

**Trust, capacity and accountability as conditions for education system improvement;
The case of South Africa**

Working document, do not cite without permission (m.ehren@ucl.ac.uk)

February 2018

M. Ehren, J. Baxter, A. Paterson

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	2
2. South Africa: the context	4
2.1 Roles and responsibilities of main actors.....	5
2.2 Post-apartheid policy, performance and two segregated systems	6
2.3 Causes of poor performance	7
3. Conceptual framework.....	11
3.1 Trust.....	11
3.2 Distrust.....	13
3.3 Capacity	14
3.4 Accountability.....	15
4. Methodology: systematic literature review	18
5. Findings: trust, capacity and accountability to improve learning outcomes	20
5.1 Trust and accountability.....	20
5.2 Trust and capacity	22
5.3 Distrust and capacity.....	24
5.4 Accountability and capacity.....	25
5.5 Trust, accountability and capacity: macro-level perspectives.....	27
5.5.1 Inequality	28
5.5.2 Capacity and system wide corruption	28
6. Conclusion and discussion	31
References.....	35
Appendix 1. Sources for phase 1 of the literature review	64

1. Introduction

South Africa has a long history of oppression and apartheid that has led to great inequalities. Despite its classification as an upper-middle income country, learning outcomes are generally poor. Only the top 16% of South African Grade 3 children are performing at an appropriate Grade 3 level, while the learning gap between the poorest 60% of students and the wealthiest 20% of students is approximately three Grade-levels in Grade 3, growing to four Grade-levels by Grade 9 (World Bank, 2008; Spaull and Kotze, 2015). Almost three decades after the fall of apartheid, the systematic racial segregation practiced under apartheid, in conjunction with an overtly white supremacist ideology still has a profound impact on South Africa's society as well as its education system (Spaull, 2012). Resources and capital are distributed unevenly across schools, according to Van der Berg (2011), Spaull (2012), and Finn et al (2014), and unequal resourcing contributes to a dualistic education system with large performance gaps related to wealth, socio-economic status, geographic location and language of students.

Accountability, trust and capacity play a key role in this divide and in whether and how key stakeholders address failure and inequalities. Spaull (2001) for example, explains how the national, provincial and local levels of government are not held accountable for their use of public resources, and how there are few (if any) tangible consequences for non-performance. The systematic review by Eddy Spicer, Ehren et al (2016) also describes a gap in accountability relationships between principals, school governing bodies and provincial authorities in South Africa: principals are part of school governing bodies which have acquired significant powers since decentralisation in 1996, but they are not held accountable for their performance by other members of these bodies (parents and teachers), nor by provincial authorities. Due to the fact that provincial authorities have no power to appoint or dismiss principals, there are limited incentives in place to improve school leadership (Nusche et al, 2013). Several authors (e.g. Spaull, 2015; Nusche et al, 2013) also report limited teacher accountability as, for example, school-based registers of teachers' attendance are not checked and national government fails to sanction teachers who are often absent.

Furthermore, the overall lack of trust in South Africa's education system prevents constructive collaboration between key stakeholders and causes teachers and principals to be wary of any kind of accountability intervention. This is, according to Heystek (2006) felt acutely both within governance arrangements for schools and more broadly through the lack of trust between principals, teachers, governing bodies and the district and area office. This lack of trust is also reflected through the actions of strong teacher unions, which have historically resisted the implementation of imposed accountability mechanisms (Spaull, 2014)

Lack of trust and accountability is however only part of the problem. As Eddy Spicer, Ehren et al (2016), Spaull (2015) and Bruns et al (2011) emphasize, capacity to improve education precedes accountability for such improvement. Teachers, principals and district managers cannot act on accountability measures if they lack the human capital (knowledge, skills), technical capital (financial and material resources) or social capital (relations and networks to distribute information and resources) to act on information and improve learning outcomes. Examples from South Africa are multifarious, ranging from limited capacity of district subject advisors to support schools to a lack of teacher knowledge (see Van der Berg et al, 2016).

The persistence of inequalities in the education system suggests that capacity, trust and accountability are particularly problematic for the poorest schools and also closely linked to broader cultural, social, economic and political dynamics in South Africa. A good understanding of the interaction between the three variables is needed to come up with effective solutions to improve learning outcomes. This paper therefore presents the findings from a systematic literature review to understand how accountability, trust

and capacity intersect in a failure to improve learning outcomes, particularly of the most disadvantaged children. The section below presents our initial framework before describing the methodology of the study and the findings from the review. We start with a brief description of the South African education system to understand key relations in the system and areas that need to be improved.

2. South Africa: the context

Apartheid was the system of government in South Africa, up until 1994. Under apartheid, people were separated on the basis of four racial groups: White, Black, Indian and Coloureds (or people of mixed race, or non-Whites who did not fit into the other non-White categories). Black people had to live in 'Homelands' (areas to which the majority of the Blacks population was moved to prevent them from living in the White urban areas of South Africa) and a separate school system was created for each of the four racial groups. Each of these systems had its own administration with large inequalities in teacher qualifications, teacher-pupil ratios, per capita funding, buildings, equipment, facilities, books, stationery, and also in the proportions and levels of certificates awarded¹. White' schools were far better resourced and supported than any of the others. Under apartheid, education was one of the main means to oppress people, such as through the prescription of an impoverished curriculum of rote learning and examination criteria and procedures which were instrumental in promoting the political perspectives of those in power. Teachers were allowed very little latitude to determine standards or to interpret the work of their students. A network of inspectors and subject advisors on the one hand, and their poor qualifications on the other hand ensured their subjugation to White ruling.

After the abolishment of the apartheid regime in 1994 and the constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1996, the schooling system was considered to be one of the key reform areas and one of the main building blocks towards a well-functioning democracy. The South African Schools Act for example aimed to establish a uniform system for the governance and funding of schools, recognizing that a new national system for schools is needed to redress past injustices, supporting the rights of learners, educators and parents and setting out the duties and responsibilities of the State². However, a lack of capacity in government has featured consistently in policy debates, both in expressing concerns about ensuring high quality education for all, as well as in public services more widely. For instance, in 2008 Thabo Mbeki observed: "I am aware of the fact that many in our society are troubled by a deep sense of unease about where our country will be tomorrow. They are worried about whether we have the capacity to defend the democratic rights and the democratic Constitution which were born of enormous sacrifices"³. His statement acknowledged widespread concern among citizens regarding service delivery, including education, which remains to the present day.

Questions of accountability, trust and capacity are inherent in each phase of national development planning after Apartheid which can be characterized by the following phases:

1994: the Reconstruction and Development Program (RSA,1994⁴) under Mandela, aimed at achieving poverty alleviation and a stronger economy was more redistributive than subsequent plans.

1996: the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (RSA,1996b⁵) macro-economic framework under Mbeki oriented towards a more neo-liberal paradigm, and

2012: the National Development Plan; a vision for 2030⁶, influenced by the concept of the developmental state that was inaugurated under the Zuma administration with limited implementation against a backdrop of limited economic growth and deepening social and economic inequality.

¹ <http://newlearningonline.com/new-learning/chapter-5/apartheid-education>

² https://ossafrica.com/esst/index.php?title=Summary_of_the_South_African_Schools_Act%2C_no._84_of_1996

³ President Thabo Mbeki (2008) State of the Nation Address, 8 February

⁴ Republic of South Africa (RSA). 1994. RDP White Paper: Discussion Document, Cape Town, CTP Book Printers

⁵ Republic of South Africa (RSA). 1996b. Growth, Employment and Redistribution, A Macroeconomic Strategy. Pretoria, Government Printer, June

⁶ National Planning Commission, 2011: National Development Plan: Vision for 2030. Pretoria: National Planning Commission.

The present context bears the historical influence of past national plans and their levels of implementation, as well as of the past Apartheid regime and ongoing effects of globalisation and neo-liberalism on the South African economy. An understanding of this broader context of reform of South Africa's society is important as interactions between role players in education are framed by the country's constitution, shaped by successive national development plans and impacted by the political exigencies of the day. Below we will further detail the present state of the education system, starting with a description of the main actors in South Africa's education system: the National Department of Education, the Provincial Districts of Education, District offices, School Governing bodies, School Management teams, teachers (and their teacher unions), learners and parents.

2.1 Roles and responsibilities of main actors

Døssing et al (2011, p.17-24) explain how the Department of Education is responsible for determining policies, implementing education strategies and monitoring and evaluating the delivery of education by the nine provincial departments of education. The South African Schools Act 1996 states that the department is also responsible for defining the norms and standards for education planning, provision, governance monitoring and evaluation, which are implemented by provincial departments. These departments are required to allocate part of their funding to meet national policy, but have discretion over deciding on the proportion of their budgets they will spend on national or more local priorities. Provincial departments redistribute funding to districts, based on the number of schools and students in their area. Provinces are also responsible for teacher allocation and redeployment; each province has its own formula for calculating the quota of teachers to which each school is entitled; teachers above the quota are placed on a redeployment list. In some cases, school governing bodies appoint teachers and pay them out of their own school budget (particularly in wealthy schools) (Lemon, 2004).

Decision-making powers of provincial departments of education are further devolved to district and regional offices and to elected school governing bodies responsible for school governance. District offices are primarily responsible for the administrative, professional and managerial support of schools (Padayachee et al, 2015). For this purpose, district subject advisors are expected to visit schools to monitor and support schools in complying with (national and provincial) policy and in their curriculum provision. According to Van der Berg et al (2011), districts however tend to fulfil almost exclusively a monitoring role and are often ineffective at providing support to schools.

School governing bodies were introduced as a result of the South African Schools Act in 1996⁷ with the purpose of spreading democracy in schools and into the wider society (Adams and Waghid, 2003; Mncube, 2007). The mandate of the school governing body is to determine the admission policy, appoint staff and determine the school budget and fees. In primary schools, schools governing bodies are comprised of representative educators, non-teaching staff and parents. The school principal is an ex-officio member and does not have voting rights; parents should constitute the highest number of members. School governing bodies can also include additional external members who advise the board on specific areas of expertise. School governing bodies are (within restrictions set by national legislation) in

⁷ Jenni Karlsson (2002) The Role of Democratic Governing Bodies in South African Schools Comparative Education Vol. 38, No. 3, Special Number (25): Democracy and Authoritarianism in Education (Aug., 2002), pp. 327-336; Tony Bush & Jan Heystek (2003) School Governance in the New South Africa Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education Volume 33, 2003 - Issue 2

charge of the school's admission policy, the language policy of the school, issuing rules for conducting religious observances at the school, adopting a code of conduct for students, recommending the appointment of school staff to provincial departments, deciding on school fees (in schools in quintile 4 and 5), and preparing the annual budget (Beckman, 2002).

The effective functioning of these bodies is, however, constrained by a lack of capacity amongst parents, particularly in poor communities (Van der Berg et al, 2011). According to Bush and Heystek (2003), Mestry and Khumalo (2012) and Ngidi (2004), many parents in these communities are functionally illiterate and ill-equipped to fulfil a policymaking role on the school governing body. Parents are also often removed from the day-to-day operations of the school and do not feel empowered to, for example, engage with disciplinary problems in the school or participate in designing and enforcing an effective code of conduct. Many parents are also excluded from participating on school governing bodies due to a lack of time, lack of confidence, transport problems, poor communication of information, for some, a language barrier, lack of training which results in lack of knowledge of the Act and roles and responsibilities, and a high turnover rate of parent governors who have to leave the school governing body as soon as their child leaves the school. (Mncube, 2007). Bush and Heystek (2003) also point to highly conflictual relationships between management, teachers, students and parents in many schools, and a lack of respect and cooperation among these stakeholder groups. Such conflicting relations also extend to the state. According to Clase et al (2007), the Department for Education and school governing bodies have been in conflict for years over who has the final say in the management of public schools and a number of school governing bodies have actively resisted to adopt proposed changes and reforms in the education system.

School governing bodies delegate the overall management of the school to the school management team which has the formal responsibility for organising and administering all learning and teaching activities, including managing staff, planning the curriculum, and assessing the performance of learners and educators. School management teams usually comprise heads of departments, the deputy principal and the principal, where the principal of the school is entrusted with day-to-day management (e.g. implementing educational programmes and curriculum activities, management of staff and learning and teaching support materials, and safe-keeping records). According to Van der Berg et al (2011), principals however often do not spend the majority of their time on aspects of instructional leadership but rather on administrative duties and learner discipline.

2.2 Post-apartheid policy, performance and two segregated systems

The South African post-1994 education dispensation set out an ideal-type vision for a new system of equal quality for all and introduced a series of reforms to improve learning outcomes across the country. These policies and reforms aimed to end a long history of Apartheid in which education was mainly used as an instrument of political subjugation and oppression of black people in racially segregated schools (Spaull, 2013). Wills (2016) explains how the provision of unequal education to race groups was a policy mechanism instituted to suppress the black population; black people purposefully received an inferior education with a distinct curriculum offer, and black teachers were controlled through close monitoring and surveillance by (white) inspectors and subject advisors. White teachers were, on the other hand, consulted on the design and implementation of curricula and had a large degree of autonomy in their work with mostly professional control. The former system of 'homelands' (independent territorial and administrative units) under the apartheid regime has largely determined the current geographic configuration of the country with unequal access to high quality schooling in many areas, particularly affecting black children. Former white schools generally achieve the best results in the system, while former African 'homeland' schools still, in general suffer the worst results. Post-apartheid reforms and policies, such as the introduction of one national curriculum and devolving power to school governing bodies, aimed to address these deep historical inequalities, but neither policy –nor implementation - managed to do so successfully, according to Moloji (2014).

The current dualist distribution of student performance indicates that South Africa effectively consists of two differently functioning sub-systems (Fleisch, 2008, Van der Berg, 2008, Taylor and Yu, 2009; Spaull, 2013). Taylor (2011) and Spaull (2013) show how the majority of, mainly black and coloured students are located in the historically disadvantaged system (schools in quintile 1-3 out of five quintiles), particularly children in rural areas and townships as well as children who have an African home language. These children would often be concentrated in the poorest school quintiles in Limpopo, the North West and Mpumalanga (prePirls, 2011). Learners in these schools typically demonstrate low proficiency in reading, writing and numeracy, experience high teacher absence, receive little homework, are likely to repeat grades, have no textbooks and don't speak English (the instructional language) at home. Most of these children are not able to read for meaning by the end of grade 4, according to Van der Berg et al (2016). As the entire curriculum is taught in English from grade 5 onwards, this poses a real problem for children as they cannot engage with the curriculum and will develop further learning gaps across all subjects.

The second sub-system consists mostly of schools that historically served white children and produces educational achievement closer to the norms of developed countries (schools in quintile 4 and 5, particularly in the Western Cape and Gauteng). This second system serves mainly white and Indian children, although black and coloured middle-class children are increasingly migrating to these schools, indicating that class is displacing race as the critical factor in the determination of the composition of South Africa's schools.

According to Taylor and Yu (2009), the wide inequality in achievement across different socio-economic groups seems more deterministic than in other countries, suggesting that socio-economic status plays an exceptionally strong role in determining educational achievements in South Africa. The effects of socio-economic status are, according to Taylor and Yu (2009) and Smith (2011) intensified through schools as disadvantaged students not only have to contend with poorer schooling conditions (e.g. higher teacher-pupil ratios, lack of materials and less qualified teachers), but also with a lack of general well-being (e.g. malnutrition, insecure living environment), which is reinforced by peers who face similar conditions.

2.3 Causes of poor performance

Poor learning outcomes are caused by a series of, what Van der Berg et al (2016) call 'binding constraints', which are:

Weak institutional functionality

Weak institutional functionality and capacity is one of the main causes of poor learning outcomes, according to Van der Berg et al (2016), and a binding constraint that manifests itself at all administrative levels. Moloï (2014) and Døssing et al (2011) report provincial failure to deliver allocated budgets to schools, particularly to poorer non-fee-paying schools, inadequate implementation and enforcement of rules and regulation at district and school level, embezzlement of funds at the provincial level (in procurement of textbooks, remunerating staff and constructing school buildings), and a lack of capacity at the district level to monitor and support schools (e.g. through visits of subject advisors). On the school level, school governing bodies are not functioning properly in setting and monitoring the implementation of school policies due to low levels of participation of parents, limited knowledge/appreciation of their roles and responsibilities (e.g. in financial management) and a power imbalance between parents and school staff representatives on the body.

Schools, particularly in rural areas, face huge infrastructural problems, according to Moloï (2014). The 2006 National Education Infrastructure Management study (NEIMS; Department of Education, 2007) for example showed that 6% of schools had no toilets, 17% were without electricity, 12.6% had no water supply and 68% had no computers (Reviews of National Policies on Education in South Africa, 2008, p. 22). A lack of textbooks and high teacher absence (sometimes also due to poor and unsafe working

conditions, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis), sexual harassment of learners, and misuse of school funds are further causes of ineffective schools (Moloi, 2014; Døssing et al, 2011).

