



**TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY AS A SOURCE FOR POLICY
AGENCY: RESPONSE, ENACTED PROFESSIONALISM AND MEDIATION
TO THE SECONDARY EDUCATION REFORM IN PERU.**

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SUMMARY

Can an education reform ignore the agency and mediation of the people entitled to implement it? How does it feel for professionals to be assumed as delivers by the policy-makers? Under these premises, this research aimed to explore and analyse the responses, enacted professionalism and mediation of teachers towards the standardised materials policy designed by the MoE in the context of the Secondary Education Reform in Peru.

The Peruvian case provides a textbook example of a hierarchical reform based on the neoliberal approaches of performative and accountability implemented in a particular context of harsh working conditions and deprofessionalization of teachers. Due to the exploratory nature of this research, a multiple-case study of two schools was conducted, based on an ethnographic style of enquiry and the use of qualitative methods for the data gathering. Findings on the study are based on in-depth fieldwork for data gathering of 16 surveys, ten interviews and 14 pages of observation's notes.

The study findings show that under the context of the reform teachers' agency is reshaped in all of its dimensions: professional judgement exercise, identity and self-valuation and political stances. Teachers react to this challenge on their agency by building contradictory responses towards the reform drove by competitive imperatives. Also, findings show that the conditions of the reform reinforce the use of negative personal strategies like absenteeism, alienation and apathy among the teachers in the study. Furthermore, due to the harsh working conditions, unclear demands about the implementation and the mismatch of the reforms design with the classroom reality, teachers are provided by the reform with reasonable excuses to doubt, reject and resist the changes. In that regard, this study hopes to bring into the discussion on the particular challenges and effects of the teachers' agency in contexts of deprivation, low state capability and challenged professionalism.

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1. INTRODUCTION:

In December of 2013, the results from the ‘Programme for International Student Assessment’, referred commonly as PISA, were released by the OECD. PISA is a ‘triennial international survey which aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students’ (PISA-OECD webpage, 2018). Based on the students’ performance on the PISA test, the participant countries and economies are put into a ranking according to their average national scoring on Maths, Sciences and Reading. For Peru, a Latin-American country that participated in PISA as an invited economy, the release of the 2013’s PISA ranking turns out to be a significant shock. The country ranked last in each of the evaluated competences.

Peru’s poor performance in PISA led to public pressure from the media and educational experts at the Ministry of Education (MoE). The quality of the Secondary Education, particularly in the public schools, was questioned and the idea of reforms started to emerge in the MoE’s discourse. Thus, in 2014, Secondary Education became a priority, replacing the focus on Elementary School enrolment that characterised the 90’s and early 2000’s educational policy in Peru.

In that context, in July of 2014, an Executive Decree created a committee for the design of a new Secondary Education Policy. According to the policy document, the committee had nine members, selected among officials from

the MoE. As well, the policy document stated that the committee had 25 days to finish and present the new Secondary Education policy design and 30 extra days to present an implementation plan for it (MINEDU, 2014). Under this rush, a new model for Secondary Education Service was released by the MoE in September of 2014. The model, called “*Jornada Escolar Completa*”, started in 2015, pushing the extension of the school day length and a profound reform of the management and pedagogical work of the Secondary Schools in Peru.

Even though the entire reform presents an exceptional example of a top-down and centralised policy itself, one aspect of it is particularly interesting to analyse. Given the short timeframes to implement the reforms and under the general assumption of the failure of the Secondary schools, exemplified in the PISA’s results (Bolivar, 2011; Hult & Edström, 2016), the MoE decided to provide the teachers with a set of standardised textbooks and recommended lesson plans. In 2015, the MoE provided the teachers with a standardised new Curriculum, a standardised textbook for the students, Laptops with educational software, and standardised guidelines and daily lesson plans. All this material cost over 125 millions of dollars, representing 21% of the Compulsory Education budget¹(SIAF-MEF;2018). This effort was complemented by the implementation of an intensive monitoring system of the general policy, which put particular attention on the use of these materials in the schools.

In this context, this research work focuses on understanding the narratives and actions of teachers in two schools that are part of the Secondary Education reform in Peru, aiming to explore and analyse the responses, enacted professionalism and mediation of teachers towards the standardised materials policy designed by the MoE.

The study is framed in terms of the academic literature on teachers’ agency in the context of educational reforms and policy implementation (e.g. Lipsky, 1980; Ball, 1987, 1994, 2002; Daviess, 1990; Dale, 1992; Pollard et al.,1994; Schweisfurth, 2002; Day et al.,2006; Sach, 2006; Comber & Nixon, 2009; Braun et al. 2010; Hohmann, 2016; Durose, 2017). It explores how teachers’

¹ This estimation is made on the base of the Compulsory Education Budget, excluding the quantity designated to cover teachers’ salaries.

professional identity shapes the responses and mediation of the policy design by the exercise of discretion, autonomy and professional criteria.

Peru was selected as case of study due to the strictly neoliberal characteristic of the Educational Reform and the fact these changes just started three years ago, which provide an interesting frame to explore the changes and challenges among teacher's professional identity and agency while they are happening. Peru's particular context of low state institutional capability, challenging working conditions and deep de-professionalization of the teachers contributes to bring the perspective of south into the academic discussions on these topics. In particular, it would provide new evidence on how in countries with this set of conditions, hieratical policies that do not recognize the complexity of teachers' agency can lead to an erosion of education quality instead of improving it.

In order to achieve this aim, this dissertation is structured into six sections. First, it presents the context of the study by providing a description of the pedagogical dimension of the Secondary Education reform policy in Peru using a review of policy documents and interviews with officials from the MoE. Then, it provides a literature review on the topic, which provides a framework for the research, followed by the Study Design and methodology. The Findings section displays a profile for the teachers in the study and the teachers' discourses and actions in the context of the Secondary Education Reform in Peru. Finally, a section presenting a discussion on the challenges and implications of the teacher's agency in reforms on the Global South is provided along with the research conclusions.

2. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY:

2.1 General aspects of Secondary Education in Peru:

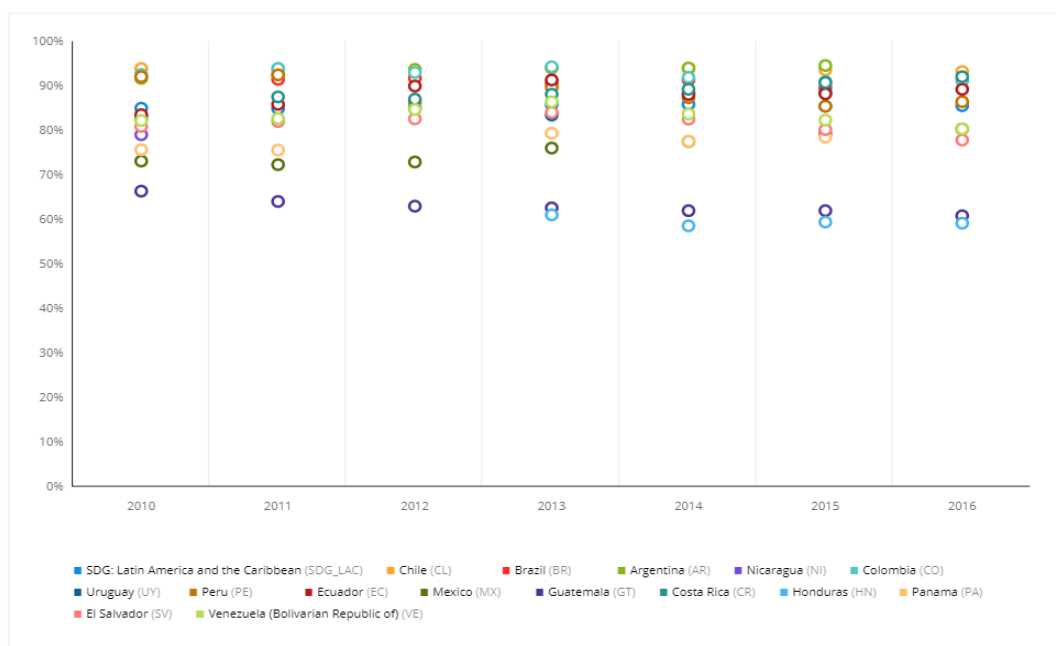
Peruvian Secondary Education lasts five years and constitutes a part of the Compulsory Education offered for free by the state as a right since 1982 (MINEDU, 1982; Chuquilin, 2011). In 2017, a total of 14,360 schools offered Secondary Education services in Peru. Of those, 9,309 were reported by the MoE as public schools². A total of 144,950 teachers deliver the Secondary Education service in the country at these public schools (MINEDU, 2017).

In 2017, enrolment in Secondary Education reached a total of 2'534,338 students. Of this total, 75% attend the public school system and 88% of the students live in urban areas of the country. Enrolment rates on Secondary Education in Peru are high: only 16% of those within the eligible age range are not enrolled in any school (MINEDU, 2018).

According to the Data for the Sustainable Development Goals webpage, Peru shows a high standard for enrolment in Secondary Education that has remained above the average of the Latin America and Caribbean region. In addition, Peru ranked second on the region for gross graduation ratio (UNESCO, 2018). Both measures are displayed on the graphs below:

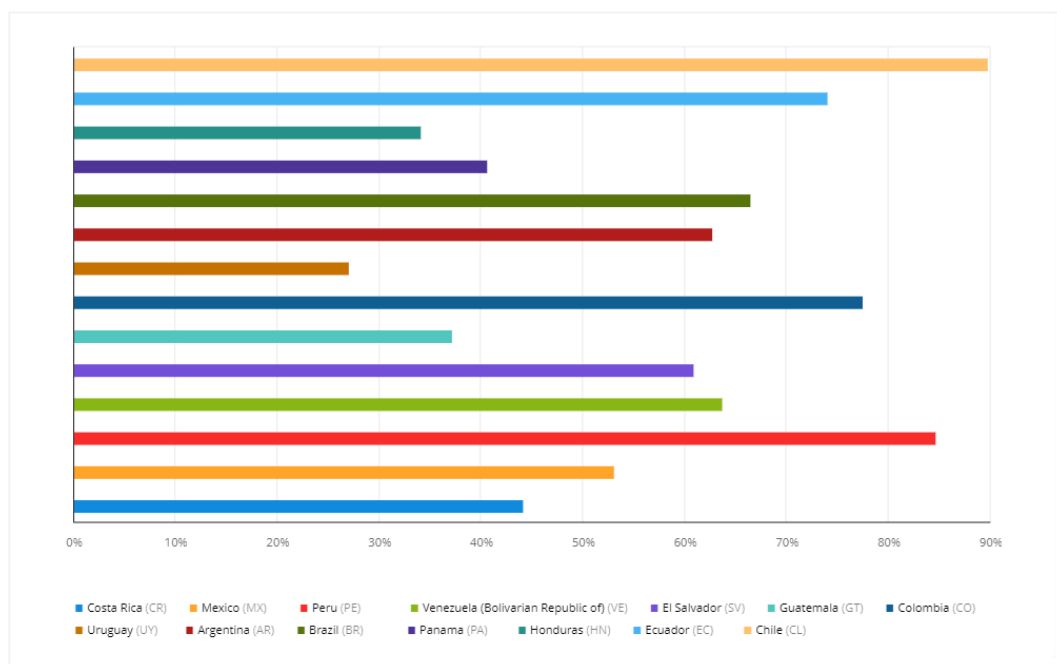
² According to the General Law of Education, Public schools are funding entire by public resources, and they offer free Compulsory Education. Public education is managed by the MoE that provides the guidelines and strategies to hire and train the teachers and principals, give the schools with materials and supplies, take care of the infrastructure and services and defined the curriculum and strategies for its implementation. In contrast, Private schools can decide over every aspect of the services they provide and are entitled to charge fees for offer Compulsory Education. Quality and cost of the prices vary broadly in among the private education.

