Implementation of the Performance Management System in Senior Secondary Schools in Botswana: The Perspective of the Senior Management Team

Thesis submitted by

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For

My late wife Agnes "Agie" Bulawa and

my late daughter Chendzimu Bulawa

whose untimely deaths broke my heart

CONTRIBUTION OF OTHERS

DECLARATION OF ETHICS

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted within the guidelines for research ethics outlined in the National Statement on Ethics Conduct in Research Involving Human Participants (1999), the Joint NHMRC/AVCC Statement and Guideline on Research Practice (1997), the James Cook University Policy on Experimental Ethics, Standard Practices, and Guidelines (2001), and the James Cook University Statement and Guidelines on Research Practice (2001). The proposed research methodology received clearance from the James Cook University Experimental Ethics Review Committee (approval number: H2714).

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I thank my Mother for loving me and for being my inspiration to my life. Although she passed away before I commenced this study, she had shaped the strong, confident and capable man I am today.

Finally I thank my late wife Agnes "Agie" and my late daughter Chendzimu for their love and inspiration. I can only wish they were here now. I will forever miss them. I dedicate this research to these two wonderful people that I loved so much.

ABSTRACT

Public sector organisations worldwide have implemented performance management systems to improve performance. They were initially designed by the private sector in western countries and then adopted by the public sector. Now, the performance management system (PMS) has become a global reform also implemented in the public sector of less developed countries such as Botswana. Success in implementing the PMS in public sector organisations has varied. This study investigates the less than satisfactory implementation of the PMS in the education sector in Botswana. While similar to performance management systems elsewhere, the PMS in Botswana differs from most in that it does not tie pay to performance. Furthermore, unlike most reforms of this magnitude in less developed countries that are funded by donor agencies, it was self funded. However, a similarity that it does share with other less developed countries is that it attempted to implement PMS models developed in western countries.

The PMS was introduced in the education sector in Botswana in 1999, but eight years later, schools had not yet fully implemented it. This study sought to investigate why the PMS had not become fully established in the senior secondary schools, the relatively better funded part of the schooling system. As well, the study limited itself to the perspective of the schools' senior management teams, the on the ground implementers and managers of the PMS.

The study used an adapted grounded theory approach to explore senior management's perceptions of the PMS in their schools. In total, interview data were collected from 94 senior management team members from 22 of the 27 senior secondary schools existing in Botswana in early 2008. The school heads were interviewed individually while deputy heads and heads of houses were interviewed in their respective schools as groups. The data were analysed using a repetitive process of coding to develop categories leading to theory development that explains the participants' lived experience of the implementation process.

This study concludes that eight years after the introduction of the PMS, the on the ground implementers in the senior secondary schools of Botswana are caught between the government's insistence that the PMS be seen as operating effectively (principally through reporting mechanisms), and a school environment that prevents this from happening. In summary, the PMS limps along as schools go about their business seemingly unaffected by the absence of a successfully embedded PMS.

Overall, the study showed that senior management did not reject the PMS reform. They saw it as a reform that could benefit their schools. The potential of the PMS to help senior management teams manage performance better was acknowledged. The use of the PMS as a tool for strategic planning and for holding people accountable for their performance through objective monitoring was identified as a strength. Value was also perceived in its requirement for teamwork amongst members of staff and in the professional development that would ensue from responding to teachers' professional needs.

Senior management also recognised the significance of their role as "overseers", a term acquired from their training, which involved the coordination of the school strategy plan; the cascading of the PMS to the entire staff; the internal monitoring of the implementation process; and reporting and liaison with regional office. However, the impediments they encountered constrained their capacity to effectively implement this reform.

In general, the difficulties resulted from a mismatch between the PMS and the existing cultural and organisational structures within the schooling system, and the school managers' lack of capacity to effect changes either to the existing school environment or to the PMS itself. Impediments reported included PMS performance indicators that did not match what teachers valued; school staff who did not have the skills required to implement the PMS; school managers' lack of confidence to lead the PMS; resourcing constraints; increasing resistance by staff; and failure to liaise with the regional office.

Two particular impediments constrained their efforts to effectively lead the implementation process. First, was the ministry's use of the cascade approach to implement the PMS. This approach followed a top-down hierarchical structure whereby the strategic plan at the ministry level was cascaded to departments, regions, and ultimately to the schools. Reporting was in the reverse order. When blockages between regional offices and schools occurred, the process faltered. As soon as this link was broken, as it did happen in some cases, implementation of the PMS did not work. Training also followed the cascade approach.

The major problem with this "train the trainer" approach was that the level of expertise of the trainers diminished at each level of the "cascade". The quality of the information received at the

school level was often distorted and did not accurately resemble the information delivered in the first round of training.

The second major challenge was trying to implement a reform that had been transplanted into an environment that was different from where it originated. Participants believed there was a mismatch between the PMS and their particular context. Not only did it originate in industry and the corporate world, but also in foreign countries different from Botswana. Despite this, the government had made no attempt to contextualise the PMS and had implemented it as a package across the whole public sector without undertaking trials or pilots.

Transplanted reforms from industry and from more developed countries have found their way into the schools of less developed countries. This study's focus on the school management's perspective of the implementation process of the PMS will inform not just policy makers in less developed countries, but also potential international foreign aid donors. To increase their chances of success, future school reforms need to better take into account the distinctive conditions at grass-root level in schools where the reforms are to be implemented.

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CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The period from the late 1970s through to the mid 1990s witnessed governments around the globe introducing management reforms in the public sector from the private sector as a way of improving performance. New Zealand, in particular, and other countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom, emerged as the leading proponents of such reforms which became models emulated elsewhere. Countries such as Korea, Brazil, Portugal and Sweden followed suit as government sector reform transformed public management (Kettl, 1997).

It was against this background that the performance management system came into effect as a management reform. Its intent was to address and redress concerns organisations had about performance (Sharif, 2002). In line with the global trend of public sector reforms, the government of Botswana in 1999 introduced the performance management system into the entire government system including the education sector (Republic of Botswana, 2002a).

Governments, including that of Botswana, wanted a performance management system that would ensure effective and efficient public service delivery at a minimal cost thus reducing the burden on taxpayers. This was seen as achievable, but as pointed out by Brignall and Modell (2000), only if the public services adopted management techniques from the private sector. According to Hughes (2003), governments, like the private sector, were now insisting on the development of performance indicators as a way of measuring progress in public organisations. The understanding was that the performance of staff over a given period of time would be measured more systematically than it had ever been before.

Brignall and Modell (2000) refer to this wave of public sector reforms as neo-liberal market systems whose orientation is that of business. As noted by Dixon, Kouzmin, and Korac-Kakabadse (1998), these reforms are based on the managerialist belief "that there is a body of sound management practice applicable to the private sector that is generic in its scope and thus, directly transferable to the public sector" (p. 168). So the new public managerialism had become a major vehicle through which the old public service management style was being transformed (Hill, 2003; Simkins, 2000). Its proponents argued that it could replace the authority and rigidity characteristic of the public sector with flexibility (Kettl, 1997).

Managerialism had the potential to reorganise the public sector along the lines of best commercial practice. Advocates argued that managerialism recognised the value of delegating managerial responsibilities, as well as the value of initiative and problem solving (Ball, 1998). Managerialism also brought with it new forms of surveillance and self-monitoring mechanisms such as appraisal systems, target-setting, and output comparisons (Ball, 1998). This is reflected in the increased demand for employee performance measurement and high demands for public accountability in an endeavour to achieve specified outcomes (Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004). With specific reference to education, Cutler and Waine (2001, p. 71) argue that performance management requirements are a form of managerialism in which school managers "operate as line managers with the ultimate carrots and sticks of the PRP [performance-related pay] system".

However, the reality has been that public sector organisations have found it difficult to cope with the massive changes they are being subjected to in the name of efficiency and accountability. The perceptions of management and staff regarding the need for change, including the manner it should be implemented, have been often negative (O'Brien, 2002).

Governments have experienced difficulties in implementing performance management systems in public sector organisations. For instance, it has been difficult to determine what it is that has to be measured as well as how to interpret performance measures (Cutler & Waine, 2000). This includes, "what contextual factors ought to be taken into account in comparing public sector organisations such as schools or health authorities" (Cutler & Waine, 2000, p. 326). In addition, Cutler and Waine (2000) pointed out that there has also been some argument that many performance indicators constitute inappropriate targets. Collecting performance data, as well as collating and analysing it, have also received criticism for consuming both time and resources (Waggoner, Neely, & Kennerley, 1999).

When performance management was introduced in Botswana in 1999, it was a major national initiative that received wide coverage by the country's media, both public and private. The politicians, together with top government officials, promoted the reform as having the potential to help the country solve the recognised problem of non-delivery of services in public sector organisations (Republic of Botswana, 2002a). Personally and professionally as an academic in the field of organisational studies in education at the University of Botswana, I developed an interest in how the performance management system (PMS) would be implemented, particularly in schools.

In 2005, the government of Botswana engaged a team to evaluate the extent to which the implementation of the PMS had progressed in all the Ministries and their departments since its inception in 1999. The findings which were released in 2006 showed that in all these Ministries and departments there were major impediments which inhibited the successful implementation of the PMS (Republic of Botswana, 2006b). The question this raised for me was "Why did these problems exist eight years after the inception of the PMS?" In terms of Fullan's (2000) analysis of reform implementation, one would have thought that after eight years, the PMS in Botswana would have gone beyond the implementation stage and be institutionalised. Fullan (2000) argued that reforms that were not institutionalised were, for instance, easily undone by change in leadership.

My interest in the question prompted this study which I commenced in 2007. It was against this background that this qualitative study looks at the implementation of the PMS in the public education sector in Botswana, specifically in senior secondary schools.

1.1 Purpose of the study

This project is a grounded theory study that sought to explore the implementation process of the performance management system in senior secondary schools in Botswana from the perspective of the senior management teams in the schools. The senior management team comprises the school head, the deputy school head, and heads of houses.

The focus of the study is on the senior management team of senior secondary schools for several reasons. First, is the recognition that it is this team that is held accountable for the overall management of the school and for the implementation of any policy in the school, which in this particular case, was the performance management system. In addition, I took into account the fact that in Botswana, most senior secondary schools have been in existence for a longer time in comparison to junior secondary schools, with some having been established before independence in 1966, and as such, have had more experience in the implementation of policy. Moreover, they are better resourced with more facilities of superior quality. With this comparative advantage over the other levels of education, the senior management teams in senior secondary schools were seen as standing a better chance of implementing the performance management system. Lastly, all senior secondary schools are readily accessible since they are located in areas where such infrastructure as roads is well developed. This, in my view, was an advantage since it would enable me to collect the data within the limited time available to me.

This study was driven by three research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of the senior management team in senior secondary schools regarding the purpose of the performance management system?
2. What are the perceptions of the senior management team concerning their roles as implementers of the PMS?
3. What are the perceptions of the senior management team regarding the factors that impact on the implementation of the performance management system*?*

The aim of the study therefore was to develop an understanding of why the problems identified in the government's commissioned evaluation should exist eight years on from the introduction of the PMS in one area of the public service. To do this, the approach this study took was to explore the on the ground implementers' understanding of three key elements of their experience, namely, the purpose of the PMS, their role in its implementation, and the organisational conditions that influence the implementation process.

1.2 Significance of the study

This study contributes to the body of research on performance management in schools in two ways. It adds to our understanding of the implementers' experience of implementing a performance management system in schools and it contributes to the research in this field conducted in less developed countries.

The empirical studies that have been undertaken about performance management systems have, in the main, been evaluative in nature. They have tended to evaluate the implementation process (e.g., Brown, 2005; Piggot-Irvine, 2000) or they have evaluated the effectiveness of performance management systems in improving performance (e.g., Cutler & Waine, 2001; Propper & Wilson, 2003). Studies about reforms in less developed countries, and especially Africa, also have tended to be evaluations. Kremer's (2003) evaluation of factors that affect performance in education in less developed countries and Hacker and Washington's (2004) evaluation of the impact of the performance management system in the public service in Botswana are two examples.

In contrast with most empirical studies in the field of performance management, this study is not an evaluation. The focus of this grounded theory study is on the senior management teams' perceptions about the process of implementing the PMS in their schools. In this study, the senior

managers had the opportunity to express their own views regarding what they were doing or supposed to be doing without being judged or evaluated. The substantive theory inductively developed from this study is based on the participants' perspectives of their own experiences of what they were doing. As Glaser (2002) pointed out, grounded theory is a perspective based methodology in which the researchers have a responsibility to discover people's multiple perspectives in the data.

While there is an extensive body of research, albeit mainly evaluative, on performance management systems in schools, these studies have mainly taken place in western countries. Very few studies have been conducted about the implementation of this reform in schools in African countries. This study contributes to a small but developing research literature on the performance management system in African countries.

1.3 Sequence of the study

This thesis has eight chapters, with chapter one explaining the purpose and the significance of the study. Chapter two presents the contexts necessary to make meaning of the case. These include an overview of the country, the education system and the circumstances that led to the implementation of the PMS across the country's public service.

Chapter three, the literature review chapter, reviews empirical studies about the performance management system as a global reform intended to ensure greater efficiency in the public service. It highlights the different perspectives regarding this particular trend especially as it concerns education. Discussed are the learnings gained from the implementation of performance management in schools in western countries and in less developed countries. Chapter four outlines the research methodology adopted for this study and its limitations. It provides a comprehensive explanation on the methodology of grounded theory including justification for its choice in this study. It further explains in detail the research procedures including the data collection and analysis processes.

The research findings are presented in chapter five and chapter six. Chapter five focuses on the participants' understanding of what the PMS should have been "in theory". The chapter includes the participants' perceptions of the intended purpose and intended benefits of the PMS, the role they anticipated to take in the implementation and the challenges they expected. Chapter six focuses on the PMS "in practice". Here are reported the participants' perceptions regarding their

actual experiences in attempting to implement the PMS. These include their perceptions about the benefits their schools had experienced from their efforts to date in implementing the reform and also the challenges they encountered in embedding the PMS in their schools.

Chapter seven is an analysis and interpretive discussion of the research findings leading to an explanation for why senior management teams in Botswana found implementing the PMS in their schools a problem. The final chapter, chapter eight, describes the contribution that this study has made to our knowledge on implementing performance management reforms in schools and the implications it has for practice. To conclude, areas for further research are recommended.

CHAPTER TWO: THE BOTSWANA CONTEXT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides overviews of the contexts in which the Botswana senior secondary schools operate. As an introduction, a brief historical and socio-cultural account of pre- and post-independence Botswana is given. An overview of the development of education from the pre-colonial period through to the missionaries, the colonial era and to the present day is then presented. The overview shows that education did not just come with colonisation; formal and informal education existed prior to colonisation. In the discussion of post-colonial education, reference is made to pre-primary, primary, and junior secondary education as well as to senior secondary education. Although the study pertains to senior secondary schools only, developments at these other levels of education have had an impact on the expansion of senior secondary education. The chapter concludes with an overview of the more recent reforms leading up to and including the PMS that have been implemented in the education sector and in particular, in senior secondary schools.

2.1 Botswana at a glance

2.1.1 Demographics of Botswana

Botswana is a landlocked country with a total land area of 582, 000 square kilometres, about the same size as Kenya and France. It shares borders with Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Botswana is far away from the sea, and rainfall in the country is low and unpredictable (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007). The map in Figure 1 shows the location of Botswana in relation to its neighbouring countries in southern Africa.

Botswana is sparsely populated. The population and housing census is conducted every ten years and the last census held in 2001 recorded the country as having a population of 1,680,863 people (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). The locations of the senior secondary schools reflect the density of the population. Most of the schools are along the eastern margin of the country. Twenty-three of the 27 senior secondary schools are located less than two hundred kilometres from the railway line and main road linking major urban and semi-urban areas such as Lobatse, Gaborone (the capital), Palapye and Francistown. Only four senior secondary schools are located outside this area in Letlhakane, Maun, Gantsi and Kang. The number of senior secondary schools has increased by one to 28 since the data collection was undertaken**.**
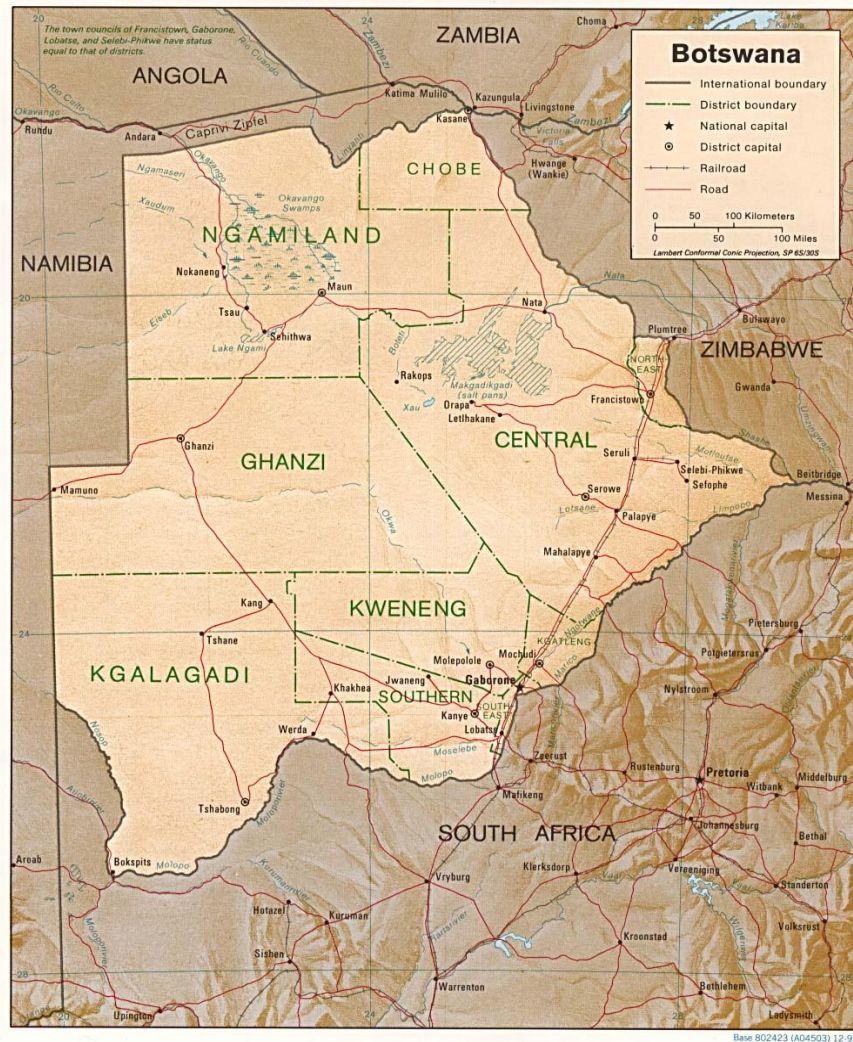
Figure 1. Map of Botswana

Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas Austin.
(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/botswana_rel95.jpg)

The population of Botswana over the last 30 years has shown trends that have consequences for education. Table 1, which summarises data from national records (Republic of Botswana, 2003a), shows that the population has increased from one decade to the next but that the average annual growth rate has declined. For example, for the decade 1991-2001, the average annual growth rate was 3.5% but for the decade 1991-2001, the growth rate was 2.4%.

An important feature of Botswana's population is that it is predominantly youthful (see Figure 2), with the population aged 15 years and under constituting approximately 36.75% of the total population, while the sixty-five plus cohort is only 5%. The 15 years and under age group shows a

decline from the 1981 and 1991 levels of 47.7% and 43.2% respectively (Republic of Botswana, 2003a) to 36.7% in 2001 (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007).

Table 1. Population of Botswana 1971-2001

Year	Population	Increase over decade	Increase as annual %
1971	574,094	_	_
1981	941,027	366,933	4.5
1991	1,326,796	385,769	3.5
2001	1,680,863	354,067	2.4

Note. Table compiled from data in the National Development Plan 9 2003/04-2008/09 (Republic of Botswana, 2003a).
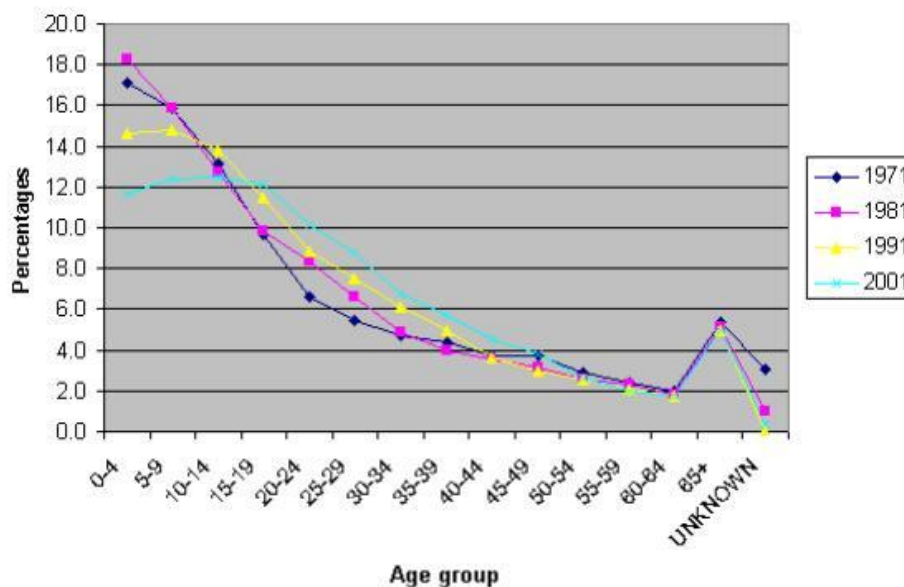
Figure 2. Percentage age distribution of Botswana population 1971-2001

Note: From *2001 Population and Housing Census Dissemination Seminar* Republic of Botswana, 2003, Gaborone: Government Printer.
http://www.cso.gov.bw/images/stories/Census/paper7.pdf

The declining rate of population increase including that of young people could be attributed to the declining fertility rate (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007). The HIV/AIDS pandemic that has affected the country may also have contributed to this decline. According to Greig and Koopman (2003), data from UNAIDS in 2002 estimated that 38.8% of the sexually active group aged between 15 and 49 years in Botswana was HIV positive.

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The large 15 and under age group nevertheless has exerted pressure on schools to cope with the very high demand for education at all levels of the system. Schools have had to accommodate an increasing number of students. The population of primary school pupils as reflected in the 2001 population census was 345 845 for the year 2006 while for 2008 it was estimated at 352 792. The secondary school population was 160 690 for 2006 and was projected to be 166 880 for the year 2008 (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007). The increases impact on the education system's capacity to cope with the demand to absorb more students in the schools.

2.1.2 Linguistic landscape of Botswana

The Batswana are an ethnically diverse group who speak a range of languages. Setswana, one of the local languages, is the national language. Before British rule commenced in 1885, the land that the missionaries and the British colonial government came to call Bechuanaland or land of the Bechuana, had belonged to some Setswana and non-Setswana speaking population groups (Arthur, 1998; Mgadla, 2003). The hunter-gatherer Basarwa people are generally acknowledged to have been in what is now Botswana before any other group.

The eight ethnic groups known as the 'principal' tribes of Botswana are all speakers of the Setswana language, though with dialectical variations. Up to 20% of the population belong to ethnic groups other than the eight Setswana speaking groups. These include the Babirwa, Basubiya, Bayeyi, Bakalanga, Bakgalagadi, Baherero, Batswapong, Hambukushu and the Basarwa. The largest of these other groups is the Bakalanga who speak Ikalanga and live mainly in the North East District and some parts of the Central District (Arthur, 1998).

The Basarwa are Botswana's indigenous ethnic group, a group "made up of about seventeen … ethnic groups who speak different languages" (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000, p. 253). They are also known to some people as the "San" or "Bushmen". Both "San" and "Bushmen" are terms that are considered derogatory in Botswana and Basarwa is officially used to refer to them (Bolaane, 2004). It is difficult to establish their total population as the country's population census does not provide population figures for the different ethnic groups. According to Nyati-Ramahobo (2000), they are estimated at four percent of the total country's population. They are found in several parts of the country including the Kalahari, Nata, Boteti and Okavango (Solway & Lee, 1990). No exact figures are available on the ethnic composition of the population. Data are not collected on this aspect of the population in the census.

English is the official language of the Batswana, a decision taken upon gaining independence from Britain in 1966. English is also the language of instruction in schools from the second year of primary school onwards; prior to the second year, the local language is the medium of instruction. English, however, still effectively remains a foreign language for the majority of the population.

In spite of English having been declared the official language and medium of instruction, for the majority of students and teachers it is either a second or third language, an issue that impacts on teaching and learning. For example, some students mainly the Basarwa and others living in the Kgalagadi District, one of the remote districts in the southwest of Botswana, can neither speak English nor Setswana and yet they cannot learn in their own languages. Furthermore, the common practice of transferring teachers from one geographical region to another means that most of the teachers in schools with such language problems cannot speak the local languages spoken by the students.

2.1.3 A brief history of Botswana

In addition to the official language, Botswana lives with other legacies from the British including aspects of its political and legal systems. However, prior to the arrival of the British, the Batswana had their own societal structures that organised community life.

Historically, the Batswana lived in a capital village, with crop production lands around the village, while the grazing lands were located beyond that. The organisational pattern of the different Batswana groups revolved around a *kgosi* (chief) usually the oldest male in the lineage of the royal family. Other members of the extended family were appointed as wards headmen within the larger village (Adamolekun & Morgan, 1999). According to Morapedi (2005), these pre-colonial groups were independent and autonomous, each headed by the *Kgosikgolo* (paramount chief) who was head of his own tribe and did not have any superior authority to whom he had to pay allegiance.

Botswana attained self-governance in 1965 after eighty years as a British Protectorate (Hacker & Washington, 2004; Republic of Botswana, 2003a). According to Morapedi (2005), the Bechuanaland Protectorate was established by what was called the Order-in-Council of 1885 as part of the "Scramble for Africa" (p. 177) by European countries which resulted in most of the African countries coming under European rule (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007). Although Britain was reluctant to declare a protectorate over Bechuanaland, she was compelled to do so because of the perceived

threat posed by the Germans, Portuguese and Boers. The British fear was the possibility of Bechuanaland falling under the control of any of these rival countries. They feared that this could have led to the sealing off the road to the north which was perceived as providing access to riches in such parts of the world as Central Africa (Morapedi, 2005).

Botswana attained her independence on 30 September, 1966. Unlike many African countries, this did not happen after a protracted war between the colonial country and the colonised. Instead, radical nationalists such as the Botswana People's Party which was formed in 1960 and demanded independence, mobilised people around the issues of racial discrimination which characterised the colonial government. One way in which they put pressure on the government to accede to their demand for independence was to call a boycott of white-owned businesses (Mogalakwe, 2006).

At independence, Botswana launched its own constitution and governmental arrangements, whose features included an elected President by the National Assembly and a parliament in which the majority party formed the government. The country therefore adopted a Westminster parliamentary government similar to that of the colonial power Britain. The elections were to be held every five years through a multiparty democracy. A fifteen member House of Chiefs was also created to advise government on matters relating to customary laws, practices, and tribal affairs, but its advice was not to be constitutionally binding (Adamolekun & Morgan, 1999).

Also described as significant by Adamolekun and Morgan (1999) was the country's constitution which documents civil liberties. These, together with other laws, are interpreted by an independent judiciary. The country adopted Roman Dutch common law and English criminal law. These were complemented by traditional courts which use customary law to resolve civil and criminal disputes depending on the preferences of the parties in the dispute. Customary courts are presided over by the *dikgosi* (chiefs) in the villages and secular court presidents in urban areas (Adamolekun & Morgan, 1999).

As a British colony, the institutions and culture of the colonial power were imposed on Botswana, with many Batswana made to believe that their cultural heritage was inferior to that of the British (Republic of Botswana, 1977). One indication of the British cultural imposition on the Batswana was in the late colonial period when the British gave their High Commissioner power to appoint, suspend or to dismiss *dikgosi* (chiefs). Chiefs were no longer able to rule independently but had

their previous powers concerning law and order removed and carried out by what were called the native authorities appointed by the High Commissioner (Adamolekun & Morgan, 1999).

As pointed out by Morapedi (2005), the powers of *dikgosi* (chiefs) were reduced through what the British colonial government referred to as the Order-in-Council of 1891. This meant that the High Commissioner could only respect traditional law and custom provided they did not contravene laws, interests and policies of the British colonial government. After independence the new government further scrapped much of what was left of the powers of the *dikgosi* (Morapedi, 2005), and they are now civil servants paid by government under the direct supervision of a cabinet minister (Adamolekun & Morgan, 1999). Over time, Botswana's traditional practices such as the customary laws have been drastically eroded in a country now dominated by a western culture (Morapedi, 2005).

2.1.4 Economic status of Botswana

Since independence, Botswana has made great advances in economic and social terms. When the country became independent in 1966, it was predominantly rural and ranked amongst the 25 poorest in the world (Clover, 2003; Fombad, 1999). It depended mainly on agriculture, with the beef industry being the mainstay of the economy in terms of export earnings (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). It also depended on labour migration to the South African mines (Meyer, Nagel, & Snyder, 1993). Prospects of economic development appeared remote and the government depended heavily on foreign aid for both its investment projects and recurrent expenditure.

The country's remarkable social and economic growth has been mainly a result of the mining and processing of minerals, especially diamonds (Tsie, 1996). Clover (2003) draws attention to the Moody's Investor Services which has given Botswana an A-plus credit rating in recent years, which has been the highest sovereign credit rating in Africa. Clover (2003) further states that the country has continued to experience one of the highest levels of per-capita growth in the world. Botswana is unique in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region as it has not adopted World Bank-IMF structural adjustment programmes. There has been no need to do so since it has always recorded substantial balance of payment surpluses. Clover (2003) notes that, unlike most other African countries, foreign aid represents a small portion of the country's national budget.

The country has hence moved from its previous ranking as one of the poorest African countries to a position of a middle-income country, making it one of the best economic performers globally

(Siphambe, 2000; Tsie, 1996). When African economies were experiencing slow growth in the 1970s, Botswana was the main exception experiencing the highest world economic growth (Collier & Gunning, 1999). One indicator of good performance in Botswana's favour according to Gylfason (2000) has been its expenditure on education which is rated to be among the largest in the world. According to Schiavo-Campo (1996), while the civil service in many African countries in the sub-Saharan Africa is described in literature as having continued to sharply deteriorate, Botswana has been applauded as one of the few exceptions. Fombad (1999) argues that the country's good economic performance can be partly attributed to a civil service that has proved to be "competent and efficient" (p. 243) in the management of the economy.

Despite this impressive economic track record, the country faces several challenges. One of the major challenges is the country's narrow economic base which has proved an impediment to employment opportunities. The country's economy is not sufficiently diversified to create job opportunities. Although the government has responded by adopting economic diversification as a development strategy as reflected in its successive National Development Plans (NDPs), this economic diversification has not adequately addressed the problem of unemployment (Siphambe, 2000).

Clover (2003) shows that there are still many people who have not reaped the benefits of the country's economic growth and development success. Botswana continues to face such problems as high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Clover provides some examples of pockets and regions of acute poverty mainly amongst what is often referred to as low-status ethnic groups in particular the Basarwa who live mainly in Remote Area Dweller (RAD) settlements and cattle-posts. Cattle-posts are communal areas used for grazing and where pastoral farmers in the country keep their cattle and other domestic animals such as goats and sheep. The grazing areas are often far away from human settlements such as urban areas and villages, and therefore social facilities like schools are also unavailable at cattle-posts. It is mainly the Basarwa who are hired as cattle herders. Bolaane (2004) describes the Basarwa "… as the most marginalised of all the groups of people in Botswana" (p. 401) while Good (1999) describes them as the group "… most exploited and impoverished" (p. 191) in the country.

Affording the Basarwa education has remained a major problem and most of the children identified as missing from primary schools in Botswana are those of the Basarwa and other semi-nomadic minority groups in remote area settlements (Pansiri, 2008; Tshireletso, 1997). Low level of

education of parents and lack of information about human rights (Pansiri, 2008); parental ignorance; poverty; and language problems (Tshireletso, 1997) have been identified as having negative impact on the schooling of the children.

Despite some unresolved challenges, the Batswana generally can no longer be classified as leading a predominantly traditional cultural way of life. Life in cities, for instance, is characterised by the way of life in western countries with very little in common with the traditional way of life. One of the major influences in the way in which people now lead their lives is accessibility to television, the internet, and telecommunication not only in urban areas but also in rural and some remote areas. Botswana has successfully made use of its mineral resources for the rapid development of the social and physical infrastructure including education facilities (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). The next section provides a historical account of how education has developed in Botswana from pre-colonial times to the present day.

2.2 History of education in Botswana

This section discusses the different periods of education from the pre-colonial era when education was determined by the different ethnic groups through to the missionary and colonial era to what it is today. Figure 3 below shows key developments in the history of Botswana's education system from pre-colonial period to its level of development to date.

Period	Development of education in Botswana
Before 1885	Pre-colonial education: Indigenous education
1840s	Missionary education in Bechuanaland
1885	Secular education provided by British colonial government
1940s	Education a priority for British colonial administration
1966	Independence: Beginning of development of new curriculum
1974	First National Commission on Education: review of education system
1977	The Commission submits its report
1992-1994	Second National Commission on Education
1999	Introduction of Performance Management System in schools and other public services

Figure 3. Development of the education system in Botswana

2.2.1 Pre-colonial education

Pre-colonial education was an indigenous form of education that played a significant role in guiding the social, economic and political activities of the people. It was used to socialise young people into the norms and values of their different ethnic groups (Bulawa & Tsayang, 2006). As in other sub-Saharan countries, it differed from one ethnic group to another, but what was common to all, was that it was both informal and formal.

Depending on how each ethnic group carried out its informal educational practices, the young members of society learnt various aspects of their traditional life through observation of the deeds of the elders in society. This form of education gave the children the opportunity to imitate among other things, proper behaviour, respect for the elders and relatives, as well as learn a wide range of other societal practices (Mgadla, 2003; Parsons, 1983).

Batswana also had some form of formal education, which was referred to as 'morafe' ('tribal') education. It had pupils and teachers carefully selected by the elders of society. The teaching was predominantly oral instruction. Instruction was only meant for young people who had reached puberty and occurred every three to five years (Mgadla, 2003). This traditional schooling centred on training and discipline organised around initiation ceremonies with nothing resembling current types of schooling (Meyer, Nagel, & Snyder, 1993). These initiation ceremonies were divided into two, *bogwera* for boys and *bojale* for girls. *Bojale* and *Bogwera* were adolescent initiation schools for females and males respectively. The groups were obliged to pay allegiance to a chief (*kgosi*). The initiation ceremonies involved a stipulated time of instruction and were followed by formal graduation. Compared to the informal education, which was learnt through imitation, the trainees formally learnt rules and norms of society such as how to be good parents. They also learnt respect for the elders, the laws of society, proper conduct and other elements considered as constituting societal norms and values (Parsons, 1983; Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007).

In the pre-independence era, dikgosi had a major influence on the system of education in their communities. For instance, there were such dikgosi as kgosi Khama who led their people in the construction of their own schools without any help from the colonial government and the missions. Another kgosi, kgosi Bathoen ordered his people to pay a certain amount of money as contribution towards the development of education (Mgadla, 2003). At independence, the role of dikgosi in education gradually diminished as the government took over full responsibility.

Some elements of traditional education are now practised in just a few ethnic groups in the country, but only on a much smaller scale. Some traditional practices such as the circumcision of young men have gradually died away due to a number of factors. These include the influence of the western type of education now practised in schools and the media, especially print media and television. There have been efforts to revive some elements of tradition such as traditional music which is now part of the schools' co-curriculum. For instance, inter-school competitions in traditional music involving primary, secondary and tertiary students are held annually. It is important to explain that unlike in other education systems elsewhere, such school activities as sports and music are considered co-curricular in Botswana, and not extra-curricular activities.

2.2.2 Missionary and colonial education

Missionary schooling came early in the 1800s (Meyer, Nagel, & Snyder, 1993), especially from the London Missionary Society which built schools amongst the Batswana. This should not be construed to mean that traditional education ceased to exist, as some important aspects still remained. There is, however, no doubt that the introduction of missionary education was certainly a major departure from what the indigenous people had previously known, understood and practised for generations. The missionaries wanted the indigenous people to abandon their original practices and adopt European culture (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007). One of the first missionaries to introduce western education among the Batswana was Dr David Livingstone, himself a missionary of the London Missionary Society. While he and other missionaries, who also had a major role in bringing such education to the Batswana and introduced reading and writing skills, they simultaneously preached the word of God. So the teaching of scripture was also at the core of the missionary curriculum (Mgadla, 2003). Prior to the introduction of Christianity, the different ethnic groups had their own traditional religions and worshipped different gods (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007).

Education among the Batswana ethnic groups in the first quarter of the 20th century continued to be dominated by the missions, in particular the London Missionary Society (Mgadla, 2003) with others such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the Lutherans, the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans also playing a significant role (Pandey & Moorad, 2003). The main focus of these education providers still remained mainly religious with an emphasis on saving souls. The missionaries' perspective about Christianity was that it was a reflection of a civilised culture much superior to the traditional religious practices and cultures of the African people (Tlou & Campbell, 1997).

The predominantly evangelical curriculum gradually changed as the colonial government took over the running of education and set out to reform the system. The colonial government's major aim was to develop the primary education syllabus. The government did so by purchasing more books, training and paying teachers, as well as establishing the content of a general curriculum. The curriculum was meant to provide skills needed in rural areas such as agriculture, carpentry and animal husbandry (Mgadla, 2003). Some of the mission schools continued to exist even after the colonial government took over the running of education. Missions in Botswana still own a few schools today with the support of government.

The period between 1950 and 1965 marked an important era in the development of education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, as more funds were made available by the colonial government to further develop schools. Attention was given to the development of secondary education, while technical or vocational training was also enhanced. What still lagged behind was the provision of university education and other tertiary institutions that offered vocational and technical training. Batswana who qualified to attend such institutions of higher learning mainly had to enrol in either South Africa or Southern Rhodesia now called Zimbabwe (Mgadla, 2003).

2.2.3 Education at independence

Independence in 1966, though desirable, came with its own challenges as the new government had to assess the existing education situation and improve it. The education system was mainly based on models from developed countries, in particular the colonising power Britain, with the curriculum retaining strong European origins. Inevitably, the institutions and culture of colonial power were entrenched in the education system (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000; Republic of Botswana, 1977). Earlier efforts were made in 1968 and 1969 to transform the education system, but such efforts were mainly to develop the syllabuses. These entailed the need to develop a balanced education system that took into account some elements of the culture of Batswana, while taking advantage of the useful foreign cultural practices (Republic of Botswana, 1977).

It was during these early years after independence that a decision was made by the government to retain subjects such as religious education which were introduced by the missionaries. For instance, the subject had been taught in both junior and senior secondary schools initially from the context of Christianity (Sealey, 1993), but this has since been replaced by what Matemba (2005) considers an open multi-faith syllabus that takes into account the teaching of other religious practices, including past and present traditional religious practices of the different ethnic groups in Botswana.

English also dominates classroom instruction in Botswana (Setati & Adler, 2000). It has not only been retained as a subject but has also been given a status as the country's official language and medium of instruction at all levels of education (Arthur, 1997). Nyati-Ramahobo (2000) argues that at independence there was no policy in place concerning the medium of instruction in schools, except that there was a general understanding among the government officials that English would take that position. The difficulty was that owing to teachers' low qualifications and their lack of proficiency in communicating in English, the use of Setswana had to be used in lower grades. Nyati-Ramahobo indicates that teachers actually switched between the use of Setswana and English even in higher grades at both primary and secondary schools. The other local non-Setswana speaking languages in the country were not to be taught. This according to Nyati-Ramahobo (2000) included the banning of the Ikalanga language that was previously taught in schools during the colonial period. Setswana is recognised as the country's national language and is taught as a subject at all levels of the education system.

2.2.4 The first major review of the public education

Since earlier efforts aimed at transforming the education system were only at the level of the syllabuses, in 1974 a substantive overhaul of the system was considered with the State President appointing a National Commission on Education. This Commission started its work in 1975 and completed it in 1977, ten full years after independence (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). This was a major turning point in the country's education system, as the Commission had to review a wide range of major problems affecting education, especially primary and secondary (Republic of Botswana, 1977).

It must be noted here that at the appointment of this Commission, the existing education system, especially primary education was inadequately financed, equipped, and staffed, and therefore its quality was very poor. Secondary education also had its own share of problems in spite of the fact that it had become most significant for training students to take over from expatriates in the civil service as the country became independent. Schools that existed then still lacked trained local teachers, and therefore depended to a large extent on volunteer expatriates mainly from such countries as America, Britain, and Canada (Mgadla, 2003). Teacher training is discussed later in this chapter.

Another major challenge for the new government as depicted in the National Commission on Education of 1977 was the sparsely populated country. The settlement patterns were dispersed over large land areas. It became very difficult and costly to provide education for such very widely scattered populations due to the problem of bringing together enough children in one place. One alternative for children in such areas was to walk long distances to attend school. This of course was a difficult option, as many of these children did not live within walking distance, and therefore chose not to attend (Republic of Botswana, 1977). The government had to find possible strategies to address problems of this nature. One of the strategies was to provide schools with hostels to accommodate students (Republic of Botswana, 2002b). This arrangement continues to exist today for both primary and secondary.

As highlighted in the 1977 National Commission on Education, the substantive areas to be addressed included quantitative expansion of the education system in relation to manpower, as well as government's ability to support continued expansion (Republic of Botswana, 1977). Special attention was to be given to the review of curriculum content to produce appropriate and relevant education at both the primary and secondary levels. Also noted for consideration were the qualitative strengthening of the education system in terms of pre-service and in-service training of teachers, and approaches to formal and informal education to deal with out-of-school youth. Out-of-school youth included all young people who had never had the opportunity to attend school or had dropped out of school for various reasons.

The Commission made several recommendations to the government to transform education. One such recommendation was to abolish school fees which up until that time were payable at all levels of education. Following this recommendation, school fees was abolished in 1980 for both primary and secondary education to increase access for all children (Republic of Botswana, 1977).

2.2.5 The second review of public education

The 1977 National Commission's work was followed by another Commission on education which was appointed by the State President in 1992. The Commission's recommendations were adopted by government in 1994. The mandate of this particular Commission was much broader than the first as it had to look into educational issues beyond just primary, secondary and non-formal education. Other notables in this case included university and other tertiary institutions, as well as the re-examination of the structure of the education system that would guarantee universal access to basic education. The areas recommended for some major transformation included pre-primary education,

primary education, secondary education, vocational education and technical training, tertiary education, out-of-school education, special education and community involvement. Even though the government does not provide pre-primary education, the Ministry of Education has taken some responsibility for its supervision as explained later in this chapter (Republic of Botswana, 1994a).

Also recommended as a priority was the establishment of the Division of Planning, Statistics and Research in the Ministry of Education with adequate resources to coordinate and commission research. This division was to be mandated to develop an educational management information system. The Division has since been established in the Ministry of Education and is fully functional, providing specialised educational planning, and collecting as well as analysing data about the education sector to inform decision making (Republic of Botswana, 2002b). The Ministry of Education also established another unit which is responsible for the coordination of the implementation of the performance management system in the entire ministry, which still existed at the time of my data collection.

2.2.6 Structure of the education system in the 21st century

Of significance to any education system is its structure to shed light on how individuals may progress from one level to the other. The system adopts a 7+3+2 structure which translates into seven years of primary, three years of junior secondary, and two years of senior secondary (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007). The structure is outlined in Figure 4 below.

Primary, junior and senior secondary schools are in separate campuses. Primary students write their standard seven leaving examination before they all proceed to junior secondary schools regardless of the grades they have obtained. Junior secondary students who progress to senior secondary schools should have obtained a certain grade set by the Ministry of Education. The government's aim is to have all junior secondary school students admitted into senior secondary schools, but it is currently constrained by the limited spaces and resources available to accommodate all of them.

2.2.6.1 Private education

Private schools do not pertain to my study, but they are a very important sector in the provision of education in Botswana. They are made up of schools owned mainly by individuals or partnerships. They "have different institutional status, staff requirements, means of funding, modalities of co-existence with public authorities, procedures for the setting up and organisation of instruction, target population etc" (UNESCO, 1997, p. 60). Although private schools are not under central

government control, they are all registered and monitored by the Ministry of Education to ensure that minimum quality requirements are met. Schools that operate illegally or contravene government's minimum standards are supposed to be closed in accordance with the country's education Act (Republic of Botswana, 2003a).
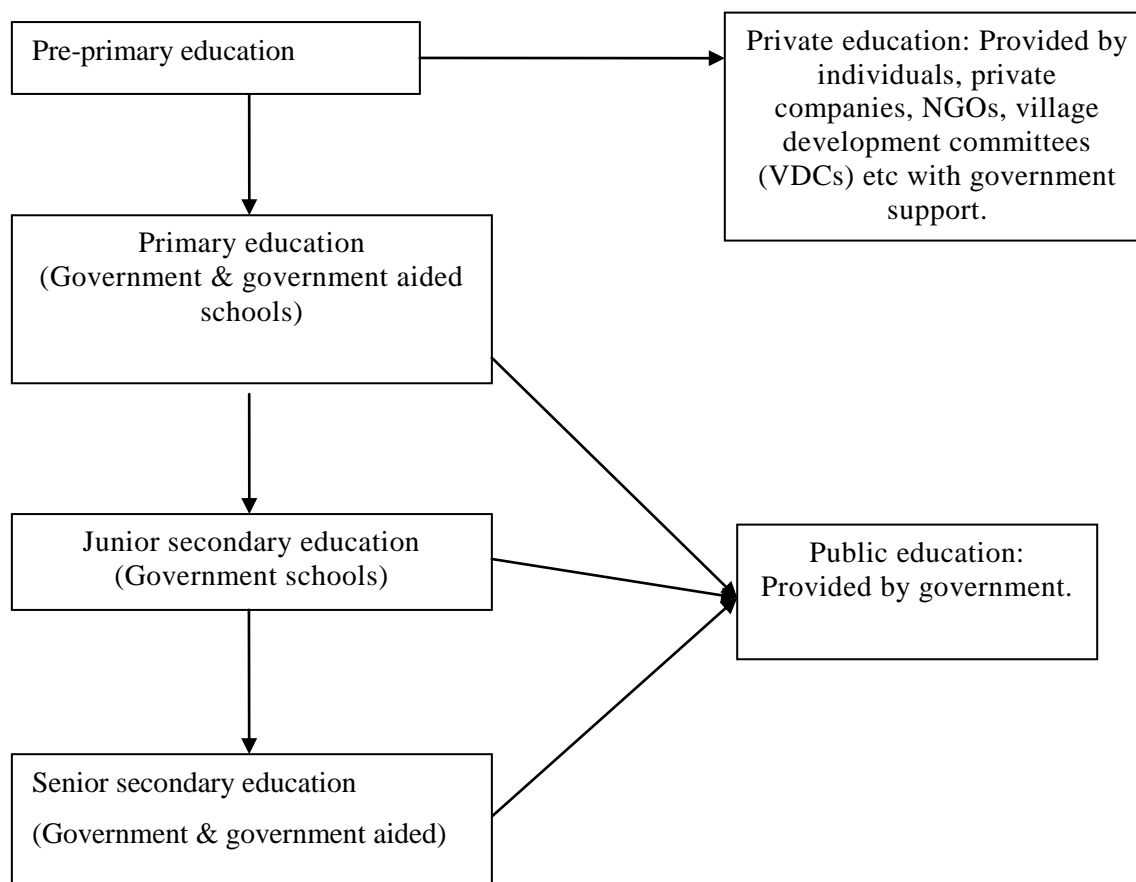
Figure 4. Structure of schooling in Botswana

2.2.6.2 Pre-school education

Although pre-school education is not part of the public education structure, it has become a very important component of the education system. It caters for children aged two to five years, but is not offered by the government. In the urban and semi-urban areas of the country, it is offered mainly by the private sector (Forcheh, 2003). Where it exists in rural and remote areas, it is

provided by village development committees (VDCs). Management of pre-primary is still a shared partnership between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government. The Ministry of Education provides such support as training of pre-primary school teachers, supervision, and pre-school grants (Republic of Botswana, 2002b; Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007), while Local Government is responsible for policy implementation (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). Many children especially in rural areas begin their primary education without having gone through pre-primary education.

Prior to the recommendations of the 1994 Revised National Commission on Education, the pre-primary programme guidelines were a responsibility of the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing and then moved to the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. It was provided by individuals and organisations and its curriculum was not standardised. Following a recommendation by the 1994 Commission, a pre-primary unit has been established within the Department of Primary Education to register all pre-primary education schools, establish standards for facilities and quality as well as provide a standardised curriculum (Republic of Botswana, 1994a).

2.2.6.3 Primary education

The government provides free and universal primary education (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). Most of the primary schools are government owned with a few owned by missions. All government aided primary schools are wholly financed by government. Primary education has grown significantly since 1980 when school fees were abolished. At independence, primary enrolments represented a very small percentage of school-aged population with 251 primary schools (Meyer, Nagel, & Snyder, 1993). By 1985, the number of primary schools had doubled to 558. Structuring of primary schools is homogeneous throughout the country and teachers and pupils transferring from one school to another "encounter structures and practices which are very familiar" (Arthur, 1998, p. 316).

Primary education is a dual responsibility of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government. The Ministry of Education is responsible for the curriculum design, appraisal, monitoring and maintenance of the standard of teaching. The Ministry of Local Government's role is to provide infrastructure, equipment and books. The government also provides primary schools specifically for what are called Remote Area Dwellers (RADS). These are schools established in remote rural areas and they provide hostels to accommodate children in such areas (Republic of

Botswana, 2002b). The majority of students in such primary schools are of the Basarwa communities, and are therefore separated from their parents for the period they are at school.

The administration of primary education by two Ministries has been criticised. The Revised National Commission on Education of 1994 expressed concern about declining educational achievements. This was attributed to several factors, two of which were the inadequate co-ordination of the administrative functions shared between the Ministry of Education and that of Local Government, Lands and Housing.

Another was identified as the double shift resulting in heavy workloads for teachers (Republic of Botswana, 1994a). Double shift schools refer to those schools with different students coming to school in the mornings and afternoons, and attend the same number of hours as students in single shift schools. In spite of such concerns primary education continues to be a dual responsibility of the two Ministries (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). The double shift has since ceased to exist in primary schools, but has now been introduced in senior secondary schools as is explained later.

2.2.6.4 Secondary education

For several years following independence in 1966, secondary school education offered a five year programme from form one to five combining both junior and senior secondary levels. This structure changed following a recommendation by the 1977 National Commission on Education to separate junior and senior secondary education. The commissioners recommended a day junior secondary school which was considered much cheaper compared to existing secondary schools that provided boarding facilities. The Commission envisaged schools with less costly buildings in comparison to existing schools, and that the communities would play a role through what is called self-help construction. The existing secondary schools with what the Commission considered superior physical facilities, including hostels, were to be converted into senior secondary schools (Republic of Botswana, 1977). This recommendation was carried out with junior and senior secondary schools now in separate campuses. Most of the hostels in senior secondary schools have been converted into classrooms.

As I have already explained earlier in the chapter, all students who write the primary school leaving examination but not necessarily pass are admitted to junior secondary schools to maintain universal access to ten years of basic education. The National Development Plan 9 (NDP 9) in 2003 reported a 100 percent transition rate from primary to junior secondary education (Republic of Botswana,

2003a). Currently, senior secondary education is not able to absorb all junior secondary school completers due to a shortage of space (Republic of Botswana, 2002b). The government projection of junior certificate completers proceeding to senior secondary schools for the year 2006 was only 50% (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). Currently most senior secondary schools have student enrolments that are more than 1500.

Junior secondary schools are all government owned, while senior secondary schools are of two types, government and government aided schools. Government schools are wholly owned by the government while government aided schools are owned by such missions as the Roman Catholic Church and the London Missionary Society (LMS). The LMS has since changed its name to the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA). Most of these schools were built by the missions during the colonial period (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). Both types of schools are financed by government to the same extent in terms of such requirements as infrastructure, stationery, transport as well as salaries and accommodation for staff. The only difference is that government aided schools also get support from their missions for physical infrastructure. For example, while these schools have access to government transport, they also own vehicles provided by their missions. Of the twenty-seven public senior secondary schools at the time this study commenced, only four are government aided ones. These four were also in my study.

2.2.6.5 Expansion of senior secondary education

Forty years after independence, the government of Botswana has been giving special attention to education (Siphambe, 2000). This is reflected in the government's education policies and the percentage of the gross domestic product allocated to education (Forcheh, 2003). As indicated in the National Development Plan 9, for the past twenty years up to 2002, the government expenditure on education was twenty percent of the national budget. During the financial year 2002/2003 education was allocated a record twenty-eight percent of the national budget. Botswana has a six-year national development plan, and the National Development Plan 9 is the ninth since independence. It covers the period from 1 April 2003 to 31 March 2009. A mid-term review of the plan is usually carried out during the particular plan period to review economic progress, and decide if there is need to make any additional budget allocations to the different sectors of the economy (Republic of Botswana, 2003a).

Evidence from the 2001 population data shows some substantial improvements in education. There has been a reduction in the population that has never attended school, and an increase of those who

are still at school, especially young people. For instance, the 2001 census shows that 19.3% of the population aged five years and above had never attended school compared to the 1991 and 1981 censuses of 30% and 43% respectively (Forcheh, 2003).

The investment in education resulted in the rapid growth of primary enrolments during the 1970s and early 1980s. This growth led to increased demand for access to secondary education by primary school leavers. The response to this overwhelming demand was the rapid expansion of junior secondary schools (Chapman, Snyder, & Burchfield, 1991). The growth of junior secondary education also put pressure on senior secondary schools to increase their intake of students at that level. The government was therefore compelled to engage in a massive expansion of all government and non-government aided senior secondary schools to accommodate enrolments (Republic of Botswana, 2002b).