A particular concern in mobilizing capacity for school improvement is the implementation of regulations on school fees and examples of corruption and nepotism. Nordstrum (2012) explains how, in 2006, norms were amended to increase the number of tuition fee free schools and increase access to schooling for the poorest households. Under the amended norms, schools are ranked and categorized nationally in quintiles (from 1 to 5, where 1 is the poorest and 5 the wealthiest), and more expenditure is reallocated to the poorest schools and the poorest provinces. In 2007, schools in quintiles 1 and 2 were classified as 'no-fee' schools and schools in quintile 3 joined the no-fee register in 2009. Wealthier schools in quintiles 4 and 5 retained their fee-levying abilities. In these schools, the school governing body is tasked with deciding the school fee policy, reflecting the choice of the entire school community through democratic processes. School governing bodies in the wealthiest fourth and fifth quintile have however been found to set high fees, without making exemptions for poor children to limit access of these children, effectively reinforcing the duality of, and inequality within the system (Nordstrum, 2012; Moloi, 2014). Overall there is also a mismatch in how schools are funded and the resources they actually need as state funding does not match the level of (previous obligatory) school fees. The allocation of schools to quintiles also does not reflect the actual level of deprivation of children in the school as the indicator is based on catchment area, rather than actual school choice. As a result, some schools effectively lost funding after the abolishment of school fees (particularly those in Q1 to Q3).

Weak institutional functionality also manifests itself in corruption and nepotism. A number of studies (Van der Berg, 2006; Serfontein and De Waal, 2015; Pillay, 2004; Døssing et al, 2011; Habtemichael and Cloete, 2010), raise concerns over the role of school governing bodies, school principals and districts in the use and allocation of resources and appointment of key staff. Examples are given of principals' channelling state funds to their personal accounts, and abusing their power to conceal such corrupt acts, funds being misused or misappropriated, learners who are bribed to do favours in exchange for better marks, nepotism in staff appointments, selling of exam papers, and theft of goods and corruption in procurement. According to Sweeney et al (2013), corruption is limited at the higher levels of administration but more serious governance and performance deficits exist further down the chain, most notably at the school level. The 2015 report of Corruption Watch for example shows that a third of the reported cases of corruption implicated principals in financial mismanagement, such as in theft of school funds and goods (e.g. of food provided as part of the government feeding schemes), in tender corruption, and in employment corruption. Døssing et al (2011) also give examples of how corruption (e.g. of school governing bodies) has caused problems in the construction or improvement of school buildings (e.g. in expanding sites or building fences to improve safety). In-depth investigation of a small number of cases by Corruption Watch suggests that there are no consequences against principals found guilty of corruption as they continued to have access to school funds; penalties only involved transfer to another school. A review (see Nordstrum, 2012) also uncovered that 25% of total fee revenue in schools stemmed from 'hidden fees' demanded in an ad hoc manner and 15% of schools did not comply with the official fee exemption policies.

The influence of teacher unions

Teachers' unions in South Africa have played an important role in the transformation to a democratic country and in ending apartheid in education. In the early 90's, trade union involvement helped establish a more equitable salary structure for teachers, according to Wills (2016), equalising salary scales that had disproportionately favoured white and male educators and securing wider participation in discussions on reforms. Currently, teacher unions still have considerable influence over national policy decisions in education (Wills, 2016; Van der Berg et al, 2016). Their role largely focuses on pursuing better working conditions for teachers, higher wages and the strengthening of political power, rather than the professional development of teachers or the educational interest of children (Van der Berg, 2011). Almost all teachers

in South Africa belong to organised and politically powerful teacher unions, enabling them to speak with one voice and command considerable political influence (Spaull, 2015, p.135). According to Van der Berg et al (2011), unions have great influence over teachers' wage stipulations and wage structure and they have effectively blocked any performance-related pay or accountability requirements. Various authors (e.g. Døssing et al, 2011; Carnoy et al. 2012; Moloi, 2014; Van der Berg et al, 2016) also explain how teacher unions are highly influential in the appointment of administrators at the district, provincial and national level where they have tried to ensure that provinces appoint teachers who are union members. Unionization however varies across the country; SADTU (the South African Democratic Teachers' Union) is strongest in Limpopo, and NAPTOSA (the National Professional Teachers' Association of South Africa) is the largest union in the Western Cape and Gauteng. Across the country, SADTU is however the dominant union and also the most political. According to Wills (2016), their organisational structure facilitates an on-site presence across almost all school districts and the majority of schools; an influence that is used in strike action to intimidate schools that remain open or teachers and principals that resist industrial action.

Weak teacher content knowledge and pedagogical skill

Weak teacher content knowledge and skills is another binding constraint, according to Van der Berg et al (2016). Venkat and Spaull's (2015) analysis of SACMEQ 2007 data shows that 79% of grade 6 mathematics teachers had a content knowledge level below the grade 6/7 level, i.e. below the level they were teaching. These teachers are highly concentrated in the poorest four quintiles of schools. Smith (2011) also points to an intergenerational legacy of the Apartheid regime which has caused a great proportion of teachers in the current system to have a poor foundation of knowledge and mastery of basic subjects. The current teacher workforce has not had a high-quality teacher training and does not have the capacity to implement the curriculum changes legislated by the post-Apartheid government in an attempt to raise learning outcomes. Current teaching degrees also primarily emphasize general pedagogical skills and fail to ensure that teachers have good subject knowledge.

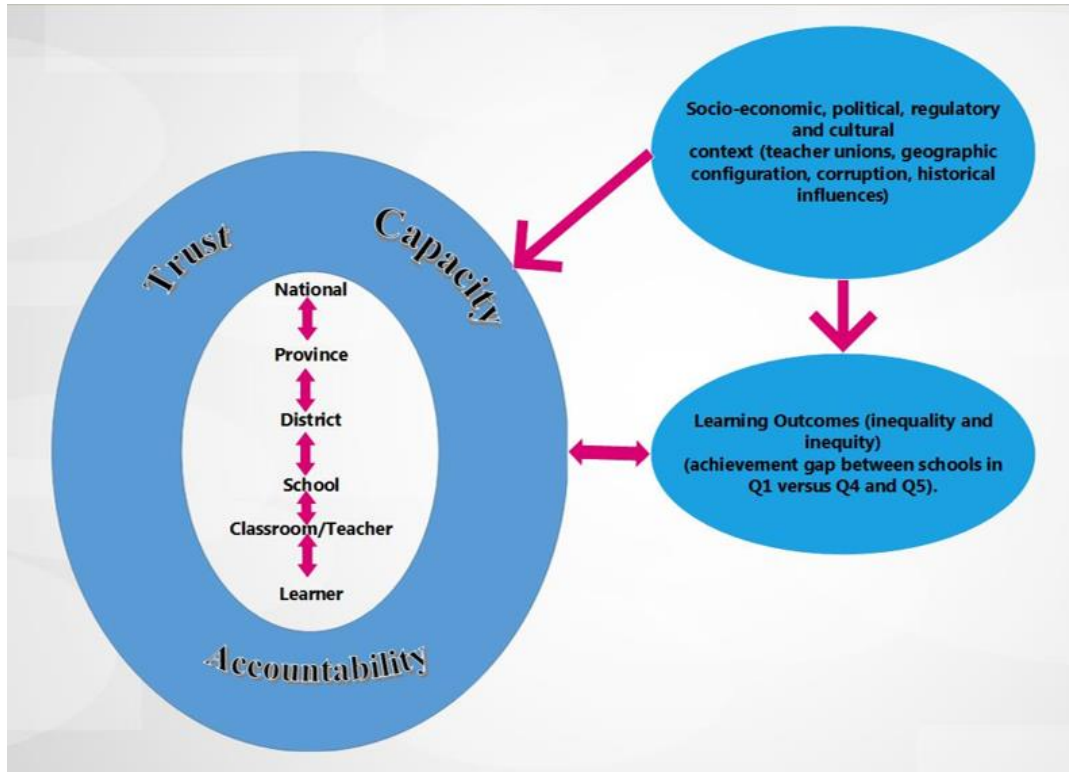
Wasted learning time and insufficient opportunity to learn (including teachers' absence)

A final constraint to the improvement of learning outcomes in South Africa is the absence of teachers in schools and lack of opportunity to learn. Van der Berg et al (2016) analysed SACMEQ 2007 data which suggests that the average grade 6 Mathematics teacher in South Africa was absent from school for nineteen days. This was, according to Van der Berg et al (2016) much higher in the poorest 20% of South African schools, at 23 days, compared to 11 days in the wealthiest 20% of schools. Consequently, children are not exposed to the full curriculum. Carnoy et al (2012, p. xvi) also find that of the 130 mathematics lessons scheduled for the year, grade 6 teachers in the North West had only taught 50 lessons by the beginning of November. This amounts to only 40% of scheduled lessons for the year. According to Carnoy et al (2012), the problem was not teacher absenteeism but rather a lack of teaching activity despite teacher presence; teachers in their study referred to a 'lack of confidence' in teaching the required elements of the grade 6 mathematics curriculum. They attributed this lack of confidence to not having the knowledge needed to teach the subject (p. xvi). Furthermore, school principals have not deployed teachers effectively within the timetable according to Van der Berg et al (2011), resulting in excessively large classes combined with too many "free" periods for teachers. Many schools don't have up to date attendance registers, reflecting a lack of attention to teacher attendance by the school management; this clearly affects actual absenteeism (Van der Berg et al, 2011).

According to Moloi (2014), a fundamental shift in attitude is needed in the way people relate to each other and to their environment and in the way resources are deployed and utilized to address these constraints and move towards a more equitable and productive education system. Trust, accountability and capacity are key features in the relationships between the National Department of Education, Provincial Districts of Education, District offices, School Governing bodies, School Management teams,

teachers (and their teacher unions), learners and parents as summarized in the below conceptual framework.

Figure 1. Conceptual framework for literature review



3. Conceptual framework

The previous section outlined the key areas for improvement in South Africa's education system and signalled the roles, responsibilities of, and key relations between key actors in the system. In this section, we will turn to the three variables of our study to describe our conceptualization of trust, capacity and accountability in informing our literature review.

3.1 Trust

Micro-level perspectives on trust

A large body of work aims to understand trust in (dyadic) interpersonal and intra-organizational relations, looking at economic transactions between buyer and supplier, or interactions between employer-employee, or regulator-regulatee (Six and Verhoest, 2017; Bachmann and Zaheer, 2006). A common definition of trust across these studies is 'a trustor's willingness to take risk based on assessments of a trustee's competence, benevolence and integrity' (Mayer et al's, 1995; cited in Addison, 2015, p.156). These three dimensions are further described by Oomsels and Bouckaert (2017, p.82-88):

- Competence: perceived ability, or expectation that the other party has competence to successfully complete its task
- Benevolence: expectation that the other party cares about the trustor's interests and needs
- Integrity: expectation that the other party will act in a just and fair way.

Colquitt et al (2007) and Six and Verhoest (2017) describe how a 'trustor' will have an initial perception of someone else's trustworthiness which will inform his/her decision to be vulnerable to the actions of that other person. Such initial perceptions are partly informed by 'hearsay' and judgements of others, personal histories ('shadow of the past') and tend to more favourable towards members of one (socio-cultural, organisational, role) group (Kramer, 1999), and where there is an expectation of continued interaction ('shadow of the future') (Poppo et al, 2008). Vulnerability occurs, according to Gillespie (2015, p.234) when someone relies on another's skills, knowledge, judgements or actions, including delegating and giving autonomy (reliance), or when someone shares work-related or personal information of a sensitive nature (disclosure). Where there is no need to rely on someone else, there is also no need for trust, according to Gillespie (2015). The outcome of being vulnerable and taking a risk in the interaction with his/her counterpart will update a trustor's assessment of the counterpart's trustworthiness, making trust a cyclical dynamic process.

Lewicki and Brinsfield (2015, p.59), Lyon et al (2015), and Le Gall and Langley (2015) emphasize that trust is not a single, unidimensional construct, but rather constitutes different

- *forms* of trust (e.g. competence-based, motive-based, calculated, moralistic, identity-based)
- *antecedents* of trust, (elements fostering the creation of trust; institutional versus relational),
- *elements* (or modalities) enhancing trust (institutional versus relational), explaining how
- trust develops over *time* (the dynamics of trust),
- how it is *context-dependent*
- manifests itself at the individual, group, organizational and societal levels
- and needs to be studied in a referent and at a level, and within a specified context (see Lyon, Möllering and Saunders, 2015; Le Gall and Langley, 2015).

Studies also vary in conceptualizing trust as either a rational and calculated processes, or as the result of less explicit, routinized, intuitive and habitual actions (Lyon, 2015, p.8; Le Gall and Langley, 2015, p.38). The first line of work understands trust from an economic or sociological perspective, looking at behaviour and purposeful decisions and choices available in a given context of alternatives. The second, psychological and psychosocial approach, considers trust to be the result of less explicit, routinized,

intuitive and habitual actions where trust constitutes a set of beliefs, emotions, intentions and expectations.

According to Lewicki and Brinsfield (2015, p.46), different types of trust judgements occur when trust-relevant information is processed either rationally or more intuitively. They also explain that trust can be positive or negative where research evidence indicates that trust and distrust are two different constructs (Lewicki and Brinsfield, 2015, p.46; Six, 2013): individuals in a relationship can hold both trusting and distrusting intentions and expectations toward another, based on different facets of their relationship.

Trust in education and school settings

Studies on trust in education and school settings have conceptualized trust in a number of ways: as everyday relations between teachers, between a principal and teachers, between a school and the school's community (e.g. parents), or, as a structural characteristic of schools (Kochanek and Clifford, 2014). Bryk and Schneider (1996, 2000) for example look at the specific roles people hold in schools and how trust grows as people share understandings of role obligations, have a basic regard for the dignity and work of others (respect), poses the competencies to carry out formal responsibilities of their role, and act in ways consistent with beliefs about what is in the best interest of children (integrity); displaying intentions and behaviours that go beyond the formal requirements of the role (personal regard). They find that trustful relations among students, teachers, parents and the wider school community are closely related to student outcomes (Bryk and Schneider, 2002).

Hoy and colleagues on the other hand describe trust as a structural characteristic of schools, defining trust as an aspect of a school's climate, or the social capital in the school. The two bodies of work are however strongly related, as social capital (a structural feature of a school) emerges from ties between individuals and organizations, and the social relationships within an organization and surrounding the individuals of an organization (see Cochaneck and Clifford, 2014; Moolenaar et al, 2014). Through these ties, a shared understanding of norms and values is created, knowledge is shared and habits are created which would inform the school's culture and organisational structure (Coburn et al, 2008).

Trust on the system-level

Trust is not just part of interpersonal or interorganizational relations; it is also part of a wider picture of trust in governance within a society and key to the formation of a healthy democracy. Such 'generalized trust' refers to the potential readiness of citizens to cooperate with each other and to abstract preparedness to engage in civic endeavours with each other. Attitudes of generalized trust extend beyond the boundaries of face-to-face interaction and incorporate people who are not personally known (Stolle, 2002, p.397). Generalized trust arises, according to Rothstein (2011), from the institutional environment of laws, norms, and standards on which people and organisations can rely. Having a clear set of rules and a well-functioning rule of law provides normative certainty and accountability of power, enabling people to enact their civil rights, while similarly enforcing duties and safeguarding autonomy. In societies with high generalized trust, people are more inclined to give others the benefit of the doubt, they have a more optimistic outlook for future interactions with people in general, and are more engaged in public policy (Oomsels and Bouckaert, 2017; OECD, 2017).

Braithwaite (1999, p.15) however argues that in order to create a healthy democracy "it is not a particularly desirable objective to maximize the trust citizens have in their institutions, but it is a desirable objective to seek a culture that nurtures interpersonal trust". He asserts that for a healthy democracy to work it is not advisable to maximize the trust citizens have in their institutions, (as this would produce the passive citizen), but rather to enable individuals to act on their distrust and to channel it into active citizenship. Generalized trust is, in his view, therefore not only a reflection of a well-functioning bureaucracy and 'rule of law', but also of the culture within a country and of agency of people within a country. As the South African context indicates, education is central to the post-apartheid project in creating a full democracy in which all citizens are active and agentive within that society, in order to do

this, citizens must trust *in systems* of democratic accountability whilst also possessing capacity as a society to engage. The following section outlines the conceptual framework emerging from this research and outlines the ways in which we conceptualize capacity, trust, distrust and accountability in education.