Total net enrolment in Secondary Education - 2010 and 2016 Latin America & Caribbean Region



Source: Data for the Sustainable Development Goals webpage- UNESCO Statistics Institute: <http://uis.unesco.org/>

Gross graduation ratio- Secondary Education - 2013 and 2015 Latin America & Caribbean Region

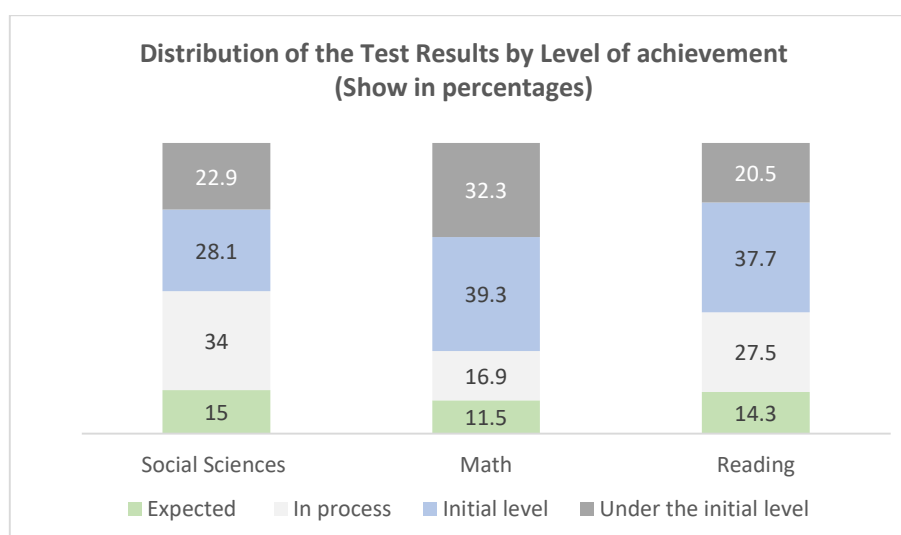


Source: Data for the Sustainable Development Goals webpage- UNESCO Statistics Institute: <http://uis.unesco.org/>

2.2 Quality of the Secondary Education:

As presented on the previous section, the supply of Secondary Education in Peru shows a satisfactory rate of enrolment and rate of completion in comparison to similar countries in the South American Region. Nevertheless, the quality of the supply constitutes an enormous challenge for the educational system. As was mentioned before, Peru ranked in the last position of the PISA 2012 ranking, published in 2014. However, in the latest PISA report, published in 2017, Peru has left the bottom of the table league, but still rank among the lowest performers (OCDE, 2017).

The National Standardized Test for Secondary Education shows the same tendency as the PISA results. The test assesses the performance of all Secondary Education students in the country that are enrolled in the second year of this educational stage. In 2016, the test assessed the students on Reading, Maths and Social Sciences. According to these results, only 15% of the Secondary Education students in Peru perform to the expected level for their grade on the Social Science's competencies, only 11% for Maths and 14.3% for Reading (UMC-MINEDU, 2016). The results of the test are summarised in the following table:



2.3 Secondary Education Reform in Peru:

In 2014, as a response to the PISA results that placed the country in the bottom of their global ranking, the MoE started a reform of Secondary Education in the public schools. The reform focused its strategy on the creation of new models that improve the overall quality of the educational service. Along with a model for a small number of rural schools, a model for the overall reform of the Secondary Education service was approved by the MoE in September of 2014. The new model includes policy design and an implementation strategy and was designed in less than three months by a committee of nine officials (MINEDU, 2014).

Under the name of “Jornada Escolar Completa” (Extended School Day), the new policy for Secondary Education in Peru followed the regional trend of extending the school day, previously adopted by Chile and Colombia. The Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank promoted this policy in the region as an effective way to improve the quality of learning outcomes (Alfaro et. al., 2005).

Under this approach, the MoE extended the school day from five to seven and a half hours of schooling per day. The new model for the Secondary Schools in the country not only focused on the school day length, but also included three components that emulated the operation of private schools in Peru:

1. A management component that included: subject leader teachers, administrative support for the principals and new roles for accountability, support and monitoring of the teacher’s practices by actors inside and outside the school. (MINEDU, 2014).
2. A support component that included: an improvement in the school infrastructure and physical resources like computers for the students, internet service in the school and new books for the libraries. This component also included an improvement in human resources, providing the school with a team of professionals in ICT management and psychologists to support the students (MINEDU, 2014).

3. A pedagogical component that included: a new timetable for the curriculum with more hours of Math, Reading and English as a second language. It also included a significant change on the pedagogical model from a more traditional pedagogical model based on knowledge acquisition to a competency-based approach (MINEDU, 2014).

Schools were enforced to adopt the reform without previous consultation. The selection of the schools where the reforms is implemented is made yearly by the MoE based on technical criteria and data. The model started in 2015 with 1,000 schools and the aim is to extend this reform to include all Secondary public schools by 2021. Nevertheless, to the date of this research, the model has only been rolled out in 2,001 school of over the 9,000 public schools that offers public Secondary Education in the county. These numbers show the constraints in public Secondary Schools: most of them cannot extend the school day because they operate in shared schools building with Elementary School or because they offer two school shifts per day to cover the demand for the Secondary Education services. (MINEDU, 2018).

2.4 The pedagogical component of the reform and the Standardized classroom materials:

The scope of this research is limited to the pedagogical component of the Secondary Education Reform in Peru. This component of the reform considers the implementation of the changes suggested to the policy design by the provision of standardised textbooks and lesson plans for the teachers from across the country. As mentioned, the pedagogical component of the new model for Secondary Education suggests the shift from a ‘traditional pedagogy’ to a ‘competency-based approach’. This shift included: a new Curriculum and Classroom Strategies that develop high-order cognitive skills on the students, the integration of ICT in the classrooms and the promotion of integrated subjects in class projects (MINEDU, 2015).

Compulsory Education in Peru has been historically characterised by a high tendency of standardisation in the pedagogical practices of the teachers. This tendency includes the mandatory use of a National Curriculum designed by the MoE and the provision of different types of textbooks and classroom materials. Nevertheless, with the new model of Secondary Education, the MoE provided the teachers with a complete set of planning documents for the school year and lesson plans for every learning session written down in detail as a play's script. This way, every lesson of the school year was designed by a team of MoE officials. Then, the lessons were provided to the teachers as a suggestion on how to use the standardised textbooks and how to deliver the standardized curriculum.

As there is no written policy summary about the rationale or design of this specific component of the Secondary Education Reform in Peru, this section is based on interviews and testimonies collected directly from five officials from the MoE that participated in the design of the reform between 2014 and 2018. Two of them held managerial positions during the reform and describe themselves as policy-makers. The rest participate in the technical team and recognize that they hold a pedagogical background as experienced teachers.

According to the all the interviewed officials, the lesson plans were developed to provide the teachers with examples of how a lesson should look like under the competence-based approach. These examples should help the teachers to understand the changes in the curricula and to explore new teaching practices that aligned with the pedagogical approach that was adopted for the Secondary Education Reform.

Therefore, the teachers were expected to mediate the policy implementation by adapting the provided materials. In words of the former leader of the pedagogical team of the Secondary Education Directorate:

“Teachers should take these documents as references, and make changes to adapt the lesson plan to their context and classroom reality”
(Interview with MoE Officials, 2018)

Despite that vision, after the inclusion in the monitoring and accountability systems of the MoE of questions related to the use of the lesson plans and textbooks, the lessons plans were promoted as a recipe to be followed by the teachers. This created an unclear mandate about the way in which the teachers should use them and generated frictions between the teachers and the people responsible for monitoring the policy delivery. Moreover, the interviewed officials mentioned that the only support in how to make the adaptations was provided to the teachers by on-line tutorials or short informative sessions.

During the interviews, one of the topics that arose in the conversations was the rationale behind the policy decision of providing the teachers with these standardised materials. In the case of the interviewed officials that held a managerial role during the reform, developing standardised materials for the teachers was described as the more effective and efficient way to deliver the pedagogical component. They claim that standardized lessons were chosen over other options like intense training because of the restrictions of time and budget. They also pointed out the impossibility of hiring new teachers that already got the capabilities to teach under the pedagogical approach adopted by the reform. Nevertheless, officials with a pedagogical background and a technical role, agreed that the standardization of the material was just the first step for the implementation of the pedagogical component, declaring that the material cannot replace the teacher's practices, and that a full adoption of the suggested reforms requires retraining and constant support strategies. When they were consulted about the strategies to train and support teachers, officials referred that they were not implemented due to the lack of political will from the managerial officials.

A logic model of the pedagogical component of the reform was reconstructed using the interviews collected from the MoE officials. This summarises their view of how they expect the reform to unfold, sometimes referred to as the "theory of change":

Inputs	Outputs	Outcomes		
<i>Budget for materials</i> <i>Political willing for reform</i> <i>International evidence of the similar reforms</i> <i>Officials criteria</i>	Standardized Curricula Standardized Textbooks Standardized lesson plans Monitoring Short and informative Training	Short term change:	Medium term change:	Long term change:
		Teachers adopts more effective teaching practices	Students improve their learning outcomes	Quality of Secondary Education services improves

The responses about why the MoE decided to adopt the lesson plans and standardised textbooks as an implementation strategy for the pedagogical component of the reform went around two related reasons. First, all the interviewed officials referred that the strategy was adopted by the MoE following the recommendations of an international study developed by McKinsey Consultants. The study aimed to explore the best strategies used to improve the learning outcomes of students in contexts of low professionalism of the teachers. Second, this report was quickly validated among other alternatives by the officials with a managerial profile. Interviewed officials with a pedagogical role referred that this happens because of the existence of a shared assumption among the managerial officials about how ‘the teachers in Peru were not well prepared to do their jobs’. Likewise, during an interview with one of the managerial officials in charge of the implementation for the reform he openly questioned the teachers' professional capability, pointing out that ‘reality’ limited the options for the implementation of the pedagogical component of the reform besides the standardisation the classroom materials.

In the words of this official, ‘retraining these teachers sounds like an expensive option that takes too long, and there is no option of replacing the “bad” teachers, due the conditions of their contract, which really limited the options’. Nevertheless, the assumption on teacher’s professionalism was presented as ‘common sense’ and, officials referred to it without support of a proper diagnostic or baseline.

2.5 Teachers professionalism in the case of Peru:

The negative discourses on the teachers' professionalism provided by the interviewed officials in the previous section reflect the negative valuation of the teachers' profession in Peru.

This valuation had various inputs and had recreated low professionalism among the teachers in the country. Political reforms regarding the access to education as a right created a fast growth of the supply of Compulsory Education in the country during the 1960's, 1980's and 1990's. These changes increased the demand for teachers. The government response was allowing only technical training to enter the profession as well as the assimilation of professionals from other careers. (Ñopo & Diaz, 2016)

Salary and entrance requirements for the profession are also a factor to understand the devaluation of the teachers' profession in Peru. In that regard, according to the information displayed by the MoE at 'Ponte en Carrera' webpage, Education is the profession with the lowest salary in the country (MINEDU, 2018). In addition, the entrance requirements for the Education Faculties among Peruvian Universities is much lower than the requirements to enter other schools like Law or Engineering (Choque-Larrauri, R. et al., 2015).

After a national strike in 1985, the Teacher Union achieved the acceptance by the MoE of a hiring system that provided them with absolute stability on their job position regardless of their performance. In 2012, a new law introduced a voluntary evaluation system for teachers that provided an eight-level salary scale under a pay-by-performance system. Nevertheless, according to the data from the MoE, a total of 208,000 teachers applied for the evaluation in 2016, but only 22,000 obtained the minimum score to approve the exam (MINEDU, 2017). In that context, the teachers continued rejecting the MoE performance-based evaluation and demanded salary raises by striking in 2017.

