 3 submitted by SAOU) ; with one inspector of education as chairman.

Thus, in the Cape, teachers' representatives have a more direct involvement in promotion than they do in the other provincial education departments. The two teachers' representatives on the Selection Committee actually become officials of the Cape Education Department, which immediately makes role conflict inevitable.

District inspectors assess the promotability of teachers to the next level during panel inspections of schools every four years. They may also be asked for reports on the promotability of specific applicants for promotion by the Selection Committee, which sifts through reports and extracts those of applicants who appear promotable. For head of department posts, a list of approximately five names is sent to the School Committee, which, together with the principal, interviews these applicants and then submits the name of the top applicant to the Selection Committee.

For a principal's post the School Committee usually selects a top applicant but provides for a second or third choice from the Selection Committee's short list.

The School Committee has the right to ask to interview someone not on the list, but would have to make strong representation and would also have to interview all the others on the short list.

The Director sees the schedule of all the candidates selected by the Selection Committee, and can ask for names to be added or deleted.

From discussion with teachers in the Cape it would appear that they are reasonably happy with their system mainly because they have a teachers'

society colleague on the Selection Committee. Principals consulted are highly satisfied with the system, because many of them, in effect, choose heads of department and deputy principals for their own schools. Some concern has been expressed by teachers about internal promotions within schools becoming prevalent, and by the power of some parent communities over the management teams of schools.

5.3 Promotion procedure in the Transvaal

The Transvaal Education Department also uses a sifting mechanism for promotion, and this Selection Board has been operating since 1963. The Director of Education appoints the three members of this Board, there are no representatives of teachers' societies on it, and the members hold the rank of chief inspector (chairman) and of district inspectors.

A more formal promotion system has probably been instigated because of the sheer magnitude of the task in the Transvaal Education Department. In the 1981 report of the Selection Board, mention is made of 1070 vacant posts and 8540 applications which were considered. Complex administrative procedures are the hallmark of the Transvaal Education Department syst from the application for promotion form to the assessment of promotability.

Vacant posts are advertised in the Transvaal Gazette three times a year and applicants submit testimonials and certificates to the Selection Board. Inspectors' reports are studied by the Board, which also has the right to interview applicants, if further information is required or if the applicant's name has been submitted by a School Committee. A total of 837 interviews were held in 1981.

A list of suitable applicants in order of preference is sent to the School Committee, which interviews and then returns to the Selection Board a rank order of these applicants. The School Committee has the right to add names to the list, which would be sifted by the Selection

Board, or to ask for the post to be re-advertised if all applicants seem unsuitable.

Criteria for promotion are basically merit then suitability and acceptability. Problems which could emerge are the differing views on what denotes "merit" in a teacher when assessed by professionals and by non-professionals.

The Selection Board submits the School Committee's recommendation to the Director, who makes the final decision. Apparently the Director accepts the School Committees' recommendations in 99% of cases. The Selection Board Chairman shares his expertise on evaluation by holding courses on evaluation of staff for principals (the Board also plays a part in merit assessment) and by offering advice to inspectors.

The Transvaal Education Department in explaining the advantages of the Selection Board, noted the following :

> "The establishment of the Selection Board, in 1963, ensured that for the first time the Transvaal Education Department had a professional body which would henceforth deal with the selection of suitable applicants for promotion posts.
>
> Although the selection process starts with the Selection Board, the powers of the recommending body are in no way abrogated. Close co-operation with bodies representing parents is achieved by means of interviews.
>
> Since the inception of the Selection Board the evaluation of teaching personnel has been effected according to a scientifically determined procedure, and the selection process has thus been made more efficient."
> Source : Transvaal Education Department Pamphlet, 1978.

Although much dissatisfaction has been expressed by English speaking teachers, and particularly by the Transvaal Teachers' Association, about

their relationship with the Transvaal Education Department and its hierarchy, there appears to be reasonable satisfaction with the promotion procedures. The 1982 President of the Transvaal Teachers' Association said that his society would not like to see a change in the promotion procedure in the Transvaal, when addressing the Natal Teachers' Society Conference on 5 July 1982. His comments on English speaking communities having a major say in promotions within their own schools help to confirm the Transvaal Education Department's statement about the Selection Board that "the powers of the recommending body are in no way abrogated."

It is apparent that the Natal Education Department system of promotion is more centralized in control than are the systems in the other three provinces. How long this remains so, of course, is a matter of conjecture ; for as will be shown in chapter six, moves are well afoot towards the involvement of the parent community in promotion procedures.

6. Conclusions

This chapter has sought to review procedures of assessment in the RSA and in certain overseas countries so that procedure in the RSA can be appreciated. The following points arise :

6.1 A general view emerges that teacher performance should be assessed despite the difficulties involved in trying to define "good" teaching, as discussed in chapter three. A concomitant difficulty is that of creating standardized modes for assessing teachers, when the very criteria under which they would be evaluated, are questionable.

6.2 In most Western countries surveyed in this chapter, there appear to be fairly strong demands for more satisfactory methods of assessment, usually with two purposes in mind : establishing accountability towards society, and improvement in teacher performance.

6.3 In centralized education systems (and for historical reasons the legacy of centralized British colonial systems still appears to influence the education systems in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa), the major purpose for assessment tends to tilt towards the accountability of teachers as a part of the control function of the education authority. Alternatively in decentralized education systems, such as those in England and the U.S.A., the major purpose for assessment tends to tilt towards an improvement in teacher performance.

6.3.1 Le Roux (1980) warns of the dangers of centralization :

> "bureaucracy and centralization in education are synonymous .... Moreover, the impersonal, dehumanising effect of a central bureaucracy may be counteracted by a decentralized form of educational administration. The greater the measure of decentralization, the greater the degree of professionalism." (p.111)

Le Roux's plea for greater professionalism for teachers does reflect the central importance of teaching staff in the administration of an educational system, but whether de-centralization alone can achieve this is questionable. Decentralization of education control is also recommended in the Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into Education Report (1981) as previously mentioned.

6.3.2 Counter moves in England towards centralization pose disturbing thoughts for McWilliams (1979) :

> "For example, the cry for a national curriculum could be met by a centrally imposed, rigid and narrow definition linked to a galaxy of measures of achievement designed to produce evidence of standards on a national basis."

McWilliams sees the Schools Council, if it continues to exist, as being able to offer research and skills to enable teachers to maintain an open curriculum while improving their performance through self appraisal and appraisal within the school by school personnel. He surmises that there is an awareness growing in English society of the unique blend between the open curriculum of a school and the shared values and attitudes transmitted by the community.

6.3.3 This would logically tend to suggest that teacher competence should only be assessed within the prevailing social and educational values at the most decentralized level of all : the school. An interesting question which emerges is the relevance of the national assessment procedure in the RSA when consideration is given to the vast cultural differences which exist among teachers of different races and languages, employed under different ministeries and by different education authorities.

6.4 Much of the educational literature consulted, shows an awareness that a balance between accountability and teacher development should be achieved in a teacher assessment programme ; yet it is questionable whether one mode of assessment can satisfy both the requirements for proof of accountability and for the creative process of teacher development. The management processes for each aim are different and the swing in industrial management towards a "human resources" model where individual improved performance is paramount, seems to point in the appropriate direction for education. But in business non-accountability is more simple, because of the ease with which employees can be discharged.

6.5 An important point which emerges from this chapter is that when greater consideration is given to the opinions of teachers and their individual needs, they tend to react positively in assessment programmes, as proved by Wynn (1977) et al. It would appear from the research that more sophisticated assessment processes should be developed in all local education authorities. Wynn suggests that researchers in this field would be able to help school boards in the U.S.A. to draw up viable systems.

6.6 Further important research in the U.S.A. has been completed by Johnson (1980) et al, whose "skills based" evaluation of teacher performance ends in a profile being drawn of the teacher and not a rating being given.

6.7 In England despite a suggestion in a Department of Education and Science report in 1977 for standardized procedures for the assessment of teachers, nothing has eventuated. Teacher opposition has been strong and the matter has been fiercely debated. The proposed I.L.E.A. scheme pleads for strong teacher involvement and supports most American views on the value of self appraisal by teachers.

6.8 South Africa appears to be the only Western-oriented country with a nationally structured programme for teacher assessment which incorporates the payment of a monetary reward to teachers assessed as meritorious. Although this reflects government emphasis on classification and control, it should be indicated that merit increases have been introduced in some local authorities. The Daily News of 28 July 1982 p. 9 reports that the Glen Cove City school district on Long Island has introduced merit increases for principals, assistant principals and department heads under Superintendent Dr. R. Finley.

6.9 People in the RSA are currently living in an uncertain period awaiting major political and social change, with a concomitant uncertainty about possible modes of political organization. Constitutional proposals to abolish the provinces and Human Sciences Research Council recommendations for greater local control in education pose doubts about future management of education, which would affect educational objectives and hence curricular methodologies and teacher assessment. How valid a nationally determined assessment programme can be in this atmosphere will be considered in the following chapters.

6.10 At this juncture it would seem relevant for school principals to be granted greater autonomy as managers of their schools so that they could develop assessment programmes geared to the growth of individual teachers and which would incorporate principles of democratic self realization by teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ASSESSMENT OF TEACHER COMPETENCE IN NATAL

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter the writer provided an overview of the aims and methods (as far as these could be ascertained) currently employed in the assessment of teacher competence in selected areas of the world including South Africa. The intention was not to present an exhaustive analysis, but rather to indicate general contemporary trends. The present chapter will, by means of a study of available policy documentation and other sources, set out to show how the teacher-assessment policy and practice prevailing in Natal at the time of writing came into existence. Another aim in this chapter is to consider teacher reaction to aspects of the assessment of teacher competence.

The writer's terms of reference must immediately be made clear. In the province of Natal, teachers are employed by the following different authorities : the Natal Education Department, the Department of Education and Training, the Kwa Zulu Government Service Department of Education and Culture, and the Department of Internal Affairs (Divisions of Indian and Coloured Education). The multiplicity of control has been shown to result in numerous discrepancies, inadequacies and other problems (see for example the Report of the Buthelezi Commission, Education Section,1982). The conditions of service for white teachers are uniform throughout the country in terms of Act 39 of 1967 as amended, but because the administration of education for whites is in the hands of provincial bodies, the development of policy and practice in respect of (for example) the assessment of teacher competence has at times been slightly different from province to province. Quests for co-ordination by interdepartmental committees and the Commission for Public Administration (previously the Public Service Commission) have resulted in instances where Natal has been required or obliged to follow the examples of other provinces

which (in terms of the white population) are more populous and politically stronger.

Partly for the sake of convenience and partly to allow for a closer examination of available data, the writer's principal focus of attention will be the policy and practices of the Natal Education Department as these have developed over the years. The attitudes of employees of that Department as expressed in respect of "merit assessment" will be considered, as will the views of assessors (school principals, deputy principals and heads of department). Account will also be taken of employees of the Division of Indian Education, Department of Internal Affairs. The overall intention is to recount the nature and role of teacher assessment as it prevails in one province of South Africa, with particular (but not sole) reference to one employer of teachers in the province. As the chapter progresses a central theme will emerge - namely, the lack of involvement of teachers in the making of decisions which affect them. Problematic as this lack of involvement is amongst White and Indian teachers, the situation for Blacks is even more startling. They have virtually been excluded from the present study, for the simple reason that their education system and the conditions of service for teachers within it (for example in respect of assessment of "merit") are relatively unsophisticated. Teacher competence is apparently measured only in terms of formal qualification and because of a desperate situation in which the majority of teachers are un-or underqualified, academic discussion on the issues with which this dissertation is concerned would be an unnecessary indulgence.

In this chapter, then, the writer proposes to review the development of policy and practice relating to teacher assessment, largely within the Natal Education Department ; to examine these developments in recent historical perspective ; and critically to evaluate the present system of assessment in the light of organization theory and techniques of administration and management, established in previous chapters. Teacher reaction will be considered, from the perspective both of the assessed and those responsible for making assessments.

2. Early trends : requirements of teachers

Dr B.J.T. Leverton, writing for the Natal Witness on 14 May 1973 indicated the appointment requirements for the replacement of the first government teacher in Natal :

> "When Marquard left Natal in October 1853 applicants to fill his post had to undergo a written examination in Greek and Latin, Dutch and French, Arithmetic, Euclid (first four books), Plane Trigonometry, the elements of Mechanics, Geology, and Chemistry, and History ancient and modern." (p.12 of a Natal Provincial Administration supplement)

Contemporary teachers would blanch at the erudite requirements for Marquard's successor, particularly considering how broadly these were based. In the present age of specialization it would be necessary to employ a teacher of Latin (Greek having disappeared as a school subject), a teacher of French, a teacher of Afrikaans, a teacher of mathematics, a teacher of geography, a teacher of physical science, and a teacher of history to fulfil the rather unrealistic requirements of 1853. It is interesting to note that no reference is made to an ability to teach, and that the assessment of competence was to be based only on a written examination.

One wonders about the benefit of a classical education for children of Natal frontiersmen in the 1850s, particularly when the criteria for teacher employment seem distanced from what must have been the requirements of the pupils and the views of their parents. Dr Mann, Natal's first Superintendent of Education, appointed in 1859, wrote :

> "One teacher tells me he could only openly teach the doctrine of the earth's rotundity at school at the risk of losing half his pupils ....." (idem)

Probably history only up to the time of Copernicus should have been taught!

A most important early statement indicating an anti-bureaucratic nature, which is particularly relevant today, was made by Leverton about Dr Mann :

> "It was his belief that the school should be built around the individual teacher and not around the Department of Education. To this end he strove rather for quality in teachers than mere weight of numbers." (ibid. p.14)

To be able to recognise "quality in teachers" implies, of course, an assessment of aspects which denote quality, but no record remains of whether Dr Mann employed any criteria of teacher competence apart from the certificates his employees held. His humanistic view of education and awareness of the importance of the individual teacher was ultimately to become part of the fabric of the Natal Education Department, which seems marked by a combination of central control and attempts to facilitate personal development among staff.

Vietzen (1980) has traced in interesting fashion the history of education in colonial Natal, and notes that Dr Mann's influence was marked in four main spheres. He "initiated a paternalism, relics of which still remain in the centralised educational administration in Natal today" (p.29), largely because he had to assume sole responsibility for all aspects of education ; he applied policy impartially, setting a tone of religious non-involvement ; thirdly, Mann was appointed not as an educationist but as an educated man "who radiated knowledge and enthusiasm for it" (p.30) ; finally, he approached education from a very practical point of view and favoured a curriculum which would be of value to pupils in the world of work. It seems that Dr Mann found favour with many groups and persons in the Colony, but his resignation in 1870 (after being in England for four years) was not without bitterness , for he knew that opposition had built up against him in some quarters and that he would not be given the financial support needed to provide the educational services he envisaged. Control of government education became steadily more centralized, a movement described by Vietzen (op.cit., p.49) as "the starvation policy of the Superintendency" and which could have accounted for the growth of "private" education.

The influence of individuals such as Mann was paralleled in other parts of the country, for example in the Transvaal as described by Bot (1936). When President Burgers arrived in Pretoria in 1872, "he wished to advance education in the Transvaal to a stage where it would be comparable with the contemporary systems of European countries, and more particularly with that of Holland. Unfortunately he wanted to do all this in one stride." (Bot, 1936, pp.18-19). Annexation by the British in 1877, the subsequent wars of independence and other circumstances led to public distrust of government education in the Transvaal, and to the growth of the (private) Christian National Education movement. Only with the creation of Union in 1910 did some measure of uniform control in education come about.

In outposts where most teachers had not had the advantage of extensive training, it is understandable that assessments of competence were fairly arbitrary. The pupil-teacher system, introduced in England in the 1840s, found some application in early South Africa where teachers pursued their own education under the guidance of school principals, and particularly in girls' schools "there was only a fine distinction between teachers and the taught, both in age and training" (Vietzen, op. cit., p.108). Some teachers had overseas qualifications, others had certificates or licences issued by local governments, and many had no formal qualifications at all.

As time went on and the provision of education expanded, the level of teacher qualifications generally increased. With more qualified persons, some selection was presumably possible, but the actual assessment of competence remained largely in the hands of the inspectorate in all provinces of South Africa.

It is hoped that early inspectors in Natal were a little more sensitive and not as jingoistic as the Cape Province inspector who failed E.G. Malherbe, later principal of the University of Natal, as part of an entire Std 9 class in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking community school because no pupil in the class could pronounce the surname Cholmondely!

But the writer's historical perspective must move on to the direct antecedents of the present system of the assessment of teachers in Natal, and to survey the changes which have taken place during the careers of currently serving teachers.

3. First assessments : confirmation of appointments

The system of assessment for confirmation of appointment as outlined in the previous chapter appears to have remained unchanged in practice except for minor detail, from the 1940s to the present day. Reports show little difference in format, in style, or in reference to specific aspects of teacher performance, as the following extracts from actual reports on file will serve to indicate :

Example 3.1 : Report dated 5 May 1948

> "Though he is able to control them well when he wishes to, Mr A adopts a friendly, lenient attitude towards the pupils. They are inclined to take advantage of his kindliness and to become noisy by shouting out answers or questions without being called upon, or muttering comments to their neighbours ....
>
> Mr A has had but little experience of practical teaching and needs to revise some of the methods now being used by him. He speaks clearly, has a good classroom manner and the qualities of a successful teacher. His attention was drawn particularly to the need for stricter control of the class and the written work."

Example 3.2 : Report dated 25 March 1952

> "I have visited the classroom of the above teacher and obtained a very favourable impression of his capabilities for he appeared to be efficient and conscientious in his work. I recommend the confirmation of his appointment."

Example 3.3 : Report dated 3 May 1962

> "Early in each of the lessons heard it became apparent that Mr C is a teacher of ability. He has a mature

and strong personality and exercises very good control over his classes. His pupils show a ready response to his manner towards them.

The presentation of his lessons is sound. Although he shows patience with the pupils in their difficulties, he can keep the whole class alert. He tells them nothing that he can elicit from them through careful questioning that inspires thought on their part ...

Adequate written work has been set and nearly all of it has been marked personally by the teacher, who has thus put himself in the position of knowing the capabilities of all his pupils. The work is generally neat and well set out and bears evidence of the teacher's sound influence on the work being done."

Example 3.4 : Report dated 26 March 1963

"Mnr D beheer sy klasse goed. Die netheid en stiptelikheid waarmee werk gedoen word getuig ook hiervan. Hy het 'n sterk en duidelike stem, en hou die aandag van leerlinge baie gemaklik ...

Die dagboek, joernaal en ook sy behandeling van die werk getuig van deeglike beplanning en voorbereiding ...

Dit is duidelik dat Mnr D geïnteresseerd is in die onderwys, en dat hy hardwerkend en besonder pligsgetrou is.

Geskrewe werk word gereeld gekontrolleer en die vereiste standaard word gehandhaaf. Mnr D werp sy volle gewig in wat buitemuurse aktiwiteite betref en rig die skool se eerste krieketspan met welslae af."

Example 3.5 : Report dated 4 June 1976

"Although this is Miss E's first year back in Natal after a break of almost two years, it is actually her twelfth year of teaching in four countries and at least eight schools.

Miss E appears to be settling down, however, and is teaching steadily. Her pupils are making satisfactory progress but neatness in handwriting and the setting out of work could receive more attention without inhibiting the children's desire to write.

Miss E is a competent teacher."

Example 3.6 : Report dated 3 September 1980

"Miss F has established a friendly warm rapport with her class and the resulting class control is satisfactory. More flexible use of her voice with more varied intonation was discussed with Miss F as I feel this would help considerably.

There was evidence of adequate preparation and planning, and the general appearance of the classroom suggests satisfactory organisation. Records were in order.

The written work seen was of varied quality, the average being satisfactory. Regular control was evident."