In this paper, we are particularly interested in the relational aspect of trust, as well as generalized trust; trust as a structural feature of a school's organisations or as a school's culture is part of our description of 'capacity'. In our review we looked at the interpersonal and interorganizational interactions in which trust is built (e.g. how the school system, or school organizational context affects trust between teachers, or between the principal and teachers), and how institutional and generalized trust in a country affects interpersonal trust and relations (OECD, 2017a):

- Interpersonal or personal trust: interpersonal trust signals trust at the individual level; high levels of personal trust reflect repeated positive experiences made over time and longstanding relations and building on initial knowledge about the partner. Interpersonal trust may depend on the characteristics of a group such as an ethnic or kinship group, but it also occurs in bilateral relationships, often longstanding ones, where individuals have come to know each other (Welter and Alex, 2015, p.76). Interpersonal trust is a particular kind of relationship which involves willingness to rely on another person, to be vulnerable to that person's actions; it depends on forming and maintaining positive relationships among individuals, and it influences behaviours through those relationships. (Zoling and Gibbons, 2015, p.189).
- Interorganizational trust is defined as the amount of trust placed in the partner organization by the members of a particular organization (Zaheer et al, 1998, p.142). Boundary spanners (e.g. principals, district subject advisors, or curriculum leaders in schools) have an important role in creating interorganizational trust. These agents connect and sustain connections between the different communities of practice within and across their organization (Millward and Timperley, 2010). Farrell and Coburn (2017) for example emphasize the boundary role of school district leaders in connecting to external sources of expertise and how such boundary spanning supports collaboration and learning. Boundary spanners manage the exchange relationships between organizations and codify and structure the informal commitments they make to individual boundary spanners in the partner organisation: institutionalizing these commitments and norms from the interorganizational relationship in established and taken-for-granted organizational structures and routines. These structures and routines in turn influence the orientation of other organizational members toward the partner organization and a collectively-held trust orientation toward the partner organization (Zaheer et al, 1998). Institutional structures, such as explicit or implicit rules of behaviour also structure the interaction between organizations and organizational boundary-spanners, ensuring that interorganisational trust remains when individual boundary-spanners leave the organization (Zaheer et al, 1998).
- Generalized trust (also termed 'macro sources of trust', or 'confidence'): arises from the institutional environment of laws, norms, and standards. Trust is set within more abstract relationships, and related to the functioning of bureaucratic systems (e.g. legal, political and economic) (see Beugelsdijk, 2005). A well-functioning bureaucracy ensures that people or organisations who cannot be trusted are sanctioned, setting a structure and culture in which individuals are able to act in a trustworthy manner and without risk, and in which they can reasonably expect that most others will generally do the same (Rothstein, 2013). As such, well-functioning bureaucracies lend legitimacy to policies, thus aiding implementation at the local level (Kogan, 2007, Baxter, 2017).

3.2 Distrust

A number of authors argue that in order to fully understand and conceptualise trust it is necessary to conceptualise distrust separately as trust and distrust are separate constructs (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998; Van De Walle & Six, 2014). These authors situate trust as an organizing principal where distrust is articulated as a constraining element, leading to negative perceptions of others' behaviour and limiting

successful organisational outcomes (McEvily, Perrone, & Zaheer, 2003). In this vein, Van De Wall and Six (2014: 6) argue that distrust has “a bases in reason, routines and reflexivity that lead to negative expectations towards the actions and intentions of more or less specific others.” They furthermore argue that the “opposite of trust is an absence of trust; the opposite of distrust is, likewise, an absence of distrust. This means that distrust is not the absence of trust, but an attitude in itself. It is an actual “expectation that another actor cannot be relied upon, and will engage in harmful behaviour”. If distrust is characterised as, “an actor's assured expectation of intended harm from the other” (Lewicki, McAllister & Bies 1998: 446), then we may expect that a culture of distrust (at both organisational and system level) is characterised by “a pervasive, generalized climate of suspicion” (Sztompka 1998: 22), leading to alienation and passivism. Evidence from trust in governance literature illustrates that distrust influences not only attitudes but also behaviours. A culture of suspicion infuses systems (such as education) particularly when boundary spanners (Zaheer, McEvily, & Perrone, 1998), are themselves perceived as acting in distrustful ways, such as when they are part of system wide corruption. In this sense, we argue that boundary spanners within any public system have a key role to play in the formation of distrust and alienation.

Interestingly, trust and distrust can form part of the same relationship, according to Six (2013). An individual may trust someone else to be competent, benevolent and integer when performing a specific role, but not in another. This also applies to how groups in general, and individuals within such groups are perceived; it is for example quite common for people to distrust politicians in general, yet respect and trust the Member of Parliament representing their own constituency.

A particularly interesting area of work on distrust has emanated from researchers investigating value congruence within organisations: Sitkin and Roth's work (1993) for example found that distrust was engendered when an “employee's beliefs and values do not align with the organization's cultural values”. Rather than merely being an expression of low trust, they found that a climate of distrust is created when an individual or group is perceived as not sharing key cultural values’ (Sitkin, Roth 1993: 371). This finding has more recently been reflected in work investigating trust and culture in society (Braithwaite, 1998; Cerna, 2014). This raises some engaging questions about the role of values in an organisation; for example, does sharing key values within a school overcome the suspicions and differences between individuals in that organization (Lindenberg, 2000)?

Treating distrust as a separate concept also has the advantage of understanding which specific drivers determine trust in accountability, and whether these drivers are different from those that determine active distrust (see for example Hertzberg's motivation research which looked at satisfier and dissatisfier factors in job satisfaction).

3.3 Capacity

The OECD (2017, p.7) defines ‘capacity as “the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully”. Capacity can include both ‘hard’ elements and ‘soft capacities’. Hard elements or ‘technical capital’ are the financial and material resources to teach and educate; resources which need to be in place to educate, and implement policy and reform in the first place. Soft capacities refer to the human capital of a school or school system, such as the availability of skilled professionals in schools, school governing bodies, districts and the provincial and national administration to ensure high quality teaching in schools and participation of children in schools, including the capacity of vulnerable groups to participate’ (Døssing et al, 2011, p.5). Farrell and Coburn (2017) also refer to the social capital of a school or school system which reflects the conceptualization of trust by Hoy and colleagues in our previous section: the norms of trust and collaboration within the organization, as well as links to knowledge sources from the environment (Farrell and Coburn, 2017, p.138).

Burns (2012) distinguishes capacity on the individual, institutional, system and societal level:

- Individual level: finding ways to support individuals (parents, teachers, headmasters and policy makers) as they face the demands of new developments in the local context by building on existing knowledge (human resources and knowledge management).
- Institutional level: supporting existing institutions (e.g. schools, district offices) in forming policies, effective organisational structures and good management (this includes building learning organisations).
- System level: finding efficient ways to support system level actors (e.g. policy makers, teacher unions) to be able to fulfil their roles in designing/implementing/evaluating educational policies.
- Societal level: striving towards more interactive and responsive public administration; ensure a supportive context in which individuals and organisations operate and interact with the external environment. This is linked to cultural capital in terms of the degree to which societies are able to tolerate the uncertainty associated with trusting behaviours.

Educational effectiveness research provides an understanding of the types of technical and human capital that need to be in place to improve student outcomes. Scheerens (2014) summarizes results of review studies that were carried out in the 1990s (Purkey and Smith, 1983; Scheerens, 1992; Levine and Lezotte, 1990; Sammons *et al.*, 1995; Cotton, 1995), and more recent review studies by Reynolds *et al.* (2014), Muijs *et al.* (2014) and Hopkins *et al.* (2014). According to Scheerens (2014), there is clearly consensus about the following main conditions of effective schooling and teaching over time:

- *Achievement orientation and high expectations*: a productive school climate, a school mission focused on achievement, shared vision and goals, high expectations that all students can achieve
- *Cooperative atmosphere and an orderly climate*: cooperative planning, a learning-oriented atmosphere consensus, orderly climate
- *Clear goals on basic skills*: focus on student learning, concentration on teaching
- *Frequent evaluation*: appropriate monitoring, evaluative potential of the school, assessment
- *Professional development*: staff development, in-service training, a learning organization
- *Parental involvement*: parent support, home school partnership
- *Strong leadership*: educational leadership, school management and organization, improvement-oriented leadership
- *Effective instructional arrangements*: classroom management, time on task, structured teaching, opportunity to learn, coordination in curriculum and instruction.

These studies were however particularly set in industrialized countries; reviews on school effectiveness research in developing countries suggests that resource input factors play a bigger role in explaining school effectiveness in these countries (Scheerens, 2002). Particularly, teacher-pupil ratio, teachers' education, teachers' salaries, per pupil expenditure and availability of textbooks all appear to have a positive effect on student outcomes. However, in the case of South Africa a number of studies have reported that the overall investment in education made by South Africa is not commensurate with its educational outcomes, and that differential levels of investment between schools are detrimental to overall student progress (Taylor and Yu, 2011; Nordstrum, 2012). In our conceptualization of capacity, we therefore look at both input and process conditions and how these might vary across schools.

3.4 Accountability

Accountability is described by Klijn and Koppenjan (2014, p.264) as 'the extent to which actors (accounters: those rendering accounts) are held accountable for their behaviour and performance by other actors (accountees: those to whom account is rendered)'. Accountability implies some form of monitoring or control, such as through inspections or high-stakes testing, where information is collected on the performance of an accounter (individual or organization), a judgement is passed on whether the performance meets some kind of standard and where sanctions, rewards or interventions are put in place for (failing to) meet(ing) the standard (Schillemans, 2013).

Accountability can thus be understood as

- 1) a specific type of *measure or intervention* by which people and/or organizations are held to account (e.g. high stakes testing, school inspections or monitoring)
- 2) a well-functioning *bureaucracy or system* (rule of law, watchdogs, ombudsman) which ensures transparency and enforces moral behaviour
- 3) how these measures and systems make people/organizations more accountable or answerable for their actions or performance (accountability as an *outcome* in itself)
- 4) viewing accountability from a perspective of *relationships* between actors where someone (either an individual or organisation is holding someone else to account for something).

Accountability interventions and measures can be powerful instruments to improve schools, particularly when they adhere to the following characteristics: (1) high expectations for all students; (2) high-quality assessments aligned with standards; (3) alignment of resources, support, and assistance for improvement; (4) sanctions and rewards linked to results; (5) multiple measures; (6) diagnostic uses for data; and (7) data that are readily understandable to the public (Englert et al, 2007, referencing Goodwin et al, 2003).

In South Africa, the system of educational accountability is linked to the wider notion of democratic accountability and is the very apex of the new South Africa, as we outlined in section 2.2. Standardized accountability interventions are however largely absent in South Africa and, given their historic role as a means for oppression, viewed with suspicion. Current measures include the (low stakes) annual assessments in primary education (AnA, grades Grades 1, 6 and 9), a matriculation/exit exam in secondary education, monitoring of schools through district visits, and (in some schools) the use of EMIS (educational management information systems). These are expected to inform the accountability relation between school staff and school management teams, school management teams and the school governing body, and schools and districts. Accountability of teachers is also organized through the South African Council of Educators (SACE) which has a formal role in developing professional standards for teaching through a Code of Professional Ethics, and by overseeing the teaching profession (Van Onselen, 2012). The council can caution or reprimand educators, impose a fine and remove the name of an educator from its register, either for a specified period or indefinitely (or subject to other specific conditions).

These interventions have however not been effective in improving learning outcomes in South Africa, due to exam fraud, and power imbalance and misuse (e.g. in the school governing body and SACE) (Van der Berg et al, 2016). Districts also have limited capacity to undertake school visits; there are many vacancies in district offices (including in Gauteng) and subject advisors don't have the relevant competencies to support schools and teachers in the development and implementation of their curriculum. School governing bodies have, in many cases, not been able to effectively oversee school management teams due to lack of competences of parents on the board, and power imbalances between parents and the staff representation on the body. According to Van Onselen (2012), de Clercq (2013), Van den Berg et al (2016), the Volmink Commission (Maromo, 2015), Heysteck (2015) and Patillo (2012), the largest teacher union (SADTU) remains strongly opposed to national policies implying forms of monitoring or control of teachers' work, even where accountability systems are disconnected from punitive measures. Examples are SADTU blocking principals' and teachers' performance contracts, and preventing the council of educators (SACE) from taking disciplinary actions against teachers (Van Onselen, 2012). Van der Berg et al (2016) also describe a lack of sustainability in implementing and monitoring national reform programmes, causing a system that is overburdened with change and preventing any real answerability. The many examples of corruption and an overall lack of interpersonal trust (as measured in the World Value Survey 2005-8: Morrone et al, 2009) further inhibit any form of effective accountability.

This 'vicious' cycle of distrust, lack of accountability and lack of capacity renders the system powerless to improve and creates a series of 'binding constraints' that need to be addressed in order to improve

learning outcomes, according to Van der Berg et al (2016). Our literature review aims to provide a deeper understanding of the intricate relations between accountability, capacity and trust and how these relations produce (or fail to produce) a pattern of change in learning outcomes over time and create a divided unequal system. The following questions informed our review:

1. How does trust/distrust build/break down capacity, and how is it a precondition for, or result of accountability and capacity?
2. How do accountability and capacity affect (the creation of/break down of) trust/distrust between key actors?
3. What are the barriers and enables to/of trust/distrust, and how are accountability and capacity enabling or disabling trust/distrust?
4. What is the relation between trust, distrust and corruption, does corruption break down trust, or does trust/distrust enable corruption?
5. How do trust, distrust and accountability impact on the allocation, distribution and use of resources, and build or destroy the capacity to improve?

4. Methodology: systematic literature review

Our systematic literature review started with an initial scoping of ten key sources on trust, accountability and capacity (see appendix 1). These sources were selected for their presentation of findings from meta-analysis or systematic reviews of each of the three variables separately. A full reading of these sources was used to present our conceptual framework in the previous section. The reference lists from these sources, as well as a search of sixteen journals, published between 2010 and 2017, and a number of preselected websites and sources (OECD, RISE) informed our phase 2 in which we searched for sources which would present findings on interactions between two or all three of the variables of our study. A separate search looked at sources describing the South African system, such as the South African Journal of Education, the main report and reference lists from Van der Berg et al (2016) project on ‘Identifying binding constraints in education’ and Spaull’s personal website. This resulted in a set of 553 unique references. Abstracts were extracted for each reference and coded according to type of study (empirical/conceptual), type of sector (education/other/non specified), type of country (South Africa, low/middle/high income/ non specified), and type of variable (trust, accountability, capacity, or interaction).

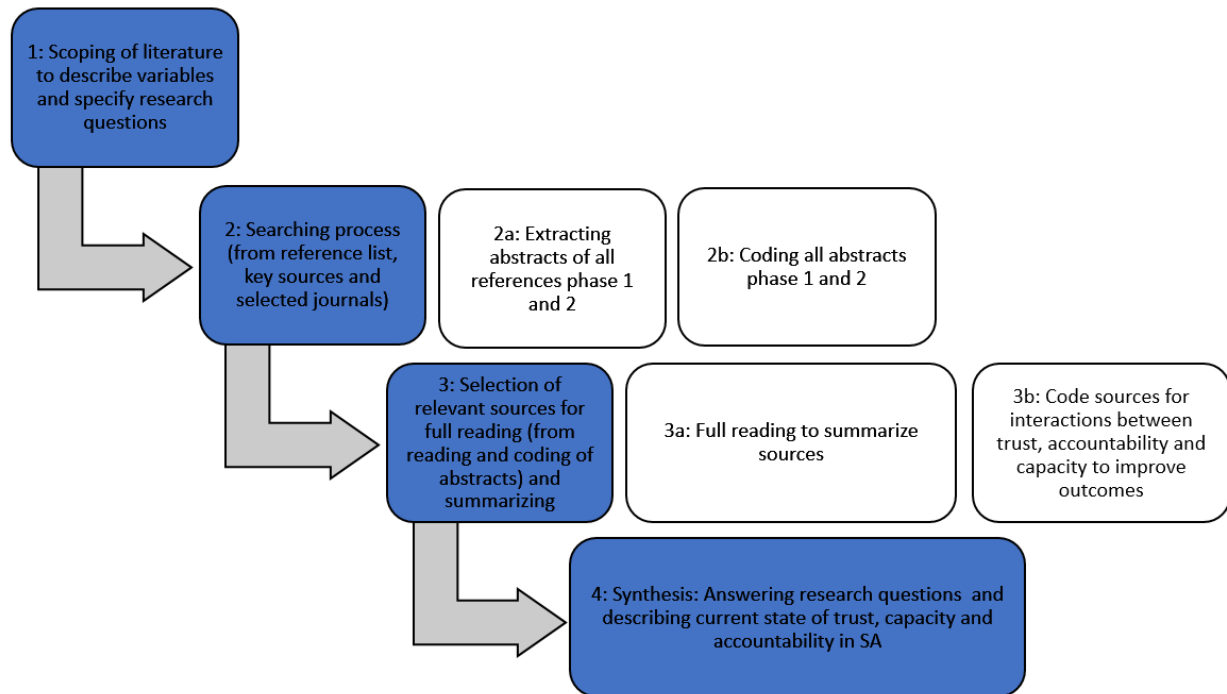
In the third phase, the team read the 553 extracted abstracts from phase 2 to select papers for full reading and summarized these, focussing on evidence on how the interaction of trust, capacity and accountability lead to improved outcomes. The sources marked by all three team members (101 in total) were selected for full reading. We prioritized papers which report on literature reviews, comparative research in low and middle-income countries or are specific to South Africa. Table 1 summarizes the sources included in our review, indicating a variety of both empirical and conceptual papers, most of which are on education; most studies describe interactions between one or two variables, where a large number of studies focus on trust and capacity.