The MoE launched the Secondary Education Reform in Peru described in the last section in 2015. The hierarchical and performative character of the policy design challenged the school culture and practices. Moreover, the view of teachers as deliverers that drove the standardisation of the teaching materials and the increase of monitoring and accountability practices, challenged the teacher's professionalism and agency in the Peruvian schools. Next section provides a literature review and theoretical framework to analyse the Peruvian case.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

This study aims to explore and analyse the *responses, enacted professionalism and mediation of teachers towards the standardised materials policy designed by the MoE.*

To achieve this aim, the present study is framed into the theories on teachers' agency in the context of educational reforms and policy implementation (e.g. Lipsky, 1980; Ball, 1987, 1994, 2002; Daviess, 1990; Dale, 1992; Pollard et al., 1994; Schweisfurth, 2002; Day et al., 2006; Sach, 2006; Comber & Nixon, 2009; Braun et al. 2010; Hohmann, 2016; Durose, 2017). Therefore, critical studies on Educational Reform's implementation provide an overall framework to explore the teacher's agency theories. This general framework helped to organise this Literature Review.

This chapter contains four sections. First, it presents an overall review of the theory of Education Reform under the neoliberal agenda fitting the case of Peru's reform of Secondary Education. The second part presents the theoretical approaches commonly used to enquire on educational reforms and policy implementation. The third section presents a review of the literature that focuses on exploring the barriers and changes in the institutional arrangement of the schools as consequence of the reform implementation. Finally, the last section presents the theoretical approaches and literature that explores the

reform regarding the interaction and mediation enacted by teachers' agency on reform contexts.

3.1 Education Reform under the neoliberal agenda:

In educational policy and media discussions 'reform' is a term usually welcomed with a positive stand. According to the definition of the Oxford Thesaurus, to reform is 'to make changes in something, especially an institution or practice, in order to improve it'. On the academic terrain, 'reform' is a recurrent topic of the educational sociology and educational studies since the adoption of the term 'Education reform' by the neoliberal governments in the United States and the United Kingdom in the 1980s (Girlin & Margonis, 1995; Campbell, 1996; Endacott et al., 2015).

Even though governments enacted reforms in education before this date, the discourses and practices of the Education Reforms from the 1980's represented a new perspective under the influence of the neoliberal ideologies. This perspective is radically different from previous reforms on education topics and created an archetypal reform that educational policy should follow to be qualified as effective and efficient. The expansion of this trend adopted a global scale. Since the early 90's, countries around the globe started their processes of reforming their educational systems. International agencies promoted this by conditioning aid and funding to its implementation, which spread the neoliberal agenda of the educational reform on the west and south (Tausch, 2010; Ferraro, 2008; Angotti, 2018).

Neoliberal agendas on education started in the late 80's and early 90's with the release of the 'Nation at Risk' report and the 'No Child left behind' strategy in the United States and the launch of the 'Educational Reform Act' in the UK. Literature about the nature of the neoliberal reforms pictures a critical perspective on how a managerial discourse focused the educational reform on making the schools more efficient. The questioning on the school performance and pressures to improve quality and efficiency of the services allowed a more significant intervention of the government into the school processes and culture

(e.g. Ball, 1987;1994,2012; Davies, 1990; Pollard et al.,1994; Madsen, 1994; Girlin & Margonis, 1995; Campbell, 1996; Endacott et al, 2015).

Along with its global scope, research on Education Reform and its implementation is vast and diverse. A broad initial differentiation can be made between scholars that took a more historical perspective on the process and reasons of the reform and studies that focus on the complex reality of the reforms' implementation due to its design characteristics. This research is framed on this second approach.

The focus on quality and efficiency of the services, along with the mistrust of the school agents, drove the neoliberal reforms to adopt a managerial speech that set standardised goals as standards but also forced the adoption of standardised strategies to achieve those goals by making the curriculum and class activities uniform across the system. (Lofty, 2003; Comber & Nixon, 2009; Fuller et al, 2013; State & Jonson, 2014; Yulindrasari & Ujianti, 2018). In addition, these top-down changes are closely tied to monitoring systems that check if the goals are reached, creating an increasing amount of monitoring and accountability systems (Baret, 2005; Vali et al, 2007; Brooks, 2009; Greenway et al, 2013; Boshier and Jennings, 2005; Huber & Skedsmo, 2016). This, in turns, promotes an audit culture that reshapes the school system and the teacher's practices (Wong, 2008; Wilkings 2011; Stone-Johnson, 2014).

The Secondary Education Reform in Peru fits into two of the characteristics of the design of neoliberal reforms in education, which are recurrent in the literature on the topic. First, the Peruvian case presented a solid example of the direction and drivers for the reform that characterise the neoliberal shift, defined in the literature as hierarchical or top-down reforms. Second, the pedagogical component of the Peruvian reform of Secondary Education shows the adoption of a 'performative aim' in the reform, challenging the roles of teachers and their professionalism. These characteristics of the reform will be addresses below.

3.1.1 A hierarchical reform drove by efficiency and quality requirements:

Theory about educational reforms recognises two directions to develop a reform of the educational systems: bottom-up reforms and top-down reforms. Bottom-up reforms are related to reforms that are driven by systematic changes that arise from inside the school practices and culture (Marsh & Bowman, 1989; Davies, 1990; Sach, 2001, 2003). In contrast, top-down reforms are externally defined and included into the system as a way to accomplish a specific reform agenda.

As mentioned before, educational reforms since the late 80's have followed a neoliberal perspective, in which the drivers for the changes are usually external to the schools and provide governments with a reasonable motivation to implement them as a way to control the system outcomes regarding the quality and efficiency of the services. Central and top-down intervention ensures a disruption in the system's status quo, assumed as negative or insufficient (Taylor, 2007; Bekovich, 2011; Hohmann, 2016). Decisions on the reform's design are centralised and defined by the government agencies and experts, who introduce the changes into the system as highly structured policies. These enforced changes require highly centralised control of surveillance, as well as a strict division of roles between those how are entitled to decide the policies and those how are in charge of implementing it. The literature defines these top-down and centred reforms as 'hierarchical reforms' (Ball, 1994; Fredson, 2001; Peter & Beley, 2015; Bourke et al., 2015).

The Secondary Education Reform in Peru is an example that fits the characteristic of a 'hierarchical reform' drove by external efficiency and quality requirements described above. In that regard, the reform of the Secondary Education was a response to the country's failure in PISA, placing the drivers for the reform outside the school context. As well, because the reform was designed by a committee of nine members that worked on a time framework of 30 days, decisions on the design and implementation were taken in centralized ways and imposed to the system. This enforced the policy

adoption without previous consultation and created a hierarchical relation between the MoE and the schools in charge to implement the reform.

3.1.2 Performative schools and Teachers as deliverers:

The failure of the PISA results drove the Secondary Education Reform in Peru by opening a discussion about the quality of the school outcomes. Thus, the pedagogical component of the reform assumed that, by changing the curriculum, teaching methods and the classroom resources, the students' learning outcomes should improve. Therefore, and since the teacher's competencies were mistrusted by the policy designers, the reform adopted a performative perspective of the schools, establishing standardisation and the adoption of surveillance methods to ensure the policy implementation.

Under the managerial influences of neoliberal reforms, the educational systems are required to provide outcomes that can be measured to ensure their effectiveness and efficacy on the provided services. (Gerwitz, 2002; Taylor & Kelly, 2006; Taylor, 2007). Since educational outcomes like students' life trajectories or citizenship formation are hard to measure and compare between units, learning outcomes based on national and international standardised tests are commonly used as an outcome for measuring the education systems' performance, along with procedure check-list and task formats (Addison & McGee, 2015; Hult & Edström, 2016).

Literature refers to this characteristic of the neoliberal policy designs as 'the performative school' (e.g. Hall & Noyes, 2009; Wilkings, 2015). The performative vision of the school usually pictures the teachers as technicians rather than professionals, who are entitled only to deliver the policy guidelines to ensure the schooling outcomes (Sisto et al., 2013; Lofty, 2003; Hall & McGinity, 2015; Yulindrasari & Ujianti, 2018).

The focus on improving the students learning outcomes centred the reform effort into the 'inputs' of the learning, the teachers and the classroom's activities that they lead. Therefore, when the learning outcomes are low, the policy discourse tends to put the responsibility into the teachers, questioning their professionalism (Lofty, 2003; Webb, 2005; Mockler, 2011; Greenway et al.,

2013). According to Hult & Edström (2016), this kind of questioning can lead to mistrust on the judgement of the teachers, promoting more standardised policies and systems of surveillance of the school outcomes as part of the hierarchical reforms' designs. These systems create a viscous circle that erodes teacher's agency and professionalism (Hult & Edström, 2016).

3.2 Education reforms' implementation:

Studies on reforms' implementation can be organised between two groups based on the theoretical approach they use. The first group includes the studies that explore the reforms from a theoretical logic of policy implementation (Jordan, 2010); and, the second one includes the studies that approach the policy implementation under the complexity theory of policy and social change (Blindenbacher & Nashat, 2010)

Studies on the first group explore and understand the design of the reforms and the results or impacts of the policy implementation by investigating the reform outcomes in relation to the policy inputs and activities. This approach varies in methodological perspectives and spans between two approaches. First, qualitative models, that measure variations on the relevant indicators to establish if the reform had achieved its results or impacts (e.g. Tummers & Bekkers, 2014, Fuller et. al., 2013;). Second, quantitative studies, that explore the design process or evaluate the fidelity between the policy design and the policy outputs and outcomes, analysing the reforms' implementation by pointing out the structural effects, institutional arrangements or agency variation. (E.g. Lasky, 2005; Lee et al., 2013; Bower & Parsons, 2016).

Despite the methodological approach of the studies, the theoretical assumption behind this cluster of literature recognises policy implementation as the conversion of inputs, like the policy design, guidelines and resources, into outputs that, when are summed up, create the expected outcomes of the reforms. Among the policy implementation theory, this model is defined as a 'logic model' and provides a theoretical approach to design and to evaluate a policy reform (e.g. Savaya & Waysman, 2005; Jordan, 2010).

In contrast, studies that approach the policy implementation under the complexity theory of policy and social change (Blindenbacher & Nashat, 2010) suggest that the logic model need to take into account the processes and results of the institutional arrangements and agencies that are involved in the policy implementation. Scholars under this theoretical approach focus on understanding the process and results that take place between the inputs and outputs in the policy design and during the policy implementation. These approaches explore the reforms implementation based on what happens in the so-called 'black box', a term coined by Easton David in 1965 to describe the complexity of the policy systems (Davis, 1965). This perspective takes into account that reforms and their proposed changes are not implemented into a vacuum or follow into empty institutional arrangements of culture, identities, values and practices (Ball, 1987, 2002; Madsen, 1994; Murphy & Skillen, 2015). Moreover, because the pre-existence of those institutional arrangements, the system actors enact their agency to mediate the policy implementation (Dale, 1992; Tang, 2011; Hall & McGinity, 2015), creating a difference between the policy on the discourse and the policy on the terrain.

The present study is framed under the complexity theoretical approach to the reforms' implementation. Therefore, the following two sections present a literature review on studies that explore the reform concerning the institutional arrangement of the schools and the school system and literature that explores the reform regarding their interaction and mediation of the teachers' agency.

3.3 Education Reforms' implementation under the complexity of institutional arrangements:

Under the theories of the complexity of policy implementation, a significant cluster of literature had focused on exploring how the Education Reforms influenced the formal and informal institutional practices of the schools and the education system.