This massive expansion of senior secondary schools which was combined with inflated class sizes has resulted in an improved transition rate. In 2005, access to senior secondary stood at 51.13% of the students who had completed the junior certificate (Republic of Botswana, 2006a). With the ultimate aim of government to further increase the intake of junior secondary school leavers into senior secondary education, the expansion of the existing schools still had not met the demand for places in 2006. Construction of at least five new senior secondary schools to increase intake which was previously delayed due to resource constraints (Republic of Botswana, 2006a) has now been started.

To achieve its aim of increasing junior certificate intake into senior secondary education, the government has introduced a double shift system in some of the senior secondary schools as recommended by the Revised National Policy on Education (Republic of Botswana, 1994b). The double shift is also seen as a way of reducing costs while simultaneously increasing enrolments (Republic of Botswana, 2006a). All schools currently implementing the double shift system now have two streams of students, one attending school from morning to afternoon, while the other one commences lessons in the afternoon to evening. However, in spite of this system, not much was done in terms of expanding the senior management team. For example, these schools still operate like their single shift counterparts with only one school head and one deputy school head.

2.2.6.6 Management of secondary education

Secondary school education is managed by the Department of Secondary Education headed by a Director based in the Ministry of Education. This department ensures that all secondary schools undergo inspection, and that all school programmes are implemented, monitored and evaluated. Secondary education has been decentralised with five regional offices operating throughout the country. The five regions are each headed by a chief education officer (CEO) who supervises all secondary schools in that particular region. chief education officers have several education officers working under them. Most of these officers are responsible for the inspection and in-service training of school staff in their regions (Tsayang & Bulawa, 2007).

Figure 5 below shows the department's regional structure for secondary education. The structure shows that the regional chief education officers (CEOs) report to the Director based at headquarters in the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, the structure reflects the four units in the regional structure. These are Management Administration and Finance, Inspectorate and Field Services, School Management Advisory and Training, and Teacher Management. Also illustrated in the diagram is the position of secondary schools in relation to chief education officers. The office of the regional Education Officer is responsible for the supervision of the implementation of the PMS at school level.

There are two hundred and thirty-three junior and senior secondary schools shared between the five regions. However, regions differ in size depending on the concentration of schools in a particular region. The school heads are directly under the supervision of the regional chief education officer. Heads are responsible for the supervision and management of their schools.

2.3. Impact of increased participation on teacher training

The provision of education at all levels had implications for teacher training. Immediately subsequent to independence, many teachers and those in management had taught and led government policy implementation without any formal training.

At independence, teacher training became a major problem for the government. For instance, when the 1974 Education Commission was appointed, a third of the teachers were untrained, and over half of them had no secondary education. Not many junior certificate students with good grades were willing to go into primary teacher training colleges, except for those with third class passes or lower who could not be admitted into senior secondary schools.
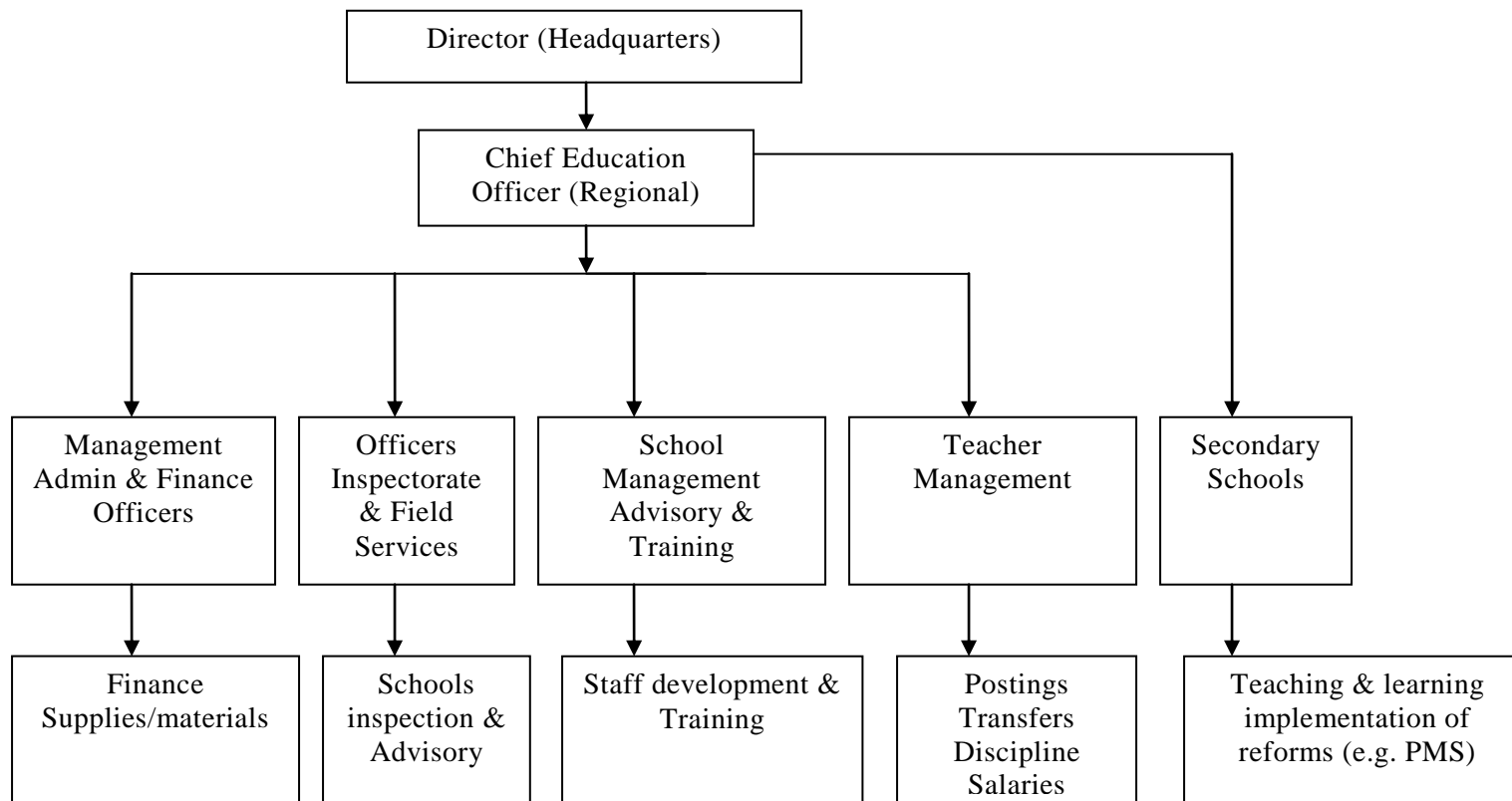
Figure 5. Regional structure of the department of secondary education in Botswana in 2008

The Commission found that the major reason for colleges not attracting students was the poor teaching conditions. The Commission therefore made a recommendation that conditions of service for teachers should be improved to attract those junior certificate completers with either first or second class passes. The improvement of conditions for teachers in the Commission's view included salaries, allowances, promotion opportunities and hours of work (Republic of Botswana, 1977).

When the second Education Commission was appointed in 1992, teacher training had improved substantially, with only a few untrained teachers in primary and junior secondary schools. Expatriate teachers still constituted a very high percentage in secondary schools. In summary, the expatriate presence amongst teachers was "32 percent in junior secondary schools, 57 percent in senior secondary schools, 12 percent in primary Teacher Training Colleges and 66 percent in Colleges of Education" (Republic of Botswana, 1994a, p. 11).

Now, graduates in primary teaching need to have successfully completed a three year diploma in primary education after having completed senior secondary schooling. There are four Colleges of Education that offer the three year diploma in primary education. Junior secondary teachers require similar qualifications but with the diploma in secondary education. There are currently two Colleges of Education training junior secondary school teachers. Before they were established in the mid 1980s, junior secondary school teachers were trained at the University of Botswana. The minimum teaching qualification in senior secondary schools is an undergraduate university degree and a postgraduate diploma in education.

The government sponsors primary and secondary school teachers to the University of Botswana to upgrade their qualifications to either undergraduate or postgraduate degrees, depending on their qualifications. There are a few who are sponsored to study abroad in similar programmes. Almost all teachers in Botswana are now trained. There are still a few schools who have some expatriate school managers and teachers but they are small in number.

In terms of the appointment, promotion and transfer of staff, including secondary school managers, the Ministry of Education's Department of Teaching Service Management (TSM) has the responsibility for both government and government aided schools. This department employs all teachers (Bangale & Motswakae, 1998), and works in collaboration with the Department of Secondary Education which is responsible for the supervision of all secondary schools. Only people who are teachers by profession qualify for a position of responsibility. For example, those in senior positions such as deputy heads who have substantial experience in the teaching profession would qualify to apply for the post of school head. The requirement is for

those who believe they have the required qualifications to submit applications to be short-listed and then be interviewed by a panel comprising the Ministry of Education senior officials at regional level.

There are arrangements for the transfer of members of the senior management team within the region or from one region to another. These transfers are usually at the discretion of the Ministry of Education (Gottelmann-Duret & Hogan, 1998). The decision to transfer staff depends on several factors, such as the need to fill a gap left by another school head or deputy head who may have left due to such reasons as transfer to a different school or promotion to a senior position in the Ministry of Education or may have retired from service. There is however consideration for requests made by school staff. The reasons for such requests may be personal such as the need to join one's spouse or on account of ill health.

2.4 Teacher unions role in policy decision making

Until the late 2000s, the contribution of teacher unions to decision making in Botswana had been very minimal. The government had put in place legislation that denied them the right to form or for teachers to become trade union members (Molatlhegi, 1998). Like all other public officers, teachers have been governed by the country's 'Public Service Act'. This Act had for many years excluded them from the definition of employees and they were therefore not eligible to belong to trade unions. Teachers therefore were restricted from bargaining for wages and improved conditions of service. What existed were associations to which teachers belonged. Such teacher associations as the Botswana Federation of Secondary School Teachers, the Botswana Teachers Union and the Botswana Primary School Teachers Association could only rely on the President of Botswana, as empowered by the Public Service Act, to make regulations that would set up a body to enable them to consult with the government on issues relating to such matters as wages and work conditions (Mogalakwe, Mufune, & Molutsi, 1998). In other instances where such a body was set up, it was for consultative purposes, without any bargaining powers. Teachers could not even participate as equal partners on matters specific to education such as policy making and curriculum development.

The amendment to change the Act and allow the teacher associations to become trade unions was only effected in 2004 (Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007). This was long after the implementation of the PMS had commenced. Hence the decision to implement the PMS would have come to teachers as a government directive to be implemented and at the time I collected the data, the unions were not that influential.

2.5 Implementation of reforms in schools in Botswana

It is important to explain that the performance management system was not the first reform ever implemented in schools in Botswana to improve performance. There had been other reforms implemented in the schools. Five reforms are briefly discussed here. Three reforms namely, the annual confidential reports, the job evaluation for teachers scheme, and the teacher performance appraisal scheme, are performance related reforms while the other two, the secondary schools management development project and the pastoral care system are school management reforms. While most of them were a precursor to the PMS, one of them, the pastoral care system was implemented almost at the same time. These reforms were chosen for discussion because they concerned improving practice in schools, and many of the participants in the study had experienced these reforms as members of the senior management team.

2.5.1 Implementation of performance reforms

One of the performance reforms that was introduced in secondary schools was the confidential reports. As indicated by Monyatsi, Steyn, and Kamper (2006b), these annual reports were introduced in 1983 by the Unified Teaching Service (UTS), the department responsible for the employment of teachers in Botswana. It was a requirement that school heads or any other authorised person would have to prepare these annual confidential reports and send them to the office of the Director of the UTS. The reports were seen as a way of trying to make the schools be more accountable. Also significant as indicated by Monyatsi, Steyn, and Kamper (2006a), was that the reports linked teachers' promotion and annual increment to performance.

In an effort to further strengthen supervision and improve performance, another reform, the job evaluation for teachers scheme, which overlapped with the confidential reports, was implemented in 1988. This reform emphasised the significance of an assessment of teachers on a continuous basis, and like the confidential reports also linked teachers' performance to pay and promotion (Monyatsi, Steyn, & Kamper, 2006a). It set out to review and define job descriptions as well as establish levels of responsibility and therefore determine an appropriate pay and grading structure for staff (Monyasti, 2009). However, as indicated by Motswakae (1990), teachers were opposed to both the confidential reports and the job evaluation scheme. Despite the absence of a unionised workforce, teachers took industrial action demanding the end to the link between teachers' assessment and salary increment. Hence these performance initiatives were subsequently abandoned.

A new reform, the teacher performance appraisal scheme, was introduced in schools in 1992. This performance appraisal scheme was intended to assess the performance of teachers

objectively with the data contributing to the pay and promotion process. It also offered teachers the opportunity to learn from their own assessment (Monyatsi, 2002; Monyatsi, Steyn, & Kamper, 2006b) as well as motivating them to improve their performance (Monyatsi, 2006b). The appraisal scheme was also meant to address individual teachers' professional development which was expected to result from a continuous process of assessment of performance carried out throughout the year (Keitseng, 1999; Monyatsi, 2006a). Monyatsi, Steyn, and Kamper, (2006a) stated that with respect to the teacher appraisal system, relatively little research had been conducted to determine if it effectively served the purpose for which it was implemented. With the advent of the PMS, the appraisal system was modified and embedded in the PMS.

One last performance reform introduced almost concurrently with the PMS but which merged very quickly with the PMS was the performance based reward system (PBRS). It was embedded in the PMS, but with a major deviation from other countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom, in the sense that it was not specifically linked to pay. As highlighted in the performance based reward system programme framework and guideline (Republic of Botswana, 2003b), the aim of the PBRS was to provide a process that would allow "a linkage between the performance management system and individual accountability through the development of performance objectives and employee performance reviews in a manner that will encourage continuous improvement" (p. 3). It is clearly stated in the guideline as one of the objectives of the PBRS that employees' rewards that reflect performance results would be non-monetary (Republic of Botswana, 2003b), although it does not specify the nature of rewards.

2.5.2 Implementation of management reforms

The reforms that were previously introduced in secondary schools did not only focus on the management of performance in schools in general, but there were some which were more concerned about improvement of school management. One such reform was the secondary schools management development project which was introduced in 1993. This project was financed by the Botswana and the British governments. One of the aims of the project was to raise the standards of management in secondary schools through the provision of training to school heads and other members of the school senior management team. The purpose of the training was to give these school managers skills that would enable them to lead staff development activities in their schools (Monyatsi, 2005). It was assumed that the training would adequately prepare senior management teams to mount school-based staff development activities for their staff (Moswela, 2006; Pheko, 2008).

According to Monyatsi (2005), there were six overseas appointed staff who were paired with local officers under the title, school management advisors, with five based in regions and one based at the Ministry headquarters as a joint coordinator working with a local. The local officers who were paired were expected to take over full responsibility of the secondary school management development project as a new unit in the Ministry of Education's department of Secondary Education. The legacy that this reform left to the Ministry of Education was the presence in each regional office of a unit called the School Management Advisory & Training unit (see Figure 5).

To evaluate the extent to which this project was considered a success, Monyatsi (2005) conducted a survey which targeted secondary school teachers with a focus on the school management team that comprised school heads, deputy heads, heads of departments and senior teachers grade 1. The results showed that the majority of participants believed that the project was a success, with 98% indicating that it had achieved its main objective of raising management standards, while 83% were of the view that it had established permanent training structures. The results of this survey further showed that the participants were satisfied with the training programmes this project had established. According to Monyatsi (2005), even though the results were positive, there was still the need to find out the extent to which the improvement of management had impacted on teaching and learning.

Around the same time the secondary schools management development project was introduced, the Revised National Commission on Education of 1994 also recommended to government that the Ministry of Education should provide school heads with guidelines, which clearly showed a distinction between their role as instructional leaders and as school administrators. With respect to instructional leadership, the Commission emphasised the need for school heads and other members of the senior management team to take responsibility for in-service training of teachers in their schools. According to the Commission, this should involve regular observation of lessons and organisation of school-based workshops (Republic of Botswana, 1994a). Within secondary schools there were also structures such as staff development committees to evaluate professional development needs of staff. Based on such needs, professional development programmes were prepared using internal and external resource persons (De Grauwe, 2007).

The second reform as noted in the pastoral policy guidelines (Republic of Botswana, 2007), was the pastoral care system which was introduced in schools towards the end of 2000. With this system, schools were re-structured and divided into houses, each to be headed by a head of house (previously heads of discipline departments). Heads of houses had members of the

teaching and non-teaching staff under them equitably distributed, and in each house comprised 350-400 students.

According to the pastoral care policy guidelines (Republic of Botswana, 2007), students were to be involved in school governance, by being represented in various committees in the school, such as the school pastoral council. The policies advocated that students should be involved "in 70% of the committees" (p. 6). As further indicated in the policy guidelines, both teaching and non-teaching staff were to be involved "in the formulation, execution and monitoring of school policies" (p. 6). It was also stated in the guidelines that parents would actively participate in school governance to promote community involvement in the education of children.

Key performance areas, namely, students' academic performance, improved school discipline, leadership and management (including the improvement of resource management), and stakeholder involvement, that is, the rate at which such stakeholders as students, staff, and parents were involved, were used to monitor the effectiveness of the pastoral system. This reform is currently operational in the schools and running with the PMS (Republic of Botswana, 2007).

2.6 The implementation of the performance management system in Botswana

In 1999, Botswana began a nationwide effort to implement the performance management system (PMS). The PMS was a government initiative which was introduced following concern about noticeable public service poor quality in the delivery of service. There was increasing public lack of confidence in the government which was seen as an ineffective and inefficient service provider (Republic of Botswana, 2002a). The issue of poor quality service delivery in Botswana was further revealed in a study conducted by Adamolekun and Morgan (1999). They maintained that the morale and motivation of the civil service in Botswana had dropped off noticeably as reflected in the poor quality of delivery of basic public services.

To address the problem of poor service delivery, the government of Botswana engaged the World Bank to identify an approach that would enhance performance in the public service. A World Bank consultancy report recommended the introduction of the performance management system and this was discussed and approved by a meeting of Permanent Secretaries as a tool that would enhance high performance in the public service. It was anticipated that the PMS would be an opportunity for the public service to define goals and objectives as well as set targets for high performance (Republic of Botswana, 2006b).

The government of Botswana adopted the PMS as an appropriate reform for the public service since it had been widely used and tested by many successful governments and leading organisations globally. The government considered the implementation of the PMS in the New Zealand public service a success story which was being emulated by many world leading companies, including the United States Federal Government and the US Postal Services to improve their competitive advantage (Republic of Botswana, 2002a).

Hacker and Washington (2004), two consultants who were involved in the design and implementation of the PMS reform from its original inception in Botswana, stated that the PMS was "designed to provide systematic thinking to implement change" (p. 55). The PMS was viewed by the government as a tool that had the potential to help the public sector organisations to deliver on set and agreed plans, and to improve and sustain productivity at all levels. In addition, it was anticipated that the PMS would assist these organisations to inculcate in their workplaces a culture of performance and accountability as well as be focussed on outputs (Republic of Botswana, 2006b).

As discussed by Washington and Hacker (2005), there was another major reason for the implementation of the PMS in public sector organisations in Botswana. Owing to the fact that the government had created its own national vision called Vision 2016 which encompassed goals for all the 16 Ministries, it was essential that the PMS be implemented to help achieve this national vision. Vision 2016 identified the quantity and quality of service, the public service was expected to provide to its citizens. As noted in the "Vision 2016: Towards Prosperity for All" document (Republic of Botswana, 1994b), the government of Botswana and its people, formulated their aspirations and dreams for the future. In doing so, the question asked was: "What kind of society would we like Botswana to be by the year 2016, when we will be celebrating our fiftieth anniversary of independence?" (p. 1). So this vision was intended to guide the country's thinking and policy making up to the year 2016.

When the idea of introducing a performance management system was conceived, the government anticipated that a well-implemented performance management system would be of benefit to the public service. It was expected that with the implementation of the PMS, management would direct and manage their public organisations at higher levels of efficiency, and that in such an environment, "employees develop a sense of belonging and attachment since they view themselves as an integral part of the organisation" (Republic of Botswana, 2002a, p. 6). In addition, the expectation was that these public sector organisations strive to satisfy customers. Embraced was the strategy of ensuring that this process was directed and managed by management to ensure the highest level of efficiency in the organisation. Every Ministry or

department was required by government to come up with some vision and mission statements and a strategic plan on the implementation of the performance management system. The strategic plan had to reflect some achievable goals and objectives including key performance and results areas, set standards and objective strategic measures (Republic of Botswana, 2002a).

With the coming of the PMS it was further expected that planning would be aligned to the national strategy and that it would also be taken to the level of individual employees (Republic of Botswana, 2006b). Regarding the measurement of performance, it was further indicated that some clearly defined standards or requirements would be set "for Ministries, departments, divisions, units and individual employees" (Republic of Botswana, 2002a, p. 7) in order for all of them to know what was expected of them in terms of performance.

The government expected that the PMS would bring accountability. As pointed out by Dzimbiri (2008), the public sector in Botswana "was viewed as inefficient, underperforming and lacking in job accountability and ownership" (p. 47). Therefore, the government's further intention for introducing the performance management system (PMS) in the public service was to ensure "set and agreed plans, improved and sustained productivity at all levels, and … a culture of performance, accountability and focus on results or outputs" (Republic of Botswana, 2002a, p. 5). In other words, the system was intended to facilitate "the development and achievement of set and agreed goals and objectives at ministry and individual levels, development and effective utilization of measures, as well as making public officers and ministries accountable for their results" (Republic of Botswana, 2002a, p. 5).

To further ensure accountability, the government emphasised the need for a clearly defined set of performance standards and strategic measures that would "guide individual officers, units, divisions, departments and indeed ministries, on key performance areas and how they … [to] measure their efforts" (Republic of Botswana, 2002a, p. 9). To be able to hold people accountable, it was stated that ministries and departments would use quarterly performance review as evaluation and assessment tools for individual employees. Although the government had initially stated that the evaluation and assessment process for accountability would be enhanced by the introduction of a performance based pay system, which was to be largely related to individual performance (Republic of Botswana, 2002a), the PMS in Botswana "[had] no linkage to individual pay or reward" (Dzimbri, 2008. p. 53).

When the PMS was implemented across the public service, there was also the expectation that the PMS would promote and support team building at all levels of the organisation. The government expected that the PMS strategic objectives would be achieved through commitment

and collective effort by all employees. In addition, the PMS was seen as an opportunity to enhance professional development in the various Ministries based on focussed and specific training needs. It was hoped that with this professional development, public officers would have the opportunity to acquire effective techniques and skills that would help them improve performance and management (Republic of Botswana, 2002a).

The roll-out of the PMS required adequate training. In the fall of 1999, the government implemented a programme to train top non-elected officers to enable them to understand the vision and how the PMS could be used to implement this vision (Hacker & Washington, 2004). These were selected based on their managerial position in their respective organisations and their responsibility to improve the quality of the services that they delivered in their departments. The managers who were trained included secondary school heads from the Ministry of Education and senior managers in other Ministries. Implementing the PMS was expected to require different skills and capabilities in comparison to those that were required in a traditional bureaucracy (Washington & Hacker, 2005). The initial group of trainees was trained by foreign consultants, and they were in turn expected to train others, and that using the cascade approach, training would ultimately trickle down to other members of staff in their different public sector organisations.

The Ministry of Education, like all other Ministries, took up responsibility of ensuring that its departments and institutions also implemented the performance management system. Key to the implementation process was the performance and development plan and review document for both management and teachers. Six guidelines regarding how this document would be used were provided, one of which was its purpose of objectively assessing the teacher's performance on agreed objectives over a period of one year (Appendix A). The agreed performance objectives were to be drawn from the seven domains, the details of which are also given in Appendix A. Figure 6 shows that the implementation process hinged upon the process of planning.

In 2005, the government of Botswana engaged a team of independent consultants from the Institute of Development Management (IDM Consortium) to evaluate the implementation of the PMS (Republic of Botswana, 2006b). This evaluation was carried out amongst a cross section of managers in the different public sector organisations, including education. This evaluation reported both strengths and limitations about the PMS, a few of which are discussed below.

One of the positive findings was that the refinement of a planning culture was seen by most participants as one of the major successes of this reform. They also identified as attractive "the

joint establishment of work and development targets as this helps to remove ambiguity over expectations, focus effort on key delivery areas, and limits subjectivity in evaluating individual performance" (Republic of Botswana, 2006b, p. 28).

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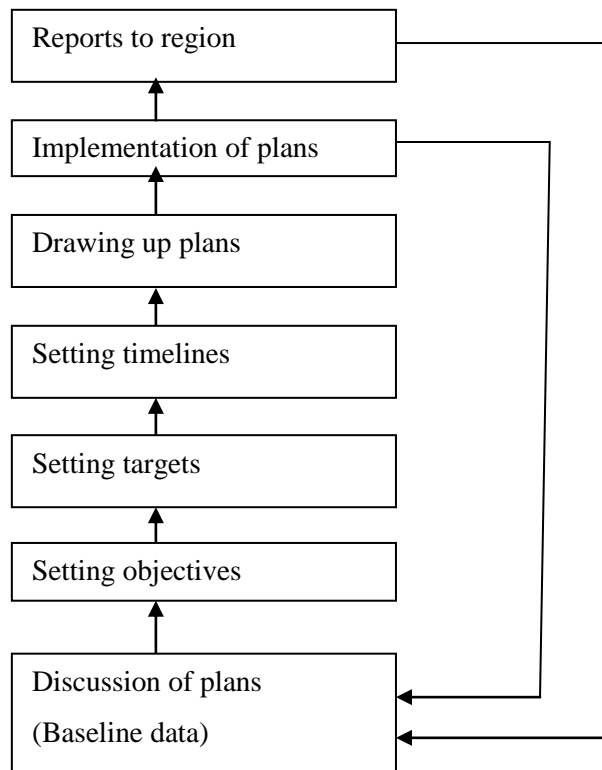
Figure 6. Key elements of the performance management system in operation

The evaluation identified some major weaknesses in the manner in which the PMS was being implemented. One of the weaknesses was in the tools for monitoring. The major tools for monitoring were identified as the performance agreements (PAs) which were supposed to be entered into by senior managers, their supervisors and the performance development plans (PDPs) which were used for all other public employees. It turned out that while all senior managers had entered into performance agreements, many public officers did not have PDPs. It also emerged that the implementation of both the PDPs and PAs was proving a difficult task due to the complexity of documentation, as well as the difficulty in matching these documents to the contexts in which managers were operating. Other problems included the lack of generic performance measures for jobs, problem of reporting frequency, and the paucity of measuring tools (Republic of Botswana, 2006b).

Fear was also identified by some as a major problem that could jeopardise the future of the PMS. First, was the reluctance by managers and supervisors to address performance issues because they feared that they would become unpopular with their staff. Second, was fear of

consequences of non-compliance. This was not so much about lack of achievement of targets, but associated "with failure to comply with the PMS process and reporting formats and deadlines" (Republic of Botswana, 2006b, p. ix).

Further concern as reported in the evaluation report was that the majority of senior management felt that the PMS was consuming a large amount of time. The report stated that "much time and resources were spent at workshops and/or meetings discussing PMS. As a result, in some quarters, PMS connotes "'workshops and free lunch' in others, there is an emergent workshop fatigue" (Republic of Botswana, 2006b, p. 9).

2.7 Summary

Chapter two provided an outline of the important contexts in which senior secondary schools operate in Botswana. Two important demographic features of the Batswana population of approximately 1.7 million is the dense concentration along the eastern border and the high 15 and under age group as a proportion of the total population. This means that most of the 27 secondary senior colleges are concentrated in a relatively small geographical area with the remaining being spread across relatively sparsely populated country. It also means that there are heavy demands on the education system to accommodate the large school age population.

The historical account of Botswana and in particular of the education system from the pre-colonial to the present day showed the development of the country's own systems of governance and public service. The legacy of the British colonial power remains in a number of ways including English being the official language and the language of instruction.

For many African countries and other less developed countries one of the problems affecting the implementation of reforms aimed at improving teaching and learning is a poor resource base. Relatively speaking, Botswana is a wealthy country but despite this good economic base, there is a serious problem of inequitable distribution of resources. This is likely to affect the extent to which some schools may succeed in implementing reform initiatives.

The chapter concludes with a description of the performance management system that was introduced in schools in 1999 and a brief history of the main school-based reforms that preceded it. During these reforms, teachers did not have active teachers unions and it is only in the late 2000s that teachers unions have developed a voice.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0 Introduction

The performance management system implemented in Botswana was similar to those implemented in many countries around the world and the difficulties it encountered in the schooling sector were also similar in many respects to those experienced in other education contexts internationally. To better understand why such similarities should exist as well as the differences, this chapter reviews the literature on performance management systems with a focus on their origins, purpose, and their implementation in the public sector, especially schools. Because performance management systems are a product of neo-liberal policies of improving efficiency in the public sector using private sector techniques, the chapter begins with a discussion of how neo-liberalism has changed the public sector before focussing on the particular reform of performance management. Case studies of performance management systems implemented in both developed and less developed countries are then reviewed. This is followed by a synthesis of the main learnings or themes evident in the literature on the efforts to implement the PMS in schooling systems other than that of Botswana.

3.1 Neo-liberalism and managerialism at work in the public sector

In many countries across the world, managerialism has been an important neo-liberal mechanism deemed most suitable for the efficient and effective management of public sector organisations including schools (Simkins, 2000; Tabulawa, 2003). Entrenched in the discourse of managerialism, governments have adopted performance management from the private sector to make workers such as teachers "more efficient, more effective and more accountable" (Down, Hogan, & Chadbourne, 1999, p. 11). This section begins with a discussion of the characteristics of public sector organisations. The uniqueness of public sector organisations, of which education and specifically schools are examples, when compared with private sector organisations, partially explains the difficulties that performance management systems have encountered in migrating across from the private to the public sector.

3.1.1 The public sector

The behaviour of public sector organisations shows that the public sector operates differently from the private sector in important ways. Scholars identify differences that exist between these two sectors (Burgess & Ratto, 2003; Houston, 2005; Wright & Davis, 2003) that may have to be taken into account when private sector performance initiatives are considered for use in the public sector.

The culture and structure of public organisations have been seen as distinctly different from those of private organisations. Public sector organisations are characterised by high levels of formalisation and red tape in comparison to the private sector (Rainey & Bozeman, 2000). The objectives, structures, and processes of public sector organisations traditionally have been defined by central bureaucratic agencies and constrained by legislation (Parker & Bradley, 2000). The traditional bureaucratic model emphasises rules, procedures, and stability (Borins, 2002) and according to Parker and Bradley (2000), public sector organisations maintain a dominant culture that is hierarchical with a strong commitment to rules and procedures which produce a high level of conformity. Change and innovation within the public sector is traditionally viewed as originating from the top and then implemented by public servants (Borins, 2001). Hughes (2003) argues that bureaucracy is a particularly inefficient or ineffective form of organisation given such undesirable aspects as the concentration of power and the reduction of freedom.

An important characteristic of public sector organisations as explained by Wright and Davis (2003) is that they normally address complex issues. They describe as a complex issue the provision of goods and services that cannot be packaged and exchanged in economic markets. This means that indicators of efficiency used in the private sector such as prices and profits are unavailable to assess performance in public sector organisations.

Another significant feature of the public sector is that agents in this sector are obliged to serve many principals (Burgess & Ratto, 2003; Houston, 2005). Principals include "users of the service; payers for the service; politicians at different levels of government; professional organisations" (Propper & Wilson, 2003, p. 251). According to Houston (2005), because people working in public organisations are faced with external principals and multiple stakeholders with different interests, the services they provide are difficult to measure and monitor.

Serving multiple stakeholders makes it also difficult to provide appropriate incentives. Burgess and Ratto (2003) argue that since public sector organisation personnel are supposed to serve multiple stakeholders, providing incentives in such circumstances is more complex in the sense that dimensions of outputs need not align consistently across the stakeholders' interests because the interests themselves are not necessarily aligned. This aspect of the public servant's work provides additional challenges to the labour unions in many government agencies who care about such issues as working conditions and how financial rewards affect the incomes of their members (Dixit, 2002).

It is also argued that because the public sector differs from the private sector in the nature of their outputs, public sector employees are motivated by factors different from those that motivate workers in the public sector to perform. Burgess and Ratto (2003), for example, state the nature of public service output is more about the welfare of clients than it is about profit. The argument here is that if the welfare of members of society is the primary goal of a public sector organisation, employees may internalise the accompanying set of values or objectives. According to Burgess and Ratto (2003), offering financial rewards based on performance may prove counter-productive in that it may send the wrong signal that the relationship between the workers and the organisation is based on pure market relationships. Houston (2005) argued that public organisations are non-profit making and therefore, individuals' behaviour in such organisations is likely to be characterised more by public service motivation than that in business, because non-profits are likely to have a strong public service mission.

The last significant difference between the private sector and the public sector discussed here is the role of the market. Public sector administration is under the formal control of the political leadership and merely administers policies that have been decided by politicians (Hughes, 2003). According to Parker and Bradley (2000), public sector organisations are subject to political rather than market control such as competition, consumer constraints, and shareholder interests as is the case within the private sector. They argue that the consequence of such political constraints has been that public sector organisations have had blurred objectives and goals and that the autonomy of managers to pursue organisational goals has been constrained.

Despite these differences between the public and private sector, advocates of neo-liberalism were convinced that transferring private sector reforms such as the PMS to the public sector was achievable. The next section explains how neo-liberals introduced the practices of managerialism into the public sector as a way by which they anticipated efficiency and effectiveness would be realised.

3.1.2 Neo-liberalism and managerialism

The transformation of the public sector has been attributed to the theory of neo-liberalism (Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004; Simkins, 2000). In less developed countries, key actors in the formulation of neo-liberal policies are politicians and policy-makers (Larner, 2000) with the support of such International aid agencies as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Tabulawa, 2003). Ball (1998) called neo-liberalism "the ideologies of the market" (p. 122). Neo-liberal policies call for radical transformations of public sector organisations. This includes calls for objectives in public sector organisations to be similar to those which guide

economic goals if they are to be efficient (Apple, 2001). An important policy tool of neo-liberalism is the privatisation policies which are crucial elements of the reforms meant to promote markets (Torres, 2002). Privatisation calls for reduction in state subsidies to public sector organisations, including education as a way of cutting down on government costs (Hill, 2003).

The vehicle through which these neo-liberal policies transform the old public service management style is managerialism (Hill, 2003; Simkins, 2000). It is against this background that the concept of managerialism "is becoming an increasingly important part of the discourse about public sector reform" (Simkins, 2000, p. 318), and the key model shaping efforts to enhance performance in organisations (Brignall & Modell, 2000).

3.1.2.1 How neo-liberal policies are implemented in the public sector

Managerialism refers to a management approach aimed at reorganising the public sector along the lines of what is considered best commercial practice (Apple, 2001; Ball, 1998; Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004). For Ball (1998), managerialism is about "the insertion of the theories and techniques of business management and the cult of excellence into the public sector institutions" (p. 123).

The goal of this corporate managerialism is "to make governments more efficient by doing more with less, focussing on outcomes and results and managing change better" (Down, Hogan, & Chadbourne, 1999, p. 15). Dixon, Kouzmin, and Korac-Kakabadse (1998) explain that managerialism advocates the use of private sector management practices in the public sector based on the beliefs that such management practices are more advanced than existing practices and that they are directly transferable to the public sector. According to Mahony, Hextall, and Menter, (2004), the appeal of managerialism is reflected in the increased demand for the measurement of employee performance and in the high demands for public accountability. While governments in the world have experimented with different approaches, it is the effort to set goals, measure results, and use analysis to guide policy decisions that has become critical to the global public management revolution (Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004).

With the advent of managerialism in the public sector, the role of management has been enhanced to give managers more authority over the control of their organisations. Managerialism also requires senior managers to delegate managerial responsibilities to more people in their organisations (Ball, 1998). They have an increased responsibility to lead the way in the implementation of organisational objectives, including the deployment of resources, in order to achieve required outcomes (Simkins, 2000). For managers to be able to effectively

perform their roles, managerialism brings with it specialist management techniques (Simkins, 2000) and new forms of surveillance and self-monitoring mechanisms such as appraisal systems, target-setting, and output comparisons (Ball, 1998).

All in all, managerialism emphasises efficiency, organisational performance, and is customer oriented (Simkins, 2000). The assumption of neo-liberals is that the managerial techniques found in best practice in the private sector are generally applicable to the public sector with comparable effect. Like all other public sector organisations, education has also been affected by neo-liberal policies and managerialism. As pointed out by Apple (2001), the neo-liberal policies with their wider economic and structural changes have had implications for schools in various ways.

3.1.2.2 How neo-liberal policies and managerialism have transformed education

Education worldwide has not escaped the private sector management techniques promoted by neo-liberal policies to improve efficiency and effectiveness in teaching and learning (Apple, 2001; Gleeson & Husbands, 2003). In line with governments' preoccupation with measuring performance of education systems in terms of economic success (Gleeson & Husbands, 2003), education systems globally have taken keen interest in the performance of teachers, students, and managers. Apple (2001) argued that the neo-liberal policies that have been imposed on education advocate "that only by turning our schools, teachers, and children over to the competitive market will we find a solution to educational problems" (p. 409). From Gordon and Whitty's (1997) viewpoint, western countries, notably New Zealand and England, appear to have progressed further towards the implementation of neo-liberal approaches to marketisation of public education systems than other countries. In contrast, Botswana has not opted for the marketisation of its public education system. As indicated in the National Development Plan 10 (Republic of Botswana, 2010), school fees are highly subsidised by government with parents, who can afford it, having to pay only five percent of the total costs.

As with other public sector organisations, neo-liberalism and managerialism, the driving force behind such reforms as performance management (Kettl, 1997), have impacted on the work environment of all stakeholders in the education sector, specifically school managers, teachers, students, and parents. Schools are being reorganised "along the lines of best commercial practice" (Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004, p. 137). For instance, managerialism has changed relations between the school management and school departments with schools now having to become accustomed to private sector cultures of negotiated contracts, performance measures, performance reviews, and budget measures (Martin & D'Agostino, 2004).

Managerialism has signified a dramatic change to the role of the school heads who require to implement private sector practices in their schools (Apple, 2001). According to Ball (1998), school managers are now required to cultivate a corporate culture in their schools. Apple (2001) pointed out that with more power consolidated within school administrative structures, those in school management are under obligation, among other things, to spend more effort on a range of activities away from the supervision of teaching and learning. These include publicising and marketing schools at the expense of pedagogic and curriculum activities which are supposed to be the schools' core business. Neo-liberal policies, and in particular, the ideology of managerialism, that have been transferred from the private sector into the public sector, including education, have not been seen as a positive change by all (O'Brien & Down, 2002; Simkins, 2000).

3.1.2.3 Critique of neo-liberal policies and managerialism

The policies of neo-liberalism and its management ideology of managerialism have had critics. The major critique discussed here is that levied at private sector practices that are being propagated by neo-liberal policies in the public sector organisations despite the public sector being fundamentally different from the private sector as has already been discussed earlier in this chapter (Apple, 2001; Simkins, 2000; Worrall, Cooper, & Campbell-Jamison, 2000).

O'Brien (2002) was critical of the private sector change models being transmitted into the public sector. In particular, she was critical of the top-down nature of change programmes formulated for senior managers with a complete package of strategies, structures, and processes of implementation and presented to employees with the expectation that they would immediately adapt with no objection. As can be seen from the implementation of the PMS in schools across the world, including Botswana, employees have objected and in some cases, have not adapted.

Some critics consider the neo-liberal "ideas of new public management and managerialism, the language of market and efficiency, of accountability and performance measurement" (Diefenbach, 2007, p. 137) as very limiting and they would argue that public organisations are not just about profit maximisation, or efficiency and improvement that neo-liberals preach. Diefenbach (2007) further maintained that people are against managerialism since they see it as an ideology that serves mainly "the personal and group interests of a few" (p. 137).

Educationists have also expressed concerns about neo-liberalism and the management approach of managerialism that have found their way into education. Apple (2001) has criticised neo-liberal views in education for representing a fundamental shift "from student needs to student

performance and from what the school does for the student to what the student does for the school" (p. 413).

Gleeson and Husbands (2003) argue that governments are focussing on the apparent connections between the measured performance of education systems and economic success to the detriment of public sector values that cannot be measured in this way. Gleeson and Husbands (2003) criticise such modernisation, particularly in the context of the United Kingdom, since it has had a major impact in the realignment of education with economic and wealth creation. According to Gleeson and Husbands (2003), this reform agenda produces a wider distancing of public sector values away from promoting the welfare of civic society as it leans more towards an enterprise culture promoting a consumer-driven knowledge economy.

In schools, teachers have also expressed misgivings about these private sector practices entering their work environments. The teachers in a Western Australian school interviewed in a study by O'Brien and Down (2002) were against the culture of managerialism and administrative priorities which they described as having spread unchecked across the school such that teaching and learning had become of secondary importance.

Teachers in that study (O'Brien & Down, 2002) expressed further concern that their work was increasingly being consumed by paperwork which involved a diverse range of documentation arising from "management meetings, performance management and other forms of accountability associated with the culture of new managerialism" (p. 123). Of particular concern to Down, Hogan, and Chadbourne (1999) was what appeared to be an increasing gap "between the official representation of teachers' work, namely, that which is to be increasingly managed and the reality as experienced by classroom teachers" (p. 14).

Further criticism of neo-liberal policies and managerialism has been put by Bartlett (1998) whose study was in the UK context and is discussed in more detail in a later section. He condemned the appraisal process in schools as a product of neo-liberalism under the pretext of increasing school effectiveness. Based on his interviews with teachers involved in the appraisal system, Bartlett (1998) concluded that managerialism increased monitoring of the work of teachers and reinforced the line of management control. He further criticised the appraisal process for being used to develop the managerial skills of school managers, who were the appraisers, and in the process, enhancing school managers' power over the appraisees. Bartlett's (1998) concern was also noted by Down, Hogan, and Chadbourne (1999) who indicated that with the advent of managerialism in schools, school managers appear to have been given the autonomy to manage while the classroom teachers are required to accept authority.

3.1.3 What is a performance management system?

The PMS is a private sector reform that has been transferred into public sector organisations with the intention of making them function more like corporate entities. Its purpose in both sectors is to improve the economy, efficiency, and effectiveness of organisations through the effective and efficient economic management of both the human and financial resources (Boland & Fowler, 2000; Down, Hogan, & Chadbourne, 1999). Descriptions of the purposes of performance management systems and of their components follow.

3.1.3.1 The purpose of the PMS

In general, performance management systems are a reform that "refers to those various attempts that are designed to ensure that organisations, units and individuals work effectively and efficiently" (Storey, 2002, p. 321). This definition stresses that the target to be managed should range from individual employees through to all aspects of the organisation. Hopen (2004) explains that performance management is a daily management system that ensures an organisation accomplishes its vision, becomes a high performing entity, and creates success for both itself and its employees. Key features of this reform as further indicated by Hopen (2004) are that it should focus on assigning work, enabling work to be carried out as planned, and evaluating performance.

Drawing on Lawler (2003), Halachmi (2005) states that the objectives of performance management should include, "motivating performance, helping individuals develop their skills, building a performance culture, determining who should be promoted, eliminating individuals who are poor performers, and helping implement business strategies" (p. 511). Amaratunga and Baldry (2002) stress the measurement and analysis of performance related data to ascertain if organisational objectives are being met and, if not, to take action. They emphasise that, "there must be a goal-achievement analysis, in which the organisation draws conclusions about what it is doing well, what it is not doing well, and what can be improved" (Amaratunga & Baldry, 2002, p. 222).

For performance management to achieve its purpose, Storey (2002) stresses that the organisational system installed needs to "orchestrate" (p. 322) target setting, measurement, and reward, all of which need to be integrated in a coherent manner. As importantly, there needs to be clarity and transparency about the organisation's goals, processes, and performance (Macaulay & Cook, 1994; de Waal, 2004). Clear performance expectations for each employee are further emphasised by Graham (2004). She stresses the need for these expectations to be

linked to the desired outcomes documented in the organisation's strategic plan. According to Graham, the expectations have to be "observable, measurable, or otherwise verifiable" (p. 7). Sharif (2002) claims that one of the major goals of a performance management system is to ensure an organisation's visibility by providing information and data about its operations.

Without effective performance management, organisational chaos ensues (Brumback, 2003; Graham, 2004). Graham (2004) explains that chaos exists in many organisations where employees are working hard, but their efforts do not combine to move the organisation in its desired direction. Brumback (2003) argues that performance management needs to empower people to enable them to be their own performance managers.

A common weakness in the implementation of performance management systems noted by de Waal (2004) is the focus only on the "structural side" (p. 302), that is, "the structure that needs to be in place to be able to use performance management [such as] critical success factors and key performance indicators, possibly supported by a balanced scorecard" (p. 302). de Waal (2004) argues that successful implementation also requires attention to the "behavioural side" (p. 302) that is, the necessary performance-driven behaviour required from organisational members to achieve the desired objectives. According to de Waal (2004), appropriate behaviours, including attitudes and beliefs, depend on a range of factors including management style, the perceived relevance of performance indicators, the degree to which employees feel they can influence change, and the quality of communication within the organisation.

With reference to schools, Tomlinson (2000) views performance management in terms of continuous improvement of performance, development of competence, and realisation of potential. Tomlinson (2000) argues that performance management is about expectations and plans and about working with teachers as professionals.

Also with reference to schools, Gentle (2001) explains that performance management should permeate the school culture on a day-to-day basis. He emphasised the need for performance management not to be seen as the simple event of merely completing an annual form. For Gentle (2001), performance management should be used as a means through which employees understand what the organisation is trying to achieve and how this can be accomplished. This, in his view, means that staff should have a shared understanding of what success looks like and what they are aiming to achieve as an organisation. Performance management should be a way of managing people to ensure that organisational aims are met through appropriate lines of accountability. Lastly, Gentle (2001) stresses that performance management should be about people sharing in the success of the organisation to which they have made a contribution.

3.1.3.2 Components of the PMS

To achieve the purposes outlined above, performance management schemes possess similar elements. Although the value placed on each component or element varies, performance management schemes, in general, have the following components: a mission, vision and set of values; goals and objectives focussed on outcomes; performance measures and targets; as well as strategies aimed at achieving set targets (Graham, 2004). Performance management schemes encompass concepts and elements such as "performance measures, performance indicators, performance appraisal and review, value for money, and more recently quality assurance" (Boland & Flower, 2000, p. 417). Three elements of the performance management scheme are briefly discussed here because of their critical importance to how the school managers in Botswana's senior secondary schools experienced the PMS. They are a common purpose, the measures used, and professional development.

A shared understanding of and support for the organisation's purpose is foundational to gaining staff acceptance of a performance management scheme. Graham (2004) argues for "a well articulated mission and operating vision that is understood and accepted" (p. 6) and the need for all employees to understand how their work is linked to the organisation's mission. This requires organisations to define the nature of their operations and to provide comprehensive information regarding the components of the reform being implemented (Flapper, Fortuin, & Stoop, 1996; Graham, 2004). Macaulay and Cook (1994) also argue that since organisations exist because of their employees, it is a function of a performance management system to help everyone in the organisation understand what they are doing and how they are performing against measuring instruments. This includes role clarity of all members of staff in the organisational structures.

Essential to performance management systems is the choice of measures used to define and assess performance. de Waal (2004) explains that what needs to be in place are critical success factors (CSF) and key performance indicators (KPIs) to evaluate the performance of employees as well as measure the extent to which organisational objectives are being achieved. Similarly, Flapper, Fortuin, and Stoop (1996) emphasise the significance of performance indicators (PIs) for everyone in the organisation. They explain that these are essential because "they tell what is to be measured and what are the control limits the actual performance should be within" (Flapper, Fortuin, & Stoop, 1996, p. 27). Also important in the performance management is the setting of targets that should be negotiated between the employers and employees (Flapper, Fortuin, & Stoop, 1996). Macaulay and Cook (1994) urge that indicators need to be aligned with key result areas which in turn need to reflect the goals and objectives set by management.

The role of professional development is also a key component of performance management systems and is required in two areas. There is the need to provide appropriate and sufficient training to those involved in the implementation of the performance management system (Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004) so that they have the know-how and management skills to implement the reform. Secondly, training and development is required for all staff if improvement in performance depends on acquiring new competencies (Graham, 2004). If the right people do not have the right competencies or are not managed well, it would be difficult to effectively and efficiently achieve the strategic goals and objectives of the organisation (Graham, 2004).

3.1.3.3 The migration of the PMS to the education sector

When the PMS migrated from the private sector into the public sector, public schooling systems were included. Neo-liberal policies promoted the implementation of private sector practices in schools to make them more efficient and accountable for their performance (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000).

The aim of public sector reforms such as the PMS was to restructure and reculture schooling along the lines of corporate management with the intention to increase accountability and productivity of teachers' work (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000). The introduction of the performance management "variously called appraisal cycles, annual reviews, clinical supervision and formative evaluation" (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000, p. 213) was a reform initiative intended to transform the schools such that they operated like private sector organisations.

As well as changing the nature of teachers' work, performance management systems also changed the relationship between managers and staff. According to Cutler and Waine's (2001), managerialism resulted in senior teachers who were part of the senior management team to "effectively operate as line managers with the ultimate carrots and sticks of the PRP [performance-related pay] system" (p. 71).

The next section reflects on the implementation of education reforms especially performance management systems in education contexts in both western developed countries and less developed countries. For each context, the purpose for which these reforms were implemented is discussed as well as the challenges they each encountered in the implementation process.

3.2 Performance management systems in schools in different contexts

Post-industrialised countries have experienced a wide range of reforms focussing on the performance of schools (Gleeson & Husbands, 2003) which, as explained above, has been part of the new managerial approach in the public sector that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s (Hughes, 2003; Mahony & Hextall, 2000). Leading these reform initiatives are western countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. The efforts of these three countries are discussed in this section. These countries are not in any way a demonstration of the best or worst practices but were identified as some of the countries that have had a relatively long history of performance management reform initiatives and some of which have been replicated globally.

Following the overview of these three western countries' experience with performance management systems, the implementation of reforms in less developed countries is discussed. It is the aim of this section to show that some of the challenges incurred in the implementation of reforms, in particular, performance management, are similar in western and less developed countries. However, the experiences in less developed countries are distinctly different from those of western countries, mainly because of the manner in which the reforms have been brought into these countries by their more developed counterparts and other donor agencies including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

3.2.1 The United Kingdom context

Botswana was previously a British colony, and the foundation of Botswana's education system was highly influenced by the British education system. For years after independence, Botswana's education system continued to get support from Britain including technical support for performance management reforms such as the secondary schools management project discussed in chapter two. It is for this reason that this study explores performance management initiatives taken in the United Kingdom to address the quality of education.

One the initiatives that countries, including the United Kingdom (Bartlett, 2000), have implemented to improve performance in schools has been the appraisal system (Monyatsi, Steyn, & Kamper, 2006a). Southworth (1999) indicated that during the 1990s there was growing emphasis on school improvement in England, and a range of strategies were used to "encourage and pressure schools to increase levels of pupils' achievement" (p. 51). One such strategy was the implementation in 1991 of a performance appraisal of teachers (Bartlett, 2000). According to Bartlett (2000), teachers were now obliged to participate in an appraisal process regulated through the Education Act. Referring to the Statutory Instruments No 1511 (1991),

Bartlett (2000) stated that the two main aims of appraisal were to assist: "a. school teachers in their professional development and career planning; and b. those responsible for taking decisions about the management of school teachers" (p. 25). Haynes, Wragg, Wragg, and Chamberlin (2003) pointed to the appreciation of management reforms as an opportunity for teachers to once in a while meet with a more senior professional in school to discuss what they were doing well or their limitations, and identify training needs to be considered for the school development programme.

Integral to the UK appraisal system was the process of assessing staff. This was the responsibility of school heads and members of the board of governors (Bartlett, 2000; Kerry, 2005). Appraisal of classroom teachers entailed assessing their effectiveness based on objectives contained in the school development plan and the departmental and team plans (Cutler & Wain, 2000). Critical priorities during assessment included students' progress, teachers' professional development, the quality of the teachers' work, and the impact it was having on students.

The performance appraisal scheme was also linked to pay (Bartlett 1998, 2000; Wragg, Haynes, Chamberlin, & Wragg, 2003). This meant that teachers' progress would be rated on their performance against agreed targets monitored through appraisal and teachers would receive rewards on the basis of the degree to which they would have achieved their targets (Bartlett, 2000). Performance appraisal was considered "an appropriate way to bring about a better relationship between pay, responsibilities and performance" (Bartlett, 2000, p. 26).

Regarding the first aim of assisting teachers through the provision of targeted professional development, Bartlett (2000) pointed out that it was hoped that the professional development would improve standards of education. Even though one of the aims of the performance appraisal was to identify teachers' needs and provide professional development, Bartlett (2000) noted that when it was introduced, there were questions as to the extent to which the performance appraisal would contribute to professional development and the management of teachers.

One issue that Bartlett (2000) highlighted was teacher response to the dual purpose of the appraisal mechanism. Because the appraisal mechanism was both a vehicle for personal professional development and a monitoring tool, it was mistrusted by teachers. They saw potentially conflicting purposes in using an appraisal process for both professional development and as a management tool which could identify those whose performance was considered poor. In an earlier publication in which Bartlett (1998) reports the findings from interviewing 38 staff

from three schools regarding staff appraisal, he noted that some teachers believed there was little relationship between professional development activities and appraisal system and therefore felt that there was no point continuing with this process.

Another important element of the performance appraisal considered unacceptable by many was the assessment of teachers' performance. Assessment was criticised in two ways. The first criticism was against the performance measures to be used, notably the use of students' progress to measure teachers' performance (Cutler & Waine, 2001; Goldstein, 2001). The second concern related to those who would be held responsible for the assessment of others, especially members of school governing boards (Kerry, 2005).

Those who found fault in the manner in which teachers' performance would be measured questioned the use of students' progress for that purpose. According to Cutler and Waine (2001), the opposition by the teacher unions to linking pay to pupil performance was based on the argument that using students' performance alone to judge teachers' performance was unfair since this disregarded other factors which could have influenced the performance of students.