These extracts from reports indicate purely subjective appraisals of teacher merit, although predictable areas of comment (such as class control, general conscientiousness and neatness of record-keeping) receive attention. It seems that assessors have not found much difficulty in deciding whether teachers on probation have performed satisfactorily or not. School principals, the academic inspectorate and district inspectors have all at some stage or another been formally involved in the confirmation (or otherwise) of appointments. The Natal Education Department (unlike most other employers of teachers in South Africa) has for some time considered a teacher's first year of service actually to be part of his initial training as a teacher, and up to the present time heads of departments in schools are required to involve themselves in what amounts to a school-based system of teacher apprenticeship. The value of such a system may be open to debate, but it is clear that the first year of service is seen to be a period of socialization and that acceptability, accordingly, is likely to be judged in terms of a teacher's appropriation or internalization of the norms prevailing in his particular school.

4. Later assessments

It is with further provisions for assessment (i.e. after attainment of permanent status) that changes in policy over the years are discernible

in Natal. Until 1978, principals were required to report on the work of all teachers who were in their 3rd, 7th, 12th and 18th years of service. These reports were also largely subjective, as the following excerpts will indicate:

Example 4.1 : Report dated 18 May 1959 - seventh year of service

> "Mrs AA is a teacher of great ability who is completely 'at home' in front of a class. She is enthusiastic about her work and inspires a similar enthusiasm in her pupils from whom she demands the best they can offer. Her 1958 Senior Certificate ..... results were outstanding.
>
> She has taken up ..... as a teaching subject and conducts her classes in a very competent manner. Possessed of a strong personality, she exercises a fine influence on her pupils.
>
> On two occasions she has acted as a sub-examiner on .... marking committee and .... been most impressed with the excellence of her work."

Example 4.2 : Report dated 29 August 1955 - seventh year of service

> "Mr BB has seven years service, the last 1½ years under me.
>
> Mr BB is a quiet, studious man. He is teaching ... from Standard 7 to Standard 9, and is clearly enthusiastic about his subject and master of it.
>
> His teaching technique is sound and his lessons fluent and interesting. He makes extensive use of carefully-prepared maps and diagrams.
>
> His discipline is firm and his relations with pupils and staff are good.
>
> He is a cadet officer and in other ways plays a full part in extra-curricular activities.
>
> I find him pleasant and cooperative - he is doing good work and he has not allowed a recent and rather extensive spell of indifferent health to deter him."

Example 4.3 : Report dated 16 March 1966 ; same case as 4.2, now in 18th year of service

"Mr BB has a clear voice and forceful manner.

A lesson on the seasons was well introduced and was well illustrated using a globe and a pupil. Explanations were clearly given and good use was made of questioning.

Class control was good, the pupils showing interest in the lesson.

Written Work : Cyclostyled notes were issued, the pupils drawing all the diagrams etc.

A number of tests (six to date) had been set. Written work was well controlled and of a satisfactory standard. The matter of additional written work and the selection of carefully thought out questions was discussed.

General : Mr BB is an experienced and capable teacher."

These reports were global in nature and tended to be brief, unless there were specific shortcomings in a teacher's work. The established descriptions of "Outstanding", "Good", "Very Satisfactory", "Satisfactory", "Fair", and "Weak" were used and attention would be paid to these descriptions (and possibly the reports in general) when teachers applied for promotion. However, reports were not always written at appropriate times. Indeed, during the writer's investigations and collection of data for this dissertation, it became increasingly clear to him that the policy of inspection and report-writing had not operated efficiently in practice. From a survey of teachers' files it emerged that a majority of the required reports had never been written. Principals were supposed to contact the Education Department when teachers reached their 3rd, 7th, 12th and 18th years of service, but evidence indicates that this was not done with any regularity. Consequently, teachers were not assessed with predictable frequency (and certainly not in a deeply probing way), many of them not being assessed at all after their probationary year. This lack of experience of actual assessment may

have been a factor contributing to the startled and resentful response of many teachers towards the introduction of the "merit assessment" system which forced frequent or regular assessment on them.

While it is not possible to publish names or other details of the teachers involved, the following information, gleaned from the writer's survey of just twenty files, substantiates the points made :

Table 5.1 : Reports Submitted on Twenty Teachers

Case	Employed from	Years of service in which reports were written	Missing reports - years of service indicated
A	1935	1st	3rd 7th 12th 18th
B	1935	1st	3rd 7th 12th 18th
C	1936	1st 3rd 7th 12th 18th	
D	1936	1st 12th	3rd 7th 18th
E	1941	1st 3rd 7th 18th	12th
F	1946	1st 7th	3rd 12th 18th
G	1947	1st 3rd	7th 12th 18th
H	1948	1st 7th 18th	3rd 12th
I	1948	1st	3rd 7th 12th 18th
J	1950	1st 3rd 7th	12th 18th
K	1951	1st	3rd 7th 12th 18th
L	1951	1st 3rd	7th 12th 18th
M	1952	1st 3rd	7th 12th N/A appointed principal
N	1955	1st 3rd	7th 12th 18th
O	1955	1st 18th	3rd 7th 12th
P	1956	1st	3rd 7th 12th 18th
Q	1959	1st	3rd 7th 12th N/A appointed principal
R	1961	1st 7th	3rd 12th N/A introduction o merit assessme
S	1961	1st 3rd 7th	12th N/A) introduction o
T	1962	1st 7th	3rd 12th N/A) merit assessme

From the arbitrary selection of 20 cases, it is clear that while reports for confirmation of appointment were always completed (because of the legal requirement involved), there was no regularity about the writing of subsequent reports. Of the 75 reports which should have been written during the years of service of the case study teachers, only 22 (29%) were actually filed. The writer's assertion on the inadequacy of the system is therefore substantiated in respect of the small sample studied, and although it would be dangerous to generalize from twenty cases, a problem area is identified. It seems that a state of laissez faire virtually prevailed, with policy not being borne out in practice.

5. Merit assessment : a troubled history

In 1978 the situation in Natal as in the rest of the country for teachers, changed to provide for the "merit assessment" of teachers. Recognition of merit was to be rewarded with monetary gain, a step vociferously rejected by the Natal Teachers' Society once the full implications of the scheme became known. The same Teachers' Society had, in the immediately preceding years, set up a committee to investigate and make recommendations on a more "objective" system of teacher assessment than prevailed in terms of the inspectors' reports described above, but had not linked such assessment with the payment of extra salary notches.

5.1 Background

It is necessary to recall the particular mood of the teacher occupational group in early 1978. There was, throughout the country, widespread dissatisfaction not only with teachers' salaries but with other aspects of their employment including opportunities for upward career progression. At a time when increased population growth rates were affecting secondary school population statistics (a picture very different from that expected in the second half of the present decade), teachers were leaving their classrooms for more lucrative and allegedly more satisfying positions. The economy in South Africa was rising to the crest of a wave, the price

of gold having virtually quadrupled in the space of a few years. Research by Thurlow over the period 1977-1978 (later reported in a 1981 dissertation) indicated widespread teacher resentment in Natal : not only about salaries but about the generally low public image of teaching and the lack of autonomy amongst teachers (Thurlow, 1981).

Late in 1977 and again early in 1978, teachers' recognised representatives met with officials of the Natal Education Department on a basis of confidentiality to discuss a possible implementation of more objective systems of teacher assessment. Monetary awards for recognised competence were not specifically discussed (1) but it later became clear that the Natal Education Department (like others) would be required to implement a system of "merit assessment" following, in broad terms, the system which had for some time been in use in government (civil service) offices and which provided for the payment of extra salary notches to those assessed as meritorious. Various communications were issued by the Natal Education Department to schools, some of them causing confusion and indicating that no clear policy or criteria for merit assessment had been agreed upon. At virtually the same time, a new posts structure for teachers was decreed and more resentment and confusion (as for example reported in teachers' association journals of the time) arose - largely because of breakdowns in internal public relations and communications. The press, teachers' meetings and other events (for example an unscientific and rather emotive attitude survey conducted under the aegis of the Natal Teachers' Society) all contributed to what amounted to a call to arms and a public airing of dissatisfaction among teachers.

Bearing all these developments in mind, it is hardly surprising that the introduction of "merit assessment" and "merit awards" met with considerable opposition! The fact that the criteria for assessment were themselves unscientific and untested almost became lost in the sea of rhetoric through which teachers and their employers sailed a hazardous course.

(1) Information gained from unpublished primary sources in the files of the Natal Teachers' Society.

When the revised teaching posts structure was introduced in 1978, the promotion post of Senior Assistant (to which in broad terms about one in four teachers could have aspired) was eradicated and replaced with "recognition for merit". This, according to a policy document distributed to schools (circular 16/1978) which at the same time announced salary increases, would result in the awarding of "one additional salary notch on the key scale from time to time."

Merit assessment had thus come to replace the former system of assessment of teachers in their 3rd, 7th, 12th and 18th years of service. It was envisaged that teachers would be assessed at two year intervals because "the award of the benefit of merit recognition may be made after at least two years of actual service and thereafter at two-yearly intervals ; Provided that such recognition may be granted no more than three times in total." * The method of assessment was indicated vaguely : "An award of merit recognition will only be made according to accepted and co-ordinated procedures and norms which are still to be approved." *

A later circular (31/1978) stated that the number of awards would be related to the ration that had been applicable to the post of Senior Assistant, implying that there would be no financial loss(resulting from changed opportunities for career advancement) to teachers in the new structure. Evaluators would be principals and district inspectors.

A later communication, circular 44/1978, revealed teething problems in the introduction of the new assessment system :

> "After consultation with the two Teachers' Societies and to avoid dissatisfaction as indicated by them, with what was envisaged when Circular 31/1978 was sent to schools, it has been decided not to proceed this year with the procedures that were already under way. A new system of evaluation of teachers is being introduced instead. This, however, will take a considerable time to implement."

* (Quotations from circular 16/1978)

In 1979 teachers who had had two years' service were assessed on the basis of a document which had been evolved by the Natal Education Department in consultation with the recognised teachers' societies in Natal (Natal Teachers' Society and Natalse Onderwysersunie). This document differed from that originally prepared for inter-departmental use. An analytical assessment of criteria more acceptable to the teachers' societies and based on three main sections was made on a five point scale. The scale used was A - Outstanding, B - Good, C - Very Satisfactory, D - Satisfactory, E - Not Satisfactory. A global assessment for each of the three sections of criteria was established, not necessarily an average, and then a final global assessment was arrived at. A global report was written and the teacher was shown both the analytical and global reports.

This form of assessment displayed some advantages over that originally put forward by the Public Service Commission, as will now be indicated.

5.2 Natal Education Department changes

The differences between the criteria under which teachers would be assessed in terms of the document "Voorgestelde instrument vir die prestasiebeoordeling van onderwysers" as issued by the Office of the Public Service Commission(in an internal document dated 7 October 1977), and the document which was used in the Natal Education Department in 1979, are indicated in table form below.

TABLE 5.2 : Comparison of criteria : Natal Education Department and Public Service Commission

Public Service Commission document	Natal Education Department document
Aktiwiteite wat gemeet moet word	Criteria
1.1 Kurrikulêre doeltreffendheid	1. The Teacher in the Classroom

1.1.1	Handhawing van dissipline/ klasbeheer	1.1	Discipline and class control
1.1.2	Aanbieding en voordrag	1.2	Planning and Lesson Preparatic
1.1.3	Beplanning en voorbereiding	1.3	Lesson presentation
1.1.4	Organisasie en administrasie	1.4	Teaching skills and techniques
1.1.5	Kontrole, evaluering en nasorg	1.5	Supervision, control, evaluati and follow-up of pupils' work
1.1.6	Opvoedkundige doelstellings bereik	1.6	Organisation and administratio
1.1.7	Kennis en vaardigheid		
1.1.8	Taalbevoegdheid		
1.2	Buite-kurrikulêre doeltreffendheid	2.	The Teacher outside the Classroom.
1.2.1	Handhawing van dissipline/ groepbeheer	2.1	Involvement in extra-mural activities
1.2.2	Mate van buitemuurse betrokkenheid by skoolbedrywighede	2.2	Discipline, Leadership and Initiative
1.2.3	Organisasie en administrasie	2.3	Organisation and Administratior
1.2.4	Leidinggewing/Afrigting		
1.3	Persoonlikheids-en karaktereien-skappe	3.	The Teacher as a Person
1.3.1	Karaktereienskappe	3.1	Relationship with other people
1.3.2	Persoonlikheidseienskappe	3.2	Professional behaviour towards his pupils
1.3.3	Menseverhoudings	3.3	Professional behaviour towards colleagues, employer and community
1.3.4	Persoonbeeld	3.4	The teacher as an educationalist
1.4	Professionele Ingesteldheid	3.5	Contribution to the ethos of the school
1.4.1	Openbaring van beroepstrots en bevordering van die beeld van die onderwys	3.6	Professional image
1.4.2	Professionele optrede teenoor sy leerlinge, teenoor sy kollegas, teenoor die owerheid en na buite		
1.4.3	Betrokkenheid by beroepsaktiwi-teite		

NB It must be stressed that these were not the only criteria envisaged. 19 had been formulated with an eye to standardization. "Betreffende die ander 11 aktiwiteite wat nie geformuleer is nie, word 'n vryspeling na die behoeftes aan die onderskeie onderwysdepartemente toegelaat". (p.8) So in actual fact 30 criteria were to be used for assessment, each to be divided on a 7-point scale. This quantitative assessment would have a maximum of 210 marks.

The most significant change in the Natal document as far as criteria were concerned was the rejection of the section on character and personality. Feelings by Natal Teachers' Society representatives that the assessment of character could on principle be an intrusion into the private life of a teacher and criticism of attempts to assess such a factor as "loyalty" (which was built into a sub-section on character) on a 7-point scale, led to this proposed section being removed by the Natal Education Department. Concern was also expressed over a sub-division in the professional image section which demanded "aansien in die gemeenskap". It is interesting to note that this sub-division has caused extreme resentment among Indian teachers, as indicated in numerous issues of their journal TASA News, particularly as many of them live a great distance away from their schools because of housing shortages exacerbated by group area legislation.

Strong views in Natal that a 7-point scale was too fine an instrument of assessment, particularly when the large number of assessors was considered, led to the adoption of a 5-point scale. But the major difference in the structure of assessment lay in the fact that the Natal system was flexible, in that the final global symbol (also based on a 5-point scale as previously indicated) was not arrived at in terms of an average of the symbols given for the three sections on the analytical form, but based on a final global view of the performance of the teacher concerned. The Public Service Commission document was

inflexible and quantitative in format. Section 1 made up 50% of the total marks available, whereas sections 2, 3 and 4 each made up 16,67% of the total marks. The cut-off point for a merit award was "die gemiddelde prestasie gelyk aan minstens die tweede hoogste bekwaamheidsgraad" (p.2) and therefore a successful teacher had to achieve 180 marks as well as not to have been judged as unsatisfactory on any sub-section. In Natal, a global "B" was required.

Since teachers had always been shown reports on their performance in the Natal Education Department, they were shown both the analytical and global reports of their merit assessment. In all other education authorities in the RSA, teachers were not shown the reports on their performance and were merely given the number of marks they had achieved.

5.3 Commentary

From the information at the writer's disposal and as already suggested, it would appear that the idea of the introduction of the merit award system derived from the Office of the Public Service Commission. It has not been possible to trace the originator of the system or what the specific aims were in introducing it. The actual decision-makers have never been publicly revealed, but lie hidden behind the paper curtain of so many autocratic decisions that have been taken vis à vis teachers in the RSA. It is likely that the introduction of "merit assessment" and the provision of financial reward to those found to be meritorious, could be defended logically on the grounds that other state employees have long been subject to such a system. The differences between teaching and other civil-service occupations, however, have long been the topic of debate and teachers have striven for separate recognition.

Teachers' societies such as the Natal Teachers' Society and the South African Indian Teachers' Association (since re-named the Teachers' Association of South Africa) were completely surprised when an announcement was made about the introduction of the "merit award" system. The

Deputy Director of Education in the Natal Education Department who has been in charge of the implementation of the merit award system, has acknowledged that he did not himself know the origin of the system he had to implement. A circular from the Public Service Commission had been sent to all education departments in 1977 indicating the prescriptions of the merit award system. Representatives of education departments were shown the format for use in teacher assessment, and an instruction was given that practices were to be co-ordinated after one year.

Because of the lack of public debate over the issue, it is only possible to surmise that some of the reasons for the introduction of the merit award system for teachers could have included the following :

1. as a merit award system had been in operation for officials in the Public Service, a decision was taken to extend this system to include professional teachers employed in state schools ;

2. as the first promotion post for teachers, that of Senior Assistant, had been abolished in the new salaries and posts structure, some form of monetary gain for "promotable" teachers was needed in its place ; and

3. accountability of teachers had become an issue, meaning that the public needed to be assured of teacher competence.

There is also the possibility, of course, that the introduction of the system was a purely political move designed to bring about conformity of certain kinds among teachers and to stem the flow of public criticism of teaching as an occupation.

The persons who drew up the criteria and format of the merit award system are named in an internal Public Service Commission document dated 7/10/1977 : "Die komitee word soos volg saamgestel :-

Sameroeper : Mnr. P.J. Colyn, Kantoor van die Sdk.

Lede : Mnr. G. Krog - Indiërsake as verteenwoordiger van Nie-Blanke onderwysdepartemente.

Prof. G.J. du Toit (TOD as verteenwoordigers van die
Mnr. P. Kruger (provinsiale onderwysdept)

Mnr. D.M. de Wet, Nasionale Opvoeding

Mnr. J.D.V. Terblanche, Verteenwoordiger van die Federale Raad." (pp.3,4)

It is interesting to note that the only member of a teachers' society on the committee was Mr J.D.V. Terblanche of Federal Council (a federal body comprised of all the "white"teachers' societies in the RSA) who, in 1977, was also the chairman of the Transvaalse-Onderwysersvereniging and the rector of the Pretoria-Onderwyskollege. No practising teachers were on the committee, no English-speaking educationists, no provincial education department employees apart from the Transvaal "representatives", and only a white representative for "Nie-blanke" education departments. Technically, of course, the inclusion of Mr. Terblanche meant that teachers had representation! For example in 1977-1978 when the Natal Teachers' Society queried the "check-list" of criteria the then Director of Education replied that teachers' societies had been "involved" in the Public Service Commission's efforts to establish criteria for a merit system. In fact, none of the thousands of teachers in Natal had any advance information on the criteria and there was certainly no opportunity to comment on them.

It must be stressed that discussion was not held with teachers' societies until, as already mentioned, a final document had been sent to the Education Departments. Only at that stage was "consultation" begun, but the matter was virtually a fait accompli. The Natal Education Department suggested certain modifications for its own teachers but, as will be seen shortly, was later forced to fall into line with centralized dictates.

It seems that even the committee which drew up the Public Service Commission merit assessment document indicated its reservations about a hasty introduction of the merit award system without a type of consultation with teachers and before inherent flaws in the proposed posts

structure, which was to be introduced simultaneously with the merit award system, had been eradicated :

> " .... bevind die komitee dat dit weens die talle praktiese probleme, soos bv. wrywingsvlakke, ontevredenheid en anomalieë, onmoontlik is om die stelsel van prestasie-erkenning onder die huidige struktuur in te stel sonder om die Onderwys en onderwysers ernstig en nadelig te beïnvloed." (Internal Public Service Commission document, p.2)

(The use of "beïnvloed" suggests persuasion rather than consultation, but at least the committee had the grace to admit the limitations of its proposals.)

This advice was not fully accepted by the Public Service Commission, but left to the devices of specific Education Departments which were instructed to proceed with the implementation of the new system in 1978. Thus, in Natal, Circular 16/1978 made simultaneous mention of the new posts structure and of the merit award system.

5.4 Criticism in Natal

It is inappropriate to apportion blame to the Natal Education Department for its part in the implementation of the merit assessment system. Other education authorities showed little sensitivity on this issue, compared with the efforts made through the Natal Education Department to involve teachers, through their representatives, in the implementation procedure. Meetings were held with representatives of the two officially recognised teachers' societies to discuss the implications of the merit award system and to consider some of the problems which were likely to be raised by the teaching force. Attempts to ameliorate aspects of the prescribed merit assessment form, which were regarded as questionable by at least one of the two teachers' societies, were carried out by eliminating certain character trait requirements, by reducing the impact of the expected commitment of teachers to their community, by reducing the seven

point numerical scale to a five point symbolic scale, and by agreeing that teachers would be shown their reports.