Among this approach, scholars questioned hierarchical reforms on the way they challenge the education ends and priorities of the educational systems. The

literature on this topic has pointed out that due to the managerial perspective of the Education Reforms; the systems are forced to adopt efficiency and results as the main drivers for the educational services, even when this can reduce equity in the schools and the system. (e.g. Davies, 1990; Ball, 1994; Madsen, 1994; Clabaugh, 2010). As well, some scholars focus on explore the way the policy design usually does not fit the complex reality of the schools and classrooms, creating contradictions and stressing the system capability (e.g. Gitlin & Margonis, 1995; Campbell, 1996; Murphy and Skillen, 2015. Katsuno, 2012).

Perspectives and frequent topics among this literature also include studies on the effect of the managerial approach to school government (e.g. Ball, 1989; Gerwits, 2002; Wong, 2008; Braun et. al, 2010; Hall & McGinity, 2015), and the risk of school marketization for equity on the system (e.g. Davies, 1990; Bartlett et al., 2002; Reay, 2017). In addition, particular attention has been placed into the influence of accountability systems to force schools to ‘teach for the exam’ or ‘narrow the curriculum’ to fit the evaluation and standards (William, 2010; West, 2010; Lewis, 2016; Koretz, 2017).

Along with this perspective, some authors focus on understanding the monitoring and accounting systems that characterise hierarchical reforms and that are created to surveillance the practices and actions of the school actors to ensure fidelity on the implementation process (e.g. Webb, 2005, Brooks, 2009). The accountability and monitoring systems need a high degree of standardisation to work, that includes the implementation of standardised outcomes, standardised tests and standardised classroom practices and materials (e.g. Lofty, 2003; Brooks, 2009; Stone-Johnson, 2014; Brown & Manktelow, 2016). Some of these studies propose that the school now focuses on achieving targets that are imposed by external actors and are tied to accountability systems, funding and social validation. Therefore, the school adopts a managerial and performative culture that emphasizes on the delivery and outputs over the processes and inputs (Gerwitz, 2012; Webb, 2005; Hall & Noyes, 2009 Braun et al., 2010, Wilkings, 2015).

Furthermore, literature focuses on how the neoliberal educational reforms generate new power balances, reshape the relations between the school actors, and change the institutional arrangements of the education system on different levels. These studies focus on how the different actors that interact in the education systems reshape their relations and interactions as an effect of the new managerial and performative cultures introduced in the schools by the reforms. Literature includes studies on the relations between the principals and teachers, showing how these interactions changed from a horizontal to a hierarchical relation due to the new roles of accountability and staff evaluation (e.g. Ball, 1994; Madsen, 1994; Sandfort, 2018). Likewise, some scholars have pointed out the changes on the role of parents among the educational systems, which are treated as consumers or as surveillance actors due to the introduction of neoliberal reforms (e.g. Karlsen Baeck, 2010). Additionally, scholars have focused on the impact of the educational reforms in the relation between teachers. This literature shows how the managerial and performative culture reduce the collaboration among teachers and replace the collective agendas with ideas of individualism and competitiveness that are tied to a system of professional development that follows a pay-by-performance incentive or to the school's rankings (Campbell, 1996; Bosher and Jennings, 2005; Vali et. al 2007; 2010, Bourke et. al, 2015).

3.3 Education Reforms' implementation under the complexity of teachers' agency:

Literature of the Education Reforms' implementation had also focused on understanding the agency of the teachers as one of the elements of the 'black box'. In this approach to the complexity of reforms implementation, teachers are seen as an actor with the capability to mediate the reform's implementation (Lee et al., 2013; Durose, 2017). Moreover, this mediation can compromise the policy's implementation in different ways and on diverse degrees (Braun et al., 2010; Hohmann, 2016). Thus, because the possibility of enacting their agency, teachers become a critical element that may ensure the policy delivery as was designed in the reforms. Moreover, by enacting their

agency, teachers may intervene, mediate or respond to the reforms, creating distortions between the policy discourse and the policy in action (Broodkin, 2008; Vähäsantanen et al. 2008). This dissertation research adopts this approach to explore and analyse the case of the secondary education reform in Peru.

Understanding a social phenomenon by focusing on the study of the ‘agency’ of an involved actor is an approach that was popularised in the early 60’s with the rise of post-structural discourses in the social sciences. Agency is defined as the ‘capability to enacted action to make things happen’ (Encyclopaedia of Political Theory, 2010). Agency occurs as the result of complex interaction between the individuals and the institutional arrangement and structures that frame them. This institutional arrangements and structure provide inputs that shape and limit the individual and collective agency. Nevertheless, in the perspective of agency theorist, individuals are not passive to the structures that frame them and by enacting their agency; individuals can validate, shape, transform or mediate the institutional arrangements and structures. Under this definition, the agency’s theory tries to tie up the complex two-way relation between agency and structure and agency and institutions (Ibrahim & Tiwari, 2014; Coffey & Farrugia, 2014).

Agency approaches for policy implementation have their foundations on the seminal theory of the Street Level Bureaucracy, developed in the 1980’s by Michael Lipsky. Lipsky provided a theoretical framework to understand the agency of the government workers in charge to provide direct services to the citizens in the context of policy implementation. According to his theory, ‘the street level bureaucracy exercises wide discretion in decisions about citizens with whom they interact. Then, when take in concrete, their individual actions add up to agency behaviour [...] The policy-making roles of street-level bureaucrats are built upon two interrelated facets of their positions: relatively high degrees of discretion and relative autonomy from organisational authority’ (Lipsky, 1980 p.13).

Along with police officers and nurses, Lipsky identifies teachers as a classic example of street level bureaucrats, who due to their particular working

conditions of direct interaction with the citizens are entitled with great discretion and autonomy to make policy by mediating the implementation of the public services. This mediation is positive for the system because it allows the individuals to make adaptations or changes that contextualise the policy to the requirements of the users. Nevertheless, this only happens when the institutional arrangement, professional ethics and provision of resources are adequate. Thus, when street-level bureaucrats face poor conditions of work as chronically inadequate resources or goal expectations that are ambiguous, vague or conflicting, they can show negative attitudes through their job duties like absenteeism, alienation or apathy (Lipsky, 1980 p.27).

Lipsky's theory of Street-Level Bureaucracy is broadly applied across the literature of Educational Reform to understand how teacher's autonomy and discretion is challenged in the context of the reforms' implementation. Some scholars have pointed out that the hierarchical reforms tend to reduce the autonomy and discretion of the teachers. As an effect of this reduction, teachers' agency is eroded and they lose the capability to enact the policy and mediate to fit it into the complex reality of their context (e.g. Taylor, 2007; Clabaugh, 2010; Barberis & Buchowitz, 2015; Hohmann, 2016). Likewise, since the reform imposes the changes over the degree of autonomy and discretion of teachers, the new paradigm collides with the way they used to understand and experience their agency. This creates power struggles and responses towards the reforms that can span between the compliance and the active resistance (e.g. Dale, 1992; Pollard et al., 1994; Gitlin & Margonis, 1995; Broun et al., 2010; Baeck, 2010; Berkovich, 2011).

Among this group of literature, some scholars explore how demands overcome supply stressing the teachers' capability. Reforms create work intensification, time constraints and resource imbalances, as well as new demands to fulfil multiple priorities. In that sense, the literature explores the risks and teacher's reaction towards the intensification of tasks as a result of the reforms that can lead to a decrease on the quality of the services and promote apathy, alienation and scepticism among teachers (e.g. Campbell, 1996; Hjärne et al, 2010; Murphy & Skillen, 2015; Sanford, 2018).

The literature has also explored the effects on teacher's agency in regard of the reduction of teachers' autonomy as a consequence of the hierarchical control systems and accountability structures (Benveniste, 1986; Webb, 2005; Brooks, 2009; Stine & Jonson, 2014; Booter, 2016). In this case, the literature studied the teacher's agency under the implementation of accountability systems and performative or managerial perspectives of the school system showing how teacher's autonomy can be reduced until the point services are delivered just to fulfil the expectations of the monitoring and accountability system. This decreases quality, equity and pertinence of the services. Nevertheless, some studies also show that rigid accountability systems on aims or strategies that are not shared by the teachers can let to resistance, as well as coping practices that creates distortions on the reforms' implementation and outcomes (e.g. Wong, 2008; Tummer & Bekker, 2014).

Literature has also explored how professional responsiveness is replaced by standardisation and monitoring in the context of the Education Reforms (e.g. Taylor and Kelly, 2006; Hjärne et al., 2010; Barberies & Buchowitxs, 2015; Booter, 2016). Professional responsiveness is one of the critical characteristics of professionals, and it is closely associated with the exercise of autonomy and discretion to improve the service delivery based on technical and situated knowledge (Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012; Bourke et al., 2015).

Under this understanding of professionalism, literature explores how Educational reforms introduced into the schools since the 1980's questioned the professional status of teachers. Standardization of the educational aims and classroom strategies by policy-makers reduces the teachers from professional to deliver technicians or semi-professional (e.g. Lofty, 2003; Comber and Nixon, 2009; Thomas, 2011; Huber & Skedsmo, 2016; Durose, 2017; Yulindrasari & Ujianti, 2018). Deprofessionalization occurs as a consequence of the mistrust of teacher's criteria and is palpable in the intensification of hierarchical controls and surveillance of their performance (Fredson, 2001; Broodkin, 2008; Peters & Besley, 2015; Hult & Edström, 2016,).

This vision of teachers, along with the lack of effort to improve their work conditions, erodes teachers' professionalism producing negative responses and

resistance that can affect the outcomes of the reforms (e.g. Ringwalt et al., 2008; Harrits & Østergaard, 2014; Tummer & Bekkers, 2014; Brown & Manktelow, 2016; Moore & Clarke, 2016; Durose, 2017; Sandfort, 2018). As well, some scholars have pointed out that new ways of professionalism have emerged in the contexts of reforms, where teachers reframe their reduced autonomy and can still enact discretion and policy agency (Sachs, 2001:2003; Wong, 2008; Teleshaliyev, 2013; Wilkings, 2015; Hall & McGinity, 2015).

Literature has also focused on understanding how reforms can influence and be mediated by the teachers' professional identity. Teachers' professional identity is defined in the literature as the way teachers define themselves to themselves and to others (Beijaard et al., 2004; Lasky, 2005; Mockler, 2011; Carlson, 2016). Identities are complex and dynamic and can involve the individuals and collective roles and actions, the values and ethics behind them and the political interest and drivers (Vähäsantanen et al., 2008; Tang, 2011).

Teacher's identity is shaped by personal factors as the individual trajectory, motivations, core values, ideas and interests; professional factors like educational background and the identification with unions: and, situational factors, that include the work conditions, the status of the profession and its validation in society (Lee et. al. 2013). This perspective explores the dimension of agency-centred theories that merge the visions of teachers as individuals and the visions of the teachers as members of a collective or community (Cohen, 2008; Vähäsantanen et. al., 2015).

Reforms can impact the teachers' identity in negative ways by demoralizing or marginalizing teachers as an effect of changes on their self-perception caused by the reduction of autonomy and discretion and the increase of standardization and surveillance (Hall & Noyes, 2009; Wilkings, 2011; Katsuno, 2012; Ebdacoot et al., 2015) or as an effect of a negative perception of the profession in society (Barret, 2005; Fuller et a., 2013). These negative identities can have direct or indirect effects on pupils and also can compromise their learning outcomes due to the low teachers' perception of self-efficacy, low levels of intrinsical motivation and experienced well-being. (Kelchtermans, 1993; Valli & Buese, 2007; Bower & Parsons, 2016; Carlyon, 2016)

Moreover, identities can define the performance of the agency and mediate the responses of teachers towards the implementation of the reforms (Lasky, 2005; Day et al. 2006; Masoumpanah & Zarei, 2014). In that regard, identities can shape agency, enacting actions to preserve the teacher's self, their values ideas and identities promoting compliance or resistances towards the changes that are imposed by the reforms (Schweisfurth, 2002; van Veen & Slegers, 2006). Likewise, identities can be challenged by the reform when the rationales of the changes attack teachers' views of their own professionalism or values promoting harsh political stances (Dale, 1992; Vähäsantanen et al., 2008).