In a review of the literature about how performance plans were used in England and Wales to judge schools and teachers' performance, Goldstein (2001) was also critical of using pupils' progress to assess teachers' performance. The study reported that a legal challenge from the National Teachers Union had delayed the implementation of the appraisal system in the United Kingdom. The assessment criteria for teacher performance as observed by Goldstein (2001) were highly contentious especially in secondary schools where the progress of any one pupil in a given subject cannot be attributed only to the teacher of that subject. Goldstein was critical of the assessment documents as they made an assumption that teachers and schools alone were what influenced the achievements of their pupils disregarding other possible factors that could be at play. He cited such factors as education at any previous schools attended, mobility, and special needs. He cautioned that given this range of factors, any attempt at associating pupil progress with one single teacher would not only be divisive, but misleading.

The second concern about the appraisal process concerned the capability of the appraisers to do the appraisals. The credibility of those who were supposed to measure the performance of others was doubted (Gentle, 2001). In other words, what made them better qualified to judge the quality of other people's work besides their positions of seniority? It was argued that school heads for example may not be experts in a variety of subjects taught by their teachers, or even in any of the subjects being offered in the school. In addition, even members of the leadership team may between them lack expertise in most subjects of the curriculum (Gentle, 2001).

Concern was held particularly for members of schools' governing boards being the appraisers or assessors of teachers.

A case study carried out by Kerry (2005) at a primary school which was augmented by questionnaires and interview data from other schools looked at the school governor's responsibility for school heads performance assessment. Regarding the role of school governors in the assessment of school heads in the UK, Kerry (2005) reported that some heads complained that governors were completely out of their depth as they were not professionals in their role, and they would have preferred to have been appraised by professionals. Kerry (2005) further made mention of some concerns raised by school heads about the lack of benchmarks to guide the school governors to make their assessment. One particular school head claimed that one of his governors had her own agenda to push. The fear in this situation was that without benchmarks the respondent would certainly feel vulnerable as one would be uncertain what the appraiser was likely to push next.

Linking teachers' performance to pay was also criticised (Bartlett, 1998, 2000; Cutler & Waine, 2001; Wragg, Haynes, Chamberlin, & Wragg, 2003). When Bartlett (1998) sought the views of teachers about the appraisal, the overwhelming majority preferred an appraisal linked to professional development and were opposed to linking it with pay or promotion. Bartlett (2000) concurred with his research participants arguing that linking performance to pay was likely to result in a differentiated workforce since the rewards were not for all or even the majority. This meant that those who were not going to be rewarded were likely to feel isolated.

School heads in the UK had particular concerns about the teacher appraisal system especially linking pay to performance. A study, conducted by Wragg, Haynes, Chamberlin, and Wragg (2003) in which a random sample of 1,000 primary and secondary school heads responsible for implementing this scheme were canvassed, showed that some heads were opposed to this scheme. These school heads construed the teacher appraisal scheme to be divisive, demotivating, and impossible to be fairly implemented. This category of school heads felt that all teachers regardless of their performance should have their pay increased, and that other procedures could be found to deal with poorly performing teachers. Similarly, Brown's (2005) study showed that the majority of school heads and teachers did not think the performance-related pay was appropriate to members of the teaching profession. The main reason for their reaction was that due to "the difficulties associated with measuring teachers' performance and its potential divisiveness, teachers generally viewed PRP with a measure of caution and suspicion" (Brown, 2005, p. 477).

The second purpose of the appraisal system which was to assist "those responsible for taking decisions about the management of school teachers" (Bartlett, 2000, p. 25) also appeared not to have been adequately met. There was concern about the training provided to school managers to prepare them to lead the performance reforms in the schools in the United Kingdom. Those who were supposed to be trained believed that such training was inadequate. A study by Southworth (1999) exploring the views of 40 primary school heads in the United Kingdom involved in three change projects showed that school heads were critical of the strategies used to implement the reforms because there had not been sufficient preparation. They described them as hurried and ill-thought out leaving the inadequately prepared school heads to struggle to make the reforms work. Further study by Wragg, Haynes, Chamberlin, and Wragg (2003) also showed that a majority of heads strongly condemned the performance management training programme offered to them by private companies as irrelevant to their profession. To emphasise dissatisfaction, some of them described the training as the worst they had ever attended in their professional career. Heads reported of trainers' ill preparedness with some openly confessing that they knew little about the training they were supposed to provide specifically to those in school management.

Performance-related pay, although mainly criticised, also had those who favoured it. A minority of school heads in the Wragg, Haynes, Chamberlin, and Wragg (2003) study believed that performance-related pay provided them with the opportunity to reward their good teachers. Some reported that performance-related pay motivated teachers to improve and reflect on their practice. Even though school heads and teachers in Brown's (2005) study did not approve of the performance-related pay, when they were "asked if high performing teachers deserved to be paid more than their less well performing colleagues, a majority said yes" (p. 477). This, according to Brown (2005), seemed to suggest that if a performance-related pay could be fairly implemented, it could be a welcome development. For some, an expected strength of performance-related pay was that it would overcome the problem of basing pay on time that people served in the teaching profession regardless of performance (Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004). In a review of the research in England regarding performance-related pay, Tomlinson (2000) concluded that although some teachers believed that performance-related pay was "antipathetic to their profession" (p. 297), he argued that the new salary model was highly appropriate being aligned to the practices in the private sector, consistent with models used in the teaching profession in the United States, and consistent with research that shows that pay can be effectively linked to performance.

Although the appraisal system in the United Kingdom was found to be lacking in some ways, it also had some strengths. The idea of agreed targets between teachers and school managers,

notwithstanding its limitations, for example, had good intentions (Bartlett, 2000). For instance, it intended to ensure that teachers would focus on achieving the agreed agenda of raising standards. Furthermore, since measurement was key to target setting, teachers were able to mould themselves guided by the agreed model of measuring their performance which became "influential in reaching, and remaining above the performance threshold" (Bartlett, 2000, p. 35). However, these strengths in comparison to the weaknesses were found to be limited. (Bartlett, 2000; Wragg, Haynes, Chamberlin, & Wragg, 2003).

3.2.2 The Australian context

There are two major reasons for exploring performance management related reforms in the Australian education system. First, the study is taking place at James Cook University in Australia and second, one of the versions of the performance management system introduced in schools in Botswana is of Australian origin.

Australia, like other western countries, has been involved in the implementation of performance reforms in the public sector including schools for some years (Conley, Muncey, & Gould, 2002; Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000; Ingvarson & Chadbourne, 1997; O'Brien & Down, 2002). Here I explore two performance management reforms, one introduced by the Western Australian Education Department in 1996 (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000; O'Brien & Down, 2002), and another, called the Advanced Skills Teacher (AST) also introduced in the 1990s (Conley, Muncey, & Gould, 2002; Ingvarson & Chadbourne, 1997).

In 1996, the Education department of Western Australia set in motion a process that was meant to manage the performance of teachers. Down, Chadbourne, and Hogan (2000) explain that in this performance management system, "teachers are assigned to a superordinate manager and undergo an annual cycle of self-reflection, planning, implementation, ongoing quality and timely feedback and review" (p. 213). The performance management scheme was an attempt to link the schools' and individual teachers' objectives to the department's goals. It was compulsory and the appraisal review of teachers was to demonstrate accountability (Down, Hogan, & Chadbourne, 1999). Typical of performance reforms in other countries, the reform in Western Australia was intended to manage teachers' performance by providing professional development as well as feedback from an assessment of their work (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000).

Down, Chadbourne, and Hogan (2000) sought teachers' perceptions of the performance management system which they summarised as four major concerns. The first was that teachers

saw the potential of the performance management to improve the teaching profession but were concerned about the manner in which it was being implemented. Secondly, they were suspicious of this reform's motives, which they feared could easily be used to disempower and control teachers. The third concern was that performance management would "promote the collection and showcasing of evidence rather than rewarding genuinely good teaching" (p. 215). The final concern that performance management did not reflect authentic ways teachers could learn and improve.

In another study (Down, Hogan, & Chadbourne, 1999) in which the teachers had been performance managed, more concerns emerged. Most teachers saw the performance management as a de facto appraisal system that had judged them falsely or inadequately, and as a result, they said what their supervisors wanted to hear just to satisfy them. They lacked trust in the performance management processes as they did not feel there was any effort to build "a spirit of trust, collegiality and respect" (p. 20).

However, twelve months later, further interviews by with the same group of teachers to find out whether or not these concerns were still the same, the situation had changed (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000). For instance, most of the participants in the study indicated that they found the performance management less onerous in practice than they had previously anticipated. Evidence from the study showed that they no longer had any fears and suspicions about the reform due to their active participation in the performance management training. Other teachers made reference to instances where they used "the performance management system to support their case for access to resources or professional development that might otherwise have been withheld, or provided only at the whim of administrators" (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000, p. 217). Other accounts revealed that teachers had realised that the implementation of the performance management was so ineffectual in their schools that they had no reason to fear. In other words, their experience of the reform was that it was not taking place, or it was taking place superficially, and had no effect at all. The teachers gave time and the pressure of other frequent change initiatives taking place in the schools as justification for why not much had been done about the performance management.

The conclusion by Down, Chadbourne, and Hogan (2000) was that the performance management system on the whole was not working. They noted that teachers were not opposed to the idea of accountability and the need for improvement in the quality of their work. What they wanted was feedback and support from their professional community and that such feedback should not be from the newly introduced managerial approach of teacher review and development. According to Down, Hogan, and Chadbourne (1999), the common view by

teachers was that with the performance management "schools were becoming more competitive, divisive and stressful workplaces" (p. 22) which they attributed to efforts to control and manipulate their work.

Another performance management system that was implemented in Australia in the 1990s was the advanced skills teacher (AST) scheme. This was a federal scheme to be implemented by all state governments (Conley, Muncey, & Gould, 2002; Ingvarson & Chadbourne, 1997). It was a knowledge and skill based system which was supposed to impact positively on instructional capacity, which in turn would impact on student achievement in different ways (Milanowski, 2003). According to Ingvarson and Chadbourne (1997), the AST was aimed at providing an alternative path for teachers who wished to stay mainly in the teaching role, a career path that was comparable in status to that enjoyed by administrators. The aim of the AST scheme was to recompense teachers for demonstrating higher professional knowledge and skill in the classroom (Conley, Gould, Muncey, & White, 2001; Conley, Muncey, & Gould, 2002). What this meant therefore was that the aim of the AST was to reward teachers who demonstrated improvements in the quality of their work of classroom instruction and to provide them leadership opportunities in curriculum and staff development. Furthermore, Ingvarson and Chadbourne (1997) stated that by offering them such opportunities, the department hoped it "would keep good teachers in the classroom, provide all teachers with an incentive to continue their professional development, and attract higher-calibre recruits to the profession" (p. 8). It was assumed that by denying higher pay to teachers with poor skills, lower capacity teachers would either try to improve or leave the profession (Milanowski, 2003).

Ingvarson and Chadbourne (1997) argued that while the AST reform had good intentions, a range of factors to do with the design of the AST and its implementation impeded its progress. These included the failure by Australia to develop "validated selection criteria and evaluation processes" (Ingvarson & Chadbourne, 1997, p. 18) before implementing the career development concept. As noted by Ingvarson, Kleinhenz, and Wilkinson (2008), one of the main reasons for its weakness "was that the time and effort required to develop credible standards and methods of assessing teacher performance were considerably underestimated" (p. 24). They further indicated that the school-based panels responsible for the assessment of performance were untrained, and that the resulting inconsistency in assessments undermined the credibility of the AST process which was intended to identify highly accomplished teachers.

Ingvarson and Chadbourne (1997) also indicated that the AST was introduced in an unchanged school management structure. Only a few realised that this concept required the need to rethink the relationship that had to exist between career structures and management structures. In other

words, "the AST was imposed on an unchanged set of assumptions about how things got done in schools" (Ingvarson & Chadbourne, 1997, p. 19). Also considered to be a mistake was the introduction of three AST levels which were bunched at the top of the incremental scale.

Finally, Ingvarson, Kleinhenz, and Wilkinson (2008) argued that an unintended consequence of some AST schemes was their negative effect on the quality of teaching that they had intended to foster and reward. For instance, some schemes removed better teachers from the classroom since AST positions were tied to other duties. In other words, a supposedly pay-for-performance scheme became a traditional pay-for-extra-work scheme. This point had earlier been noted by Ingvarson, Chadbourne, and Culton (1994) who indicated that by paying for the job, instead of paying for superior expertise, the AST reform had missed "an opportunity to increase incentives for teachers to undertake professional development focussed on teaching skills, broadly defined" (p. 15).

Despite the limitations discussed, Ingvarson and Chadbourne (1997) noted that the AST scheme had left behind a positive legacy. It revealed that teachers' work was complex work and what mattered to the quality of education included, "teacher self-respect, commitment and professional development" (p. 27). It showed that the pay system was something that could have significant long term effects on things that mattered regarding the quality of education. While the original AST concept had been universally embraced as being in the right direction, the experience had revealed the need for the teaching profession "to work on more rigorous forms of standards and evaluation that better reflect the complexity of high quality teaching" (Ingvarson & Chadbourne, 1997, p. 28).

3.2.3 The New Zealand context

The government of Botswana considered the public service in New Zealand to be "a model public service which has influenced many countries to start the process in their respective governments to improve service delivery to their nations" (Republic of Botswana, 2002a, p. 10). It is for this reason that the performance management initiatives in New Zealand are the subject of discussion in this section.

New Zealand, like some other Western countries, has been a leading proponent of the implementation of performance management reforms. Almost every aspect of the public service has "been redesigned, reorganised, or reconfigured in some way" (Boston & Pallot, 1997, p. 382) to improve managerial performance. New performance management practices drawn from

business and the marketplace were a common feature of a wave of reforms that were introduced to the public sector in New Zealand in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Norman, 2004).

Key to the reorganisation and reformation of New Zealand education was the policy directions set out in the report *Tomorrow's schools: The reform of education administration in New Zealand* (Government of New Zealand, 1988) which was followed by the Education Act (Government of New Zealand, 1989). In schools, performance management comprising both staff appraisal and staff development became mandatory and was supported by nation-wide professional development programmes (Cardno, 1999, 2005).

Significant in these reforms was an appraisal system which called for schools to be accountable to the community and government for their performance (Piggot-Irvine, 2000; Robinson & Timperley, 2000). A board of trustees was established to govern each school which included oversight of all employees. Piggot-Irvine (2000, 2003b) who had been contracted to facilitate training to prepare staff for the implementation of the appraisal system noted that the boards had an obligation to advance staff performance as well as the effective use of resources. They also had to approve and provide support for professional development programmes aimed at improving staff capabilities and enhance students' educational opportunities. The role of the principal, as chief executive officer, was responsibility for the implementation of policy and the day-to-day management of the school (Piggot-Irvine, 2000).

The processes and mechanisms by which accountability would be achieved were the attestation process in the secondary schools, and the professional standards in the primary schools. According to Piggot-Irvine (2000), the aim of the attestation process in the secondary sector was to determine pay progression based on the teachers' performance against set criteria. In the primary sector, the prescriptive professional standards were used to measure teacher performance and to link the appraisal process to reward. Professional standards were also introduced in the secondary sector. It was the responsibility of the principal or board chair to sign off that teachers had completed the appraisal process.

The implementation of the appraisal system had its own challenges with school managers in both primary and secondary schools expressing concern about the gap between the theory and the practice. A study conducted by Piggot-Irvine (2000) over a period of four years sought the views of school managers regarding the impact of the tightening of control following the implementation of the appraisal. The participants in this study maintained that while the performance appraisal was in the policy and planned for, in practice, it did not happen (Piggot-Irvine, 2000). Professional development, for example, did not play a significant part. There was

also concern about the use of information and results derived from the appraisal process especially when negative issues had to be dealt with (Piggot-Irvine, 2003a, 2003b).

An empirical study (Gratton, 2004) in a large urban secondary school sought to ascertain how teachers' perceptions of the purpose of the appraisal system impacted its implementation. Based on the findings of the study, Gratton (2004) concluded that if teachers' perceptions about the purpose of the appraisal system were unclear, then "the consequences may be found in how teachers went about implementing it" (p. 295). The study revealed that teachers had no consistent sense of the purpose for which the Ministry of Education had implemented the appraisal system. The professional development component, for example, was not generally regarded as important with only one teacher thinking that the main purpose was professional development. Piggot-Irvine (2000) had also expressed concern in her study about "the marginalisation of the developmental component of appraisal" (p. 346).

Gratton (2004) noted teachers' low level of commitment to the appraisal system with some believing that they did not require it and considered it a waste of their time. To them it was not important and was just a box-ticking exercise. From this study it is clear that teachers did not have a very positive view about the appraisal system, and based on their accounts, Gratton (2004) concluded that the appraisal system at the school appeared ineffective.

While the appraisal system appeared to experience some problems, not all teachers and managers viewed it negatively. Piggot-Irvine (2000, 2003a, 2003b) argued that there was no clear evidence that the concern that increased accountability in appraisal would lead to negative impacts could be strongly supported. She argued that while there may have been some areas of inconsistent adoption, there was evidence that the tightening of accountability had considerable impact on most aspects of appraisal. She cited in particular, that it had provided clarity and enhanced implementation.

3.2.4 Implementing school reform in less developed countries

In the last three decades, governments across the globe, including those of less developed countries, have received a wide range of criticism with critics citing factors such as inefficiency and ineffectiveness as causes for concern. Governments have been criticised for being too large, too costly, and for being excessively bureaucratic with unnecessary rules. The tendency not to respond to public wants and needs and the failure to provide neither quality nor quantity of services to the taxpayer have been identified as weaknesses (Jones & Kettl, 2003). Governments in less developed countries have felt pressurised to engage in reforms to improve

their level of performance. Tillema, Mimba, and Van Helden (2010) maintain that many performance reforms in less developed countries have been mainly a result of pressure by international donor agencies notably, the World Bank, that require to help these countries improve the performance of the public service and their economies.

In recent years the public sector in less developed countries has moved away from the traditional and bureaucratic model of public administration to incorporate public management reforms initiated in the developed countries of the West. To speed up public sector reform, they have been compelled to embrace the innovations formulated by industrialised countries (Schick, 1998, p. 123) or by multilateral organisations such as the World Bank and the European Commission (Jones & Kettl, 2003; Tabulawa, 2003).

Unlike many reforms in less developed countries, the PMS in Botswana was a fully government funded reform not imposed on the country by any donor country or international organisation. However, the reform itself was imported from western countries and it was mainly influenced by the PMS as implemented in the public service in New Zealand and in the United States of America. The government assumed that since the PMS had been widely used and tested by many successful and global leading organisations and governments elsewhere it was a suitable reform for Botswana (Republic of Botswana, 2002a).

The question remains as to whether such reforms which have proved suitable in developed countries can be applicable to less developed countries (Hughes, 2003). In other words, can it be assumed that a style of management that emerged in the developed countries can work in the settings of less developed countries? With respect to education, while some attempt has been made to monitor and evaluate donor programmes to meet the needs of both the donor and of the recipient, the education policy statement of international donors is more often than not relatively economic and not contextualised (Riddell, 1999).

The impact of context on change initiatives implemented in less developed countries is the focus of this section. There is a substantial body of literature about reforms that have been introduced in less developed countries either by donor countries or international organisations such as the World Bank. A common theme in the literature concerns the difficulties with transplanting reforms from donor countries to less developed countries.

In this section a selection of education reforms, including performance management, are discussed. Two cases of education reforms imported into Central and South American contexts are reviewed before focussing on African contexts.

A donor example of a reform that demonstrates many of the weaknesses of imported reforms is the USAID funded Nueva Escuela Unitaria (NEU) educational initiative in Central America that was undertaken by the Ministry of Education in Guatemala in 1992 (Mantilla , 2001). The aim of this reform was to improve performance in teaching and learning. One of the expectations at its inception was that teachers would develop positive attitudes towards new ways of teaching. A new teaching approach that the Ministry wanted teachers to implement was an approach in which they would become more facilitators of the learning process guiding students and relying less on the transmission approach to teaching. Teachers did not receive the reform favourably.

On the contrary, Mantilla (2001) reported that most teachers were disgruntled by this reform, describing it as another donor funded government reform imposed on them without much knowledge of how to use the material provided to them. Teachers also resisted the reform because they were distrustful of ideas they considered as coming from the top. Government officials, in turn, blamed the teachers doubting their capacity to work responsibly and pointing to the teachers' irresponsibility instead of their good will to commit themselves to work with limited resources.

Other challenges that were encountered in this case included difficulties in communicating with teachers. This was due to lack of services such as telephones and poor roads to access most of the schools. This meant that teachers could not attend some of the activities to do with the reform away from school.

Although there were challenges regarding donor funded reforms, Mantilla (2001) highlighted some benefits. One such benefit was the opportunity given to teachers to meet and share responsibilities and commitments that were involved in educational reform efforts. A forum was also created for teachers to meet and share their experiences, needs, and ideas with authorities. Later, this platform would give the authorities the opportunity to participate in activities aimed at bringing changes in the schools.

An attempt to introduce an imported education reform into Brazil also met difficulties that were often related to context. In Brazil, the Ministry of Education was committed to developing a policy document which had to refer to a range of concepts developed elsewhere and intended to improve the quality of teacher education (Marcondes, 1999). The document did not fit well in the Brazilian context due to the many concepts it contained that had been transplanted from North America, Canada, and the UK. What made some of these concepts even more complex

for teachers to comprehend was that they had been translated into Portuguese and published in Portugal and thus lacked adaption to the Brazilian context.

Further challenges in implementing this reform, as indicated by Marcondes (1999), included the lower levels of education amongst teachers mainly found in rural areas. A high percentage of them had not graduated and in some cases had not even finished elementary education. So these teachers who were supposed to participate in this donor project had limited schooling. Another problem was that many of these teachers taught in rural areas, most of the time at schools where there was a shortage of classrooms, and they were therefore compelled to teach several different levels at the same time in the same classroom.

It was also reported by Marcondes (1999) that in some cases, government officials involved in these donor funded reforms had the tendency to ignore the kind of potential knowledge and expertise that some of the teachers had developed through their experiences as teachers. The local teachers were therefore seen in these reforms as a passive audience instead of producers of knowledge.

The next five cases concern the importation of overseas designed reforms into the African countries of West Africa Guinea, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, and Botswana. Their difficulties are similar to those experienced in Guatemala and Brazil. Also common was the recognition that some benefits do flow to the recipient country even when the reforms cannot be considered a success.

The lack of success of an education reform programme (Anderson-Levitt & Alimasi, 2001) in West Africa Guinea may be attributed in great measure to the mismatch between the contextual conditions and the programme itself. The government was wishing to make extensive changes to its educational system and one way of achieving this was to fund a language reading programme to promote ideals of good pedagogy which advocated, among other things, student-centred instruction. Typical of most major reforms in less developed countries, this had to be done with the participation of many international donors, and in this case it was not just one multinational donor organisation but several. These included the World Bank, USAID, the French Ministry of Cooperation, and other international agencies such as non-governmental organisations including *Save the Children* and the French-based *Aide et Action* which were subcontracted to do the projects on behalf of the donors. Some Guinean officials observed the dilemma that the recipient nation finds itself in when reforms are funded by donor countries and agencies. Donors are willing to fund projects providing they match their own ideologies,

interests, and needs. The recipient country is compelled to accept projects defined by the donors since they fear that they will not get the funds if they did not comply.

Anderson-Levitt and Alimasi (2001) identified a number of problems with the West Africa Guinea project. One major problem centred around the conflicting interpretations of what constituted good teaching practice amongst the North American and French donors. Furthermore, the donors' conceptions of good teaching did not agree with those of the local teachers. The disconnection was further accentuated by the French-written textbooks lacking cultural relevance. One critique noted that the texts were too urban oriented and therefore relevant only to an elite.

In spite of the limitations, Anderson-Levitt and Alimasi (2001) also indicated that there were some strengths linked to the reform. One such strength was the collaboration that took place between foreign technical advisors and Guineans about the project. Although the reform was foreign donor funded, the project was officially run by the government of Guinea. Another strength arising from the reform was that Guineans could seize this as an opportunity to maximise donor aid to their advantage in the development of education.

After the end of the apartheid era in 1994, South Africa was compelled to undertake a range of reforms in education. One of the reform initiatives was to provide teacher in-service training, modelled after in-service provision in western countries, to help teachers cope with changes in the schooling environment. Under the previous apartheid government, separate educational systems had operated for white, Indian, coloured, and black children; this was no longer to be the case. According to Johnson, Monk, and Hodges (2000), the in-service training, aimed at changing what the teacher thought was appropriate pedagogic action, was unsuccessful. They argued that in an effort to help teachers to behave in a different way, not much time was spent on the fundamental question, "Why do teachers behave the way they do?" (p. 180). In their view the focus was on the question, "How can I make them behave otherwise?" (p. 180). According to Johnson, Hodges, and Monk (2000), this showed that efforts to adopt northern/western ideas to change teacher practice did not take into account the existing cultural context.

Johnson, Hodges, and Monk (2000) also noted that northern/western ideas about in-service failed to take into account constraints to teachers' pedagogical practices stemming from very limited resources such as equipment and consumables needed to teach certain subjects. They argued that new practices such as those promoted in the in-service reform in South Africa, would only survive if there existed a fit with the teachers' working environment.

While Johnson, Hodges, and Monk (2000) expressed concern about borrowed western ideas in education, they also recognised that teachers in less developed countries can learn from the experiences of their more developed counterparts in Europe or North America. For instance, they gave as an example the difficulty one would encounter in trying to "re-conceptualise, or talk into existence, a chalkboard that does not exist" (p. 184). They further stated that the mechanism by which teachers in less developed systems change their practice could not "be primarily through conversation and re-conceptualisation" (p. 184). They argued that in considering mechanisms by which teachers could change their practice, perspectives developed within the context of western educational systems could be models for teacher development and change. Unlike the two reforms just discussed that involved teacher professional development aimed at improving pedagogy, the next two cases concern the implementation of performance management reforms.

Tanzania implemented performance management reforms with funding from the World Bank (Harrison, 2005). The Tanzanian performance management system had much in common with that implemented in Botswana. As indicated by Ronsholt and Andrews (2005), the government took the initiative to embark "upon an ambitious package of reforms aimed at bringing about performance based management in the public service" (p. 332). Harrison (2005) indicated that one of the aims of the World Bank's funded reforms in Tanzania was to increase efficiency in the administration and the public service.

According to Ronsholt and Andrews (2005), this reform involved the establishment of PMS elements such as "individual assessments, agreements, and open performance review and appraisal systems" (p. 316). Further noted by Ronsholt and Andrews (2005) was the aim of the reform which, among other things, was to create accountability and some incentives based on performance.

Ronsholt and Andrews (2005) showed that, just like the PMS in my study, there were challenges. They described progress in implementing the PMS in Tanzania as relatively slow due to such factors as "poor attention to political and organisational weaknesses in government" (Ronsholt & Andrews, 2005, p. 332). Some of the challenges experienced in the public service included limited implementation, resource constraints, problems of measures of performance, as well as some performance indicators which were unrealistic and difficult to quantify and monitor.

Another country that has made efforts to implement performance reforms is Kenya. Included in the literature is empirical research about the implementation of reforms intended to address the quality of education in schools in this country (Ngware, Wamukuru, & Odebero, 2006; Odhiambo, 2005, 2008; Wanzare & Ward, 2000). Kenya, like many other less developed countries, was concerned with the quality of education evidenced in problems such as low student achievement. Against this backdrop, some reforms were introduced to address the situation and one such reform was the teacher appraisal scheme (Odhiambo, 2005, 2008).

Prior to this appraisal scheme, appraisal in secondary schools for many years had been mainly through inspection of schools and teachers. This new scheme gave head teachers and heads of academic departments a major role to play in the appraisal of their teachers (Odhiambo, 2005). The evaluation of teachers' performance depended heavily on classroom observation (Odhiambo, 2005). Supervisors also checked schemes of work, lesson notes, records of work done, and pupils' exercise books (Musungu & Nasongo, 2008; Wanzare, 2002). The expectation was that supervisors would visit classrooms for lesson observation and collect data that would help them identify enhanced teaching practices as well as assess the effectiveness of teaching strategies and techniques (Wanzare, 2002). In addition, students' national examination results were also highly considered as a measure for teacher appraisal (Odhiambo, 2005).

The outcomes of the appraisal were supposed to be used to reward teachers with promotions or punishment depending on the extent of performance (Odhiambo, 2005). School reform initiatives with links to teacher pay and performance were seen as having the potential to benefit the Kenyan school system considerably (Kremer, 2003).

School heads were considered key personnel in the successful implementation of educational reforms aimed at improving teaching and learning in schools. Onguko, Abdalla, and Webber (2008) indicated that school heads were the focus of attention whenever a school was perceived to be either performing well or poorly.

The appraisal scheme in Kenya as indicated by Odhiambo (2005) revealed a pattern of apprehensiveness amongst teachers in their reaction to performance management. One of the teachers' major concerns was that the appraisal would result in poor relationships between themselves and school heads who were their appraisers. Teachers also raised concern about the school heads' ability not to be subjective and biased during appraisal. Furthermore, Odhiambo (2005) reported that both teachers and educational administrators were of the view that a lot of money that was used for the appraisal system could have been better utilised to purchase such essential school needs as equipment and books, which were lacking in secondary schools in

Kenya. In addition, Odhiambo (2005) noted that while the Ministry of Education stated that teacher appraisal arose from the growing concern for public accountability, teachers did not show a great deal of "support for appraisal-based accountability procedures" (p. 413).

Finally, we turn to Botswana, a country that has had experience in importing reforms other than the PMS. Tabulawa (2003), for example, refers to imported teacher professional development programmes and explores the mismatch between the current reforms designed to change teacher practice that emphasise "a learner-centred pedagogy as the official pedagogy in schools" (p. 9) and the Botswana classroom context. He explains that this "official pedagogy" has been partly prescribed by donor agencies through educational projects and consultancies that they have funded. Examples of projects in which this pedagogy has been emphasised have been educational projects funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) such as the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) and the Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project (JSEIP). Tabulawa argues that although the aim of the learner-centred pedagogy was to improve learning outcomes, there is no evidence to suggest that this aim was achieved. He maintained that instead of implementing reforms that give the impression that there is a universal and homogeneous pedagogy, donors should be more culturally sensitive and give attention to culturally responsive pedagogies. He cautioned that the donors, "by treating the learner-centred pedagogy as a 'one-size-fits all' approach to teaching and learning" (Tabulawa, 2003, p. 22), were in a way marginalising indigenous knowledge systems. In his view, these knowledge systems have the potential to enrich students' educational experiences.

Despite these limitations, the imported reforms can bring benefits especially if the donors and the host country are prepared to acknowledge and work together to account for different contexts. Tabulawa (2003), for example, argued that even though western knowledge and indigenous knowledge systems may be thought to be different, ways could be found in which they could complement each other. He further alluded to specific accomplishments of the USAID initiative PEIP, which included the establishment of a fully functional Department of Primary Education at the University of Botswana, and a Master of Education Degree programme in primary education.

It has been argued that globalisation tends to force countries to be more concerned about the promotion of economic growth of their national economies instead of focussing on the protection of the national identity or national projects (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002). That is the reality of the situation especially as it affects less developed countries. These countries are forced to comply with global reform initiatives to ensure that their own national economies may prosper.

With reference to education, a challenge that globalisation poses for governments is explained by Stromquist (2002) who notes that measures used to determine the quality of schools are now in line 'with the economic and cultural policies of globalisation' (p. 16). It would not be an overstatement to argue that it is mainly the less developed countries which suffer the most as they are from time to time compelled to comply with the conditions of the donor countries and multinational organisations, including the adoption of reforms such as the performance management system regardless of whether or not they fit their contexts.

Not only are reforms transplanted into the less developed countries, but those that lead the reform process are the developed countries and multilateral organisations, mainly of western origin. These reforms have come mainly as foreign aid with strings attached regarding the whole process of the implementation process, with very little input from the receiving countries. Clearly evident is the donors' preconceived and predetermined conclusion that what may have worked in the developed countries would work in less developed countries. In practice, these reforms have not been so successful mainly because they do not fit the context in which they are supposed to be implemented. One key lesson in view of this situation as noted by Cross, Mungadi, and Rouhani (2002) is the significance of exercising realism and pragmatism by ensuring that school reforms take into consideration what they can realistically do and achieve given the circumstances in which they function.

Despite the difficulties, it is important to note that imported reforms from developed countries also have some strengths of which less developed countries can take advantage to improve or develop their own education systems. These include the opportunity for those in less developed countries to share ideas with and learn from the experience of their more developed counterparts in the field of education. In many cases reforms by different foreign donors do come because the receiving countries and their people are in need of such assistance.

3.3 The performance management system in the school context

This section extracts the learnings from the literature concerning the implementation of reforms, mainly performance management reforms, in a range of school contexts in both western and less developed countries. Reforms involve change processes and the challenges and effects of reforms in the school setting can be usefully understood in terms of the impact they have on the organisational structure and culture of the organisation.

When the PMS comes into an organisation, change occurs to the work environment. Greenan (2003) argued that "any change in the distribution of power, skills, information or in the lines of communication…constitutes an organisational change" (p. 292). Organisational change has been defined by Jones (2007) as "the process by which organisations redesign their structures and cultures to move from their present state to some desired future state to increase their effectiveness" (p. 9). So when change occurs in an established context, it affects the existing structures and cultures of organisations, including schools.

Organisational structure is a way of defining how job tasks are formally divided, grouped, and coordinated (Robbins, Judge, Millet, & Waters-Marsh, 2008). McShane and Travaglione (2007) argue that organisations are, in fact, groups of people who work interdependently to achieve a common goal. In doing so, organisational structures include coordinating mechanisms that are aimed at ensuring that everyone is effectively working towards the accomplishment of the same goal. Gibson, Ivancevich, Donnelly, and Konopaske (2003) explain that organisations have structures that distinguish them from one another. Matheson (1996) delineates three dimensions of organisational structure. The first dimension is the degree to which structure is codified in rules, which also could be referred to as the degree of bureaucratisation. Bureaucratisation could be in respect of the structure of control, recruitment, promotion procedures, the system of appeal, and the standard conditions of employment. The second dimension is the degree of specialisation within the organisational structure. The third dimension of organisational structure which has strong relevance to this study, is the hierarchy.

Hierarchy refers to the chain of command at the core of the organisation. Hierarchy in an organisation is the means by which the decision makers at the top level of the organisation ensure that their decisions are implemented at the different levels of the hierarchical structure. This also means that those at a given level of the organisation have a responsibility to be seen to be obeying the instructions coming from the superior levels above them. A hierarchical structure may help the organisation function in different ways including permitting the delegation of duty in the workplace (Matheson, 1996). According to Grossi, Royakkers, and Dignum (2007), delegation of tasks is one of the significant aspects of organisations. They maintain that delegation is concerned with the distribution of tasks within an organisation, and that for organisations to realise their objectives, delegated duties should be done according to specific plans.

The culture of an organisation can be defined "as the set of shared meanings, shared beliefs, and shared assumptions of the members of the organization" (Van Houtte, 2005, p. 77) which "drive the behaviour" (Van Houtte, 2005, p. 77) of the organisation. Similarly, Morgan (1997)

explains that "shared values, shared beliefs, shared meaning, shared understanding, and shared sense of making are all different ways of describing culture" (p. 138). Flores' (2004) definition of culture specific to the school context is about "meanings, values and attitudes of those working in a given context, as well as the ways in which those are conveyed and understood within a community of teachers" (p.299). The nature of working relationships at school, including collaboration or lack of it, school regulations, formal meetings and teachers' perceptions about the support or lack of support may constitute the school culture.

Drawing on the work of Ott (1989), Van Houtte (2005) notes four functions of organisational culture. The first function is that organisational culture provides its members with shared interpretations, in terms of knowing how they are expected to think and act. Second, organisational culture should equip its members "with shared patterns of commitment to norms and values, so they know what they are expected to value and to feel" (p. 79). Third, organisational culture draws boundaries to enable members and non-members to identify themselves. Fourth, organisational culture may function as a control system that informs people what they can do and cannot do. The ease with which a reform such as a performance management system embeds itself in an organisation depends on how well it aligns with the culture of that organisation.

So the introduction of the PMS in schools in Botswana was to produce a new culture that informed employees what they could or could not do in their day-to-day work experience. McShane and Travaglione (2003) note that when organisational change such as performance management occurs, what is required is the "unfreezing of the existing culture by removing artefacts that represent that culture and refreeze the new culture by introducing artefacts that communicate and reinforce the new values" (p. 547). As further indicated by Maurer and Githens (2009), the unfreezing-refreezing idea implies that change moves "from an existing state to a more desired state... this can be accomplished by reducing the opposing forces or adding forces that facilitate a movement in the desired state" (p. 270). The theory behind this idea is that once the desired state has been realised, necessary steps are taken to re-freeze the new state and new behaviour. Such re-freezing is deemed necessary since individuals and groups could regress to states or cultures that were previously undesired such as moving from a high performance state to low performance state.

The unfreezing-refreezing idea as noted by Connolly, Connolly, and James (2000) has been criticised, and one main reason for the criticism is that this model gives the impression that organisational change is a simple and straight forward linear process that moves the

organisation from one static position to another. A study carried out by these scholars (Connolly, Connolly, & James, 2000) regarding the change processes in 32 schools in South Wales that had made some significant changes aimed at improving pupil achievement, provided evidence of the inherent weakness in the unfreezing-refreezing model. The study showed that the organisations that were studied had "moved from being ineffective and not improving to being effective and improving, that is changing" (p. 69). These findings are suggestive of a much more complex and dynamic process than the process implied by the unfreezing-refreezing model.

The study points to some factors that reveal the complex nature of organisational change. These include the different triggers for change, such as the need for change as precipitated by both external and internal pressure. The external agents for change include school inspection reports and reviews by the local education authority, while internal pressure originates from within the school itself. While the leadership has a major role to drive the process, there are other players such as members of staff and parents who also play an important role in the change process. The findings by Connolly, Connolly and James (2000) show that organisational change is a collective responsibility of different stakeholders who affect the direction in which it should take. In summary, the leaders' views and the varied triggers for change identified in the study are indicative of a complex and dynamic process. Connolly, Connolly, and James (2000) call this journey of change as "process-oriented" (p. 65).

Based on the findings of a study carried out in Sri Lanka about teacher development, Hayes (2000) points out that the introduction of change into any system including education has its own potential difficulty. He argues that any innovation is often considered a threat to stakeholders in the system since it disturbs the status quo which can "have unforeseen and possibly damaging consequences" (p. 136).

Reform can impact on the organisational structure and culture of a school and indirectly on the motivation and morale of staff. The difficulties encountered in schools in the implementation of reforms, especially reforms to do with performance, that are identified below are often related to the existing school structure or culture not accommodating the reform or not being able to adjust to accommodate the reform.

3.3.1 Learnings to do with the implementation process

A review of the literature on the implementation of organisational change and in particular performance management systems in education results in four significant learnings about the

implementation process and its impact that are relevant to understanding the challenges experienced by the participants in this study. The first is that the PMS implementation can create new tensions between school managers and their staff (Ball, 1993). The second is that insufficient professional development impedes the implementation process (Bartlett, 1998). The third learning is that the PMS processes require time and resources for effective implementation (Desimone, 2002). The fourth and final learning is that the PMS process requires the teachers' confidence for it to be accepted (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000). Each is discussed in more detail below.

3.3.1.1 The PMS creates new tensions between school managers and staff

There is evidence of a growing gap in terms of values, priorities, and relationship between teachers and the teacher management or administration following the implementation of performance management reforms. The causes for this gap appear to lie mainly with a redefinition of the role of school managers.

Drawing on published studies from the school and college sectors in England and Wales over the ten years prior to 2000, Simkins (2000) explored "the organisational and management consequences of the changing environment facing public sector education" (p. 217). Simkins' review showed that one of the consequences of performance management reforms was the rise of managerialism in education which reframed the roles of senior managers. Senior managers were now being required to focus on the broad policy of the institution. This, according to Simkins, meant that senior management had to adopt corporatist' views "whose prime concern is with the school as a whole and its relationship with its external environment" (2000, p. 323). The new managerialist role of the school managers' main focus was no longer the curriculum, thus causing a clash with the teachers whose main concern was with the needs of the students. According to Simkins (2000), the result was an increased division of values and purpose between management and teachers which increased tension between the two.

The tension appears to be further exacerbated by the changing supervisory role of school managers with respect to their staff. Performance management reforms have increased the school-based decision-making of school managers. These decision-making processes include school managers having the power to judge their teachers' performance (Ball, 1993; Bartlett, 1998; Bowles & Coates, 1993; O'Brien & Down, 2002).

The effect of performance management distancing management from the rest of the staff is not unique to schools. A study by Bowles and Coates (1993) which surveyed 250 companies in the UK with performance appraisal for their employees also identified tension between managers

and their staff. Based on their findings, they cautioned against performance appraisal for its tendency to have managers judge their employees, which, in their view, reinforced authority relations which defined dependency. Bowles and Coates (1993) argued that performance reviews that were used by managers to pass judgement on people promoted "acrimony and antipathy" (p. 8) between them and their employees which could lower motivation and commitment to work.

In the education sector, a study conducted by O'Brien and Down (2002) in Western Australia sought the perceptions of six senior teachers in one secondary school about their experience regarding some generic managerial reforms that had been implemented in the school, including performance management. Tension between school managers, in particular the principal, and staff was evident in their concerns including "how corporate values and top-down management strategies were reinforced through school-based decision-making process dominated by the principal" (p. 120). The dominance of the principal in decision-making processes at the school level bothered them because "this effectively silenced any alternative to predetermined systematic goals, processes and outcomes" (p. 120). In the teachers' view, the manner in which the principal exercised authority over their time was unreasonable. As examples, they cited meetings during recess and lunchtime which they were compelled to attend.

In another education study involving observation, examination of school documents, and informal and formal interviews, Bartlett (1998) explored the views and experiences of 38 staff from three comprehensive schools in the United Kingdom concerning teacher appraisal. Bartlett concluded that the participants "portrayed the appraisal system as part of the growing dominance of managerialist ideology" (1998, p. 489). According to Bartlett, the line management form of appraisal had been imposed on teachers in order to monitor their work and help "to develop and reinforce the line of management control" (p. 489). Bartlett (1998) argued that the development and reinforcement of the line of management control was done by developing managerial skills of managers and enhancing their power over the appraisees, the teachers. He maintained that what was apparent was that teachers did not obey authority without question, and that this led to increased tension in the school.

A study conducted by Ball (1993) that examined school teachers' work in the United Kingdom also alluded to tensions between school management and teachers. Members of the school management and teachers participated in this study. According to Ball, with the implementation of performance reforms, many participants were aware of emerging divisions and tensions between them and management. For instance, a deputy head worried about the gap that was growing between teachers and management, stated that the main cause of this gap was that only

a small group of people in management were now making all the decisions about the school and telling teachers what to do. In other words, performance management was seen as "a mechanism for ensuring the delivery of a national curriculum, and it ties classroom practice, student performance, teacher appraisal, school recruitment and resource allocation into a single bundle of planning and surveillance" (Ball, 1993, p. 120). The teachers were therefore marginalised even on issues to do with the curriculum, the consequence of which was a growing tension between them and school management.

Harris (2003) reflected on the difficult position of school heads who find themselves having to meet the demands of external agents pushing for changes and their own teachers who are expected to implement such reforms. The external change agents demand that their policy interventions be complied with by the implementers, and this can cause tension between the school heads and their staff. A study by Tooms, Kretovics, and Smialek (2007) noted school leaders' awareness of their working environment as being a political one, and that such an environment can adversely affect the management of schools. School leaders agreed that without politics, their school environment would make them happier. They recognised the need to be always vigilant of the development of political trends "in order to assure successful leadership" (p. 97).

According to Diefenbach (2007), teachers often are not against change, but are against what they perceive to be managerialistic change initiated by management mainly to serve the personal and group interest of a few. Similarly, Goodson (2001) noted teachers' concern about the tendency of administrators and politicians to push reforms which teachers considered inappropriate and politically motivated. The top-down model to the implementation of change is a model that can encourage such beliefs amongst teachers. Educationists, Levinson and Sutton (2001) cautioned against the use of the top-down model and argued that it can lead to less powerful actors such as students, parents, and teachers finding different ways of adjusting, including having to challenge the coherence of the policy, or possibly having to resist policy directives by way of foot dragging or refusing to comply with such directives.

As well as the literature identifying pitfalls in implementing performance management schemes, it also identifies approaches that minimise possible tensions between management and their staff. In particular, staff engagement in the change process and the quality of leadership can contribute to more effective implementation of performance management systems.

Involvement of teachers in the change process is especially important. McShane and Travaglione (2003) argue that when employees are involved, they cease to consider themselves

as agents of other people's decisions, but rather, feel responsible for organisational success. Their involvement can also minimise the problem of fear of the unknown. Bowles and Coates (1993) argue that a good performance management system is one that empowers its employees to make their own judgements of performance and identify needs for professional development.

Good leadership is also essential in implementing change. Sternberg (2005) maintained that an effective leader needs to have "creative skills and attitudes to generate powerful ideas; analytical intelligence to determine whether they are good ideas; practical intelligence to implement the ideas; and wisdom to ensure that the ideas represent a common good for all stakeholders, not just for some of them" (p. 348). A study conducted by Flores (2004) amongst new teachers in elementary and secondary schools in Northern Portugal has revealed that new teachers who found it easy to adapt to the new school atmosphere were motivated by their perception of the quality of the school leadership. Rhydderch, Elwyn, Marshall, and Grol (2004) stress that the role of leadership is crucial in encouraging staff as individuals and teams to participate in change to ensure that there is an overlap between individual and organisational goals. According to them, resistance to change results from the lack of such necessary overlap between individual and organisational goals.

3.3.1.2 Inadequate professional development impedes implementation

One of the major components of performance management reforms essential for changing practice is professional development. It is a prominent feature in a range of performance management reforms that have been implemented in different countries (Brown, 2005; Monyatsi, 2006b; Smith et al., 1997). It was also a prominent feature, at least in theory, of the PMS in the Botswana context.

A review (Cutler & Waine, 2001) of official documents on performance management from the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) in the UK identified professional development as a component of this reform. Cutler and Waine's (2001) review showed that when performance management was introduced, it had professional development as one of its key aspects.

Storey's (2002) critique of the balanced scorecard as a management information tool in schools in the United Kingdom also showed professional development as a key feature. Her analysis of the responses to the government's consultation document, *Professional Development: Support for teaching and learning*, showed a very high proportion of respondents believed professional development to be an essential component of performance management. For instance, she noted that 90% of the respondents embraced the suggested principles of professional development,

while 89% "agreed with the proposal to identify standards of good teaching to benchmark progress and plan for professional development" (p. 333). In addition, 95% agreed with the idea that decision-making about professional development activities should occur at the school level.

Elsewhere, in the United States, Smith et al. (1997) investigated the results from a study conducted by researchers from the University of Memphis on the progress made in implementing a restructuring programme in over 30 schools. They had been asked "to rate each school's progress and provide brief descriptions of school factors explaining level of early implementation" (p. 126) of school change. The researchers administered surveys to teachers and then presented the results to the principals. They also observed teachers in classrooms, interviewed principals, as well as holding discussions with teacher focus groups. One of the findings that featured prominently was the importance of professional development and training. According to Smith et al. (1997), teachers revealed that professional development was significant in change efforts. Teachers further indicated that they were most satisfied with professional development intended to help them implement programmes provided it targeted individual schools as well as taking into consideration their prior experiences.

Despite professional development being documented as a key component in many performance reforms and despite teachers recognising it as a key factor in helping them improve their performance, it would appear that, in practice, professional development is often not adequately provided. For instance, in some cases, teachers have reported that the professional development component was neglected or where attempts were made to implement it, it was not quite what teachers had anticipated (Bartlett, 1998; Brown, 2005).

In the United Kingdom, there were reports of performance reforms which did not give priority to professional development in spite of the fact that on paper, it may have been indicated that it would be a priority. A study carried out by Brown (2005) among primary school heads, deputy heads, and teachers showed that the majority of school heads were dissatisfied with the training they were given about a performance management system they were supposed to implement in their schools. They described the poor professional development they had received using such expressions as "inadequate, ineffective, shambolic and shocking" (p. 473). Furthermore, as suggested by Brown (2005), lack of professional development manifested itself in the lack of direction in schools as evidenced by a variation he found in the schools regarding how they were implementing the performance management. This he argued, suggested that school heads, teachers, and others were confused and uncertain about what performance management involved and the purposes of introducing the initiative into schools. He further pointed to the confusion and uncertainty within and between schools which suggested "that levels and kinds

of education and training in performance management can vary considerably within and among various stakeholder groups who are responsible for implementing the initiative" (p.472).

Another study in the UK by Bartlett (1998) which explored the views of 38 school staff concerning teacher appraisal, showed that professional development, though presented as one of the essential components of the performance appraisal, was never given the priority it deserved. According to Bartlett (1998), teachers reported that the use of appraisal for professional development was minimal. This situation in Bartlett's (1998) view bore testimony to the history of education that appeared to follow a pattern "whereby a potentially controlling mechanism maybe introduced under the guise of professional development" (p. 480), and that once it was in place, its nature could change radically.

3.3.1.3 The cascade approach to training can be problematic

The cascade approach is commonly used to deliver the training necessary for implementing reforms. Cascade training suggests that "information flow from one group to another until it reaches the final destination, similar to that of a waterfall" (Jacobs & Russ-Eft, 2001, p.496). It was the primary model of training delivery in the implementation of the PMS in the Botswana public service.

There are perceived benefits to the cascade approach of training delivery. It is in the nature of this approach as indicated by Jacobs and Russ-Eft (2001) that information may be disseminated through the ranks of the employees within a relatively short period of time. Jacobs and Russ-Eft (2001) also argued that another particular strength of this approach is that it provides the opportunity for employees to "both deliver and receive the training in the actual change context" (p. 496) thus making it more relevant.

Limitations have also been recognised in the cascade approach to training. Hayes (2000) looked at the use of the cascade training approach in the in-service development of teachers. One limitation he identified was the dilution of training with less and less being understood the further one went down the cascade. Hayes (2000) argued that the major cause of the failure of this approach was its concentration of expertise at the top levels of the cascade to the disadvantage of training at the lower levels.

In Botswana, the cascade approach had been used when the In-service and Pre-service Project, co-financed by the Ministry of Education and the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), was launched in secondary schools. McDevitt (1998) critiqued the effectiveness of this approach which was used to provide training from the top of the hierarchy

down to the teachers. One major dilemma that McDevitt (1998) identified concerned who should be trained. Impact of the training on teacher practice, which was the objective, is affected by whether to target the immediate audience, who in this case was the training team comprising DFID technical advisers, consultants from a UK linked institution and the Botswana In-service Coordinators, or all in-service education officers in the Ministry of Education, or the ultimate user, the teachers in the classroom. He indicated that it was likely that by taking the first option one would succeed in running a stimulating initial training programme but with the risk that this team would in turn provide training without modifying or selecting from the ideas given. In the event that this happened through other levels it was likely that what was finally passed to teachers would be too advanced for them. Another possible danger was that the ideas themselves would be distorted in the process if they were not well understood.

3.3.1.4 PMS requires time and resources for effective implementation

Time and resources are significant requirements in the implementation of performance management systems. Where they are found to be lacking, effective implementation cannot take place and the morale of implementers is adversely affected (Brown, 2005; Desimone, 2002; Smith et al., 1997).

Professional development in particular suffers from the lack of resources. In a UK study, Brown (2005) indicated that when performance management was introduced in schools, one of its aims was to help the professional development of teachers. He found that when school heads and teachers were asked about the extent to which this aim was being realised, some observed that "even though an appropriate plan had been formulated, it had not subsequently been implemented because of a shortage of either time or resources" (p. 476). He noted that due to the failure to implement the professional development plan, some teachers were becoming increasingly more sceptical about the purported benefits of performance management.

Time and resources in the implementation of reforms were also considered significant in the implementation of reforms in the United States. A study conducted by Desimone (2002) that reviewed and synthesised literature on the comprehensive school reform, a popular approach to school improvement, identified time and resources as essential to ensuring effective implementation of the reform. However, similar to the situation described by Brown's (2005) study in England, Smith et al. (1997), also noted implementers' concern about the lack of resources in schools that were implementing comprehensive school reform models. They maintained that, in general, where materials were not provided or were supplied late, implementation progressed more slowly. Drawing upon Elmore and McLaughlin's (1988)

research, Desimone (2002) also indicated that one of the factors that frustrated teachers trying to implement school reforms was lack of preparation and planning time.

3.3.1.5 Teacher confidence in the PMS process is required for it to be accepted

Successful implementation of a performance management reform requires the confidence of teachers. The confidence of teachers in the PMS is necessary if they are to accept it as a reform worthy to be implemented (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000; O'Brien & Down, 2002). Wallace (2003) pointed out that change is a complex phenomenon because it is about new experience and new learning and it intrudes into people's habitual practices and beliefs within their organisations. McShane and Travaglione (2003) also argued that change can be very stressful and threatening to people's self-esteem and can create an atmosphere of uncertainty about their future. Confidence that the changes required are for the better is therefore necessary for teachers to be willing to engage in the change process.

A two year study conducted by Down, Chadbourne, and Hogan (2000) that examined the response of a group of Western Australian teachers to the introduction of compulsory performance management in 1997 showed that teachers received the reform "with significant levels of scepticism, mistrust and anxiety" (p. 213). The study reported that teachers lacked confidence in the reform and believed that the performance management system was not working.

The teachers in the case study of O'Brien and Down (2002) discussed earlier were also not confident about the performance reforms. They believed that these were corporate reforms that were inappropriate for education, and therefore made minimal difference to children's learning. According to O'Brien and Down (2002) "teachers talked about hidden political and ideological agenda, the economic imperative and the unfamiliar values they saw being promoted and pursued by the reform process" (p. 117). Hargreaves (2002) warns that if the architects of change are people of low credibility whose reasons for change were politically motivated, the intentions for the improvement of students' performance could certainly be shrouded in doubt.