The Natal Education Department also attempted to make the implementation of the system as acceptable to teachers as possible. Data from trial runs in selected schools were analysed, findings were discussed with principals and teacher society representatives, further modifications were made to the "Natal document", and a guide on evaluation was submitted to all principals, who were also called to district meetings in an attempt to standardize evaluations. In 1978, teacher representatives were even given the opportunity of suggesting appropriate wording for the circular minute relating to the merit assessment system.

In real terms, however, teachers were not consulted ; once again the centralized bureaucracy determined policy, while handing the responsibility for implementation over to the provinces. Strictures on confidentiality of the criteria and total silence on the aims of the system, reveal a form of administration which would be unthinkable in the more democratic processes of administration of education in the United Kingdom or the United States. Debate in numerous overseas journals, the I.L.E.A. proposals in England, and some teacher appraisal schemes in the United States, which have already been surveyed in this dissertation, all indicate the need for teachers to be consulted on professional matters. It is ironic to consider the lack of consultation and the narrowness of view which surrounded the merit assessment controversy, in the light of a statement made by the then Director of Education in Natal, Mr P.R.T. Nel, on 14 May 1973 in the Natal Witness :

> "Innovation in education follows only after careful examination of all implications in relation to their effect on the child and educational processes as a whole. This leads to an appraisal of the many facets of the educational system in order to determine the essential lines of evolutionary change and development which will constitute educational advance without needlessly damaging those values which have stood the test of time." (Supplement to the Natal Witness, May 14 1973, p.4)

While this statement does not of course refer particularly to the assessment of teacher competence, it suggests acceptance of the need for widespread involvement of those affected in decision-making ; a democratization of educational control which, though presented as an ideal, has not found expression in the actual situation in South Africa.

As noted, criticism of the system of merit assessment followed hard upon its introduction, and was aired to a large extent (in Natal) through the teachers' society journal, Mentor.

Letters from one edition (November 1979) indicate the mood of many teachers at the time :

> "What do you and your readers feel about your magnificently UNprofessional Merit Assessment? I feel MENTOR should offer a prize for the best story submitted by your readers. How about these for a start ? ..... a Principal who says he/she could not consider awarding a Merit to Teacher X as he/she makes mistakes in adding up marks ; a Principal who awarded Merits to staff who taught him/her at his/her "old" school ; a Principal who overlooked the fact that Teacher Y comes up to 15 minutes late not only for school but all lessons as well but coaches the 1st rugby/hockey team and therefore deserves a Merit ; a Principal who filled in all the Assessment forms without consulting any members of staff or listening to any lessons at all or arranging for anyone else to listen to any lessons at all" (p.230)

> "If every 'lucky' teacher refused to accept the 'bonus' (bribe to work that little harder?) and returned the money, we, as professional teachers, would strike a blow for something worthwhile ; we would show we ARE members of a profession and NOT members of a Trade Union to be paid a little something extra in our weekly wage envelope for having done some overtime - because isn't that what this Merit Assessment is about?" (idem)

> ".... my headmaster must be very clever writing this report, as he's never seen me teach ...." (idem)

> "Not one of the three men involved at school has ever seen me teach a lesson, discussed Education in

> depth with me, found out my attitude to the profession etc. ..... and yet a full report has been completed and signed in my absence that will go into my file and will reflect on my teaching ability when promotion or future merit awards become available." (ibid. p.231)

> "My own 'C' assessment (after thirty years of my life given willingly and devotedly to teaching) makes me consider my retirement in two years time an event which cannot come too quickly." (idem)

> "My morale is low and I feel extremely bitter and resentful when at heart I know I have given my all throughout the years ...." (idem)

While some of the claims made by the writers could have been extreme, they nevertheless draw attention to brooding resentment and disillusionment.

The following statement was made by the President of the Natal Teachers' Society, in Mentor November 1979 ; partly in an attempt to clarify the issues involved for the upset teachers.

> "When rumours of a proposed assessment scheme reached NTS ears, we wrote to numerous education authorities throughout the world and studied various profile and assessment forms in use. Assessment procedures in industry were also studied.
>
> NTS has supported the principle of assessment of teachers being done on a more scientific basis than that of the old vague report which gave rise to numerous complaints by members .... The NED consulted NTS and NOU about (a proposed) form, which was altered and tested in 24 schools. The form was altered again during further consultations before being introduced throughout Natal. This form is the best and least offensive form in use in South Africa ...." (p.221)

Not all criticism was vitriolic, outraged and totally opposed to the new system :

> "As a teacher, who considers herself better than her assessed value, I nevertheless tried to view the situation from afar. All right, so I do not like my assessment but I certainly do not envy the Principals and Inspectorate, remember that they too have to be assessed .....
>
> Apart from disgruntled people, is there not some good that could result from the system ? Perhaps we could try a little harder, prepare our lessons more thoroughly ....
>
> I feel that we should be patient and give the system time to be sorted out ; also the assessors the opportunity to equalise their standards." (ibid. p.230)

The Natal Teachers' Society conducted an opinion poll amongst teachers in respect of the merit assessment/award system, and published its findings early in 1980. The investigation was carried out with considerable haste and the methodology was hardly scientific, but the responses to the questionnaire distributed confirmed widespread dissatisfaction, as indicated below.

The questionnaire was sent to all teacher members employed by the Natal Education Department, approximately 3300 in all. There were 735 replies, a return rate of merely 22,3%.

Four questions were set, three of which asked for a positive or negative reaction and allowed room for comment, whereas one question probed personal views on assessment procedures.

An analysis of the replies was published in Mentor of February 1980, and the following synopsis is based on the Mentor article and a reading of some of the replies.

Question A : Do you agree that teachers should be professionally evaluated ?
YES : 447 (61%) NO : 280 (39%)

Despite almost unanimous rejection of the way in which merit assessment had been carried out in 1979, often couched in vituperative language, a

majority of teachers recognised the need for some form of evaluation. Most of those who supported a form of evaluation felt that it should be linked to promotability, and there was not great support for the accountability issue.

In general those who opposed the evaluation of teachers did so on the grounds that teachers had been trained and evaluated in training institutions, and they saw evaluation of serving teachers as a slur on their professionalism. Many in this group accepted that evaluation would have to be done when a teacher applied for a promotion post, but definitely felt that evaluation should be done only following an application for promotion.

Question B : What would you suggest to improve the "Natal" method of merit assessment ?

Respondents' answers to this question obviously showed great variation. There were those who totally rejected the concept of the merit assessment system with comments such as "scrap it" and others who made thoughtful suggestions about an alternative system.

Antagonism towards the competitive nature of the merit award system was widespread. Private notification to the recipients of awards was suggested to counteract the jealousy and bitterness which had followed the official notification of award winners through the publication of a departmental circular minute.

A need was expressed for assessors to be trained in the techniques of assessment. To improve standardization some respondents suggested that a panel of assessors should visit each school in Natal.

A plea for differential assessment for the different phases of schooling was made.

Fairly strong support was voiced for an assessment system to be used primarily for staff development purposes.

Question C : Do you agree that teachers of merit (as assessed) should receive a financial reward ?

Yes 394 (54%) NO : 333 (46%)

Disparate views were expressed with some teachers regarding a financial award for merit as "prostituting the profession" and others seeing a financial award as payment for "over-time". Most of those who supported the idea based their reasoning on the alleged need for payment for the teacher who contributed more in extra-curricular activities. There was actually little support for the payment of an award to teachers who excelled in the classroom. Unequal payments for classroom performance should, it was stated, be based on professional differences such as qualifications and experience. Many teachers related this question to the merit award recipients of 1979 and surmised that a number of those were persons of "unknown" merit who had received awards as compensation for not having had the opportunity to be promoted because of the subjects they taught or their lack of qualifications. This seemed to prejudice the respondents towards the financial reward aspect, and it must also be borne in mind that teacher associations were in the midst of a well-publicised campaign for salary improvements in 1979.

Question D : Should the N.T.S. press for the total rejection of the Merit Award system ?

YES : 492 (67%) NO : 239 (33%)

Two thirds of the teacher sample were totally opposed to the merit award system. (Although there appears to be a discrepancy between views expressed under Question C and under Question D, it must be emphasized that Question C presupposed that merit assessment had to be performed.) Many respondents "felt that the system as introduced nationally was an unmitigated disaster" (Mentor February 1980, p.6) and that its most serious effect was the breakdown of teacher morale. A majority of

respondents called for the re-introduction of the post of Senior Teacher (previously called Senior Assistant), which was a promotion post and therefore based on the principle that extra financial rewards should be based on extra responsibilities.

Numerous instances of abuse of the assessment scheme in 1979 were enumerated by respondents from both sides of the assessment situation (principals and teachers).

Those teachers who opposed total rejection of the system generally did so on the grounds that it could form the basis of a more acceptable teacher assessment system. Nobody expressed total support for the current system, but the views of one principal give the gist of the argument for an assessment system :

> "1. The idea behind assessment is good. The diehards who claim that it is unprofessional are apparently unaware that every other profession is assessed by their clients/patients according to their competence and succeed or fail thereby.
>
> 2. Our struggle regarding adequate salaries has highlighted the need to recruit and retain the best possible candidates for the profession, thus the emphasis on competence is inherent in our policy. Assessment is therefore an integral part of the maintenance of standards." (letter in N.T.S. files)

5.5 Subsequent developments

In 1980 the Natal Education Department was forced by Cabinet instruction to comply with inter-departmentally approved procedures, and a new merit assessment format was introduced for teachers. The more detailed analytical report was based on a 7-point scale for each criterion, with an aggregate of marks for the criteria establishing the total out of 126 marks. This meant that assessors were no longer allowed the flexibility of determining a final global assessment of a teacher, but had to comply

with an arithmetical total. A written statement was now required under the heading of each criterion, although this would not be shown to the teacher concerned. The four components of the analytical report and their criteria as adopted in 1980, and as remain to date, have been indicated in chapter four and only changes between the 1979 and 1980 formats will be indicated here.

In component 1. "The teacher in the classroom situation", the only change has been the extension of six criteria to nine criteria, with :

"1.5 Supervision, control,evaluation and follow-up of pupils' work" (1979)
being covered in 1980 by

"1.5 Control and supervision of pupils' work

1.6 Evaluation and follow-up of pupils' work

1.8 Subject knowledge and insight and use of departmental guidance and facilities

1.9 Language competence."

No change occurred in component 2, "The teacher in the extra-curricular situation."

The most significant change that took place involved the view of a teacher as a person and can best be shown in direct comparison of the two modes :

Table 5.3 : Further changes in Natal Education Department criteria

1979		1980	
"3.	The teacher as a person	"3.	The teacher as a person
3.1	Relations with other people	3.1	Character
3.2	Professional behaviour towards his pupils	3.2	Personality
3.3	Professional behaviour towards colleagues, employer and community	3.3	Human relations

3.4	The teacher as an educationalist	4.	The professional image
		4.1	Professional conduct towards pupils, colleagues, employer and community
3.5	Contribution to the ethos of the school	4.2	Contribution to the betterment of the image of the profession
3.6	Professional image"	4.3	The teacher as a professional educationist"
	(op.cit. p.1)		(N.E.D. circular 11/1980,pp.6-1

Although numerous complaints about the insertion of character traits in the assessment of teachers were made to the Natal Teachers' Society, particularly by assessors who regarded them as impossible of quantitative definition, the outcry from teachers was not quite as hostile after the release of the merit assessment reports of 1980, as it had been in 1979. Probably teachers were becoming accustomed to merit assessment and the changed procedure may also have affected response. Principals were relieved of the shock of face-to-face explanations to teachers of their assessments on specific criteria, as the analytical form with its numerical ratings on these specific criteria was to be regarded as "confidential". Only global reports, which were supposed to summarise weaknesses or strengths from the analytical report, were shown to teachers. Although such practice, in any case, is not beyond criticism, the previous militancy among teachers seemed to die down. A further factor was the decision taken by the Natal Education Department not to publish the names of merit award recipients.

Letters to the Natal Teachers' Society from principals, however, still indicated dissatisfaction. (source : N.T.S. files) :

> ".... the merit assessment must be divorced from the financial aspect in its initial stages so that the report can be looked at in its intended light, that is to improve the performance of the individual teacher in the school."

> "We have just received the batch of merit assessments done during 1980 many of which were 'appeals'. Once again all the good relations built up amongst the staff are dissipated by angry people dissatisfied with a result which in most cases has been 'watered down' either by District Inspectors or the Chief Inspector. No indication is given as to the 'cut-off' line although at my school the three individuals who gained the award were 99, 102, 101. Those who didn't apparently qualify because of 'watering-down' were in the 98, 97, 96 area !!!"

(The comment refers of course to the arithmetical calculation of merit and broaches the serious point that the cut-off point for a merit award was not based on the assessed merit of teachers, but on finances available.)

> "..... for a considerable time good teachers become sullen and resentful in their attitude because they feel that somewhere on the line the Principal is not happy with their efforts. The global report sounds fine, but the cash reward is not forthcoming - a situation which in any company in the business world would soon see serious depletions amongst staff ranks."

Official public reaction to the system was, for understandable reasons, fairly guarded, but drew attention to the immense demands it had come to make on the energies of the inspectorate. The then Director of Education gave his views on the demands placed on the inspectorate by the implementation of the system as follows:

> "As a result of the implementation of the merit assessment system the Inspectorate worked under great pressure. Considering that approximately 5000 teachers were evaluated, it will be appreciated how much time was spent by the Inspectorate on this aspect of the work. The efforts of all who participated in this great task are much appreciated, particularly in the light of the fact that symposia were held during this period to facilitate the implementation of the merit assessment system." [1]

1. Province of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for the year 1979 (published 1980).

It was fairly predictable that further changes would come about, for example that heads of departments in schools would be more involved in the assessments of teachers. Inspectors, one presumes, had other tasks with which to be concerned - such as in-service development, promoting professional growth among teachers and principals, and seeing to the overall administration of the education system. Courses in the management of education were organized for school principals, and it is reasonable to predict that given sufficient time the system of "merit assessment" will in fact find greater acceptance amongst teachers. That would not mean, of course, that the system itself were beyond criticism ; indeed, it can only be hoped that ongoing research would lead to its refinement.

5.6 Assessments made in Natal

The "global" assessments (in terms of which merit awards were finally decided) made of teachers in Natal in 1979 and 1980 tended to stress rapport with pupils and colleagues, the extent of total involvement in the affairs of the school, and other matters which school principals considered to be important.

Excerpts from a selection of reports on teachers who qualified for merit awards are now given, to illustrate the wide-ranging nature of the comments made.

Case A :

> Mrs A is a dedicated and efficient teacher. Her meticulous planning for the mathematics department in general and her own classes in particular has had a notable effect on the standard of mathematics in the school. Assignment projects have been carefully monitored to indicate weaknesses of individual pupils and positive methods of correction have been introduced.

In the classroom Mrs A develops lessons logically ... An atmosphere of industry and alertness pervades her classroom. No slackness in home study is permitted. She is hungry for better ways in which to present topics and so attends mathematics meetings and reads new publications ...

Her relationship with parents has been a constructive one, while her dedication has earned her the respect of her colleagues. In the difficult task, for a young teacher, of being placed in charge of a subject, Mrs A has revealed tact and perseverance in dealing with twinges of jealousy from some of her colleagues. (Merit assessment : 103)

Case B :

A conscientious teacher who, though young, is most competent. Mrs B's control of a class of boys is very good and is achieved by a firm yet friendly approach.

Mrs B has matured as a teacher over the last year. Her ability to "put across" the lesson content is most pleasing. Her well modulated voice and good command of language helps in this respect. She is fully bilingual too. In addition to her undoubted ability in the classroom situation, Mrs B is capable of P.E. work, coaches tennis and helps with athletics. She also teaches Religious Education as a specialist subject (Std.IV), being in herself a young lady of religious conviction.

Mrs B is currently studying for her 4th year qualification via the College of Further Eduction ... (Merit assessment : 99)

Case C :

Mr C is a very capable teacher who enjoys his teaching and who has some good ideas about presentation of the material. His teaching is enthusiastic and vital and he captures and maintains pupil interest because he has the knack of explaining involved and complicated issues met in literature in terms of the pupils' experience and familiar contemporary events, such as current films or television programmes ...

Mr C is co-operative and busy. He is in charge of the Music Society which has fortnightly programmes throughout the year. He coaches rugby and has also shouldered the very demanding task of editing the school magazine ...
(Merit assessment : 112)

Case D :

Mr D is in charge of Mathematics at this school and is responsible for the co-ordination and implementation of the syllabus and he convenes regular meetings of the teachers of Mathematics. He is very conscientious and takes great care in the planning and preparation of his subjects matters. Lessons are presented enthusiastically and purposefully and because of this a great deal of pupil activity is generated.

Mr D is fully involved in the extra-curricular activities of the school and he is keen and prepared to take on responsibility when requested to do so. He has shown a great deal of initiative and perseverance in these activities and he succeeds admirably in getting the full co-operation of both pupils and staff ....

Mr D is a loyal member of the teaching profession and he respects the religious and cultural convictions of both pupils and parents.
(Merit assessment : 111)

Case E :

Although Mr E is only in his first year of teaching he has completed his army training and the responsibilities he faced in those two years as 2nd Lieutenant on the border have both matured him and helped him over the hurdles new teachers face. He has no disciplinary problems and there is a quiet relaxed atmosphere in his form room. He has followed the advice and guidance of the English Department in matters of work schemes and methods of presentation and appears to appreciate the need for careful control of pupils work and then a follow-up to insist that instructions and suggestions are carried out.

Outside the form room Mr E is active and willing. He coaches rugby and attended a coaching course over Easter. He is very keen on Cadets, manages Cricket XI's when the coach is not available and will help with athletics when the season comes.
(Merit assessment : 110)

Case F :

> Mrs F obviously enjoys her teaching and has clear and definite ideas on how to organise it and present it. She plans ahead thoughtfully and prepares her weekly programme thoroughly. She has full control of her classroom and her lessons are forcefully and effectively presented. She has good rapport with her pupils, is able to get them motivated and keeps them working steadily. She controls their work closely and insists on high standards so that they make good progress. She is particularly successful with those who find the going hard.
>
> Mrs F is in her sixtieth year and one cannot expect her to get too involved with the extra mural activities of the school - this she did most fruitfully in her younger days ....
>
> Mrs F is a mature woman of excellent character and sound principles. She has a pleasant, friendly manner and an impish sense of humour that helps her to get on well with her colleagues and her pupils.
> (Merit assessment : 110)

Case G :

> Mr G is a competent and experienced teacher, he creates a well-disciplined atmosphere in his class. He evokes a positive response from his pupils through his self-confident and concerned instruction. His lessons are well-planned and imaginative which result in his pupils showing active participation. He is widely read and has a sound insight in the basic aims of English teaching.
>
> He has been willing to participate in the extra-curricular activities of the school and acted as a rugby referee and he coaches swimming.
>
> In general Mr G is a conscientious and hardworking member of the staff and is held in high esteem by colleagues and pupils.
> (Merit assessment : 106)

5.7 Concluding remarks

Duncan and Biddle (1974) have drawn attention to the perennial methodological problems in classroom research, which mean that there are

actually no conclusive statements of general applicability about the qualities of good teaching. It is likely that what makes for a "good teacher" in School X would not do the same for someone on the staff of School Y ; it is certainly probable that in different areas of the world or within different sub-cultures, the criteria of effective teaching (and therefore notions on the assessment of teacher competence) are relative rather than absolute. While a good doctor normally cures his patients and while a good lawyer wins cases for his clients, there can be no agreement about what a good teacher does or does not do.

Coming to terms with this situation is clearly difficult for anyone vested with the responsibility of actually assessing teachers. The next section will consider the views of teacher assessors in Natal, as expressed in response to a questionnaire administered by the present writer.

6. The views of assessors in Natal

6.1 Background to the writer's investigation

In the few years between the introduction of "merit assessment" and the completion of the present study, teachers' organizations operating in Natal solicited the opinions of their members on the system. Examples of some responses have been quoted in this chapter.