Likewise, the systematic mistrust of the teacher's agency can lead to reduce the social valuation of the profession by making teacher's comply with this vision, eroding teacher's professional criteria, self-efficacy and compromise their job satisfaction (Valli & Buese, 2007; Wilkings, 2010; OCDE, 2016, Gurl et al., 2016). This vision of negative identities can erode the quality of the education provided and need to be acknowledged to understand the teacher's mediation of the reforms.

This section provides the literature review and theoretical framework to narrow and define the approach of this study. In that regard, the literature about the characteristics of the neoliberal Education Reforms provides a framework to form a critical evaluation of the Secondary Education reform in Peru. The literature that explored similar reforms on diverse contexts points out the risks and drawbacks of adopting hierarchical and performative-based strategies for the design and implementation of the reforms. In particular, reforms under the neoliberal approach challenge the institutional arrangements of the school and the education system, which puts pressures on the teachers' agency. Moreover, teachers' agency generates mediation and responses towards the reform implementation. Under this perspectives, is expected that the Peruvian case provides ground evidence on how teachers respond and mediate to the reforms' implementation, how professional judgement and professional identity are challenged and constrained by the reform but also how they are enacted by

teachers, creating distortions between the expected outcomes of the policy design and the actual outcomes in the terrain.

Nevertheless, the reviewed literature tends to focus on the Global North, where the working conditions of teachers are not extreme and the state capability to shape the reforms are high. The studies reviewed value the exercise of autonomy and discretion by the teachers as positive and desirable, grounded on the teachers' professionalism and work ethics. This study hopes to bring on the discussion of how agency is enacted in the context of reform in a developing country like Peru, where teachers face extreme poor working conditions, the state capability to implement the reform is weak and the teachers' professionalism is eroded and diminished. The next section presents the methodology and study design.

4. METHODOLOGY AND STUDY DESIGN

4.1 Research approach and style of enquiry:

This research aims to explore and analyse the responses, enacted professionalism and mediation of teachers towards the standardised materials policy designed by the MoE in the context of the Secondary Education Reform in Peru. To achieve the aim of this study, it focusses on answering two main research questions:

1. How the teachers respond to and mediate the implementation of the Educational Reform by exerting their agency? And,
2. How the teachers' professional identity, working conditions and the reforms' characteristics interact to influence the teacher's mediation and responses towards the reform?

Due to the exploratory nature of this research, a multiple-case study of two schools is proposed, based on an ethnographic style of enquiry and the use of qualitative methods for the data gathering.

An ethnographic style of enquiry allows to collect and represent the realities of participants in a systematic way that incorporate different views and

perceptions without assuming a fixed hypothesis, making this approach ideal for exploration of policy effects on practice and agency (Wilson, 2009; Bhatti, 2012). Moreover, ethnographical approaches allow the researcher to display interpretative interactions that provide a deeper understanding of cultural arrangement, human interaction and society as complex and dynamic ‘objects’ (Wilson, 2009; Cohen et al., 2011).

According to Cohen et al. (2011), qualitative research allows an ‘in-depth, intricate and detail understanding of meaning, actions, non-observable as well as observable phenomena, attitudes, intention and behaviours’ (Cohen et al., 2011; p.219). Likewise, Evans (2009) stands that the qualitative researches ‘assumed the studied phenomena as complex, developing, multifaceted and largely depend on the process of interpretation used in the investigation’ (Evans, 2009: p.113).

4.2 Study design:

4.2.1 Research design and Case selection:

For the study design, a multiple-case design to compare two schools was selected. (Cohen et al., 2011; p.291-292). Two similar schools that differ only in their learning outcomes were selected in an effort to avoid biased findings and avoid rival explanations about the teacher’s responses and agency exercise in a context of high diversity among schools. A summary on the general information use to establish the similarities among the schools is displayed in the table.

<u>Summarized Schools characteristic</u>					
	Total number of students	Total number of teachers	Distance from the state capital	Poverty ranking	Context Setting
<i>Case 1: Apurimac</i>	106	9	2 hours and 30 minutes	Extreme Poverty	Rural School
<i>Case 2: Puno</i>	131	8	2 hours and 40 minutes	Poverty	Rural School

The case selection was conducted using the following process and criteria:

- School universe for the cases selection (1,601) represented all the schools that started the Educational Reform of Secondary Education in 2015 and 2016 to ensure at least one entire year of policy implementation of the 'Jornada Escolar Completa' program.
- Using the results from the National Standardized Test a subsample of school was defined. This process reduced the universe to 20 schools, ten top-performers and ten bottom-performers.
- After that, and due to the diversity of the schools' context in Peru, the potential cases were separated by region and type of administration.
- Individual case enquires about school size, enrolment, relative location to the capital of the region and the number of teachers was conducted for the 20 schools subsample.
- Schools were paired up by regional location and school's characteristics.
- The two selected schools were those that showed the most similar paired up results. Selected schools differ only on their result on the National Standardized Test.

The selected schools are located on the South Andean region of Peru, on the states of Apurimac and Puno. A referential image for the schools' location is provided on the following map:



4.2.2 Research Methods:

Exploration and analysis involved in this qualitative research focuses on collecting the teachers' discourses and actions towards the reform implementation. This study distinguishes between the research design and the research methods (Evans, 2009; p.114). Thus, although the research design is described in this section as a qualitative research, the research methods used to study the selected cases were mixed and included:

- A survey of 22 questions for teachers to inquire about their personal and professional profiles, their opinions on the overall secondary education reform and the standardised materials and their declared interactions and uses of the material.
- A semi-structured interview of 30 minutes with teachers focused on gathering insights, examples and further development of the survey responses.
- School dynamic and classroom non-structured observations.

To maintain the ethnographical style of this study the cases were visited without a previous theoretical model or hypothesis on the mediation or actions of the teachers (Bhatti, 2012). Nevertheless, the methods for the data collection were structured to explore the case based on the following questions:

- *How does the policy design of the Secondary Education Reform fits the reality of the studied schools? How accurate is the delivery of the aims and proposed activities in contrast of the enacted policy in the school?*
- *What do the teachers think of the standardised materials provided by the MoE and how do they relate to the materials?*

- *How do the teachers implement the reform of the Secondary Education? What changes do they perceive and how do they mediate the MoE demands?*
- *How teachers perceive themselves as professionals and power concerning their role as policy implementers?*

A copy from the survey and semi-structured interview questionnaires can be found on the appendix section of this document.

4.2.3 Data gathering and analysis:

Data collection was conducted in Peru between the last week of June and the first week of July of 2018. A total of 16 surveys, 10 interviews and 14 pages of observation's notes were gathered during this period. Distribution of the data obtained for Case 1 and Case 2 is displayed on the following table:

<u>Gathered data distribution:</u>			
Case detail	Type of data	Count	Coverage
<i>Case 1: Apurimac School</i>	Total number of teachers that completed the survey	09	100%
	Total number of interviewed teachers	07	78%
	Total number of non-structured observation hours	21	--
<i>Case 2: Puno School</i>	Total number of teachers that completed the survey	07	88%
	Total number of interviewed teachers	06	85%
	Total number of non-structured observation hours	19	--

Permissions to conduct the research were granted by the schools' principals before the data collection. As well, participants were informed of the research aim, scope and use of the provided data in a meeting. All of the interviewed teachers provided a signed consent to authorise the interview, the recording

and the use of their declarations. These activities followed the ethical procedures determined by the University of Glasgow.

The entire collected data was anonymised and codified to ensure the participants' right to remain unrecognised. Survey results were processed into an excel database and analysed using frequency analysis of the cross-table function. Interviews were transcribed and translated from Spanish to English. Codification was manual. The same process was used to process all data collected during observations.

All data collection, transcription, translation and analysis were conducted personally by the researcher.

4.3 *Limitations of the research:*

The selected methodology and the study design face the limitation of providing anecdotic and profound information about the two selected schools. Responses and findings reported as the result of this research are not able to be generalised into other teachers or school's settings in Peru. Nevertheless, this limitation can open further opportunities to study the teachers' responses and mediation in the policy implementation on a larger scale. In that sense, this study provides valuable insights that may help to understand the role of teacher's agency in the implementation of Educational Reforms in settings with low state institutional capability, harsh working conditions and conflicting views of the teacher's professionalism.

5. FINDINGS:

5.1 A profile of the teachers involved in this study:

This section presents a general profile for the teachers that participated in this study, based on the responses of 16 teachers to a self-applied survey of 28 questions. There were in total only 17 teachers working in the two schools selected, meaning that only one teacher decided not to participate in the study.

Survey results show that average age of the teachers in the study is 35 years old. Most of the teachers in the selected schools are males, with only two female teachers in the Case 1: Apurimac. Regarding their professional background, all the teachers studied to work as educators. Of the total, 11 teachers have a technical undergraduate degree in Education or Teaching, and only four declared to have a postgraduate degree.

Most of the teachers in the study referred that they were hired by hours under part-time contracts, meaning that they do not get paid for any other task besides the time they spend teaching. They also do not enjoy the benefits of a regular full-time position, like salary raises or the pay-by-performance bonus. The monthly salary of the teachers in the study ranges between £250 and £400 a month. Average teachers' salary in a full time contract is £400 a month.

Teachers mentioned that they are part of the National Teachers Union: SUTEP. Only four of them answered that they do not have any political or activist participation in the union.

Teachers referred that they joined the profession because they felt it was their vocational calling. Likewise, they referred to use their time and money to pay for training to improve their teaching capabilities.

Schools in the study are located in remote rural areas of the Andean south of Peru. Teachers referred to have two options to access the schools. In Case 1: Apurimac, the teachers decided to rent a house and stay during the week in the rural community. They need to pay for a room from their salaries and prepare they own food since there is no restaurants or stores nearby. Only two teachers commute daily 2.5 hours to get to the school because they have kids who are studying in the capital of the region. For Case 2: Puno, all teachers commute 2.5 or 1.5 hours to get to the school daily. Both schools are in communities with no running water supply and no cell phone or internet connection. Both schools are located in rural communities of high depravation. Both communities belong to the lowest income quintile in the country, and in the Case 1: Apurimac, the students' first language is not Spanish, the language that is used by the teachers in the schools.

Furthermore, Case 1: Apurimac is located in the entrance of the VRAEM, a red spot because of drug trafficking. Meanwhile, Case 2: Puno is located in the access road to Rinconada, an illegal gold mining camp. These conditions may help to understand why only three of the teachers in the study responded that they felt satisfied with their working conditions. Nevertheless, all teachers referred that if given the opportunity to change careers, they will remain as teachers.

5.2 Teachers' discourses and actions in the context of the Secondary Education Reform in Peru:

The study inquired the teachers about their thoughts and feelings about the reform of Secondary Education started by the MoE in 2015. This section presents

the main ideas and discourses of the teachers regarding the reform and on the base of the answers they provided in the self-applied survey and during the semi-structured interviews. Findings show that teachers hold a contradictory rhetoric towards the reform, where responses and discourses vary from a positive evaluation of the changes to harsh critics and resistance without clear patterns. Teachers were inquired about these conflicting narratives during the interviews. In that sense, teachers seem to appreciate that the MoE decided to improve the quality of the Secondary Education after many years of been oversight by the MoE, but at the same time, they experience the reform's complex impact in their agency and identity. These struggles are presented in detail in the next sections of this chapter.

5.2.1 The standardised materials on the view of teachers:

As mentioned before, the MoE decided to provide the teachers with a set of standardised materials to implement the pedagogical component of the Secondary Education reform. This section presents the findings regarding teachers' discourse towards the standardised materials and the way they perceived and enacted this component of the reform.