Caution is also advised against change initiatives that are designed such that they promote conformity instead of commitment among employees. According to Henderson (2002), environmental changes such as change of structures, training and rewards may not be sufficient to bring about change in performance as they may result simply in conformity and not deeper commitment. He stressed the need for efforts in organisations that foster commitment as opposed to conformity in response to directives coming from a higher authority or from societal pressures. Levin (2001) concurred with Henderson (2002) when he emphasised the significance

of making people understand and appreciate change such that they would make their own decisions regarding their commitment to change rather than be coerced into conformity.

Commitment is required to counter the discomfort and sometimes resistance people often experience in having to change the way they work. According to McShane and Travaglione (2003), change can be very stressful and threatening to people's self-esteem and can further create an atmosphere of uncertainty about their future. Oplatka (2003) claims that, stress should be expected in the event of change "as new skills and behaviours are required, whereby an individual's skills may become invalid" (p. 26). Faced with all these fears, teachers may be reluctant to welcome any new change, and as pointed out by Levin (2000), when teachers are not committed to reforms, those reforms may not be successful.

The notion of commitment to the change process was also emphasised by Goodson (2001) who argued that attention must be given to the personal change process that is involved in any organisational change agenda. Goodson (2001) maintained that educational changes driven by external forces can be a failure if they are not sensitive to schools' contexts and teachers' personal interests. In other words, when teachers believe they are disempowered in the change process, they are bound to feel demotivated to effectively engage in the change process.

Goodson (2001) argues that it is important for change to begin by transforming people's personal perceptions before flowing "outwards into the social and institutional domain" (p. 57). That is, for people to commit themselves to change, the priority should be on how they are changed internally and how their "personal change then plays out, as and through institutional change" (p. 57). He further argued that educational change would be more successful if the reform strategists saw teachers' personal commitments both as "an inspiration for reform (which works best when carried by teachers as part of their personal – professional projects), and a necessary object of reform (the need to provide support for teachers to the point where they wish to take 'ownership' of the reform)" (Goodson, 2001, p. 60).

3.3.2 Learnings to do with the PMS as a reform

While the previous section focussed on the implementation process, this section reviews the literature on the merits of performance management reforms especially from the points of view of school personnel. The four major themes are that the relevance of the PMS to the core business is being questioned; that the PMS has been seen to change the culture of the school for the worse; that the PMS undermines teachers' professionalism; and that linking performance to

pay can create problems. Although all four themes are presented in the negative, the discussion below shows that opinion is diverse.

3.3.2.1 Relevance of the PMS to a school's core business is questioned

The relevance of the PMS to the core business of teaching and learning has been questioned in schools. There is a concern among some teachers that there is little evidence to show that performance management systems are effective in improving "teachers' learning and their capacity to improve their classroom practice" (Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000, p. 213).

The findings of Down, Chadbourne, and Hogan's (2000) study in Western Australia showed that teachers were concerned that the performance appraisal being implemented in their schools was not relevant to teaching and learning, and only a minority could identify improvements in their teaching as a result of appraisal. They argued that the evaluation they experienced was "disconnected from their teaching, from their professional development, from the ongoing process of school curriculum, change and development" (p. 214). As stated by Simkins (2000), performance management is often seen as a managerial mechanism used by school managers to control teachers at the expense of teaching and learning.

Further questioning the relevance of performance reforms, Smyth (2001) argued that that the primacy of the discourses of teaching and learning in schools need to be rediscovered, reclaimed and reasserted. Smyth was concerned about educational reforms around the world which consistently put more "emphasis on the restructuring of management, organisation, administration, and control of schools-none of it having anything to do with the essence or substance of teaching and learning" (p. 141).

3.3.2.2 PMS can change the culture of the school for the worse

The PMS as a reform changes the culture of schools. In the view of many teachers, school cultures can change for the worse. The most resented cultural changes are those attributed to managerialism which seems to have shifted the focus away from teaching and learning (Martin & D'Agostino, 2004; Simkins, 2000). Managerialism was also blamed for removing decision making capacity from teachers about their work to managers who were often less knowledgeable.

From the perspective of the education context in Northern Ireland, Martin and D'Agostino (2004) argue that managerialism has far reaching implications when it comes "to engendering a culture of top-down, unquestioning, disempowering hierarchical structures" (p. 182). They gave

as an example the national curriculum's prescription for the teaching of reading, which reflected the gap between the official educational discourse and the reality of classroom practice as encountered by teachers. In their view, the national curriculum had transformed the discourse of teaching with little regards to the practical reality of what teachers were experiencing in the classroom.

Dissatisfaction with the top-down approach to decision making was also evident in Storey's (2002) analysis of teachers' feedback in the UK government consultative process that led to government's consultation document, *Professional Development: Support for teaching and learning*. Although teachers were positive about professional development, they expressed strong resentment to excessive top-down directives regarding how this was carried out. With the implementation of the performance management, Storey (2002) found that teachers were frequently told what was best for them and how they could develop instead of having "their professional development being based on self-evaluation and an agreement about training needs between teachers, their managers and their employers" (pp. 334-335).

3.3.2.3 The PMS is perceived as potentially undermining teachers' professionalism

The cases of performance management reviewed earlier suggest that many teachers are concerned that the PMS undermines their professionalism. They perceive it as a reform intended to control and manipulate them rather than to help them improve the quality of teaching and learning in line with their profession (Ball, 1998; Down, Chadbourne, & Hogan, 2000).

In their Western Australia study, Down, Chadbourne, and Hogan (2000) stated that performance management seemed to face "the dilemma of resolving an inherent tension between the discourse of managerial control and teachers' traditional ways of knowing and talking about their work" (p. 215). Teachers in that study were concerned about the way the performance management was being implemented and felt it would disempower and control them.

Mahony, Hextall, and Menter's (2004) study in the UK on how the Threshold Assessment reform had been received in schools concluded that lack of acceptance could be explained in terms of cultural values. Drawing on interview material from thirteen case studies conducted in primary and secondary schools in the UK to examine the manner in which Threshold Assessment carried different significance for female and male teachers, heads and threshold assessors, Mahony, Hextall, and Menter (2004) provided some evidence that the performance management scheme was not compatible with the professional culture of teachers. They argued

"that the individualistic, competitive and performative model of promotion and progression recently introduced in schools construct cultures that are at odds with professional cultures of teaching" (p. 146).

Teacher professionalism was further eroded in the way that the reform had been implemented. Mahony, Hextall, and Menter (2004) in a paper that explored policies that affected teachers' work, namely, the performance threshold assessment in England and the chartered teacher status in Scotland, found that in England, teachers had been treated as objects of the policy. The reform initiative was developed and implemented without their participation. Instead, it was the private sector organisations which were actively involved in the development of implementation of the reform and teachers who were going to be directly affected by this change effort were sidelined. According to Mahony, Hextall, and Menter (2004), this promoted greater regulation and control which was not in the spirit of what would motivate teachers in their profession. The teachers in O'Brien and Down's (2002) study in Western Australia also indicated that performance reforms had corporate values that "neglected teachers' knowledge and experience, and were at odds with their deeply held pedagogical values" (p. 117). Ball (1993) talked about "an increase in the technical elements of teachers' work and a reduction in the professional" (p. 106) which signified that professional autonomy and judgement were reduced (Ball, 1993).

3.3.2.4 Using the PMS to link performance to pay can be problematic

Most of the performance management reforms implemented in different countries are linked to pay (Gentle, 2001; Harris, 2001; Tomlinson, 2000). In a study of the perceptions of 60 managers across the private and public sector who play a role in implementing pay related performance schemes, Harris (2001) found that a common perception was that for some employees "the individual performance-related pay resulted in strong feelings of unfairness, an erosion of commitment and a growth of uncertainty and anxiety" (p. 1183). This also has been the case in education. In the education sector, pay related performance schemes use sets of measures to determine teachers' performance and if they are deemed to have performed satisfactorily, they are financially rewarded depending on the degree to which they have satisfied the set standards. Teachers have identified problems with the concept of linking performance to pay and also with the concept of measuring performance itself.

The United Kingdom, like other western countries, implemented a range of performance reforms that were linked to pay. A review by Tomlinson (2000) of proposals for performance-related pay for teachers in England schools expressed teachers' concerns that rewards would discourage sharing of ideas among teachers who would perhaps fear that their good ideas may

be used by their colleagues to enhance their own chances to earn some rewards. Those against performance-related pay included teacher associations who challenged its appropriateness for the teaching profession. In their view, performance-related pay had the potential to damage the professional culture and teamwork that is at the heart of successfully managed schools (Tomlinson, 2000).

The teacher associations feared that the pressures caused by the performance management structure would generate distrust and counter-productive competition among colleagues. They further argued that teachers could become demotivated and deprived of the confidence they needed to be successful in the classroom. They also anticipated stress, anxiety, apprehension, and self-doubt as factors which would not be conducive to successful teaching (Tomlinson, 2000). Mahony and Hextall (2000) reported similar objections to government's payment and reward for excellence and improvement by one of the teacher trade unions on the basis that it was discriminatory since only a minority were going to be paid more. The union believed that this discriminated the majority who were not going to receive any monetary benefit.

Gentle's (2001) concern was similar. While those teachers who gain incentives would certainly be joyful, there is a danger that those who do not get such rewards would be miserable. Gentle (2001) was also sceptical that even though performance-related pay is meant to reward high achievers and can therefore be a motivating factor, finance may not be a guarantee that such motivation will be sustained.

In addition to "in principle" critique to the notion of linking performance to pay, teachers have also argued that there are flaws in the indicators used to measure performance. For instance, Propper and Wilson (2003) stated that in both the United Kingdom and the United States of America, students' outcomes have been used to measure teacher performance. The use of grades or test scores as the sole measure of performance has been criticised as imperfect given the multiple tasks that are being undertaken in schools. One criticism against these raw output scores was that they can be subject to bias since they appear not to take into consideration factors that are outside the school's control that may have a bearing on students' performance.

With specific reference to education, Burgess and Ratto (2003) argued that the context in which teachers may be operating may not warrant financial incentives, and that the literature has shown that where that has happened, it has been criticised. For instance, some commentators and teacher unions have strongly objected to individual performance pay. One objection in addition to the public sector characteristics already discussed in this section, relates to the argument that teaching is multidimensional aimed at much wider outcomes than examinations

or test scores. So to give individual teachers incentives based only on such narrow outcomes alone as it has happened in different situations, would be a disservice to the teaching profession. Burgess and Ratto (2003) also noted that teaching involves team-based cooperation that may be inconsistent with an individual financial incentive.

3.4 Chapter summary

Those engaged in the debate about the implementation of the PMS in the public sector have labelled it a product of the global neo-liberal policies especially as propounded by western countries (Apple, 2001; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Larner, 2000). Its roots lie in the private sector and it "became a key element in the managerialist restructuring of the public services during the 1980s and 1990s" (Mahony, Hextall, & Menter, 2004, p. 137). After providing an overview of how neo-liberalism and managerialism transformed education, this chapter reviewed the literature on the implementation of performance management systems in a range of educational contexts in both western and less developed countries. The learnings synthesised from organisations' experiences with implementing performance management systems indicate that the change process brings multiple challenges. They further suggest that the change process is complex and not as simplistic as the unfreezing-refreezing notion of cultural change (Maurer & Githens, 2009; McShane & Travaglione, 2003).

In contrast to the literature reviewed here, which was mainly about school perceptions of the PMS either prior to or relatively early after its implementation, this study explores school managers' perceptions of a PMS at a much later point (eight years) after it was introduced. Because of the longer timeframe, the study provides an additional perspective on the embedding of the PMS in an education system that has not received prior attention. The study is also different from those reviewed concerning the implementation of the PMS in less developed countries. Unlike these cases, the PMS in Botswana was a fully government funded reform not imposed on the country by any donor country or international organisation. It must, however, be noted that the government of Botswana was influenced by the PMS as implemented in developed countries.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This qualitative study was conducted using the grounded theory methodology as described by Strauss and Corbin (1990) with some modifications. Patton (2002) has argued that a qualitative research methodology can help researchers approach fieldwork without being constrained by any predetermined categories of analysis and this "contributes to the depth, openness, and detail of qualitative inquiry" (p. 14). A further strength of qualitative research, as explained by Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2009), is the opportunity it provides researchers to interact with and gather data directly from their research participants to understand a phenomenon from their perspectives. Because relatively little research has been done on understanding the experience of school senior managers implementing performance management systems, a qualitative approach suited this study because it would permit an indepth exploration of their experience. As further maintained by Patton (2002), had I used a quantitative research approach, I would have been constrained by its requirement of standardised measures and predetermined response categories to which numbers would have already been assigned.

Since its development by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in the 1960s, grounded theory has been used in many disciplines including health, social work, psychology and management (Goulding, 1998); nursing (Lomborg and Kirkevold, 2003); education (Patton, 2002); and information science (Mansourian, 2006). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), grounded theory about a phenomenon "is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon" (p. 23). Punch (2001) emphasised that grounded theory is a research strategy aimed at generating theory from data. Mansourian (2006) noted that with the grounded theory approach, the theory emerges from the data inductively; he describes grounded theory as "inductive, contextual and processual" (p. 397).

Punch (2009, p. 134) argued that grounded theory "represented a coordinated and systematic overall research strategy that was also flexible." This, he argued, was in contrast to the ad hoc and uncoordinated approaches that sometimes that sometimes discredited for lack of well-formulated methods for the analysis of data. In addition, Punch (2009) depicted grounded theory as very relevant to education which "has to do with the identification of research problems from professional practice, and from organisational and institutional contexts" (p. 134), situations in which a traditional hypothesis-testing approach would not be appropriate. The point Punch was making here was that, many problems confronting education research are new since they "come from new developments in professional practice or from newly

developing contexts. He argued that these areas require empirical research much of which is qualitative, for which theory verification approach would not be appropriate. He maintained that the grounded theory generation approach would be most appropriate for these new areas since there is a lack of grounded concepts that describe and explain what goes on.

One of the reasons for choosing the grounded theory approach for this qualitative research project was its focus on inductive strategies of generating theory in contrast to other theoretical perspectives which emphasise theory developed "by logical deduction from a priori assumptions" (Patton, 2002, p. 125). Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2009) also indicated that the analysis of data inductively was done without making assumptions about the findings prior to collecting evidence. Against this background, I found that developing theory inductively would be more suited for my study in that it would be based on the research participants' lived experience in secondary schools in Botswana, a topic that had not been studied indepth. I was further attracted to grounded theory because it offered a framework in terms of the data generation and coding procedures that guided the analytic process which would lead to generating theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

This chapter begins with a discussion of the grounded theory approach to doing qualitative research. It includes an outline of the elements that appear in the main interpretations of the approach followed by a critique. The second part of the chapter details the research methods I used to collect and interpret the data. Finally, I discuss the limitations of the study.

4.1 Elements of the grounded theory approach

There is no one way of undertaking grounded theory studies. The originators of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967), did not intend for the process to be prescriptive. They stated: "Our principal aim is to stimulate other theorists to codify and publish their own methods for generating theory" (p. 8). LaRossa (2005) argues that such comments are an indication that Glaser and Strauss's (1967) initial approach was never intended to be dogmatic. Rather, it was to be a guide for researchers to use grounded theory in different ways they found appropriate. Since then, differences in approaches between Glaser and Strauss have emerged and others such as Charmaz have developed their own adaptations (Backman & Kyngäs, 1999; Charmaz, 2006; Selden, 2005).

While there are differences among theorists and users of the grounded theory approach, there are some elements common across most approaches. Those elements are described here and they are theoretical sensitivity, theoretical sampling, the constant comparative method as part of

the coding process, and the use of theoretical memos. In the description, I include an explanation of how I applied these elements in my study. The section concludes with a description of how data are coded in grounded theory studies. A detailed description of the coding process I used is in a later section.

4.1.1 Overview of the grounded theory approach

Historically, the grounded theory methodology was an approach first developed by Glaser and Strauss in the early 1960s when they were working together on a study of staff's handling of dying patients in hospitals (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). It was during their observations of the handling of dying patients that the two recognised the need "for a well thought out, explicitly formulated methodology and systematic set of methods for collecting, coding and analysing data" (Glaser, 1992, p. 17).

Although Glaser and Strauss found common ground in grounded theory, their intellectual backgrounds were quite different which may have led to their later differences in the application of the grounded theory approach to doing research. Glaser was trained at Columbia University and also studied in Paris where he developed an interest in text analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Glaser saw the need to make comparisons between data in order to identify, develop, and relate concepts. The Columbia tradition put emphasis on "empirical research in conjunction with the development of theory" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 10).

Strauss, on the other hand, was influenced mainly by the works of John Dewey as well as others such as Park, Thomas, Mead, Peirce, and Blumer (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These scholars emphasised what Strauss (1987) described as "action and the problematic situation, and the necessity for conceiving of methods in the context of problem solving" (p. 5). Strauss was further influenced by the tradition in Chicago Sociology at the University of Chicago which dated as far back as the 1920s to the mid-1950s. This tradition promoted extensive use of field observations and interview techniques to collect data and also promoted extensive research on the sociology of work (Strauss, 1987).

Moghaddam (2006) indicated that their divergent backgrounds may have contributed to their epistemological differences in their later works. Glaser's perspective was towards qualitative analysis which was more rigorous and positivist in contrast to Strauss's epistemology in empirical inquiry through grounded theory which was pragmatic. Moghaddam (2006) argued that Glaser was inclined to traditional positivism which emphasised "supposition of an objective and external reality as well as being a neutral observer" (p. 53), while Strauss's work was based

on the assumption of an unbiased position when "collecting data and applying certain technical procedures by letting the participants have their own voice" (p. 53).

Another approach to grounded theory was developed by Charmaz (2003). Her approach was regarded as constructivist and an alternative to the Glaser and Strauss's approach which was seen as being objectivist (Bryman, 2008). Charmaz (2003) argued that guidelines offered by Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) such as their categorised steps with scientific terms such as axial coding and conditional matrix structured objectivist grounded theorists' work. She maintained that these guidelines were didactic and prescriptive and not emergent and interactive. According to Charmaz (2003), these were procedures that were "reified into immutable rules" (p. 274).

Bryman (2008) also described the grounded theory associated with Glaser, Strauss and Corbin as objectivist because of its aim of uncovering a reality that is external to social actors. He argued that the constructivist version "assumes that people create and maintain meaningful worlds through dialectical processes of conferring meaning on their realities and acting within them" (p. 549). The constructivist grounded theory approach also recognises that the categories, concepts, and theory emerge from the researcher's interaction with the research participants and how the data is interrogated. According to Bryman (2008), this differs from objectivist grounded theory which implies that categories and concepts are within the data awaiting the researcher's discovery.

4.1.2 Theoretical sensitivity

Glaser (2004) and Strauss (1987) emphasised the need for researchers using grounded theory as a methodology to be aware of having theoretical sensitivity when entering the research setting. Corbin and Strauss (2008) explained that sensitivity was having insight, "being tuned in to, being able to pick up on relevant issues, events, and happenings in data" (p. 33). According to Glaser (2004), theoretical sensitivity requires that researchers enter the research setting with minimal predetermined ideas or prior hypotheses. Glaser (1978) argued that, in adopting this posture, researchers ensure that they remain sensitive to the data by being able to record events and detect happenings without pre-existing biases.

Glaser (2004) noted two researcher characteristics needed for developing theoretical sensitivity. First, is the researchers' consciousness of their obligation to maintain analytic distance, tolerate emerging multiple perspectives from the participants, as well as to maintain openness. Second, researchers are urged to develop theoretical insights into the area of study and also have the

ability to interpret these insights. The role of the researcher is to listen to participants expressing their views. The researcher has to remain as open as possible to what is taking place to be able to discover the main concerns of the participants in the field and how they intend to address such concerns.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) defined theoretical sensitivity as the researcher's awareness of the subtleties of meaning in the data. It is about "having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't" (p. 41). Strauss and Corbin (1990) differ from Glaser in that they believe theoretical sensitivity is derived from a number of sources. One such source is literature which includes the reading of theory, research, and documents. They emphasised the importance for researchers to be familiar with such publications in order to have a rich background of information that would sensitise them to what is happening with the phenomenon of study.

Another source of sensitivity which Glaser also rejects but is identified by Strauss and Corbin (1990) is the professional experience of researchers. This is the experience researchers have acquired during years of practice in a particular field that enables them to have "an understanding of how things work in that field, and why, and what will happen there under certain conditions" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 42).

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), a third source of theoretical sensitivity is personal experience. For instance, researchers who have had prior experience with projects would find this useful during their studies. Finally, theoretical sensitivity is derived from the analytic process. That is, as researchers interact more with the data, they increase their insight and understanding about a phenomenon. All these play an essential role in helping researchers develop theoretical sensitivity.

My theoretical sensitivity was derived from a number of sources which included the literature. Prior to entering the field, I had done some extensive reading in such areas as research methodology and performance management systems which was the topic of study. It was imperative for me to be familiar with such literature to have a rich background of information about what was happening with the phenomenon of study. While I appreciate the need for researchers to adopt a neutral position during data collection as emphasised by Glaser (1992, 2004) I disagree with the perception that reading of literature beforehand should not be done because it would blur the researcher's ability to maintain open mindedness to the emergence of categories from the data. I am in agreement with Strauss and Corbin (1990) who regard reading

of literature as an essential way of stimulating theoretical sensitivity "by providing concepts and relationships that are checked out against actual data" (p. 50).

In addition to the reading of literature, other sources of sensitivity were my personal and professional experience which I had acquired during years of practice in the field of education as a teacher, a member of the senior management team, and an education officer in the government. While these were strengths, I had to be aware of certain risks. As a researcher, it was important that I was aware of my prior beliefs and that I did not allow those beliefs to interfere with the interview process and with the data analysis. It was important to be as objective and impartial as possible in my interpretation of events.

For instance, at the beginning of the study, I had my own perceptions about senior management teams' possible response to the implementation of the performance management system. These however, were contradicted by what emerged from the data. As pointed out by Strauss and Corbin (1998), it was important that I maintain an analytic distance by keeping back what I knew from my experience to be able to be objective, impartial, and accurate in my interpretation of the data. I had to constantly remind myself of the need to remain as open as possible in order not to influence the participants' perceptions but to discover their own beliefs and perspectives.

4.1.3 Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling is an important aspect of grounded theory methodology that helps decide the quality of the generated theory (Jeon, 2004). Glaser (1978) defines theoretical sampling as "the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges" (p. 36).

Corbin and Strauss (2008) stated that when doing theoretical sampling, researchers should take one step at a time beginning with cycles of data gathering and analysis. Punch (2001) describes the technique of theoretical sampling in the following way. The initial stage is for researchers to collect a small set of data "guided by the initial research questions" (Punch, 2001, p. 167). This set of data is analysed, before another set of data is collected with the guidance of the emerging directions coming from that initial analysis. This cycle of alternation between data collection and analysis must be continued and stopped only when there is evidence of theoretical saturation. Punch explains that theoretical saturation occurs when additional data can no longer show anything new, but is repeating information that is already in existence.

Corbin and Strauss (2008) stressed that in doing theoretical sampling, researchers should ensure that the research is guided by analysis. Researchers are required "to ask questions and then look to the best source of data to find the answers to the questions" (p. 146). According to Jeon (2004), theoretical sampling goes beyond purposive or selective sampling as it is driven by a number of factors. These include emerging categories and hypotheses, as well as the grounding of developing theory in the data by the researcher. In the process, decisions about such key factors as interview questions, follow-up interviews, and contact with experts in the area of study are made.

To highlight the distinctiveness of the principle of theoretical sampling, Tavakol, Torabi, and Zeialoo (2006) pointed out that whereas quantitative inquirers would decide on the size of the sample population before the commencement of the study, the grounded theorists would not. The recruitment of the participants would not be on a representative basis, but on the basis of the expert knowledge they have about the phenomenon under enquiry. That is, the participants are selected on the basis of their experience of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

In this study, the process of theoretical sampling as prescribed in grounded theory was not undertaken to its fullest extent for logistical reasons. All senior managers in the senior secondary schools who were available at the time of the field trip were interviewed to ensure that the entire gamut of perspectives available were included. Logistically, these appointments had to be made before the field trip. The time constraint of three weeks in the field for the first round of interview data collection also meant that to jointly collect and analyse data, and ultimately decide which data to collect next and where to find it was not achievable within the timeframe. While some analysis was undertaken in the field and captured in my field notes, most of the analysis took place after the field trip. What was undertaken eight months later, on my second trip to Botswana, was a two week follow-up visit to schools to interview ten school heads to clarify issues that had arisen during the analysis and to seek feedback on my analysis to date. As Charmaz (2003) advises, researchers may return to the same settings or individuals to gain further information. She emphasises that the aim of theoretical sampling is to refine ideas, not to increase the size of the original sample.

4.1.4 The coding process

For both Glaser and Strauss, coding is at the core of their grounded theory approach to doing research. Walker and Myrick (2006) describe coding in grounded theory as "the primary intervention into the data" (p. 550). According to Jeon (2004), "coding is the defining aspect of

analysis within the grounded theory method and is a means by which the quality of emerging theory can be determined" (p. 253).

Data are conceptualised through coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998) defined coding as "the analytic processes through which data are fractured, conceptualised, and integrated to form theory" (p. 3). Data have to be analysed and coded to generate *categories* (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Glaser (1992, p. 38) described categories as being "a type of concept, usually used for a higher level of abstraction," while Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 114) described them as "concepts, derived from data, that stand for phenomena." Bryman (2008) defined a category as "a concept that has been elaborated so that it is regarded as representing real-world phenomena" (p. 544).

Glaser (1992) described two kinds of coding processes namely, substantive coding and theoretical coding. Substantive coding is in two levels, open coding and selective coding. In the process of open coding, the researcher aims at generating an emergent set of categories and their properties which should fit, work and are relevant to be integrated into a theory. The researchers are supposed to code for as many categories that might fit; ensuring that they code different incidences into as many categories as possible. In the process, new categories emerge and new incidences fit existing categories. Emphasis is on the researcher to analyse the data line-by-line to be able to identify emerging substantive codes within the data and to verify and saturate categories as well as avoid the risk of missing an important category (Glaser, 1978).

Glaser and Holton (2004, p. 9) explained that one of the rules that govern open coding is to ask questions of the data and the most general question is "What is this data a study of?" The next essential questions include: "What category does this incident indicate?" "What is actually happening in the data?" and "What is the main concern being faced by the participants?" (p. 9). The purpose of these questions is to provoke researchers to be theoretically sensitive and to be intensive in the process of collecting and coding of data.

Glaser's (1978) second stage of substantive coding is selective coding which requires the researcher to selectively code for a core variable. Glaser uses the word "variable" while Strauss uses "category" to mean the same thing. At this stage of coding, the researcher has to delimit "coding to only variables that relate to the core variable in sufficiently significant ways to be used in a parsimonious theory" (Glaser, 1978, p. 61). Glaser (1978) pointed out that the core variable becomes a guide to further data collection and theoretical sampling.

According to Glaser (1978), the purpose of theoretical coding is to "conceptualise how the substantive codes may relate to each other as hypothesis to be integrated into theory." Theoretical codes are supposed to describe the world theoretically and in so doing "give integrative scope, broad pictures and a new perspective" (p. 72). Glaser further explained that theoretical codes can further help analysts to maintain their conceptual level when they write about concepts and how these concepts relate to each other.

Glaser (1992) cautioned that for the grounded theory methodology to be deemed to be authentic, it should explain the prevailing variations in behaviour in the area of study in respect to the main concerns of the participants, further cautioning that grounded theory should neither be forced nor derived from concepts which have no relationship to data.

While Glaser's coding process involved two phases, Strauss and Corbin's (1990) coding process consisted of three phases. They are open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.

In the process of open coding, Strauss also urges researchers to ask questions of the data. Open coding is "the part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorising of phenomena through close examination of data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 62). Strauss (1987) talked about the need for "generative questions leading to coding; of line-by-line or paragraph-by-paragraph eliciting categories, and queries about them" (p. 56).

While Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) also emphasised line-by-line coding, they argued that this is not the only way. For example, Strauss's (1987) open coding is an unrestricted coding of data which is carried out by way of closely scrutinising the fieldnote, interview, or other documents with the aim being "to produce concepts that seem to fit the data" (p. 28). In approaching the process of open coding, a researcher might begin by analysing the first interview with a line-by-line analysis which "involves close examination, phrase by phrase and even sometimes of single words" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 72). Another way is for the researcher to code by sentence or paragraph and then to decide which name to give the code. Open coding is therefore an opportunity for researchers to as much as possible uncover, name, and develop concepts. In undertaking this process, they open up the data and as best as possible, explore the thoughts, ideas and meanings that are within the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

The next level of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) method is called axial coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998) explain that axial coding is "the process of relating categories to their subcategories, termed "axial" because coding occurs around the axis of a category, linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions" (p. 123). It is aimed at putting "the fractured data back

together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between a category and its subcategories" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 96). To make these connections achievable, researchers are required to take into account three aspects of the phenomenon. These are the situations in which phenomenon occurs; how people react in such situations; and the consequences of the action taken or inaction (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This should result in cumulative knowledge about relationships between one category and other categories and subcategories (Strauss, 1987). Corbin and Strauss (2008) refer to axial coding as "crosscutting or relating concepts to each other" (p. 195). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), the aim is to develop what would ultimately be one of several main categories.

The third level of coding for Strauss and Corbin is selective coding which requires the researcher to know when to cease coding to be able to selectively code for a core category (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Jeon (2004) defines the core category as representative of the central problem or issue confronting the participants under study. Once the core category has been discovered, selective coding commences, which leads to further investigation of issues and ideas that are mainly centred round the core category. Strauss (1987) explained that "selective coding pertains to coding systematically and concertedly for the core category" (p. 33).

During this process, the researcher is required to delimit coding to codes that relate to core codes and other categories become subservient to the core category under focus. Strauss and Corbin (1998) explained that at this level of coding, it was essential that categories were finally integrated to form a larger theoretical scheme for the research findings to take the form of theory. With this integration the researcher can decide on the core category that may evolve from a list of categories that represent the main theme of the study. The core category is supposed to have analytic power which gives it the "ability to pull the other categories together to form an explanatory whole" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 146).

In the coding process of my data, I adopted the three phase process of open, axial and selective coding recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998). Details are provided in section 4.3.

4.1.5 Constant comparative method
It has already been explained that grounded theory researchers need to maintain a theoretical sensitivity in the process of doing their research. By so doing, the theory they generate is grounded in the research data and not from their own preconceived ideas and existing theories. One way of enhancing sensitivity is by employing the constant comparative method to stimulate

thought about incidents, concepts, categories and their properties (Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

As explained by Glaser and Strauss (1967) researchers have to compare incidents applicable to each category, and they do that by coding each incident in the data into as many categories of analysis as possible. The basic rule for the constant comparative method is that in the process of coding an incident for a category, it should be compared with previous incidents in the same group as well as different groups that may have been coded in the same category.

Charmaz (2003, p. 259) provides a summary of what constant comparison involves. She explains:

> Generating codes facilitates making comparisons, a major technique in grounded theory. The constant comparative method of grounded theory means (a) comparing different people (such as their views, situations, actions, accounts, and experiences), (b) comparing data from the same individuals with themselves at different points in time, (c) comparing incident with incident, (d) comparing data with category, and comparing a category with other categories.

Researchers need to ensure that constant comparison is ongoing, as it is the process by which they sort the emerging themes on account of their similarities and differences (Goulding, 1999). In this study, the views and experiences of different participants, same individuals, incidents and categories were compared during the data analysis.

4.1.6 Theoretical memos

At the heart of the process of generating theory is the writing of theoretical memos. Memos are defined by Glaser (1978) as "the theorising write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding" (p. 83). Strauss (1987) described theoretical memos as "writing in which the researcher puts down theoretical questions, hypothesis, summary of codes, etc—a method of keeping track of coding results and stimulating further coding, and also a major means for integrating the theory" (p. 22). The use of memoing was another element that Elliott and Lazenbatt (2005) consider as an essential element of the grounded theory methodology used to control distortion during analysis by sensitising researchers to their personal biases.

According to Glaser (1978), memoing is a continuous process which begins with the first coding of data through to sorting and writing papers to the end of the study. Memos can be of any length, ranging from just a sentence, a paragraph, or through to a few pages. Memos record ideas in any form of language, formal or informal, as at this stage the major concern is ideas.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) noted that researchers have to develop their own style of memoing, which may include the use of software, colour coded cards, and putting type-written pages into folders or notebooks. Of most importance is for researchers to ensure that their memos are orderly, systematic, and can be easily retrievable for purposes of sorting or cross-referencing. Strauss and Corbin (1990) emphasised the importance of dating each memo and referencing the source from which it was taken.

In this study, I created a column which I labelled "comments/memo" on the main Microsoft Excel spreadsheet that recorded my early coding to write my ideas about the codes and their relationship to each other. Later I recorded memos on the mind maps I constructed as well as in my research diary. Memos were also of assistance when I connected categories with each other and with their subcategories. The process of memoing began with the first coding of the data and continued to the end of the analysis.

4.1.7 Criteria for judging quality of grounded theory studies

The two pioneers of the grounded theory methodology, Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their work together, discussed the concepts of fit, work, relevance, and modifiability as criteria by which the quality of grounded theory can be judged. Elaborating on these concepts, Lomborg and Kirkevold (2003) described "fit" to mean that categories had to emerge from data and that they should not be selected from a theoretical perspective that had been pre-established. Reference to "work" meant that theories should be such that they predicted, explained, and interpreted what was happening in the area under study. "Relevance" meant that theories had to be relevant to the action in the area of study it was supposed to explain, while "modifiability" denoted changes a grounded theory might have to go through in the event that new data emerged, "generating qualifications to the theory" (p. 191).

The criteria used for evaluating a grounded theory study generally relate to the elements of grounded theory that it employed. Glaser (1992, p. 16) gave a summary of some important requirements in grounded theory. These are:

(1) the significance of the researcher getting out into the field to understand what is going on, (2) the importance of theory which is grounded in reality, (3) the nature and significance of experience in the field for the participants and researcher as continually evolving, (4) the active role of persons in shaping the world they live in through the processes of symbolic interaction, (5) an emphasis on change and processes and the variability of and complexity of life, and (6) the interrelationship between meaning in the perception of the subjects and their action.

Grounded theorists since Glaser and Strauss also have presented criteria in terms of the elements of the process that have been described in this chapter. The continuous process of collecting and analysing data to saturation using the constant comparative method of analysis, for example, is deemed as critical to grounded theory (Boychuk Duchscher & Morgan, 2004; Charmaz, 2003; Elliott & Lazenbatt, 2005; Mansourian, 2006; Marshall Egan, 2002; Rennie, 1998, 2000). Rennie (2000) argued that Glaser and Strauss developed the technique of constant comparative analysis to force the analyst to be close to the data in order to avoid coming up with subjective understanding of the data. Mansourian (2006) emphasised the significance of constant comparison by describing the process as "a pivotal point for success of GT in a research project" (p. 399).

I attempted to undertake my study in accordance with these criteria as much as possible. I undertook two field trips in Botswana to carry out interviews with senior management team members in senior secondary schools. This gave me the opportunity to interact with the participants to get an understanding of their expectations of and experience with the implementation of the performance management system. I undertook some preliminary analysis in the field and analysed the data systematically subsequent to the interviews in the manner described in this chapter to ensure that the emerging theory was inductively derived from the data.

4.2 Critique of the grounded theory approach

Grounded theory has been extensively used in a range of disciplines. Despite its wide usage, there has been debate concerning the strengths and limitations of this research methodology. Debate has even emerged between Glaser and Strauss, the co-founders of grounded theory, as their conceptualisations of grounded theory diverged. This section begins with a summary of the critique that Glaser had of Strauss (and Corbin) and vice versa and concludes with an overview of the strengths and the limitations that other researchers have of the approach.

4.2.1 Debate between Glaser and Strauss

Since the creation together of the grounded theory approach in 1967, Glaser and Strauss have differed in terms of its further development and use of the approach (Boychuk Duchscher & Morgan, 2004). The two scholars went their separate ways (Glaser 1978; Strauss, 1987) and no longer published together on grounded theory. Glaser (1978, 1992) critiqued Strauss for having failed to fully understand grounded theory and, as noted by Mansourian (2006), Strauss critiqued Glaser's version of grounded theory for placing too much emphasis on the inductive nature of grounded theory.

It is not entirely clear why Glaser and Strauss differed after the publication of their work in 1967. Hallberg (2006) suggests that it could be that they differed fundamentally on their ontological and epistemological viewpoints. Jeon (2004) agrees and argues that "having failed to explicate their ontological and epistemological views in sufficient detail in their original joint work, they moved to more independent writing in which their individual views have become more crystallised" (p. 255). In contrast, Mansourian (2006) believes that the disagreements between Glaser and Strauss were not so much to do with ontological and epistemological aspects of the grounded theory but about their differences regarding details pertaining to procedures such as how to code the data and develop categories.

One point of difference between the two which is discussed by Rennie (1998) concerns verification. Strauss and Corbin's (1990) argument was that grounded theory analysis was more verificational than what Glaser and Strauss had led people to believe in their original work together. Strauss and Corbin's (1990) perspective on verification was that researchers should continuously examine the data. They suggested that verification should be an ongoing process throughout the study. Glaser (1992), on the other hand, argued that grounded theory was not verificational and that it is only after the development of theory that researchers can verify. In Glaser's (1978) view, this was a part of the delayed action nature of grounded theory. He maintained that claims about verification were an indication that Strauss and Corbin had deviated from doing grounded theory analysis.

Another area in which Glaser and Strauss had fundamental differences was the role that literature should play in a grounded theory study. For instance, Glaser (1998) and Glaser and Holton (2004) argued that there was no need for prior review of the literature in the area of study. Reading the literature after the theory was developed from the data was acceptable. Strauss and Corbin, on the other hand, considered the literature as critical from the beginning of the process.

Glaser (1998) expressed concern that reading literature beforehand could "contaminate, constrain, inhibit, stifle or…impede the researcher's effort to discover emergent concepts, and hypothesis, properties and theoretical codes from the data that truly fit, are relevant and work" (p. 68). He argued that since the basic principle of grounded theory is that the theory should be grounded in the data collected through an inductive process, it is incumbent upon researchers to adopt a neutral position to be able to describe the situation in a non-evaluative way. This is done to ensure that only the participants' voice is heard. He maintained that reading the literature was highly likely to blur the researchers' ability to maintain open mindedness to the emergence of a new category that may not have emerged prominently from the data. Glaser's (1992) advice to researchers was that before they proceed to review the literature in the substantive area of study they should ensure that the theory from their own project has been "sufficiently grounded in a core variable and in an emerging integration of categories and properties" (p. 32).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) saw literature in a different light. They argued that both technical and non-technical literature play a significant role in grounded theory and contributed to theoretical sensitivity. They defined technical literature as "reports of research studies, and theoretical or philosophical papers … [which] can serve as background materials against which one compares findings from actual data gathered in grounded theory studies" (p. 48). Non-technical literature comprises such documents as letters, biographies, diaries, reports, videotapes and other forms of materials.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) argued that the reading of literature in grounded theory studies was imperative for researchers to identify relevant categories and understand their relationships. They also believed that literature can also be used as a way of stimulating theoretical sensitivity "by providing concepts and relationships that are checked out against actual data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 50). Strauss and Corbin (1990) further maintained that it can assist researchers to obtain a range of questions that they would use to ask their respondents, and they can also rely on literature to decide where to go to discover phenomena that is key to the development of theory. In addition, researchers could use literature to validate the accuracy of their findings, or can rely on literature to show how their findings differ from the published literature.

In general, other writers of grounded theory side with either Glaser or Strauss. Goulding (1998), for example, agrees with Glaser concerning the role of literature in the grounded theory approach. She argues that it is important for researchers to develop theory first which would then direct them "to the literature which best informs, explains and contextualises the findings" (p. 51). Goulding argues that it is only when there are no longer any new findings emerging

from the data that the researcher should begin to review literature and relate the theory from the data to it. Like Glaser (1992), Goulding (1998) also maintains that while related literature is deferred until the later stages of the study, reading and the use of literature are not completely abandoned in the beginning of the study. The researchers are advised to continue reading right from the beginning of their study, but in areas unrelated to the study.

In contrast, Backman and Kyngäs (1999) describe the Glaser argument for not reading the literature in preparation for the study as unrealistic because reading literature is intended to clear up the researchers' thoughts and ensure that the topic of study is narrowed down. Selden (2005) also stresses the significance of reading literature to avoid repetitive research since there could be other researchers who may have already conducted similar studies on the prospective topic of study, something that could only be revealed through the reading of literature. Selden (2005) also makes the observation that in their earlier work together, Glaser and Strauss (1967) had advocated for the use of such facilities as libraries, archives and fiction, which is inconsistent with Glaser's subsequent perspective about the use of literature.

Glaser and Strauss also differed in the significance they gave to the professional and personal experience of researchers. On the one hand, Glaser (1998) argued against the use of such experience to avoid forcing the data when doing grounded theory. He stressed the need for researchers to suspend what they already knew, and to keep studying the data, conceptualising and constantly comparing. On the other hand, Strauss and Corbin (1990) considered professional and personal experience as important sources of theoretical sensitivity. They argued a researcher with such experience would have the advantage of quickly gaining an insight and a better understanding of a phenomenon in comparison to someone who has never had a similar experience.

Concern has also been expressed about ambiguities in the different interpretations (Lomborg & Kirkevold, 2003) of some core terms in the grounded theory methodology. These ambiguities either reflect differences between Glaser and Strauss in their interpretation of the same concepts or they are inconsistencies shown by each one of them in labelling or defining the same terms differently. By way of illustration, LaRossa (2005) notes a range of such terms. He includes Glaser's (1978) use of the terms *variables* and *categories* to mean the same thing; the different definitions for *category* used by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Glaser (1992), Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998); and he also notes that the term *property* has had a range of slightly different meanings for both Glaser and Strauss. Another confusion centres around the two concepts of *category* and *subcategory* as used by Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998). According to LaRossa (2005, p. 848), to many people a *subcategory* would denote a category

that falls under another category, but the way Strauss and Corbin have used it shows that it is not a subcategory under a central category, but a category related to "a focal category".

To support his argument that the inconsistency in the meanings of terms can cause confusion, LaRossa's (2005) discussion concerning the use of the term *property* is summarised here. He notes that Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 36) defined the term as "a conceptual aspect or element of a category". The same term was later defined by Glaser (1992, p. 38) as "a type of concept that is a conceptual characteristic of a category, thus at a lesser level of abstraction than a category." LaRossa also explains that Strauss and Corbin gave two different definitions of the term *property* that made no reference to "concept" in their two books. The initial definition referred to *properties* as "attributes or characteristics pertaining to a category" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61). The second definition referred to *properties* as "characteristics of a category, the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). According to LaRossa (2005), these different definitions of the same concept by both Glaser and Strauss can cause some confusion to users of the grounded theory approach, especially to the novice researchers.

Although Glaser and Strauss had fundamental differences in terms of the application of the grounded theory approach and the definitions of some key terms, it does not mean that they differed on everything. According to Rennie (1998), Glaser and Strauss still agreed that such elements as constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling, and theoretical memoing are fundamental to grounded theory and contribute to objectivity. They further concurred that a grounded theory analysis reflects the perspective of the analyst.

In addition to the differences that emerged between Glaser and Strauss, there has been further debate regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the application of the grounded theory approach in qualitative inquiry.

4.2.2 Strengths of the grounded theory approach

Rennie (1998) argues that the grounded theory approach that Glaser and Strauss developed together in the 1960s was something wonderful in comparison to "what was customary research praxis in sociology" (p. 114) at the time. He maintains that a strength of the process is that it enables researchers to use data to develop theory rather than to test it. Mansourian (2006) describes grounded theory as an enjoyable and exciting procedure "because of constant emergence of new concepts and directions in the research journey" (p. 399).

Charmaz (2003) explains that prior to the publication of *Discovery* by Glaser and Strauss, most qualitative analysis was taught through oral tradition of mentoring. This, however, changed with the publication of *Discovery* which emphasised the need for qualitative research to move toward theory development. Charmaz argued that by publishing *Discovery*, Glaser and Strauss were providing "a persuasive intellectual rationale for conducting qualitative research that permitted and encouraged novices to pursue it" (p. 253). In this publication, they provided written guidelines for the systematic analysis of the data, complete with clear and specific procedures, and research strategies.

Myers (2009) states that the main advantage of grounded theory is its emphasis on a systematic and detailed analysis of the data and the provision of a method that guides researchers on how to undertake this process. LaRossa (2005) also state that Glaser and Strauss (1967) designed their procedures to provide concrete steps that were sufficient and would be understood and followed by both novice and experienced researchers. Thomas and James (2006) stated that although qualitative inquiry is valid, it can be difficult to do. For instance, in education it may involve talking with such people as students, parents and teachers, and this way of doing research can lead to a lack of direction in terms of what to do with the data. Grounded theory offers a solution by providing a set of procedures and a means by which theory is generated. Thomas and James (2006) also argue that with such laid down procedures, grounded theory has proved to be "an accessible and thoroughly explained method in qualitative inquiry" (p. 768).

4.2.3 Limitations of the grounded theory approach

Almost all, if not all, elements of the grounded theory approach have received critique. The critique questions the practicality or feasibility of some of the processes and the validity of others.

One of the major issues of concern that has been raised is the perceived prescriptive requirements of the grounded theory approach. Selden (2005) criticises grounded theory procedures especially those of Strauss and Corbin for providing recipes on methodology for inexperienced researchers. He argues that the detail to which these steps have been provided could be seen as an attempt at "trying to provide fail-proof measures for thesis making" (p. 120) with the implication that if the procedures are not followed to the letter, then the research may not be robust. Myers (2009) argues that while systematic and detailed analysis of data following a given method may be an advantage, it can also be a disadvantage. First-time users of the grounded theory approach may find the coding process overwhelming since "the attention to

word and sentence-level coding" (Myers, 2009, p. 112) may compel them to focus the mind on a great deal of detail.

McMurray, Pace, and Scott (2004) state that grounded theory methods generate large amount of data that may be challenging and disordered. Myers (2009) argues that such detail might frustrate people in such a way that they may choose a higher level social theory that is already in existence to help explain their findings. In addition, Goulding (1998) cautions that there could be a danger that researchers may put too much focus on the identification of codes at the expense of the explanation of how they relate to each other.

Thomas and James (2006) argue that to use grounded theory is in a way elevating a certain kind of thinking while demoting and eschewing "other kinds of thinking and understanding" (p. 790). For instance, such procedures as fracturing of the data, axial coding, and the development of categories and subcategories require researchers to follow some kind of order which imposes a pattern or shape. They argue that by adhering to such procedures the original voice of both the respondent and the discussant is diluted.

As Mansourian (2006) points out, grounded theory requires a long time engagement with the data which may pose a problem for researchers. According to Backman and Kyngäs (1999), for novice researchers applying the grounded theory approach, this becomes more or less a compromise between the demands of the approach and the resources which they have available.

There is also concern about the issue of saturation of the data. It may be difficult to know when there has been saturation. Marshall Egan (2002) indicates that the requirement that researchers should only conclude grounded theory research when they are satisfied that the data have saturated and that sufficient theory has emerged may be problematic. For instance, novice researchers may not know when data have reached the point of saturation and further data collection no longer contributes to the phenomenon under discussion. Similarly, Robson (2002) raises concern that practically it may be difficult for researchers to determine whether or not categories have been saturated or theory has been sufficiently developed.

One of the requirements of the grounded theory approach is for researchers to suspend their preconceptions or awareness of existing theories until a late stage in the analysis process. This has been criticised by some commentators who argue that this may prove a difficult undertaking for researchers. Backman and Kyngäs (1999) express misgiving about grounded theory's expectation of researchers to identify and suspend what they already know about the phenomenon being studied to avoid approaching the data with preconceptions and bias in its

interpretation. They maintain that this may be particularly difficult for novice researchers due to their limited experience regarding "the emotions involved in data collection and analysis in qualitative research" (p. 148).

Similarly, Robson (2002) argues that it would be difficult for researchers to conduct research without any "pre-existing theoretical ideas and assumptions" (p. 192). Bryman (2008) also questions the feasibility of a theory-neutral observation, given the general view that what researchers see when they carry out research is conditioned by different factors with one such factor being what they already know about the phenomena they are studying. Bryman (2008) also notes that it may be desirable for researchers to be sensitive to conceptualisations that are already in existence, so that their studies are focussed and can build on work done by others.

Some scholars' critique of the grounded theory approach concerns the issue of the development of theory itself. Backman and Kyngäs (1999) maintain that knowing the kind of theory that is emerging can be a problem when the researchers have so many ideas about theory that they miss the fundamental points. Likewise, Miller and Fredericks (1999) state that when researchers have produced a grounded theory, it is not clear what variety of theory has been generated. In other words, the kind of classification of theory generated has not been clarified. Bryman (2008) is also doubtful if grounded theory in many cases really results in theory. He argues that while grounded theory provides a rigorous approach to the generation of concepts, it is difficult to determine the kind of theory that is being put forward as an explanation of a phenomenon.

4.3 Research methods

The purpose of this section is to explain the procedures taken for data collection and data interpretation. This includes a description of how participants were identified; how the data were collected, processed and interpreted; the ethical considerations taken into account in the study; and the role of the researcher in this study.

4.3.1 Participants in the study

This study sought to explore the implementation of the PMS in senior secondary schools in Botswana from the perspective of the senior management teams in those schools. This team which comprises the school heads, deputy school heads and heads of houses is responsible for the overall management of schools, including the implementation of reforms at the school level. I decided to include the whole management team in the study and not just the school heads because the senior managers work together as a team, and school heads often delegate most of the implementation of reforms to their team members.

A total of 94 participants comprising 22 school heads, 18 deputy school heads and 54 heads of houses were involved in the study. In the planning stage, all the twenty-seven senior secondary schools existing at the commencement of the study in February 2007 were invited to participate in the interviews. Twenty-two school heads accepted the invitation on behalf of their senior management teams to participate in the study. The other five school heads were unable to participate in the study for various reasons. Two were on study leave, while the other three were either on sick leave or attending community engagements.

Schools whose school heads were unavailable were not included in the study. School heads were considered key participants given their overarching leadership positions in their respective schools. For protocol reasons, it was also considered inappropriate to interview the other members of those school management teams without being able to interview their school heads. The absence of five schools from a possible number of 27 did not compromise the study. The five schools were in four different regions with two schools being in a region with many senior secondary schools. Hence all five regions were adequately represented in the study.

4.3.1.1 School heads
Of the twenty-two school heads who participated in this study, five were female while seventeen were male (see Table 2).

Table 2. School heads by gender

Gender	Number	Percentage of total
Female	5	22.7%
Male	17	77.3%
Total	22	100%

The majority of the school heads interviewed were in the age range of 41 to 50 and 51 to 60 (Table 3). The age group 41 to 50 accounted for 45.5% of the total participants interviewed while 50% were aged between 51 and 60. Only one of the school heads were 61 years of age or above.

Table 3. Age range of school heads by gender

	Age			
	<40 yrs	41-50yrs	51-60yrs	61 yrs & above
Female	0	2	3	0
Male	0	8	8	1
Percentage of total	0	45.5%	50%	4.5%

All of the twenty-two school heads had relevant qualifications in education with either a first degree as the minimum qualification or a master's degree as the highest (Table 4). Eleven participants held a first degree while the other eleven were master's degree holders.

Table 4. School heads' qualifications by gender

	Qualification	
	First degree (Bachelor)	Postgraduate (e.g., Masters)
Female	2	3
Male	9	8
Total	11	11

Table 4 shows that of the five female school heads interviewed two of them have first degree while three hold a master's degree. This is in comparison to nine male first degree holders and eight postgraduate holders.

The experience of the school heads in that role ranged from just over two months to 24 years. Twenty school heads had a relatively long experience having acted in the role between seven and 24 years. Only two heads were less experienced with a little over two months and two years of experience respectively. Eighteen school heads had ten years or more of experience and were therefore in that position when the PMS was introduced in the senior secondary schools.

The time that school heads had been in the role in their current schools was between just over two months and seven years. This is reflective of Botswana's policy of transferring staff from one school to another and from one region to another. This meant that during the interviews some school heads had relatively little information about the implementation process at their current schools in comparison to the schools from which they had been transferred. In those cases, data from the other members of the senior management team became particularly

important. However, it also meant that some of those school heads who had experienced the PMS elsewhere were able to compare experiences from different schools and regions.

4.3.1.2 Deputy school heads

In each one of the 22 senior secondary schools, small groups of three and in a few cases, four participants were interviewed. These comprised the deputy school head in 18 of the schools and heads of houses in all of the 22 schools. Of the 18 deputies interviewed, 20% were female while 80% were male (Table 5). As with the school heads, males outnumbered their female deputy counterparts.

Table 5. Deputy school heads by gender

Gender	Number	Percentage of total
Female	4	22%
Male	14	78%

The majority of deputy school heads interviewed were in the age range of 41 to 50 (Table 6). Ten per cent of the participants were aged between 31 and 40 and another ten per cent were between 51 and 60 years of age. This shows that the post of deputy school head is held by people who are younger in age in comparison to school heads.

Table 6. Age range of deputy heads by gender

	Age			
	<40 yrs	41-50yrs	51-60yrs	61 yrs & above
Female	0	4	0	0
Male	2	10	2	0
Percentage of total	10%	80%	10%	0%

Like school heads all the eighteen deputies had relevant qualifications in education with either a first or a master's degree (Table 7). Thirteen were first degree holders and five were master's degree holders.

Table 7. Deputy heads' qualification by gender

	Qualification	
	First degree (Bachelor)	Postgraduate (e.g., Masters)
Female	2	2
Male	11	3
Total	13	5

The participants' experience as deputy school heads ranged from three months to 20 years. Only nine deputy heads had ten or more years of experience in their current position. The period of time that deputies had been in their current schools in that role was between three months and seven years, which again shows that from time to time, members of school staff transfer from one school to another.

4.3.1.3 Heads of houses

A total of 54 heads of houses were interviewed. Female heads of houses accounted for 46.3% of this group while 53.7% were male (Table 8). Group interviews with heads of houses and where possible, deputy heads, were conducted at each of the schools.