During August 1982, the Natal Teachers' Society distributed a six-page questionnaire to members but by the end of the year results of the analysis were still not available. The document was unfortunately biased in that it assumed dissatisfaction among teachers, then asked for reasons for the dissatisfaction. The introduction read in part :

> "There can be no doubt that the system (of assessments and merit awards) has caused a great deal of heartache on the part of some teachers and a very indifferent attitude from others .... Our aim (in the present survey) is to discover those areas of the system which cause discontent among members ....."

The phrasing of several of the statements, to which members were asked to respond by indicating simply "Yes" or "No", was emotive and tended to beg the question. For example :

> "1.5 Merit assessment has led in many areas to a lowering of morale in the profession.
>
> "1.7 It has led to tension between teacher and headmaster.
>
> "1.12 No one seems to know if the goals of merit assessment are being achieved.
>
> "2.9 Some school management teams see only what they want to see when assessing an individual."

There were, of course, more neutral questions but the results, when they become available, are fairly predictable. The questionnaire method of surveying opinion is well known to be hazardous. Nisbet and Entwistle (1970, p.53) quote Flexner's 1930 dictum :

> "The questionnaire is not a scientific instrument. It is a cheap, easy and rapid method of obtaining information or non-information, one never knows which."

With careful preparation, however, the problems of questionnaires can to an extent be overcome.

In Natal, because teachers no longer see the "analytical" reports on them, they may in many cases not even realise what particular aspects of their classroom performance, personality and professionalism are being assessed ; hence, their general opinions on the assessments (as expressed in questionnaires) are not reliable.

Because for the purposes of this dissertation it was considered unnecessary to make another blanket survey of teacher opinion, the writer considered that a more productive source of information would be the assessors themsleves - school principals, deputies and heads of department. Interviews during the writer's normal course of employment assisted in the formulation of a questionnaire distributed to a sample of assessors.

It is submitted that the teachers with the most detailed knowledge of the merit assessment format are the assessors, who have had practical experience in assessing teachers against the established criteria and should be most clear in response about difficult areas of assessment. They are presumably also competent to consider the effect of merit assessment in terms of its potential for teacher development vis-à-vis teacher anger and frustration.

The collecting of date from all Natal assessors of teachers in a complete survey was considered to be impossible from reliability, cost and execution factors. So the size of the sample was designed to ensure that the margin of uncertainty would not be too high and that the numbers would not be too great for a careful analysis to be made of a questionnaire.

In Natal Education Department schools it was estimated from staff allocation figures that there are approximately 650 principals, deputy principals and heads of department actually involved in the merit assessment of teachers. From these, a convenience sampling of 100 assessors was drawn - mainly from English medium and parallel medium schools personally encountered by the writer. While such a sample may not represent a full cross-section of assessors in the employ of the Natal Education Department, it does include both Afrikaans and English speaking teachers and was considered suitable for the purposes of a small-scale investigation.

In addition, questionnaires were distributed to schools in the Durban area under the control of the Department of Internal Affairs (Division of Indian Education). Four questionnaires were sent to high schools

and three to primary schools, with the request that principals distribute them to persons responsible for making assessments. One aim was to see whether any markedly different trends (however simplistically measured) emerged between White and Indian teachers.

In terms of both Natal Education Department and Division of Indian Education schools, the response rate was fairly pleasing : 87% and 62% of the questionnaires were returned. Seven questionnaires were returned later by Indian respondents and were not included in the analysis. A possible contributing factor was the fact that the writer was not unknown to many of the respondents (particularly in the case of the Whites).

The writer will now consider the actual questionnaire used in the survey. A copy is provided as Appendix B.

6.2 The questionnaire

Cohen and Manion (1980) remind one that the survey "is perhaps the most commonly used descriptive method in educational research" (p.71). They note that surveys gather data at a particular point in time with a view to describing or comparing existing conditions, or determining the relationships that exist between specific events (idem). These writers provide useful advice (pp.82-90) for the intending researcher, and much of this and that derived from other sources (e.g. Davidson, 1970) was borne in mind in the preparation of the writer's questionnaire. As far as possible, then, leading and complex questions were avoided. Some open-ended questions were, however, included despite awareness that these would be difficult to code or analyse ; in general, the established factors which seem to account for a good response rate in questionnaires were adhered to : attractive appearance and simplicity were strived for, as were unambiguous statements.

The questionnaire and its administration did not share all the pitfalls of normal postal surveys. In the first place, official contact with both Departments of Education concerned ensured that there was no general

opposition to the survey, and respondents could be reassured of this. Personal contact with the Natal Education Department school principals minimized the possibilities of total rejection, while detailed letters to the Indian principals preceded the actual material. In all cases, questionnaires were taken or sent to the principals themselves, with the request that they be distributed to deputies and heads of departments. Individual stamped envelopes were provided for the anonymous return of the questionnaires. It was not necessary to send reminder letters.

Although some questions were precoded, the overall analysis and reduction of the data was completed manually. Only three of the questions could really be analysed in terms of a coding frame and because of this and the reasonably small number of responses involved, no plans were made to use edge-punched cards for data tabulation. The questionnaire was not intended to provide sophisticated statistical evidence but to establish general trends in attitude, and its importance in the context of this dissertation must not be overemphasized.

Nisbet and Entwistle (1970, p.47) advise that

> "A questionnaire should start with simple factual questions, so that the person completing it gets off to a good start. Complex or awkward questions should come towards the end... attitude scales, ratings and check lists may be included, provided they are brief and straightforward and the instructions are kept simple."

As already indicated, this type of advice was borne in mind when phrasing and ordering the questions. The first question required the respondent, as an educated and experienced teacher with responsibility for assessing others, to rate the importance of given factors to a generalized concept of teacher competence. Few of the respondents could have found difficulty with this first question, since it referred to teacher characteristics which they would encounter almost daily, for example a teacher's relationship with others, his classroom control, record-keeping and extra-curricular involvement. Some less usually encountered points,

e.g. "views expressed by pupils", "non-cognitive gains by pupils" and the extent to which the teacher was in accord with the éthos of the school, were also included.

The second and third questions required written responses and produced some interesting answers as will be shown in due course. The fourth question again required a type of rating : methods of obtaining information about teachers were named, and respondents asked to indicate whether these methods should or should not be used. The next question sought response to the assumption in the prevailing system that the training or experience of principals or heads of department qualified them to perform assessments of teachers. Again, some interesting responses were recorded.

Question six sought to measure the extent of agreement or otherwise among respondents, in terms of given statements about the prevailing "merit award" system. Each statement deliberately enunciated a problem area which had emerged in previous examples of teacher opinion on the system. The final question was completely open and invited general comments on the topic of research.

Entwistle and Nisbet (1972) stress that "In many areas of educational research, it is important to take systematic soundings of teachers' opinions and attitudes" (p.113) and they go on (idem) to note that despite the problems associated with the questionnaire method, it is

> "..... particularly appropriate where the respondents are well able to understand the subtleties of the written word and have technical knowledge or expertise. Teachers thus make ideal targets for enquiries of this type ...."

The same writers, in their Preface (p.viii), note that despite the difficulties involved in educational research,

> "..... it is still possible for people without much training to carry out small-scale studies under guidance. Such investigations rarely produce

> definitive findings, but they can have considerable value for the participants .... It is also important to realise that it is possible to carry out educational research without recourse to complex statistics, and to report the findings in relatively simple language."

The writer finds these comments to be of solace, and would remind the reader that the purpose of administering his questionnaire was no more and no less than to sample some aspects of opinion among teachers actually involved in assessing the competence of others. It is to the analysis of such opinion that the writer now turns.

6.3 The findings :

Questions 1, 4 and 6 will be considered first as these required respondents to indicate choices and the results may be tabulated.

Question 1 asked that respondents should presuppose the need for teacher assessment, and indicate in respect of fourteen points the extent to which these points should be included in the assessment. The list of points broadly accommodates the criteria for the assessment of teachers presently in use in South Africa, together with related points derived partly from the literature surveyed in chapter three. Frequencies of selection by White and Indian respondents are given below, in percentages.

Table 5.4 : Points which respondents felt "should definitely be included" in teacher assessment

		Selected by Whites (N=87)	Order	(Indians (N=61)	Or
1.1	Personality (relationship with others)	87,4	5	77,1	5
1.2	Appearance, including dress	69	8	45,9	10
1.3	Knowledge of subject matter	100	1	96,7	3
1.4	Methods of teaching	96,6	3	100	1
1.5	Ability/background of pupils	61,6	9	54,1	9

1.6	Classroom control	98,9	2	100	1
1.7	Record-keeping, administration	93,1	4	78,7	4
1.8	Views expressed by peer teachers	16,3	12	23	11
1.9	Views expressed by pupils	9,3	14	19,7	13
1.10	Views expressed by parents	10,3	13	13,1	14
1.11	Pupils' academic progress	52,3	10	57,4	8
1.12	Non-cognitive gains by pupils	50	11	21,3	12
1.13	Extra-curricular involvement	77	7	75,4	6
1.14	Teacher in accord with school éthos	85,1	6	75	7

Knowledge of subject matter, methods of teaching, and classroom control were clearly considered by all respondents to be the most important points to be borne in mind when assessing teachers. A stress on the instrumental role of the teacher may reasonably be inferred ; on the other hand, half the White respondents felt that non-cognitive gains by pupils were also very important - a view not shared by Indian respondents.

Points 1.8, 1.9 and 1.10 reflected criteria not often used in the formal assessment of teachers, and certainly not in South Africa ; the low frequency of selection of these points as very important was fairly predictable, but it is interesting to note that Indian respondents rated them as important more often than did White respondents. The small numbers involved, of course, do not make generalizations valid.

Ten per cent. more White respondents than Indians rated personality factors as important, and the same was true in the case of teachers being in accord with the éthos of the school. Extra-curricular involvement received approximately the same stress from both groups of respondents, though sport and such activities tend more to be a feature of White schools. Appearance (including dress) was clearly considered to be important among more Whites - possibly because of cultural differences - as was the ability or background of pupils. From responses to 1.1, 1.2, 1.5 and

1.14, it seems that among Whites (compared with Indians) some factors not directly contingent upon the work done by pupils receive a slightly higher stress - a point borne out by the response to 1.11, where more Indian teachers than Whites feel that the academic progress of pupils should count in the assessment of a teacher. Despite the various differences, however, the rank order of criteria marked as very important is broadly similar for Whites and Indians.

The difference in response to 1.7 (record-keeping, marking control and administration) is relatively marked and could reflect a dissatisfaction among Indian teachers with the stress apparently placed on these aspects by the inspectorate : nevertheless, this criterion is fourth in rank order for both White and Indian respondents.

From the responses to Question 1, in which respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which named points should be included in teacher assessment, it may be concluded that for both groups of respondents the conventional ideas of "good teaching" predominate : subject knowledge, class control, methods of teaching and record-keeping. Views of pupils, parents and peer teachers enjoy low precedence, while the vexed question of "personality" is recognised as important by 87% of Whites and 77% of Indians who responded.

The next tables indicate the percentages of respondents who felt that the points named were irrelevant to the assessment of teacher competence and therefore should not be included in such assessment. In the same tables, information relating to the percentages of respondents who were unsure as to the importance of the points is given, as is information on those who considered the points to be "of little significance" in teacher assessment. For ease of reading, the responses from Whites and Indians are given separately.

Table 5.5 : Respondents' judgments of points as "irrelevant" and "of little significance", and indications of expressed uncertainty :

5.5.1 : White respondents (N=87)

		(a) "Irrelevant"	(b) "Little Significance"	(c) "Unsure"
1.1	Personality (relationship)	3,5	8	1,2
1.2	Appearance/dress	4,6	26,4	-
1.3	Knowledge of subject	-	-	-
1.4	Methods of teaching	-	3,5	-
1.5	Pupil ability/background	15,1	23,3	-
1.6	Classroom control	-	1,2	-
1.7	Record-keeping, admin.	1,2	4,6	1,2
1.8	Views of peer teachers	34,9	41,9	7
1.9	Views of pupils	51,2	30,2	9,3
1.10	Views of parents	49,4	33,3	6,9
1.11	Pupils' academic gains	5,8	38,4	3,5
1.12	Non-cognitive gains	3,5	32,6	14
1.13	Extra-curricular work	9,3	13,8	-
1.14	Teacher/school éthos	4,6	9,2	1,2

Adding together columns (a) and (b), it may be seen that the largest measures of agreement come in respect of 1.8, 1.9 and 1.10 : 76,8%, 81,4%, and 82,7% respectively of these respondents considered the views of other teachers, pupils and parents to be of no or little significance in teacher assessment. Gains, both academic and non-academic, by pupils were also considered by low significance, by 44,2% and 36,1% of respondents respectively. Thirty-one per cent of respondents considered dress and appearance to be of little or no significance, while 38,4% felt that the background or ability of pupils was of little importance also. Responses to the other points were low or scattered, indicating a lack of markedly negative attitudes, though it is interesting to note that 14% were unsure whether non-cognitive gains by pupils should be considered (the possibly broad meaning of "non-cognitive gains" no doubt played a part here).

5.5.2 : Indian Respondents (N=61)

		(a) "Irrelevant"	(b) "Little Significance"	(c) "Unsure
1.1	Personality (relationship)	6,6	16,4	-
1.2	Appearance/dress	19,7	32,8	1,6
1.3	Knowledge of subject	1,6	1,6	-
1.4	Methods of teaching	-	-	-
1.5	Pupil ability/background	29,5	16,4	-
1.6	Classroom control	-	-	-
1.7	Record-keeping, admin.	-	21,3	-
1.8	Views of peer teachers	31,2	39,3	6,6
1.9	Views of pupils	36,1	37,7	6,6
1.10	Views of parents	47,5	31,1	8,2
1.11	Pupils' academic gains	11,5	27,9	3,3
1.12	Non-cognitive gains	23	39,3	16,4
1.13	Extra-curricular work	4,9	18	1,6
1.14	Teacher/school éthos	6,7	18,3	-

Responses here were a little more clear-cut than among the White respondents. In respect of 1.8, 1.9 and 1.10, 70,5%, 73,8% and 78,6% respectively considered the points concerned to be of no or little significance. This reflects the views of White respondents. Non-cognitive gains by pupils were seen by 62,3% of Indian respondents as being of little or no significance while a further 16,4% were unsure on this point. In addition, 39,4% felt that academic gains by pupils were relatively unimportant, confirming the views of Whites that progress by pupils should not count for teacher assessment. Almost 46% considered that the abilities or backgrounds of pupils were not important, while 21% felt that record-keeping by teachers should also receive low priority (both these percentages were higher than those for White respondents). More than half the respondents (52%) felt that appearance and dress were of little significance or irrelevant, indicating closer agreement on this point than among Whites. Likewise, 22,8% of Indian respondents considered teacher personality as unimportant (only 12% of Whites having committed

themsleves here). Approximately similar percentages of Indian and White respondents considered extra-curricular involvement to be important (23%), in so far as teacher assessment was concerned.

Summarizing responses to Question 1, it may be said that as a whole respondents considered conventional measures of teacher competence (as reflected in 1.3, 1.4, 1.6 and 1.7) to be important, and that they considered less usual indicators (as reflected in 1.8, 1.9 and 1.10) to be unimportant. Gains by pupils, whether cognitive or not, were also regarded as unsatisfactory indicators of teacher success. Indian teachers tended to stress classroom-related aspects of the teacher's work, such aspects as appearance, personality and pupil background being accorded lesser significance than by Whites ; extra-curricular activities were considered important by both groups but it should be noted that for Whites these would usually be restricted to sporting or cultural activities, whereas for Indian teachers they could also include family counselling and home visits.

Question 4 is somewhat less complicated to report on. Respondents were asked to indicate whether given methods of obtaining data about teachers should or should not be used. Apart from criteria of judgment, the methods of obtaining information about teachers are problematic and, as indicated in chapter three, vary considerably. While stress is obviously laid on formal methods such as direct lesson observation, supervision of notes and materials, or consultation with others, it is doubtless true that in a school as in any other organization, the informal social system plays a part. Thus, staffroom talk, comments or attitudes expressed by pupils, indiscreet remarks by other teachers, and even neighbourhood gossip can possibly lead to assessors of teachers being influenced - either favourably or unfavourably. Unfortunately the questionnaire did not provide specifically for comment on these informal methods of data gathering except in terms of 4.7 "consulting a third/other party", but in their general responses to Questions 3 and 7 some assessors showed awareness of them. The views of the respondents are given in the table over page.

Table 5.6 : Views of Respondents on Methods of obtaining Data about Teachers (White respondents, N=86 ; Indian respondents, N=60)

		YES		NO		MAYBE	
		White	Indian	White	Indian	White	India
4.1	Observation by appt.	77,1	62,7	7,2	17	15,7	20,3
4.2	Observation, no warning	57	45	17,4	21,7	25,6	33,3
4.3	Discussion before and after	86,1	81,4	2,3	11,9	11,6	6,8
4.4	General interviews	77,9	78,3	-	18,3	22,1	3,3
4.5	Checking marked work	88,4	78,3	2,3	18,3	9,3	3,3
4.6	Checking notes, materials	52,3	63,3	20,9	21,7	26,7	15
4.7	Consulting other party	47,7	31,7	17,4	20	34,9	48,3

For both groups of respondents, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 assumed considerable importance and were apparently considered to be valid means of finding out about teacher quality. For 88,4% of Whites, the checking of marked work was important (confirming the view expressed in Question 1, where 93,1% felt that record-keeping and general administration should definitely be included as a criterion of assessment). In the case of Indian respondents, the checking of marked work assumed a slightly lesser significance, also echoing their response in Question 1. Observation of lessons without warning was postively favoured by only 57% of Whites and 45% of Indians, though 25,6% and 33,3% respectively felt that such a method could "maybe" be used, presumably depending on circumstances.

Consultation with third or other parties was not a popular choice, though again fair proportions of both groups felt that it could possibly be used. An interesting response was that of the 18,3% of Indian teachers who felt that general interviews should definitely not be used ; the feelings of Indian assessors on this matter were less clearcut than those of Whites.

For both groups, observation of lessons with warning or appointment attracted fair percentages of positive choices, and it is clear that

discussion before and after a lesson is considered a very important means of obtaining information : if one adds together the "Yes" and "Maybe" answers, 97,7% of White respondents and 88,2% of Indians considered this in a favourable light. For Whites alone, "general interviews", checking of marked work, discussion of lessons and observation by appointment constituted the most favoured means of obtaining data ; for Indian respondents, the same four methods assumed precedence but in slightly different order.

There appeared to be no mass rejection of any of the methods named ; the least popular method was the checking of notes or materials (matched, for Indian respondents, by observation of lessons without warning). It would be wrong to make any final pronouncements arising out of these responses, but some of the comments given under the invitation "any other method (please specify)" are of interest - a selection appears below.

(a) Comments by Natal Education Department assessors :

a.1 "Check on teacher's total track record" ;

a.2 "Constructive group meetings - responses, ideas, suggestion from teacher : involvement."

a.3 "Attending functions or activities initiated and/or organised by the teacher to be assessed."

a.4 "Multiple confidential assessments collated by the inspector to obtain an unbiased report."

a.5 "In walking about the school, a great deal can be learned about teachers."

a.6 "Ability to organise and willingness to do so (e.g. school excursions)."

a.7 "Questionnaire filled in by representatives of parent body."

It will be agreed that none of the above offers a very innovative response to teacher assessment : except possibly the final one (a.7) which would

probably cause widespread resentment. Some replies made mention of "keeping one's ear to the ground" and other means of informal assessment, but generally the response was disappointing - no more than a third of the respondents, in any case, offered any suggestion here.

(b) Comments by Division of Indian Education assessors :

b.1 "Question pupils taught to note whether they have grasped the basic concepts/facts ..."

b.2 "Confidential views of the pupils of the teacher."

b.3 "Qualifications and salary notch."

b.4 "By inspecting his testing programme, examination questions and remedial measures."

b.5 "Teachers' self-evaluation."

b.6 "Consulting other teachers (same subject) in different schools."