The survey and interviews in this study enquire the teachers about their thoughts on the standardised materials regarding the value and drawbacks of this component of the reform. The answers provided by the teachers on these topics tend to show contradictory discourses about the standardized materials as a way to implement the reform. In addition, the findings in this section evidence a mismatch between the teachers' discourses and the actual use of the materials.

Thus, when teachers were enquired about their opinion on the standardized material provided by the MoE, they recurrently selected the response options 'It is a good material, and it helps the teachers to improved they practice', and 'They provided us with good examples to improve our planning and our teaching practice'. Only four teachers in the survey provided responses that reflected

negative opinions such as: ‘They reduced my autonomy’ and ‘They cannot be used in my classroom’.

What is your general opinion about the standardised lesson plans and annual planning documents?

It is a good material, and it helps the teachers to improved they practice	2
They provided us with good examples to improve our planning and our teaching practice	9
They reduced my autonomy	2
They cannot be used in my classroom	2
Other	1
Total	16

As well during the interviews, the teachers provided positive comments regarding the provision of standardised materials by the MoE, such as the following:

‘The lesson-plans provided me with a guideline. They are full of ideas!’
(*Female Teacher-Case 1*)

‘I think the MoE is making an effort. You can now have examples on how to do your job!’ (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Nevertheless, when the teachers were asked about the drawbacks of the standardised materials, the answers they provided are strongly negative. Teachers’ responses on the drawbacks of the standardised materials are shown in the following table:

What are the drawbacks of the standardised lesson plans and annual planning documents?
(*Choose all the options that represent your opinions*)

The standardised materials reduce my autonomy and compromise my professional criteria	6
The standardised materials gave the MoE control over my job	4
The standardised materials cannot be used or adapted to my context	5
The MoE wants me to use the standardised materials as they are. I have to do it even when they don't fit my context or the needs of my students.	4

Likewise, the negative opinions about the standardised materials came up regularly during the interviews. The teachers qualified the standardised materials as negative because they do not fit their classroom reality and they

are not relevant for their students' context. Some of the teacher's answers are quoted below:

'The material provided by MoE does not relate to my reality. For example, there is not even one example of this region. What am I saying to my students, that this place is not relevant in the country? This is why I have to make changes'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

'Sometimes the lesson plans from the MoE asks for the use of the internet to show a video. How are we supposed to do that if we do not even have a screen in the classroom or even internet service here?' (*Female teacher- Case 2*)

'The materials from the MoE don't fit my context. They are about places and things that my students haven't even listen about in their lives.' (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

When the teachers develop the idea of why they have these contradicting opinions on the material, they tend to refer that is better to have the standardised materials than nothing. In that regard, all teachers in the study referred that they use the textbooks and lesson plans in their classrooms in spite of the critics they have about the standardised materials on their discourses. These answers and actions reflect the socio-economic context of the schools, where buying any textbook or access other materials may result impossible for the students and even the teachers.

'In a way the textbooks are ok. They are a useful resource for the students'. (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

'The textbooks are helpful. I will not lie on that. Sometimes is the only resource these kids have because they are free'. (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

It is important to acknowledge that the MoE started to provide the Secondary Schools with a set of materials for the use of the students and teachers in 2015. The simple existence of a textbook that belongs to the student and a material that is designed for teachers in a context of high deprivation represent a concrete improvement in the view of the teachers. This can help to understand the positive opinions about the material and the use teachers made of them in their classrooms. Nevertheless, when the teachers value the material regarding how it fits their context and its usability, they gave it a negative evaluation

that wipes out their initial enthusiasm and their agency and professional judgment come into action.

5.2.2 Autonomy and discretion in a context of standardisation and surveillance:

According to the MoE's policy design, the Secondary Education teachers are in charge of implementing the pedagogical component of the reform through the delivery of the standardised material provided to them. As mentioned, the policy's rationale was unclear about how the teacher should use the standardised material and the degree of autonomy and discretion they had over its implementation. This unclear demand got worst as the MoE's included in their accountability systems of the reform's implementation the monitoring of the use of the standardised materials by the teachers. This section presents the finding regarding the ways teachers related and mediated the implementation of the reform by enacting their agency and professional judgment to deliver the standardised materials on their own terms, as they consider themselves entitled to exert their autonomy and discretion.

Survey answers show that only four teachers referred they used the standardised package as is recommended by the MoE. Ten teachers declared they use their own lesson plans, adapting the standardised materials when they felt it was useful. Two teachers did not provide an answer to this question.

Moreover, when the teachers were asked if they felt entitled to made adaptations to the standardized materials, all teachers that participated in the study responded with the survey options of 'as a professional I feel entitled to make changes', and 'if they don't fit my classroom reality, it is my prerogative to decide if I use the material or not'. Teachers in the study did not hesitated about if there were entitled to exert their autonomy and discretion to mediate the reform implementation. As teachers pointed out during the interviews:

'The MoE cannot ask us to use the materials as they want. We as teachers are autonomous'. (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

'I feel like if I made changes in the material to fit my reality that cannot be wrong. I am improving the material!' (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Furthermore, teachers declared that exerting autonomy and discretion are core duties of their profession. As well, teachers on the study claimed that by enacting their professional judgement they are ensuring the students' learning outcomes. Some of the teachers' discourses in this regard are displayed below:

'I made changes in the material provided by the MoE. If I don't do that my students will not learn. I have to make adaptations for my classroom all the time'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

'Of course, we do make changes in the lessons plans. It is because otherwise, my kids will not learn'. (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

Nevertheless, teachers also declared that the reform had challenged their professional autonomy and discretion. In that regard, teachers felt that the standardised materials provided the MoE exert control over their work. Likewise, all teachers in the study referred the materials were provided because the MoE mistrusts them.

In that regard, teachers declared that the provision of the standardised materials and the monitoring systems had created an aggressive environment of surveillance that affects their performance and professional judgment. It also harms their professional identity as they face unclear demands that made them mistrust their decisions about the use of the standardised material. Some quotes from the interviews reflect these discourses:

'What makes me a little sad is that the MoE forces us to use the books. I feel like I have lost my freedom to teach and choose what is best for my classroom'. (*Female teacher- Case 1*)

'Monitors from the MoE come over to observe our work. But is not for good. It is to evaluate us. I feel patrolled'. (*Female teacher- Case 1*)

'The MoE wants to control us. They don't show us how to implement this reform. They only focus on demanding us to do what they want'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Moreover, teachers claimed that the monitoring practices mistrust the teacher's actions and criteria. The teachers responded to these actions feeling discouraged or angry. As one teacher pointed out during the interview:

‘When the accountability comes they even ask my students: Is your teacher really using the materials? I felt ashamed. I don’t feel like giving my best anymore’. (Male teacher- Case 1)

Teachers’ responses also pointed out the distortion on the demands of the MoE for the use of the standardised material, declaring that the monitors force them to deliver the standardised material without mediating it. Meanwhile, the materials and online conferences displayed by the MoE on the web platform for the teachers encourages them to adapt them. These unclear demands are conflicting to their professional judgment. In the words of the teachers:

‘Monitors do not understand my work. They ask us to use this material as they are, but that will affect my students’ learning. Then, the MoE send us a document on how to adapt the materials. I feel torn’. (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

‘The MoE monitor wants us to line up with the materials and demands of the Ministry. They say to me: This is why we gave you the material’. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

‘The MoE monitors will always want us to use the material. But is not possible to do so because of time constrictions and the reality of my classroom, but I don’t want to get in trouble. It is not clear what should I do’ (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Nevertheless, the teachers’ answers reveal that they have come up with coping strategies to maintain their autonomy and discretion towards the use of the standardised materials. During interviews, teachers referred to strategies they had to develop to show the monitors ‘what they want to see during the inspections’. For example, during the interview, one teacher declared:

‘Sometimes when the monitors came, we ask the student to bring the book, and we practice how they should respond to the questions of the monitors’. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Other teacher referred to these strategies as:

‘A way of maintaining a good relationship with the MoE and avoiding getting into trouble’. (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

As well, a teacher declared that they know in advance when the MoE monitors will visit their classroom and they got prepare to display an 'expected school day' (*Male teacher- Case 2*).

During the interviews, teachers' discourses referred to the monitoring as unnecessary and that the mistrust from the MoE monitors was perceived as unfair and abusive. Nevertheless, the declared practice for coping with the accountability system came across like unprofessional and even unethical. As well, during the school visits made for the data gathering that lasted four days in each school, classes were interrupted without reason daily and the school day was called off earlier in both schools at least twice in a week showing a mismanage of the autonomy and discretion that teachers in study hold.

5.2.3 Hierarchical reforms, working conditions and diminish feelings:

This study enquires how teachers' professional identity, working conditions and the reform' characteristics interact to influence the teacher's mediation and responses towards the reform. Findings on this section show the complex interaction of these factors among the teachers' discourse and their agency.

One of the recurrent topics in the survey data was the negative image that the teachers have on the MoE and the reform. According to the survey answers, the teachers do not relate to the drivers of the reform, and they suspect that the MoE is conducting these changes to control them and reduce their autonomy. Teachers declared they believed that these reforms are a trick to fire them and privatise public education. This detachment in the reform entitled the teachers to fight back or ignore the reform in their daily actions. As well, as teachers felt their job security is under threat; they raised political discourses that claimed to defend the public schools and the teacher's interests. These discourses were recurrent among teachers as the data gathering was conducted while the Teachers' Union was calling all public schools to participate in a national strike. Nevertheless, after the strike was called off, the reactivity of teachers against the reform remained high.

Along with these responses, teachers tend to use discourses that show that they mistrust the MoE's judgment and capability. The MoE is mistrusted because teachers perceive that the policies are not implemented in the way they are promoted by the MoE in the media. Also, teachers declared that the MoE has not delivered the offers they made to the schools as part of the reform's implementation program. On the words of the teachers:

'The MoE will tell you that they have improved the secondary education. That is a lie. Do you think this school look like as they say in the policy document or show on TV?' (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

'The promises that the MoE made about this reform were false. They did not keep their word. They said they will give us more training, more laptops'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Teachers also declare they mistrust the MoE because the officials that work on the Ministry do not know the reality of their schools. In that regard, teachers picture the officials that designed the policy as naïve and as white-collar bureaucrats that never leave the capital of Peru. Some quotes on this regard are provided below:

'Here the students walk for hours to get to the school. Now they have to stay until the afternoon without having lunch. They are tired, and the MoE seems to ignore all that'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

'It will be a good thing for this reform that the officials from the MoE come to visit this school. I wish they lived in my shoes at least for some hours'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

The mistrust towards the MoE reinforces the teachers' detachment and lack of faith in the reform. Moreover, it provides them with a reasonable justification to resist the changes and to trick the MoE monitors as the reform is perceived as not fitted for the school context or not worthy to be implemented.

Teachers have also enacted discourses about their working conditions to justify the practices that can picture them as unprofessional. For example, teachers mentioned constraints regarding their salary when they were asked about the way they use the standardised materials. 'You have to invest your private time to adapt the lessons plans. 'The MoE does not pay us to do so'. (*Male teacher- Case 1*).