Table 8. Heads of houses by gender

Gender	Number	Percentage of total
Female	25	46.3%
Male	29	53.7%

As reflected in Table 9 below, more than 75% of the heads of houses interviewed were in the age range of 41 to 50 while a minority of 11% and 13% were aged between 31 and 40 and between 51 and 60 in that order.

Table 9. Age range of heads of houses by gender

	Age			
	31-40 yrs	41-50yrs	51-60yrs	61 yrs & above
Female	4	18	3	0
Male	2	23	4	0
Percentage of total	11%	76%	13%	0%

All heads of houses interviewed had either a first or a master's degree. Table 10 shows that forty-three were first degree holders while eleven were master's degree holders. Of the forty-three first degree holders twenty were female while twenty-three were male representing 37.1% and 42.6% respectively. Five female heads of houses were master's degree holders against six males with master's degree. This scenario shows that the difference in qualifications between female and male heads of houses is much more balanced in comparison to what prevails in the case of school heads and deputy heads. The figures show that qualifications for both female and male heads of departments' cadre are evenly distributed in comparison to the situation among school heads and deputy school heads which is highly skewed towards males.

Table 10. Heads' of houses qualification by gender

	Qualification	
	First degree (Bachelor)	Postgraduate (e.g., Masters)
Female	20	5
Male	23	6
Total	43	11

As with school heads and deputies, heads of houses have a wide range of experience on the job. Seventy percent had between four and ten years of experience in the role of head of house or its predecessor, head of department, while 30% had between three months and two years of experience.

4.3.2 Interview data collection

Interview data (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Rapley, 2004) were the primary source of data used in the study (see Appendix B for interview schedule). Other sources of data were publically available government documents used to provide background material in the context chapter and email correspondence with participants and government officers as required for purposes of clarification and confirmation.

Grounded theory commentators such as Strauss and Corbin (1994) view the interview as one of the most essential sources of data. Goulding (2002) further emphasised that "with grounded theory the most common form of interview is the face-to-face unstructured or more realistically, semi-structured, open ended, ethnographic, in-depth conversational interview" (p. 59). I selected the interview over other forms of data collection such as observations because I considered it a comprehensive method to obtain data and manageable given the time and

distance constraints of the project. I adopted the more formal semi-structured interviews rather than the conversational type interview.

In the semi-structured interviews, I had a range of specific topics that I wanted to explore during the interview process. It was from these broad topics that the questions which shaped the semi-structured interviews were generated. The aim of these questions was to explore topics such as participants' expectations and understanding of the PMS prior to its implementation, and their experience of the PMS during and after implementation.

The literature shows that face-to-face interviews have many advantages for gathering high-quality information for purposes similar to that of this study. For example, Allan (2003) and Berends (2006) explained that interviews provide an opportunity for researchers to clarify questions that may be confusing and to gather additional elaboration from respondents to help clarify answers. Furthermore, in face-to-face interviews researchers are assured that the people responding are the ones for which the interviews were intended, something that one would not be assured of when using a data collection instrument such as a mail survey.

As explained by Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2005), data collection in interviews is through the verbal interaction between people. Interviews can be of a less formal nature to give the researcher the freedom to change the sequence of questions or the wording. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2005) argued that one advantage of the interview was its potential for greater depth in comparison to other methods of data collection such as the questionnaire. In this study, one of the advantages I found with the interview was its potential to produce a wide range of ideas and opinions on the topic under discussion. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2005) also made the point that group interviews may be quicker compared to individual interviews and are therefore timesaving.

During the interviews, I was able to probe and ask follow-up questions for further clarification as suggested by Patton (2002). While doing this, I was also conscious of Rapley's (2004) caution to researchers to be careful when probing as this needs skill or else it may easily lead to bias. Probing should be seen as a way of facilitation without running the risk of directing the participants' talk.

There were two rounds of interview data collection. The first series of interviews started on 10 March 2008 and ended on 4 April 2008. A second data collection with a subgroup of the interviewees from the first round was undertaken eight months later in the last two weeks of

December 2008. The taped interviews lasted between 30 minutes and one hour took place in the schools at which the interviewees were located.

In the first round of data collection, the interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis with the school heads while deputy school heads and heads of houses were interviewed together as one small group in each school. Interviews with school heads were all held in their offices while the small group interviews were held mainly in deputy school heads' offices with a few held in the head of houses' offices. Most of the participants ensured that the usual flow of activity into their offices was suspended or minimised as much as possible during the period of the interview. This was in keeping with Rapley's (2004) view of the importance of a specific and suitable space for an interview where a researcher and participants may be free from interruption coming from other people who are not involved in the interview.

The second round of interviews served two purposes. The first was to seek further clarification on issues or aspects of the PMS that had arisen from the coding of the data from the first round of interviews. The second purpose was to check that my interpretation of the data was on the right track. Before returning to Botswana for the second round of interviews I had emailed a summary of my findings to a select number of people. Unfortunately, none of the participants to whom I sent email responded. I therefore used the second interview as an opportunity to seek feedback on my summary. After I had read the summaries, they unanimously confirmed my interpretation of the data and provided some additional comments.

For the second round of interviews, I arranged to travel to Botswana for two weeks during school vacation to interview some of the participants. Owing to the limited time available to me and the participants it was not going to be possible to interview all or even a large number of them. So I contacted a number of schools heads whom I thought were the most appropriate people to participate in this second interview. In addition, based on my experience of the schools, I knew they were the people likely to be available for interviews especially during vacation. Although initially fourteen of them had indicated that they would be available for interview, on arrival in Botswana only ten were interviewed. The other four had had a change of plan and were therefore not readily available. The ten school heads who were interviewed came from all five educational regions of the country. The data from the ten interviews were added to the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet in which the first round of interview data had been coded.

4.3.3 Taping of interviews

Taping of interviews became an important feature of this study. While Strauss is silent on taping, Glaser (1998) argued that it was an invasion into grounded theory and should therefore be avoided. He maintained that notes written down during interview are sufficient to be used for constant comparisons. He gave some limitations of taping, one of which was its potential to neutralise and undermine "the power of grounded theory methodology to delimit the research as quickly as possible" (p. 108). Glaser found the transcription of tapes by either the researcher or others time consuming as the process can take a very long time to complete. He rejected taping as a waste of time in that it compels researchers to unnecessarily go over the data three full times, which usually entailed interviewing, typing of the transcript, as well as reading through the transcript to code and analyse. He condemned taping for giving the researcher slow data collection and for producing too much data which is unnecessary. He also criticised it for preventing the researcher from being creative and developing skills in such areas as note taking, coding and analysing (Glaser, 1998).

Regardless of this negative perception about taping of interviews, I found this process to be very useful for a range of reasons. It enhanced my interaction with the participants as less time was spent wholly concentrating on note-taking. It was the safest way of capturing the extensive amount of the data that I had collected. I was able to cross-check the transcribed tapes with the field notes and this increased my confidence in the robustness of the process of coding and analysis of the data. I also did not have sufficient time to stay longer with the participants to be able to go back for more data so I needed the interviews to be there for me after I had left the country.

In the informed consent form (Appendix C) I had explained to the participants that an audiotape would be used to record their interview and that this would later be transcribed. In addition I made them aware of their right to opt out of the study if they so wished and that recording would only be done with their approval. In all the interviews, the participants consented to the use of the audio tape. Only one school required further verbal assurance that the tapes would under no circumstances be handed over to their supervisors. Only after I had given them this assurance did they agree to sign the consent forms and freely participate in a taped interview.

4.3.4 Transcription

I employed a transcriber in Botswana to transcribe the interviews, while I interviewed the participants. The main reason for employing a transcriber was to give myself more time to read through the interviews and commence data interpretation as early as possible. The other reason

was that a transcriber from Botswana would have no difficulties with the accents of the participants whereas an Australian might.

Upon returning to Australia I revised the transcriptions. Although this took a long time to complete given my limited typing skills, I found this an exercise worth doing. One major benefit was that by the time I completed transcribing, I already knew a lot more about my data and during analysis I knew where to locate the data. In addition, the process of transcribing was also an opportunity to begin to give thought to analysis and during that period I was able to note down some of my observations about what was taking place in the data. So once I started analysis I did not have to spend a lot of time reading through the data as I already knew a lot about it.

This experience was in keeping with McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig (2003) who argued that transcribing was an essential process which helps "qualitative researchers make sense of and understand interviewees' experiences and perceptions" (p. 74). Similarly, Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2005) also perceived transcribing as a way to avoid such pitfalls as "massive data loss, distortion and reduction of complexity" (p. 281).

4.3.5 Data interpretation

This section explains the process of data interpretation employed in the study. The process was an adaptation of the grounded theory approach developed by Strauss and Corbin's work (1990, 1998) described earlier. Their approach however was not followed to the letter due to some contextual factors. For instance, the application of some grounded theory techniques would have meant that I had to stay much longer in the field. This was not possible for this study due to the limited time available for the data collection and the timeframe within which the study itself was supposed to be completed. The section begins with a discussion of the field notes written while in the field and then proceeds to a description of the coding undertaken after data collection.

4.3.5.1 Field notes

Corbin and Strauss (2008) describe field notes as "data that may contain some conceptualisation and analytic remarks" (p. 124). The field notes are in compliance with the concept of theoretical sampling that requires the simultaneous collection, coding and analysis of data as recommended by Glaser (1978). This is a necessary process to go through so that when the detailed analysis of the transcribed material is carried out it is complemented by the process that had already been started based on the field notes (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Patton's (2002) advice to qualitative

researchers is to look over field notes before transcripts are done to "make sure the inquiry is unfolding in the hoped-for direction" (p. 383) because it "can stimulate early insights that may be relevant to pursue in subsequent interviews while still in the field—the emergent nature of qualitative inquiry" (p. 383).

I took field notes during the data collection period to note down my reflections of the interview process as a researcher and of the participants' responses. This process was another way in which I wanted to ensure the validity of my study. Keeping field notes was imperative also because should anything go wrong with the audio taping, one would have some notes upon which to rely.

During the field trip I was able to rely on field notes to identify areas in which I had to make some improvement during the interview process. One such example was when I looked back at the field notes after my first interview and identified probing as a weak area in which I had to improve to get more information and clarity from the participants. Another example was when I noted after the first interview that I had tended to dominate the discussion with the participants and noted that I had to speak less to allow the participants to say more. This note was very significant as a reminder of how to improve in the next interviews.

Other examples of field notes pertain to my observations of individual participants based on their comments about their perception of the implementation of the PMS in their respective schools. Some were made prior to transcription but others were made after the transcriber provided me with the transcripts of the interviews.

Field notes varied in length and ranged from very short to quite long depending on the circumstances. The two examples provided in Appendix D which were both written toward the end of the first field trip are relatively long for different reasons. One reflection was a detailed summary of the interview I had with a participant who "stood out" and the other reflection was an attempt to make sense of some of my overall impressions.

4.3.5.2 Description of the coding process used

The coding process used in this study was guided by Strauss and Corbin's (1998) three stage process of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding described earlier. While the coding processes are described here in that order, they are not entirely sequential. For example, in attempting to do the axial coding that constitutes the second phase of the process, the coding that had been done in the first stage was revised a number of times.

The coding of data mainly focussed on the interview transcripts. Complementing the interview data were the field notes taken during the field trip. During the analysis of the data, these notes were checked against the recorded interviews and against the codes generated.

The first stage of the coding, which comprised several iterations and several revisions, was recorded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The spreadsheet was useful because it was relatively easy to modify codes, introduce new coding at different times during the process, recode data, code data with multiple codes, and sort the spreadsheet by codes or participants. The coding began with one whole transcript at a time coding phrase by phrase or sentence by sentence (Strauss, 1998, Strauss, 1987) depending on the content. Table 11 is an extract from one of the later spreadsheets in which the open coding was recorded. The table consisted of more columns than those reproduced here. The second column, in particular, was the synthesis of several other columns. Table 11 comprises four columns called order, code, text, and comments or memos.

The first column labelled "Identifier" identified the interview data in the third column by participant name and by the position the text held in the interview transcript. The three letters of the code identified the participant and the three digits identified the location of the text in the transcript. After the spreadsheet had been sorted in various ways, these codes also allowed the spreadsheet to be restored to its original form i.e., with the text pieces in the third column appearing in the same order as they did in the interview transcript.

The second column called "Code" recorded how the text in the third column was coded. As can be seen in Table 11, the code consisted of up to three parts. The first part or stem is the broader idea in which a family of codes that describe different incidents of that stem are nested. For example in the first row, the text "We expect PMS to make some focus on the classroom situation, the educational context" was coded against *Factor needed for implementation to be successful: contextualise: classroom focus*. In most cases, the data was first coded by the smallest unit or micro-unit, in this case, "classroom focus". As the data coding progressed from one transcript to the next, it became evident how these "microcodes" clustered into broader codes which eventually further aggregated into the stems that appear at the beginning of each complete code. While some of the words or phrases used in the codes of the open coding process were mine as the researcher, many of them also came from the participants and were thus "in-vivo" codes.

The third column, as already explained, was the column in which the text from the transcripts was "fragmented" for coding. Almost all the text in each transcript was coded. The uncoded text was the text that was totally irrelevant to the topic such as talk about the weather or school

events and activities that had no relationship to the PMS. The fourth column "comment/memo" was created to record the researcher's reflections of the data. As ideas emerged from the data, I paused and wrote a memo to myself regarding the codes.

During the open coding, it emerged that there were some issues in the data that were not clearly explained in the first interview. These I noted in the spreadsheet and were followed up in the second round of interviews. The relevant parts from the transcription of the second interviews were pasted into the spreadsheet as illustrated in Table 12.

Table 11. Extract of the open coding spreadsheet

Identifier	Code	Text	Comment/memos	Missing Info
BBA039	Factor needed for implementation to be successful: contextualise: classroom focus	127-128 We expect PMS to make some focus on the classroom situation, the educational context.	Teaching and learning considered core business of the schools	
BBB099	Factor needed for implementation to be successful: assessment: simplify mathematical calculations	366-367 The mathematics should be made less complex. Because some people are humanities oriented. I am talking about calculation to a specific point.	Simplify PMS math calculations for paperwork user-friendly	
MMA068a	Factor needed for implementation to be successful: contextualise: focus on core business	252-254 Because of the paper work it brings, the meetings, people feel those can still be left out and focus on our core business which is to provide quality education.	Perception that PMS should focus on the provision of education; and not paper work and meetings.	
PPA035	Factor needed for implementation to be successful: school head's view: empowerment of school heads to take decisions about PMS based on unique needs of their schools	240-243 But if you look at our different environments and needs as schools, or if this school has to be unique, I must as its school head have certain powers in order to change certain things about the reform.	Empowerment of school heads to take certain decisions about PMS? Which decisions?	
LLB040	Reasons for PMS not working well: cascade: information distortion as it is relayed from one person to another	144-146 Yes it becomes distorted as information goes from one person to another and at the end of the day you find that you have lost so many issues that you could have discussed.	Limitation of cascade approach to training delivery- information distortion	
PPA020	Reasons for PMS not working well: cascade: lack of openness for other ideas	114-117 Another thing that I have noted in the past was this that even the people that were cascading it were up-tight, very, very tight. They did not even leave room that some of us who are receiving the information could also be looking at the system differently.	Top-down approach to information dissemination - lack of openness for implementers' ideas by trainers	

Table 12. Extract from spreadsheet illustrating inclusion of data from the second interview

Order	Code	Text	Comment/memos	Missing info/clarification (interview two)
AAA008	Outcomes of the PMS: PMS: assessment of individual performance	37-42 And then there is also what is called a performance plan; a development plan. A development plan is where you identify areas where you feel you need to be developed as an individual, say I could identify human resource management as an area where I feel I should be developed.	Performance development plan seems to crosscut interviews, so there is need for more explanation.	**I:** Tell me about the PDPs. What are they? **SH:** It is a performance development plan; a plan which has aspects of individuals' performance, how the individual is performing with regard to certain objectives. And then the development part is for the development of an individual. You identify your needs as an individual and then you say to your supervisor, I need to be developed on this whether it is ICT and so on.
LLA043	Role of teachers in the implementation process: implementer: initiate activities	154 They are initiative owners. LLA001	This keeps recurring and seems to suggest a major role. Find out what it means to be an initiative owner.	**I:** You mentioned that teachers are initiative owners. What does this really mean? **SH:** They are action players, those who do. **I:** These are initiative owners. **SH:** Yes. **I:** Give me an example. **SH:** Eh, let me take an example of customer standards, the person who would have taken this initiative should come up with ways of measuring the standards, what is that we are going to do to make sure that our customers are okay? Those who would be saying within three days we would have paid our suppliers or you can only wait for 30 minutes before you could get help. Those are the action doers. **I:** So those are the initiative owners. **SH:** Yes.

The emergence of the stems was a result of a process of clustering of codes that I undertook right from the beginning of open coding. As a guide to this process of clustering, I asked and answered questions such as, "What does this coded incident represent in the data?" In the process, many changes were made with some stems dropped since they were found to be unsuitable while others were re-worded. The clustering of codes, too, changed as some of the codes were found to be more relevant nested in one stem and not in the other. This was a continuous process which was carried out until the coding process was completed.

The repeated coding and comparison of codes was also imperative because the process had generated hundreds of codes many of which were similar or the same. This situation required that I had to distinguish as early as possible in the analytic process what Corbin and Strauss (2008) called "lower-level explanatory concepts from the larger ideas or higher-level concepts that seem to unite them" (p. 165). The rationale behind such differentiation at an early stage of analysis was to avoid the risk of ending up with many pages of concepts that would have made it difficult for me to fit them. I elevated the "higher-level concepts" to the level of topic headings which represented broader ideas, as they also seemed to permeate interviews.

On the other hand, the "lower-level concepts" appeared to explain something about the "higher-level concepts". Examples of some of the initial high-level concepts included *measuring and monitoring* and *training*. The lower-level concepts that explained something about *measuring and monitoring* include; *lesson observation, checking teachers record of work*, *assessing performances* and *checkpoints reviews*, while *training* was explained by such lower-level concepts used by the participants as *work shopping, resourcing, coaching, in-servicing, cascading* and *staff development*. For instance, some participants explained that the PMS promoted regular lesson observation checking of teachers' record of work by supervisors as means by which they measured and monitored the performance of teachers in the classroom. Similarly, they used such concepts as *work shopping* and *resourcing* to illustrate the role of the senior management team of providing training to their staff about the PMS. This was a coding process that produced hundreds of codes.

At the end of this exercise there were still hundreds of conceptual labels or codes that remained which had to be reduced by identifying particular phenomena in the data and group the concepts around them in a process called categorising (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). To achieve this process a list of all the codes in the Microsoft excel data was transferred to a spreadsheet according to their stems. Information about how the stems were developed and their relationships with codes is given when describing Table 13. The rationale behind this was to further identify codes that were repeated and to decide whether or not some of those which were

similar or the same could be integrated, or deleted. In this process it was discovered that even some of the stems of the codes had a lot in common with each other and were therefore either merged with others or were deleted.

For instance, 102 codes under the stem *Attributes needed to make PMS a goer* were found to permeate most of the other codes under different stems and were therefore either integrated or deleted since they provided no new information in the data. This also meant that the stem itself ceased to exist. This also applied to codes under stems *Deputy opinion about PMS, HOH opinion about PMS* and *SH opinion about PMS* and the stems themselves which also ceased to exist. They had to be merged with codes under the stems *Deputy understanding of the purpose of PMS, HOH understanding of the purpose of PMS* and *SH understanding of the purpose of PMS* because they were either similar or were exactly the same. One example was the participants' "opinion about PMS" and "understanding of the purpose of PMS" which reflected similar or the same responses. For instance, their response of *The PMS was introduced to improve performance and productivity* was nested in both stems. Another example pertains to the initial codes under the separate stem of *Evidence of PMS not working well* which were also integrated into codes under the stem *Reasons for PMS not working well* since they were also found to be either similar or the same to be treated as separate. The two codes of *Lack of external monitoring and measuring* and *Lack of preparedness of school heads to lead the implementation process* appeared under the two stems of *Evidence of PMS not working well* and *Reasons for PMS not working well, hence the integration.* This process of integration or merging reduced the stems from twenty to thirteen while the conceptual labels or codes themselves were reduced from a total of well over eight hundred to just above four hundred. Table 13 shows a list of the final stems of the codes following the process of integration. Appendix E shows some of the subcategories for each stem.

With the process of integration of the stems and their codes it became easier to identify categories and their relationship to concepts, and the next level of the data analysis was therefore to code at a higher level for the main category using mind maps in a process called axial coding (see Appendix F for an example of a mind map used).

In axial coding I had put back the same data that I had previously fractured during the process of the open coding "in new ways by making connections between a category and its subcategories" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 97). I undertook this task with the help of mind maps to analyse each of the thirteen stems and all the categories and codes under each one of them as illustrated in Appendix F. The mind map was used as a strategy to organise thoughts and in so doing, be able to make a link between categories to determine which ones became the

main categories or subcategories. This illustration (Appendix F) shows that *improve performance* emerged as the main category with *improve personal practice* and *accountability* as examples of subcategories while others such as *measuring and monitoring* became concepts that explained both the main category and its subcategories. Note that at some stage during open coding, concepts such as *measuring and monitoring* were categories in their own right. Nonetheless with further clustering and analysis, other codes became broader ideas and superseded them to become categories because they had more analytic power.

Table 13. Integration of stems and codes

Stems of the Codes	Number of references
Change required	22
Deputy understanding of the purpose of PMS	23
Factor needed for implementation to be successful	218
HOH understanding of the purpose of PMS	18
Outcomes of the PMS	128
Reasons for PMS not working well	355
Role of deputy in the implementation process	23
Role of HOH in the implementation process	27
Role of Ministry in the implementation process	17
Role of SH in the implementation process	41
SH understanding of the purpose of PMS	52
Steps in the implementation process	55
Things that are working about PMS	156

In carrying out this process I was looking "for answers to questions such as why and how come, where, when, how, and with what result" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 127). Guided by these questions the different categories and the concepts I identified in the last stage of the process of open coding produced five main categories. The process of axial coding led to selective coding which was the third stage of the data analysis for the central-category to ultimately develop theory.

The process of selective coding requires that the major categories be finally integrated to form a larger theoretical scheme for the research findings to take the form of theory. Such integration is essential for the researcher to decide on a central category also called core-category which represents the main theme of the study and may evolve from a list of existing categories. The

central category should be an abstraction and analysed in a few condensed words that seem to provide an explanation about what the research is all about (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The central category should have analytic power which gives it the "ability to pull the other categories together to form an explanatory whole" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 146). Or as Goulding (2002) put it, the central category has a theoretical significance and therefore its development should be traced back to the data. It must pull "together all the strands in order to offer an explanation of the behaviour under study" (p. 88). In this study, the process was aided by diagrammatic representations that visually captured the synthesis process that I was undergoing. The process was repeated several times until the central category developed satisfactorily pulled together the categories from the axial coding.

During the entire coding process, I used constant comparison as described in section 4.1.5 to stimulate thought about incidents, concepts, categories, and theory development. For instance, in the open coding phase, I had to constantly compare the many codes that I was generating to ensure that those which were similar or were the same were not repeated since they provided the same information and nothing new about the phenomenon of study. Constant comparison was also necessary to distinguish between what Corbin and Strauss (2008) called "lower-level explanatory concepts from the larger ideas or higher-level concepts" (p. 165).

I also employed the constant comparative method when I moved up to the axial and selective coding levels of the process. In axial coding, I had to identify the main categories from a range of categories that had emerged at the end of open coding. The process involved making connections between the different categories to determine those that represented broader ideas. These were elevated to the level of the main categories, while the rest were converted into subcategories that explained the main categories.

A similar process of constant comparison applied to the selective coding in which I had to delimit theory by reducing the original list of categories to one central category which represented the major explanatory idea coming out of the data. Deciding on the central category involved a comparison of all the main categories to establish their relationship in order to be able to decide on the main idea and ultimately write theory. At this level I was not only in possession of the coded data but also some memos to compare and start writing theory. In summary, grounded theory as originally conceived by Glaser and Strauss (1967) was a methodology of iterations called the process of constant comparison which required researchers to move back and fourth among the data right from coding for concepts through to categories and theory development.

4.4. Ethical considerations

It is the responsibility of researchers to protect any person who is involved in an interview. The rights of research participants to make voluntary and informed decisions about whether to participate in a particular study, to be accorded considerate treatment during the process of the study, as well as have their personal responses and identity kept confidential is recognised by research institutions or associations (Brenner, 2006). It is against this background that researchers should recognise that any interviews with participants "concern interpersonal interaction and produce information about the human condition" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2005, p. 292).

This means that any research study is supposed to be "built on trust between the researcher and the participants, and researchers have a responsibility to behave in a trustworthy manner, just as they expect participants to behave in the same manner" (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2006, p. 19). This requires researchers to demonstrate their consideration for the important ethical issues affecting their research participants. Patton (2002) argued that interviews are interventions that affect people because they may be intrusive in their lives as in some cases they even have to tell the researcher the things they never intended to reveal. For this reason "the interviewer needs to have an ethical framework for dealing with such issues" (p. 407).

This ethical framework is essential as it entails the voluntary informed consent of the participants. This requires giving the participants adequate information about what the study will involve, and an assurance that their consent to participate would be free and voluntary rather than coerced (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2005) emphasised the significance of such ethical aspects as informed consent and confidentiality to assure the respondents that the interview will not be harmful to them. Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2009) pointed out that confidentiality is protected when the information about the participants' identities is not disclosed by researchers. According to Brenner (2006), participants' informed consent may be obtained either through a letter or form that clearly specifies what the research involves, includes clearly laid down procedures the participants can expect to follow and explains the ways in which their confidentiality will be assured. It may also be imperative to describe possible risks and benefits of the research (Brenner, 2006).

In my research, it was incumbent upon me to obtain consent of the people who were going to participate. Ethics approval (Approval number: H2714) by the Ethics Committee at James Cook University was granted for the study to proceed (Appendix G). The Ethics Committee's approval was subject to detailed information about such areas as the objectives of the study and

the population to be interviewed. The ethics approval was essential for submission to the Ministry of Education in Botswana for permission to visit the schools for data collection. Permission was given (see Appendixes H).

Owing to the problem of distance, I was concerned that information about interview itinerary and other important documents such as the consent forms may not reach some schools in time for the interviews. I therefore sought administrative support from an officer of the Ministry of Education who agreed to receive the information I emailed to him and pass it on to the schools in time prior to the commencement of the study. Since this was for administrative purpose, the role of the officer was to forward the information as he had received it from me, without having to explain anything.

The consent protocol explained fully the topic and purpose of the study, and the information about what I would do with the findings of the study as a researcher. It also clarified how the participants' responses were going to be handled and that their confidentiality and anonymity would be protected. At the beginning of each interview session I repeated the information sent to the participants, including the contents of the consent form which explained the purpose of the study. This was all done in English since it is the official language and language of instruction in Botswana in schools. The signing of the voluntary informed consent by each individual participant was confirmation that they were not being coerced to participate in the study, but were doing so willingly.

4.5 Role of the researcher

The role of the researcher in this qualitative study requires discussion. The relationship that the researcher may have with the participants and the prior knowledge, including biases that the researcher may have of the topic itself, may influence both the data collection and the data interpretation processes. This section begins with a discussion of the concerns I had prior and during the data collection phase of the study that were particular only to doing the actual interviews. The section concludes with a discussion of my concern about bias influencing the both the data collection and interpretation.

4.5.1 Concerns relating to the interview process

There were three main issues I reflected upon in my field notes before even entering the field. The first was to do with the relationships I already had with most participants. The second concerned dress, and the third was my own apprehension with the interview process. I briefly outline them in this subsection and explain how I dealt with each.

One of the first issues that I noted in my field notes was the matter of dealing with my prior and existing professional and sometimes personal relationships with the participants. I had worked with many of them when I was a teacher, a member of a school management team, and later as an education officer in the Ministry of Education. This was an issue that was raised during my confirmation seminar. Months after that seminar, I was still debating in my mind strategies of how to formally handle interviews with most of the participants, in particular those school heads and some deputies whom I had known and closely related or worked with for many years. This was an issue that needed my attention since I was not sure of the extent to which these prior relationships would affect the study. While I convinced myself that they would generate the trust and rapport necessary to get good and rich data, I also had fears that, if not handled properly, they might adversely affect the validity of the data. I thought that it was possible that the participants would want to give me what they thought I wanted and not necessarily what was prevailing on the ground. It was therefore critical that I found a way of presenting myself in a manner that would not compromise my data.

I decided that the best solution would be for me to repeat the information that I had earlier sent to the participants about the study. So at the beginning of each interview, I took about five minutes to explain to the best of my ability the purpose of the study, and the reason for choosing this particular topic. I further requested them to as sincerely and freely as possible express their own views about the PMS, since such information would not only be of benefit to myself, my university and my sponsors, but also to the Ministry of Education and its schools. I explained it would not only be useful for thinking about what could be done with the existing PMS but it would provide useful information for the implementation of future reforms. I also stressed that their names or any other identifying information would not be revealed in the study. The impression I got was that this brief explanation worked because of the professional manner with which all the participants conducted themselves throughout the interview. The manner in which they all responded to the questions seemed sincere and honest, and in addition, all of them stayed focussed for the duration of the interview.

While it may not be considered so important by some people, the issue of attire also became something worth pondering about. I had a dilemma in deciding on acceptable and suitable attire for the interviews. One of the reasons that made the decision difficult was that in Botswana, it is mandatory for all teachers to dress formally. If male, tailored trousers, shirt and tie are the norm during working hours. This meant that I had to make a careful decision that would not be interpreted as being disrespectful to the official dress code. I made up my mind that I would wear smart casual because I considered the warm weather to be suitable for such kind of attire.

Upon reflection and given the seriousness the schools gave to the official dress code, I began to wonder how my appearance would have an effect on my relationship with the participants and on the data collection process itself.

The third challenge that I took note of was how to contend with my nervousness doing the interviews. As the date for the first interview was getting closer, I was becoming more anxious. It was still hard to imagine the reception I would get from the participants in spite of my close relationship with many of them, and how the interview process itself would unfold. Although I had previously had some practice with my supervisor doing interviews, the reality was that this was not going to be the same. Simply reflecting on the research participants and my own impressions of the research process alone without doing anything about it was of course not sufficient, and so I had to find ways in which I could address the reflections.

4.5.2 Response to my concerns as a novice researcher

A few days before the commencement of interviews, I made a final decision to be on the safe side by dressing in accordance with ministry's prescribed dress code. I wanted to avoid risking being misinterpreted as being disrespectful of the official dress code I knew about, and therefore get a negative reception that would be detrimental to my study. The day of my first visit finally arrived on the 10 March 2008.

I arrived at the first school thirty minutes before my interview with the school head scheduled for eight o'clock in the morning. On arrival at the school, the reception by the school head and his secretary was very cordial which allayed my nervousness and fear. The school head was one of those I had known and closely interacted with for many years. Prior to the interview, I had informally met with him to discuss the study and my visit to his school for the interview in the following few days. I took cognisance of this meeting and noted that the meeting we had earlier may have led to the good reception from the school head, his secretary and the other research participants at that school. Although I had made an effort to contact the other school heads by telephone to confirm my visit, not all of them were available to talk to directly. I therefore left messages with either their deputies or secretaries. With this in mind, I considered the possibility that the situation in other schools where I had neither visited nor spoken to the school heads directly might be different. Therefore, I thought I should conceal my excitement until after I had done more interviews in a number of schools. All the same, the receptive school environment and the manner in which interviews with the participants progressed were the tonic I needed to move to the next school with some confidence.

The reception I received in the next few visits was just as cordial as the first and I therefore began to gain some confidence and even the manner in which I handled the interviews improved a great deal. As I continued with more interviews, my confidence improved further and I began looking forward to the next interview with excitement. I found the participants' perspectives to be very informative and worth listening to. I was also surprised that some of them expressed views that were completely contrary to my previously held assumptions, beliefs and biases about what they would have said about the implementation of the PMS. By the end of the first week, I had done twenty interviews in five schools. This was possible because these schools were within close vicinity of each other and I was able to visit two of them in a day.

Although I was content with the conduct of the interviews, there were two things that I noted with concern regarding the way I had conducted the interviews. After listening to the early recorded conversations, I realised that I tended to talk a lot during the interviews and that I did not handle my probing or follow up questions satisfactorily. I noted these concerns as areas of immediate attention, and each time I went into a school I reminded myself of the things I had to pay attention to during the interview.

A further notable during group interviews involving deputy school heads and heads of departments was the cultural protocols observed by the participants. There seemed to be a high regard and respect for the hierarchy in the schools. On most occasions, mainly at the beginning of the interview, it was the deputy school head that would immediately start the ball rolling, as if to suggest that it was an expectation and protocol that the most senior in the group should speak first. Even in the few instances where the deputy would choose to remain quiet, heads of houses would look towards him or her as if to say, "You are the one who should speak first." In addition, more often than not, deputy heads tended to dictate the pace and direction of the discussion. This gave me the impression that the implementation of the PMS was a hierarchical issue, and wondered how this situation would impact on the interview process. Once the interview had started other members of the group participated in the interviews independent of their deputies.

By the end of the first round of interviews, I concluded that my interaction with the participants during interview was cordial, as in all the schools that I visited none of prospective participants opted to not attend the interview or withdraw from the interview once it had begun. As I have already noted, the participants were welcoming, and during the interviews most of them appeared very open and frank in the manner in which they responded to the questions.

4.5.3 Potential for bias during the study

When qualitative researchers consider carrying out a study, they should take note of validity as an important feature of any research as a demonstration of its credibility. So central to this study, was the issue of validity and the validity measures that I undertook to ensure quality control. Validity is defined by Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2009) as "the degree to which qualitative data accurately gauge what we are trying to measure" (p. 375). While historically validity has for many years been linked to quantitative research, it has now become prominent in qualitative research. This has been caused by mounting pressure on qualitative researchers to justify why their studies should be deemed accurate and credible, and as a qualitative researcher, I had to adhere to this requirement.

Different researchers find different ways of ensuring validity in their studies, and in my case the major validity measures I used were reflexivity and sensitivity both of which are significant in grounded theory. As noted by Corbin and Strauss (2008), reflexivity is essential in grounded theory. Hall and Callery (2001) contended that when reflexivity addresses the influence of researcher-participant interactions on the research process, there is a greater chance that the validity of the findings in grounded theory studies will increase. For Creswell and Miller (2000), reflexivity requires researchers to self-disclose their assumptions, beliefs, and biases that could have a bearing on their inquiry. Sources of bias as cited by Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2009) include the characteristics of both the researcher and the participant as well as the nature of the interview questions. Some examples of these characteristics are the attitudes, opinions and expectations of researchers.

Corbin and Strauss (2008) also emphasised the need for researcher sensitivity. This requires researchers to have an insight or to be in a position to identify relevant issues or happenings in the data and therefore see these issues or problems from the participants' point of view. So sensitivity should help researchers understand that it is not their perception of an event that matters, but rather what is being said or done by the participants. Corbin and Strauss (2008) referred to sensitivity as a characteristic that develops over time as researchers associate and work closely with both the data and the participants. In the process of data collection and analysis, meanings and significance of data become clearer for researchers as they see the situation, event or phenomenon from the participants' perspectives.

It was therefore essential that I recognised my assumptions and biases as a researcher and made efforts to overcome them. The assumptions and biases had been formed as a result of my twenty years working as a teacher, a member of the senior management team in a senior secondary

school, and an education officer in the Ministry of Education. During this period, Botswana's education system was highly centralised, as it is even now. Almost all the reforms that schools had to implement came down from the Ministry of Education with no significant input from the teachers themselves. I had experience with the implementation of several other reforms at the school level, many of which had not been successful, and with this experience, my perception of the implementation of the PMS in senior secondary schools was that it, too, would also fail.

With these assumptions, beliefs and biases I had a strong feeling that school managers assigned the responsibility of implementing the PMS would not be receptive to the idea and would therefore fail to effectively implement this reform. So I undertook this study with a fair number of my own "assumptions, beliefs, and biases" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127) that were likely to shape its direction.

It was on account of this self-reflection that I took the initiative to attempt as much as possible to identify and suspend such perceptions and remain non-judgemental throughout the study. As a way of ensuring the accuracy and credibility of the study, semi-structured interview questions were prepared as a guide "to ensure that the basic lines of inquiry are pursued with each person interviewed" (Patton, 2002, p. 343). The interview guide was flexible for me to probe and ask questions that reflected the particular subject being explored.

Brenner (2006) argued that one characteristic of a good interview is for the research participant to be encouraged to speak more than the interviewer. Hence I tried to talk as little as possible while I listened more and I also tried to give the participants sufficient time to freely respond. Again by talking less, I was trying to avoid the possibility of imposing my own biases on the participants, or to influence them to respond from my own perspective. According to Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2009) by talking little and listening more, a researcher also has enough time to think of probing and follow-up questions for the participants.

In terms of the data interpretation, I took care to code the data according to what the participants had said. On a regular basis, my supervisor checked the coding with me.

4.6 Limitations of the study

The study had a number of limitations associated with decisions made regarding the methodology. These relate to the choice of participants, the type of data collected, and the analytic process.

Because this study explored the implementation of the PMS from the perspective of one stakeholder only, that is, senior management, its conclusions are limited to that one perspective. Other equally important stakeholders such as the teachers, the ministry and students whose perspectives of the PMS would have contributed to a balanced view of what was taking place regarding the implementation of the PMS at the school level were not within the remit of this study. The concern of the study was the perceptions of the school management only.

There was the additional limitation that the data used for the study were almost all interview data with the exception of some documents. No observation data were collected, a data source that grounded theory studies often use. Observing PMS related activity in schools could have enhanced the study by providing data about what participants do rather than about what participants say they do. Observational data could have led to richer questioning.

Interview data is limited in a number of ways including the limitations present in the questions themselves and also in the nature of the responses from participants. My participants' responses were based only on the questions that I asked, but there could have been more information through observation. For example, interviewees might provide misleading information for whatever reasons known to them, or indeed from not understanding the question. Adler and Clark (2008) note that an advantage in using observational techniques is that they would offer a human behaviour that is relatively unfiltered. They argued that when people are asked about what they had done or would do under given conditions rather than observing them, the responses might be misleading, citing such factors as forgetfulness and deliberately withholding information.

Another limitation was the timeframe in which the data were collected. The data constituted a snapshot of one point on the implementation continuum. It is likely that the situation changed after the data were collected at that particular time. Owing to the fact that the data collection was a "once off" and confined to a limited timeframe, the study does not include how the perspectives expressed about the implementation process at the time subsequently changed.

There was also the limitation specifically associated with how I adapted grounded theory approach to this study. One of the requirements of this approach is for researchers to spend longer periods of time in the field than what was available to me to allow in-depth interaction with the participants. Emphasis is also on the significance of concurrently collecting, coding and analysing data and through this process, deciding which data to collect next and where to find them in order to develop theory as it emerges (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). Time constraints meant that this process had to be adapted.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS I: THE PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM "IN THEORY"

5.0 Introduction

The research findings are presented in chapters five and six. Each chapter addresses the same three research questions from two perspectives. This chapter focuses on the expectations that the senior management team had of the performance management system (PMS). The next chapter attends to the senior management team's actual experience of the PMS. Chapter seven draws these findings together to provide an explanation for the senior management team's experience with the implementation of the PMS. This chapter, chapter five, discusses participants' perceptions about the PMS "in theory" as reflected in the three categories highlighted in Table 14.

The findings in chapter five are presented in response to the research questions as follows: section 5.1 *Intended purpose of the PMS* addresses the first research question that asks: What are the perceptions of the senior management team in senior secondary schools regarding the purpose of the performance management system?; section 5.2 *Intended roles of the senior management team* addresses the second research question: What are the perceptions of the senior management team concerning their roles as implementers of the PMS?; and section 5.3 *Anticipated concerns about the PMS* responds to the third research question: What are the perceptions of the senior management team regarding the factors that impact on the implementation of the performance management system?

In this chapter, participant data produced more detailed responses to the first two research questions than to the third. The next chapter compensates for this imbalance with a more extensive discussion of the factors that participants did experience in implementing the PMS "in practice".

The findings reported here concern the range of conceptual categories that emerged from the axial coding process that followed the open coding phase of the data analysis. A detailed description of this process is found in chapter four which explicates the methodology. The process of axial coding produced three categories, namely: senior management expected benefits from implementing the PMS; senior management perceived its role as essential to successful implementation of the PMS; and senior management was concerned about potential impediments to the successful implementation of the PMS. Table 14 shows that under each of these categories were several sub-categories, some of which were conceptual categories prior to the process of condensing them to their current status.

Table 14. Senior management expectations of the PMS

Category	Sub-categories
1. Senior management expected benefits from implementing the PMS	1. A reform for managing performance (i) A tool for strategic planning (ii) A tool for accountability 2. A reform for improving performance (i) A reform for enhancing performance (ii) Providing professional development
2. Senior management perceived its role as essential to the successful implementation of the PMS	1. School heads' role essential in the PMS (i). Overseeing the implementation process (ii) Leading the implementation process (iii) Managing the PMS (iv) Liaising with regional offices (v) Providing professional development 2. Deputy school heads' role essential in the PMS (i) Assist in leading the implementation process (ii) On the ground monitoring classroom supervision (iii) Working with team to provide professional development 3. Heads of houses' role essential in the PMS (i) Supervising staff and students (ii) Checking and helping teachers write PDPs (iii) Providing professional development (iv) Managing student welfare
3. Senior management was concerned about potential impediments to the successful implementation of the PMS	(i) The risk of inadequate resourcing (ii) Uncertainty regarding how the PMS defined quality performance (iii) Absence of necessary skill base required to implement the PMS

In these two chapters, conceptual categories from the data analysis are included to support the findings. Where relevant, numbers are attached to the conceptual categories to show the number of participants whose interview data was allocated to a particular category. All these numbers, big or small, are useful because grounded theory attempts to account for the range of

experiences that individuals have of a particular phenomenon. However, there is a limitation to how the numbers should be interpreted. For a range of reasons, some participants in the group interviews, sometimes chose to remain silent regarding a particular question or issue despite the probing efforts of the researcher. This therefore meant that their individual views were not heard on some topics. The numbers therefore should not be construed as *exact* measures of the prevalence of beliefs and perceptions amongst the participants.

In the rest of this thesis, abbreviations are used to distinguish the participants. Each participant is identified by three letters, for example WWA, WWB, QQC and QQD. The first two letters in the abbreviations represent a particular school. The third letter indicates the participant's position in the school. The letter 'A' is for the school head, 'B' is for the deputy school head and the letter 'C' and subsequent letters represent heads of houses. In the examples provided, WWA and WWB come from the same school with the first being the school head and the other the deputy. In the cases of QQC and QQD, both are heads of houses at the same school.

5.1 Intended purpose of the PMS

The participants held expectations about what the purpose of the PMS would be as well as what it should be. In summary, the participants perceived the purpose of the PMS to be a "reform for managing performance" and a "reform for improving performance" that would bring a range of benefits to their schools. The category of *Senior management expected benefits from implementing the PMS* and its sub-categories is found in Table 14.

5.1.1 A reform for managing performance

The sub-category of the PMS called a "reform for managing performance" captures what the participants believed to be the two key elements by which performance would be more effectively managed than it had been previously. These were the requirement for the school to have a strategic plan and the requirement for all staff members to have personal development plans (PDPs).

5.1.1.1 A tool for strategic planning

The participants perceived the PMS as a tool for strategic planning and their expectation was that it would provide the direction desired in the schools. With the inception of this reform, the expectation was that schools would develop a strategic plan that would reflect all their prioritised activities for implementation over a set period of time. Many participants emphasised the significance of the setting of objectives, targets and timeline schedules, as well as the drawing up and the implementation of plans as important elements of the strategic

planning process. Table 15 lists the conceptual categories that illustrate the participants' perceptions of the key aspects of the PMS as a tool for strategic planning.

Table 15. Categories portraying the PMS as a planning tool

Title of category	Number of participants
PMS promotes strategic planning	32
PMS promotes planning with objectives	25
PMS is about planning with targets in mind	24
PMS emphasises timeline schedules	19
PMS requires staff to implement the strategic plan	9

The data revealed that thirty-two participants talked in favour of the expected process of strategic planning to be introduced in schools. One of the participants, ABC, reflected on the anticipated development of "a strategic plan for the whole school for the whole year or for three years." Another participant, WWC, stated that it was essential for staff to engage in strategic planning to ensure "that there is an organised plan which shows clearly what is it that we want to do from January to December." Similarly, LLA talked about the direction that strategic planning would provide when he indicated that "this process is about performance, giving direction to what you are going to do." WWA pointed out that the perceived aim of strategic planning is "to help the workers to plan ahead so that they should know where they are going."

Identified in the data as two of the most important steps in the process of strategic planning, were the setting of objectives and the setting of targets. One of the participants who made mention of the significance of objectives was QQB who stated: "The whole idea of strategic planning is to plan with objectives and to work towards achieving them." AAD indicated that the expectation was for the school to come up with a strategic plan and that it was from this plan that "individuals are going to come up with objectives looking at the strategic plan for the whole school."

With respect to the importance of target setting, participants emphasised how individual targets needed to be consistent with school targets which in turn, had to dovetail with the objectives of the strategic plan. One participant, IIA, pointed out that she liked the idea of "strategic planning and having targets since it gives direction." It was through setting and working toward targets according to a timeline that the strategic plan would be implemented.

In addition to the setting of objectives and targets, the setting of deadlines emerged in the data as an anticipated integral part of strategic planning process. Having to state the time frame within which staff had to complete tasks assigned to them was considered crucial to the planning process. By way of illustration, QQA explained: "We might ask teachers to do remedial teaching or any other school activity, and then indicate the deadline for completion." LLB indicated that with the implementation of the PMS, members of staff would now be more time conscious when they implemented their activities since "deadlines would be a requirement at the Ministry, the region and at the school level." Further emphasising the significance of timeline schedules in the PMS, CCB stated: "Basically you would be required to have your deadlines for everything, the tests and everything, and the completion of the syllabus. This is emphasised in PMS as part of planning." Setting and abiding by deadlines was not generally seen as a well-established practice in schools before the implementation of the PMS. More generally, the participants suggested that the practices of strategic planning, setting of objectives and targets were almost entirely new for many staff members.

The need for all members of staff to be involved at the grass-roots level in the strategic planning was emphasised by many of the participants. VVA, for example, indicated that the expected starting point in the process of strategic planning was for all members of staff to participate in some discussion that would lead to the development of the strategic plan of the school. He emphasised the need for the senior management team to take everybody on board and that collectively meant "you should all agree on the plan based on the understanding of the mandate of the school." BBC also argued for the importance of the discussion stage and explained that teachers and supervisors were all to be involved at this level of the planning process in order "to agree on the objectives and critical activities they are going to carry out and how they will meet the objectives." Emphasising the significance of the whole of school participation in the process, CCB stated: "The PMS strategic planning is not just to be leader driven because everybody needs to feel that they have contributed towards its development." WWA believed that the PMS was expected to be an opportunity "for the whole staff to sit together and come up with the objectives of the school", and in making such a contribution, it "would create ownership of the reform, and therefore, motivate them to work towards its effective implementation."

5.1.1.2 A tool for accountability

All the participants expected that the strategic plan had to be carried out; it was not a document to be left on the shelf. The data revealed that the participants perceived the PMS as a reform that would promote accountability amongst members of staff in the school, as well as

accountability of the school to the regional office. Table 16 summarises participant perceptions regarding the significance of the PMS as a tool for accountability.

Table 16. Categories concerning the PMS as a tool for accountability

Title of category	Number of participants
PMS is a tool used to hold people accountable for their performance	50
PMS has introduced a system of monitoring to hold people accountable for their performance	24
PMS is a tool for supervisors to hold supervisees accountable for their performance	24
PMS is a tool for supervisees to hold supervisors accountable for their performance	6
PMS will promote ownership through performance development plans by staff	10
PMS is a self-monitoring tool for people to account for their own performance	6

The need for accountability was accepted as unavoidable but it was also welcomed. TTA expressed a commonly held sentiment: "We want accountability. The Ministry wants a completely accountable school. To some extent that is possible and we are trying to move in that direction. People must be held accountable for their performance."

The PMS was seen as introducing a level of accountability that had not been there in the past. One participant, DDA, stated: "The performance management brings in the mind of the teachers that probably, they have to be more accountable for their actions in the schools than before." LLC noted that in the past, there had been little accountability of the kind that he hoped the PMS would be achieving: "You need to account for failure to achieve the objectives you set out to achieve. In the past, if the students' academic results were as low as 40% it didn't really matter. PMS demands accountability for such poor performance.

Some saw the PMS as a much more constructive approach to accountability than previous attempts because it involved monitoring of performance as well as measuring performance. The PMS appeared to place value not only on measures of accountability but also on actions that had been attempted to improve performance. QQA explained:

Those who are above us demand that accountability. The problem initially was that people would not actually want to see the steps that you are taking in your work. They would be more interested in the end result without seeing whether you were encountering any problems. Now they have to monitor people's progress to be able to hold them accountable for performance.

The ongoing monitoring for improvement was seen to be a way of understanding a supervisee's performance. ABD, a head of house, explained: "There is going to be somebody who monitors, measures and keeps the data, so that we can get to know the track record and why this person performed the way he or she did."

The participants recognised that the performance agreement between the school head and the regional chief education officer, and the performance development plans (PDPs) within the school between supervisees and their supervisors, were two of the key elements by which accountability was built into the PMS. A performance agreement contains the overall objectives a school intends to achieve over a given period of time. These objectives are documented in the school strategic plan. School heads sign the performance agreement with the regional chief education officer to whom they are accountable, on behalf of their respective schools. A performance development plan (PDP) is drawn by individual staff members to indicate a set of objectives derived from the school strategic plan each individual intends to achieve over a period of time. Individuals also have to write in their PDPs, the professional needs in which they would like to be developed.

The processes around the PDP were seen as particularly important to ensuring accountability. Amongst other benefits, the PDP document provided the evidence that both supervisor and supervisee needed to ensure that the process was productive. An insight of how the monitoring process was expected to work in order to ultimately hold people to account for their performance was provided by one of the deputies, MMB. He explained:

At least you are not going to stop and start checking what the person has really achieved. You will monitor the person's progress and there will be a reference point to show what the teacher would have planned to achieve. The individual will be held accountable for what he would have or have not achieved.

Participants understood that the existing top-down hierarchical structure within the schooling system would also structure the accountability "flow". The school's ultimate accountability was to the regional office. KKA pointed out: "The responsibility of school heads is to sign performance agreements with chief education officers on behalf of their schools. At the end of the year, the school heads are held accountable for the achievement of the overall school objectives."

Within the schools, accountability was to one's supervisor. VVA perceived a top-down hierarchical supervisory structure as follows:

> With the PMS, the chief [education officer] must come to me, look at my strategic plan and say, 'Yes, this is where you are.' Then after I have been assessed, I have to go down, trickle down to other members of the senior management who are accountable to me.

KKC, a head of house, gave more detail of the "trickle down" process: "The school heads sign with the deputies, who in turn sign with head of houses. It is supposed to go down there [pointing downwards]. This helps supervisors to monitor their supervisees and hold them accountable for their own performance."

While the perception that the PMS would hold supervisees accountable to supervisors was strong, another perception, albeit much less common (see Table 16), was that of the PMS as a tool supervisees could use to hold their supervisors accountable to them. AAB provided a scenario in which the supervisee may use the PMS to appeal a decision not to grant promotion:

> If somebody has been performing, there will be evidence based on
> continuous measurement. And if he is denied progression on the basis of
> non-performance, the person can take you, the supervisor, to task and say,
> 'But let's go back to our reviews and let's see where you actually identify
> some weaknesses in me and what it is that you have actually done.'

A similar example regarding the use of the PMS as a tool to hold supervisors accountable was provided by ABA. She argued: "In PMS there is no surprise. When you decide not to recommend teachers for promotion, you should have all the data to back you, or else they challenge your decision because you don't have evidence of lack of performance." Another anticipated way in which supervisors could hold their supervisors to account was highlighted by RRC. He argued: "With PMS, if teachers are not recommended for progression, when there has

not been any monitoring, they may even go to court and win the case, because there is no data to prove they didn't perform."

The research participants believed that the PMS was not only a top-down tool but also a tool that staff could own. The requirement to produce a PDP was seen as the mechanism by which a sense of ownership could be generated. One such participant, EEA, pointed out: "PMS is assuring accountability of each staff member in the sense that once you have a PDP, you are saying, 'This is what I am going to do.' It is forcing you to come up with a plan." Related remarks by FFA also reflect the expectation of the people to have ownership of the plan. He explained: "Junior members of staff are supposed to account for their plans and put on paper what they are going to do. And they have to do that to account for their performance." WWA also looked at the PMS from the viewpoint of ownership of the plan. He stated: "If you have planned that you would do A, B, C and D, you should be able to explain why you have failed or have been able to do as per your plan; so you have to account for your plan."

The PDPs were also identified as a means by which self-monitoring can be promoted and, where possible, corrective measures taken. QQA showed that it was not just about supervisors monitoring the work of their supervisees and holding them accountable for their performance. The expectation was that individuals would also be able to monitor themselves and move forward in terms of how they could do better knowing that they had to account for their own performance. The participant indicated:

> You have to know how to plan, monitor your own plan and be committed
> to that plan to see to it that it goes through so that at the end of the day, you
> see whether you have achieved the results through those plans that you did.

Further comments about the expected value of self-monitoring were made by RRA. He maintained: "It has created a structure that enables you to see from where you are to where you want to be so that when you finally measure your performance, you say, "Indeed, this is what I have been doing." BBC claimed that the PMS was designed so that there was room for self-evaluation of individuals. She maintained: "The PMS actually encourages supervisees to assess themselves with the new system. They do their own assessment and then the supervisor will come in and the two discuss such self-evaluation." The idea of self-evaluation was also suggested by FFD. He explained: "You know, measuring performance helps people to say, I was here and what can I do to move even higher than I had performed previously?" QQD also commented on self-evaluation. He pointed out: "If things go wrong you know that this is going

wrong and you take immediate precautions to correct that as you have to account for the results you have produced."