Once again, relatively few of the respondents availed themselves of the opportunity to mention "other"methods of gaining information. It seems that routine visits by inspectors are more frequent among the teachers with whom these respondents are concerned, and on four occasions mention was made that the outcomes of these inspectorial visits should count towards the school assessment of competence. Of the responses quoted, b.4 and b.5 shed a little new light ; the points behind b.3 and b.6 are not clear.

In Question 6, respondents were required to react to some commonly voiced criticisms of the system of teacher assessment currently in use. Because the respondents are employed in completely different systems, and to make for easier reading, the responses from Whites and Indians are recorded separately :

Table 5.7 : Extent of agreement with Commonly Voiced Criticisms - White Respondents (N=86)

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Dis-agree		Strongly Disagree		Unsure	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6.1 Criteria ill-defined	7	8,1	32	37,2	35	40,7	7	8,1	5	5,8
6.2 Teachers feel nervous	30	34,9	52	60,5	3	3,5	-	-	1	1,2
6.3 Standards vary	68	79,1	15	17,4	1	1,2	-	-	2	2,3
6.4 Monetary reward inappropriate	27	31,4	13	15,1	25	29,1	8	9,3	13	15,1
6.5 Teacher/assessor relations strained	21	24,4	32	37,2	22	25,6	5	5,8	6	7
6.6 Second year too early	47	54,7	21	24,4	12	14	5	5,8	1	1,2
6.7 Arithmetical "rating" bad	25	29,1	19	22,1	25	29,1	10	11,6	7	8,1
	225		184		123		35		35	

In general terms, the totals of the N columns indicate that the criticisms selected for inclusion in the questionnaire were a fair prediction of attitude ; totals of those who, overall, strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, and strongly disagreed occur in clear descending order. There are, however, certain points of interest arising.

It seems that views on whether the criteria are poorly or ill-defined were divided, a possibly unexpected response. The strong response to the suggestion that standards vary from school to school (79% strongly agree, 17% agree) is cause for some concern, while the divided feeling on whether or not the arithmetical "rating" of teachers is unacceptable, is interesting considering the general outburst of emotion which followed the introduction of the numerical system.

Table 5.8 : Extent of agreement with Commonly Voiced Criticisms - Indian Respondents (N=58)

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Dis-agree		Strongly Disagree		Unsure	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6.1 Criteria ill-defined	11	19,3	28	49,1	10	17,5	6	10,5	2	3,5
6.2 Teachers feel nervous	27	46,6	21	36,2	8	13,8	1	1,7	1	1,7
6.3 Standards vary	41	70,7	12	20,7	2	3,5	1	1,7	2	3,5
6.4 Monetary reward in-appropriate	11	19,3	9	15,8	18	31,6	11	19,3	8	14
6.5 Teacher/assessor relations strained	30	51,7	19	32,8	5	8,6	3	5,8	1	1,9
6.6 Second year too early	31	51,9	17	30,8	6	9,6	3	5,2	1	1,7
6.7 Arithmetical "rating" bad	30	51,7	14	24,1	5	8,6	5	8,6	4	6,9
Totals	181		120		54		30		19	

Once again, the totals of overall strong agreement, agreement, disagreement and strong disagreement descend. Strongest agreement is again expressed on the point regarding a possible variation of standards from school to school. There is stronger agreement, among Indian respondents, that the criteria for assessment are vaguely defined - but slightly less strong agreement (than among their White counterparts) that teachers feel nervous or constrained at the thought of assessment. Fewer Indian respondents than Whites feel that a monetary reward is inappropriate in the case of a teacher judged meritorious, and more expressed agreement that teacher/assessor relations could become strained as a result of the system. Almost 80% of both groups of respondents felt that the second year of teaching was too soon for assessments to begin. Amongst Indian respondents, there was stronger agreement that numerical "rating" was unacceptable.

The responses to Questions 1, 4 and 6 as analysed above provide some insight into the views of respondents within structured questions. Such questions, though they may be easier to analyse, could perhaps lead to inaccurate or withheld responses because of lack of clarity, and it is perhaps the more open-ended responses which (in a survey such as that undertaken by the writer) can be more informative.

Behr (1973) notes that open-ended (free-response) questions

> "..... evoke a fuller and richer response and probably probe deeper than (the) closed questions .... (They go) beyond statistical data or factual information into the area of hidden motivations that lie behind attitudes, interests, preferences and decisions." (p.73)

Questions 2, 3 and 7 allowed for fairly open response, and an indication of the kinds of answers received will now be given.

In Question 2, respondents were asked to state any aspects, other than those already mentioned in Question 1, which they felt should be considered in the assessment of teacher competence. The variety of response obviously makes categorization difficult, but for White teachers the most quoted aspect was concern for pupils. This was expressed in various guises : sympathy, compassion, tolerance, "a teacher's good influence on young people", and it was generally acknowledged to be an active trait rather than a passive one : "Personality is paramount. A lifeless, dull teacher, no matter how good on paper, has little influence on pupils and will have little to offer in a management role." Concern for colleagues was also seen to be important.

The simple "knowledge of subject matter" point in Question 1, did not go far enough for many respondents, who felt that a wider perspective of subject or general curriculum planning should be assessed. A typical comment was : "His aims (views, direction, philosophy) in his own subject i.e. does he know why he's teaching it, where he's going and in education as a whole." Allied to this concept was the commonly stated necessity, not only for thorough planning, but also for efficient follow-up : "Ability to innovate and complete satisfactorily a programme of learning." Contribution to the school was the third highest aspect offered for assessment, and this was not merely seen as extra-curricular involvement. The idea of contribution to education in general also had a number of supporters, who regarded involvement in professional activities such as subject associations, research and reading of

professional literature, as an important part of teacher competence.

Other qualities which were seen to be significant could be classified under leadership : initiative, decision-making ability, effectiveness as a team member, development of staff, and loyalty to the school. Dynamism in performance and vision were qualities cherished by a number of assessors.

> "A positive approach to teaching as a dynamic situation which requires a shift in approach and emphasis i.e. adaptability and ability to bring about innovations" ;
>
> "His aims (views, direction, philosophy) ... does he know where he's going and in education as a whole" ;

An ability to innovate "not for the sake of being different, but for real educational value and ability to evaluate and develop curricular alternatives."

Among Indian respondents, a similarly strong view was that concern for the child should be an aspect of assessment. This was also tied to relationships with colleagues and seen as an aspect of personality. The second most popular condition suggested for assessment was regular attendance. A factor of poor attendance by some Indian teachers must have prompted this response, which was totally at odds with views expressed by White teachers, not one of whom had mentioned attendance. A wider perspective of subject and curriculum planning had the third highest support rating, followed by leadership, which was seen in terms of initiative, sincerity, responsibility and ability to develop staff. Other factors which had strong support were years of service, seen in the guise of years of faithful service needing some acclaim or reward, and improvement of academic qualifications. Neither of these factors was supported by White teachers. Differences of opinion about inspectorial function in the assessment of teachers was apparent among Indian respondents : some felt that the results of panel inspections should be used for merit assessment, whereas others were firmly opposed to "inspectorial edict."

Although, as already mentioned, the writer is well aware that he cannot indulge in making sweeping sociological or educational generalizations because of the relatively small size of the sample of respondents to his questionnaire, the responses to Question 3 do indicate interesting differences of opinion on the part of White and Indian teachers. It must be emphasized that the differences could, in part, be simply reactions to the mode of introduction of, and procedure in, the "merit assessment" scheme in their separate education departments. Question 3 required respondents to state any aspects which they felt should definitely not be included in the assessment of teacher competence, and it has been possible to tabulate their responses in a simple manner.

Table 5.9 : Aspects which should definitely not be included in teacher assessment

	White respondents	Indian respondents
Very strong numerical opposition	1. Private life of teacher 2. Character	1. Involvement in community
Strong numerical opposition	3. Religious convictions 4. Political bias 5. Views of parents and pupils ("prejudicial views held by any non-professional")	2. Private life of teacher 3. Views of parent and pupils
Fair numerical opposition	6. Involvement in community 7. Necessary membership of educational bodies, if already fully occupied in school	4. Assessment by subject adviser 5. Appearance, dre 6. Character 7. Undue expectati of extra-curric activities

8. Second year teachers should not be assessed	8. Material aspects (e.g. "glossy covers" etc.)
9. Undue expectations of extra-curricular duties	

Question 5 asked respondents whether their own training or experience had equipped them to perform merit assessment of teachers. Opinion was almost evenly divided on this score. Those who felt equipped, invariably based their assumptions on experience as head of department or principal over a number of years, while a few claimed some training in assessment techniques. Those who did not feel fully equipped to assess teachers mentioned numerous factors such as subjectivity and uncertainty about their own standards of assessment. There appeared to be strong support for proper training of assessors. A fairly typical response to the question was :

> "No. No such training has been given either by training institution : Natal Ed. Dept ; Inspectorate etc. The only 'training' is what has been gleaned from principals and inspectors who inspected me at a variety of stages. To correct this I have read as much as possible on teacher evaluation and assessment, but still regard this to be inadequate because it does not always apply to the S.A. situation."

The invitation to make further comments in Question 7 elicited responses from a pleasing number of respondents. As the most open-ended of all the questions, this patently produced the most widespread replies. The aims and objectives of the merit assessment scheme were queried ; problems involved in the format and procedure of the scheme were elaborated, and suggestions were made about the dissolution of the scheme and its replacement by either a radically altered assessment system or by a change in the current posts structure. Among White respondents under the

general concept of aims and objectives, the following comments emerged :

> "Merit assessment is unprofessional, unethical and unacceptable" ;
>
> "Has the system really achieved anything?" ;
>
> "Assessment is a necessary evil" ;
>
> "I think it important that anyone should be prepared to be assessed, and encouraged to develop as a person as well as a teacher. But - whether one teacher is financially more meritorious than another is distasteful" ;
>
> "There is an unbecoming element of a 'lottery' in the system."

Probably the most common objection to merit assessment under the general concept of aims was the financial reward and the destructive effect it had on teacher morale, as an "ego destroyer" as some respondents called it.

The strongest held view expressed about the format and procedure of merit assessment was the assumption that there was little standardization :

> "Endeavour to eliminate the great variation which still exists in interpretation" ;
>
> "I question the role of the chief inspector in 'moderating' or 'adjusting' totals - does he know every teacher ?" ;
>
> "HODs should have more contact with inspectors who should clearly state what they expect HODs to do."

Another strong criticism was of criteria statement and repetition :

> "Points and descriptions don't correlate" ;
>
> "The criteria making a competent teacher are perhaps difficult to define and elusive (sic)",

but these views have already been discussed in this chapter.

A major change envisaged to establish procedure was the recommendation that teachers should be assessed for a first merit award only in their fourth or fifth years of service.

Radical changes proposed, although far-ranging, tended to be based on the major aim of teacher development and improvement of teacher morale :

> "All teachers must be made to feel that they are worthwhile as human beings" ;
>
> "I doubt very much whether the system encourages real teacher growth. What I would prefer to see is teacher expertise being used for the benefit of the teacher concerned as well as education as a whole, e.g., release good teachers to participate in curricular development projects ; research new approaches to school organisation and administration ; to return to schools and share knowledge and newly acquired expertise. To participate more in teacher training and school based teacher training."

More openness in discussions with teachers was seen to be desirable as was the view that teachers should be helped to develop career progression plans. A strong humanistic view towards teacher assessment was apparent.

A large number of respondents called for the re-introduction of the Senior Assistant post and the rejection of the merit assessment scheme, basing their reasons on the belief that extra financial reward should be allied to extra responsibility. If the current assessment scheme with its emphasis on financial reward were to continue, many respondents felt that teachers should be given the right to apply for assessment and that assessment should not be done "automatically".

Indian respondents were more passionately antagonistic in their statements on the merit assessment scheme in Question 7 than their White colleagues had been. Widespread discontent was obvious, particularly

about the format and procedure of the system. Few comments which could be classified under aims were made, but the financial aspect drew most criticism :

> "Merit assessment for monetary gain has many hidden disadvantages and this (sic) may be misused".

Accusations that some teachers work only for monetary gain were made, and that many merit award teachers had deteriorated in performance since receiving awards.

Under format and procedure the element of subjectivity in assessments also drew strong criticism from Indian respondents. Favouritism on the part of inspectors and of school principals was seen to be an unfortunate aspect of the scheme :

> "Principals' pets can be favoured" ;
>
> "Assessment is tinged with the views of others".

Arbitrary reducing of marks by the inspectorate was seen to be unacceptable. And a few principals found themselves to be in the firing-line because of the confidential nature of reports and the merit award :

> "Principal seems to be the target where the assessments are not made known to the teacher."

There was strong support for "usual" reports by the inspectorate to be used for merit assessment in an attempt to reduce the competitive nature of it, and that a rating of "very satisfactory" should be sufficiently high for the achievement of a merit award :

> "The standard of 180/210 to obtain a merit assessment (sic) is too high."

Suggestions for a future system were most commonly based on the introduction of "service awards" to replace the "merit assessment" scheme. The designation of Senior Teacher, it was argued, could be more suitably granted to an experienced and dedicated teacher who had given years of faithful service to education rather than to a "whizz-kid" who could achieve 180 marks out of 210.

The writer would like to acknowledge his indebtedness to all those assessors of teacher competence in Natal who took so much trouble over their answers to the questionnaire. It is acknowledged that many of the questions were, of necessity, rather general in concept and respondents would have liked to respond in a more specific way. The seriousness of approach by respondents and their interest in the assessment of teacher competence can be indicated through comments made by two of them :

> "Please publish findings in a teachers' journal" ; and
>
> "I feel that many of these answers need qualification and would like to phone you privately to discuss them."

7. Conclusion

The focus of attention in this chapter has been the province of Natal ; the history and present circumstances of teacher assessment have been considered and the results of a survey of teacher opinion reported upon. In the light of the previous chapters, it must be clear that the situation in Natal (itself the result of a complex set of factors) leaves much to be desired.

In the next and final chapter of this work, the writer suggests areas in which change or improvement could occur.

CHAPTER SIX

TOWARDS IMPROVEMENT ?

1. Introduction

Dockrell (1980, p.12) tells us that "Educational research, like Janus, has two faces" in that its findings can be interpreted as either a contribution to understanding or as a specific guide to action. This does not mean that some research is of itself applied and some theoretical :

> "..... it is a distinction that lies in the mind of the reader, in the use that the reader puts the study to." (idem)

The implication of Dockrell's reminder is that although it has become fashionable for educational policy-makers and administrators to refer to research findings as justification for their actions, it is the intention of the researcher himself which should remain paramount.

The intention in the present dissertation has been no more and no less than to examine a range of the existing literature on the assessment of teacher competence and, taking cognisance of studies in organization and management theory, critically to analyse the provisions for teacher assessment (after initial qualification) in South Africa. Particular emphasis has fallen on one area of South Africa, Natal, but the situation there has been shown not to be very different from that in other provinces. The intention has not been to provide a guide to action (indeed, for one student to set out with such intention would have been a little immodest) but to identify problem areas, which must, in the sheer nature of critical response, inevitably lead to a consideration of alternative policy and practice - with a view to some amelioration of the problem areas.

Conscious of this, the writer proposes to offer overall observations arising from the field of study and to suggest a framework or direction in terms of which the policy and practices relating to the assessment of teacher competence in South Africa could be improved. This chapter will, for the reader's convenience, include a review of the principal conclusions reached in the dissertation on the current "merit assessment" system, after which recommendations will be made about innovations which appear necessary.

It is, of course, always easier to suggest change rather than actually to implement it ; in addition, any suggestions made may understandably be rejected as simplistic or irrelevant unless they bear the stamp of approval of those directly involved - in this case, the teachers in schools. But unless ideas or proposals arising from critical analysis are put forward for discussion the role of a bureaucratic structure bringing about change to suit its own interests is not only condoned but encouraged. Education should be a matter of ongoing discussion.

2. A review of principal conclusions on the "merit assessment" system in the RSA

The "merit assessment" system in operation in South African schools is open to criticism from a number of different perspectives : from the offering of a monetary reward to professionals who meet the assessment requirements, thus encouraging convergence ; from the validity (not empirically established) of the set criteria ; from the assumption that teacher behaviour can be quantified ; and because of its bureaucratic development and the autocratic manner of its introduction. Each point will be elaborated upon in turn.

2.1 The principle of offering monetary awards

Arguments for the payment of extra money to highly competent teachers have been forwarded by political pressure groups demanding public

accountability for teachers, and have also been made by some educationists. For example Dr Robert Finley, superintendent of the Glen Cove City school district on Long Island, has introduced merit increases for school principals and deputies because he is opposed to what he views as common in education, that "Mediocre performance (is) rewarded the same as outstanding performance" (The Daily News, Wednesday 28 July 1982, p.9). His method of payment, however, is not based on a rigid system of assessment but on "ideas (which) come from the individual professional" (idem) and are seen to work in the individual's school.

Opponents of this view regard teachers as employed professionals and feel that salaries should be based only on qualifications and length of service or increased responsibility, and not on extra payment for performance that is adjudged to be highly competent. Such views find parallels in self-employed professionals, such as doctors, whose tariffs are the same regardless of the quality of service. In the same way that a highly competent doctor will achieve higher financial reward than a mediocre doctor because of a natural increase in the size of his practice, so (it is argued) an outstanding teacher will be promoted to a higher post of responsibility and so gain extra financial reward. Aspects of paying for a higher standard of performance in teaching, which smack of overtime payments and trade unionism, are condemned on the grounds that they would lower the status of a teacher in his community.

Despite views and counterviews on professionalism, the writer asserts that the "merit assessment" system has damaged the status of numerous South African teachers, in their own eyes. But the major objections to the system on grounds of professionalism are that it has had an effect on the initiative of teachers by stifling questioning on method and on the curriculum in general, which endangers the very fabric of teaching ; and that pre-determined criteria have offered teachers the opportunity to exploit their teaching along required grounds. Jealousy from teachers who have failed to achieve a merit award with concomitant ego bruising has been balanced in some staffrooms by the isolation of "meritorious" teachers. After the first public notification

of merit award winners in the Natal Education Department, a form of secrecy now shrouds the names of achievers, which does not enhance the professionality of the award.

2.2 The criteria

The vexed problem of attempting to define competence in teaching has had a full review in this work. According to Dr Sara Delamont the research in this field has failed because :

> "..... there was no consensus in society on what an effective or a good teacher was. What appeared a good school or good teaching to some would not be so attractive to others. As a result, researchers could not agree if they had seen good teaching or how to measure it." (From an address delivered to the Congress of the International Association of Applied Psychology held at Edinburgh University in August 1982 and reported in The Times Educational Supplement 6.8.82, p.5)

And yet the "merit assessment" scheme embodies a view of a good teacher which is supposed to be applicable to teachers of all races and from widely differing cultural backgrounds. Views of Indian teachers on the criterion of "community involvement", for example, have been strongly expressed in chapter five ; while many Black teachers are not involved in "extra-curricular activies" which hardly exist in their schools for various social reasons. A reminder of the opinion of House (1978) is apposite at this point :

> "A monolithic evaluation is not appropriate for a pluralistic society." (p. 401)

Vaguely defined criteria were criticised by numerous respondents to the questionnaire in chapter five, but areas of overlap also cause concern. "Language competence", for example, is assessed under various criteria, including "lesson presention", "language competence", and "contribution to the betterment of the image of the profession." The vexed section

on "The Teacher as a Person" tries to distinguish between "character", "personality" and "human relations" ; but an aspect of personality is "attributes revealed in daily intercourse with others" which is obviously part of human relations ; while loyalty is seen as an integral part of character as well as of "professional conduct towards pupils, colleagues, employer and community." An obvious lack of spread in marks awarded for the section on "The Teacher as a Person" has occurred because of the extreme difficulty assessors find in quantifying or categorizing such aspects of human behaviour. Inherent dangers in making assessments on character include the subjective nature of the assessment as well as the possibility of innuendo and gossip playing a hidden role.

Moving to the section on "The Assessment of the Teacher in the Classroom Situation", and ignoring overlap with other sections, it is possible to compare the nine major criteria on which the assessment is based, with the criteria established by researchers already mention in this dissertion. There is a high degree of agreement in most cases, probably revealing that experienced educationists do see classroom performance in similar terms ; but there are also some important differences.