Low salary is also used as a justification by teachers to explain why they leave classes before the school day finished- 'Is not worth it to work in a school that is in the new secondary education model. We work longer hours and receive the same payment as before'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Teachers also referred constantly to the challenges they face regarding the school's location and the context reality. As well, they feel the MoE did not provide them with training to help them implement the reform or use the standardised materials. As some teachers answered:

'Since I finished my education 5 years ago, I have never had training from the MoE. They do not care about helping us to implement this new model'. (*Male teacher- Case 1*),

'Oh. How I wish the MoE could provide us with some training on the use of the materials! In the private schools, you always receive support as a teacher, but here is not like that. The materials arrive here, and we don't know how to use them. Sometimes, I rather not open the boxes. The MoE spends so much money on those materials, and they end up stored'. (*Female teacher- Case 1*)

'The materials are useful. But there are some things that I don't understand and that I don't know how to implement. I will need more training and guidelines to apply them as the MoE expects me to'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

Under these challenging working conditions, the teachers in the study hold some discourses that show feelings of belittlement regarding their professional identity. Teachers referred that they do not feel recognised, valued or even listened by the MoE. Some quotes from the interviews illustrate these beliefs:

'We do make changes in the lessons plans. We make the materials better to fit our context. But the MoE will not recognise that. For the MoE, we are always going to be less than them'. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

'Only a few people came to this school to listen to what we the teachers had to say'. (*Male teacher- Case 1*)

Teachers' answers reflected the negative valuation of their profession by society. In the words of the interviewed teachers, the low external validation of the teachers' career and profession by society contributes to their feelings of belittlement. The teachers regarding their professional identity and intrinsic motivation:

‘The MoE does not value us. Is not only them. For society, being a teacher is the less important job someone can have’. (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

‘I only have 3 years working here, and I can feel that my colleagues and I are losing our motivation. I feel that we are been abandoned to our luck here’. (*Female teacher- Case1*)

‘My family mocks my salary. They say to me: look at your brothers, they have better jobs than you.’ (*Male teacher- Case 2*)

6. DISCUSSION:

Findings of the study provides an overview of the complex interactions of factors that shape the responses, enacted professionalism and mediation of teachers towards the standardised materials policy designed by the MoE. The Discussion section develops on these complex interactions and its effects on the policy implementation for the case of the Secondary Education reform in Peru. This section is organised on the base of the two main research question of this study:

1. How the teachers respond to and mediate the implementation of the Educational Reform by exerting their agency? And,
2. How the teachers’ professional identity, working conditions and the reforms’ characteristics interact to influence the teacher’s mediation and responses towards the reform?

6.1 The use of agency to mediate the implementation of the Educational reform:

The findings presented in the previous section show that the teachers in the studied schools enacted their agency to mediate the implementation of the standardised material and the Secondary Education reform under contradicting rhetoric. Teachers’ discourses integrated a positive evaluation of the materials with a hard critic towards it. Nevertheless, in practice, they use the material in their classroom: they declared that they instead use their own materials and

adapt the standardised sessions to fit their context and student necessities better. These findings are aligned with the literature of teachers' agency in the context of reform's implementation at early stages (e.g. Schweisfurth, 2002; Berkovich, 2011; Endacott, J. L. et al., 2015). The contradicted rhetoric of the teachers fit into the concept of 'competitive imperatives' defined as 'the situation of teachers founding themselves caught between different version of how they outgh act' (Schweisfurth, 2002 p.63 on Alexander, 1995).

As an effect of these competitive imperatives, teachers' response to the reforms and how they mediate their implementation can come across as incoherent. The responses and strategies of mediation from teachers in the study challenged the current frameworks in this regard. One recurrent framework used in the literature is the typology for teacher's responses provided by Pollard et al. in the PACE study that identified five strategies: 'Compliance, Incorporation, Mediation, Retreatism, and Resistance' (Pollard et al., 1995: p. 100)

Nevertheless, in the case of the teachers in this study, the teachers' responses jump from 'incorporation' discourses and practice to 'resistance' stances without patterns. Moreover, the teachers enacted discourses and practices can shift form 'mediation' to 'retreatism' about the same topic. This 'jumps' prevent the possibility of classify teachers in the study in any of the typologies. This mixed-responses provide a fascinating insight for future research.

Finally, the findings did not show any patterns on the response in regard to the teachers' profiles (age, type of contract, relation to the union, years in the profession) or between the schools with better outcomes in the National Standardized test and the School with the lowest results. This fact also challenges the findings in other similar studies, which found relationships between the responses, profile and conditions of the teachers. (e.g. Ringwalt et al., 2003; Vähäsantanen, K. et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2013; Carlyon, 2016)

6.2 Teachers' professional identity, working conditions and the reforms' characteristics shape the teacher's responses towards the reform:

Findings also demonstrate that teachers in the study see themselves as professionals. In that regard, the reform is perceived as negative as it constrains their autonomy and discretion and harms the teachers' self-evaluation. Teachers' discourses on this matter criticize the accountability and monitoring practices and appeal to the professional judgment as a way to ensure their students' learning outcomes.

Discourses of teachers in the study on this matter are similar to the ones found by other studies in diverse settings (e.g. Schweisfurth, 2002; Van Veen, & Slegers, 2006; Hall & Noyes, 2009; Tang, 2011; Wilkins, 2011; Katsuno, 2012; Lee, 2013; Sisto et. al., 2013; Teleshaliyev, 2013; Masoumpanah & Zarei, 2014; Vähäsantanen, 2015; Endacott et al., 2015). This regularity shows that the challenges on professional identity and professional judgment under the implementation of neoliberal reform are experienced in similar ways by teachers no matter their context. Noticeably, this finding gives this research field an uncommon trend of universalisation in social studies.

The findings also show that teachers in the study have normalised their unprofessional practices like skipping working hours or tricking the accountability systems. Under a context of challenging conditions, unclear demands about the implementation and the mismatch of the reforms design with the classroom reality, the teachers seem to justify these actions. Moreover, the conditions of the reform implementation along with the teachers' detachment from their aims due to the hierarchical character of the policy, provided them with reasonable excuses to doubt, reject and resist the reform. This finding fits into Lipsky's view of detachment of the Street Level Bureaucrats.

According to Lipsky theory, 'when the conditions of work reflect:

1. Chronically inadequate resources relative to the task workers are asked to perform.
2. The demand for services tends to increase to meet the supply.
3. Goal expectations for the agencies in which they work tend to be ambiguous, vague or conflicting.

Street Level Bureaucrats can exert their autonomy and discretion into harmful practices by exerting personal strategies like absenteeism, alienation, apathy' (Lipsky, 1980 p.27). Nevertheless, even when Lipsky's theory provided a framework to understand teacher's agency and professional identity in challenging work conditions, literature that adopt the Street Level Bureaucracy theory to analyse the way autonomy and discretion is challenged by Education Reform tend to assume that the agency of teachers is always positive for the quality of the education services. The case of this study opens a discussion on the teachers' agency under a context of high deprivation and challenged professionalism.

7. CONCLUSIONS:

This research aimed to explore and analyse the responses, enacted professionalism and mediation of teachers towards the standardised materials policy designed by the MoE in the context of the Secondary Education Reform in Peru. The study explored an answer for these two main research questions:

1. How the teachers respond to and mediate the implementation of the Educational Reform by exerting their agency? And,
2. How the teachers' professional identity, working conditions and the reforms' characteristics interact to influence the teacher's mediation and responses towards the reform?

The study findings show that the policy of providing the schools with standardised material and displaying the monitoring systems to ensure their use by the teachers had challenged the teachers' autonomy and discretion and created competitive imperatives that shape the professional response and

mediation of the implementation of the reform. Teachers' agency under the context of the reform is reshaped in all of its dimensions: professional judgement, identity and self-valuation and political stances. Teachers react to this challenges to their agency by exerting unexpected and contradictory responses towards the reform. This general finding fits the conclusions of previous studies on the topic. (e.g. Schweisfurth, 2002; Van Veen, & Slegers, 2006; Hall & Noyes, 2009; Tang, 2011; Wilkins, 2011; Katsuno, 2012; Lee, 2013; Sisto et. al., 2013; Teleshaliyev, 2013; Masoumpanah & Zarei, 2014; Vähäsantanen, 2015; Endacott et al., 2015).

Likewise, in the cases under this study, the reform reinforces the use of negative personal strategies like absenteeism, alienation and apathy, pointed out as a harmful way to way to the exercise of the autonomy and discretion by Lipsky's Street Level Bureaucrats theory. (Lipsky, 1980) This scales due to the harsh working conditions faced by teachers in the study and the unprofessional practices they cope with as part of their challenging professional identity,

Teachers agency under this context feed the discourses about teachers' deprofessionalization in Peru, creating a vicious circle between the mistrust of teachers' professional judgment on the MoE discourse and the reinforce of a challenging teachers' identity. Teachers react to the mistrust of their criteria by reinforcing their own understanding of professionalism, justifying their unprofessional practices, blaming the MoE for the conditions of the education quality and picture themselves as outcast. When teachers excerpt this challenging agency, they respond by a complex combination of 'compliance - resistance' and 'mediation - retreatism' strategies (Pollard et al., 1995). This erratic mediation along with the harmful way to the exercise of the autonomy and discretion reshape the policy intention and when the reform reaches the classroom terrain made little difference the quality of the education services. Further studies on teachers' agency and their mediation to the Education Reform in contexts on the South will provide a deeper understanding of the challenges of the policy implementation in countries like Peru, that hopefully, will lead to reshape the policy strategies, ensuring quality and equity in the Compulsory Education.

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9. APPENDICES:

Teachers' survey

Title of Project: Enquiring Teachers' responses to the standardized classroom materials and lesson plans implemented as part of the educational reform of Secondary Education in Peru

Name of Researcher: Angela M. Bravo Chacon

1. General information about the Questionnaire:

Number of questions: 28 questions

Time length: 25-30 minutes

Type of questionnaire: Survey

Type of Interview: Self applied

To be completed by the researcher:

Date:	/ /2018	Place of occurrence:	
Beginning hour:	:	Ending hour:	:

2. Personal information:

Please complete the information below filling the blank spaces with your personal information.

2.1 Age: _____ years old	2.2 Gender:	2.3 Place of birth:
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3 About your Teaching background:

This section is about your teacher's background in relation to your training, experience, and current contracting conditions. Please cross an X on the boxes when it corresponds.

I. Teacher's training background:

3.1 Where did you study to become a teacher?	<input type="checkbox"/> At a University. <input type="checkbox"/> At a Pedagogical Institute.
3.2 How many years ago did you finished your teacher's degree	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 years or less. <input type="checkbox"/> 10 years or less. <input type="checkbox"/> 15 years or less. <input type="checkbox"/> 20 years or less. <input type="checkbox"/> More than 20 years ago.
3.2 Which is the highest degree you hold?	<input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor degree. <input type="checkbox"/> Master degree. <input type="checkbox"/> PhD degree.

3.3 Have you received any of the following trainings in the past 3 years? Mark all the options that apply for your case	<input type="checkbox"/> Short training by MoE. <input type="checkbox"/> Long program by MoE. <input type="checkbox"/> Self-funding Update course. <input type="checkbox"/> Non-profit training. <input type="checkbox"/> Local government training. <input type="checkbox"/> None training in the past 3 years.
3.4 If you can choose, which of the following training programs would you like to attend in this year? Mark only your top 3 priorities.	<input type="checkbox"/> Curriculum & Lesson Planning. <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching methods update. <input type="checkbox"/> Classroom management. <input type="checkbox"/> Teenager's wellbeing & coaching. <input type="checkbox"/> Preparation for the National Career Exam. <input type="checkbox"/> Formative Assessment.

II. Current Teaching position:

this section is about your current job. Please cross an X on the boxes when it corresponds and write on the white boxes when the question requires a written answer.