In summary, from the perspective of increasing accountability, the PMS appeared to serve several purposes. There was the clear and relatively strong view that the PMS was supposed to be a top-down tool that supervisors would use to hold their supervisees accountable for their performance. There was the less articulated view that the PMS would be a means by which supervisees could hold supervisors accountable in their judgements of their performance. There was also a third perception that the PMS through the PDPs would offer a self-monitoring tool that people would own and use to measure their own performance and therefore decide how best to improve their work.

5.1.2 A reform for improving performance

The data showed that the participants across the twenty-two senior secondary schools perceived the PMS in schools as a reform aimed at improving performance. Participants also saw professional development as core to the reform for improvement.

5.1.2.1 A reform for improving performance in the workplace

Participants understood the purpose of the PMS to be a reform that was to improve performance in various ways. Most interpretations of performance improvement were couched in the language of education. Some, however, revealed the discourse of business. These are noted later in this subsection.

In the main, performance improvement was talked about in the language normally associated with teaching and learning. Many spoke of improvement in performance in general terms, while others were more specific and referred to improvement of particular professional practices such as discipline or to improvement of particular outcomes such as students' academic results. The conceptual categories representing participants' views are illustrated in Table 17.

These conceptual categories show that the participants believed that the PMS would improve different aspects of the school. However, two conceptual categories about teaching and learning, and students' academic results signify that the dominant participants' perception about the PMS was of a reform that should focus mainly on the improvement of classroom instruction.

Table 17. Categories representing views about improvement of teaching and learning

Title of category	Number of participants
PMS should help members of staff to improve performance	20
PMS should focus on improvement of the core business of teaching and learning	30
PMS should focus on performance in dealing with school discipline	6
PMS should focus on excellence in co-curricular activities	2
PMS should be about improvement of performance to produce good students' academic results	35

Participants who alluded in general terms to the expectation that the PMS would lead to the improvement of performance included VVC who stated: "Here, we look at PMS as a tool or mechanism that enhances performance." Likewise, AAA indicated: "We are accepting it as an intervention that is going to improve or help us improve performance." CCA's perspective encompassed the entire civil service when he said: "I take it that the PMS is an innovation brought in to improve performance in the civil service which has been the outcry of the nation for years." This view is consistent with that of the government's which was presented at the induction workshops and captured in cartoon form in the induction booklet (see Appendix I).

When improvement in performance was described in more specific terms, two perspectives were evident. One centred on the improvement of teaching and learning generally. Some of these participants took a more holistic approach than others and included co-curricular activities (e.g., sports, traditional music activities, debating) as well as student welfare and discipline in their understanding of teaching and learning. The other perspective focussed squarely on the improvement of outcomes specifically in terms of student academic outcomes.

For some participants, the focus of the PMS should be on teaching and learning which they considered to be the core business of the school. DDA for example, pointed out: "I think, probably, if a reform has to be introduced in a school, you ought to sit down first and look at how it can be aligned to teaching and learning." Another school head, ZZA, also believed that for the PMS to be meaningful, it had to focus on teaching and learning: "In the schools, both us in management and our teachers think PMS must focus more on teaching and learning because it is our core business. Other things we must do to support teaching and learning."

YYA argued that while he appreciated the significance of other elements of the PMS, he still felt that, for schools, teaching and learning were the core business. He argued:

Yes other things like finance or customer service are important, but, you see, our core business as schools is teaching and learning and, in my view, that must be the main concern of the PMS. Otherwise, teachers will show little interest in this reform.

Instead of conceptualising the improvement of performance in terms of processes to do with teaching and learning, many participants viewed performance in terms of output. For example, ABD equated the two when she said that the PMS was intended "to improve performance or the output." Output was defined as the end of year student academic results attained from sitting the national examinations. For these participants, the attainment of good academic results should be the dominant aim of the PMS. This view point is illustrated by MMA's observation:

PMS is about monitoring how you have improved the performance, improved the grades that you got from junior certificate. You could spend hours and hours mounting workshops on objectives but your objectives will only be meaningful at the end of the day if the results of the school are good.

From MMA's perspective, improvement of students' academic grades is the priority for the school and should be the priority of the PMS. The belief is that spending time on workshops would be a futile exercise if it did not yield good students' academic results.

The overriding importance of the students' academic results is further emphasised by DDA: "Ah, very little becomes significant about the schools until at the end of the year when the results are not good. That is when they start asking what actually happened." From KKC's perspective, the PMS would be considered an effective reform if it ensured "excellent performance which is reflected in the good grades in schools or students passing." This is similar to GGB's view who claims that the purpose of the PMS should be "to make the students pass." For WWB the PMS would only be deemed successful providing it led to "improved students' academic performance."

The participants who subscribed to the view that the PMS should be about the improvement of the students' academic grades suggested that while this reform may, in theory, encompass a wide range of school activities, what counts most is the attainment of good academic results. In other words, as much as a school may excel in other school processes or activities such as improving pastoral care or financial management, should students' academic results be deemed poor, then all the other good work would count for nothing.

As indicated earlier in this section, a small number of the total participant group of 94 used the discourse of business and industry to express the purpose of the PMS. The two main concepts used were that of improving "productivity" and improving "customer service". Three codes that denote the use of language of business in schools are *PMS is a reform intended to improve productivity* (5); *PMS is about improvement of productivity (3)* and *PMS emphasises good customer service* (4).

Of the participants who spoke of productivity, WWA addressed it in general terms and explained:

> The main aim of the PMS is to improve productivity. Basically, it is all
> about improving productivity. When it was introduced, it was one of the
> initiatives by the Ministry which was again borrowed from elsewhere to try
> and improve productivity.

In contrast, YYA and BBA offered more detail concerning what they meant by improvement in productivity. YYA believed the aim of the PMS was to improve productivity in terms of "anything that has to do with efficiency and effectiveness." In summary, he claimed that "the PMS is all about the prudent use of resources." The third participant BBC made particular mention of time as a resource when he said, "I think PMS has made people be time conscious and more productive."

Participant reference to the second business concept of "customer service" showed different interpretations of the term. For some participants there was still awareness that this language was coming from another field, while for a few, the language appeared to have been absorbed and had become part of their talk. Furthermore, for some participants the customer was the student while for others it was the parent.

The association of the concept of 'customer service' with business by YYA also showed his awareness that the language being used belonged to a different field which until now, had not seemed to have much in common with teaching and learning:

> Now we know about customer service, something we thought was meant
> for BPC, Barclays Bank. We never knew that for the schools this is also
> important. And we didn't know that the customers were the students. We
> thought our customers were people who came to buy. We now know our

customers are the students. I have told teachers your customer number one

is the student.

However, MMA showed a departure from this usage of the term in two respects. Firstly, he unlike the others, referred to the parent as well as the student as the customer. Secondly, he demonstrated that this language and its newly acquired use in schools had become part of his talk as indicated in this quote: "And when you talk of customer satisfaction, parents are also included. You can only satisfy them if they know what you're doing in school. You have to invite them to come for parents' day."

Similarly, EEA also referred to parents as the customer. He recognised the improvement of customer service as an essential but sometimes challenging task for the school management. He cited an example illustrating the multiple demands made on management: "While you are still attending to other school activities some customers are coming in and these customers are not happy. But PMS is supposed to be improving customer service, so there is a clash."

5.1.2.2 Professional development perceived as key to improving performance

Participants considered professional development as the central element to improving performance. They expected that professional development would result mainly from in-service training provided through workshops and coaching. The three conceptual categories representing the participants' understanding of the professional development component of the PMS are listed in Table 18.

Table 18. Categories representing views about professional development

Title of category	Number of participants
PMS should promote staff development	26
PMS should promote in-service training	20
PMS is about coaching of staff	25

Participants' expectation of the PMS was of a reform designed to improve teacher performance through support. It was expected that identified areas of weakness in staff members' practice would lead to targeted staff development. The role of the supervisor included the responsibility of developing their staff as YYB indicated: "The expectation is that supervisors will assess the teachers' work and then develop them to improve their performance." JJC emphasised the need for the PMS to develop staff and to not just find weaknesses, suggesting that "this will help them improve performance and teach better to improve students' results."

In-service training through workshops—initiated by Ministry or the individual school—and coaching were envisaged as the main means by which the PMS would lead to improved performance. For BBC, it was essential that "the school head … actually be at the driver's seat of all the teachers' in-service training." While EEB was aware of the challenges management was likely to face in terms of such factors as finding time to train teachers, he stated: "We will have to in-service teachers. We will have to empower them."

Many participants envisaged that the implementation of the PMS would encourage the practice of coaching understood to be a one-on-one process between the supervisor and the supervisee aimed at helping improve personal practice. EEA indicated that "the expectation is that teachers would be coached, supported and assessed." Similarly, one head of house, KKD, pointed out that "staff should be coached; those are the expectations."

The significance of coaching as an anticipated means through which members of staff should be developed was also emphasised by AAB who referred to some reviews undertaken "to identify a teacher's problems in order to provide coaching to take him out of the problem that he is in." For AAA, "people have to know how they are performing; they have to be coached; they have to be developed."

A particular area that some participants expected staff development was in the PMS itself with first priority given to the senior management team. DDA's expectation of the PMS was that the first to be thoroughly trained should be the senior management team, and that such training should include sending them "for courses even if it is short courses for a month or two." WWD also pointed out that the "PMS is intended to train us so that we can explain PMS related issues to our staff with confidence." WWA talked about workshops conducted to equip staff "with the necessary information and skills about how to drive PMS." Further emphasising the importance of senior management being knowledgeable about the PMS, DDA explained: "More time has to be allocated for training. And people need to be given full information in order to be able to implement it effectively."

5.2 Intended roles of the senior management team

The senior management team at a senior secondary school comprises the school head, the deputy school head and the heads of houses. The participants anticipated that all members of the senior management would be held accountable for the implementation process. While this section mainly concerns the role of the school head, the roles of the deputy heads and heads of

houses are also discussed. During the data collection, all the participants were given the opportunity to share their understandings of one another's roles. A large degree of consistency appeared across the data in how participants perceived their own and one another's roles even though they may have placed different emphases on the various aspects of the role. This consistency is likely to be a result of two factors.

Firstly, all participants attended induction workshops organised by the Ministry's training team at different times. Their understanding of their roles and responsibilities is therefore likely to be grounded in the government's articulated expectation of the responsibility management should have in the implementation process.

Secondly, some participants' perceptions of their role may also have been shaped by their own experience of other performance reforms previously implemented in schools in Botswana which were discussed in chapter two. For instance, Monyatsi, Steyn and Kamper (2006) referred to the teacher performance appraisal scheme introduced in schools in 1992 which was aimed at assessing teachers to help them improve their performance. In addition, Monyatsi (2005) pointed to the secondary schools management development project which was also a performance related reform introduced in 1993. In these reforms senior management played a leading role in terms of making sure that they were implemented in their respective schools. At the time the interviews for this study were conducted, 18 of the 22 school heads and nine of the 18 deputies interviewed had ten or more years of experience in management positions. It would therefore be expected that previous experience would have partially informed participants' views regarding their perceived roles in implementing this reform.

5.2.1 School heads accountable for the PMS

The overall role of the school head was seen by school heads, deputy heads and heads of houses as being the "overseer" of the PMS, a term used by a number of the participants. Figure 7 summarises the responsibilities that the participants in the study identified as being part of the overseeing role in the implementation of the PMS. It is important to note that sometimes school heads delegated deputy heads to oversee the implementation process.
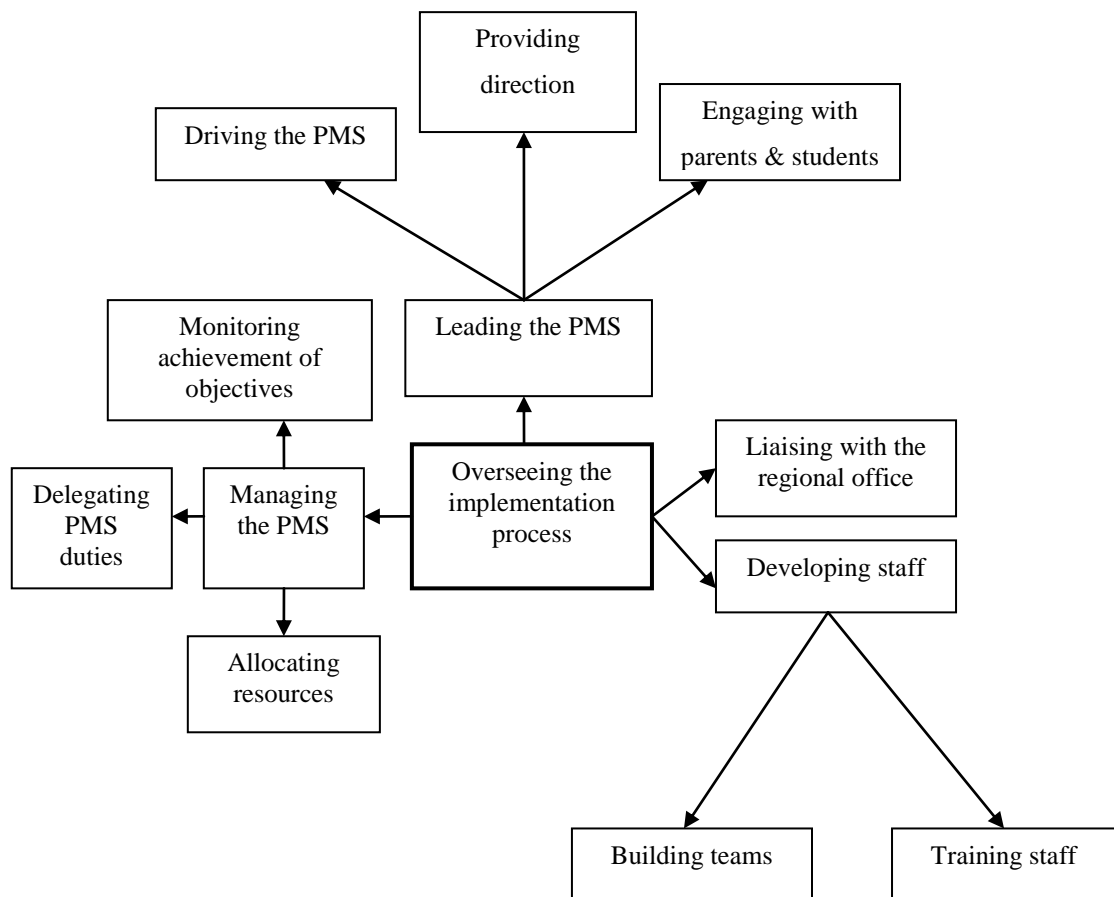
Figure 7. Perceived responsibilities of the school heads in the performance management system

Participants explained that overseeing the PMS involved leading the implementation process, managing the PMS, developing staff and reporting to the regional office. Leading the PMS meant driving the implementation process; providing direction and engaging with parents and students about the reform. Managing the PMS required school heads to be responsible for the delegation of tasks to the appropriate personnel, the allocation of resources and the monitoring of the achievement of objectives in their respective schools. Taking responsibility for developing their staff was also seen as the responsibility of the school head. Finally, it was the school head's role to report to the regional office. The conceptual categories that represent the expected responsibilities of the school heads are illustrated in Table 19.

Table 19. Categories representing expected roles of school heads

Title of category	Number of participants
School heads are to oversee the implementation process	21
School heads are to lead the implementation of the PMS	17
School heads are to manage the performance management system	13
School heads are to provide professional development	44
School heads are to report to the regional chief education officer	15

5.2.1.1 Overseeing the implementation process

Of the twenty-two school heads interviewed, eighteen indicated that they perceived their role as that of overseeing the implementation of the PMS. Three other members of the senior management referred to school heads as overseers of the implementation process. "Overseeing" meant implementing the strategic plan, specifically the objectives contained in the strategic plan. QQA shared a commonly held view when he stated that he was responsible for the whole strategic plan and as such was "supposed to oversee the entire plan." For CCA, overseeing meant he had "to make sure that the reform is fully implemented." DDA, noting that the performance agreements that school heads signed with their regional chief education officers spelt out that they were accountable for the PMS in their schools, stated that "everything that is contained in the strategic plan I have to grab." Another school head, PPA, referred to the objectives in the strategic plan when maintained: "I am expected to oversee. I am expected to be answerable to the individual objectives of the school. And then I am also to oversee their implementation." VVA focussed on the implementation of the PMS when she described her responsibilities: "I will have to hold regular meetings with objective owners for them to present so that I can make a report of the progress in PMS. In other words, I will be coordinating and directing the activities of the strategic plan."

Two school heads, BBA and YYA, used language outside the sphere of education to describe the role of overseeing the implementation process. BBA indicated that being an overseer is equivalent to being the "chief whip" which is a common term in politics. He stated: "My role in the whole implementation of PMS is that I am the chief whip. I oversee the implementation process." Another school head, YYA, used the language of business to refer to his perceived leadership role. He said: "I am the corporate leader if you like to call me."

Other members of the senior management also expressed their own views regarding school heads' expected role in the implementation process. For instance, XXC, a head of house, stated: "School heads are expected to lead and supervise the school strategic plan. They will be held accountable if the plan is either successful or not successful." Another head of house, RRC also referred to the school head as the overall leader, a position that made him "the custodian of the entire PMS strategic plan."

5.2.1.2 Leading the implementation process

One of the significant roles of the school heads was to lead the implementation process, a responsibility that was shared with deputy school heads and heads of houses. Fifteen school heads indicated that their perceived role of overseeing the implementation process required

them to play a leadership role. JJA indicated that "you are leading the implementation, or even anything about PMS. You are the leader and you must make sure that everybody knows about the PMS." CCA also talked about the implementation process as being "leader driven". JJA pointed to the tasks of supervision and communication a school head has to undertake as a leader, stating that "you are always going to be the leader. You are always going to supervise; you are always going to communicate with people." As illustrated in Figure 1, leading the initiative entailed driving the process, providing direction to staff and engaging parents and students with the reform.

Fourteen school heads pointed out that their role of leading the PMS required them to "drive" the implementation process. ABA stated that in her expected role of leading the implementation process she had "to drive the implementation process," and that this involved having "to influence teachers towards implementation." Another participant, QQA, pointed out that his role as a leader was "to drive the whole strategic plan to see to it that all the objectives are actually being realised." CCA maintained that "the performance management system is leader driven, and therefore, as leaders, the school heads will be expected to oversee the implementation process, which means they are drivers of PMS." Driving the implementation process for AAA meant that "the school heads assume the role of a Chief Executive Officer," which suggested that the participant had engaged with the discourse of business which, until now, had not been associated with the school.

Nine participants interpreted leadership of the PMS to include the provision of direction to members of staff so that they understand how to implement the reform better. YYA perceived the role of the school heads as that of a professional leadership which required them to provide direction to their staff, and to be "there with the team all the time and giving them guidance and support." TTA spoke of his role in terms of giving vision and direction to his staff. He explained: "My role as the school head is to steer the staff to give them some vision. So I have got to take it a little bit easy just nudging people in the right direction. The school needs that." JJA indicated that providing direction entailed an obligation to educate their people in the workplace so that "they will get into the right direction you want them to be." WWA pointed out that as leaders, school heads "should be able to guide the subordinates when it comes to the implementation of the strategic plan."

Analysis of the data indicates that school heads regarded parents and students to be important stakeholders in the implementation of the PMS but they differed in what they thought was an appropriate level of engagement. Most believed all that was required was for the parents and

students to be informed. Some expected a more active engagement of parents and students in the PMS.

Opinion varied on the importance of informing and consulting with parents and students about the PMS. Eleven school heads pointed to their school heads' responsibility to inform both parents and students about the PMS. ZZA mentioned that they had to "ensure that there is communication between the parents and the students about the PMS." BBA pointed out that while it may be difficult to involve parents and students, "it is very important to consult with them so that there is a sense of ownership and belonging regarding PMS." According to EEA, "at the end of the day, the strategic plan is owned by everybody including even our parents and students." For her part, VVA argued that for the school to achieve its targets, it needed the participation of all the stakeholders, namely the parents, the students, teachers, and the support staff. She indicated that "you might have a plan as a school or as teachers but then if the other parties are not moving towards the same direction you end up failing to achieve your target."

A few participants emphasised the need to engage parents in the PMS but made no reference to students. YYA indicated that as a school head, he is "a key player between the parents and the school." Another participant, PPA, pointed out that schools were required "to get parents to come into the school to be part and parcel of the implementation process." Similarly, FFC maintained that "we need to involve parents in the PMS to make them see its relevance to the education of their children." CCA explained it was essential to involve parents in the PMS as they had a contribution to make. He explained: "Certainly we still need the input of the parents. And the PMS demands that schools must fully involve the other stakeholders particularly the parents. Parents need to understand how the PMS will affect the learning of their children."

Finally, there were school heads who pointed only to the need to engage with the students. For some, this meant providing information only. One such participant, BBA emphasised the need "to cascade the PMS to the students in one way or another," arguing that "you cannot expect excellence from people that do not know anything about the reform." PPA made mention of the Ministry's expectation regarding information dissemination to the students. He stated: "I am expected to cascade the PMS to my teachers and also try to inform the students about how this reform will work in school."

For others, engaging students meant having students actively participate in the PMS. MMA noted that the Ministry's expectation was to not just inform the students, but also to involve them in school. He maintained: "I am supposed to involve students to the level of 70% in school

committees. The instrument we are supposed to use is based on how many meetings are being held. Are the students represented? What's their input?"

Some school heads expected that the target setting exercise involved in implementing the PMS could also extend to students setting targets. YYA indicated that "individual learners also have to come up with their targets because they know the school's target." Further involvement of students was alluded to by a head of department, WWC. He pointed out that as a way of involving the students in the implementation process, the school did not only set some targets affecting the students, but also made "some individual students set their own targets regarding what they want to achieve in their academic results."

5.2.1.3 Managing the performance management system

Managing the PMS emerged as another major role the school heads expected to carry out in their capacity as overseers of the reform. The participants indicated that the management of the PMS involved three different roles. Firstly, they were to delegate responsibility to other members of the senior management. Secondly, they had to manage the allocation of resources for the implementation of the PMS in schools. Thirdly, they were required to monitor the implementation process.

Delegating PMS related duties to other members of the senior management team was perceived as necessary for the successful implementation of the reform. MMA recognised that, to fulfil this obligation as school head, he would have to delegate to "the deputy and heads of houses different aspects of the plan to see to it that they are implemented during the course of the year." Another participant, LLA stated that while she had to account for the objectives in the strategic plan she recognised that she had to delegate responsibility to others. She pointed out, "I am the overseer of everything. And it is for me to ensure that the other members of the senior management team are with me and they are moving their objectives because I cannot do everything on my own." Another school head, ABA, also understood her leadership role to entail delegating while acknowledging full responsibility for the overall process. She explained: "The school head owns everything and so I have to delegate my responsibility to my deputy head working with heads of houses. They would be reporting to me as the overseer of the whole thing."

The availability of resources was seen as very crucial to effective implementation of the PMS. The category, *School heads must provide resources for use by their staff* (11) indicates the participants' appreciation of the significance of resources for the successful implementation of

the PMS. Such resources include, computers, photocopiers and paper. One participant, DDA, talked about the school heads' role in securing resources for their staff:

> Well, what we should do in terms of resources is to submit our requirements. We can also request for supplementary funds to purchase resources even though sometimes we may not get them or may get them very late. Teachers would expect us to provide the required resources.

JJA also pointed out that "the role of school heads is to provide resources to make sure that they are there and people do not complain when they are not available." ZZA indicated that as a school head, "you need to have resources, and somehow make sure they are in place." The school heads' role of securing resources for their teachers and the challenges they may have to face in trying to make them available is further explained by RRA:

> We also have to avail the resources but sometimes this may be difficult as you may not get the finance to buy them. This could mean teachers having to share the little that is there and this may adversely affect teaching and learning.

The responsibility of monitoring the implementation of the PMS is represented by the category, *School heads should monitor the implementation of the PMS* (15). RRA pointed out that "the school head is to see to it that the assigned objectives are taken care of and are implemented." KKA talked about the significance of ensuring that monitoring deadlines should be set indicating when tasks would be completed. He maintained: "School heads should monitor the implementation and ensure that deadlines are met." FFA made mention of his role of monitoring individual staff's performance during implementation. He indicated: "I must set deadlines within which tasks should be completed. I should also demand feedback to make sure people do their assignments."

5.2.1.4 Providing professional development

A strong expectation held by participants was for the school heads to provide professional development for their staff. Forty-four participants, twenty of whom were school heads, expected that school heads would provide necessary professional development either by delivering the training themselves or facilitating the training to be delivered by others internal or external to the school. As explained in the literature, professional development is one of the elements emphasised in performance management systems. For the performance management to be credible, the school should have the capability to deliver appropriate professional

development based on the identified needs (Gentle, 2001). It appeared that participants expected the professional development to meet two needs; firstly, to upskill staff in the PMS itself and secondly, to address any deficits in professional practice identified through the PMS review process.

The PMS itself required school staff to acquire new knowledge and even new skills so that they could understand the new terminology and processes. AAA was aware of the significance of upskilling his staff: "As a manager I have to train colleagues in conjunction with the staff development coordinator and hold workshops on the jargon that is used in the performance management system so that they get on board."

TTA referred to his role of facilitating the training for all his staff which included the ancillary staff as well as the teachers. This included organising external agents to provide training about the PMS to members of the support staff:

> We're planning for a workshop for ancillary staff. We are getting someone
> from Ministry to come and help train them so that they can start writing
> their objectives as well. Then I have taken the bursar, the secretary, the
> supplies officer and senior members of the ancillary staff to the regional
> education office. They have some training there, and they have started
> doing their PDPs.

Working in teams was recognised as necessary for the successful implementation of the PMS. Participants were aware that the PMS processes required working collaboratively. YYA stated that the school heads are required "to make sure that policies of the Ministry of Education and the school are implemented through teams." QQA made reference to the school heads' responsibility to provide training to their teachers. He noted: "We should actually resource our teachers, then after that, we are supposed to form teams, to look at the problems that we have in school and try to suggest the solutions together." RRA explained that the "the role of school heads as instructional leaders requires them to make sure that they build teams, see them pick up momentum, progress and help them overcome obstacles in their work." This can help improve performance." Because team work was not a common practice, it was regarded as an area in which many teachers needed professional development.

Team building was also seen as essential in implementing the PMS because the reform was new and therefore members of staff needed to work together to understand the purpose of this reform and share ideas about its implementation. Some participants noted that a cultural change

would occur as school heads' and other supervisors' interaction with supervisees had the potential to promote a spirit of team building among staff members. For example, MMA referred to the "closer contact and team building that comes in because the supervisor and the supervisees meet regularly to review and hold some discussion about the PMS."

Participants observed that to date, most of the training that had been experienced by school staff had been mainly to cascade the PMS information down to members of staff. However, they maintained the expectation that their role was also to provide professional development to address identified needs in the professional practice of their teachers. YYA for example, referred to the anticipated introduction of "school-based workshops intended to develop teachers in different areas of need." Likewise, EED noted: "School heads should lead school-based workshops or delegate their senior team members to make sure workshops are held for teachers to address areas of weakness identified by PMS."

5.2.1.5 Reporting to the regional office

Schools belong to one of five regions, with each having its own regional office. As leaders of the PMS, school heads saw themselves as being accountable to the regional chief education officers to whom they report. One participant, FFA, made reference to the regional office having to draw up schedules indicating when "school heads should come in and give progress reports on their school plans." WWA demonstrated how the school heads were accountable to the regional chief education officer when he stated that "the chief education officer wants everything to be submitted so that he can assess how we are progressing with implementation of the PMS." CCA referred to his Chief's regular visits to schools to check such things as the PDPs of the senior management and noted that "he brings along some of members of staff from his office to come and see what we are doing in our schools and for us to ask questions about the PMS."

5.2.2 Deputy school heads' role essential to the PMS

Participants saw the deputy heads of schools as having a major role to play in the implementation process of the PMS. In most schools, it was the deputy heads who were accountable for the implementation of the PMS. School heads often had to delegate to the deputy heads the responsibilities of implementing because other commitments took them away from their respective schools. It was the normal role of the deputy to be the hands-on implementers of policies rather than the school heads. The role of the deputy head was seen as assisting in the leadership of the PMS; implementing the PMS with a focus on monitoring of the supervision of teaching and learning; and working with others to train staff (Table 20).

Table 20. Categories representing deputy heads' perceptions of their PMS role

Title of category	Number of participants
Deputy school heads are to assist in leading the implementation of the PMS	16
Deputy heads are to work with others to train staff	16
Deputy school heads are to implement PMS with a focus on monitoring of supervision of teaching and learning	12

5.2.2.1 Assisting in leading the implementation process

The data suggested that while the school heads remained the overseers, the deputy school heads were the on the ground personnel undertaking many of the responsibilities. One of the responsibilities was to assist with the leadership of the implementation process and reporting to the school heads. CCB saw the role he was taking as deputy as the driving force behind the implementation process. He indicated: "We do have what they call the champion of PMS who is the school head. Then there is the deputy school head who is on the ground leading the implementation." ABB saw the main role of the deputy head as being "the focal point for PMS at school level." The comments by the participants suggest that while the school heads oversee the entire plan, they delegated the deputy heads to take charge of and account for the coordination of the PMS and report back to them.

5.2.2.2 Delivering professional development to staff about the PMS

The data further showed that deputies had a role to play in the training of the staff about the PMS. According to QQB, the deputy was to account for the implementation of the PMS, and that he had to work with members of the school technical team "to train staff and disseminate information about this reform to the teachers and other members of staff." The school technical team comprised a group of teachers and other staff members in each school identified and trained to provide training to teachers and other members of staff about the PMS in their respective schools. Another participant, MMC, also indicated that deputies were to work with others in management "to train people to make sure that PMS is cascaded down to teachers."

5.2.2.3 Overseeing the monitoring of classroom supervision

One of the aims of the PMS was to improve teacher performance with a focus on teaching and learning. To implement strategies and monitor progress, the work had to be shared across all members of the senior management team. In particular, the deputy head's role was to ensure that heads of houses and senior teachers were fulfilling their responsibilities monitoring and

developing classroom teachers in their respective houses or mini-schools and to then report to the school head. ZZB described the role as follows:

> The deputy heads must make sure heads of houses regularly report to them on the progress of the teachers they supervise, including the academic problems the students are encountering, the problems the teachers are encountering and the general welfare of the school.

Another deputy, MMB, reiterated this understanding of the role and added that the deputy also had to "constantly monitor to find out whether heads of houses move around classes to check if teachers are attending lessons." VVB provided specific detail concerning what monitoring might entail:

> I have to monitor the academic aspects of the school which involves the supervision of the senior teachers, especially looking after subjects. So I am checking to ensure that monthly tests are given, marking, lesson observations are carried out. So my main focus is really to monitor progress in academic activities.

In summary, AAB defined the responsibility of the deputy head to drive the school plan of implementing the PMS with a "focus mainly on the supervision of what is taking place in the classroom. It is his role to monitor those who should be supervising teachers."

5.2.3 Heads of houses' role essential to the PMS

Other important members of the senior management team in senior secondary schools in Botswana are the heads of houses. Previously, they had been referred to as heads of departments and were responsible for the supervision of teachers in different academic fields of study. Their role changed in 2003 when the Ministry of Education adopted a new pastoral care system in which schools were re-structured and members of staff and students were sub-divided to form houses within a school. All heads of departments were re-designated as heads of houses to supervise different houses and ceased to teach. Their role involved the supervision of a team of teachers and support staff in their respective houses. Heads of houses had the capacity to delegate tasks including PMS related responsibilities to the senior teachers. The role of the head of house included supervising staff and students; helping teachers develop their PDPs and conducting the reviews; working with others to deliver professional development and managing students welfare, as illustrated in Table 21.

Table 21. Categories representing heads' of houses perceptions of their PMS role

Title of category	Number of participants
Heads of houses are to implement the PMS with a focus on staff and student performance in their 'houses'	44
Heads of houses help teachers write PDPs and review progress	32
Heads of houses are to deliver professional development to members of staff	28
Heads of houses are to manage students welfare	16

5.2.3.1 Taking responsibility for staff and student performance in their 'houses'

Supervision of staff appeared to be the central role of the heads of houses as evident by the high number of participants who stated that they were supervising members of staff and students in their 'houses'. Their supervisory role covered a wide range of elements which were considered as adding value to the quality of teaching and learning. These elements ranged from teachers' pedagogical skills, curriculum, teachers' professional conduct, and students' discipline. It was expected that members of staff in the different houses would show in their PDPs how they would improve on these aspects of their professional work. In turn, heads of houses anticipated that they would have objectives in their own PDPs related to the performance of the teachers and the students in their houses.

It was expected that as part of their role the heads of houses would help their teachers improve their pedagogical skills, and that given their long experience of teaching sometimes they would have to teach in the presence of their teachers to demonstrate good teaching techniques, especially to the inexperienced teachers. (DDC). Further on the development of teachers' skills DDC indicated: "PMS emphasises preparation … developing teachers' skills … yes, this is fundamental. So part of our duty is to help develop better teaching skills in our teachers." In addition, JJC stated: "It is true, we no longer teach now, but we do assist teachers teach better. We have the experience and skills to demonstrate improved methods of teaching to the teachers we supervise."

Also central to the role of heads of houses was the supervision of the implementation of the curriculum. Participants believed that the PMS would emphasise the need to give attention to the curriculum and that heads of houses had a role in ensuring that this would be done. Two participants, XXD and DDD, gave some insight of their supervisory role in terms of teaching and learning. XXD pointed out that as heads of houses they were expected to observe lessons to check how teaching was progressing in the classroom. She further pointed out: "We check on teachers' record of work and exercise books to find out whether teaching is taking place

properly." For DDD, heads of houses monitored teachers' work on "anything to do with planning of lessons, evaluation and assessment." FFE pointed out that they would be supervising the teachers in the implementation of PMS and that this involved observing lessons to check "whether they are doing their core business, of teaching the students." VVC made mention of the role that heads of houses should carry out in terms of teaching and learning. He explained: "We do supervise senior teachers whom we directly supervise but sometimes we even observe lessons."

There was reference to the need to deal with teacher professional conduct in the schools, and that heads of houses had a responsibility to make sure that teachers conducted themselves appropriately. One participant, BBD, indicated that heads of houses had to check if teachers were attending class and teaching, and if they were not in class, they had to find out why they were not available. She further explained the nature of action they could take against teacher professional misconduct: "We have to take some punitive action against them and if it is necessary we do that."

Further comments regarding teacher professional conduct were made by a deputy AAB. He explained that there was a code of conduct to which teachers had to adhere, and that if they failed to conduct themselves accordingly, such misconduct could have a bearing on their students' academic results. He explained: "Our academic results will be negatively affected if teachers dodge lessons. They also have to be exemplary to the students by coming in time for their lessons and they should always prepare for their lessons." On the possible action heads of houses could take against misconduct, he stated: "As heads of houses we are supposed to check if teachers behave themselves in a professional manner and if not we warn or even reprimand them."

It was further revealed the PMS emphasised that for schools to achieve good students' academic results they would have to maintain discipline among students. It was therefore one of the roles of heads of houses to ensure that discipline was maintained within the mini-houses under their supervision. Maintaining discipline included having to manage the problem of truancy where it was prevalent so that the students would spend more time in school and concentrate on their academic work. PPD talked about the need for heads of houses to deal with the problem of students' discipline in the schools, indicating that "discipline must be maintained so that students focus on their academic work. This is also a major responsibility of the heads of houses as required by the PMS."

Students' truancy was reported as common in some senior secondary schools with many students coming to school but hardly ever attending lessons. The schools felt that such behaviour was adversely affecting the overall academic performance of their schools. Against this background, heads of houses were required to take appropriate measures against students who were in the habit of playing truant. Regarding measures that had to be taken against such misbehaviour, TTC indicated: "We need to take action against such students, including suspension from school or in some cases, apply corporal punishment. We also have to keep record of such cases to be able to measure our effectiveness in dealing with the situation." Another participant, MMD, also identified discipline as an issue heads of houses had to address, and that they had to indicate in their PDPs how they would deal with such disciplinary problems as bullying or fights involving students in their mini-schools. She further pointed out: "If at the end of the year you have failed to deal with the problem of student discipline in your house, then you have to account. So we have a major task of managing discipline." Dealing with discipline was also emphasised by GGC. He maintained: "We do lesson observations, but with this reform we also have to deal with students' discipline in our houses. Students have to be disciplined and as middle managers we have to ensure such discipline is maintained."

5.2.3.2 Checking and helping teachers develop their performance development plans

Another essential element of the PMS was the professional development plans (PDPs) which were intended to be a road map of what individual members of staff planned to achieve over a given period of time. In addition, the PDPs were to capture the personal development needs of the individual staff members in which they would need professional development support.

One of the major roles of the heads of houses was to check the PDPs of staff members under their supervision, and provide the necessary support in terms of professional advice on how to write these plans. WWD explained all their teachers were required to write individual PDPs and show them to heads of houses for guidance. She further explained that they did not have to tell teachers what to do; rather, they had to help them write their plans better. In addition, DDC reflected on the role of heads of houses and those of teachers in the design of the PDPs. He stated:

> Yes, it's us who help support staff develop their PDPs but they must draft them first and show them to me as their supervisor for my comments … we discuss them together before the final document for implementation by the teacher.

A different perspective concerning the PDPs was evident in GGC's and VVD's belief that PDPs as a tool for accountability. For GGC heads of houses had to regularly check teachers' progress against their PDPs and expected them to account for their performance. He further noted: "Now it's easy because a PDP provides evidence of what should be done. Staff members would have indicated what they intended to achieve over a period of a year or so." Similarly, VVD explained:

> Yes, when we do lesson observation, we look at PDPs because that is where teachers indicate their plan of action … or what they will do. The PDP is important for us supervisors to rate our teachers' performance based on their PDPs.

5.2.3.3 Providing professional development for staff in their 'houses'

Professional development appeared to be an important element of the PMS that all members of the senior management had to provide to ensure that their staff members improved their practice. DDC maintained: "My role is to make my subordinates implement PMS, but first I have to train them in workshops." CCC also indicated that leading the implementation process required heads of houses to prepare their teachers about the PMS. She explained: "We should be amongst the trainers to give teachers knowledge and skill about the reform. In other words we have been trained in order to also train our staff and we work with others as a school technical team." Similarly, EEC pointed out that as heads of houses, it was anticipated that they would "have to run workshops for their teachers and train them about the PMS and other school activities."

It was understood that the professional development training had to be provided through what was commonly called "the cascade approach". Describing the role that the heads of houses had in the cascade approach, QQC indicated: "I can say we act as the intermediate or the middle managers so we are supposed to provide information about the PMS. It is us who have to cascade this to the teachers and to other members of staff, especially those under our direct supervision." Further emphasising their role in cascading the PMS, VVC explained: "Information about PMS comes from the regional office to be cascaded down to staff members. First to lay hands on this information is us managers and heads of houses must ensure that it reaches all our teachers."

5.2.3.4 Managing student welfare issues in their 'houses'

As part of their role, heads of houses indicated that they also had to manage welfare issues affecting students in their mini-schools. They revealed that students were facing many social

problems which were adversely affecting their academic performance, and therefore needed help to overcome such challenges. ZZC indicated that this meant sometimes having "to deal with parents as they come to school with different problems affecting students." VVC also reflected on some of the challenges students faced which affected their learning. For instance, some of them would have returned to school after having dropped out due to pregnancy, and heads of houses had to help them re-adjust to the school environment. She pointed out: "We have got the academics and then there is also the issue of looking at the pastoral department, handling the welfare of students to help them cope with their learning." FFC described the kind of problems that many of their students did face and therefore needed help if they were to cope with their school work. He gave as an example orphaned students who may have lost parents because of HIV/AIDS. She further explained: "It's not just loss of parental support and love but also stigma to deal with. In some cases the students themselves are HIV positive. So we must help them deal with these situations and cope with their school work."

In addition, ZZD stated that one of the roles they were supposed to carry out was to collect school fees from students in their houses. She indicated that while in the past students could have been sent back home to collect school fees, PMS emphasised the need to take the initiative to approach parents and find out what could be the cause of their failure to pay fees on time. "We have to talk to the parents and make follow ups by writing letters to remind them to come and pay." Similarly, ABB pointed out: "We now know that we shouldn't call or publicly display students' names whose school-fees may still be pending as this would have an adverse effect on their ego and consequently impact negatively on their learning."

5.3 Anticipated concerns about the PMS

While participants had expected and were continuing to expect some benefits of the PMS, there were also concerns about the implementation of this reform, especially with respect to their capacity to implement it. The category, *Senior management was concerned about potential impediments to the successful implementation of the PMS* points to three potential adverse factors likely to impact on their role of implementing the PMS. These factors were the risk of inadequate resourcing; the lack of certainty or clarity about how the PMS defines quality performance; and the absence of the skill base necessary to implement the PMS.

5.3.1 The risk of inadequate resourcing

The category, *The implementation of the PMS is likely to be adversely affected by the unavailability of resources (12)* represented both the participants' appreciation that the reform needed adequate funding to succeed and their concern that it would be underfunded. One of the

participants who anticipated resources constraints was BBA. He pointed out: "The problem might be the resources … they don't exist." Similarly, DDA stated: "It is very difficult to imagine where the resources will come from to implement PMS when the Ministry has never been able to provide them all these years." Participants recognised that staff development required resourcing as BBC stated: "The Ministry must help us with workshops, resourcing or provide training at the workshops." Further concern was also expressed by BBC who indicated that while it was evident that they would need such resources as computers, photocopiers and photocopying paper, it did not seem the Ministry would be providing them. He further maintained: "The Ministry always tells us that there is no money. So my fear is that this reform will fail due to lack of resources. It would difficult for us to implement PMS without resources."

5.3.2 Uncertainty regarding how PMS defines performance quality

The category, *Uncertainty regarding how PMS defines quality performance* (12) denotes concern about the focus of the PMS and on the newly introduced PMS measures and indicators of performance which, in the view of some, did not define performance quality as far as teachers were concerned.

Some participants were wary about the kinds of "work" that the PMS seemed to value. The core business of schools was seen as teaching and learning and it was not certain if the PMS had that work at its core. KKD, a head of house, expressed this doubt as follows:

> Yes, obviously we have to do some paperwork, but the focus should not be on paperwork as it appears to be the case with this reform. No, the focus of this reform has to be more on the actual work that people are doing on the ground, teaching and learning! [her emphasis]

The second area of concern was the measurement of performance. A common perception was that schools had their own traditional measures and indicators of performance which had to do with the students' academic results. It was not clear if those of the PMS also measured performance in these terms. As indicated by one participant, PPA, the Ministry had not been able to clarify what it meant by the improvement of performance in schools. He therefore suggested: "The Ministry should generate discussion around standards for PMS, otherwise there will be confusion. I mean, what do you mean by performing? Once we go through that huddle I think everything else will fall in place." Similarly, DDD commented about the lack of clarity regarding measures of performance. She stated: "We have always been measured by the performance of our students' final results. Now with the PMS it's like there will be other things

to be considered to determine our performance but it has not been explained how it will be done."

Another participant, ABA, also found it difficult to establish how the PMS would measure performance at the school level, or even at the teacher level. Her concern was how factors beyond the classroom teacher's control such as parental interest in school or student attendance would be factored into an assessment of the teacher's performance. This would have a flow on effect to the measurement of her own performance as school head. She concluded: "I wonder how my performance will be measured … there are many influencing variables."

5.3.3 Limited skill base available to implement the PMS

Some participants were doubtful about the level of skill available for effective implementation of the PMS. The category, *The implementation is likely to be adversely affected by lack of skill* (11) represents the participants' appreciation of the need to have adequately trained personnel for the successful implementation of the PMS and their concern that such personnel might not be unavailable. They queried the skill base within their own schools but also the skill base of those on whom schools relied for guidance and training. One participant, QQC, stated: "I doubt if we will ever have the expertise to drive this reform. I don't think we have people right here in the country with adequate skills to understand how the PMS is supposed to work." Similarly, LLB pointed out: "The government was too quick to implement this reform. I don't think we will have the personnel well trained to help the schools effectively implement PMS. It was rushed." In addition, GGB was also concerned about the problem of lack of skills. He said: "I don't think we have people with the right training for the implementation of PMS to succeed in schools. Ministry officers too, don't seem to have a clear understanding about PMS."

5.4 Chapter summary

This chapter outlined the participants' expectations of the PMS "in theory" in terms of the purpose of the PMS; their perceived roles in its implementation and the factors that might impact its successful implementation. Overall, participants regarded the intended purpose of the PMS positively and believed that it would lead to an effective means by which performance in their schools would be managed and improved. Capacity to provide professional development was seen as critical to improving performance. They saw their role as essential in the successful implementation of the PMS and one that required responsibilities to be shared across the members of the senior management team. In general, while the school head was the overseer of the process, the hands on work of implementing the PMS was delegated to the deputies and the heads of houses. The main concerns held by the participants related to their capacity to

implement the PMS successfully and centred around resourcing, skill capacity and the definition of quality performance. The next chapter reports the participants' actual experiences of implementing the PMS in their schools.

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH FINDINGS II: PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN "PRACTICE"

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter reported the senior management's expectations of the performance management system, that is, the PMS "in theory". It comprised the three sub-themes of the intended purpose and benefits of the PMS; the intended role of school management in the implementation of the PMS; and the senior management's anticipated concerns about the PMS. In contrast, this chapter reports the senior management's perceptions of the PMS "in practice". These concern senior managers' actual experiences of the implementation process. The two chapters, together, address the three research questions that guided the study.

The set of findings in chapter six are presented in response to the three research questions as follows: section 6.1 *Experienced benefits of the PMS* addresses research question one which asks: What are the perceptions of the senior management team in senior secondary schools regarding the purpose of the performance management system?; section 6.2 *Management dissatisfied with their capacity to implement the PMS* addresses the second question: What are the perceptions of the senior management team concerning their roles as implementers of the PMS?; and section 6.3 *Factors impeding senior managers implementing the PMS* responds to research question three: What are the perceptions of the senior management team regarding the factors that impact on the implementation of the performance management system*?*

As in the first chapter of the findings (chapter five), the findings in chapter six are a result of the axial coding process, which is described in the methodology (chapter four). Table 22 lists the three categories each with its own sub-categories that are a synthesis of the participants' perceptions regarding their experience of the PMS.

The contribution that chapter six makes to addressing the three research questions comes from analysing participants' reflections on their past and current experience with the PMS. There was a wide range of experience in the role and with the PMS amongst the all participants, school heads, deputies and heads of houses alike. For instance, school heads' experience in the role ranged from just over two months to 24 years. Twenty of the 22 school heads had long experience of seven to twenty-four years. Only two heads were less experienced with a little over two months and two years of experience respectively. Eighteen school heads had ten years or more of experience and were therefore in that position when the PMS was introduced in senior secondary schools.

Table 22. Senior management teams' experience of the PMS

Title of category	Sub-categories
1. Senior management experienced benefits from implementing the PMS	(i) Improved planning at school level (ii) Better accountability (iii) More school-based professional development (iv) More teamwork
2. Senior management were dissatisfied that they did not have the capacity to do their job of overseeing the PMS	(i) Unable to effectively lead the PMS (ii) Unable to effectively manage the PMS (iii) Unable to effectively liaise with regional office
3. Senior management experience with elements of the PMS that impeded them from implementing the PMS	(i) The PMS in constant flux (ii) Schools inadequately resourced to implement the PMS (iii) Priorities of the PMS not a priority of the schools (iv) Inadequate training (v) Disconnect between schools and regional offices

6.1 Experienced benefits of the PMS

Participants in the study acknowledged that there were benefits to schools arising from their efforts to implement the PMS. Participants had noted four main benefits which are summarised in Table 23.

Table 23. Conceptual categories portraying evidence of experienced benefits of the PMS

Title of category	Participants
PMS has helped us improve planning at school level	46
PMS has promoted accountability in schools	38
PMS has promoted school-based professional development	36
PMS has promoted teamwork amongst staff	40

6.1.1 Improved planning at school level

With the implementation of the PMS, it was revealed that schools were now experiencing some improved planning. An element of the planning process which was considered significant by the participants was the setting of objectives and targets to be indicated in both the strategic plans and the PDPs. In their views, these elements made it easier for them to know exactly what to aim for and achieve over a given period of time. The codes of *We have learnt the significance of setting objectives in all our planning activities (18)* and *When we plan, we always set some targets for which to aim (16)* reflect the participants' positive perceptions about these two elements of the planning process.

One of the participants, DDA, pointed to the efforts taken in his school to improve planning. He maintained that the PMS encouraged people to think in terms of having objectives and targets. He indicated: "We are now working towards achieving objectives and targets at all times

regardless of all the challenges we may be facing." Another participant, YYA, also referred to the sense of direction experienced from the lessons they learnt about the value of planning using objectives: "I had a meeting with my staff. We have already planned for the whole year, guided by some clearly defined objectives. We have direction of where we want to go as a school."

Participants believed that at the individual level, people had learnt some time management skills and visioning skills as a result of having to plan. BBC stated: "With the idea of planning, people are more time conscious. People know they must set targets and achieve them. So, I think PMS is working for us in that regard." ABA indicated that planning had taught them how to vision and know exactly where they wanted to go in terms of the implementation of their planned school activities. She argued that with a vision "you know where you are now. You plan to achieve specific objectives." AAA explained how it had become easy for people to work since information in performance development plans (PDPs) provided guidance regarding what they would like to do over a given period of time. As an illustration of good planning he pointed out: "Now when I get to work I can always refer to my PDP and look at the critical activities based on the objectives I intend to achieve."

Participants noted that, following the implementation of the PMS, they realised that they had previously lacked organisation in the manner in which they planned their activities. While in the past they had planned as individuals with little regard for the setting of objectives and targets, the PMS had now changed the mindset. CCB argued that the Ministry now "appreciates the importance of ensuring that staff activities are well planned and coordinated."

The idea of collective planning, which participants noted had not been a common practice in the past, was appreciated by the participants as one of the benefits they had experienced from the PMS. WWA pointed out that "planning has brought teachers together as, from time to time, they have to sit down together to either come up with a new plan or revise the existing one if there is need to do so." There was a realisation in the schools that planning at individual, departmental and school levels should be "aligned so that everyone together worked towards a common purpose" (BBD). JJA pointed out that from his perspective, teachers had learnt and appreciated the significance of planning together in their respective departments. This had allowed them to "choose what they want to achieve together for the year out of the school strategy plan." The sense of ownership developed from working together was also alluded to by GGA who believed that the PMS gave the "staff an opportunity to plan together and own the plan which has to be implemented."

6.1.2 Better accountability

All levels of management identified improved accountability in terms of clarity, objectivity and transparency as another benefit experienced from implementing the PMS. Their perception regarding accountability was reflected in the two codes of: *PMS has mechanisms of measuring staff work to hold them accountable for their performance (24)*;and *PMS has helped teachers to accept their obligation to account for their performance (8)*.

The participants indicated that the PDPs were significant in the measuring of performance. It was stated that for the first time, "even school heads' performance is being measured something that previously did not happen. They are now required to account for their performance" (MMA). In addition, MMB explained that the PMS had introduced a system that would enable schools to address issues of performance and non-performance objectively. He indicated that in the past, there had been no objectives against which to measure and monitor people and hold them accountable for their performance. Now the PMS required checking and reviewing which were "meant to ensure that people are regularly monitored and would not have surprises at the time of the completion of appraisals" (MMB).

Further explaining the significance of holding people accountable, XXD pointed out that the introduction of the performance development plan was proving to be an appropriate instrument for use to measure and monitor performance. He indicated that as a supervisor it had become easy to hold supervisees accountable for what they had planned to achieve. He illustrated: "So you are assessed based on what you have planned. As a supervisor you would ask: 'You said you were targeting 50%, but here you got 46%. Why?' It sets targets for people, and in that way, helps focus." YYB argued that "with measuring and monitoring, supervisors know exactly what they are supposed to assess using objectives."

Participants acknowledged that with the PDPs, the manner in which performance was being measured in schools was more transparent. VVA indicated that the current practice was more transparent in comparison to the past when measurement of performance and its outcome were kept secret in confidential files away from the supervisees. She stated: "When the supervisor comes, it is no longer secretive, it is open." AAB believed that the new instrument brought transparency and pointed out that "what is to be measured is supposed to be an open discussion between the supervisor and supervisee." The participants also regarded the regular and systematic measurement of performance positively because it led to staff development where needed. ZZA argued that "with such a regular process of measurement, continuous professional development to improve staff performance is likely to be promoted."

6.1.3 More school-based professional development

The perceived positive consequence of the PMS in terms of a school-based professional development programme was noted by all levels of management and is reflected in the code: *PMS promotes school-based professional development* (40). VVA's understanding was shared by many when she maintained that measurement of staff performance was "not only meant to hold people accountable for their performance but also to identify their professional development needs." The PMS was resulting in increased coaching of teachers by the school management team and also in an increased number of workshops.

Many participants revealed that one way in which the senior management team members were developing their staff professionally was through coaching. The coaching component was a new idea the senior management team had learnt from the PMS. Prior to that, the senior management conducted classroom observations for reporting purposes but not to give support. The PMS required senior management to conduct regular reviews with their teachers which could include coaching as FFA explained: "PMS wants us to follow teachers in their day-to-day activities, observe how they work and provide coaching when there is need to do so."

There were different views concerning the nature of coaching. At one end of the spectrum, there were people who believed that coaching was a process driven by the coach. A deputy, AAB, for example, explained the typical process as follows: "You would go to a class, observe a teacher. Thereafter you identify some mistakes and you would bring the teacher to the table and say, 'But if you could do this and that ...'" At the other end, were people who saw coaching as more of a two way process. A head of house, PPC, explained: "Our roles as heads of houses include coaching of teachers after we have observed them in classroom teaching. But sometimes they tell us the areas in which they would like to be coached, and we coach them."

The senior management team's response to the coaching was most positive. It was seen as a way of improving teachers' performance through professionally developing teachers and "improving classroom instruction" (QQB). MMA maintained that with the aspect of coaching, there was "room for an individual to improve performance." EEA indicated that what she learnt and appreciated was that coaching was an important means by which teachers could develop professionally. She explained: "If we were all to coach our staff and do it properly, personally I think that would develop them into better teachers, rather than to hold them accountable for the results at the end when we never coached them."