Moore and Neal (1973) isolated eleven major criteria chosen by the inspectorate in Victoria, as indicated in chapter four, and only two do not have definite recognition in the RSA scheme : a teacher's standing with the pupils ; and attitudes of pupils to the school and to authority.

It is interesting to note that Johnson (1980) et al also reveal closer concerns with pupils. Interpersonal skills in classroom management and management of interaction are seen by these writers as vitally important teaching skills, and provision is made for the testing of students' perceptions of the teacher's methods.

Strong criticism was levelled by Wynn et al (1977) at attempts to measure teachers on "summative" rather than on "formative" criteria. Their suggestions for an evaluation format were principally goals-based and also included pupils' views.

Another aspect not really considered in the RSA scheme is that suggested by Jones (1975) when he indicates that inspectors in South Australia like to see a breadth of vision and progressiveness in a teacher, before regarding him as promotable. He also suggests qualities of persistence and thoroughness as important.

2.3 The quantification of behaviour

Probably the greatest danger in a quantifying system is that only those criteria or goals that can be quantified will gain acceptance by assessors because of ease of assessment, and that intangible, vitally important goals in education will be ignored as unmeasurable on a quantifying scale.

Any consideration of whether a teacher's behaviour can be quantified so finely that a difference of one mark out of a maximum of 126, which distinguishes a "merit award" achiever and therefore a Senior Teacher from an ordinary teacher colleague, would find no support in the literature. McGregor (1960) stated that human competence could not really be judged finer than the oustanding, the above satisfactory and satisfactory for any staff reward scheme. Herzberg (1966) and Hunt (1981) are others who have indicated that staff financial incentive schemes, based on performance appraisal, do not usually achieve the required results of greater productivity. McGregor was referring to schemes whereby financial increases were based on performance appraisal, but in which all employees of a satisfactory rating and higher would achieve graded percentage increases in salary. In the "merit assessment" scheme there is payment of one notch on the salary scale to only those who are scored above the cut-off mark, which could differ from year to year according to financial resources available. As about 30% of teachers in the Natal Education Department achieve merit awards, it is an arbitrary standard of "exceptional merit" which is in operation, as McGregor's research indicated that "outstanding" performers amount to only 1% or 2% of any work force.

It must be difficult enough to reach a reasonable standard of assessment of teachers on one school staff, but it is extremely questionable whether schools as different as pre-primary and high schools can have their separate teacher assessments standardized, using one form of assessment, and having one district inspector to do this. Figures taken from the first round of merit assessments in Natal in 1979 indicate that 9 merit awards were granted in six high schools in one inspectorial district, whereas 22 merit awards were granted in six high schools in another inspectorial district. The only direct comparisons of high schools in the two districts concerned can be made on product, not process, grounds based on pupils' results in the Natal Senior Certificate Examination. Pupils in the schools where 9 teachers were judged to be meritorious performed markedly better than the pupils in the schools where 22 teachers were judged to be meritorious. This indicates (though generalization from the point would be unfair) that "good teaching" is not necessarily matched with good examination performance, or that standards of assessment were variable.

In the literature surveyed, it is interesting to note Wynn's (1977) et al rejection of primitive rating instruments of teachers which showed no reliability of judgment. They proposed a qualitative description of teacher-pupil interaction rather than an overall rating scale. Johnson et al (1980) follow a similar line in that the complex Teacher Performance Assessment Instrument scheme involves computer scoring of individual assessments of various skills, but leads to a performance profile being drawn and not a rating scale.

2.4 Bureaucratic involvement

The development of the "merit assessment" system is an apt example of a centralized bureaucracy at work : based on the grounds of the Public Service assessment scheme and developed for all teachers by a narrow cultural group in the South African context - with no Black, Indian, Coloured, or English-speaking South Africans and no practising

teacher being involved in the planning. The established system was forced on all education authorities with no opportunity given for debate or proper consultation with the general teaching body. Hence, whether any research was completed by the compilers of the system, is unknown. An indication of bitter teacher response to the introduction of the system has been described in chapter five. Accusations of dishonest reporting, the betrayal of trust, and the lack of standards were widespread, and public airing of feelings was distinctly unprofessional but, in the circumstances, understandable.

A further problem area is that no provision has been made for the further assessment of a teacher who has been granted a third merit award, which could be achieved after six years of service. While it is unlikely that a teacher who has been evaluated as meritorious on three separate occasions would need to be assessed further from the point of view of state demands on accountability, it does mean that the assessment procedure is limited as far as staff development is concerned because in the given example it would not operate beyond the sixth year of a teacher's service.

The criticisms of the system of merit assessment as introduced in the RSA, and mentioned above, indicate clearly that all is not well with the system in operation.

3. Possible innovations

From the conclusions summarized in the preceding section, certain directions of possible innovation emerge. Broadly, such innovation could either take the form of cosmetic change (involving adaptations of practice to meet, for example, teacher dissatisfaction) or of fundamental departure from existing policy and practice. The latter form would obviously be more complex and could mean a change in educational philosophy and the role of the teacher as conceived by society. It would seem that the kind of necessary innovation, in respect of the

assessment of teacher competence, which emerges from this study lies somewhere between the two extremes ; the writer submits that certain aspects of prevailing policy and practice are advantageous, whereas others could benefit from alteration.

One of the problems of education in South Africa, as identified in chapters four and five, is the low level of involvement by teachers in the making of decisions which affect them. Thus, the history of the development of policy and practice in the assessment of teacher competence reveals that there has been little or no meaningful involvement even of the organized teaching profession in the formulation of policy. While it is true that in Natal, cordial relationships (themselves not a chance occurrence) between recognised teachers' societies and one employing authority have led to a form of consultation, decrees from central authorities have usually won the day with the result that representations by teachers have often had little effect. In a sense this has the ironic advantage, for the employing authority, that steps towards apparent democratization may be initiated (for example, calling on teachers' representatives to submit views for discussion) but that the employing authority need never fear coercion by the workforce ; despite appearing to support the views of that workforce, the authority can always blame failure to accommodate such views on "interdepartmental agreements" (i.e. national decisions). It is not suggested that such double-dealing has been a feature of education in Natal, but one is reminded of the power of centralized policy-making and therefore the futility of some consultation at a lower level.

The machinery for negotiation between teachers' representatives in South Africa and their employers has for some time been a topic of discussion and is enjoying ministerial attention through the offices of the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations.*The recent Investigation into Education conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (1981) included as one of its concerns the whole matter of

* Source of information : a document issued by the Federal Council to its members, made available to the writer.

innovation in education and saw the route for this to lie in a decentralized control of education with participation in decision-making by local communities. The expressed views, both of teachers' representatives and of the official investigation, would seem to suggest the need for teacher involvement in innovation which, in turn, should suit the circumstances of particular areas or groups. National encouragement or facilitation of innovation, but with local discussion and implementation of it, would appear to be the logical outcome. Some specific suggestions in terms of which innovation could move now follow.

3.1 A forum for discussion

From the foregoing, a recognised forum for discussion among all concerned with the evaluation of teacher competence seems necessary. Whether this existed on a national or a regional (possibly as defined by the recent President's Council recommendations) level, the forum could bring together trainers of teachers, employers (represented by school principals as well as by higher echelons), representatives of teachers, and possibly members of the non-school world. All such persons are directly or indirectly concerned with the formal or informal evaluation of teacher competence ; one is tempted even to suggest the inclusion of pupils, but such a step could, as an example of radicalism, be used by critics to discredit the whole suggestion.

Although many teacher assessors who responded to the writer's questionnaire (reviewed in chapter five) were opposed to pupils' views being used in the assessment of teachers, it is highly probable that useful information about general teacher effectiveness could emerge from carefully structured questioning of pupils.

The institution of a forum for discussion would open up areas of discontent and lay bare weaknesses in prevailing policy and practice. Though not itself concerned with the formulation of policy or even of formal recommendations, it could act as a type of sounding-board for the expression of views and the dissemination of research findings. A

point of concern, of course, is that of who (or which body) should take the initiative in setting up such a forum. It seems that universities could provide a start here for, being autonomous and presumably non-partisan, they (for example through their faculties responsible for teacher education) could instigate meetings of interested people in their surrounding areas with a view to forming committees or running ongoing seminars which could develop into pressure groups or formally recognised agents for change. It is possible that the private sector, through individuals or companies, would financially support such ventures by universities if after an initial stage they showed themselves capable of leading to improved processes in the assessment of teachers (and, by implication, to a generally-improved teaching force). While one could not support an extreme form of competency-based teaching as found, for example, in parts of the United States - sometimes with the criteria for teacher competence being prescribed by individuals totally outside the institution of education - it is reasonable to suggest that because so many persons have an interest in education they should have some channel for the expression of views. It is further submitted that expertise from outside sources, for example from people involved in personnel management in business concerns, could have positive influence in such a forum.

The envisaged forum could concern itself with a wide range of issues : apart from mechanical problems of assessment of teachers there could be ongoing examination of the sociological, psychological and philosophical underpinnings to teacher assessment in general. Isolated groups are known already to pursue studies or debates related to this topic : the Association for the Study of Evaluation in Education in Southern Africa is an example, but its interests are primarily related to the assessment of pupils. Some teachers' societies and employers have mounted courses in aspects of management, and the present dissertation has shown how central the assessment of staff competence is to any manager.

Cognisance should be taken of a paper delivered by Delamont (1982, op. cit.) in which she claimed that research into what constituted a good teacher had stagnated over the past twenty years. She stated

that research done by Hamilton and herself in 1972 was to be included in an Open University course to run until 1990 because, as she was told, "it was still the best on the scene" (op. cit., p.5). She claimed that research "had failed to produce any real decision on what constituted good teaching" because of various reasons including the "conflict between that research which was academically acceptable and that which was acceptable to the practitioner, the teacher"(idem). The forum envisaged by the writer should, with the presence of academics and teachers, be able to avoid this conflict ; but any research undertaken through the aegis of this forum should take note of Delamont's warning of another conflict :

> "between studies which gave a concise and simple answer and those which seriously tackled the complexities of the classroom. The former become very popular, although shallow, while the latter remain largely untouched" (idem).

It seems then that through the instigation of a forum or forums for the study of teacher assessment in an organized and disciplined way (possibly in different areas of the country) the practice of education as a whole could improve.

3.2 Teacher education

Bone (1980) in an excellent contribution to that year's World Yearbook of Education, reviews some of the criticisms made of teacher education in both developed and underdeveloped countries during the preceding decade. In some areas of the world falling birth-rates had led to decreased demands for teachers and therefore greater selectivity by employers ; in other areas, teacher training courses were alleged to be irrelevant in terms of the particular social needs. Bone shows that "Institutions which train teachers ..... are now much more conscious of the need to engage themselves in the frequent revision of courses, and much more willing to enter into partnership with other agencies in the work of training" (summary, op. cit., p.57).

Bone has, as head of one of the world's largest teacher education establishments (Jordanhill College, Glasgow) been instrumental in developing school-based patterns of teacher education such as those discussed by the Sneddon Report (1978), a document largely produced by the Scottish General Teaching Council though published by the government education department. The "Regents' Scheme" as practised, for example, at Jordanhill College, has much to offer in terms of initial teacher education and could do much to prevent emotional and social problems relating to the assessment of competence in later years. To illustrate this point a brief summary of the Scheme at Jordanhill College will be given. [1]

Since 1974 the Jordanhill Regent Scheme has grown to involve 40 secondary schools in the Glasgow area. The head of each school selects a member of staff (usually an assistant head or depute), who is given sole responsibility for student teachers, and whose appointment as Regent is confirmed by the College. The Regent has specified responsibilities and tasks, including spending two timetabled periods per week tutoring the students according to a prescribed programme. The Regent acts as the link in the two-way exchange between school and college, and provides pastoral care or assistance to the students. He does not supervise or assess lessons, but may give advice on their preparation - the important point being that the Regent and students are involved in a helping relationship. However,

> "..... there arise occasionally instances where unusual qualities and characteristics of students need to be commented on, if only to ensure they are not overlooked, and if regents wish to submit a report in these circumstances, the college is most willing to receive it." (extract from document mentioned in footnote, p.6)

The Regent Scheme provides an extremely useful and manageable system of linkage between training institution and school, if only that a

[1] The material is summarized from an internal college document made available to the writer's supervisor during a visit by the latter to Jordanhill College.

college-approved member of the school staff is formally engaged in the teaching of the students, through the weekly tutorial programme during which aspects such as the following are discussed : attitudes and expectations of teachers, teacher-pupil relations, opportunities for involvement in curriculum development, administrative work required of teachers, social problems of pupils, and teaching as a career. In some tutorials, students meet with first-year probationary teachers and discuss the problems the latter have encountered.

The question may occur as to what advantages an arrangement such as the Jordanhill Regents' Scheme, or a similarly formalized pattern of school-based teacher education has to offer over conventional patterns in South Africa. While some school principals, sensitive to the contemporary idea that they and their staff have a responsibility in teacher education, do appoint the equivalents of regents, in the form of persons who supervise the timetables and other details of students' periods of practice teaching, it will be agreed that this arrangement is purely informal : the training institution has no say in the matter, the member of staff concerned may not have the background or time necessary to prepare tutorials, and the whole system may be quite arbitrarily planned with vast differences amongst schools. The particular advantage of the Jordanhill Scheme, too, is that the tutorials provided by the regents are directly linked with and show the practical application of the theoretical knowledge provided by the college lecturers.

It would seem that the more school-based the system of initial teacher education is, the more readily socialized the student teachers are likely to be into their profession - whether that profession is theirs by choice or whether (if one may be realistic without the impression of cynicism) it has been foisted on them as a result of the opportunity for free university or college education. While such socialization would not mean uncritical acceptance of an existing situation or attitudes, it is likely to prevent the disillusionments and frustrations which seem to be experienced by many first-year teachers. It could also prepare future teachers more easily for their own later

assessments, through demonstrating to them the qualities required of practising staff.

Apart from the curriculum or organization of teacher education, there would seem to be other related issues which, if changed, could contribute to more beneficial assessments of teachers and a readier acceptance of assessments. At the moment, for example, colleges of education in South Africa lack the autonomy to judge how many students they should admit - quotas are laid down in terms of the expected teacher requirements in future years. One can perhaps accept this in terms of financially-aided students on whom there must presumably be some kind of budgetary limitation. The policy of awarding teaching positions after qualification to financially aided students, before turning to applications from students who have paid their own fees and expenses, inevitably means that the law of natural selection does not operate. If the doors of colleges of education could be opened to all willing to pay the fees (as is the case with universities), the obvious limitation being in terms of the numbers with which the staff and facilities could cope, and if students awarded study grants accepted that these grants in no way guaranteed employment, [1] selection of persons for entry to the profession of teaching could become more stringent, meaning that the overall quality of members of the profession would ultimately rise. Once again, it seems reasonable to conclude that a rise in quality would lead to basic competence being assured by at most the end of a probationary year, so that future assessments of teachers could be valuable experiences for extension and learning and professional growth rather than (as often at present) procedures for "checking up on" personnel or for the execution of other custodial functions.

The initial period of teacher education is, of course, just the first part of a teacher's professional training. The final part occurs

[1] Although loan contracts do not in fact guarantee employment, in the N.E.D. the awarding of employment first to "loan students" seems to be policy.

in his first year on the job, and it is to a consideration of that year which the writer now turns.

3.3 The initial year of teaching

The induction of first-year teachers has recently been a topic of considerable interest and, in some parts of England, "induction centres" have been set up where first-year teachers can meet to engage in discussion, undergo courses, or engage in some kind of further training. Literature is available on these centres and visits have been paid to them by South Africans, including Smit (1980), but little of equivalence exists here. In the Cape Province, teachers can meet and enjoy in-service education at the provincially-controlled Teachers' Centres - the possibility of induction courses for first-year teachers is therefore open ; in Natal, a short course for first-year teachers was arranged by the Natal Education Department in 1982 but, according to some of the participants, seemed to consist more of information-giving than of induction in the sense of the word as used in England.

It seems clear that first-year teachers, whatever the quality of their previous training, would benefit from planned professional support. Tisher (1980) in a chapter on the induction of beginning teachers, shows that although it is not possible to argue that one form of induction is necessarily superior to other forms, those responsible for induction programmes could do with general research into the purposes of induction, improvement of their own counselling skills (or those of the teachers actually involved in induction), better preparation of schools in respect of their role in induction, and other matters. Tisher notes (p.70) that

> "There is .... an implied expectation that during induction new teachers will become, at a basic level, professionally competent and professionally at ease in their job .... If it is accepted that induction into teaching is one of the crucial stages in the overall process of professional development and socialization of teachers then it cannot be left to chance."

A system of professional support for first-year teachers extends beyond merely arranging meetings for their guidance ; if seen in effect as a continuation of the training already received, it would appear to necessitate firm links with the training institutions. The manner of appointment (or indeed of application), the tutor/ counsellor system provided in schools (perhaps an extension of the Regent Scheme described in the previous section), and the arrangements made to differentiate the first-year teacher from others (for example in the provision of a slightly reduced teaching load compensated for by regular meetings with supervisory or other senior colleagues) all need to be considered in the planning of an induction year.

Tisher (op. cit.) notes that the most successful systems of teacher induction seem to exist where employers provide regular day or half-day release from duties, so that teachers concerned may meet with colleagues in the area for conferences. He notes, however, that "At times teachers cannot implement conference suggestions because they do not receive their colleagues' support" (p.79), implying that the full teaching profession (rather than just first-year teachers or their employers) needs to be involved in the organization of induction programmes. Research by Tisher, Fyfield and Taylor (1979), cited in the chapter under consideration, revealed that among Australian teachers a majority who did participate in specific induction activities recommended that future first-year teachers should enjoy similar opportunities. In the table provided, the second column indicates the percentage of (Australian) teachers who engaged in the named activity, while the third column indicates the percentage of those in the second column who felt these opportunities should be extended to others. In establishing the significance of the figures in the third column, attention should be paid to the second column : for example, while a relatively low 62% recommended visits to other schools, only 20% of the country's new teachers had actually had opportunity for this :

Table 6.1 : Induction Activities for Australian Teachers
(source : Tisher, 1980, p.80, based on his own research)

Opportunity or provision	Percentage of beginning teachers who :	
	were given the opportunity	recommended the opportunity
Receiving written materials on conditions of employment	51	80
Receiving written materials on school matters	74	86
Accepting advice in classroom management or help in producing programmes of work	74	86
Accepting evaluation of own teaching	55	73
Participation in organized consultation with experienced school personnel	53	68
Attending group meetings for beginning teachers at school	42	65
Attending group meetings for beginning teachers elsewhere	45	56
Observing other teachers' methods of teaching	44	82
Visiting other schools for observation/consultation	20	62
Conferring informally with beginning teachers from other schools	59	65
Looking at local educational resources	48	74

It may be of interest, in the light of Tisher's findings, to consider how an induction year could be mounted, for example, in Natal. Particularly relevant to this study is the fact that 73% of the concerned subjects in Tisher's study recommended that first-year teachers should have evaluations (on a regular basis) of their own teaching ; further, 82% felt that beginner

teachers should observe other teachers' methods of teaching (an unusual event in South African schools).