3.5 Under what contract model are you hired now?	<input type="checkbox"/> Permanent contract. <input type="checkbox"/> Temporal contract.	
3.6 Which payment scale are you currently in? (Only for permanent contract teachers)	<input type="checkbox"/> Scale I <input type="checkbox"/> Scale II <input type="checkbox"/> Scale III <input type="checkbox"/> Scale IV	<input type="checkbox"/> Scale V <input type="checkbox"/> Scale VI <input type="checkbox"/> Scale V <input type="checkbox"/> Scale VI
3.7 How many years have you been teaching in this school?	----- years.	
3.8 Do you participate on the Teachers Union?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes. I am an active participant. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, but only occasionally. <input type="checkbox"/> No, but support some actions and agendas that are align with mine. <input type="checkbox"/> No, I don't participate at all.	
3.9 How do you feel about your current job position?	<input type="checkbox"/> Highly satisfied and motivated. <input type="checkbox"/> Satisfied and hopeful. <input type="checkbox"/> Comfortable but hoping for changes. <input type="checkbox"/> Uncomfortable but doing an effort. <input type="checkbox"/> Highly dissatisfied.	
3.10 Witch of the following factors explains your previous answer? (Mark as many options as you want)	<input type="checkbox"/> School environment. <input type="checkbox"/> Work conditions. <input type="checkbox"/> School location. <input type="checkbox"/> Salary conditions. <input type="checkbox"/> Students' motivation. <input type="checkbox"/> MoE pressures.	

	<input type="checkbox"/> Changes in the way I felt about been a teacher. <input type="checkbox"/> Other. (Please provide some detail below)
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4 Changes introduced by the “Extended school day program (JEC)”

This section explores how your practice was or is impacted by the introduction of the reform in Secondary Education, especially in relation to your teaching practices. Please mark the box with and X or write down your answers on the blank spaces when it corresponds.

<p>4.1 In regard to your working hours, do you believe that since the JEC began...?</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> I work the same hours than I did before. <input type="checkbox"/> I work more hours because I fell motivated and there are better working conditions (e.g payment, social recognition, student’s motivation is better). <input type="checkbox"/> I work more hours but I fell forced to do so. (e.g more supervision, principal’s expectation, MoE involvement). <input type="checkbox"/> I work less hours since the JEC began.
<p>4.2 In regard to the level of accountability and influence of the MoE, do you believe that since the JEC began...?</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> There are no changes in the accountability we had as teachers or the level of influence of the MoE in our work. <input type="checkbox"/> There are changes in accountability and influence of MoE but they are positive and help me do my work and perform better. <input type="checkbox"/> There are changes in accountability and influence of the MoE and I found them negative to my work and performance.
<p>4.3 In regard to the effort you put into doing your job, do you believe that since the JEC began...?</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> I put the same effort in my job than I did before JEC. No changes since JEC. <input type="checkbox"/> I fell forced to put more effort in my job than before. <input type="checkbox"/> I fell my motivation has decrease since the JEC began.

4.4 In overall, since the JEC began do you believe your job has....	<input type="checkbox"/> Changed for better. <input type="checkbox"/> Has not changed at all. <input type="checkbox"/> Changed for worse.
4.5 Could you please provide some examples or explanations for the previous response?	

5 Opinions regarding the standardized materials policy:

This section explores about your opinions on the decision of MoE of provide teacher's with standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents. Please mark the box with and X or write down your answers on the blank spaces when it corresponds.

5.1 What is your general opinion about the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents?	<input type="checkbox"/> They are a good material that helps teachers to do a better job. <input type="checkbox"/> They are a good input for improving my planning and teaching practice. <input type="checkbox"/> They reduce teachers' autonomy to decide over how to teach the curriculum <input type="checkbox"/> Other opinion. In case you have chosen this option please provide some details on your response here:
5.2 How do you relate with the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents? (Mark as many options as you want)	<input type="checkbox"/> I use them in most of my classes because I fell they are good. <input type="checkbox"/> I promote the use of the lesson plans among my colleges <input type="checkbox"/> I use them in most of my classes because the principal/local supervisor/MoE forces me to do it. <input type="checkbox"/> I have used them in some classes when I feel like they are useful. <input type="checkbox"/> I use them as an input for my own lesson plans. <input type="checkbox"/> I have never used them because I believe they are not useful.

	<input type="checkbox"/> I didn't know about these materials.
5.3 Do you feel entitled to not use or modified the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents if is needed?	<input type="checkbox"/> I feel I should apply them without changes to not get in trouble. <input type="checkbox"/> I feel entitle to make some changes when I see is needed. <input type="checkbox"/> I feel entitle to used them as a reference or for some classes when they are appropriate. <input type="checkbox"/> I feel entitle to not used them at all because they interfere with my teaching practice and stile.
5.4 Do you believe the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents fit your classroom reality?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always. <input type="checkbox"/> Most of the time. <input type="checkbox"/> Never.
5.5 What are the perks of the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents? (Mark as many options as you want to represent your opinions)	<input type="checkbox"/> They are a good example to improve my planning and teaching abilities. <input type="checkbox"/> They help me understand how to teach the new Curriculum. <input type="checkbox"/> They reduce my workload because I don't need to plan my documents anymore. <input type="checkbox"/> They help to ensure all teachers do the same effort. <input type="checkbox"/> They are well designed and fit different realities. <input type="checkbox"/> They are well designed and are easy to adapt them to my context. <input type="checkbox"/> I don't think they have any perk.
5.6 What are the pitfalls and risks of the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents? (Mark as many options as you want to represent your opinions)	<input type="checkbox"/> They reduce my professional autonomy and reduce my discretion over what to do in my classroom. <input type="checkbox"/> They give the MoE power and control over the teachers' work. <input type="checkbox"/> They can't be adapted, so they are not useful for my context.

	<input type="checkbox"/> Is not possible to have the same lesson plan for every school in the country, this crush with some pedagogical principles as the situated learning. <input type="checkbox"/> When monitors came to schools they expect us to be doing the MoE lesson plan even when is not appropriated for my classroom.
5.7 Why do you think the MoE decided to provide teachers with these materials? (Mark as many options as you want to represent your opinions)	<input type="checkbox"/> To help teachers by reducing their work load. <input type="checkbox"/> To make some references and examples of how we should teach the new Curriculum. <input type="checkbox"/> To control what teachers, do in classroom because they don't trust us. <input type="checkbox"/> To ensure the same quality of learning for every student in the country. <input type="checkbox"/> Because people that works in the MoE does not understand classroom reality. <input type="checkbox"/> Other opinion. In case you have chosen this option please provide some details on your response here:

End of the Questionnaire

Questionnaire for Teachers' interviews

Title of Project: Enquiring Teachers' responses to the standardized classroom materials and lesson plans implemented as part of the educational reform of Secondary Education in Peru

Name of Researcher: Angela M. Bravo Chacon

3. General information about the Questionnaire:

Time length: 30:00 minutes

Type of questionnaire: Semi-structure Interview **Type of Interview:** Face to face and individual application

To be completed by the researcher:

Date:	/ /2018	Place of occurrence:	
Beginning hour:	:	Ending hour:	:

4. Personal information:

2.1 Age: _____ years old	2.2 Gender:	2.3 Place of birth:
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3 Personal background and motivations:

3.1 In your survey response you declared you have _____ years teaching at this school. Can I ask why did you decided to become a teacher here and in general?

3.2 Do you feel that teacher's profession had change in the past years? If YES, can you explain how it does had changed?

3.3 Do you feel your relation with the Ministry of Education has changed also? How do you feel about the way policies for secondary education had been done in the past 3 years?

4 Enquire about details on the survey responses for the following questions: *(Questions asked to each teacher will be decided after survey first overall review but focus will be put into the following ones)*

At the question	3.9 of the survey: How do you feel about your current job position?	you responded	Can you please tell me a little more about why do you feel this way?	-Does this opinion on your job have been influenced by the JEC implementation? If so, in which ways?
	4.3 In regard to your professional autonomy and professional criteria		Can you please tell me a little more about why do you feel this way?	-Can you provide some examples on how your autonomy/discretion has been challenged or reduced? -Do you feel you have any power to change, cope or modified the situations when this occurs? Why?
	5.2 How do you relate with the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents?		Can you develop your response on further detail?	Can you provide examples on the way you related to the sessions? Do you related to them in the same way when you teach your main class than when you teach an additional class like art or English? If not, how and why the way you relate to the material changes?
	5.3 Do you feel entitled to not use or modified the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents if is needed.		Can you develop your response on further detail?	-In case your principal or a MoE supervisor ask you to account for this use of your discretionarily, How do you react? -Do you feel you have any power to change, cope or modified the situations when this occurs? Why? -Have you ever use the lesson plan just to not get into trouble? If so please explain the situation.
	5.4 Do you believe the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents fit your classroom reality?		-Can you provide examples for your answer?	
	5.5 What are the perks of the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents?		Can you develop your response on further detail?	

	5.6 What are the pitfalls and risks of the standardized lesson plans and annual planning documents?		Can you develop your response on further detail?	
	5.7 Why do you think the MoE decided to provide teachers with these materials?		Can you please tell me a little more about why do you feel this way?	

End of the Questionnaire

Questionnaire for Structured interviews with Officials from the Ministry of Education of Peru

Title of Project: Enquiring Teachers' responses to the standardized classroom materials and lesson plans implemented as part of the educational reform of Secondary Education in Peru

Name of Researcher: Angela M. Bravo Chacon

5. General information about the Questionnaire:

Number of questions: 23 questions

Time length: 30:00 minutes

Type of questionnaire: Structure interview
interview

Type of Interview: Face to face and individual

Date:	/ /2018	Place of occurrence:	
Beginning hour:	:	Ending hour:	:

6. Official's information:

2.1 Given and Last names:			
2.2 Age:	2.3 Occupation:	2.4 Position at MoE:	
2.5 Currently working at MoE: <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO	2.6 Time of service in the position:	2.7 Current position or job: <i>Just for NO responses at 2.5 question:</i>	

7. Position at the MOE and relation to the standardized materials policy:

3.1 Regarding your position at the MoE, could you share the main responsibilities and chores that your job involved?

3.2 In 2015, the "Extended schools' day program in Secondary Education" was launched by the MoE. Could you share your role and responsibilities during the design and implementation of the program?

3.3 One of the components of the "Extended schools' day program in Secondary Education" is a Pedagogical dimension. Could you share the main changes and innovations that the component included?

8. Rationale and Aims of the Standardized Lesson Plans and classroom materials:

4.1 (*In case was not mentioned before bring up that...*) The Pedagogical component included a series of lessons plans and annual planning materials available for teachers in a web site since 2015. Can you explain the objectives of developing these materials?

Why these materials were needed in the moment that they were design and launched? Do respond to any identified risk, problem or limitation?

4.2 Could you please share how the decision of designing these materials was made and comment on your role during this process?

5. Teacher's involvement and consultation for the Standardized Lesson Plans and classroom materials:

5.1 How was the process of the design of the materials? Could you share a little about the timelines, main chores and validations tasks?

5.2 Can you share about the professionals involved on this process? Who was in charge of doing the materials? What was your role during this process?

5.3 Do the teachers for whom these materials were designed for take part of any part of the design process?

5.4 After 3 years of the materials were launched, Are there any evaluation of the quality and propriety of the materials? During this time has been any modification or changes to reply to users' comments or concerns?

6. Expected use and reaction to the Standardized Lesson Plans and classroom materials by Teachers

6.1 Could you please describe how is the ideal way in which teachers should use and relate to the material?

6.2 Lesson planning and decision about the distribution of the Curricula and teaching methods are key components of the professional role of teachers. In that context, what kind of reaction among teachers did you anticipated when the materials were launched? What kind of reactions do you perceive when teachers talk to you about the materials?

7. Perceived perks and pitfalls of the Standardized Lesson Plans and classroom materials

7.1 Materials are very popular among teachers, and they have millions of downloads from the web site. Why do you think this happened? What are the perks of having these materials available for teachers?

7.2 Can you think about any risk or unwanted situation these materials can generated among teachers? Are there ways in these materials could affect teacher's performance or teacher's professionalism?

7.3

7.4 Are teachers accountable for the use of the material? If yes, to whom? (Reinforce that they are part of the National Monitoring program)

7.5 In your opinion, how the standardized materials policy should look like in the future? (Enquire about continuity, complementary policies, changes in the current provided materials, aims or objectives)

End of questionnaire