Some participants indicated that the PMS brought urgency to the schools to establish professional development through school-based workshops. These workshops were either to train people about the PMS process itself or to address other professional needs identified through the PMS. VVA pointed out that they had had school-based professional development programmes at her school. She explained: "So we have started our workshops. We have run a workshop for the top management, senior teachers and the heads of houses." YYA also indicated that the school had established its "own school-based professional development programme aimed at providing teachers with skills that would improve their performance."

6.1.4 More teamwork

As already noted in section 6.1.1, participants had viewed the need to work collaboratively in the planning process as a positive outcome from implementing the PMS. Working together or in teams permeated many aspects of the PMS and participants saw the increase in teamwork as a benefit. They pointed out that they had learnt how to build teams and delegate some aspects of the implementation process to members of staff working together as teams. EEA noted that even though there had been efforts in the past to build teams, with the inception of the PMS, there had been "an improvement in teamwork among members of staff".

The PMS at the school level required teamwork among staff to achieve the planning goals. FFA explained: "Under a particular objective there is a measure owner and an initiative owner. There is a team for that particular objective and measure owners and initiative owners form teams." AAB, the head of house in his school and leader of such a team gave an example:

> I am in charge of a team working towards producing quality students' academic results. I have this measure and initiative team. I bring them on board, we sit down, and then we plan what it is that we do so that we achieve quality results as a team.

Similarly, FFD pointed out that when they planned as staff, they made a school plan and out of this plan the "teachers have to drive either the measures or the initiatives. Leaders help them actually achieve their objectives." ABA explained that the "measure owners and initiative owners work together to drive their objective and they are under the objective owner, who is the team leader."

For school management, teamwork suggested a spirit of collegiality amongst members of staff that had previously existed to a much lesser extent. ZZA explained that teams had "a shared vision, shared the limited resources and pulled together in other school activities." YYA argued

that as senior management, they did not know everything, hence they embraced the PMS idea of building teams to share ideas on how best to drive the school strategic plan. He further argued that the PMS helped the school management appreciate the need to give staff the "chance to be in the forefront of some projects and initiatives and appreciate what they have done." AAD pointed out that as senior management and staff the PMS had made them realise that they needed each other. He observed that they had "never met so often as a team, since this period of PMS."

Although there were some positives about the PMS, the participants revealed that there were also impediments that made it difficult to fulfil their role of implementing the PMS effectively and sustainably. These impediments are discussed below.

6.2 Management dissatisfied with their capacity to implement the PMS

As we saw in chapter five, senior management were aware of their responsibilities in implementing the PMS at the school level. However, after having engaged in the process, there was a sense of dissatisfaction with the progress that they had made, as evident in comments such as: "Implementation is really slow" (CCB); "Implementation is not moving" (MMA); "There is no implementation" (BBD); and "Not much implementation is happening" (ZZD). Paperwork was not being completed properly. In some schools not all staff had completed their performance development plans, and in others where they had been completed, there had been little or no follow through. Observation and coaching were not being undertaken as fully as they should have been. In some schools, the PMS had even being suspended for periods of time.

Most of the participants believed that they were not able to do their job properly. The participants found this situation frustrating and explained that they could not perform the most basic functions of their job, that is, leading the PMS, managing the PMS, and liaising with regional office. The participants' concerns are represented in Table 24.

Table 24. Categories representing participants' concerns about implementation

Title of category	Participants
Senior management could not effectively lead the PMS	50
Senior management found it difficult to manage the implementation of the PMS	62
Senior management found it difficult to liaise with regional office	17

6.2.1 Unable to effectively lead the PMS

One of the anticipated roles of the senior management was that they would lead the implementation process in their respective schools. In practice, as the table above indicates,

many of the participants felt that they were not leading the reform to their satisfaction. Their sense of not doing a good job seemed to emanate from their own lack of confidence in being able to lead the implementation in their respective schools and also in an increasing loss of confidence in the PMS itself. This is despite the benefits that many had experienced to some degree and which were described in section 6.1. Two principal codes namely, *Senior management lack confidence to lead the PMS* (18) and *Senior management and their staff are losing confidence in the PMS* (14) contributed to the category, *Senior management could not effectively lead the PMS*.

6.2.1.1 Lacking confidence to lead the PMS

While it would be expected that anybody with the responsibility of leading a reform in an organisation should do so with confidence, this did not seem to be the case with many senior managers in senior secondary schools. As it stands, the major problem that appeared to have contributed to the lack of confidence was the inadequate preparation participants felt they had received to lead the PMS. The lack of confidence was seen as compromising what it meant to be a leader in two ways. First, was that senior management did not have enough knowledge to be able to lead their teachers to implement the PMS. Second, was the loss of face they experienced when they failed to answer questions about the PMS.

The lack of confidence to lead the implementation process was attributed to inadequate information about the PMS. TTB explained: "To drive PMS you should be confident but we are not. But because we lack good training and the Ministry is not doing anything to address the problem, as managers we have found it difficult to lead the implementation." Complementing TTD's viewpoint, WWD argued: "You should be confident about what you are talking about. But we can't have the confidence to lead if we are not properly trained. We can't even train our staff to enable them to help us implement this reform." Further discontentment about lack of confidence to lead the PMS was expressed by IIA: "But the training is weak for us to explain to our people with confidence. We can't proceed with the implementation because first of all we need to train our staff on something that we find difficult to do … we lack capacity."

As well as senior management experiencing their own lack of confidence, losing the confidence in the people they were leading was also a concern for some. Senior management's ability to provide good explanations and answer staff questions about the PMS was seen as essential for effective leadership. DDC, for example, argued that it was imperative that, as management, they should have the necessary skills and knowledge instead of just being given instructions to implement a reform they did not understand. She pointed out: "How can we implement PMS when we lack information about it? I should be in a position to stand my ground and explain the

PMS to teachers with a lot of confidence." A school head, IIA, described the consequences of management not having the necessary expertise: "If you are called maybe for one day training, then you go and lead, and these people ask questions. As you fail to explain with confidence, some lose confidence in you wondering where the driver is taking them to."

6.2.1.2 Losing confidence in the PMS

There was evidence that some of the senior managers across all levels of management had begun to experience a loss of confidence in the PMS itself. They reported that they had staff members who had begun to question its value to the schools. The reasons provided for the loss of confidence ranged from senior managers' own inadequate understanding of the purpose of the PMS and how it should be implemented to a perceived disinterest from the Ministry in successfully implementing the PMS in schools.

According to the participants, the lack of understanding about how the PMS should be implemented schools was shared by the Ministry as well as the schools. A school head, MMA, believed that the slow progress of the implementation process at the school level was likely to be ongoing into the foreseeable future since even the Ministry, which was supposed to come to the rescue of schools in terms of training, appeared to be lacking in skills and knowledge. He explained: "Implementation is not moving as smoothly as one would have liked it to be. It looks like everyone, Ministry officers, ourselves in the schools, don't understand how to implement the PMS." At the grassroots level of the "house" within the school, a head of house, MMD concluded: "We have failed to train our staff to understand the importance of implementing the PMS because we also don't understand." Another head of house in a different school, VVC, stated that they had failed as management to provide any convincing explanation to their staff regarding the benefits of the PMS to the school. She argued: "We can't even explain to them the material we are supposed to cascade to staff, so teachers don't really see the reason to implement something that does not seem to benefit them."

Since the implementation process had begun, the level of commitment from Ministry appeared for many to have decreased. People were questioning why they should bother implementing the PMS when the Ministry itself did not seem to show commitment to the implementation process. The lack of training made available by the Ministry was seen by participants such as AAE as indicative of a lack of commitment: "We struggle alone with little knowledge. Maybe there is no point wasting time trying to implement when our supervisors don't care … that is the feeling at least in our schools."

Participants provided other examples of the Ministry's apparent lack of commitment to the implementation of the PMS. These included its inability to provide resources, inadequate preparedness, and lack of monitoring. As far as resources were concerned, AAA explained the impact that the lack of resources, especially of reprographics, was having on staff engagement with the PMS: "Right now members of staff are dragging their feet because the resources are inadequate. They believe by not providing resources, the Ministry is not really showing interest in PMS at school level and they, too, should not bother." Another school head, EEA, also concluded that in the Ministry not providing the resources that would help senior managers to better implement the PMS signified their lack of commitment to the reform: "So I wouldn't say the Ministry is serious about PMS in schools, and people are beginning to say, if these people are not showing interest, why should we in the schools?"

In summary, CCA, a school head, summarised the perceptions of those participants who felt that the Ministry had provided inadequate support. He stated: "The Ministry has failed the schools; they have not monitored implementation; they can't provide enough resources; training of managers has been poor. With all these problems, all of us including teachers no longer take this reform seriously."

6.2.2 Unable to effectively manage the PMS

While participants had anticipated that as one of their roles they would have to manage the PMS, they realised that once implementation had commenced, they could not effectively fulfil all aspects of this role. Their management role involved leading their staff to implement the PMS, allocating resources for implementation, and managing people. However, they encountered some challenges in the process. The main challenges concerned the resources available, the resistance from some staff and the amount of paperwork involved. Examples of codes that reflected the extent to which senior managers found it difficult to manage the PMS were, *Senior management cannot allocate resources because there is little or nothing to allocate* (11); *Funds to purchase resources needed for the PMS activities in schools are insufficient (9)* and *The PMS puts pressure on the limited resources available in the schools (8). Staff resistance makes it difficult for senior management to manage the PMS* (28); and *Senior management spend most of their time managing paper instead of people* (18).

6.2.2.1 Inadequate resources available to support implementation

Members of staff looked up to senior management to allocate resources needed for the implementation of the PMS. However, the participants indicated that resources were grossly inadequate in schools. Senior management had little or nothing to allocate to the

implementation process which made it difficult for them to manage the PMS. This explanation by QQB shows the frustration senior management had due to failure to provide resources. He stated: "The resources have been a major challenge and without them implementation has been badly affected. Like you need money to buy some material for training purposes but it's not readily available." EEA further expressed her comments regarding the exigency of resources for effective management of the PMS. She maintained: "If I were to implement my own PMS I would really want to have resources in place or else it may never get started."

The central role of resources in the management of the PMS was further emphasised by KKA. He cited photocopiers and computers as resources that were essential for the management of the PMS but which senior management could not provide:

> We have to photocopy enough copies of PMS reading material for our teachers but there is no photocopy for us to run workshops about PMS and other school activities. Trainers have to type PMS material and other teachers also have to type their own school work, but there is only one computer for everybody. These slow down progress of the implementation.

The participants were mainly concerned about such resources as finance, photocopiers and computers which they considered vital to the implementation of the PMS. Lack of funding was a major impediment to the implementation process. PPC observed:

> There is the issue of finance. They should provide adequate resources. PMS needs a lot of money to buy such things as paper to photocopy training material for our school-based workshops, but there is no money specifically allocated to schools to use for PMS activities. So we can't run these workshops because of limited resources.

Another concern about the insufficient resources was noted by BBA. He stressed that while it was clear that for the PMS to be successfully implemented, there had to be sufficient resources in the schools, the reality was, that most of the time, such resources were not readily available. He concurred with PPC about lack of financial support to purchase the required resources but he also noted lack of maintenance. He maintained:

> PMS is paper dominated but there is no money to buy paper to be able to photocopy material about the reform for teachers to learn more. And after all, many schools don't even have photocopiers. The old machines that are there lack spare parts to fix them or there is nobody to fix them. It's a big problem.

The lack of resources to meet the expectation of the PMS for schools to train their own staff was further highlighted by RRA. He pointed out:

> The current resources or the present resources we have in schools such as computers are seriously lacking. People are forced to crowd around one computer which has to service the entire school population of 1990 students. When you have to do something you have to wait for someone to finish his or her bit. That is a drawback given the paperwork involved and the need to develop material for teachers.

The sentiments expressed by FFD summarise the participant concerns regarding limited resources: "For us to successfully implement PMS, we need resources. We need paper, computers and photocopiers but most of these don't exist in schools. With this situation, you don't expect schools to succeed in the implementation of PMS."

In addition to concerns about frequent changes to the PMS and the problem of lack of resources, the participants expressed discomfort about the introduced priorities of the PMS. They indicated that while the PMS considered these priorities central to the implementation process, to the schools, they were of less priority.

6.2.2.2 Increasing resistance

Over the period that attempts had been made to implement the PMS, some participants had noted that they had to contend with an increase in resistance from some staff. A range of possible reasons for the increasing resistance were offered. Participants blamed the inadequate preparation of teachers as a possible cause of teacher resistance. IID argued: "There has been some teacher resistance due to lack of progress in the implementation. Up to now teachers have not been adequately trained to understand and be able to implement PMS and they are now beginning to resist." Further on inadequate training, MMD explained: "We have failed to train our staff to understand the importance of implementing the PMS because we also don't understand, and the result has been resistance. They see PMS as intruding into their core business."

Other participants indicated that the resistance might have been caused by the failure of the PMS to adapt to the business of the school. IIB commented: "I think the resistance should be seen in this context. The PMS was never adjusted to the level of a school. It is more relevant to industry, and not aligned to a school set up, hence the resistance." Reflecting on a similar situation that occurred in his school, YYB maintained: "The obvious one, resistance because

teachers do not find it relevant to teaching and learning but to industry. They feel it is not the right reform for them and should therefore not be implemented in schools."

6.2.2.3 Managers of paper not people

Some participants expressed concern about the amount of paperwork that the PMS entailed. There was a perception that the time and effort that the paperwork took did not lead to improved performance of their staff. They felt that they had become managers of paper rather than managers of their people. Their issues concerned the volume of paperwork, its complexity and most of all, its usefulness.

Participants from all levels of senior management considered the amount of paperwork to be onerous. One school head described the PMS as a reform that had "brought in a lot of paperwork which is unnecessary" (MMA). Similarly, a deputy school head, IIB indicated: "The other major problem is the amount of paper work involved in PMS. We are completely overwhelmed. NNC, a head of house also claimed that the PMS involved "too much documentation even in comparison to previous reforms in schools." WWA stated that the large amounts of paperwork had "become an extra burden that requires a lot of time to complete" and members of staff had become apprehensive about the PMS due to the amount of time they had to spend "just completing paperwork". From KKD's view, the PMS had "become such an extra burden since senior management and staff were spending more time on paperwork." He found this "counter-productive to the spirit of the PMS which is that of the improvement of performance." FFD also indicated that senior management were inundated with paperwork since they had to "to spend a lot of time completing different types of forms and looking at piles of teachers' completed forms."

There were participants who pointed out that the completion of paperwork was a complex exercise which was not easy to understand. For GGB, the challenge for members of staff was "the difficulty to complete the PMS forms given to them". GGA referred to the complexity of paperwork as "mind boggling and too academic for the average employee." TTC described the paperwork as "difficult to understand and complete as well as tedious" and that they spent much of their time advising teachers on how to complete forms which they, as managers, hardly understood.

There was a perception that the amount of time spent by school managers and teachers working on the PMS documents had a negative effect on school management and on teaching and learning. From EEB's recollection of the PMS, right from the time when it was first introduced, paperwork took away school managers from their role of managing schools. Furthermore, he

explained: "The amount of paperwork involved kept teachers away from the classroom." FFC was also concerned about the amount of time school personnel were spending on paperwork and the effect on the core business. She explained: "PMS is more about paperwork and this keeps school management and teachers away from their core business for long hours. So I can't say it is helping schools to improve performance, but it is contributing to poor performance."

6.2.3 Unable to effectively liaise with regional office

The research participants revealed that while they had expected the regional office to maintain regular contact with the schools to provide supervision and support, the office rarely ever contacted them. They maintained that the limited interaction between the school heads and regional office made it difficult for all members of the senior management including the deputy heads and heads of houses to implement the PMS.

There was concern that while participants made efforts to liaise with the regional office about the implementation of the PMS, the office was not reciprocal in terms of providing support to make the role of overseeing the PMS less difficult. FFA for instance, explained that as school heads, they had sent written reports to the regional office but rarely ever got feedback. He further indicated: "We had expected that our regional supervisors would keep regular contact with us, but regrettably in most cases, this does not happen." At the time of the interview, he was concerned that as the term was coming to an end they had not heard from or had not been visited by anyone from the regional office. FFA indicated that the chief education officer had neither phoned him nor paid a visit to check on the progress of the implementation process. Further reflecting on chief education officers, ZZB revealed that while they were responsible for the supervision of the school heads in particular, "they hardly ever visit schools for monitoring purposes and give us advice," and that this made it difficult for school leaders to effectively implement the reform. A head of house, NNB was also concerned that the Chief had not been coming to their school for a long time. He recalled: "I remember seeing him once but even then he didn't stay long enough to get a clear understanding of how we were struggling to implement PMS." WWA complained about Ministry officials for their tendency to be "visible only when they have to talk about the changes that they want to see brought about but never really make follow ups."

The regional office failure to liaise with schools was construed by participants as a major setback to senior management's efforts to oversee the implementation process. As summed up by DDA, the regional office was not visible to discuss with senior management the PMS and give them support as overseers of the implementation process. He explained: "They don't

interact with us in spite of our efforts to send progress reports about the PMS. So without their support we are finding it difficult to effectively implement this reform."

6.3 Factors impeding senior managers implementing the PMS

As explained in the previous chapter, school heads saw themselves as overseers of the implementation of the PMS at the school level. Effective overseeing required them to ensure that the staff to whom they had delegated PMS responsibilities were able to do their work of implementing the PMS in the entire school. Once implementation had commenced, school heads, deputy heads and heads of houses discovered that their efforts were hindered by constraints that appeared to be beyond their control. The constraints were clustered around the four adverse effects listed in Table 25.

Table 25. Conceptual categories portraying constraints to the implementation

Title of category	Participants
The PMS appeared to be always in flux	43
Priorities of the PMS were not all priorities of the schools	90
Senior management and staff had not been adequately trained about the PMS	44
There was a disconnect between schools and regional offices	57

6.3.1 The PMS in constant flux

Participants in the study pointed out that right from the outset, there was confusion regarding the place of the PMS in the existing school context. There was concern about the frequent changes or modifications that the PMS was continuing to undergo long after it had been implemented. According to the participants, this was an indication that the Ministry could not easily find a reform that suited what was taking place in the schools. This, in their view, had resulted in a long drawn out and still incomplete implementation process.

Participants, for instance, cited the very early vacillation back and forth between the PMS and the performance based reward system (PBRS) as an indication of the challenge to identify a reform contextualised to the schools. At the time when the PMS was being introduced in the late 1990s, the government also had considered the idea of a PBRS. As it stood, the PMS was introduced almost simultaneously with the PBRS. Several years later, as the study revealed, senior management recalled the adjustment that had to be made. MMB recalled that in their school they "were first introduced to PMS, changed to the PBRS, and then to PMS again."

According to DDE, the ongoing change seemed to suggest that "the Ministry was finding it difficult to contextualise either the PMS or the PBRS to teaching and learning." The to-ing and fro-ing between the PMS and the PBRS which went on for a long time before the Ministry finally settled for the PMS was an indication of the Ministry's "inability to find a reform most suitable to teaching" (MMA).

Further evidence cited to show that the reform was not wholly suitable, was the constant changes to the terminology and procedures used in the PMS. For instance, VVA stated that what they previously termed *initiatives* had now changed to "something else". Another example VVA cited was the following: "Like last year, we thought we understood and had even set our objectives, and this year we are starting afresh because the terminology has changed." Further concern about the changes to terminology which did not fit into the context was raised by GGB. He argued: "We learnt so many PMS terms which kept changing from time to time. This shows that we didn't know what is suitable for schools."

As well as changes in terminology, there were also ongoing changes to the processes required. This produced extra work and an ongoing need for re-educating school staff. As AAB noted, senior managers were constantly invited to attend external workshops for such re-education. Further demonstrating the difficulty the Ministry was encountering in trying to adapt the PMS to what the schools were doing, EED explained: "The problem with the reform itself is that it did not come as a complete package. The Ministry kept pasting and removing, cutting and pasting. It was so difficult to adapt it to teaching."

There was also a perception that the frequent changes to the PMS appeared to have had a role in the resistance to the PMS that was being experienced in the schools from some staff members, a response that was impacting negatively on the implementation process. XXC, a head of house, shared her experience in attempting to implement the reform amongst the teachers in her house: "The many changes to PMS make teachers resist because there is confusion regarding what people are supposed to implement. To show they resist and disown PMS, teachers use such phrases as '*your* PMS', or '*your* thing'" [XXC's emphasis]. Similar sentiments were expressed by LLC who also noted teachers were perhaps feeling some resentment toward the PMS: "[There's] resistance from teachers because they feel PMS is changing all the time and sort of takes them away from their core business of teaching to address these changes."

6.3.2 Priorities of the PMS not a priority of the schools

Some participants believed that the difficulties in implementing the PMS were at least partly due to the belief that some of the priorities of the PMS were not considered a priority of the schools. For example, the emphasis the PMS placed on finance management skills was not shared by all school managers. In their view, the priorities that drove schools were developing the skills that would lead to the improvement of teaching and learning and other traditional school activities that would directly lead to the improvement of students' academic results. There were four examples of codes that contributed to the category, *Priorities of the PMS not a priority of the schools*. These were *PMS is a reform for industry and the corporate world (28); PMS was transplanted from developed foreign countries (38);* and *Some PMS activities are of no significance to the business of the schools* (14).

6.3.2.1 PMS skills not a priority for school personnel

There was observation that senior management's efforts to implement the PMS were impeded by lack of some skills amongst school personnel, which were required by the PMS. For instance, the participants revealed that the PMS emphasised the need for schools, among other things, to be rated on the basis of their financial management performance. The concern was that school personnel did not possess the skills required for such PMS priority areas, but more importantly, they were not even considered a priority of the schools.

In the participants' views, possessing these PMS skills was not a priority to them since they did not directly address the core business of teaching and learning to improve students' academic results. AAB for example, referred to new priority areas such as "financial management" and "customer service" which required skills staff members did not possess. He indicated that the schools did not have the personnel well trained to effectively deal with such issues. He indicated: "We don't have the right skills. What we have are teaching skills to produce good students' academic results. That is our speciality." NNB also argued that as school personnel they lacked the PMS skills needed for the management of finance, human resource and others. As importantly, he felt that they were not "teachers' work". He stated: "We don't even think we need them. They take too much of our time … all we need is knowledge and skills about how to help our students pass their examinations to have a good future." Further concern about the PMS concepts and skills which to the participants were alien to the schools was noted by JJA. A typical business oriented example that he gave was the concept of the "balanced scorecard", a concept that was foreign to the school context. He maintained: "To implement most of these new things has been difficult because we don't have the right training to do that. And maybe we

don't even have time to acquire new skills about new things that have little to do with teaching."

6.3.2.2 Tasks not relevant to the core business of the schools

Participants indicated that some of the tasks associated with the PMS were in their view not a priority for the schools. They were concerned that imposing these new responsibilities on their staff meant that schools were being compelled to spend time on tasks that were not considered significant to what the schools were doing.

As it stood, participants felt that it was inappropriate for schools to be expected to focus on activities, which in their view, had very little to do with students' academic work. GGB for instance, indicated that the responsibility of senior management and their staff had always been "to make students pass their examinations and have a bright future." He regretted that this was in contrast to what the PMS required them to do. He indicated: "The PMS wants us to spend time on activities that do not add value to the academic results." Further examples of activities that were not considered a priority for the schools were given by GGA. He argued:

> What matters to us in the schools is to ensure that students are taught and they pass their examinations. Any other factors outside the curriculum we don't see it as a priority to us in the schools. All these things such as PDPs, balance scorecards, performance agreements and so on introduced to us by PMS are not part of the school culture, so for a lot of our time we are trying to understand their relevance to our core business.

Justification for giving priority to students' academic work was provided by WWA. He argued that the focus of schools was mainly on helping the students obtain good grades in their examinations since this was the expectation of both parents and the Ministry which always reprimanded schools with poor students' academic results. He indicated that the activities to which the PMS wanted the school to pay attention, such as management of finance and human resources should have been a responsibility of administrative officers and not senior management since they were not even well trained to effectively deal with such issues. He further indicated: "As school management we should focus on teaching and learning to help teachers improve students' results. Instead, we take a lot of time on these other things which demand a lot of time."

Some participants felt that they were not in a position to explain to their staff how implementing the PMS would positively transform the core business of the schools. The heads of houses as the hands-on implementers of the PMS in particular were confronted with the difficulty of linking the PMS priorities with those of the teachers. For example, DDC stated: "Unfortunately it was not clearly explained how the PMS ways of improving performance would enhance students' performance in their examinations. We have found ourselves spending a lot of time completing forms which have adversely affected our teaching." MMD summed up the general view of the participants when she stated: "They [the teachers] see PMS as intruding into their core business."

6.3.2.3 PMS does not belong in schools

In reflecting on the difficulties that the senior managers were experiencing in implementing the PMS, it appeared they had a strong sense that the reform did not belong in the school setting even though some benefits had been experienced. The participants expressed concern that the PMS was a reform transplanted from industry and from the corporate world. They indicated that this made it difficult for senior management to make it work in the schools.

One of the participants who associated the performance management system with industry was EEB. He indicated that when the PMS was introduced, the Ministry's mistake was to believe that "if it could apply in industry or in the mines, it could also apply in schools the same way." He believed that it was only now that it had "dawned on the Ministry that it should have been first adapted." EEB's view was shared by QQD who indicated that the senior management were being compelled to implement a reform which was not "applicable to a school set up." He expressed concern that their efforts to fit it into their context "proved difficult because it is a model which is more appropriate for industries." MMA indicated that "people were asking themselves, how PMS was related to what they were supposed to do as they believed this was from industries and not relevant to teaching." MMB pointed out that there was a perception that the PMS had nothing to do with teaching, but belonged "to industries or organisations that are supposed to talk in terms of numbers and quantities, or the employee in the factory."

There were participants who believed that the PMS was transplanted from the corporate world. As noted by VVC, the different examples given about the PMS during workshops "were not relevant to schools but applicable to the corporate world." The information given during PMS workshops, with examples from the corporate world not contextualised to teaching and learning was further cited by DDE. CCB's understanding of the PMS was that it better suited a factory. He saw no relationship between the hypothetical clothing manufacturing company cited in the training workshop and the school setting.

The PMS was described as a reform borrowed from the corporate world which was "proving difficult to contextualise to teaching" (QQC). DDA also called the PMS "a corporate world reform" and wondered how people expected "it to work in teaching and learning in its current form." Although attendees at workshops were encouraged to contextualise the material presented to the school context, it was a difficult task because the examples and cases in the training material were from the corporate world. BBA recalled a workshop at which most examples given about the PMS had to do with improving profitability. He recalled that although they had been "given an opportunity to contextualise the training material to education it proved a difficult task to accomplish due to the mismatch between the corporate world and the schools."

In addition to the problem of the PMS being a reform transplanted from industry and from the corporate world, participants noted that it was also transplanted in Botswana from other countries. From the participants' perspective, transplanting the PMS from other countries made it difficult to implement in the schools. GGB called the PMS "a foreign reform irrelevant to the things that are done in schools." DDD described it as a reform that "came from other countries and was never adapted to the school context in Botswana."

There were participants who associated implementation problems with the view that the countries from which the PMS was transplanted were more developed. They interpreted this to suggest that, they had very little in common with a less developed country such as Botswana. One of the participants, AAD, argued that borrowing a reform from such industrialised countries as the USA, Britain or Australia posed "a problem for a developing country such as Botswana because of the different contexts." He argued that reforms such as the PMS may have worked for the developed countries most probably "because they are based on their contexts." LLD argued that transplanting reforms from developed countries was a bad decision since the "contexts are very different from those of less developed countries such as Botswana." ABA pointed out that, in adopting a performance reform from developed countries, the government failed to appreciate that it could be that "these industrialised countries have been implementing the performance management systems for years and are now well established."

There was concern about the tendency by the Ministry to continuously change from one transplanted version of the PMS to another, which VVA described as "jumping from one foreign version to another." She argued that "the Ministry changed from the American version of PMS, to the Australian one and vice-versa because both of them were difficult to contextualise to teaching." A similar view by AAA was that "changing from the American

version of the PMS to that of the Australian was an indication that the Ministry could not find a version that matched the school context."

Reflecting on the change from the American version of the PMS to the Australian one, MMD indicated that "this prompted people to wonder when a decision would be taken on the most suitable reform for implementation." Furthermore, YYA alluded to efforts to implement the different transplanted versions of the PMS none of which was "found relevant to schools in Botswana."

In summary KKC, stated that changing from one developed country's version to another "proved difficult to implement because these versions are not suitable for the schools." The different versions being implemented in schools were in ABB's perspective not working for the schools because they were "implemented without adopting them to the school situation." Against this background, AAA urged the Ministry to "contextualise the reform to what is taking place in schools focussing mainly on classroom instruction."

6.3.3 Inadequate training

The previous chapter reported participants' strong expectation that support from the Ministry of Education in terms of training would accompany the implementation of the PMS. The expectation was that support from the Ministry would enable the senior management team to lead the implementation process in schools effectively. However, in practice, many of the research participants revealed that the Ministry had not been able to provide them with adequate training to understand the PMS better and be able to implement it more effectively.

They attributed their lack of skills and hence their limited ability to implement the PMS to the failure of the Ministry in providing them with adequate training. TTD for instance, indicated: "We are still fumbling and do not know what to do in PMS because we are not sufficiently trained. So we are not able to train our teachers to enable them to effectively implement PMS." CCB also referred to the link between inadequate training and poor implementation: "The implementation is really slow because we in management and our teachers don't have enough training to effectively drive this reform. Unless such training is made available to staff, implementation will continue to suffer." The resulting lack of confidence that participants felt in their ability to lead the PMS was described in section 6.2.

The Ministry had adopted the cascade approach to disseminate information about the performance management system to members of staff in schools. This approach was intended to

trickle down information about the PMS from the top to the junior members of staff. It was assumed that the same information that was given to the most senior officers in the Ministry would filter down to members of staff in its original form.

How the cascade approach was practically supposed to work was described by ABB. This description reflected the top-down approach to information dissemination characteristic of the cascade approach. He explained:

> The PMS was cascaded from the Ministry down to education officers within the region. And then from there selected people within the region were trained, and it cascaded down to the schools. And then within the school it would go from the administration to the department heads down to the teacher.

Two aspects of the training that attracted criticism were the limited time allocated for training and the unskilled trainers who were providing schools with the training. Two examples of codes representing the views of the participants about inadequate training were *Not much time has been allocated for adequate training of senior management and staff* (17); and *PMS trainers lack skills to train school personnel about the implementation of the PMS* (21).

6.3.3.1 Limited time for training

The participants were concerned about the insufficient time available for the senior management team to train their staff, and for them to be trained. They further made reference to the volume of PMS material they had to cover. In addition, there was concern about the compression of complex professional development into very small units of time.

The time allocated for training was deemed insufficient as noted by BBA. He maintained that the challenge for the senior management was the limited time for their "own training and even to train teachers." IIA indicated that "there is very little time available for the senior management to be trained and also for them to train their staff."

There was further concern about the volume of material to be covered over a limited amount of time. TTC, for example, recounted a training experience with regional trainers: "When I say we were trained, I mean two afternoons. And two afternoons, with that much material, when some of the words are new and some are contradicting what we used to know. It is a problem." JJC also made mention of the large amount of training material delivered by trainers over a short period of time as an issue of major concern to the senior management. She stated: "You are

called one afternoon to be trained now and there is too much material to read and understand." KKD recalled that the very same training material the trainers were struggling to regurgitate due to limited time had been given to the trainers themselves over a much longer period of time. He pointed out that "the trainers had up to two weeks of training to cover the very same material they were trying to give to the senior management in only five days." For YYC the mismatch between the amount of training material and the time allocated meant a waste of resources. He regarded it as "a waste of time to try to cover volumes of material in only a day or so when it should have been allocated weeks of training."

The inconsistency in the manner in which training was carried out had participants call for well thought out training programmes consistent with volume of the training material needing to be delivered.

6.3.3.2 Unskilled trainers

Concern was raised about the poor calibre of trainers who were engaged to provide senior management with the skills they needed to drive the PMS. The cascade approach to the delivery of the training had had a multiplier effect in terms of people acquiring incomplete or incorrect information. In summary, the cascade approach to the delivery of training suffered from lack of quality trainers at the different levels of the cascade as illustrated by GGA:

> The way it is run is people are called to be trained so that they would come
> and train others so that those who are resourced also go and resource others
> and up to school level. And by the time we get what we are supposed to
> give to our teachers, it has been diluted so much that it has lost its essence
> and as such we are not sure of what we are supposed to be doing.

Some of the participants indicated that one way in which the trainers' lack of skills was exposed was in their failure to adequately answer questions posed by trainees. There was also concern about the criteria that were used to select personnel to become trainers.

Confidence in the trainers' knowledge was lacking in the majority of the participants. The trainers' inability to answer questions in NNB's view was "evidence of their incompetence." AAA also observed: "You go to a workshop and, even the resource persons themselves do not understand what they are saying. We had so many questions unanswered." PPC also reflected on the problem of failure to respond to questions about the PMS: "The questions referred to the regional office for further clarification were not adequately answered." JJD made reference to

an incident in which trainers could not respond to questions posed by the workshop participants. He recalled that one of the trainers had confessed to his own limited understanding of the training material he was supposed to deliver. JJD recalled the trainer providing an explanation along the following lines: "So, there is nothing we can say about it. We didn't also understand from the top when we were trained."

The criteria for choosing people to qualify as trainers were questioned. RRC recalled that at one particular training workshop, he observed "the presence of some of the trainers who were well-known to the trainees for their previous incompetence when they were school heads." A measure of their incompetence was their schools which had "failed to produce good students' academic results for three or four years in succession." While this criterion may not have been indicative of the trainers' knowledge in the PMS, it nevertheless was linked to credibility with other school leaders and it highlighted the value that senior management gave to student academic results' as an indicator of excellence in teacher performance.

6.3.4 Disconnect between schools and regional offices

From the participants' perspective, the success of the PMS required input from the senior managers, alignment across the different layers of the organisation and it also required accountability. From the senior management's perspective, the resulting disconnect between schools and regional offices impeded the successful implementation of the PMS. The three codes that constitute the category *Disconnect between schools and regional offices* were *Senior management are not empowered to make decisions about indicators of performance in their own schools* (19); *Aligning the schools' strategic plans with those of regional offices has proved difficult* (13); and *The regional office rarely carries out quarterly reviews in the schools* (25).

6.3.4.1 Performance indicators imposed not negotiated

The participants were concerned that the decision making process, especially to do with the performance indicators, took place outside the schools. They believed this was not in the best interest of the schools since Ministry officers were not on the ground to know exactly what was taking place in schools on a day-to-day basis. The argument was that school managers from each school should have a say in which performance indicators should be selected for their own school. NNC argued that it was necessary to let senior management decide "based on the needs of their staff and schools."

As justification for the decision making to involve managers at the school level, participants cited the uniqueness of every individual school which can only be understood by the senior management in each school. How the uniqueness of the different schools warrants some internal decision making was noted by PPA, a school head who argued: "Schools are not the same and must therefore be allowed, for instance, to decide how they should assess the performance of their own teachers. Senior management should also be allowed to decide on the objectives to set and achieve." Consistent with PPA's argument for senior managers to have a say into performance should be measured, a deputy head, MMB, expressed the need for more input in terms of setting the performance indicators. He suggested: "Management should be allowed to adapt PMS such that it addresses the real school situation so that you talk about performance in a school set up. We should determine performance indicators rather than have them imposed on us." A head of house from another school, TTC, believed that the regional office should have an advisory capacity only. She maintained: "It would be an advantage for schools, if for example, school heads in consultation with staff can decide on areas of performance on which people can be rated, not the regional office. Of course the region can advise."

6.3.4.2 Using strategic plans to connect schools with regional offices unsuccessful

One way in which the participants had expected schools to connect with the regional office was via the strategic plans which were supposed to ensure alignment of goals. This required that the school strategy plan be aligned to that of the regional office which, in turn, needed to be aligned with that of the department. One participant, XXC, explained the top-down hierarchical nature of the alignment process as follows:

> The main document is the strategy plan developed by the Ministry of Education. Departments within the Ministry are supposed to also develop their strategic plans which are aligned to the Ministry, and then the regions have to also align theirs to the departments and down to the schools.

In spite of the requirement for alignment, participants reported failure by some regional offices to align their strategy plans to that of the department. XXD recalled an instance when "the region had failed to properly align its strategy plan to that of the department as was required." When this happened, it meant that the schools' strategy plans were also affected in the sense that by aligning theirs to that of the regional office, they were deviating from the department's strategy plan. A typical scenario was further explained by CCA: "We did not receive the strategic plan from the regional office. By the way, we adjust ours to that of the region. So once we did not receive the region's strategic plan it stopped the whole thing from cascading smoothly."

6.3.4.3 Using reviews to connect schools with regional offices unsuccessful

With respect to accountability, the senior managers expected that regional office would monitor their progress and, when needed, provide the necessary support. On both counts, most regional offices were found wanting. The quarterly reviews with regional office were intended to be a means of monitoring for accountability but also of ascertaining the need for support. In the participants' view, this process was necessary if the Ministry was to have insight into the challenges faced by the senior management team and therefore, provide advice on how to go about implementing the PMS. BBA explained the purpose of the reviews as follows: "Regional office reviews of schools are another mechanism that is supposed to be undertaken to monitor the implementation process." In the opinion of many, the reviews were rarely carried out and so monitoring was inadequate. MMA blamed the chief education officer for not being able to visit the schools for the reviews. He argued that the failure to carry out this mechanism, "made it difficult for schools to know if what they did the previous year was appropriate."

Against this background, some participants cited lack of achievement of the implementation process and lack of measurement of performance as consequences arising from the Ministry's failure to carry out reviews to support the senior management's work. ZZC noted that not doing the reviews denied "the senior management privilege to have their work checked by their supervisors and receive support." She argued that with no support, implementation of the PMS was "bound to fail." Sharing a similar sentiment, AAC also pointed out: "The Ministry does not provide close monitoring of the implementation process." She was apprehensive that with such a lack of support, "there was nowhere the Ministry could find out the challenges schools are facing trying to implement the PMS."

There were participants who argued that by not undertaking the reviews, the regional office was neglecting the PMS functions such as "coaching and guidance of the implementation process" (WWD). VVB indicated that while as senior management they were making efforts to do internal reviews of the implementation process, "the missing link is the failure by the regional office to monitor and provide coaching to the drivers in the school, who are the senior management." EED also stated that, officers were "not coming to monitor and coach senior management about the implementation process."

Participants gave the large number of schools within each region as the main reason for the regional offices' inability to provide schools with the support they had expected. DDA indicated that there were only five regions in the country with many schools in each one of them. He expressed concern that while there were so many schools, there was "only one person who is actually meant to be the overall supervisor", making it difficult for that person to provide

effective reviews and support. A similar observation was made by LLB when he stated: "I think we have a problem. In our region the chief education officer has more than 100 schools to look after. So it becomes a mammoth task for that person to give support to all these schools."

6.4 Chapter summary

The previous chapter was focussed on the participants' expectations of the PMS "in theory", while this chapter is an outline of their experiences of the PMS "in practice". These experiences were in terms of their experienced benefits of the PMS; their capacity to implement the PMS; and the factors that impeded their role to implement the PMS. Although the participants pointed to some benefits of this reform, overall they indicated that it was difficult for senior management to effectively perform their job of leading implementation in their respective schools for a range of reasons. They reported five main obstacles which affected the degree to which they could fulfil their role as implementers. First was the concern that the PMS was changing all the time and the instability interfered with the smooth progress of the implementation process. The second concern was about the Ministry's failure to provide the schools with sufficient resources to implement the PMS. Third, was the view that some of the priorities of the PMS were not priorities of the schools. Fourth, the participants revealed that they were dissatisfied with the training they were given to lead their members of staff to implement the PMS. Finally, the regular contact that senior management expected between the schools and regional offices did not happen, a situation they considered detrimental to their role of implementing the PMS.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

7.0 Introduction

As discussed in chapter three, national governments have come under pressure from the public to improve the performance of their employees. In the case of some developing countries, the pressure has also come from donor agencies such as the World Bank for these countries to improve their economies (Tabulawa, 2003). As indicated by Washington and Hacker (2005), the government of Botswana also implemented a performance management system with the aim of improving the quality of performance. Unlike in other less developed countries, the implementation of the PMS in Botswana was not an externally funded reform, and so there was no pressure to satisfy any conditions prescribed by an outside funding agency.

It was the realisation that the implementation process of the PMS in Botswana, specifically in the schooling sector, was experiencing difficulties that prompted this study. Because this research was conducted eight years after the "official" implementation of the PMS had commenced, the participants in the study were able to reflect on both the expectations they had of the PMS (chapter five) and their actual experiences to date (chapter six).

The last two chapters each provided partial responses to the three research questions that guided this study, namely,

1. What are the perceptions of the senior management team in senior secondary schools regarding the purpose of the performance management system?
2. What are the perceptions of the senior management team concerning their roles as implementers of the PMS?
3. What are the perceptions of the senior management team regarding the factors that impact on the implementation of the performance management system?

This chapter draws the responses to the research questions together and offers an explanation for the trajectory that the PMS has taken in senior secondary schools in Botswana. The chapter is in three parts. The first part of the chapter summarises the responses to the research questions presented in chapters five and six. In so doing, it identifies the discrepancies between the expectations school senior management held for the PMS and their experiences of its implementation, and it identifies the contributing factors for these discrepancies. In the second section in keeping with the grounded theory approach, the chapter synthesises the findings to provide an explanation or theory that explains the path that the PMS took in secondary schools in Botswana. The third section of the chapter discusses the study with reference to the literature

for purposes of comparison and for further understanding the experience of the senior secondary school management with the PMS in Botswana.

7.1 Summary of findings

The evaluation conducted by the Botswana government in 2005 (Republic of Botswana, 2006b) which was discussed in section 2.5 indicated that the PMS was experiencing some problems and my study, conducted four years after that evaluation, confirmed that four of the problems raised in the report were continuing to exist. First, the performance development plans (PDPs), a key element of the PMS, were in some cases still not being completed. Second, the implementation of the PDPs and the performance agreements was difficult due to the complexity of the documentation. Third, the problem of meaningful measures of performance had not been resolved, and finally, senior management continued to be concerned that the PMS was consuming a lot of time. What my study did not confirm however, was the issue of fear being experienced by the senior school management. The evaluation (Republic of Botswana, 2006b) reported that managers were reluctant to address performance issues due to fear of being unpopular with their staff, and it also reported that managers feared consequences if they did not comply, for instance, with reporting formats and deadlines. Neither concern was found in this study. On a positive note, the satisfaction with the idea of a planning culture and the setting of targets noted in the evaluation report continued to exist amongst the participants in this study.

The senior management had high expectations of the purpose for which the PMS had been introduced. In accordance with the Ministry's intent, they saw the PMS as a reform intended to improve performance. They noted four major purposes of the PMS at the school level: as a tool that would help schools to improve planning at all levels of the school; as a tool to objectively measure teachers' performance and hold them accountable for their performance; as a reform that would lead to improvement of performance in the workplace; and finally, as a means to introduce more professional development at the school level. Some of their expectations had been realised when they experienced some benefits of the PMS. The benefits were in terms of improved planning at school level, better accountability, more school-based professional development and more team work. However, the extent to which schools experienced benefits varied greatly.

In terms of the roll-out of the PMS, senior management had expected that they would play an important role in the leadership of the implementation of the PMS. For instance, school heads, working with other members of the senior management, had anticipated that they would do the following: oversee the implementation process; lead the implementation process; manage the

performance management system; provide professional development; and report to the regional office. Deputy school heads' expectation of their role was that they would among other things, assist in leading the implementation process; deliver professional development; and oversee the monitoring of classroom supervision. The heads of houses expected to take responsibility for staff and student performance in their 'houses'; check and help teachers develop their PDPs; provide professional development; and manage student welfare issues in their 'houses'. Senior management envisaged the roll-out as requiring teamwork but at the same time, having a hierarchical accountability which was consistent with the organisational structure of the Ministry in which schools are located.

Senior management had also anticipated some concerns about the PMS. Firstly, they had concerns about the possibility of inadequate resourcing for effective implementation. Secondly, they had been uncertain regarding how the PMS defined performance quality. Thirdly, they had anticipated that the limited skill base available at school level to implement the PMS would cause difficulties.

Senior managers' anticipated fears were confirmed when they encountered several impediments to their role of implementing the PMS. They reported that the resources needed to implement the PMS had proved inadequate. They also pointed to the differences between the Ministry's indicators of performance which they had to use to measure quality with their staff's and their own views of what constitutes appropriate indicators of performance. Furthermore, they experienced the consequences of the limited skill base that was available at school level to successfully implement the PMS. There were also other impediments that they had not anticipated.

One such impediment was the changing nature of the PMS. This meant that for a long time, schools were not able to start implementation since they were constantly attending meetings or workshops to address these changes which were constantly being made. Other impediments not previously anticipated included a mismatch between the priorities of the PMS and those of the school and the disconnect between schools and some regional offices as far as communication and accountability were concerned. They also noted that there were tasks that the PMS required them to do, which in their view, were not relevant to the core business of the school. All these factors combined to adversely affect senior management's capacity to implement the PMS.

In summary, many senior managers believed that they were unable to effectively undertake their anticipated role as implementers of the PMS. They stated that they were not able to effectively manage the PMS, citing such adverse factors as inadequate resources, increasing

resistance from their staff, and the disproportionate amount of time and effort they spent on managing paperwork instead of managing people. In addition, their failure to effectively liaise with the regional office was seen as a constraint to their efforts to implement the PMS. Furthermore, many felt that their limited capacity in terms of decision-making, skills and resources had them question their ability to effectively lead the implementation of the reform. For many, a lack of confidence in their capacity to lead the implementation PMS as well as in the PMS itself had eroded their enthusiasm.

The participants appeared to put most of the responsibility for the difference between their expectations and their experiences of the PMS on the government's inability to support them. It is, however, important to note that the participants' observations of both the strengths and weaknesses of the PMS demonstrated a balanced perception of this reform. They did not see the PMS as a reform that had no value and that should therefore be abandoned. On the contrary, they saw some benefits of the PMS but they stressed the challenges they faced which made it difficult to have the PMS benefit them as they had anticipated. Their articulation of both anticipated and experienced benefits therefore, showed that the senior management were not adverse to the implementation of the PMS. However, they were aware of a range of challenges that constrained the degree to which they could effectively play their role of leading the implementation of the PMS.

7.2 Synthesis

In general, senior management believed they were not able to successfully implement the PMS in their respective senior secondary schools. The predicament that senior managers experienced is illustrated in Figure 8 and discussed below.

7.2.1 Senior management's experience in implementing the PMS

Figure 8 attempts to capture the position in which the senior management personnel in schools found themselves with respect to the implementation of the PMS. In summary, in their role as the on-the-ground implementers of the PMS, school managers were "caught in the middle". They were caught between a government that was expecting them to comply with policy guidelines and a school context that was inhibiting their attempts to do so. It was evident that both the government and the school context applied pressures that were at odds with the capabilities senior managers required to successfully implement the PMS. Yet despite the PMS "not working", schools had not collapsed; they had continued to function. What this implies is that if the implementers saw success in terms of their schools functioning well in spite of the

problems inherent in the PMS, they were highly likely to pay lip service to the implementation of this reform and focus on what was working for them.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                 Pressure from the government                 │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Government continues to require completed official paperwork

Government continues to invest in PMS training

PMS "limps along"

Senior management "caught in the middle"
Senior management not able to successfully implement PMS

Schools continue to function

Lack of fit between PMS and school

Accountability chain broken

Limited capacity to adapt PMS to context or to change context to accommodate PMS

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                Pressure from the school context              │
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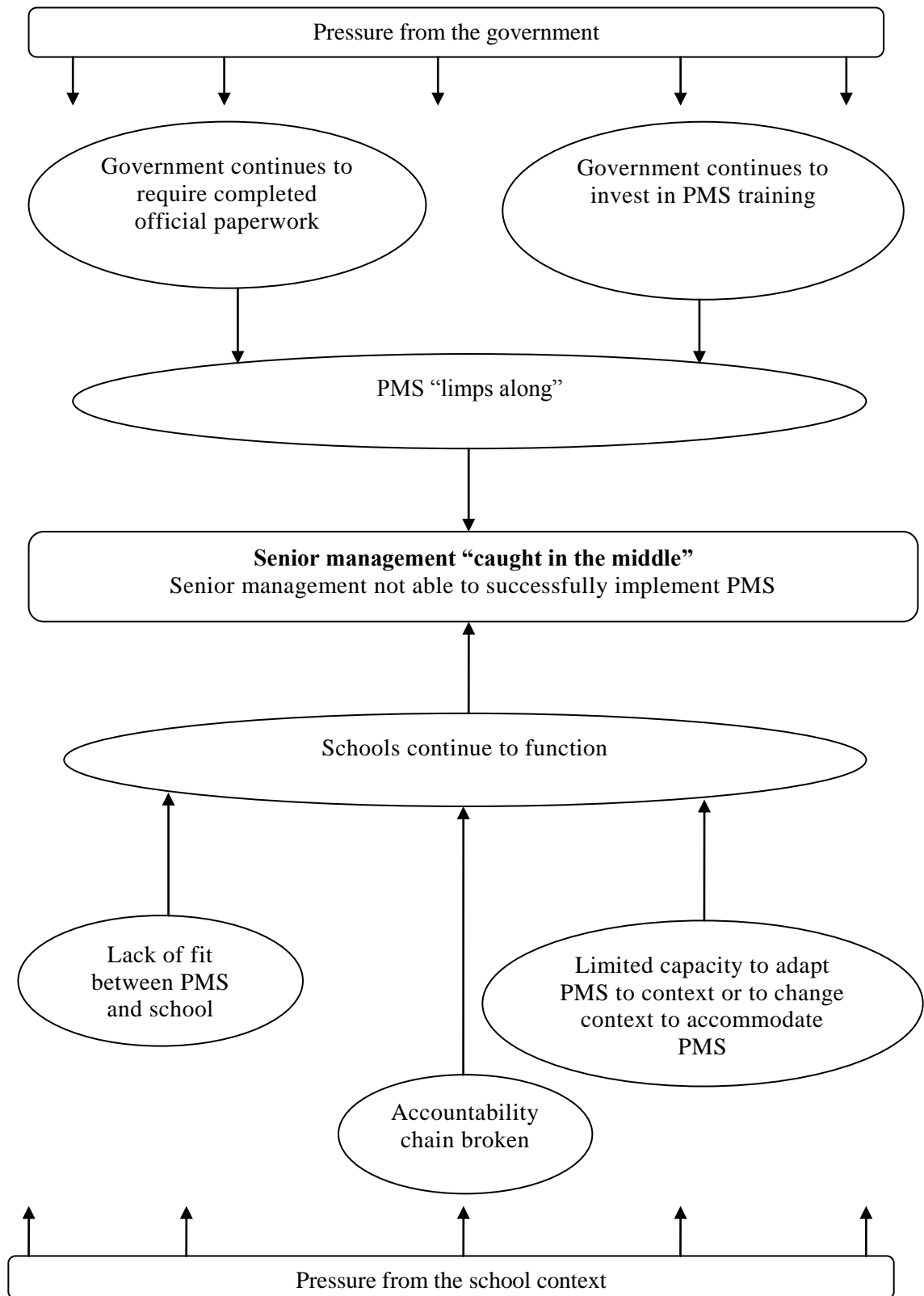
Figure 8. Factors impacting senior management's capacity to implement the PMS

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In spite of the challenges, the government continued to breathe life into the PMS through maintaining the expectation of compliance and investing in ongoing training. Non-compliance with the government's demand to implement the PMS was not an option. The government continued to require senior management to complete the prescribed and official paperwork for submission to the relevant authority. It would appear that as long as reports were being submitted, it was an indication that implementation was taking place. The government also continued to invest in the PMS training eight years after the commencement of the implementation. The ongoing, albeit inadequate, investment in training was to update the school managers on the ongoing changes to the PMS, changes dictated by the upper levels of the ministry; to train new school managers; and most importantly, to reaffirm the government's support of the PMS.

These efforts were indicative of the government's commitment to the PMS and its expectation that the implementation was mandatory for all the schools. These efforts could therefore be interpreted as the government's mechanism by which it was trying to exercise its will of showing that it had not abandoned the performance management reform. They were a reaffirmation of the government's commitment to the performance management system.

However, the environment in which senior managers were to drive the reform was not conducive to it taking root. Three sets of factors emerged as major reasons for why senior managers were not able to successfully implement the PMS in the school context. First was the lack of fit between the PMS and the school context, which indicated that, in many ways, the PMS was alien to the business of schools and teachers' work. The PMS required change in practices, but the difficulty was to try to change the existing culture of the school to embrace new practices demanded by the PMS. In particular, there appeared to be a mismatch between the values that teachers held about what was important to their work and the values that were implicit in the PMS. Second, the senior management were not able to greatly influence the lack of fit. They were not able to adapt the PMS to the school context and they realised that they were not sufficiently able to adapt the school context to the reform. This lack of capacity to effect change was exacerbated by the limited resources available for the implementation process. Either existing resources could not be re-deployed or they were not sufficient enough for effective implementation to be realised.

There was also a problem of lack of expertise in the PMS among the staff including senior managers because they had not been adequately trained for the implementation process. The third and final set of reasons concerned the disconnect between the schools and the regional offices, the level above schools in the hierarchical structure of the education organisation in the

public service. In particular, the chain of accountability between the schools and the regional offices in many places had broken down. The reasons are discussed in the next section to provide a full explanation of what happened.

Against this backdrop, the rhetoric from the school managers was that the PMS had not been abandoned. They continued to do what they felt was possible but they were also aware that paperwork was just a routine which did not necessarily reflect what was taking place in the schools regarding the implementation process. Hence the PMS "limped along."

7.2.2 Reasons why school managers cannot effectively implement the PMS

Senior managers were aware that although implementation had officially commenced, it was experiencing some major problems and was therefore progressing very slowly. As an indication of the extent to which the implementation was experiencing problems, some schools stated that at different times during the implementation process they were compelled to temporarily suspend this process. Their three principal difficulties briefly introduced in the previous section are discussed in detail in this section and provide an explanation for senior management's inability to successfully implement the PMS.