The writer offers the following suggestions for such an induction year :

a. First-year teachers should, immediately on appointment to a school, receive written information on the nature of their duties and be invited to an interview with the teacher in whose subject area they will be working, before the start of the academic year. The tone of the written communication, the wording of the invitation and of course the nature of the interview (when it occurs) are all matters of importance - beyond the scope of the present context, but necessary to be borne in mind by those responsible for the inductions.

b. On arrival at the school, it seems necessary that beginning teachers be issued with a guide relating to their work : a clear specification of what is expected, to preclude confusion, ambiguity or the natural reticence (of one new in a position) to keep asking for guidance. The guide could include, for example :

b.1 an indication of what type of lesson preparation, record of lessons, journals or folios the teacher may be required to keep ;

b.2 a statement on "marking policy", for example whether all pupil work should be corrected or whether some can be merely read, and an indication of follow-up required ;

b.3 the description of the school policy on discipline, rules for pupils, discreet notes on dress for teachers and general points on what staff of the particular school consider to be desirable professional attributes ;

b.4 some indication of how teachers in the school are expected to display professional resourcefulness or creativity ;

b.5 a clear description of the organization chart of the school and suggestions as to what may be done during moments of crisis.

c. Timetabling for first-year teachers should clearly allow for a reduced teaching load, either to permit attendance at the courses described by Tisher (if such come into existence) or to provide opportunity for regular consultation with a senior colleague - perhaps even the principal on a regular basis. Daily meetings with appointed colleagues (not just rushed discussions over the teacups) seem called for so that the beginner teacher's progress can be facilitated and monitored. Through such meetings he could learn more about rapport with pupils and about working with colleagues than any course of initial training could reasonably be expected to each him.

d. A system of so-called "tandem teaching" under the wing of a supervising colleague seems worthy of consideration. Such colleage could allow for the observation of lessons and shared preparation of content and material, and generally act as a type of "master" to the "apprentice".

e. Induction courses and conferences appear to play a valuable role, if only through the emotional support gained from meeting teachers in a similar (first-year) situation. However, it is clear that these courses need extensive preparation and research, particularly in terms of goals - nothing can be as insulting to "professional" persons as gathering them

> together merely to distribute information or anecdotes, when such could have been communicated through the post!

It is submitted that if an induction year could be organized broadly along the lines suggested, the adjustment of teachers to their task situation could be assisted. Of direct relevance, is the possibility that teachers would be more adequately armed to meet the requirements of whatever formal assessments came their way in future years.

Education, it is clear, is an expensive business : wastage or inefficiency among teachers costs the taxpayer a great deal of money. An induction year could assist in the process of natural selection referred to earlier, with those unable to cope with the demands dropping sadly but permanently by the wayside. Ruthless though the proposal may seem, it could surely lead to a more highly motivated teaching force ; it could (and here its direct relevance for this dissertation is emphasized) elminate altogether the need for regular assessments by inspectors after the first year of teaching - for implicit in the writer's suggestions is the dismissal of a teacher who after all the efforts made on his behalf during the induction year, is yet incapable of minimal professional competence. The aim of the induction ("probationary") year should be to ensure that competence, through a school-based programme of events.

Because situations differ from school to school, the exact nature of the initial year of teaching will differ accordingly, but through the forum for discussion (described in 3.1) basic requirements could be agreed on.

3.4 Assessments in subsequent years

In the light of the foregoing, a logical move would be towards the administration of the assessment of teacher competence being entirely school based. It is submitted that after an initial training with increased school-based experience, and a year of planned professional induction, teachers should have reached that minimal standard of competence which

justifies their continued employment. Further assessments, for example with a view to increased responsibility within a school, should surely be determined by the particular school principal in conjunction with other management staff.

Although this dissertation has rejected the provisions for "merit assessment" presently in vogue in South Africa, it would of course be absurd to decry, or suggest the permanent elimination of the evaluation and assessment of teachers *per se*. As indicated in chapter two, members of most organizations seem to accept the need for regular "feedback" or assurance that they are pursuing relevant goals or working efficiently, presumably being necessary if increased responsibilities are to be delegated.

The writer suggests that, after full provision for involvement by teachers or their representatives in the formulation of policy, new provisions for the ongoing evaluation or assessment of teachers after their first year of service should be drawn up in terms of the following principles:[1]

a. As already indicated, all assessment should be school-based, the inspectorate having no direct involvement unless at times of severe conflict or outside adjudication.

b. The possibilities for self-assessment and peer-assessment, according to agreed criteria or expectations, should be explored. Self-assessments could perhaps be compared with those drawn up by colleagues, whether peers or supervisors.

c. In the second year of teaching (after completion of the induction period) there should be no formal

Footnote [1] These principles are suggested for the evaluation of "Level 1" teachers, i.e. those presently affected by the merit-award system.

assessments. This would allow for a consolidation of experience and attitude, unlike the present system where "merit assessment" begins virtually as soon as the teacher's appointment has been confirmed.

d. In the third and subsequent years, assessments in terms of criteria which the teacher (indirectly at least) has a say in defining, should take place by heads of departments or principals. These assessments should be for the professional guidance and support of teachers, not for monetary gain (as pointed out several times in this dissertation, the linking of monetary awards to "merit assessment" has caused much dissension, for the obviously-implied rewarding of conformity).

e. The criteria for assessment should be revised and take account of teacher attitude ; perhaps, even, different criteria could apply in different areas. Certainly, the following areas need fairly drastic attention.

e.1 The assessment of "character" or "personality" ; unsuitable incumbents would have been eliminated by the end of a properly structured induction year, and cases of subsequent psychological maladjustment, personality change or social pathology (for example, immorality or deviance as defined by local standards) could be individually handled. It is suggested that "character" or "personality" be not, in fact, mentioned in any list of qualities for assessment unless very specifically defined.

e.2 The question of "extracurricular involvement" ; South Africa's sometimes irrational concern with English-public-school sporting activities leads to understandable annoyance among teachers who entered the profession for more "cerebral" reasons. It is suggested that the

concept of extracurricular involvement be broadened to include all activities of a school-supportive nature or activities directly relevant to professional growth.

e.3 Involvement with the community does not seem to be a fundamental necessity for successful teaching,and assessment of merit in terms of it is tantamount to emotional blackmail. This is particularly so if "involvement" extends (however unofficially) to aspects such as religious observance. It may reasonably be expected that a school principal, like a bank manager or a medical doctor or someone else in frequent contact with the public should display discretion and avoid public wifebeatings or drunkenness ; but for an ordinary teacher to be assessed in terms of his community involvement opens the way to all kinds of abuse or prescriptions by the non-school public. For this reason, it seems that community involvement is an unnecessary criterion in the assessment of teacher competence, unless a particular community prescribes involvement as a norm. As the proposed school-based system of assessment would allow for flexibility, schools serving sectors of the community which see the role of the teacher in terms of following a calling similar to that of a minister of religion, would be free to regard community involvement as an important criterion.

f. Assessment should be linked with and perhaps derive from discussion between the assessor and the assessed : it should be a learning activity for both parties. As such, numerical calculation of worth is inappropriate ; while some overall rating may be considered necessary (such as "Good", etc.) the attachment of a number to a human quality signifies a technicist model of education and a mechanical view of the interaction central to education.

> Accordingly, numerical assessment should play no part in a revised system.

Regular assessments, as described in terms of the preceding principles, serve purposes different from assessments for appointment to promotion posts. Pansegrouw's (1982) warning in this regard has already been cited (chapter four).

Unrest among the teaching profession in South Africa, with particular regard to the "merit award" system, has led to various discussions and memoranda among teacher representatives. For White teachers, the Federal Council of Teacher associations is the recognised body through which grievances or recommendations may be voiced to the Minister of National Education, and the Council has recently been involved in a study of the system of merit awards. The report of the sub-committee concerned, made available to the writer through a private communication shortly before the conclusion of this work, states that despite certain misgivings among teachers, "Federal Council accepts that the system has advantages for its members." [1] However, the report notes that the system is seen as a means of salary advancement rather than as an effective method of enhancing professional growth.

The report referred to may be taken as the most recent formal expression of teacher-representative attitude to the system of merit assessment. In proposing changes to that system, the report raises some issues which have already been mentioned in the present dissertation. The changes proposed stress the following fundamental needs :

1. The removal from teachers of the feeling that their work involves constantly being checked on, and the provision of effective guidance to teachers who need it ;

[1] Source : Federal Council of Teacher Associations : 'An evaluation of the Merit Award System', being an unpublished internal document made available to the writer.

2. A reduction in the administrative work associated with the present system ;

3. The need to link monetary award with increased professional responsibility.

The report (op. cit.) draws attention, inter alia, to the immense use of time by subject advisers and inspectors in the operation of the "merit award" system, resulting in a diminution of the guidance function of such personnel. Duplication of effort (for example, in the recording of information about teachers) is also noted, as are the variable standards of assessment and the fact that the number of awards is "dictated by financial considerations rather than by efficiency".

In proposing modifications to the system, the Federal Council suggests that :

1. The system of assessment should come into operation only after three years of actual service ;

2. The commencement of assessment should be linked to the expiry of a loan contract ;

3. The frequency of merit assessments should be accelerated to intervals of one year after the initial assessment (a major reason being the encouragement of young teachers, especially men, to remain) ;

4. The roles of advisers and inspectors should, especially for beginner teachers, "revert to the essential function of helpmate" ;

5. Initial assessments should be obligatory but thereafter the teacher should bear the responsibility of applying for assessments, thus obviating problems which can occur from transfers or administrative oversights ;

6. No analytical reports or scoring of marks should occur after the obtaining of an initial merit award, unless performance deteriorates, thus reducing the administrative burdens of assessment ;

7. There should be no cut-off points (decided in terms of available funds) for second or third merit awards, since these are linked with professional growth ;

8. In terms of the criteria for assessment, more stress should be given to classroom efficiency.

The Federal Council report goes on to suggest an aligning of the award system to specific areas of responsibility without a change in the posts structure for teachers - for example, the suggestion is made that after a third merit award the teacher should be designated "subject head" or "phase head".

The suggestions made do not envisage major structural changes nor increased costs, and seek to ameliorate negative teacher reaction to the prevailing system. In its conclusion, the report stresses that "secrecy must be replaced by open and frank discussion", especially in respect of criteria.

It is likely that the representations of a powerful body such as the Federal Council of Teacher Associations are likely to bear fruit, and it is of interest that certain of the views expressed are co-incident with the conclusions of the present writer.

Recommendations made thus far regarding the assessment of teachers draw attention to the need for the principals of individual schools to have final responsibility for the conducting of such assessments. This does not imply total autonomy for individual schools, however, as a broad underlying policy seems necessary for the effective management of assessments, at least within one employing authority. Suggestions on such a policy now follow, deriving from relevant literature and the writer's own study.

3.5 A suggested overall policy for the management of teacher assessment

The writer agrees with Hoyle (1979) that

> "schools and teachers, like other professionals, need a degree of autonomy if they are to be effective, (but) stakeholders need the re-assurance which some degree of external control can bring." (p.173)

The concept of school-based evaluation of teachers is supported by Gray (1979), John (1980), Hoyle (1980) and other writers in England ; but political pressure is mounting over demands for the accountability of teachers (particularly from political sources). Sir Keith Joseph's appeal for some conformity in the assessment of teachers and schools has been mentioned in chapters two and four. In the 'Green Paper' (DES, 1977) stress was laid by Her Majesty's Inspectorate on the need for local education authorities to identify poorly performing schools so that remediation could be introduced, and in order to be able to identify these schools, an appeal was made for greater uniformity in the approach to school assessment. Cognisance needs to be taken of this as a professional request for some uniformity in the assessment of schools, despite the de-centralized education system and the great variety of schools in England.

In South Africa numerous factors, such as a colonial legacy of strict education control and a Calvinistic philosophy of education adhered to by the ruling political party, have led to conformity in assessment of teachers, heads of department, deputy principals, principals, and schools (in some authorities). Having demonstrated, in previous chapters, the shortcomings of rigidly uniform methods of control and of assessment, by reference to literature on organization and administration theory as well as numerous research projects in education, the writer will attempt to sketch a system of evaluation which would grant maximum autonomy to teachers as professional people while retaining sufficient control by education authorities.

McGregor (1960) criticized the dualistic nature of evaluation of personnel, stressing that it is impossible to be both "judge" and "counselor", while Pansegrouw (1982) revealed that little significant development had been made to separate these functions in industrial concerns. Even in education Hoyle (1980) states that "evaluation has two functions : accountability and feedback", and as this appears to be a realistic viewpoint, the writer will not indulge in idealistic commentary, but will examine the school as an organization within which "feedback" will be associated more with teachers and "accountability" more with principals.

The organizational pattern which will serve as the background for the commentary will be that in operation in the Natal Education Department, but certain principles which will emerge should have wider scope. At present the assessment of teachers for confirmation of appointment, for merit assessment, and for promotion purposes takes up an estimated 80% (based on the writer's personal experience) of the time of the inspectorate. A recent move to free subject advisers from having to make quantitative assessments of teachers for"merit assessment" and so to allow them to carry out a guidance rather than a judgmental function, is to be praised. But district inspectors (who have more than thirty schools in a district) still spend most of their school-based time in classrooms of beginner or junior teachers and although the emphasis of their visits is supposed to be on guidance and development of teachers, in actual fact the large number of teachers involved in the various assessment groups has led to inspectors making brief visits to classrooms, and judgment of a comparative and quantifying nature. Little time has been available for inspectors to give advice to teachers because of the necessity for them to observe as many as six teachers on a specific school day, which is normally divided into eight periods. The technical problems of the "merit assessment" system have overshadowed its educational function as far as the inspectorate are involved : with large numbers of teachers having to be assessed, often in a hasty and mechanistic manner ; with the problems of attempting to standardize different school assessments, particularly towards a balance between teachers in high schools and those in pre-primary schools (with all teachers being judged

in terms of the same criteria) ; and with the attendant clerical checking of a six page analytical report and a global report on each teacher.

It would seem logical that the specific talents and management experience of district inspectors should be used at a higher level of the organization than that of supervising junior teachers. This is not meant to imply a total belief in hierarchical structuring, or a denial of the importance of young teachers to the educational system, but to emphasize that the school is best placed to evaluate these teachers, and to agree with Boyce (1979) :

> "Are inspectors really able to assess personality and disposition with objectivity?"... (and)
> "The veil of secrecy which surrounds the procedures used in assessing teaching in some schools may create a sense of professional insecurity" (Mentor, August 1979, p.143).

District inspectors should surely rather concern themselves firstly with the school and with its management group. They should have the opportunity of going into schools and surveying them, concentrating more on the aims, objectives and action in the school, than on some of the more mundane administrative requirements.

Stress should be laid on the educational function of the principal, a major aspect of which would be the growth of the school's staff development programme :

> "A systematic in-house programme of staff development is a necessity for maximally effective leadership development in a school. It should be an integral part of the school's total programme of instructional leadership" (Gibbon 1980, p.37).

Advice could be given to a principal about the type of induction programme for beginner teachers and the type of school-fucussed staff evaluation programme that could be introduced in his school, and the writer offers the principles outlined earlier in this chapter as

starting points. Further advice could be offered on the humanizing of these evaluation programmes, in fact on the humanizing of the entire role of the principal to counteract some prevalent mechanistic management based on too-formal policy documents with clearly formulated objectives and autocratic styles of leadership. Dangers inherent in the setting of aims or goals, particularly when they have to be measured, have been demonstrated in numerous research findings - by Musgrove (1971) among others. When attempts to quantify intangible goals become too difficult, assessors tend to regard easily quantifiable goals as being the only genuine and significant ones.

Edward Wrapp, former professor of Business Administration at the Harvard Business School warns managers that :

> "Preoccupation with detailed statements of corporate objectives and departmental goals and with comprehensive organization charts and job descriptions - this is often the first symptom of an organization which is in the early stages of atrophy."

His warning that change should be a gradual process if it is to be accepted by people, is acknowledged by the present writer as valid :

> "Top management must think out objectives in detail, but ordinarily some of the objectives must be withheld, or at least communicated to the organization in modest doses. A conditioning process which may stretch over months or years is necessary to prepare the organization for radical departures from what it is currently striving to attain." (Both quotations mentioned by an unnamed writer in Business SA, March 1978, p.10).

Carefully structured in-service courses would need to be planned to prepare principals for their role as managers of a school-based staff development and evaluation programme. And the role of district inspectors would be similar to that of district managers in industrial concerns who collate the work of branch managers, offer them training in specific fields, but are always aware that the manager manages his

own concern and is accountable for his concern, within broad policy statements.

Le Roux (1980) supports the ideals of autonomy for educational institutions and concomitant professional freedom and warns that :

> "Co-ordinating bodies must be carefully constituted to maintain the balance between the administrative advantage of centralization and the creative, innovative value of self-determination" (op. cit. p.112).

In his role as district co-ordinator, the district inspector would need to be particularly sensitive in maintaining a balance of innovation within a school, while retaining some form of control in broad policy terms. With major differences among Natal Education Department schools : on a language basis, on a phase basis (from high schools to pre-primary schools), and on a city and country basis - it would seem inappropriate to have a centrally determined staff evaluation programme. Flexibility is required, based on the needs of the particular school, and on the general philosophy, ideals and competence of the principal and his management team.

In a further attack on bureaucracy, Le Roux (1981) claims that :

> "Instead of being able to do what he has been trained as a professional to do, he (the ordinary teacher) must do what some remote official has planned on his behalf. Planners do his thinking for him. It is said that all was well in education, until someone threw a Planner in the works!" (Mentor, November 1981, p.193).

Although the inference of a non-thinking teacher is extreme, and the comment is basically jocular, it does indicate the problems involved in planning a programme which is not to become concretely entrenched in the minds of teachers. Whether this is the fault of the plan, which has been conceptualized too rigidly, or whether it is the fault of teachers allowing themsleves to have become too conditioned for

rational and imaginative response to a plan, is largely immaterial in distinction because aspects of both the plan and the acceptance of it by teachers should be a consideration of the district inspector (and obviously of education planners). In the introduction of school-based evaluation programmes, the district inspector would have to be conscious of his influence on the principal, and both would do well to take note of Wrapp's views on industrial planners :

> "They seem to feel that the power of a good master plan will be obvious to everyone, and its implementation automatic. But the general manager knows that even if the plan is sound and imaginative, the job has only begun. The long, painful task of implementation will depend on his skill, not that of the planner." (op. cit. p.11)

The principal's skill in implementation of a staff development and evaluation programme would be evaluated by the district inspector. And both principal and district inspector would need to be conversant with research findings on staff development, in particular the view originally supported by McGregor (1960), that :

> "As the unit of evaluation diminishes in size so there is a need for increased attention to be paid to creating an atmosphere of openness and trust for both these reasons" (John, 1980, p.164)

Gray (1979) as reported by Whiting (1979) has argued the case for staff counselling in all schools, indicating that teachers have a great need for such care because of the stressful nature of their work. He actually does not recommend the employment of trained counsellors in schools to meet the pastoral needs of teachers, but suggests that a "counselling mode" (p.137) be developed in schools through training of staff so that there is a "move into a facilitative and caring climate of organisation" (idem). Deputy principals and heads of department would, accordingly, need to be strong supporters of a "caring climate of organisation" as far as evaluation of staff was concerned, because

they would play an integral part in the implementation of the principal's plan.

The evaluation of deputies and heads of department by district inspectors and subject advisers would be of greater value if this were to follow an overview of the school and an evaluation of the principal. In chapter four reference was made to the evaluation of deputies and heads of department in the Natal Education Department during 1982, and that from this experience the understanding emerged that how these people performed was to a significant extent based on how they were managed by their principals. Training should, it seems, be given to all deputies and heads of department, on an elaborate in-service basis. The importance of their role in staff development should be made clear to them and techniques on team work, the running of committee meetings and evaluation of colleagues should be indicated to them. Perhaps McGregor's (1960) statement that "the research evidence indicates quite clearly that skillful and sensitive membership behaviour is the real clue to effective group operation" (sic, op. cit. p.238), and his views that a chairman of a meeting does not dominate a group but maintains a relaxed, working atmosphere through giving every member a hearing, could be a starting point on committee interaction. The research findings of Cohen offer further information on team work :

> "We theorize that team interaction, in some cases, proves highly rewarding to teachers and allows some of them to feel that they are being very influential on team decision-making. This increase in chances of reward and influence in the informal work organization is the source of the growth in professional ambition and its associated increase in job satisfaction." (1973, pp.342-3).

As far as evaluation of colleagues is concerned, many deputies and heads of department who responded to the writer's questionnaire (reviewed in chapter five) indicated their feelings of uncertainty because of a lack of training in this field. Possibly education in observational techniques such as the "category systems" mentioned by Hayman and Napier or "the 'who to whom'"method of recording group and the "CERLI Verbal Classification System" as reported by John (1980) p. 165, could be a

useful further step in their training. But as the suggested emphasis in evaluation is on staff growth, the training programmes should be people oriented. Data-gathering is merely the first step in evaluation and must be followed by feedback to the teachers, on which decisions for changes will have to be based. Praise and support are keynotes of the evaluator's role within his subject or phase department, as indicated by Cohen (1973).