Table 1. Overview of sources phase 3 (reading of full papers/books)

		Number of studies
Type of study	Empirical	61
	Conceptual	38
Sector	Education	65
	Other (buyer-supplier, ...)	27
	Not specified	10
Country context	South Africa	37
	Low income country	8
	Middle income country	7
	High income country	28
	Not specified	32
Variable	Trust	33
	Capacity	28
	Accountability	10
	Interactions/general	65
	Total number of studies	

The summaries of sources from phase 3 were then further coded for interactions between trust, capacity and accountability, and how each (fail to) improve learning outcomes. These codes were used for our synthesis of findings, which is included in the next section. Figure 1 below presents a summary graph of the various phases.

Figure 1. Phases of the literature review



5. Findings: trust, capacity and accountability to improve learning outcomes

We begin this section by presenting our findings on relations between variables on a micro level, we follow this with sections on interactions at the system level. Our discussion begins with an analysis of trust and accountability between people and organizations.

5.1 Trust and accountability

Trust and accountability occur between people and between organizations: you trust someone and you hold someone accountable. It is within these interpersonal and interorganizational relations that we look to understand how trust and accountability operate, in order to improve how people and organisations collaborate and, in turn to improve the learning outcomes of students.

Trust and control are generally described in the context of economic transactions (e.g. buyer-supplier relations) where contracts regulate the transaction. In such relations, control has a function in checking on whether partners live up to the specifications in the contract. Control allows partners to safeguard against a breach of contract which would harm one of the partners. Such control and surveillance however would induce costs that reduce the efficiency of the transaction. This argument of positioning control as a cost in economic transactions falls within a ‘substitution perspective’ where control is positioned as a substitute for trust, saying that, in the presence of trust, control mechanisms are redundant and inefficient and resources for surveillance and monitoring can be put to better use (Gundlach and Cannon, 2010; Williamson, 1991; Granovetter, 1985).

An alternative perspective on economic transactions is however one which argues for the complementary role of trust and control. Barrera et al (2015, p.253), Mills and Rubinstein Reiss (2017) and Näslund and Hallström (2017) state that trust and control can build on, or reinforce one another, such as when control confirms initial (positive) assumptions of someone’s (perceived) trustworthiness. In this case, control and monitoring, and being accountable to someone else will (when implemented and enacted in a fair and just way) ensure that trust becomes a social reality, or an established feature of the relationship. In a climate of distrust and corruption however, it is more likely that individuals resist or opt out of control. As (Braithwaite and Levi (2003) explain, alienation and passivism are prevalent in such societies and control would not be accepted as part of the ‘normal’ system of democratic checks and balances or as a means to prevent possible abuse of power.

Both the substitution and complementary perspective provide insights to understanding the interaction of trust and control in an educational setting and below we propose a set of hypotheses in line with both arguments.

The first hypothesis is that *accountability measures and interventions reduce trust between partners (either individuals or organisations) when collaborative actions are attributed to the existence of these measures (when these incentivize and enforce collaborative behaviour), instead of a partner’s innate trustworthiness.* Arguments to support this interaction are provided by McEvily et al (2003) who positions trust and control as an inverse relationship where control stems from a position of distrust, signalling suspicion. According to McEvily et al (2003), you cannot control someone you trust. Coletti et al (2005) refer to attribution theory to explain that, in the presence of control, partners will attribute collaborative actions of their partner to the fact that there is a control system in place which would incentivise such behaviour. Ehren and Perryman (..) provide an example from the English Education Inspectorate, Ofsted, whose evaluation of school-to-school support and collaboration (as an aspect of the quality of school leadership) induces schools to cooperate with other schools. In this case, the willingness

to collaborate may be attributed to the external inspection framework, instead of the other partner's innate trustworthiness and willingness to cooperate. Such attribution may inhibit the development of trust, according to Coletti et al (2005).

As Coletti et al (2005) explain, most people however suffer from attribution error and tend to overattribute others' behaviours to dispositional characteristics instead of situational conditions (in this case the existence of a control system). This means that a *control system can enhance the level of trust among collaborators (in the presence of attribution error) when it induces collaboration and when feedback from these systems reinforces the assessment of a partner's trustworthiness*. In order to induce collaboration and enhance trust, control systems need to be strong and the cooperation needs to be observed by the collaborators (e.g. such as through the feedback from the control system). The effect is further strengthened, according to Choudhury (2008), when control is embedded in specialized roles (e.g. auditors, inspectors) external to the relationship. Regular reporting arrangements through external systems of authorization and audits would safeguard against conflict of interest, hidden agendas, or deceptions, allowing partners to continue to engage in high-trust relations without perceiving the external control as a signal of distrust within the relationship.

Control and monitoring also contribute to the development of trust when locking accounters and accountees in a continuing series of interactions (creating a stable environment for relations to develop), particularly when the monitoring is informed by an agreed upon framework of standards which help establish a set of shared norms about each person's or organization's roles, responsibilities and expected behaviours and when set in a climate of generalized trust. As Van den Berghe (1997) explains, accountability and evaluation standards and indicators not only have a measurement function, they also communicate benchmarks and goals and have a normative and standardisation purpose when showing the extent to which an actual situation deviates from the established bench, predefined standards or set of goals. Ehren's (2016) study indicates that the mere existence of these standards can motivate schools to solely focus on the areas in the school that are measured; they align their school self-evaluation, organisational structure and processes to adhere to priority areas in the evaluation framework. Similarly, these frameworks often also set standards for other actors in the education system, such as support services working with schools, textbook and test developers, and teacher training colleges who use the standards to coordinate and align their activities. As Ehren (2016) explains, such alignment creates a shared set of expectations on what good quality education constitutes, and can support the development of a set of shared values and understandings; one of the main antecedents of trust.

Accountability measures and interventions will particularly support the development of such shared values when implemented in a collaborative setting and a climate of high generalized trust, and where feedback from these controls is easy to use and understand (O'Neill, 2013; Näslund and Hallström, 2017). In such a context, monitoring and accountability is interpreted as a sign of good intentions and credible concern and will motivate voluntary compliance (OECD, 2017a). As Braithwaite and Makkai (1994) explain, when we are trusted to do the right thing and then choose to do it, we convince ourselves that we did it because we believed it to be right; we internalize the conception of right that we are trusted to have. On the other hand, when we comply to secure extrinsic rewards or avoid the punishments of distrustful regulators, we convince ourselves that we did it for those extrinsic reasons rather than for the intrinsic virtue of doing right. When, therefore, our distrustful guardians cannot be around to put those rewards and punishments in our path, we do not bother with the extrinsically motivated behaviour. This may lead to further escalation of distrust, as and when, strategic responses are observed and confirm a partner's untrustworthiness (Näslund and Hallström (2017).

In a trusting relationship, control systems act as reinforcers of trust by promoting further cooperation, such as between those who are held accountable in responding to external monitoring, or when accounters and accountees discuss accountability standards, judgements and avenues for improvement. As Van der

Voort (2017) explains: trust fuels cooperation, while cooperation also fuels trust. Having safeguards in place to guard against potential opportunistic behaviour and mechanisms to expose those who fail to meet standards (e.g. through a well-functioning bureaucracy and rule of law) will create a stable context within which interorganizational and interpersonal trust can develop (Zaheer et al, 1998). Misztal articulates this as trust as habitus, a, “protective mechanism relying on everyday routines, stable reputations and tacit memories, which together push out of modern life, fear and uncertainty as well as modern problems” (Misztal, 1996, p102). Many sociologists dismiss habit due to its association with the automatic or non-reflective capacity of individuals, but habitual resistance to control systems, as in the case of South Africa under apartheid, does exert an influence on how individuals respond to other individuals in the implementation of both policy and control systems. In this case, history has a potent influence not only in creating distrusting cultures, but equally in its capacity to provoke a ‘knee jerk reaction’ to control systems as they manifest at the individual and organizational level. A relevant question is therefore not only how history influences behaviours, but particularly also how habitual resistance can be countered.

5.2 Trust and capacity

Capacity of both the trustor and trustee is an integral part of whether and how people come to trust one another. As we previously described, people trust someone they believe is competent, benevolent and will act in a just and fair manner. Goodall (2015) and Borgnovi and Burns (2015) also talk about the capacity of a trustor to be able to place trust in someone else. As Goodall (2015) explains, in order to have trust and ‘take a leap of faith’, one requires a certain amount of resources, such as economic or social support. Those who don’t have resources will not have the resilience to go on trusting someone in the face of disappointments and will therefore have a higher disposition to distrust. Also, as Borgnovi and Burns (2015) explain, trustor’s need to have the capacity to evaluate the quality of interactions with others and need to have the cognitive skills to understand whether they can trust someone else in a particular encounter at any given time (Borgnovi and Burns, 2015). *Capacity of both trustor and trustee is therefore an important precondition for high-trust relationships to develop over time.*

The relation between capacity and trust also runs in the opposite direction as high levels of trust would reduce transaction costs in an exchange relationship (freeing up technical capital), improve information sharing and coordination, and improve human and social capital, both on an individual and organisational level.

As we explained in the previous section, transaction costs are mostly described in the context of economic transactions and generally refer to costs associated with conducting and controlling exchanges between organisations, such as negotiating and monitoring service delivery, enforcing expected levels of service delivery and guarding against opportunism (e.g. mislead, distort, disguise, lying, stealing and cheating) (Hill, 1990; Dyer and Chu, 2003). In the context of education, transaction costs would arise in interactions between teachers and principals, schools, districts and provinces, such as when teachers and schools are contracted to deliver high quality education, and administrators in districts and provinces are tasked to provide adequate sources and support to schools and teachers, within the conditions set by national policy and legislation. Such transactions are coordinated through rules, regulations, or other types of (informal or more formal) agreements. Costs are incurred when partners cannot rely on voluntary compliance and control, surveillance and sanctions are put in place to monitor, coerce and enforce compliance. Such costs will reduce the efficiency of the transaction as human and technical capital is needed to implement such controls (which cannot be used for the actual delivery of education).

Dyer and Chu (2003) furthermore talk about how trust promotes sharing of information and collaboration, allowing partners in a relationship to better coordinate their work. Fazekas and Burns (2012) explain how, on a micro-level, trust can reduce transaction costs when agreements (e.g. on school policy or allocation

of funding) are reached more quickly and easily as parties are more readily able to arrive at a “meeting of the minds”, and more willing to align their preferences and means of goal achievement.

As McEvily et al (2003) explain, trust implies an expectation that the other will refrain from opportunistic behaviour, creating a greater willingness to share vulnerable information. Trust also ensures that people have positive interpretations of another’s behaviour, motives and intentions and this promotes communication, conflict management and negotiation process, both between individuals and organisations. In schools with high levels of trust in the principal, teachers and parents are more likely to be included in school-level decision-making (Tschannen-Moran, 2001: 324). When students and parents are trusted by principals and teachers, it is also more likely that the principal will collaborate with teachers and with parents on school-level decisions and that teachers will collaborate with one another on classroom-level decisions (Tschannen-Moran, 2001: 327). Trust is, according to Hargreaves (2007), ‘the backbone of strong and sustainable professional learning communities in schools’. When trust breaks down between administrators and teachers, it can lead to suspicion and psychological withdrawal, which can hinder the cognitive and social-emotional development of students and lead to teacher burn-out (Tschannen-Moran, 2014; Cerna, 2014). In schools with high trust, teachers feel more responsible for defining the nature and content of their work and are more motivated to engage in ongoing operations of the school (Goddard, Salloum and Berebitsky, 2009).

A high level of interorganizational trust is also expected to enhance information and resource exchange beyond the school border when school staff establish ties with district and/or provincial administrators or reach out to other schools. Wermke’s (2014) study for example shows that teachers particularly use resources from outside organisations they trust. Trust thus reinforces collaboration between people and organisations, which in turn allows people to learn and improve their practices, and access new information and resources. Collaboration in turn also reinforces trust when sharing creates interdependence between participants, making collaboration and trust a reciprocal process (Cerna, 2014). As Burns (2012) explains, trust in the system impacts not only the functioning of the system, but it also affects the actions of individual actors in the system, such as the educational planning of students and their parents, the functioning, status, and professionalization of teachers and school leaders, and the consensus building across multiple stakeholders and different levels of government. In systems of high trust, stakeholders will engage in a school’s organization and improvement, school staff will feel safe to take risks and try out new methods and will be more inclined to admit and learn from mistakes (Carless, 2009). Social capital is the ‘intangible capital stock’ of education which allows people to have greater access to resources and enables the improvement of educational outcomes (OECD, 2017a).

However, too much trust and strong ties between individuals and organisations may also reduce capacity when it leads to group think and prevents people from creating new ties with people outside of their own school or organisation, when it leads to ignoring warning signs, or missing problems when facts are not checked.

Organizations that rely excessively on trust as an organizing principle may experience strategic blindness, overconfidence, inertia, or the inability to innovate, according to McEvily et al (2003). In highly trusting relationships, partners may get complacent and hold back negative or critical information, limiting opportunities for learning how to enhance performance (Gundlach and Cannon, 2010). Collier (2016) also explains how networks reinforce people’s norms, beliefs and identities, through the social control in the network and the power of imitation, particularly of individuals and organisations considered to be role models. When these norms and values promote immoral or ineffective behaviours, the network is locked into dysfunctional ways of organizing education and school improvement. This is particularly problematic in a culture of corruption as norms, values, and narratives that circulate in the social networks in which public organisations operate, lock people and organisations into dysfunction (Collier, 2017). As a result, teachers may see it as reasonable not to show up for class and even core state services, such as tax administration, may not work.

High trust relations may also reduce capacity when trust provides an opportunity for covert activities designed to systematically cheat a partner (such as shirking on agreements, or cheating and fraud). Anderson and Jap (2005) provide examples from industry where strong interpersonal relationships, and the absence of competition, led to systematic cheating of clients, and also resulted in inwardly focused networks of buyers and suppliers where, over time, innovations that developed outside the network failed to permeate the group. As we described earlier, a similar example comes from a study by Wermke (2014) who found that teachers primarily use knowledge and resources from outside partners they trust. Information from trusted and known sources carried most weight, particularly as most teachers simply do not have enough time to properly assess everything available for the improvement of their practice and efficiency. They therefore trusted some institutions rather than others in order to reduce the complexity of the plethora of opportunities. Consequently, the trusted institutions successfully transfer their ideas into the classroom, whereas teachers defend their practice against untrusted sources by literally closing the classroom door. The key, according to Anderson and Jap (2005) is to develop a relationship in which the partners are able to respond to market or environmental changes yet have enough rigidity or structure (e.g. common goals and incentives) to create stakes for both parties to act in the best interest of their relationship.

On the system level, the relation between capacity and trust is more complex and particularly relates to how human and technical capital is distributed across the education system and how this informs general trust and the confidence people in various social strata have in institutions distributing those resources. Equality is a primary component for building a trusting society as it promotes the ideas of a shared fate and optimism by making a better future appear more possible; it builds bridges between people and makes for optimism and an upbeat worldview rations (Goodall, 2015, p.121). According to Morrone et al (2009), income inequality reduces trust because people will be less likely to share common purpose. Trust is a key input into educational quality because it indicates the willingness of individuals within schools and across the system to cooperate with others. When people perceive resources to be unfairly distributed across society, they would perceive others to be rivals for the little resources they have. People who feel they have been treated fairly will on the other hand be more likely to trust that organization and be more inclined to comply with rules (Uslaner, 1999, p.21; Gunningham and Sinclair, 2009a).

5.3 Distrust and capacity

Distrusting cultures and contexts have the capacity to undermine capacity at system level, particularly in cases in which boundary spanners emerge from distrusting passive aggressive cultures to interact with other organisations and potentially spread these cultures. This can result in an erosion of social capital, giving rise to an individualistic approach to society; this is very much aligned to societies that are premised on neoliberal economic systems and thinking and in which policy is underpinned and based around rational choice theory – the theory that asserts that individual behaviour is based on self-interest (Boudon, 2009). Neoliberal societies are also known for their high levels of inequality, particularly in relation to educational outcomes (Davies & Bansel, 2007). This unequal distribution, as outlined in section 5.2, undermines feelings of fairness and equality, creating suspicion over how resources are distributed. Suspicion and a sense of unfairness in turn undermines feelings of solidarity and very often creates an ‘us and them’ situation with individuals and groups distrusting ‘other’ groups that are perceptibly better off than they. Lack of equity at system level as section 3.2 reported, is likely to lead to undermining of policy aimed to redistribute resources to address high inequality, as people would perceive this to be unfair. Although this may not have been the initial intention of such policy, accounts of resource distribution in a number of educational contexts (see for example: Clase, Kok, & Van der Merwe, 2007) have shown this to be the unintended consequences of the policy. At system level, this also links to the legitimacy of agencies who hold educators and schools accountable for the implementation of policy, as well as those tasked with the actual implementation of policy.