7.2.2.1 Lack of fit between the PMS and the school context

One of the major factors that help explain the senior management's inability to implement the PMS effectively was the lack of fit between the PMS and the school context. Lack of fit meant that there was a mismatch between the PMS and the school context in which it was being introduced. When this reform was introduced it became apparent that it was entering a context where there was no perfect fit. From the perspective of the senior management, there were three reasons that produced the lack of fit. These were that the PMS was introduced in schools as a foreign transplanted reform; it did not belong to the schools; and it was introduced into the public sector as a "one size fits all" reform.

The PMS in senior secondary schools in Botswana was brought into the schools as a foreign reform that had been transplanted into an environment that was incompatible. The incompatibility was on two counts. The first count was that it was a reform that had been transplanted from industry and the corporate world into the public sector. Secondly, it was a reform lifted from western countries and transplanted into a less developed country.

That the PMS was more of an industry and the corporate world reform than a school reform manifested itself in different ways. These included the use of vocabulary that did not match that

used in the schools. Even more significant were the accountability measures from industry that did not align with those of the schools. While the PMS had its own measures and indicators of performance, for the schools the main measure of performance was the students' academic results. So for schools, the measures of accountability that came with the PMS were perceived as a distraction to the core business of teaching and learning. Further indication that the PMS did not belong to the schools was the skill-base that the PMS demanded which did not exist among school personnel.

With respect to it being a western reform, the argument here was that the countries from which the PMS had been borrowed, had implemented it under very different conditions from those existing in Botswana. As well as basing the reform on their own needs, there would have been more resourcing which would have allowed amongst other strategies, the capacity to pilot the reform to determine the extent to which it was effective. In Botswana, the PMS was rolled out across the whole public service with no trials.

It was evident that the "one size fits all" implementation policy of the government was proving detrimental to the implementation of the PMS. The manner in which it was implemented as if it fitted all public sector organisations did not work well for the schools. It emerged during implementation that there were major differences within these organisations that showed that they needed performance management initiatives that accounted for the differences. For the government to have decided to use the same performance reform for the entire public sector was an oversight on its part. In the case of the senior secondary schools in Botswana, there was a lack of fit between the PMS and the school context.

7.2.2.2 Senior management limited capacity to adapt

The senior management's inability to adapt the PMS to the context and vice-versa emerged as an impediment to the implementation of the PMS. Adapting the PMS meant changing some elements of the PMS to match the context, while adapting the context meant changing the context itself to accommodate the PMS. Either way, the senior managers had little or no capacity to effect change.

Efforts to change the PMS elements to fit the school context were most difficult mainly because senior management did not have the authority to carry out this exercise. Efforts to adapt the context to the PMS were also difficult for senior managers. Trying to fit the PMS in the context was made difficult by those values inherent in the schools' cultures that seemed contrary to what the PMS required. For example, teaching and learning was seen as the core business of the school and the PMS was not. Students' final academic results were seen as the ultimate measure

of success rather than the indicators in the PMS. The challenge was made even more demanding because of the limited skill base amongst the implementers and the resourcing available to effect change. Additional resources provided were insufficient and existing resources could not be re-deployed. Time was one of the essential resources that posed a serious challenge to the senior managers in their efforts to adapt the PMS. They could not create time specifically for the PMS and therefore struggled to fit the PMS activities within the time that was already allocated to the core business of teaching and learning. It was clear that this situation was not changing and therefore, any meaningful progress in the implementation of the PMS was very remote.

7.2.2.3 Accountability chain broken

For the PMS to work, all of its parts had to work. One critical component was the accountability chain which linked the schools with the entire system of the Ministry of Education. The system of management in the Ministry is hierarchical and so was the implementation of the PMS. For the accountability chain to work effectively, all levels in the hierarchy had to fulfil their roles and in the event that this did not happen the result was a breakdown in the chain.

One way by which regional offices and schools were supposed to connect was through the school based reports that provided a picture of what was going on regarding progress of the implementation of the PMS in the schools. The expectation was for the regional offices, notably regional chief education officers to give feedback based on these reports. As it stood, this rarely ever happened, and there was therefore a disconnect between some regional offices and the schools. This adversely affected the implementation of the PMS.

There were other mechanisms through which the accountability chain was to be maintained. Two such important mechanisms were the quarterly reviews and the PDPs. While the senior managers did their best to undertake the internal reviews, the external reviews were lacking. These were a responsibility of the chief education officers who should have been responsible for reviewing school heads in particular. The reviews had a bearing on the implementation of the PDPs in the sense that they gave the reviewers the opportunity to gain an insight into the extent to which the PDPs were being implemented in accordance with the performance agreements school heads had signed with the chief education officers on behalf of their schools. The performance agreements were a commitment by the schools to be held accountable for their performance. When the chief education officers did not fulfil their role as it was the case for many of the schools in my study, then the accountability chain broke.

Furthermore, for the accountability chain to have been maintained, it required senior management to have embraced their new role of leading the implementation of the PMS. However, as it stands, these managers were reluctant to change their role for which they put major blame on the government's inability to support them. Nevertheless, as reflected in this study, their reluctance to change their own roles also had to do with the commonly held perception that the PMS was an intrusive reform to the schools' core business of teaching and learning. This perception was in line with the views of their staff. Therefore, if the perception of both senior management and their teachers was that of negativity towards the PMS, then the implementation of this reform was bound to fail.

7.3 Discussion

The study confirmed that eight years after its introduction into the senior secondary schools of the country, the PMS had not yet become an established part of the schools' everyday activity. Difficulties in implementing the PMS were still being experienced. This discussion further explores some of the underlying causes for the lack of success in implementing this reform.

7.3.1 Pay not linked to performance

The PMS in Botswana was similar in most respects to performance management systems in other countries. Like other performance management systems, its main purpose was to improve performance in the public service (Hacker & Washington, 2004; Republic of Botswana, 2002a). Like other performance management systems in schools, teacher performance was mainly assessed through lesson observations undertaken by managers (see Appendix A) and students' academic outcomes. However, there was one important difference between the PMS in Botswana and most other performance management systems in the world.

In contrast to other performance management systems including those of other African countries such as Kenya (Odhiambo, 2005) and Tanzania (Ronsholt & Andrews, 2005), the PMS in Botswana lacked the element of performance being related to financial reward. It was stated that while the employee should receive incentives for high performance, these should be "non-monetary" (Republic of Botswana, 2003b, p. 4).The rewards were therefore to take other forms such as an award or certificate of merit or a special dinner arranged for higher performers. Even though no documented reasons are available to explain this decision to not relate performance to pay, it could be that the government was concerned about cost implications. It could also be that the government had learnt some lessons from previous performance reforms such as the appraisal scheme (Monyatsi, Steyn, & Kamper, 2006b) and the job evaluation for teachers (Monyatsi, Steyn, & Kamper, 2006a), two reforms which had a

performance-related pay component as described in section 2.4.1. As explained by Motswakae (1990), teachers rejected the job evaluation for teachers scheme and the government was compelled to abandon this reform. The appraisal scheme was modified and embedded in the PMS.

The position that Botswana took not to link performance with financial reward finds some support in the literature. There is evidence to show that where performance-related pay has been introduced in education, there have been some problems. These have included the difficulty in measuring teacher performance to the satisfaction of all stakeholders and the potential of performance-related pay to threaten the collegiality that exists within the teaching profession, a quality regarded as important in improving teacher practice (Brown, 2005; Ingvarson & Chadbourne, 1997; Tomlinson, 2000). Wragg, Haynes, Chamberlin, and Wragg (2003) pointed out that in some countries the administrative difficulties associated with performance-related pay had led to its termination.

With respect to linking pay to performance, the position Botswana took was not only unusual in comparison to western countries, but even to other less developed countries. This seems to suggest that performance-related pay is globally regarded as a significant component of the PMS. So if indeed it is supposed to be an integral part of performance management systems, then it could be argued that the exclusion of this component from the PMS in Botswana could have rendered the reform toothless and may have contributed to its moribund state.

7.3.2 Weak systemic links

A performance management system is complex and to work effectively, all its elements need to function effectively. The PMS in the Botswana education system was supposedly embedded in its managerial structure, as it should, but this proved to be a site of weakness. It is important to note that this performance management system was implemented in a country in which schools are part of a public service that is organised hierarchically. Decision making takes place at the top of the hierarchy (section 2.2.6.6, Figure 5) and accountability mechanisms require each level to monitor the performance of the one below it. The Ministry's hierarchical supervisory structure dictated that for effective implementation of the PMS, there needed to be regular monitoring of the implementation process at all levels of the system. In this system, the monitoring of the implementation of the PMS in all schools is the responsibility of the Ministry's five regional offices. This is in contrast to other education systems, notably the United Kingdom as noted by Bartlett (2000), where school boards play a pivotal role in the

affairs of schools in terms of supervision, including the appraisal of school heads by school board members.

In Botswana the managerialist chain that connected schools with their regional offices did not function well as far as the PMS was concerned. Where the link between the schools and their regional offices did not exist, the PMS in those schools lost momentum. This chain required that school managers, especially school heads, report to the chief education officers in their respective regional offices. The chief education officers would in turn give feedback on the reports, and visit schools to have face-to-face interaction with senior managers as one way of lending support to the schools. This link broke mainly as a result of some regional offices' failure to honour their obligation to their schools. It would appear that some regions did very little in terms of their obligation to monitor what the schools were doing and to give support.

Without suggesting that an effective link between the schools and their respective regional offices would have completely eradicated problems associated with the PMS, support from the chief education officers could have given senior managers the confidence to carry out their managerial duties as required by the PMS. It would have been an opportunity for the school managers and their supervisors to have shared experiences and ideas on how implementation could be improved. Furthermore, it would have reinforced for the school managers the belief that the PMS was considered important by the hierarchy. Where there was a lack of engagement from their supervisors, school managers gave the PMS less importance. Although it is difficult to estimate the extent to which the connection between schools and their respective regional offices impacted the capacity of senior managers to successfully implement the PMS, it is clear that this element of the PMS influenced the commitment that school managers had for the PMS in their schools.

The reasons for the lack of engagement of some regional offices with their schools are not known. It is however important to note here that regional offices in Botswana are responsible for many schools. This makes one wonder whether these regional offices are resourced well enough to have the capacity to effectively monitor their respective schools and provide them with the support they needed with the PMS.

7.3.3 Powerlessness of the managers

According to most analysts of neoliberalism and managerialism, the managerialist approach results in managers acquiring more authority in the structure of the organisation. They are supposed to enjoy more autonomy and have more control in their organisations which also has

the result of repositioning them relative to their supervisees (Down, Hogan, & Chadbourne, 1999; Simkins, 2000). While on paper this may be a requirement of managerialism, the reality for the senior managers in my study was the reverse. Instead of feeling empowered to have control over their schools, they revealed that they had very limited power and autonomy to make any decisions about the PMS. In the case of the school managers in this PMS, it would appear that they did not think that they had the authority to make autonomous decisions as it has been suggested by Simkins (2000). If anything, they felt disempowered.

Hand in hand with this should also come appropriate managerial training. Simkins (2000) emphasises that in their enhanced role of managing schools, senior management are expected to have specialist management techniques that would help them make decisions about how to implement change. Simkins' (2000) view implies that those responsible should ensure that school managers are adequately prepared not just to understand the purpose of the PMS, but also to be able to successfully implement the reform. This however, was a far cry from the experience of the senior managers in this study who believed that they had been inadequately prepared in the specialist management techniques referred to by Simkins (2000).

7.3.3.1 PMS requirements for cultural and structural shifts in the school

The responses to managerialism, in the form of performance management system, in the senior secondary schools of Botswana was similar to those identified in other schools worldwide where resistance to the reform had been identified. Eight years on from its introduction, the culture of the schools had not yet changed sufficiently to accept the PMS as a meaningful part of teachers' work.

As discussed in chapter three, the PMS is effectively a private sector reform which was imported into the public sector. As stated by Ball (1998), the intention of managerialism is to insert the theories and techniques of business management into public sector organisations. The assumption made by neo-liberals is that private sector techniques are generally applicable to the public sector and help managers, such as school managers, to improve the performance of their organisations (Apple, 2001; Simkins, 2000). However, as also noted in chapter three there are important differences between the two sectors pertaining to their structure and culture that suggest that transplantation of ideas doesn't always go smoothly.

For instance, managerialism requires structural changes in the school context including changes to job descriptions and changes in the role of school heads and deputies and their relationship with their staff. Simkins (2000) argues that with the advent of managerialism, school managers are expected to focus mainly more on their managerial role than on the curriculum.

Managerialism also requires cultural changes. The ideology of managerialism itself (Bartlett, 1998; Simkins, 2000) is different from the culture usually present in schools. O'Brien and Down (2002) showed that teachers in their study rejected the new culture of managerialism and resented the administrative priorities it brought with it which seemed to make teaching and learning become less important. Similarly, Goodson (2001) noted that some teachers saw reforms under managerialism as being pushed by administrators and politicians and being primarily politically motivated. The result has often been an increased division of values and purpose between management and teachers, resulting in increased tension between the two (Simkins, 2000). The response to the changes that the PMS in the Botswana senior secondary schools aimed to introduce into teachers' work has been similarly negative in many cases. Arguably the element of teachers' work that is most incompatible with the PMS is how students are assessed.

The traditional measure by which teachers' performance was assessed is the students' academic results in the national examinations. National examinations continue to exist and teachers continue to assess their own performance in terms of the results their students are awarded in those examinations. From the school managers' perspective, many staff and for that matter, some school managers, do not see a link between this measure and the measures that the PMS has put in place to assess teacher performance. Part of the problem is that the teachers believe that the style of teaching (rote learning) that produces the better results is not the one that is currently advocated and valued in the PMS context. It would appear that McShane and Travaglione's (2003) notion of "unfreezing of the existing culture by removing artefacts that represent that culture" (p. 547) and "refreezing the new culture by introducing artefacts that communicate and reinforce the new values" (p. 547), is not directly applicable here. The "artefact" that has remained and which exercises great influence is the examinations.

The PMS with its problems was seen as a major detractor from what the school community valued most. The status quo was to focus on the core business of teaching and learning with the ultimate aim of improving the students' academic results which staff highly valued and were therefore not prepared to compromise. The supposed link between the PMS and students' academic results was not present, not evident to staff, or not sufficiently strong to justify the amount of time and effort that the PMS required.

7.3.3.2 Grass root commitment to the PMS limited

Imposing reform from the top down in an organisation, as was the case in the implementation of the PMS in Botswana, carries the risk of poor commitment to the reform by the on the ground implementers. Levin (2001) cautions against coercion to make people comply with change.

Instead, he emphasises the need for people to understand the change and its necessity and to make a commitment to the change. Henderson (2002) also stresses the importance of organisations to foster commitment instead of conformity which is the usual response to directives from a higher authority or from social pressures. For Goodson (2001), it is important to change people's personal perceptions such that they commit themselves to the reform and develop a sense of ownership rather than to conform without any sense of ownership of the reform.

The point here is that people only commit themselves to a reform if they understand and support the purpose for which it is being implemented. This means that people should be given an opportunity to be involved in discussions that would enable them to find out more about the reform. As noted by Henderson (2002), directives from above do not bring about commitment. The result is conformity which may not yield the desired results because as stated by Goodson (2001), people do not have any sense of ownership of the reform. This was further emphasised by Gentle (2001). He argues that employees should understand what the organisation is trying to achieve and how this would be accomplished. According to Gentle (2001), if staff are to commit themselves they, together with management, should have a shared understanding of what success looks like and what they are aiming to achieve in an organisation.

In this case, the senior managers found themselves having to implement a major reform into which neither they nor their staff had had any input. Harris (2003) reflects on the difficult position of school heads who find themselves having to meet the demands of external agents pushing for changes and their own teachers who are expected to implement such reforms. Harris (2003) notes that when external change agents demand that their policy interventions are complied with by implementers, it is bound to cause tension between the school heads and their staff. Such tension occurred for the senior managers in this case. A further complication was that eight years on from its introduction, some managers, like their teachers, were questioning the usefulness of at least some aspects of the PMS. The senior managers were conscious of the fact that they were caught in a hierarchy which was not of their own doing, a situation that affected their relationship with their staff. Given their position, it was imperative that they conform to the government's demand to implement the PMS with all its problems. However, while they were complying in some ways, they were also making decisions to side with their staff.

7.3.3.3 Limited capacity of managers to implement the PMS

The managers' sense of inadequacy and powerlessness to effectively implement a reform that was not aligned to the current structure and culture of their schools, and that they themselves

did not fully understand, was increased by the limited capacity they had to embed it in their school. Their capacity to do the job, they believed, was the responsibility of the government. Adequate preparation in their view required quality training, adequate resources, and regular support by the Ministry. Although such preparation was not necessarily a guarantee that implementation would work perfectly, they expected that it would go a long way to enhancing their chances of making some degree of improvement. The importance of adequate training (Mahony, Menter, & Hextall, 2004) and sufficient resources (Desimone, 2002) in implementing reforms, specifically performance management systems, is stressed in the literature. What is also noted is that in many cases worldwide, both are insufficient (Southworth, 1999). As it stood, senior management in this case were also not adequately trained, resourced, and supported.

One important cause of the inadequate training of senior management was the cascade model of training adopted by the government of Botswana. The cascade model was problematic because information got distorted as it moved from the top down to the bottom of the organisational hierarchy due to the diminishing level of trainer expertise. Often it did not accurately resemble the information delivered in the first round of training. The experience of the cascade approach to training in this case has been shared by others. Hayes (2000) notes that one potential principal limitation is the dilution of training with less and less being understood the further one goes down the cascade. Hayes (2000) further argues that the major cause of the failure of this approach is its concentration of expertise at the top levels of the cascade to the disadvantage of training at the lower levels, a situation in which the participants also found fault. The manner in which this approach was used to provide training was also flawed. The existing "cascading" structures of authority that mean that senior management should be the first to be adequately trained in their schools to lead the implementation were ignored. Instead, the participants complained that junior teachers were the ones sometimes better trained, and therefore, knew more than their supervisors.

The resources, too, were not sufficient to enable senior management and their staff to lead the change process with confidence. It appeared the government did not have the capacity to provide the required resources to help senior managers implement the PMS, more so that it had to provide such resources to both junior secondary and primary schools. These resources included photocopiers, paper, and computers and especially, time. The fact that PMS was described by my research participants as paper dominated meant that such resources were needed to produce the necessary documentation and training material for all staff members. The significance of time and resources for the effective implementation of the PMS is well documented (Desimone, 2002) and their sometimes inadequate provision leading to ineffective

implementation has also been recorded (Brown, 2005). This shows that it was not only the managers in this case who are affected by resource constraints. It seems to be a problem that has been experienced elsewhere including in developed countries. It must however be noted, that even if all the resources that senior managers required had been made available, successful implementation could not be assured, but at least there was a likelihood that some of the PMS activities would be undertaken.

One would have anticipated that the Ministry would have treated the training and resourcing as urgent matters that needed immediate attention and that it would have provided the necessary ongoing support to senior managers to enable them to successfully implement the PMS. This was not to be, and without the support that the senior management needed, the successful implementation of the PMS remained unachievable. This problem was not unique to the Botswana case. Southworth (1999) also talked about school heads who were dissatisfied with reforms that had not been given sufficient preparation, leaving the inadequately prepared school heads to struggle to make the reforms work. The school managers in this case expressed similar sentiments to those school heads in the United Kingdom.

This lack of capacity put the senior managers in a position of hopelessness. The senior managers believed they had no control over the main factors that could make it possible for them to implement the PMS with some success. They were not adequately trained, so they, in turn, were not able to train their staff to enable them to implement the PMS with confidence. It was their responsibility to allocate resources required for the implementation, but they could not do it because there were no resources to allocate. The responsibility of adapting the reform to the school context or the context to the reform is theirs, but again they lacked the capacity to undertake this task. In such circumstance, school managers' professionalism is at stake. When implementation has problems, in the eyes of their own staff, the government and the community, they would be judged as having failed to fulfil an obligation only they are supposed to perform.

Overall, the senior managers were not in any way against the general purpose of the PMS. They saw in it some possible benefits and also saw themselves as having a major role in ensuring that such benefits were realised. However, the senior managers who were supposed to be the role models in their schools in embracing the PMS, seemed not to be well prepared to lead its implementation. So if the managers themselves were not adequately prepared to manage the changes that the PMS required, it was most likely that the staff whom they supervised would be more than happy to maintain the status quo.

The impediments the senior managers experienced therefore constrained the degree to which they could play a meaningful role in making sure that the implementation of the PMS was successful. The senior management worked very hard with this limited capacity to implement the PMS but they were aware that they were not succeeding. Against this background, all they could do was to work just to conform to the government requirement. They were aware of the tension they had to contend with between wanting their schools to function well and making decisions in compliance to government's demand. In conclusion, one questions if, indeed, managerialism does lead to senior managers becoming more autonomous. In this case, it did not appear to do so.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

Governments globally have been compelled to respond to the public outcry for improved performance in public sector organisations. One of the major efforts that governments have made has been the implementation of performance management systems. Botswana, like many other countries, has not been left behind in trying to make its public sector organisations more efficient and effective. In 1999, it introduced the same performance management system, a combined version of models from western countries, across its entire public service including schools. Despite the government's intent, the reform has not successfully bedded down in the Botswana schools. Eight years after its introduction, the on the ground implementers of the PMS in the senior secondary schools, the better funded sector of the schooling system, were continuing to experience challenges.

The aim of this research was to explore the perspectives of the senior management of senior secondary schools in Botswana with respect to the performance management system (PMS) to better understand the reasons for the difficulties encountered in its implementation. To address this aim, three research questions guided the study. The first research question sought the senior management team's perceptions of the purpose of the performance management system. The second question was in relation to the perception of the senior management team regarding their role as implementers. The third and final question concerned factors that impacted upon the senior management's efforts to implement the performance management system. While the previous chapter provided a summary of the findings, this chapter discusses the contribution that the study has made to the field of performance management in education and then presents implications that the study may have for practice and for further research.

8.1 Summary of the study

The findings indicated that the PMS was experiencing some problems. The performance development plans (PDPs), a key element of the PMS, were in some cases still not being completed. The implementation of the PDPs and the performance agreements was difficult due to the complexity of the documentation. The problem of meaningful measures of performance had not been resolved. Senior management continued to be concerned that the PMS was consuming a lot of time. The resources needed to implement the PMS had proved inadequate.

There were differences between the Ministry's indicators of performance which participants had to use to measure quality with their staff and their own views of what constituted appropriate indicators of performance. Participants experienced the consequences of the limited

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skill base that was available at the school level to successfully implement the PMS. The changing nature of the PMS impeded the extent to which participants could implement the PMS. There was a mismatch between the priorities of the PMS and those of the school. Participants experienced a disconnect between schools and some regional offices as far as communication and accountability were concerned.

8.2 Contribution to the field

This study has added to the body of knowledge available concerning the implementation of performance management systems in the public educator sector, in particular in the schools of less developed countries. In contrast to other studies in the field that often have small data bases limited to a small number of participants and schools (see chapter three), this study drew on a relatively large data base, albeit limited to one stakeholder, the senior manager. In collecting data from senior management teams from 80% of the senior secondary schools in the country covering urban, regional and remote areas, the study provides a comprehensive overview of the difficulties that the on the ground implementers have been experiencing in implementing the PMS in Botswana. The timeframe selected for the study was also unusual in that it explored the school mangers' experience of the PMS eight years after its introduction in the Botswana education system, a point in time much later in the life of a PMS than those chosen in the literature reviewed.

The study found the problems that the literature had identified with implementing performance management in public education in the teething stage still remained eight years after its introduction in Botswana. They had not gone away or resolved in any way. Difficulties to do with context, resourcing, and adequate training still existed. In addition, there was the issue of a PMS that kept changing its requirements.

Despite the problems, it is also important to note that school managers in this education system did not wish to do away with the PMS. The participants' perception of the performance management system was that of a reform that had the potential to transform schools in positive ways. Many participants embraced it as a reform that could bring about some improvement in terms of performance and productivity or in the way they could manage performance in the workplace. The biggest criticism from the school managers was the lack of their input at any stage of the PMS formulation and implementation.

This study therefore has contributed to the literature of performance management in schools by providing a case in which the on the ground implementers are more interested in trying to make

performance management work in their schools than in the academic pros and cons of having neo-liberal reforms in the first place. The practical reality that transplanted reforms had found their way into the schools of Botswana was accepted and the issues that were of most interest to the school managers concerned contextualising the reform to make it work. The study clearly showed that even though the school managers were the on the ground implementers, their input into the design or implementation of the PMS had not been sought in any systematic or consistent way. Not much had been done to create a forum for those divergent views about the PMS to come face to face and find common ground regarding how to contextualise the reform to the school situation. In this respect, the study has opened a window of opportunity for all concerned to appreciate the significance of engaging in some dialogue to reach a consensus regarding a reform that is more workable in schools.

8.3 Implications for practice

Based on their practical experience of leading the implementation process, the insights of the senior management teams provide useful information to the Ministry of Botswana specifically but also to other countries implementing reforms in education. A major implication for practice is for the Ministry of Education to consider engaging the practitioners at the school level in discussions about the implementation of reforms that directly affect them. The views of the participants suggest that while in principle they embraced the idea of the PMS, there were factors that limited the extent to which expected benefits would accrue to the schools. The participants believed that if the Ministry could give attention to such areas as adequate training of practitioners; external monitoring; decentralised decision-making about the PMS within the schools; and government's decisions about reform implementation, the future of the PMS may be more positive.

8.3.1 Adequate training

It is a conclusion of this study that the participants' concern about the poor training they received to prepare them for the implementation process requires special attention from the Ministry. The findings have shown that there is indeed a great deal of pressure to give priority to training, especially as it affects the senior management. The pressure arises from the fact that it is supposed to be the role of the senior management to adequately prepare teachers and other members of staff to implement the PMS. However, unless the senior management themselves are adequately trained they would find it difficult to undertake any preparation of their own staff to the detriment of the implementation process.

It would be in the interest of this reform that the format and content of any further training or re-training be different from the one that participants have experienced and about which they expressed strong dissatisfaction. It was clear, for example, that the cascade approach that the government adopted as its main strategy of information dissemination and training was inadequate. Senior management found this approach ineffective, citing such problems as distortion and dilution of training with little being understood as one went down the cascade. This study also suggests that the training should be designed in such a manner that it does not only equip people with skills and knowledge to help them deal with the PMS material as prescribed. Training is also required to help managers respond to implementation problems such as resistance to the reform.

Consideration should be given to the stakeholders' experience of the implementation process, and as such, any professional development programme should be designed with their participation. Such collective responsibility has the potential to be beneficial to professional development initiatives since the stakeholders would have an idea of what exactly is lacking in what they have been trying to do. Training programmes should be a collective responsibility of the Ministry and the practitioners in order to promote a spirit of ownership of the reform which could increase commitment to implementation by all and ultimately achieve sustainability of the reform.

8.3.2 External monitoring

For any reform to stand a good chance of success, it needs, among other things, to have in place an effective monitoring system. In this study, the participants revealed that while some internal monitoring existed at school level, it was the external monitoring supposedly to be provided by the Ministry that hardly took place. Participants' concern about the patchy external monitoring suggests that they highly regard this as an integral part of the implementation process and which should be regularly undertaken. Hence, there is the need for the Ministry to take heed of this concern.

8.3.3 Decentralised decision-making process

The PMS was implemented in schools following a top-down approach with all decisions about the reform centralised in the Ministry of Education. While the overarching role that the Ministry should play in terms of decision-making is appreciated, it would also be in the best interest of the reform to explore ways in which some decisions regarding the implementation at the school level could be taken by the senior management in the interest of their schools. It should be noted that such decisions would have to be taken in consultation with all stakeholders and be

based on the previous experience everyone has had with the PMS. Of course, decision-making at the school level should not be misconstrued to suggest that people could do as they wish. The expectation is that the decision-making would be carried out within the parameters of the Ministry's framework based on mutual understanding and consultation.

8.3.4 Decision to implement the PMS hasty

There was a strong expression of disapproval with the manner in which the government introduced the PMS. The research participants were of the view that the government took a hasty decision in implementing this reform without giving much thought to possible implications. It would therefore be in the interest of any future performance reform if the government could be more hesitant in embracing reforms such as the PMS to give itself sufficient time to plan for it well in advance and therefore, reduce the likelihood of major impediments that may adversely affect the implementation process. Trials or pilots of the reform were considered essential.

8.3.5 Participation of implementers in the reform formulation process

Participants questioned existing approaches to formulating and implementing reforms and noted that the school managers were only involved in the last stage when they are required to implement the reform. While they appreciated the major role that government plays, the participants indicated that it would be advantageous if their views were sought much earlier at the stage when a new reform was being planned. They argued that they had a wealth of experience with previous performance reforms introduced in schools and they would be able to provide advice on strategies of implementing new reforms.

8.4 Directions for further research

The PMS is one of many performance reforms that the government of Botswana has introduced into schools. The challenges presented by this reform and its predecessors are a clear indication that having one reform after another is not necessarily the solution to the problem of poor performance. Rather than introducing yet another new reform, there is need for more research to be carried out on the existing one to identify its strengths and weaknesses and explore ways in which it can be improved.

This study identified some weaknesses in the implementation of the performance management system that suggest further research is required in the kind of performance management that is suitable in the school context as well as in the implementation process. One major limitation was that the PMS was not contextualised to the business of the school, that is, to teaching and

learning. For the participants, this was a major challenge since the senior management team found themselves having to face the daunting task of trying to fit the reform in a context where there was no perfect fit. It was revealed that what compounded the situation further was the lack of preparedness of senior management to embed the reform in the environment in which they were operating.

More research needs to be conducted on the type of performance management reforms suitable for the school context. Such a study should be carried out with the participation of all the stakeholders who include the Ministry officials, school personnel, students and parents. This study was limited to the perspectives of senior management only. An all inclusive research would be useful for several reasons. First, it is likely that some consensus of some sort would be arrived at regarding the nature of a performance management reform most suitable for the schools. Second, there is a chance of ownership of the reform by the stakeholders, which may translate into commitment to its implementation rather than for people to be in the habit of shifting blame to someone else when things do not seem to be working well.

8.5 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to better understand the difficulties senior management were experiencing in implementing the PMS in senior secondary schools in Botswana eight years after its introduction. The study showed that it was a case of a private sector reform imported from western countries into the public sector of a less developed country, without the necessary support and attention to the contextual factors required to make it a meaningful practice for schools. It was also an example of a reform in which the on the ground implementers had had no input in its design or in the implementation strategies used. Most of all, this study showed the need for a participative approach in designing and implementing reforms in schools in which all stakeholders, including the on the ground implementers, are significant in the process with consensus being reached through negotiation.

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APPENDIX A: PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM FORMS FOR SCHOOL STAFF

(Republic of Botswana, 2003b)

PART B: PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this section is to record the employee's performance objectives for the year. The highlighted portion is completed at the planning stage and the rest is completed at the review stage.

No	Objectives	Output	Measure	Performance Result	Comments	
					Supervisee	Supervisor
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

Note: Based on the average of the ratings scored above, provide an overall performance rating of the officer in the space provided below:

Final Performance Rating:

Note: The performance rating to be obtained by multiplying the average performance rating by 0.8 to get the final performance rating

PART C: DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this section is to record the employee's development objectives for the year. The highlighted portion is completed at the planning stage and the rest is completed at the review stage.

Individual Development Objectives	Expected results	Follow up/Comments by Supervisor

Employee's Signature: Date:

Supervisor's Signature: Date:

Authorized Official: Date:

PART D: ASSESSMENT FOR PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES

Note: Please enter your rating under the appropriate rating level

ITEM FOR ASSESSMENT	RATING					COMMENTS
	95%-100% Outstanding	80%-94% Very good	65%-79% Good	50%-64% Satisfactory	49% and below Unsatisfactory	
1. Time Management *(Quality of time keeping: keeping appointments, punctuality at work and meetings, and meeting deadlines)*						
2. Knowledge of the Work *(How well does the officer know the purpose, processes, & practice of the job)*						
3. Output: Accuracy, Reliability& Speed *(How accurate and reliable the performance is and how much work is done on schedule)*						
4. Customer care *(Demonstrable value based customer focused initiatives including Botho)*						
5. Teamwork *(Participation in, support for and promotion of team efforts and has ability to get along with co-workers)*						

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ITEM FOR ASSESSMENT	RATING					COMMENTS
	95% – 100% Outstanding	80% – 94% Very good	65% – 79% Good	50% – 64% Satisfactory	49% and below Unsatisfactory	
6. Initiative (Number of initiatives resulting in accomplishments)						
7. Supervisory Abilities (Guidance for achieving results) (Note: Only when applicable)						
8. Managerial Performance (Ability to plan, organize and direct activities/resources effectively) (Note: Only when applicable)						

Average rating score: *[(1+2+3+4+5+6+7+8+)/8]*

Note: Based on the average of the ratings scored above, provide an overall effectiveness/rating of the officer in the space provided below.

Final Personal attributes' Rating:

Note: *The overall rating for personal attributes to be obtained by multiplying the average result by 0.2 to get the final rating.*

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PERFORMANCE GUIDE

Part E: PERFORMANCE DOMAINS FOR TEACHERS

Domain 1: Delivery of Instruction

1. Learner Centred Instruction
2. Use of varied teaching strategies/meeting individual needs
3. Effective interaction of teacher/students
4. Effective use of teaching and learning material
5. Knowledge of subject matter
6. Appropriate and effective use of available technology
7. Effective and efficient management of time, material, equipment and facilities
8. Establish a classroom environment which promotes discipline and self directed learning
9. Effective coverage of prescribed syllabus

Domain 2: Lesson Planning and Organisation

1. Production of a well designed lesson plan
2. Well organised teaching and learning activities
3. Comprehensive course outline.
4. Use of appropriate teaching and learning materials

Domain 3: Assessment and Feedback

1. Use of varied assessment strategies appropriate for each subject/course
2. Use of assessment strategies to cater for varied students needs
3. Adequate and effective assessment
4. Monitoring of students academic progress/practicals
5. Assessment and feedback are aligned with goals, objectives and instructional strategies.
6. Establish support systems to improve performance of all students

Domain 4: Compliance with policies, procedures and requirements

1. Observe policies, procedures and requirements governing the institution
2. Contribute to a safe and orderly teaching and learning environment
3. Respect the rights of students, parents, staff and the community
4. Participate in the development of policies and procedures for institutional improvement
5. Participate in students pastoral and welfare programs.

Domain 5: Professional development

1. Use of appropriate modes of communication
2. Guide, coach students and colleagues
3. Display resourcefulness and innovativeness
4. Maintain positive working relations with students, staff and parents and community
5. Participate in departmental and institutional activities
6. Uphold the reputation of the profession
7. Conduct Research to inform the teaching and learning process

Domain 6: Co-curricula and community Development

1. Involvement in co-curricula e.g. sports, chess, athletics, subject and club associations, clubs, indoor games etc.
2. Community out-reach programmes

Domain 7: Leadership and Management responsibilities

1. Management of Resources; Finance, materials, equipment and facilities, time and human resources.
2. Instructional leadership
3. Management and monitoring of performance.
4. Planning and Coordination of departmental programmes
5. Customer/Stakeholder satisfaction

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

Questions for semi-structured interview

a. What is the aim of the PMS in schools? How does it work?

b. What other performance management initiatives have been implemented in schools that you've experienced?
(Difference between such initiatives and the current PMS? Explain)

c. What do you perceive as your role in the implementation of the PMS? And that of others? (ask deputies and heads of houses about role of school heads).

d. Have you started implementing the PMS? What is your view of the implementation process? How's it going?
(What is working? How do you know it is working? Why is it working? What is not working? How do you know it is working? Why is it not working?)

e. How are you equipped to implement the PMS? (Explore training, support, resources)

f. In your view what can be done to improve the implementation of PMS?

g. Anything further?

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY

TOWNSVILLE Queensland 4811 Australia Telephone: (07) 4781 4111

INFORMATION PAGE

The PMS in secondary schools: the senior management team's perspective

This postgraduate study is looking at the implementation of the performance management system (PMS) in senior secondary schools in Botswana. The study is seeking the views of school heads regarding the challenges faced in the implementation of the PMS, and the value it may have in improving student outcomes.

The study in funded by the University of Botswana, and the data will be used for a PhD thesis. The results will contribute to the improvement in the implementation of the PMS in schools.

I will visit you at your work place to conduct face-to-face interview that will not take more than thirty (30) minutes. The information you provide will be compiled together with information from others in education participating in the study.

All information that you provide will be kept confidential, and no names will be used or recorded when the information is reported.

If you have any queries or questions about this study please contact Mr. Philip Bulawa School of Education, James Cook University, Townsville, Queensland 4811, Phone: (07) 4781 5559 Email: Philip.bulawa@jcu.edu.au.

In Botswana contact Mr. Philip Bulawa ████████████████████████
████████████████████

APPENDIX D: TWO EXAMPLES OF FIELDNOTES

<u>Field Note One</u>

Date: Thursday 27 March 2008

Field note: Participants' perspective about the PMS

After having interviewed all school heads the general picture emerging based on my field notes was that their perspective of the PMS was in contrast to my own previous held view that they would find the reform useless and reject it as something that had been imposed on them from above and had no relevance to what they were doing. Although they have expressed concern that the performance management system was not working well they did not dismiss it as a reform not worth to be implemented in their schools. They argued among other things that one outstanding reason the reform was not functioning well was the Ministry of Education officials' failure to give a clear explanation of what PMS was all about to enable them to understand it better. They described it as a reform that used a great deal of jargon that was not been clearly explained to them as implementers. They were also in agreement that the workshops they went through in preparation for implementation were not in anywhere effective due to the incompetence of trainers from the ministry. The general view was that these trainers seemed not to have a good grasp of the performance management system concepts and its purpose.

However, in spite of this general consensus, the interviews reflect two fundamental perspectives about the performance management system and the implementation process. The first perspective is that of school heads who perceived this reform as having too many problems that they as school managers found difficult to handle. To them these problems were beyond them and therefore only the ministry could provide solution before they can be required to effect implementation. Most school heads falling in this category expressed feelings of frustration with the whole implementation process and the ministry's failure to take any corrective measures that would make the reform work better. On the other hand there were school heads who while they acknowledged the problems affecting implementation, but also appreciated that whether or not they were a creation of the ministry, as school heads working with other members of the school management and staff, they had an obligation to explore possible solutions that would make implementation more effective. This group while still apportioning some blame to the ministry for the numerous problems they encountered in schools also recognises the need to collaborate with the ministry to ensure successful implementation. Most of those in this category seem to felt more empowered to be able to do something about the situation, even if it meant having to act without the assistance of outsiders.

As a way of illustrating this dichotomy, I have chosen participants NNA and TTA as examples of the three divergent perspectives. NNA represents the sceptics who seem to be overwhelmed by the current problems they face in the implementation process. Throughout the interview NNA was more concerned about highlighting the daunting task he was facing in an effort to implement the performance management system. In illuminating his concern about the magnitude of the problems bedevilling the implementation process, NNA however stopped short of suggesting initiatives he was taking address the seemingly difficult situation. This is how NNA expressed his concern at the way things are regarding the implementation process: "In the process there were a number of changes on PMS concepts. We would agree on something only to be changed before it is implemented." A similar expression of frustration on the part of NNA is reflected when he said. "There is a deluge of initiatives. You are dealing with each one half heartedly you never complete any of them." He gave the introduction of the pastoral policy as one such initiative that has adversely affected the implementation of the performance management system. He argued. "When the pastoral policy was introduced we had to suspend PMS." The decision to suspend the implementation of the performance management system bears testimony to NNA's lack of will to use his ingenuity to address the situation as a leader.

He also made the point that he did not only understand PMS, but had no time to hold school based workshops to cascade the performance management system to his staff. In addition NNA bemoaned the difficulty he encounters trying to provide training to his support staff about performance management. He cited lack of understanding of English by the support staff and the difficulties in translating the performance management material from English to the local language for this cadre of employees to understand. NNA found this overwhelming and therefore a major blow to efforts to help these people to understand and appreciate the purpose of the performance management system. While NNA mentioned that he had been trained by the ministry to prepare him for the implementation process, nowhere in the whole interview did he see himself as having been empowered by such training to address the numerous problems that he highlighted. The point about the perspective NNA represents is not necessarily the overemphasis of the problems, because even the more optimistic view also highlights problems of similar nature. The point of divergence is NNA's seemingly stated position that the problems affecting implementation are none of his business and that as a school head he is powerless to do anything about the situation.

NNA's position was in contrast to TTA's more positive attitude towards the implementation

process. While TTA also expressed concern about similar problems that have affected the process of implementation, his view of himself was that of a leader who had been empowered to work towards finding solutions to such challenges rather than to always wait without doing anything for ministry officials to come to his rescue. TTA maked quite a number of statements which reflected his expression of empowerment and willingness to take corrective measures. In most cases when he highlighted a problem he was also quick to suggest a possible intervention. Not only did he feel empowered but he also emphasised the need for him to empower his entire staff. For instance he had this to say, "So to say that PMS is working in our school would be wrong. What I am trying to do is to get people to write objectives which are meaningful." Furthermore, he said, "So I have got to try and train my senior teachers more especially because they are actually the ones on the ground with teachers. My role as the school head is to steer the staff to give them some vision. The school needs that." This was a clear indication of someone who recognised his role as a leader, and the fact that it is him who runs the school and not the ministry. He appeared conscious that in the event that implementation fails in his school, most of the blame will go to him as a leader and not to the ministry.

TTA's response was also that of a person committed to team building to motivate his staff to change their attitudes towards the performance management system. This is what he claimed to be doing in this respect. "I am trying to build that family feel to the place which is not there. People come, work and go home. And I am trying to get us closer together you know. So I have started briefings every week with senior management. They were only meeting once a term, so now we come every Monday together to have a briefing, which is good. That I think is helping." Another positive attitude that depicts him as an empowered leader is reflected in the following statements. "I have been writing to teachers this month. I have written over thirty letters. I am still writing some to congratulate them on performance for the results that they produce." This proactive nature of TTA could go a long way into motivating teachers to do more and begin to recognise the performance management system as a reform worthy of being implemented. TTA's actions are indicative of the fact that to him problems were challenges that offered an opportunity to show his leadership qualities and be creative in an effort to make things work better for his organisation. He regarded his position as a school head and the training provided to him by the ministry as having given him the leverage to take action rather than to remain passive and helpless in the midst of difficulties.

With this sense of empowerment, TTA did not only confine himself to issues relating to the teaching staff but also took the initiative to empower members of the ancillary staff who seemed to be lagging behind in the implementation process. Compared to NNA he did not find

the problem of language translation as a huge barrier to performance management system that had no solution. This is what he says about ancillary staff in his school. "The other mechanism that I have put in place is the ancillary staff. They have been much neglected in a way. And they haven't had any briefing with the administration. I mean this time in the morning on Tuesday the ancillary staff come together for prayers, so I have extended that to have a briefing session with them. I am introducing PMS that way." TTA went beyond just consultation with ancillary staff about the performance management system and further took the initiative to approach the Ministry of Education for support to train these people, and this reflected him as a proactive leader. These were some of the initiatives he claims to have taken in an effort to help his ancillary staff learn more about the performance management system. "Then we are planning for a workshop for them. I think in about a week's or month's time we are getting someone from ministry to come and help resource that workshop for them so that they can start writing their objectives as well."

Another significant factor about TTA is the confidence he had in his staff. For instance after he had taken some senior members of his support staff to the regional office for training, he expected them to in turn share their knowledge of the performance management system with their colleagues. The following words show the extent of his confidence. "Then I have taken the bursar, the secretary, the supplies officer and senior members of the ancillary staff. I have taken them to the regional education office. They have some training there, and they have started doing their PDPs. So we are hoping that they will be able to help the ancillary staff with this as well. So on that side we have got a lot to do but we have made a start." This level of confidence is further demonstrated by the comments he made about his technical team. "Luckily we have a good technical team; it is a big technical team. Here there are quite a number of people around the team and they are active. And I have participated."

In conclusion, the profound distinguishing factor between NNA and TTA is that the former did not seem to have taken up ownership of the performance management system, and therefore regarded it as a reform of the Ministry of Education. Based on this conclusion one could argue that chances of ownership of the reform in his school were very minimal. In contrast TTA seemed to have embraced the performance management system, and made every effort to instil a sense of ownership amongst his staff. From the evidence he provided he did this in different ways which included the training of his staff, communication with them on issues relating to the performance management system and positive feedback to staff in recognition of their performance.

Two of the questions that this is raising for me are "How come people in the same position leading this reform are so different in terms of the attitude they have toward the PMS?" and "How come they are so different in terms of their knowledge and skills regarding the PMS?"

Date: Tuesday 8 April 2008

Perspective of a minority who revealed that they were well trained: VVA

There a few participants who expressed satisfaction with the training that they had received in preparation for the implementation process. This minority view was represented by VVA (one of the last school heads I interviewed) who in her story she showed more confidence regarding the role she was supposed to play in the implementation process. Implicit in VVA was her positive attitude about the future of the performance management system in comparison to the pessimistic views as represented by NNA. She was also different from TTA in the sense that she was confident that her training had provided her with sufficient skills to be able to prepare her own staff than to rely on external agents such as the ministry officials.

Right from the beginning VVA's position about the performance management system was that she has wholeheartedly embraced it as an innovation worthy of implementation in education. As a reflection of her positive attitude towards its implementation, this is what she had to say. "I personally like PMS. I am passionate about it." She gave several reasons for having embraced it, and one such reason is that it can bring in the aspect of innovativeness and creativity amongst teachers, and that those who are creative and innovative have an opportunity to come up with beautiful programmes or projects to drive their objectives. Furthermore, she described it as a reform that helped to assess and distinguish between the different abilities of individual teachers. To further show her appreciation of the performance management system VVA reiterated. "And again I like it because it is now saying you as the individual, you are putting down your objectives. You are saying to your supervisor. I am going to do A, B, C, D, E, F." With reference to her role as a school head, she emphasised that, "if you are the driver you need to appreciate it and need to embrace it in your day to day activities," and that when "you hold a conviction and a positive one then it is easier to bring everybody else on board." VVA's understanding of her role as a driver was that of a leader who should lead the implementation process.

Besides her admiration for the reform, VVA was highly complimentary about the training that she had received to prepare her for the implementation of the performance management system. In appreciation of the training VVA maintained. "Fortunately I think I am well grounded on PMS. I was well prepared because I was a trainer of trainers. So really the principles and theories of PMS I have them. I think I was well prepared for PMS, I am well prepared." She demonstrates her preparedness for and understanding of the performance management system

by highlighting some major areas in which members of her staff show greatest weakness, and how she would go about helping them understand them better. In her view "if you know you can easily carry everybody. They can rally behind you." Reflecting on her previous experience with some members of her staff she stated. "I am winning them because the little talk that I have had with them, those that attended the meeting realised that I knew PMS and they started saying, wow, we have been doing it wrong and they are looking up to me to assist them you see." She did not just take pride in the training she received, but took it as an empowerment to effectively train her staff and lead them in the implementation process. She further took ownership of the needs of her staff and was prepared to find a solution that would make the implementation process work better as highlighted thus. "But like I said, the only problem with may be where I am now is that their understanding of PMS still needs to be addressed. I need to work on that and really have them understand the differences between an initiative, milestones and just to understand what a measure is and how it is derived." VVA's situation is an indication that the training she received as one of the trainers was a morale booster which helped her approach the implementation process with more confidence. In addition, not only was she confident but her staff's comments showed that they had confidence in her mainly due to her high level of skills and knowledge about the PMS.

Although throughout the interview VVA maintained a positive attitude towards the performance management system as well as a sense of empowerment and confidence to lead the implementation process, like other participants she also expressed concern about the several obstacles that could have an adverse effect on the success of the reform. The short comings that VVA identified were two fold, namely those that relate to the Ministry of Education and those that specifically concern the school. One of VVA's major complaints about the Ministry of Education was its failure to carry out its mandate of supervising the schools, contrary to the requirement of the performance management system. She referred to the Ministry's failure to supervise as the missing link in the performance management supervisory chain. When she was asked about the role of the Ministry, her first reaction was, "We hardly see them." In her view while in schools they did supervise their staff, the ministry was not doing much in terms of monitoring, mentoring, coaching and measuring of performance. Alluding to the PMS chain of supervision she explained. "With PMS the Chief must come to me, look at my strategic plan and say yes, this is where you are. Then after I have been assessed then I have to go down, trickle down. So there is this problem of monitoring. The reviews are not done properly." VVA was further concerned about the many changes to the performance management system. She indicated. "The problem is that change is coming all the time. We have not really had time to implement and evaluate. Every time it is new; it is like it is new every day. I find this to be a

hiccup particularly in education. It has been changing. Since I started PMS in 2003 we failed to implement until last year, 2007. So that is the problem with us."

There was also concern about the ministry's failure to provide all the school heads with sufficient training to enable them to effectively lead the implementation process in their respective schools as explained by VVA. "With other heads if you are taken in with the rest of your staff and you are addressed together, then from that short training you are then expected to go and lead, it is a bit unfair." On a related issue of training, VVA described the situation in some schools as follows. "But if you don't know as the head and may be it is your teacher who was sent for training leaving behind the head of school as it happened in other schools, when this teacher comes back, he or she looks like the driver because you as the head of the school, you are not knowledgeable. And this teacher is more informed than you." It is also important to highlight VVA's concern about the transplantation of reforms in the implementation process. "We do not implement and we are jumping from one point to another. Initially we adopted the American version of PMS, then Australian and before we knew we were somewhere else." Several other school heads also noted transplantation of the performance management system as a factor that contributed to delays in the implementation process.

What also worried VVA in the school was the difficulty one encountered to try and get everybody to accept change. She maintained that it had not been very easy to convince everybody in the school to appreciate that the performance management system had the potential to add value to the overall performance of the school. She noted. "We have been doing things our own way and you would want to maintain the status quo." VVA's view about this was that naturally when people are asked to change they are bound to be a bit sceptical or apprehensive as it is not easy to move from the past to the future. In addition to the problem of change, lack of understanding by members of staff was cited as yet another stumbling block to effective implementation. In VVA's viewpoint most teachers in her school seemed to be still struggling to grasp the performance management concepts. In comparison to a number of school heads who seemed to see this as problem they could not handle, VVA was prepared and committed to the professional development of her staff for better understanding of these concepts. She was highly confident of her ability to shoulder this responsibility without necessarily having to bring the ministry on board.

In conclusion, my impression of VVA is that of a school head who has a positive attitude towards the performance management system, and is confident of her ability to provide training to her staff to enable them to understand and embrace this reform, and that this is mainly

because she was adequately trained in comparison to her counterparts in senior management. While she recognised her role as the leading figure in the coordination of the performance management system, she was also conscious that whatever she did in the school had to be a collective responsibility of all members of staff. She was emphatic that, teachers in particular were the linchpin in the implementation process and should therefore understand that they had a role to make it work better. She was cognisant of the fact that the school head could not do anything without teachers because they were the ones actually doing the work.

One of the things that VVA's story is telling me is that perhaps the level at which someone was trained in the "cascade" affects the knowledge they have about the PMS. The further up the cascade the more accurate the knowledge that was relayed; the further down the cascade the less accurate and comprehensive the knowledge became. Perhaps the level of training is a big factor that explains some of the difference among the people I interviewed.

APPENDIX E: EXAMPLES OF CODES AT THE OPEN CODING LEVEL

Change required: implementers: change mindset
Change required: Ministry: assess for value added not final grade
Change required: Ministry: attach PMS to performance reward based system
Change required: Ministry: clarify school supervisory structure and individual roles
Change required: Ministry: contextualise to education
Change required: Ministry: customise PMS documents to be user friendly
Change required: Ministry: emphasise curriculum delivery
Deputy understanding of the purpose of PMS: assessment: objective assessment of performance and non performance
Deputy understanding of the purpose of PMS: implementers: continuous reviews of set objectives
Deputy understanding of the purpose of PMS: planning: tool
Deputy understanding of the purpose of PMS: PMS: about record keeping
Factor needed for implementation to be successful: assessment: relevant assessment instrument
Factor needed for implementation to be successful: assessment: simplify mathematical calculations
Factor needed for implementation to be successful: class sizes: reduce class sizes
Factor needed for implementation to be successful: contextualise: home grown PMS
HOD understanding of the purpose of PMS: academic: improvement of performance
HOD understanding of the purpose of PMS: academic: it is about learning
HOD understanding of the purpose of PMS: implementers: calls for accountability
Outcomes of the PMS: academics compromised
Outcomes of the PMS: aspect of public image
Outcomes of the PMS: assessment: complex mathematical calculations
Outcomes of the PMS: implementers: held accountable
Outcomes of the PMS: implementers: allocation of duties on merit
Outcomes of the PMS: implementers: assessment of performance
Outcomes of the PMS: implementers: fear among staff
Reasons for PMS not working well: assessment: criteria for assessment of performance in teaching difficult
Reasons for PMS not working well: assessment: dominated by complex mathematical calculations
Reasons for PMS not working well: assessment: lack of reward for performance
Reasons for PMS not working well: assessment: not based on constant monitoring

Reasons for PMS not working well: cascade: defunct school technical team
Reasons for PMS not working well: cascade: different interpretation of PMS from one school to another
Reasons for PMS not working well: cascade: different representations of PMS in schools
Reasons for PMS not working well: cascade: distorted
Things that are working about PMS: implementers: accountability
Things that are working about PMS: implementers: adjustment of objectives to classroom situation
Things that are working about PMS: implementers: attitudes towards work changing
Things that are working about PMS: implementers: collaborative decision making
Things that are working about PMS: implementers: collegiality between supervisor and supervisee

APPENDIX F: EXAMPLE OF A MINDMAP GENERATED AFTER OPEN CODING

APPENDIX G: JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY ETHICS APPROVAL

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APPENDIX H: BOTSWANA MINISTRY OF EDUCATION FOR PROJECT APPROVAL

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for privacy reasons

APPENDIX I: EXTRACT FROM THE PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM INDUCTION BOOKLET