> "We reasoned that as teachers convinced team members of the best educational and instructional decisions, and as they were rewarded by praise and support for their teaching, in full view of each other, many teachers would develop professional ambition." (op. cit. p.345)

Cognisance should also be taken of findings by Corey (1970, as reported by Cohen, 1971) and by Thurlow (1981) that a major source of teachers' dissatisfaction is their feeling of having limited influence and responsibility. Self appraisal by teachers and a forum for them to discuss how they are managed should be a fruitful source of self criticism for deputies and heads of department.

The writer is well aware of the extensive nature of the in-service development he has envisaged. There would need to be ongoing,participatory courses for small groups of school management staff and particular emphasis would have to be placed on the needs of people newly appointed to posts. Inadequacies in the provision made for in-service training in provincial education departments in South Africa have been apparent to the authorities themselves for some time. For example Nel and Hosking (1971) reported as follows after a Natal Education Department sponsored tour of Europe :

> "The study tour highlighted the inadequacy of the department's inservice training programme. In the present rapidly developing situation, the need to up-date and reorientate teachers becomes very real and it is clear that ways must be explored of providing continuous three or four week courses, the attendance of which at specified intervals is obligatory." (p.11)

Although the up-dating of teachers is essential, the writer asserts that the up-dating of people in promotion posts in schools should have an even higher priority, to ensure greater awareness of their higher professional responsibilities.

The theoretical underpinning of in-service courses could be based on Hoyle's (1979) fine rendering of "extended professionality". He hypothesized two heuristic models of professionality :

"Restricted professionality	Extended professionality
Skills derived from experience	Skills derived from a mediation between experience and theory
Perspective limited to the immediate in time and place	Perspective embracing the broader social context of education
Classroom events perceived in isolation	Classroom events perceived in relation to school policies and goals
Introspective with regard to methods	Methods compared with those of colleagues and with reports of practic
Value placed on autonomy	Value placed on professional collaboration
Limited involvement in non-teaching professional activities	High involvement in non-teaching professional activities (especially teachers' centres, subject associations, research)
Infrequent reading of professional literature	Regular reading of professional literature
Involvement in in-service work limited and confined to practical courses	Involvement in in-service work considerable and includes courses of a theoretical nature
Teaching seen as intuitive activity	Teaching as rational behaviour."

(op. cit. p.318)

The present section has been concerned with the need for the effective management and direction of schemes for the development and evaluation of teachers. The following conclusions may be drawn in respect of South Africa.

3.5.1 The system of evaluation should include a devolution of certain authority to schools, but direction and

sufficient control should remain in the hands of the district inspector.

3.5.2 In terms of the preceding conclusion, the management function of the district inspector in South Africa would include :

(a) Help in confirmation of probationary teachers, although the advisory role would basically be the province of the school, with specific aid from subject advisers. This duty of confirming beginner teachers would stress the importance of the induction year as discussed earlier (and would meet the legal requirements of, for example, Natal Ordinance No. 46 of 1969).

(b) Assessment of the school with the aid of the principal and subject advisers. An advisory and training function would precede the assessment.

(c) Evaluation of principals who would be held accountable to their employing authority for their performance.

(d) Evaluation of deputies and heads of department with the aid of the principal and district inspectors. This would be in the form of an advisory function, with clear feedback to the people involved and would not include a numerical rating.

(e) Assessment of teachers for promotion to posts of head of department and higher levels.

The district inspectors would be relieved of the role of assessing ordinary teachers, except in crisis situations.

3.5.3 The evaluation function of the school would include the following features :

(a) The management of evaluation, based on integrated management processes, but allowing for progression, similar to the model drawn by Pansegrouw (1982) : firstly planning which includes setting of objectives and organization ; secondly helping with functions of counselling leading to development ; and thirdly evaluation.

(b) School-based evaluation of teaching staff, based on staff growth and not on accountability. Accountability would have been established in the first year of teaching.

(c) No ego-bruising numerical assessments would be used, and no monetary gain would be offered.

(d) Openness and trust would be established so that feedback on developmental needs of teachers could be clearly indicated.

(e) Opportunities would be given for responsible decision-making.

(f) The frequency of global reports to be written would be established by principals in consultation with the district inspector, and based on specific cases.

(g) Intensive in-service education would follow when problem areas warranted this. Cognisance should be taken of the views of Honey (1982) on the retraining of teachers on about a ten yearly basis.

(h) Principals would advise deputies and heads of department prior to the writing of a global report, written in conjunction with the district inspector and appropriate subject adviser.

(i) Posts of responsibility, which should replace "merit awards" and be arranged on a percentage basis for all schools, could be filled largely by the school management team, in consultation with the district inspector.

3.5.4 It has already been concluded that general criteria for the evaluation of staff are not relevant because of the variety of schools (particularly in the Natal Education Department) and the differing functions of teachers in them. The recommendation has been made that it would be the responsibility within each school and possibly within each department in the school to establish its own evaluation format, but schools could adapt criteria from the present "merit assessment" form or from other sources mentioned in chapters three and four or from the forum for discussion recommended earlier in this chapter.

3.5.5 The proposed evaluation system has clear aims as far as teachers are concerned of job satisfaction and development of potential, but is finally based on the interaction between teacher and pupil. Prosser (1981) warns all planners, whether they be politicians, sociologists or students that :

> "In their insistent demands and strident pronouncements on valid goals, they miss the very essence of education, the paedagogica perennis, that is agogè, pedagogical meeting, between the teacher who has found direction and the pupil who seeks the way to wholeness and integrity. To ignore the inter-personal character of

> education, to reduce the teacher to a mere cognitive technician in the system, is to violate its very nature." (op. cit. p.2)

3.6 Assessments for promotion posts

Once a teacher makes application for a promotion post of specific designation (such as Head of Department or Deputy Principal) it is evident that his application should be assessed in terms of his potential for success in the post applied for. Thus,as in any organization,although past records inevitably contribute when the suitability of an applicant is considered, it is his predicted capability in the new position which is of paramount importance.

It seems that in teaching in South Africa, innovation to provide for an expansion of assessment procedures is necessary in respect of promotion posts.

There should, for example, be interviews for all major posts of responsibility (for example, principalships), and application forms should be broadened to allow applicants to state what they themselves could bring to a position or what changes they would envisage in respect of it. It seems that such provision would cut down on applicants applying for senior posts merely because of the extra money involved while not having very much that is original to contribute. The predictably reduced number of applications for such posts would, accordingly, more easily facilitate the interviewing at least of short-listed candidates.

Employers of teachers are known to be disconcerted by the large numbers who tend to apply for promotion, and recent moves within the Natal Education Department (culminating in a new application form) have stressed the need for an applicant to indicate what he has done to maintain a professional background relevant to his present and future educational interests. Required self-evaluation would presumably

encourage teachers to consider the whole question of application for promotion with the seriousness it deserves.

The matter of who should select candidates for appointment is one of perennial concern. The prevailing system, at least with respect to Natal, was described in chapter four. In recent discussions, the Natal Teachers' Society has arrived at the conclusion that an Assessment Board, constituted very similarly to the present Promotions Board, should review candidates and arrive at a single assessment for each candidate in terms of the post applied for. The assessment in respect of each candidate should then be communicated to the selection committee of the particular school (consisting of the principal and two elected representatives of the parent community ; in the case of principals' posts, the committee to consist of the district inspector, parents' representatives and a teacher society representative). The relevant document continues :

> "This Committee should scrutinise the list and having all the application forms decide on whether they wish to interview any applicant. They should devise a priority list of applicants in the order they would wish to see filling the post. The N.E.D. should be informed of any person not deemed suitable by the Committee .....
>
> Appointment to the promotion post shall be vested in the Administrator-in-Executive Committee, as advised by the Director of Education. The Department shall name an Appointing Committee, with Teachers' Society observers, to appoint from the priority list of suitable candidates received from the School Selection Committee. If no name is acceptable from that list, the matter shall be referred back to the School Selection Committee with full reasons given. The Appointment Committee shall not re-argue suitability but shall take necessary cognizance of factors which may be unknown to the School Selection Committee. The Appointment Committee shall also ensure that co-ordination occurs when candidates are deemed suitable for more than one post. In this case, the candidate should, as far as possible, be appointed to the post nearest the head of his own priority list."

The proposed innovation, as detailed above, would allow for more local involvement in the appointment of persons to promotion posts.

It is of interest to record that the Natal Teachers' Society and Die Natalse Onderwysersunie have reached different conclusions as to the most desirable manner of appointment to promotion posts. An article in the Sunday Tribune (June 20, 1982) pointed out that the Natalse Onderwysersunie considered that the shortlisting of candidates should be left to senior officials of the education department.

> "In the appointment of a principal, deputy or heads of departments a 'ranking list' of candidates would be submitted to the parents' committee .... (which) would then range the candidates in order of preference, bearing in mind the kind of school ..." (ibid)

The then president of the Natal Teachers' Society was quoted as saying that her organization's proposals played down the importance of seniority (i.e. length of service) in deciding on appointments. Both societies, however, supported the involvement of parents in some way in the process of deciding appointments, but felt that such say should not be total or involve assessment of professional skills.

The Natal Education Department has for some time been concerned about possible shortcomings in the system of application for and appointment to promotion posts. In the course of his normal employment the writer has been involved in a critical evaluation of the system which has led to the reformulation of the procedure for promotion and the design of a new form of application for promotion.

In terms of the revised procedures which, according to information available, would be followed from 1983, applicants would be rated on a five-point scale as Excellent, Very Good, Good, Satisfactory or Unsatisfactory, by District Inspectors and Subject Advisers. Applicants would be required to have either training for or experience of the phase or type of school applied for, although other applicants would not automatically be precluded from making submissions as to why they considered themselves suitable.

As in the past, the Promotions Committee would determine the final assessments of applicants. Such assessments would be confirmed (or amended) by the Director of Education and a list of eligible candidates would be submitted to the Advisory School Committee of the school concerned. This Committee would be required to submit, by a predetermined date, the names of unacceptable candidates (with full reasons therefor) and a list of the applicants in order of merit. The Committee would be able to consult the school principal as to the school's particular needs, without divulging the names or details of applicants.

The revised form of application would, according to information available at the time of writing, provide for a more comprehensive description of the candidate than had previously been the case. After details of qualifications and experience, candidates would be required to provide written information under specific headings, as follows :

1. Details of educational, administrative and organizational responsibilities being undertaken ;

2. Details of extra curricular activities being undertaken or which the candidate could undertake ;

3. An indication of efforts made by the candidate towards professional development ;

4. An indication of the candidate's involvement with the wider community ;

5. Other relevant information ;

6. Specific reasons why the applicant believed that he or she was eligible for promotion to the post concerned.

These extra details could, no doubt, prove to be of immense assistance to those responsible for recommending appointments. The opportunity

to provide a comprehensive curriculum vitae surely lifts an application form above the level of a clerical record, and provides the kind of insight normally hoped for in an interview.

It would appear that an interview situation in a promotion system would at least give the interviewers an opportunity to compare applicants, and should give applicants the feeling that at least they had had the chance to show their wares.

Possibly the introduction of Advisory School Committee members, mainly parents, on the interviewing panel would give the impression of trial by jury to teacher applicants. The composition of interviewing panels would need to be carefully considered.

The recommended changes were apparently discussed with teacher society representatives and met with their approval. While no indication of ordinary teacher response to the changes is available at the time of writing, it is likely that the new application form will meet with an interested response ; the involvement of the parental community (though not in an executive role) will to an extent align conditions in Natal with those in other provinces, and meet some of the current demands for localised participation. As the new system evolves, it is hoped that each principal will become involved in the promotion of teachers to management positions in his or her own school.

4. Concluding remarks

In reviewing the situations on which this dissertation has attempted to shed light, certain overall conclusions come to mind.

For any system of teacher evaluation or assessment to be acceptable to teachers, who are in general a highly educated and sensitive workforce, research on the format that the evaluation will take must involve the teachers themselves. It is essential that the research be a

consolidation of academic theory and professional practice ; while decisions taken should not be seen to be purely academic, bureaucratic or planning decisions foisted on teachers. A balance between statutory intent, or instructional intent from education authorities, and flexibility at the local level of the school, must be maintained. Townsend (1971) points to a major "people problem" in large organizations :

> "Most people in big companies today are administered, not led. They are treated as personnel, not people." (p.90)

As already established, the introduction of the "merit assessment" system is one example of teachers being treated as personnel in RSA, but this as a phenomenon of large education authorities, is widespread. The Dudley Council in England has been condemned by teachers for its use of efficiency experts to study the administrative aspects of teachers' jobs during 1982. Teachers' unions have supported the decision of their members not to give any evidence to this firm of accountants, whom they see as a threat to their jobs and an intrusion into their professional domain. The lack of trust between teachers and employers is apparent, and teachers feel they are being regarded as ciphers in an efficiency drive. The successful application of a humanistic approach to management was proved by Townsend when he ran Avis on the principle of :

> "Provide the climate and proper nourishment and let the people grow themselves." (ibid. p.133)

It seems axiomatic that a challenging and invigorating climate should be established for teachers to work in and that greater care should be taken of their needs as people. Research shows that teaching is a stressful occupation, and research undertaken by the writer indicates that teachers in the RSA have regarded "merit assessment" as an increaser of stress. It is essential for the ethos of management in South African schools to change and for the principal to be seen by teachers as a helper and not as a judge or assessor, particularly in the development of a school-based teacher evaluation system.

Unfortunately many principals in South African schools do tend to support and maintain the status quo in teacher assessment rather than to initiate staff improvement schemes through openness to outside influences. Sensitive guidelines for principals are indicated by Miller and Lieberman (1982) when they emphasize that effective leadership :

> "requires becoming a helper, more democratic and open, more involved in individual growth issues, more long-range, more collegial, more innovative, and more involved in the world of ideas." (p.27)

In a helping role the principal should be aware of the stress involved when teachers are assessed and the shock, followed by feelings of worthlessness, felt by many who fail to achieve a "merit award". Teacher stress, which the Americans call "burnout", has been attributed in part, by Farber and Miller (1982) to :

> "unexamined factors within school structures that lead to a lack of a psychological sense of community, producing feelings of isolation and also of inconsequentiality on the part of teachers." (p.23)

These writers claim support from researchers such as Bridges and Hallinan, and state that, "schools are inadequately designed to meet the needs of teachers" (ibid. p.24), because the problem has been seen "within the paradigm of individual rather than environmental pathology" (idem). Classroom isolation, which often includes the development of a personal teaching programme, the individual testing of teaching, and the solitary endurance required for controlling children (equivalent to the "loneliness of the long distance runner"), should be combated they assert.

School-oriented research should be undertaken on how the organizational structure could be altered to ameliorate teacher stress, and how the guidance and supportive functions of the school management team could be improved. Greater collaboration within a department, team-teaching, and meetings scheduled to solve problems, are obvious examples in the promoting of a teacher motivating and growth programme which would be based on the

principle of teacher satisfaction leading to improved pupil performance. Farber and Miller (1982) see the involvement of parent communites and local authorities in schools as positively helping to meet the needs of teachers :

> "Active collaboration among all segments of the educational community reduces the institutionalization of teaching as a lonely profession ; reinforces the teacher's esteem for peers, community members, and self ; and may rejuvenate a teacher's commitment to and investment in the children in the classroom." (idem)

For South African teachers, the vexed problem of what comprises "all segments of the educational community", with school children separated on racial and language bases, has been indicated previously in this work. It is uncertain, at the time of writing, what political changes will take place in the RSA and what influence the recommendations of the Human Sciences Research Council's Investigation into Education (1981) Report will have on the decentralization of education control. Rejection, by some sections of the teaching profession, of the criterion of involvement in the local community in the "merit assessment" system, was based largely on the difficulty of assessing this involvement and because it seemed to force certain behaviour on teachers. If community involvement is seen in the light of offering enrichment to teachers through collaborative effort, then this would probably be more acceptable to teachers ; but the distance between the teacher in the classroom in South Africa and people in the local community is too vast to make assumptions based on reserach done in American schools.

If determined efforts are not made to dismantle the apparatus of the current "merit assessment" system in the RSA, it would appear to the writer that teaching will become more stereotyped along the lines of the criteria for assessment and that teachers will continue to feel that they are treated as personnel and not as people, so exacerbating a stressful situation.

A covert danger is that debate on educational issues could diminish, with such vital aspects as good teaching and teacher behaviour ostensibly having been defined and so influencing teachers to become more conformist, there is a real danger that thinking on education will lose energy and vision and become :

> "Thoughts of a dry brain in a dry season."
> (T.S. Eliot : Gerontion)

It is with the hope that his analysis and suggested remediation may be taken account of by those in policy-making positions, that the writer concludes his dissertation.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRINCIPALS, DEPUTY PRINCIPALS AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENT : THE MERIT ASSESSMENT OF TEACHERS

Dear Colleague

As part of my research into merit assessment, I am involved in establishing the views of those actually assessing teachers under the present system. I should be grateful if you would assist by completing this questionnaire and returning it to me in the enclosed envelope. You can be assured of complete anonymity because there is no way of establishing your name or school.

Yours sincerely

M.A.M. Jarvis

1. Presupposing, for present purposes, that teachers need to be assessed, to what extent do you think each of the following points should be included in the assessment process? Please circle the number which indicates your response, according to the following scale :

1: irrelevant to assessment of teacher competence
2: of little significance, but may be included
3: should definitely be included
0: means you are unsure

1.1	Personality (relationship with others)	1	2	3	0
1.2	Appearance, including manner of dress	1	2	3	0
1.3	Knowledge of subject matter	1	2	3	0
1.4	Methods of teaching	1	2	3	0
1.5	Ability level and/or background of the pupils	1	2	3	0
1.6	Classroom control	1	2	3	0
1.7	Record-keeping, administration, marking control	1	2	3	0

1.8/...

1.8	Views expressed by peer teachers	1	2	3	0
1.9	Views expressed by pupils	1	2	3	0
1.10	Views expressed by parents	1	2	3	0
1.11	Pupils' academic results/progress	1	2	3	0
1.12	Non-cognitive gains by pupils	1	2	3	0
1.13	Extra-curricular involvement of teacher	1	2	3	0
1.14	Extent to which teacher is in accord with the general éthos of the school, e.g. as established by the management team	1	2	3	0

2. Briefly state any <u>other</u> aspects which you feel should be considered in the assessment of teacher competence :

3. Briefly state any aspects which you feel should definitely <u>not</u> be included in such assessment :

4. Indicate whether the following should be used as methods of obtaining data about teachers, by placing crosses in the appropriate columns :

		Yes	Maybe	No.
4.1	Observation of lessons, by appointment			
4.2	Observation of lessons, without warning			
4.3	Discussion before and after a lesson			
4.4	General open-ended interview/s			
4.5	Checking marked work			
4.6	Checking lesson notes or materials			
4.7	Consulting a third/other party			
4.8	Other method (please specify)			

5. The present system of merit assessment of teachers assumes that your own training or experience has equipped you to perform such assessments. Is the assumption valid in your case? Please comment.

6. Please respond to the following statements in terms of the present merit award system. Circle the number which indicates your response, according to the following scale :

1: strong agreement
2: agreement
3: disagreement
4: strong disagreement
0: means you are unsure

6.1	Criteria are vague or ill-defined	1	2	3	4	0
6.2	Teachers feel nervous or constrained by the thought of assessment	1	2	3	4	0
6.3	Standards of assessment vary from school to school	1	2	3	4	0
6.4	Monetary reward is unprofessional/ inappropriate	1	2	3	4	0
6.5	Teacher/assessor relations become strained as a result of the system	1	2	3	4	0
6.6	The second year of teaching is too early for merit assessment to begin	1	2	3	4	0
6.7	To "rate" people arithmetically is unacceptable to me	1	2	3	4	0

7. Please add any other comments you would like to make.

Thank you for your co-operation.

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