5.4 Accountability and capacity

Accountability plays a key role in both the exchange of resources as well as in enhancing the capacity to provide for, and improve the quality of education. The effect works through a number of interactions which vary depending on the extent to which accountability involves actual formal monitoring and assessment interventions (such as through national assessments or monitoring visits), or whether accountability refers to the functioning of a rule of law.

In the first case, a large body of work on the effectiveness of high-stakes testing, inspections, monitoring EMIS and school self-evaluation (e.g. Ehren, 2016; Eddy Spicer et al, 2016) indicates that *accountability interventions and measures can improve schools through the provision of performance feedback, the motivational role of targets, sanctions, rewards and interventions, and processes of standardization and alignment.*

The same studies however also show how *these interventions can have unintended consequences (narrowing curriculum and teaching, reducing innovation and risk taking), particularly when implemented in a high stakes (and low trust) environment.*

Ehren's (2016) systematic review of school inspections for example indicates that, reports and evaluations from, or on behalf of, inspectorates lead schools to reflect on the quality of their school and implement specific improvements to adhere to inspection standards and remedy failure as addressed in inspection reports. A small number of studies have specifically analysed the changes and/or implementation of school self-evaluations in relation to school inspections and how the school's organisational capacity improves as a result. Some studies in England and the Netherlands have looked at improvements in student achievement or have reported of inspections having no effect on schools or even unintended consequences when schools narrow their educational practices or try to manipulate the inspection assessment, suggesting the highly contextual nature of school inspection impact. Research on the factors which link inspection to impact is complicated both by the position of inspection within an accountability framework, which may also include national testing and school self-evaluation and is mediated by numerous other variables. Koretz, McCaffrey and Hamilton (2001) similarly discuss both positive and negative responses to high stakes testing. Positive responses would see teachers providing more instructional time, covering more material or teaching more effectively, where ambiguous or negative responses are harmful for student learning and will lead to invalid increases in test scores (e.g. teaching to the test, narrowing of curricula to tested subjects and content).

Several authors suggest an interaction effect with trust, explaining how high trust would allow for more flexible monitoring, which would allow schools to take risks and innovate. Lewicki and Brinsfield (2015) for example argue that, in a context of flexible monitoring, people are enabled to make intuitive judgements and evaluations based on one or a few simpler rules or cues instead of having to use highly protocolized frameworks and measures (Zaheer et al, 1998; Dyer and Chu, 2003). Such flexible arrangements are particularly relevant in education where teaching is a non-routine, complex task that is delivered in a set of mutually interdependent relations between for example students and teachers, teachers and principals, and principals and the school's community where transactions cannot be properly managed by explicit contracts. As Cerna (2014) and Schneider et al (2017) explain, aims in education are multiple, some values are not easily measurable and strong performance in one area does not necessarily indicate equally strong performance in another, making organizational effectiveness hard to distil. In such settings, formal controls are limited in improving performance, given the inherent incompleteness of contracts to regulate such performance (see Blumberg et al, 2015).

These examples of positive and negative effects from accountability interventions particularly include responses of school staff. On the system level however, positive responses would include actions of administrators and policy-makers who use outcomes of monitoring and assessment to evaluate the effectiveness of reform programmes or new policies, or understand the performance of schools across the

country and which schools, districts or provinces need targeted support. Positive effects on the system-level also result from the existence of a national accountability framework (e.g. inspection or monitoring standards, or assessment frameworks) which creates alignment and cohesion across the system, particularly when supported by key stakeholders in the system. Ehren's (2016) work for example indicates how inspection frameworks enable educators and administrators to have a common language and set of norms to work towards, creating consensus across multiple stakeholders and different levels of government. Schneider et al (2017) also speak about the power of educational data systems in shaping parental choices, community engagement, and public support by equalizing what insiders and outsiders know about schools. Such alignment in expectations and norms is expected to reduce transaction costs and create a more efficient system, when for example consistency in teaching mathematics across different school phases is improved, and teachers' initial training and professional development offers the content knowledge needed to teach mathematics.

Alignment in expectations and norms also improves capacity through the establishment of high-trust relations between educators. Lack of alignment may also destroy or severely limit this capacity: Daly (2009) for example explains how a lack of alignment creates a situation where administrators have to mediate competing demands, such as monitoring and evaluating the delivery of a standardized curriculum while supporting the individual professionalism and morale of teachers. As a result, they may be faced with having to send mixed messages, issue edicts, or attempt to explain underlying rationales of which they may have only limited knowledge. Any of these actions has the potential of violating trusting relationships. Control processes can improve trust by enhancing behavioural predictability (Forsyth et al, 2011) and breaking norms or routines of resistance.

The interaction between accountability and capacity also runs in the opposite direction as *capacity is needed for effective accountability*. Englert et al (2007) and Eddy Spicer et al (2016) discuss the knowledge and skills required of various groups of educators to implement assessment and accountability systems, while the same groups need to have the capacity to act on performance feedback from these systems to improve their work. Knowledge and skills to measure and assess (or 'evaluation literacy') would include the competencies to design and implement valid and reliable assessments, the skills and capacities to interpret data from assessments, as well as knowledge and resources to monitor school/system-level processes and school effectiveness conditions. Schools that have 'evaluation literacy' would have school self-evaluations in place, where school staff have the knowledge and skills to measure their own quality and use evaluative information to improve. These schools would also have the skills to implement internal assessment practices to monitor and improve student learning. Evaluation literacy and capacity allows school staff to learn about the elements of their school organisation that need to be changed to perform well on external accountability measures and engage external stakeholders (e.g. parents, school governing body) in school improvement planning and development.

Evaluation literacy and capacity also extend to the education policy level as administrators need both people and skills to evaluate and monitor the effectiveness of reforms of policy. According to Burns (2012), too often the evaluation and monitoring component of a reform is not given the time and resources it really requires and new programmes are planned before the evaluation is complete. As a result, systems fail to be accountable or learn from past experience and will be particularly reliant upon anecdotal evidence and analogies, serving particular interests to design and implement reforms; an observation also made by Van der Berg et al (2016) of South Africa's education policy-making.

Policy coalitions exert a strong influence on the degree to which a policy is implemented successfully. They also importantly, influence the amount of policy learning that occurs as a result of implementation (Baxter, 2017, p, 11). The amendment of policy in light of implementation learning has the effect of making individuals on whom the policy is enacted, feel more agentive within the process. This has been reflected in inspection policy in England when head teachers were invited on inspection teams to enable

policy learning, the result of which was to make head teachers feel as if inspections were, ‘being done with them rather than to them’ (Baxter, 2013). Engaging educators in external accountability can thus have a positive impact on trust and the extent to which the mechanism or policy is seen to be legitimate, even if the individuals are essentially distrusting of inspection policy as a whole.

5.5 Trust, accountability and capacity: macro-level perspectives

The previous sections discussed the interactions between trust, capacity and accountability from a relational perspective. The choice to cooperate and get involved in trusting relations is however also bound by the institutional context in which people interact, such as the political, legal and economic framework, and informal rules, socially accepted norms and patterns of behaviour in a country (Zaheer et al. (1998; Lyon et al, 2015, p.7). These institutions influence how people interact both consciously and unconsciously; they provide meaning to the circumstances before a relationship is built and they influence the patterns of how people interact when they start to actively establish a relationship (Van der Voort (2017). Interpersonal relations of accountability, trust and resource exchange are thus embedded in an institutional context, both temporally, socially, and institutionally. Organizational theory refers a great deal to the extent to which interpersonal trust and resource exchange are influenced by organizational climate, policies and leadership. Morgan’s seminal work on organizations as political systems, (Morgan, 1997), highlights the power that groups or individuals attain by the very fact that they deal better with organizational uncertainties, than others in the organisation (p, 163). He also provides a comprehensive account of the ways in which organizations attempt to minimize uncertainty, by ‘buffering, or through processes of routinization.’ He points out that it is very often in the interests of powerful individuals or groups to preserve their power base by ensuring that uncertainties continue and by manipulating situations so that they appear more uncertain than they actually are. Political and organizational theory points out the inextricable relationship between trust and power, a facet explored in depth by Luhman (1973), in terms of the fact that those in trusted positions possess a great deal of power in system terms. This again raises the question of boundary spanners and the extent to which they are trusted and can work towards or against interorganizational trust (see 3.1 and 3.2).

Past experience also affects people’s interactions and whether they decide to trust someone else. Priem and Weibel (2015, p.271) refer to temporal embeddedness of trust, which also includes the expectation of future interactions. Barrera et al (2015, p.252) furthermore refer to ‘social embeddedness’ in explaining how past experience and reputation of other partners restricts, or provides opportunities for someone to engage in a trust-relation. Such experiences can be personal and someone’s own, but may also be acquired via third parties or be based on reputation (Barrera et al, 2015, p. 253). Having a common history and shared experiences, norms and cultures and will positively affect individuals’ decisions to trust and hence the emergence of trust relationships (Welter and Alex, 2015, p.77; see also section 3 this paper).

A well-functioning bureaucracy (legal, political and economic) and existing organizational rules also affect the degree and nature of trust and someone’s ability to trust. Sitkin and Roth (1993) for example explain how rules constrain and orient its members, while a well-functioning bureaucracy protects people from risk when engaging in new relationships. Having a clear set of rules stabilizes and regulates people’s interaction and provides normative certainty and accountability of power, according to Oomsels and Bouckaert (2017). Rules and institutional templates enable people to enact their civil rights, while similarly enforcing duties and safeguarding autonomy, both individually as professionally. When there is a legal system to protect them, people will feel safe to suspend vulnerability and take risks in giving others the benefit of the doubt, and having an optimistic outlook for future interactions with people in general. For trust to flourish, it needs to be linked to the political context, as well as formal, political, and legal institutions, according to Rothstein (2013).

The temporal and institutional embeddedness of trust provides a lens to understand the current state of South Africa's education system, and particularly the high levels of distrust, lack of accountability, corruption and nepotism and the great inequalities in the system. The historic context of Apartheid, where people were segregated according to race has set both geographic, as well as social boundaries for groups to interact, limiting opportunities to establish high trust relations with others outside one's racial group. These different racial groups have very distinct histories and personal experiences, most of which are unfavourable towards the other group, particularly from the Black to the White population. As Forsyth et al (2011) explain, having different values, worldviews, and background experiences negatively condition the emergence of trust, social integration and communication. The less people interact, the less likely it is that they will become alike, develop a set of shared norms and perceptions, or belief that the other group or individual is trustworthy.

5.5.1 Inequality

The existing dualist nature of the education system in South Africa also highlights how resources are still unevenly distributed across the system, indicating that previous power imbalances remain present, although in different shapes and forms. Such power imbalance and unequal access to resources reduces a sense of shared fate and optimism, according to Goodall (2015). It limits people in building bridges with other groups as a social unit or group is more likely to contribute to others who provide them with benefits than to those who do not, according to Gouldner (1960). People who lack resources and power will also struggle to believe that a better future is possible and experience a sense of injustice which further limits their general trust in the system, and in others outside of their group. Durkheim (see Gouldner, 1960) talks about the socially unstabilizing consequences of notable disparities of power as it encourages a sense of injustice and violates certain pervasive human values. The disruptive nature of power differences and unequal distribution of resources are clear in the South African context with the frequent examples of teacher strikes and unions' industrial action (Wills, 2016; Van der Berg, 2016). Heystek (2015) furthermore explains how principals and deputy principals in South Africa are unwilling to be held accountable by the state through performance agreements around student performance, as they feel there are too many factors affecting student outcomes, which are outside their control. Spaul (2015a) also talks about the current qualification of teachers through a generic Bachelor of Education degree which doesn't provide teachers with the subject-specific competences needed for teaching; monitoring visits of subject advisors have little meaning when there is no capacity to improve. These examples indicate serious constraints in providing educators with the basic skills and resources to provide a basic level of teaching in schools and creates a situation in which high-stakes accountability is perceived to be unfair and is not accepted.

Following this logic we argue that:

A dualist system where human, technical and social capital is unevenly distributed across the system reduces (general and interpersonal) trust and leads to strong opposition to (the implementation and use of) accountability and control from those who lack power and resources.

5.5.2 Capacity and system wide corruption

A lack of accountability, both on an interpersonal level, as well as in the absence of a well-functioning bureaucracy and rule of law allows for corruption and nepotism to flourish, which further reduces the capacity in the system to deliver high quality education. Beugelsdijk (2005) for example talks about how formal control and monitoring allows for a steady flow of information, reporting on, and sanctioning of abuse, which would reduce the risk of corruption and nepotism. Weak institutions, such as a lack of anti-corruption agencies, audit institutions, accountability interventions and rule of law, create opportunities to express corruption. These practices, once they are widespread, undermine the motivation of public-sector employees and diminish the ethical climate and sense of moral purpose across a system.

Pillay (2004) for example explains how public sector staff's motivation to remain honest is weakened when they observe senior officials and political leaders using public office for private gain. Even second-hand exposure to the payment of bribes diminishes the ethical climate of an organization, according to Sweeney et al (2013), leading to even more corruption when institutions, rules, and norms of behavior are adapted to a corrupt *modus operandi*, motivating other agents to follow the predatory examples of their principals in the political arena, or leave the profession when unwilling to lower their moral standard (Gray and Kaufmann, 1998; Pillay, 2014; Nichols, 2012).

Corruption in general severely limits a system's capacity to improve through the hidden costs imposed on the system, and by distorting the allocation of resources. In corrupt systems, people are selected on other indicators than merit, which reduces the quality of the human capital needed for a well-functioning school and education system. As Nichols (2012) explains, corruption significantly diminishes the quality of the pool of public decision makers. In systems in which persons pay bribes to obtain government jobs, government officials almost by definition lack appropriate skills to make good decisions and have a strong incentive to make those decisions for their own benefit rather than in the interest of the public. Corruption also diminishes the quality of decisions made and actual policy: rather than evaluating factors such as costs, appropriateness, and quality of a service, the corrupt decision maker evaluates the quality of the bribe, and how to benefit most from a specific transaction. The fact that the object of the decision may be of low quality does not matter to the decision maker.

Exam fraud, selling of tests and buying certificates are further examples of how corruption reduces the quality of those working in the system. Teachers buying an educational certificate, instead of putting in the work to learn how to teach and acquire the skills would result in qualifying and selecting teachers on the basis of their wealth and morality, instead of their teaching competences. Such practices also decrease morale and motivation to learn overall, as children come to believe that personal effort and merit do not count and learn that success comes through manipulation, favoritism and bribery (Meyer, 2004). Corruption in education systems is particularly harmful, according to Sweeney et al (2013), in that it normalises and breeds a social acceptance of corruption at the earliest age. As young people rarely have the ability to question the rules of the classroom, they can internalise corrupt views of what it takes to succeed, and carry these forward into society. When this becomes a social norm, its cycle begins anew in each generation.

Sweeney et al (2013) also argue that education is a particularly attractive target for manipulation as those who provide education services are in a strong position to extort favours, and are often driven to do so when corruption higher up the chain leaves them undervalued, or even unpaid. At the same time, parents are driven by a natural desire to provide the best opportunity for their children and would therefore be vulnerable to extortion, particularly as they are often unaware of what constitutes an illegal charge. Such illegal charges (for example for tuition or textbooks) would in turn put poorer students at even greater disadvantage. They won't be able to go to the schools that charge the higher fees and are thus able to pay for the best teachers. Corruption and nepotism tend to harm the most vulnerable people and those who don't have power or the connection of affinity to influence policy and decision-makers.

Corruption not only affects a system's capacity to improve, it also reduces trust, particularly between people in different social units or groups. In a very corrupt or clientelistic society, people tend to only trust very close friends and relatives but are distrustful of people outside one's close circle (Rothstein, 2013). As a result, they will establish little connections to others outside of their own group and overall solidarity between groups of people in a society will suffer. Countries with a high level of perceived corruption have below average trust in institutions and people would question the legitimacy of schools, district provincial or national policy and decision-making, according to Morrone et al (2009). As general trust in the education system diminishes, well-off parents will look for, or create parallel institutions to ensure a good education for their children, such as through private schooling or after-school private

tuition, creating an even more unequal and segregated system (see also Huang, 2008; Meijer, 2004), in spite of any redistributive policies that deliberately set out to counter this

To sum up:

A lack of accountability (measures and institutions) allows for corruption and nepotism, which reduces both capacity and (general) trust. Endemic corruption within a society inhibits the implementation of redistributive policy and the efficacy of democratic accountability.

6. Conclusion and discussion

Trust, accountability and capacity are key building blocks of any education system and the interaction between the three variables can help us understand why schools and education system improve, or fail to improve. This paper reported the outcomes of a systematic literature review which conceptualized trust, accountability and capacity from the perspective of interpersonal relations, as well as system-level conditions:

- Trust is: 1) a willingness to take a risk based on an assessment of a trustee's competence, benevolence and integrity (interpersonal trust), 2) the potential readiness of citizens to cooperate with each other and to abstract preparedness to engage in civic endeavours with each other (generalized trust)
- Distrust are negative expectations towards the actions and intentions of more or less specific others
- Accountability is: 1) the extent to which actors are held accountable for their behaviour and performance by other actors (through accountability measures), and 2) a system which ensures transparency and enforces moral behaviour
- Capacity is: the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully (hard/soft capital, school effectiveness research).

We looked at how those variables interact to improve learning outcomes of children in compulsory education, particularly in South Africa, a country which is challenged by a considerable degree of inequality, corruption and nepotism and high levels of distrust related to its historic context of Apartheid.

Trust and accountability

Our review highlighted how accountability and trust are key variables in the improvement of any education system and are often positioned as opposites or substitutes, saying that control destroys trust or that control is unnecessary when you trust someone. Trust is for example destroyed in the absence of external accountability and control when collaborative actions from a partner are attributed to the existence of these measures (e.g. when these incentivize and enforce collaborative behaviour), instead of to a partner's innate trustworthiness.

Others however argue that control can build trust when it for example locks people or organizations into a collaborative relationship and a continuing series of interactions. Such stability, particularly when organized around a set of agreed upon performance standards (such as in inspection or assessment frameworks), creates a stable environment for relations to develop and helps to establish a set of shared norms about each person's or organization's roles, responsibilities and expected behaviours. Trust would also allow for more flexible monitoring, instead of using highly standardized and scripted protocols to measure school quality; such flexibility enables schools to take risks and innovate.

The choice to trust and cooperate and engage in school accountability is also bound by the institutional context in which people interact, such as the political, legal and economic framework, and informal rules, socially accepted norms and patterns of behaviour in a country (Zaheer et al. (1998; Lyon et al, 2015, p.7). These institutions influence how people interact both consciously and unconsciously; they provide meaning to the circumstances before a relationship is built and they influence the patterns of how people interact when they start to actively establish a relationship (Van der Voort (2017). Interpersonal relations of accountability and trust are thus temporally, socially, and institutionally embedded.

In South Africa, a key element of the institutional context is the evidence of system-wide corruption (and lack of accountability) which has a negative effect on people's generalized trust, as well as the extent to which people trust others outside of their inner circle. In corrupt societies, people tend to only trust very close friends and relatives and will establish little connections to others outside of their own group. Such a culture of distrust can in turn seriously undermine accountability when measures to monitor quality, and when public bodies in charge of the monitoring are viewed with suspicion and lack legitimacy, allowing corruption and nepotism to further erode a sense of having a fair society.

In South Africa, the historic context of Apartheid also explains the lack of trust between different groups of people and why external accountability has not contributed to the development of trust. Under the Apartheid regime, monitoring and control (such as via school inspections) were used to oppress the Black population and subjugate schools to White ruling; any proposal to enhance external accountability is therefore often resisted and viewed with distrust, both at the individual and organizational level.

Trust, distrust and capacity

Capacity of both the trustor and trustee is an integral part of whether and how people come to trust one another. As our review indicated, people trust someone they believe is competent, benevolent and will act in a just and fair manner. Goodall (2015) and Borgnovi and Burns (2015) also talk about the capacity of a trustor to be able to place trust in someone else. As Goodall (2015) explains, in order to have trust and ‘take a leap of faith’, one requires a certain amount of resources, such as economic or social support. Those who do not have resources will not have the resilience to go on trusting someone in the face of disappointments and will therefore have a higher disposition to distrust. Also, as Borgnovi and Burns (2015) explain, trustor’s need to have the capacity to evaluate the quality of interactions with others and need to have the cognitive skills to understand whether they can trust someone else in a particular encounter at any given time (Borgnovi and Burns, 2015). Capacity of both trustor and trustee is therefore an important precondition for high-trust relationships to develop over time.

The relation between capacity and trust also runs in the opposite direction as high levels of trust would reduce transaction costs in an exchange relationship (freeing up technical capital), improve information sharing and coordination, and improve human and social capital, both on an individual and organisational level.

Too much trust and strong ties between individuals and organisations may however also reduce capacity when it leads to groupthink and prevents people from creating new ties with people outside of their own school or organisation, or when it leads to ignoring warning signs and problems when facts are not checked. Here is where accountability measures are important, as they can provide an external check on performance and bring in new ideas into tight school communities. The role of boundary spanners, such as district officials who monitor schools in South Africa, is particularly relevant here. These boundary spanners can promote or inhibit trust and capacity within a system as they move between institutions. These individuals by the very nature of their work are likely to have substantial power invested within their roles and have the capacity to influence negative (or positive) discourses within individual institutions.

On the other hand, boundary spanners can also perpetuate distrust, particularly when their power is invested in maintaining the status quo. For example, district officials who distrust certain schools or principals in their district may choose to withhold certain information from them. This in turn affects their capacity to perform their role and undermines progress within that particular school and the capacity to improve.

On the system level, the relation between capacity and trust is more complex and particularly relates to how human and technical capital is distributed across the education system and how this informs generalized trust and the confidence people in various social strata have in institutions distributing those resources. The high inequality in South Africa and the unequal distribution of resources across schools reduces people’s sense of fairness people and generalized trust. As we explained in the previous section, a lack of generalized trust also reduces collaboration with people and organisations outside of one’s own inner cycle, reinforcing the already high level of segregation and inequality in the education system.

Accountability and capacity

Accountability plays a key role in both the exchange of resources as well as in enhancing the capacity to provide for, and improve the quality of education. The effect works through a number of interactions

which vary depending on the extent to which accountability involves actual formal monitoring and assessment interventions (such as through national assessments or monitoring visits), or whether accountability refers to the functioning of a rule of law. The first type of effect would for example see schools and policy-makers use outcomes of monitoring and assessment to evaluate the effectiveness of reform programmes or new policies, or understand the performance of schools across the country and which schools, districts or provinces need targeted support. Capacity is built when these measures provide feedback for improvement or set performance standards and targets which allow schools and other stakeholders to improve and align their work. Accountability measures can however also reduce capacity when, particularly in a high stakes context, schools respond strategically and for example narrow their curriculum or exclude potentially low performing students from school entry. Ideally, accountability measures provide a stable, yet responsive framework within which individuals and organisations may function, and a system-wide sense of routine and climate of order in which people feel safe to take risks and engage in new relations and improve their practice.

Interestingly, capacity is also a precondition for such an effect, as *capacity is needed for effective accountability, not just an outcome of it*. Englert et al (2007) and Eddy Spicer et al (2016) discuss the knowledge and skills required of various groups of educators to implement assessment and accountability systems, while the same groups need to have the capacity to act on performance feedback from these systems to improve their work.

Furthermore, accountability, both on an interpersonal level, as well as in a well-functioning bureaucracy and rule of law prevents power misuse and corruption, which is one of the major constraints of system-wide improvement in education. Beugelsdijk (2005) for example talks about how formal control and monitoring allows for a steady flow of information, reporting on, and sanctioning of abuse, which would reduce the risk of corruption and nepotism. Corruption, such as in South Africa once it is widespread, undermines the motivation of public-sector employees and diminishes the ethical climate and sense of moral purpose across a system. Corruption also severely limits a system's capacity to improve through the hidden costs imposed on the system, and by distorting the allocation of resources. In corrupt systems, people are selected on other indicators than merit, which reduces the quality of the human capital needed for a well-functioning school and education system. Examples from our review are multiple, particularly in the misuse of school funds by principals and school governing bodies, or in how people are appointed and promoted into policy roles.

Trust, accountability and capacity

Throughout the review, relations between all three variables were highlighted, such as in how accountability can counteract too much trust and improve capacity for school improvement; or when a well-functioning accountability system prevents corruption and misuse of power, which would promote trust and allow people and organisations to develop new relations, bring in new ideas and build social capital.

Particularly relevant for South Africa is the existence of a dual education system with a high level of segregation. This is particularly prevalent due to the grave economic inequities, which exist in South Africa. The literature indicates that in South Africa race is not the only issue now confronting democracy; class has become the new challenge; a challenge is operative both within and across races. Our review highlighted how such uneven distribution of human, technical and social capital reduces (general and interpersonal) trust and leads to strong opposition to (the implementation and use of) accountability.

South Africa's education system, and the country as a whole, is characterised by an overall lack of any meaningful accountability. We explained how this is related to the historic context of Apartheid and high levels of distrust in external control and monitoring. A lack of accountability (measures and institutions) allows for corruption and nepotism, which reduces both capacity and (generalized) trust. Nepotism is also articulated via deliberate undermining of redistributive policies, such as the school fee system, aimed at resolving differences within schools, yet according to the literature in many cases has exacerbated them

(see Nordstrum, 2012). Corruption and nepotism undermine people's sense of fairness and trust in others and in governmental institutions, which can lead to a further breakdown of democratic instruments of control when instruments are seen to lack democratic legitimacy. This can manifest itself as resistance or passive disengagement to such systems. It can also lead to a lack of policy learning as actors attempt to circumvent the system through corrupt means – such as exam fixing- policies will not evolve, nor will they improve the system.

Restoring trust, a cooperative system and an ethical culture requires morally justified leadership which sets an example of just principles, high quality institutions which implement these principles, and a feedback mechanism which allows people to observe collaborative actions of others and of their fair and just behaviour (Rothstein, 2013).

References

- Bansilal S (2011) Assessment reform in South Africa: Opening up or closing spaces for teachers? *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 78: 91-107.
- Beets P, van Louw T (2011) Social justice implications of South African school assessment practices. *Africa Education Review* 8: 302-317.
- Chisholm L, Wildeman R (2013) The politics of testing in South Africa. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 45: 89-100.
- Crouch L, Vinjevold P (2007) South Africa: Access before quality, and what to do now? *Revista de currículum y formación del profesorado* 10 (1): 1-16.
- Department of Education (2010) Evidence-based report: National Senior Certificate (NSC) intervention improvement strategies. Pretoria: Dpt of Education.
- Harber C (2001) *State of transition: Post-apartheid educational reform in South Africa*. Monographs in International Education. Didcot: Symposium Books.
- Herselman M, Hay D (2002) Quality assurance in the Foundation Phase in the Eastern Cape province: A case study. *South African Journal of Education* 22: 239-245.
- Howie S (2012) High-stakes testing in South Africa: Friend or foe? *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice* 19: 81-98.
- Hungi N, Thuku FW (2010) Variations in reading achievement across 14 southern African school systems: Which factors matter? *International Review of Education* 56 (1): 63–101.
- Jansen J (2001) On the politics of performance in South African education: Autonomy, accountability and assessment. *Prospects* 31 (4): 553-564.x
- Lubisi R, Murphy R (2002) Assessment in South African schools. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice* 9: 255-268.
- Maile S (2002) Accountability: An essential aspect of school governance. *South African Journal of Education* 22 (4): 326-331.
- Marishane, R. N. (2013). Management of School Infrastructure in the Context of a No-Fee Schools Policy in Rural South African Schools: Lessons from the Field. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, 8(5).
- Mazibuko SP (2007) The managerial role of the principal in whole-school evaluation in the context of disadvantaged schools in Kwazulu-Natal. Doctor of Education dissertation, University of South Africa.
- Murtin F (2013) *Improving education quality in South Africa*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Naidoo JP (2005) *Educational decentralization and school governance in South Africa: From policy to practice*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Pryor J, Lubisi C (2002) Reconceptualising educational assessment in South Africa: Testing times for teachers. *International Journal of Educational Development* 22: 673-686.
- Scherman V, Howie S, Bosker R (2011) Constructing benchmarks for monitoring purposes: Evidence from South Africa. *Educational Research and Evaluation* 17: 511-525.
- Smith WJ, Ngoma-Maema WY (2003) Education for All in South Africa: Developing a national system for quality assurance. *Comparative Education* 39 (3): 345-365.
- Taylor N (2009) Standards-based accountability in South Africa. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 20 (3): 341-356.
- Taylor, S., & Spaul, N. (2013). *The effects of rapidly expanding primary school access on effective learning: The case of Southern and Eastern Africa since 2000* (No. 01/2013).
- Van Der Berg S, Louw M (2006) Unravelling the mystery: Understanding South African schooling outcomes in regional context. Paper presented at: Conference of the Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University, 21 March.
<http://www.jet.org.za/events/conferences/School%20quality%20research%20seminar%202/VanderBerg-Louw%20SA%20schooling%20outcomes.pdf> (accessed 3 November 2016).

- Van der Berg S, Shepherd D (2008) Signalling performance: an analysis of continuous assessment and matriculation examination marks in South African schools. Pretoria: Umalusi.
- Cross, M., Mungadi, R. & Rouhani, S. (2002) From Policy to Practice: Curriculum reform in South African education, *Comparative Education*, 38:2, 171-187, DOI: 10.1080/03050060220140566
- Karlsson, J. (2002) The Role of Democratic Governing Bodies in South African Schools, *Comparative Education*, 38:3, 327-336, DOI: 10.1080/0305006022000014188
- Smith, W.J. & Ngoma-Maema, W.Y. (2003) Education for all in South Africa: developing a national system for quality assurance, *Comparative Education*, 39:3, 345-365, DOI: 10.1080/0305006032000134418
- Perry, K.H. (2008) Primary school literacy in Southern Africa: African perspectives, *Comparative Education*, 44:1, 57-73, DOI: 10.1080/03050060701809433
- Spreen, C.A. & Vally, S. (2010) Prospects and pitfalls: A review of post- apartheid education policy research and analysis in South Africa, *Comparative Education*, 46:4, 429-448, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2010.519478
- research and analysis in South Africa, *Comparative Education*, 46:4, 429-448, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2010.519478
- Smith, M.C. (2011) Which in- and out- of- school factors explain variations in learning across different socio- economic groups? Findings from South Africa, *Comparative Education*, 47:1, 79-102, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2011.541678
- Sayed, Y. & Ahmed, r. (2011) Education quality in post- apartheid South African policy: balancing equity, diversity, rights and participation, *Comparative Education*, 47:1, 103-118, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2011.541680
- Swartz ,S. Harding, J.H. & De Lannoy , A.(2012) Ikasi style and the quiet violence of dreams: a critique of youth belonging in post-Apartheid South Africa, *Comparative Education*, 48:1, 27-40, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2011.637761
- Chisholm, L. (2015) Curriculum transition in Germany and South Africa: 1990–2010, *Comparative Education*, 51:3, 401-418, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2015.1037585
- Desai, Z. (2016) Learning through the medium of English in multilingual South Africa: enabling or disabling learners from low income contexts?, *Comparative Education*, 52:3, 343-358, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2016.1185259
- Clark, D.A. (2017) Valuing and revaluing education: what can we learn about measurement from the South African poor?, *Comparative Education*, 53:1, 54-80, DOI:10.1080/03050068.2017.1254954
- Coombe, C. (2000). Keeping the education system healthy: Managing the impact of HIV/AIDS on education in South Africa. *Current issues in comparative education*, 3(1), 14-27.
- Sachs, J. (2002). South Africa as the epicenter of HIV/AIDS: vital political legacies and current debates. *Current issues in comparative education*, 3(1), 52-56.
- Mullinix, B. B. (2001). Nurturing partnership: a Southern African continuum of flexible stages in partnership development. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 3(2), 1-12.
- Lewis, S. G., & Naidoo, J. (2004). Whose theory of participation? School governance policy and practice in South Africa. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 6(2), 100-112.
- Enslin, P. & Shirley Pendlebury (2000) Looking others in the eye: rights and gender in South African education policy, *Journal of Education Policy*, 15:4, 431-440, DOI: 10.1080/026809300413437
- Tikly, L. (2003) Governmentality and the study of education policy in South Africa, *Journal of Education Policy*, 18:2, 161-174, DOI: 10.1080/0268093022000043074
- Fataar, A. (2006) Policy networks in recalibrated political terrain: the case of school curriculum policy and politics in South Africa, *Journal of Education Policy*, 21:6, 641-659, DOI: 10.1080/02680930600969159
- Deacon , R., Ruksana Osman & Michelle Buchler (2010) Education policy studies in South Africa, 1995 –2006, *Journal of Education Policy*, 25:1, 95-110, DOI:10.1080/02680930903314269
- Nordstrum, L.E. (2012) Incentives to exclude: the political economy constraining school fee abolition in South Africa, *Journal of Education Policy*, 27:1, 67-88, DOI:10.1080/02680939.2011.604138

- Venkat, H., & Spaull, N. (2015). What do we know about primary teachers' mathematical content knowledge in South Africa? An analysis of SACMEQ 2007. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 41, 121-130. <https://nicspaull.com/2017/08/02/my-lead-the-change-qa-with-aera-sig/>
- Spaull, N. (2016) Disentangling the language effect in South African schools: Measuring the impact of 'language of assessment' in grade 3 literacy and numeracy. *South African Journal of Childhood Education* 6(1) p.1-20 . DOI: 10.4102/sajce. v6i1.475
- Draper, K., and Spaull, S. (2015). Examining oral reading fluency among grade 5 rural English Second Language (ESL) learners in South Africa: Analysis of NEEDU 2013. *South African Journal of Childhood Education* 5(2) pp.44-77.
- Taylor, S., and Spaull, N., (2015) Measuring access to learning over a period of increased access to schooling: The case of Southern and Eastern Africa since 2000. *International Journal of Educational Development* . Vol. 41 (March) pp47-59
- Spaull, N. and Kotze, J. (2015). Starting behind and staying behind in South Africa: The case of insurmountable learning deficits in mathematics. *International Journal of Educational Development*. Vol 41 (March) pp12-24
- Venkat, H. and Spaull, N. 2015. What do we know about primary teachers' mathematical content knowledge in South Africa? An analysis of SACMEQ 2007. *International Journal of Educational Development*. Vol. 41 Mar. p.121-130
- Spaull, N. 2013. Poverty & Privilege: Primary School Inequality in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*. 33 (2013) pp. 436-447
- Spaull, N. (2015). Schooling in South Africa: How Low Quality Education Becomes a Poverty Trap. in De Lannoy A, Swartz S, Lake L & Smith C (eds) 2015 Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.
- Spaull, N. 2014. Accountability in the South African Education System. in Transformation Audit 2014. Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. Cape Town
- Spaull, N. (2014) Educational outcomes in Gauteng 1995-2011: An overview of provincial performance in standardised assessments, in F Maringe & M Prew (eds), *Twenty Years of Education Transformation in Gauteng 1994 to 2014: An Independent Review*, African Minds, Somerset West., pp289-312
- Van der Berg, S., Spaull, N., Wills, G., Gustafsson, M., & Kotzé, J. (2016) Identifying the Binding Constraints in Education. Report commissioned by the South African Presidency and funded by the European Union's Programme to Support Pro-Poor Policy Development (PSPPD) initiative.
- Spaull, N. (2013). *South Africa's Education Crisis*. Centre for Development and Enterprise. Pretoria.
- Spaull, N; & Taylor, S. (2013). Trends in effective enrolment: Measuring access and basic-quality improvements in education for nine African countries, 2000-2007. Input research report for Save The Children's "Getting to Zero" report.
- Spaull, N. 2012. SACMEQ at a Glance for 10 African countries. 2 page research note per country.
- Spaull, N., & Taylor, S. (2014). Access to what? Creating a composite measure of educational quantity and educational quality for 11 African countries. *Comparative Education Review*, 59(1), 133-165.
- Van der Berg, S; Taylor, S; Gustafsson, M; Spaull, N; Armstrong, P. (2011). *Improving Education Quality in South Africa*. Report for the National Planning Commission. Department of Economics, Stellenbosch University.
- Fiske, E., & Ladd, H. (2004). *Elusive Equity: Education Reform in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press / HSRC Press.
- Gustafsson, M., & Mabogoane, T. (2010). South Africa's economics of education: A stocktaking and an agenda for the way forward. *Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers*: 06/10.
- Hoadley, U. (2010). What do we know about teaching and learning in primary schools in South Africa? A review of the classroom-based research literature. Report for the Grade 3 Improvement project of the University of Stellenbosch. Western Cape Education Department.

- Hoadley, U., & Ward, C. (2009). *Managing to Learn: Instructional Leadership on South African Secondary Schools*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Taylor, N., Muller, J., & Vinjevd, P. (2003). *Getting Schools Working*. Cape Town: Pearson Education.
- Taylor, N., Fleisch, B., & Shindler, J. (2008). *Changes in Education since 1994*. Pretoria: The Presidency: Input into the 15 year review process.
- Van der Berg, S. (2007). *Apartheid's Enduring Legacy: Inequalities in Education*. *Journal of African Economies*, 16(5), 849-880.
- Van der Berg, S. (2008). *How effective are poor schools? Poverty and educational outcomes in South Africa*. Centre for European, Governance and Economic Development Research (CEGE) Discussion Papers 69.
- Yamauchi, F. (2011). *School quality, clustering and government subsidy in post-apartheid South Africa*. *Economics of Education Review*, 146-156.
- Prinsloo, C. & reddy, V. 2013. *Educator leave in the South African public schooling system*. HSRC Policy Brief
- Gustafsson, M. & Taylor, S. (2013). *Treating schools to a new administration. The impact of South Africa's 2005 provincial boundary change on school performance*. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers WP 28/2013.
- Shepherd, D. (2011). *Constraints to School Effectiveness: What prevents poor schools from delivering results?* Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers 05/11. [PIRLS]
- Taylor, S. (2011). *Uncovering indicators of effective school management in South Africa using the National School Effectiveness Study*. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers 10/11, 1-51. [NSES]
- Taylor, S., & Yu, D. (2009). *The Importance of Socioeconomic Status in Determining Educational Achievement in South Africa*. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers.
- Van der Berg, S., & Louw, M. (2006). *Lessons Learnt from SACMEQII: South African Student Performance in Regional Context*. Investment Choices for Education in Africa. Johannesburg.
- Carnoy, M., Chisholm, L., et al, (2008). *Towards Understanding Student Academic Performance in South Africa: A Pilot Study of Grade 6 Mathematics Lessons in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC.
- Crouch, Luis and Mabogoane, Thabo (2001) 'No magic bullets, just tracer bullets: The role of learning resources, social advantage, and education management in improving the performance of South African schools', *Social Dynamics*, 27: 1, 60 — 78
- Jansen, J. *The Leadership of Transition: Correction, Conciliation and Change in South African Education*. *J Educ Change* (2007) 8: 91. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-007-9026-x>
- Jackson, J.E. *Critical Response to "The Leadership of Transition: Correction, Conciliation and Change in South African Education"*. *J Educ Change* (2007) 8: 105. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-007-9024-z>
- Fleisch, B. *System-wide improvement at the instructional core: Changing reading teaching in South Africa*. *J Educ Change* (2016) 17: 437. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-016-9282-8>
- Harber, C., & Muthukrishna, N. (2000). *School effectiveness and school improvement in context: The case of South Africa*. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 11(4), 421-434.
- Teddlie, C. (2004). *Getting schools working in South Africa: A valuable addition to the SESI field*. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 15(2), 227-240.
- Taylor, N. (2009). *Standards-based accountability in South Africa*. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 20(3), 341-356.
- Howie, S. J., Marsh, T. A., Allummoottil, J., Glencross, M., Delive, C., & Hughes, C. A. (2000). *Middle school students' performance in mathematics in the Third International Mathematics and Science Study: South African realities*. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 26(1), 61-77.
- Howie, S. J., & Pietersen, J. J. (2001). *Mathematics literacy of final year students: South African realities*. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 27(1), 7-25.

- Van der Berg, S. (2008). How effective are poor schools? Poverty and educational outcomes in South Africa. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 34(3), 145-154.
- Adams, Fareed, and Yusef Waghid. 2005. "In defence of deliberative democracy: Challenging less democratic school governing body practices." *South African Journal of Education* 25 (1):25-33.
- Adams, Fareed, and Yusef Waghid. 2003. "In quest of a special education programme for democratic school governance in South Africa." *International Journal of Special Education* 18 (1):17-23.
- Beckmann, Johan. 2002. "The emergence of self-managing schools in South Africa: devolution of authority or disguised centralism?" *Education & the Law* 14 (3):153-166. doi: 10.1080/0953996022000027835.
- Beckmann, Johan, and Isak Prinsloo. 2009. "Legislation on school governors' power to appoint educators: friend or foe?" *South African Journal of Education* 29 (2):171-184.
- Brown, Byron, and Ntombozuko Duku. 2008. "Negotiated identities: dynamics in parents' participation in school governance in rural Eastern Cape schools and implication for school leadership." *South African Journal of Education* 28 (3):431-450.
- Bush, Tony, and J. A. N. Heystek. 2003. "School Governance in the New South Africa." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education* 33 (2):127.
- Clase, Pieter, Jacobus Kok, and Martyn van der Merwe. 2007. "Tension between school governing bodies and education authorities in South Africa and proposed resolutions thereof." *South African Journal of Education* 27 (2):243-263.
- Erasmus, Ermin, Lucy Gilson, Veloshnee Govender, and Moremi Nkosi. 2017. "Organisational culture and trust as influences over the implementation of equity-oriented policy in two South African case study hospitals." *International Journal for Equity in Health* 16:1-14. doi: 10.1186/s12939-017-0659-y.
- Fleisch, Brahm, and Pam Christie. 2004. "Structural change, leadership and school effectiveness/improvement: Perspectives from South Africa." *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education* 25 (1):95-112.
- Govender, Neelan, Bennie Grobler, and Raj Mestry. 2016. "Internal whole-school evaluation in South Africa: The influence of holistic staff capacity." *Educational Management Administration & Leadership* 44 (6):996-1020. doi: 10.1177/1741143215595414.
- Heystek, Jan. 2004. "School governing bodies the principal's burden or the light of his/her life?" *South African Journal of Education* 24 (4):308-312.
- Heystek, Jan. 2011. "School Governing Bodies in South African Schools: Under Pressure to Enhance Democratization and Improve Quality." *Educational Management Administration & Leadership* 39 (4):455-468. doi: 10.1177/1741143211406149.
- Lemon, Anthony. 2004. "Redressing school inequalities in the Eastern Cape, South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30 (2):269-290.
- Mabovula, Nonceba. 2009. "Giving voice to the voiceless through deliberative democratic school governance." *South African Journal of Education* 29 (2):219-233.
- Mabovula, Nonceba. 2010. "Revisiting Jürgen Habermas's notion of communicative action and its relevance for South African school governance: can it succeed?" *South African Journal of Education* 30 (1):1-12.
- McEwan, Cheryl. 2003. "'Bringing government to the people': women, local governance and community participation in South Africa." *Geoforum* 34 (4):469-481.
- McPherson, Gregory, and Mbali Dlamini. 1998. *Democratic School Governing Bodies in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal: The First Elections. EPU Research Report*: ERIC.
- Mestry, R. 2004. "Financial accountability: the principal or the school governing body?" *South African Journal of Education* 24 (2):126-132.
- Mestry, Raj, and Jan Khumalo. 2012. "Governing bodies and learner discipline: managing rural schools in South Africa through a code of conduct." *South African Journal of Education* 32 (1):97-110.

- Mncube, Vusi. 2012. "Stakeholders' perceptions and experiences of learners' involvement in democratic school governance in South Africa." *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology* 3 (2):135-143.
- Mncube, Vusi S. 2007. "Social justice, policy and parents' understanding of their voice in school governing bodies in South Africa." *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 39 (2):129-143.
- Mncube, Vuzi. 2009b. "The perceptions of parents of their role in the democratic governance of schools in South Africa: Are they on board?" *South African Journal of Education* 29 (1):83-103.
- Moloi, Kholeka. 2007. "An overview of education management in South Africa." *South African journal of education* 27 (3):463-476.
- Moloi, Kholeka Constance. 2014. "The complexity of dealing with change in the South African schooling system: 20 years into democracy." *African Identities* 12 (3/4):264-282. doi: 10.1080/14725843.2015.1009619.
- Ngidi, David P. 2004. "Educators' perceptions of the efficiency of school governing bodies." *South African Journal of Education* 24 (4):260-263.
- Prinsloo, Sakkie. 2006. "State interference in the governance of public schools." *South African Journal of Education* 26 (3):355-368.
- Prinsloo, Sakkie. 2016. "The dual role of the principal as employee of the Department of Education and ex officio member of the governing body." *South African Journal of Education* 36 (2):1-9. doi: 10.15700/saje.v36n2a498.
- Rangongo, Paul, Mokgadi Mohlakwana, and Johan Beckmann. 2016. "Causes of financial mismanagement in South African public schools: The views of role players." *South African Journal of Education* 36 (3):1-10. doi: 10.15700/saje.v36n3a1266.
- Smit, Marius H, and Izak J Oosthuizen. 2011. "Improving school governance through participative democracy and the law." *South African Journal of Education* 31 (1):55-73.
- Thaver, Beverley. 2010. "The Transition to Equity in South African Higher Education: Governance, Fairness, and Trust in Everyday Academic Practice." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 23 (1):43-56. doi: 10.1007/s10767-010-9098-0.
- Tikly, Leon. 2003. "Governmentality and the study of education policy in South Africa." *Journal of Education Policy* 18 (2):161-174.
- Tsotetsi, Stephen, Noleen Van Wyk, and Eleanor Lemmer. 2008. "The experience of and need for training of school governors in rural schools in South Africa." *South African Journal of Education* 28 (3):385-400.
- Van der Westhuizen, Philip, and Herman Van Vuuren. 2007. "Professionalising principalship in South
- Woolman, S., and B. Fleisch. 2008. "Democracy, social capital and school governing bodies in South Africa." *Education & the Law* 20 (1):47-80. doi: 10.1080/09539960802138269.
- Xaba, Mgadla. 2006. "The difficulties of school development planning." *South African Journal of Education* 26 (1):15-26.
- Xaba, Mgadla I. 2004. "Governors or watchdogs? The role of educators in school governing bodies." *South African Journal of Education* 24 (4):313-316.
- Xaba, Mgadla Isaac. 2011. "The possible cause of school governance challenges in South Africa." *South African Journal of Education* 31 (2):201-211.
- Dube, O., Hausmann, R., & Rodrik, D. (2007). South Africa: Identifying the binding constraint on shared growth. *CID South Africa project, Harvard University*.
- Abbott, D. (2017) Equity, trust and the self-improving schools system, *Journal of Education Policy*, 32:5, 717-718, DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2017.1322338
- Achinstein, B. & Ogawa, R.T. New teachers of color and culturally responsive teaching in an era of educational accountability: Caught in a double bind .*J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 1.
- Afridi, F., Barooah, B., & Somanathan, R. (2017). Improving learning outcomes through information provision: Evidence from Indian villages.

- Ahier, J. & Beck, J. (2003). Education and the Politics of Envy. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 51:4, 320-343, DOI: 10.1046/j.1467-8527.2003.00242.x
- Ainscow, M. Developing inclusive education systems: what are the levers for change? *J Educ Change* (2005) 6: 109. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-005-1298-4>
- Ainscow, M. Moving knowledge around: Strategies for fostering equity within educational systems. *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 289. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9182-5>
- Alegre, M. A. and Ferrer, G. (2010), School regimes and education equity: Some insights based on PISA 2006. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36: 433–461. doi:10.1080/01411920902989193
- Allen, A. (2012) Cultivating the myopic learner: the shared project of highstakes and low-stakes assessment, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 33:5, 641-659, DOI: 10.1080/01425692.2012.668832
- ALEXANDER, Nicola A.; CHOI, Wonseok. Looking Beyond School Walls: An Environmental Scan of Minneapolis Public Schools, 2004-2008. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 23, p. 1, jan. 2015. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1492>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.1492>
- Altrichter, Martin Heinrich & Katharina Soukup-Altrichter (2014) School decentralization as a process of differentiation, hierarchization and selection, *Journal of Education Policy*, 29:5, 675-699, DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2013.873954
- AMREIN-BEARDSLEY, Audrey. Recruiting Expert Teachers into High-Needs Schools: Leadership, Money, and Colleagues. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 20, p. 27, sep. 2012. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/941>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v20n27.2012>.
- Anderson, E., & Jap, S. D. (2005). The dark side of close relationships. *MIT Sloan Management Review*, 46(3), 75.
- Anderson, S.E., Mascall, B., Stiegelbauer, S. et al. No one way: Differentiating school district leadership and support for school improvement *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 403. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9189-y>
- Apple, M.W. (2001) Comparing Neo-liberal Projects and Inequality in education, *Comparative Education*, 37:4, 409-423, DOI: 10.1080/03050060120091229
- Araújo, M. (2007) ‘Modernising the comprehensive principle’: selection, setting and the institutionalisation of educational failure, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 28:2, 241-257, DOI: 10.1080/01425690701192752
- Artz, K. W., & Brush, T. H. (2000). Asset specificity, uncertainty and relational norms: an examination of coordination costs in collaborative strategic alliances. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 41(4), 337-362.
- Au, W.W. (2008) Devising inequality: a Bernsteinian analysis of high- stakes testing and social reproduction in education, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29:6, 639-651, DOI:10.1080/01425690802423312
- Au (2008) Between education and the economy: high - stakes testing and the contradictory location of the new middle class, *Journal of Education Policy*, 23:5, 501-513, DOI: 10.1080/02680930802148941
- Avis, J. (2003) Re-thinking trust in a performative culture: the case of education, *Journal of Education Policy*, 18:3, 315-332, DOI:10.1080/02680930305577
- Bachmann, R. (2001). Trust, power and control in trans-organizational relations. *Organization studies*, 22(2), 337-365.
- Bachmann, R., & Inkpen, A. C. (2011). Understanding institutional-based trust building processes in inter-organizational relationships. *Organization Studies*, 32(2), 281-301.
- Bagley, C. and Hillyard, S. (2014), Rural schools, social capital and the Big Society: a theoretical and empirical exposition. *Br Educ Res J*, 40: 63–78. doi:10.1002/berj.3026
- Baroutsis, A. (2016) Media accounts of school performance: reinforcing dominant practices of accountability, *Journal of Education Policy*, 31:5, 567-582, DOI:10.1080/02680939.2016.1145253

- Barrera, D. (2008). The social mechanisms of trust. *Sociologica*, 2(2), 0-0.
- Barrera-Osorio, F., & Raju, D. (2010). Short-run learning dynamics under a test-based accountability system: evidence from Pakistan.
- Barrera, D., & van de Bunt, G. G. (2009). Learning to trust: networks effects through time. *European Sociological Review*, 25(6), 709-721.
- Bascia, N. Do Teacher Unions Have Demonstrate Potential to Promote Positive Forms of Pedagogical, Curricular and Organizational Change that Benefit Student Learning? *Journal of Educational Change* (2001) 2: 65
- Becerra, M., & Gupta, A. K. (2003). Perceived trustworthiness within the organization: The moderating impact of communication frequency on trustor and trustee effects. *Organization science*, 14(1), 32-44.
- Bennett, J.V., Ylimaki, R.M., Dugan, T.M. et al. Developing the potential for sustainable improvement in underperforming schools: Capacity building in the socio-cultural dimension. *J Educ Change* (2014) 15: 377. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-013-9217-6>
- Bergh, A. (2015) Local quality work in an age of accountability – between autonomy and control, *Journal of Education Policy*, 30:4, 590-607, DOI:10.1080/02680939.2015.1017612
- BERTRAND, Melanie; PEREZ, Wendy Y.; ROGERS, John. The covert mechanisms of education policy discourse: Unmasking policy insiders' discourses and discursive strategies in upholding or challenging racism and classism in education. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 23, p. 93, sep. 2015. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/2068>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2068>
- Best M, Knight P, Lietz P, Lockwood C, Nugroho D, Tobin, ML (2013) *The impact of national and international assessment programmes on education policy, particularly policies regarding resource allocation and teaching and learning practices in developing countries*. Final report. EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London
- Beugelsdijk, S. (2005). A note on the theory and measurement of trust in explaining differences in economic growth. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 30(3), 371-387.
- BETEBENNER, Damian W. ; HOWE, Kenneth R. ; FOSTER, Samara S. . On school choice and test-based accountability.. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 13, p. 41, oct. 2005. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/146>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v13n41.2005>.
- BICKEL, Robert; TOMASEK, Terry; EAGLE, Teresa Hardman. Top-Down, Routinized Reform in Low-Income, Rural Schools. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 8, p. 12, feb. 2000. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/403>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v8n12.2000>.
- BICKEL, Robert; HOWLEY, Craig. The Influence of Scale on School Performance. *Education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 8, p. 22, may 2000. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/413>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v8n22.2000>.
- Björk, L.G. & Blase, J. *Educ Asse Eval Acc* (2009) 21: 195. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-009-9078-y>
- Black, J. (2008). Constructing and contesting legitimacy and accountability in polycentric regulatory regimes. *Regulation & Governance*, 2(2), 137-164.
- Blok , H. Peter Slegers & Sjoerd Karsten (2008) Looking for a balance between internal and external evaluation of school quality: evaluation of the SVI model, *Journal of Education Policy*, 23:4, 379-395, DOI: 10.1080/02680930801923773
- Booher- Jennings, J. (2008) Learning to label: socialisation, gender, and the hidden curriculum of high- stakes testing, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29:2, 149-160, DOI: 10.1080/01425690701837513
- Borgonovi, F. and T. Burns (2015), “The educational roots of trust”, OECD Education Working Papers, No. 119, OECD Publishing, Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5js1kv85dfvd-en>

- Botha, R. J. (2012). Evolving leadership required in South African schools. *Research in Education*, 88(1), 40-49.
- Brady, A.M. (2016). The Regime of Self-Evaluation: Self-Conception for Teachers and Schools. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 64:4, 523-541, DOI:10.1080/00071005.2016.1164829
- Braithwaite, J., & Makkai, T. (1994). Trust and compliance. *Policing and Society: An International Journal*, 4(1), 1-12.
- Braithwaite, J. (1998). Institutionalizing distrust, enculturating trust. *Trust and governance*, 343, 356.
- BRAUN, Henry. Reconsidering the Impact of High-stakes Testing. **education policy analysis archives**, [S.l.], v. 12, p. 1, jan. 2004. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/157>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v12n1.2004>.
- BRAUN, Henry I. et al. The Black-White achievement gap: Do state policies matter?. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 14, p. 8, mar. 2006. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/79>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v14n8.2006>.
- Brazer, S. D., & Keller, L. R. (2006). A conceptual framework for multiple stakeholder educational decision making. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, 1(3).
- BREDESON, Paul V.; KLAR, Hans W.; JOHANSSON, Olof. Context-Responsive Leadership: Examining Superintendent Leadership in Context.. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 19, p. 18, june 2011. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/739>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v19n18.2011>
- Brooker, L. (2010) Constructing the Triangle Of Care: Power And Professionalism In Practitioner/Parent Relationships. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 58:2,181-196, DOI: 10.1080/00071001003752203
- Borg, C. & Mayo, P. (2001). From 'Adjuncts' to 'Subjects': Parental involvement in a working-class community. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22:2, 245-266, DOI: 10.1080/01425690120054867
- Bourke, R. & McGee, A. The challenge of change: Using activity theory to understand a cultural innovation . *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 217. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-011-9179-5>
- Broadhurst, K., Paton, H. & May- Chahal, C. (2005). Children missing from school systems: exploring divergent patterns of disengagement in the narrative accounts of parents, carers, children and young people. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26:1, 105-119, DOI:10.1080/0142569042000292743
- Bruns, B. De Gregario, S., Taut, S. (2016). Measures of effective teaching in developing countries. RISE Working Paper 16/009
- Burns, T. Learning and teaching, schools and communities. *J Educ Change* (2008) 9: 305.
- Burdett, N. (2016). The good, the bad, and the ugly - testing as a key part of the education ecosystem. RISE Working Paper 16/010
- Camera, G., and M. Casari (2009). Cooperation among strangers under the shadow of the future. *American Economic Review* 99(3), 979–1005
- Campbell, C. Big Change Question Do Local Central Authorities (Lcas) Make A Difference In School Reform? *J Educ Change* (2005) 6: 77
- Carpenter, D. P., & Krause, G. A. (2012). Reputation and public administration. *Public administration review*, 72(1), 26-32.
- Carr, D. (2000) Education, Profession and Culture: Some Conceptual Questions, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 48:3, 248-268, DOI: 10.1111/1467-8527.00146
- Carr, D. (2005) PERSONAL AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN EDUCATION AND TEACHING: A VIRTUE ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53:3, 255-271, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8527.2005.00294.x

- Carr-Hill, R, Rolleston, C, Pherali, T and Schendel, R, 2015. *The effects of school-based decision making on educational outcomes in low and middle income contexts: a systematic review*, 3ie Grantee Final Review. London: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie).
- Cerna, L. (2014), "Trust: What it is and Why it Matters for Governance and Education", OECD Education Working Papers, No. 108, OECD Publishing, Paris.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jxswcg0t6w1-en>
- Chisholm, L. (2007) Diffusion of the National Qualifications Framework and outcomes- based education in southern and eastern Africa, *Comparative Education*, 43:2, 295-309, DOI: 10.1080/03050060701362631
- Chambers, B.A. & Schmitt, N. *Journal of Personnel Evaluation in Education* (2002) 16: 103.
<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020048211783>
- Chapman, C. & Hadfield, M. Supporting the middle tier to engage with school-based networks: Change strategies for influencing and cohering. *J Educ Change* (2010) 11: 221.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-009-9125-y>
- Chou, K. T. (2008). Glocalized dioxin—regulatory science and public trust in a double risk society. *Soziale Welt*, 181-197.
- Choudhury, E. (2008). Trust in administration: An integrative approach to optimal trust. *Administration & Society*, 40(6), 586-620.
- CIMBRICZ, Sandra. State-Mandated Testing and Teachers' Beliefs and Practice. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 10, p. 2, jan. 2002. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/281>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v10n2.2002>
- Colclough, c. (2012) Education, poverty and development – mapping their interconnections, *Comparative Education*, 48:2, 135-148, DOI:10.1080/03050068.2011.608891
- Coletti, A. L., Sedatole, K. L., & Towry, K. L. (2005). The effect of control systems on trust and cooperation in collaborative environments. *The Accounting Review*, 80(2), 477-500.
- Collier, P. (2016). The cultural foundations of economic failure: A conceptual toolkit. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 126, 5-24
- Collier, P. (2017). Culture, Politics and Economic Development. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20, p.111-125
- Colquitt, J. A., Scott, B. A., & LePine, J. A. (2007). Trust, trustworthiness, and trust propensity: a meta-analytic test of their unique relationships with risk taking and job performance.
- Connolly, P. & Keenan, M. (2002). Racist Harassment in the White Hinterlands: Minority ethnic children and parents' experiences of schooling in Northern Ireland. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23:3, 341-355, DOI: 10.1080/0142569022000015391
- Costa, A. C., & Bijlsma-Frankema, K. (2007). Trust and control interrelations new perspectives on the trust—control nexus. *Group & Organization Management*, 32(4), 392-406.
- Crawford, L. (2016). School Management and Public-Private Partnerships in Uganda. RISE Working Paper 17/013
- Creemers, B., & Kyriakides, L. (2015). Developing, testing, and using theoretical models for promoting quality in education. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 26(1), 102-119.
- Croll, P. and Moses, D. (2000), Continuity and Change in Special School Provision: Some perspectives on local education authority policy-making. *British Educational Research Journal*, 26: 177–190. doi:10.1080/01411920050000935
- Crouch, L., and Rolleston, C. (2017). Raising the Floor on Learning Levels: Equitable Improvement Starts with the Tail. RISE
- Curry, K.A., Mwavita, M., Holter, A. et al. *Educ Asse Eval Acc* (2016) 28: 89.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-015-9226-5>
- Datnow, A. Collaboration and contrived collegiality: Revisiting Hargreaves in the age of accountability. *J Educ Change* (2011) 12: 147. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-011-9154-1>

- David, R. J., & Han, S. K. (2004). A systematic assessment of the empirical support for transaction cost economics. *Strategic management journal*, 25(1), 39-58.
- Davis, D.R., Ellett, C.D. & Annunziata, J. Journal of Personnel Evaluation in Education (2002) 16: 287. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021791907098>
- Davis, B., Sumara, D. & D'Amour, L. Understanding school districts as learning systems: Some lessons from three cases of complex transformation. *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 373. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9183-4>
- Das, T. K., & Teng, B.-S. (1998). Between trust and control: Developing confidence in partner cooperation in alliances. *Academy of management review*, 23(3), 491-512
- Das, T. K., & Teng, B. S. (2001). Trust, control, and risk in strategic alliances: An integrated framework. *Organization studies*, 22(2), 251-283.
- David, A.H. (2010) The 'collateral impact' of pupil behaviour and geographically concentrated socio- economic disadvantage, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31:3, 261-276
- Davies, P. and Davies, N. M. (2014), Paying for quality? Associations between private school income, performance and use of resources. *Br Educ Res J*, 40: 421-440. doi:10.1002/berj.3107
- Davies, L. (2011) Learning for state - building: capacity development, education and fragility, *Comparative Education*, 47:2, 157-180
- Davies, B. & Hentschke, G.C. Changing Resource and Organizational Patterns: The Challenge of Resourcing Education in the 21st Century *Journal of Educational Change* (2002) 3: 135. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1016568229042>
- Dekker, H. C. (2004). Control of inter-organizational relationships: evidence on appropriation concerns and coordination requirements. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 29(1), 27-49.
- De Lima, J.Á. Forgetting about Friendship: Using Conflict in Teacher Communities as a Catalyst for School Change *Journal of Educational Change* (2001) 2: 97. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1017509325276>
- Demir, Kamile. 2015. "The Effect of Organizational Trust on the Culture of Teacher Leadership in Primary Schools." *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice* 15 (3):621-634. doi: 10.12738/estp.2015.3.2337.
- Derouet, J. (2000) School autonomy in a society with multi-faceted political references: the search for new ways of coordinating action, *Journal of Education Policy*, 15:1, 61-69, DOI: 10.1080/026809300286024
- Dewulf, L., van Braak, J., & Van Houtte, M. (2017). The role of teacher trust in segregated elementary schools: a multilevel repeated measures examination. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 28(2), 259-275.
- Dhillon, J. K. (2009), The role of social capital in sustaining partnership. *British Educational Research Journal*, 35: 687-704. doi:10.1080/01411920802642348
- Dietz, G. and Hartog, D. (2006) 'Measuring trust inside organisations.', *Personnel review.*, 35 (5). pp. 557-588.
- Dolby, N. (2001). White Fright: The politics of white youth identity in South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22:1, 5-17, DOI: 10.1080/01425690020030756
- Døssing, H. (2011). *Mapping transparency, accountability and integrity in primary education in South Africa*. Transparency International
- Dunne, M. & Gazeley, L. (2008) Teachers, social class and underachievement, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29:5, 451-463, DOI:10.1080/01425690802263627
- DUTRO, Elizabeth; VALENCIA, Sheila. The Relationship Between State and District Content Standards: Issues of Alignment, Influence and Utility. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 12, p. 45, aug. 2004. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/200>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v12n45.2004>.
- Dyer, J. H., & Chu, W. (2003). The role of trustworthiness in reducing transaction costs and improving performance: Empirical evidence from the United States, Japan, and Korea. *Organization science*, 14(1), 57-68.

- Ecclestone, K. & Field, J. (2003) Promoting Social Capital in a 'Risk Society': A new approach to emancipatory learning or a new moral authoritarianism?, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24:3, 267-282, DOI: 10.1080/01425690301895
- ECCLESTONE, K. and PRYOR, J. (2003), 'Learning Careers' or 'Assessment Careers'? The Impact of Assessment Systems on Learning. *British Educational Research Journal*, 29: 471–488. doi:10.1080/01411920301849
- Eddy-Spicer, D.H. Mediated diffusion: Translating professional practice across schools in a high-stakes system . *J Educ Change* (2017) 18: 235. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-017-9296-x>
- Englert, K. S., Fries, D. A., Martin-Glenn, M. L., & Douglas, B. B. (2007). Accountability systems: A comparative analysis of superintendent, principal, and teacher perceptions. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, 2(4).
- Fang, Z., Grant, L. W., Xu, X., Stronge, J. H., & Ward, T. J. (2013). An international comparison investigating the relationship between national culture and student achievement. *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability*, 25(3), 159-177.
- Exley, S. (2016). 'Critical friends': exploring arm's length actor relationships to local government in education, *Journal of Education Policy*, 31:6, 742-756, DOI:10.1080/02680939.2016.1166523
- FALABELLA, Alejandra. The Performing School: The Effects of Market & Accountability Policies. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 22, p. 70, July 2014. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1315>>. Date accessed: 15 Nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v22n70.2014>
- FALLON, Gerald; BARNETT, John. Impacts of School Organizational Restructuring Into a Collaborative Setting on the Nature of Emerging Forms of Collegiality. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], v. 4, n. 9, Oct. 2009. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at: <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/159/79>>. Date accessed: 15 Nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2009v4n9a159>.
- Farrell, C.C. & Coburn, C.E. Absorptive capacity: A conceptual framework for understanding district central office learning *J Educ Change* (2017) 18: 135. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-016-9291-7>
- Fazekas, M. and T. Burns (2012), "Exploring the Complex Interaction Between Governance and Knowledge in Education", OECD Education Working Papers, No. 67, OECD Publishing, Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k9f1cx2l340-en>
- Fenwick, T.J. (2010) (un)Doing standards in education with actor - network theory, *Journal of Education Policy*, 25:2, 117-133
- Fertig, M. (2000). Old wine in new bottles? Researching effective schools in developing countries. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 11(3), 385-403.
- FINNIGAN, Kara S. ; BITTER, Catherine; O'DAY, Jennifer. Improving low-performing schools through external assistance: Lessons from Chicago and California.. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 17, p. 7, Apr. 2009. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/9>>. Date accessed: 15 Nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v17n7.2009>
- FISCHMAN, Gustavo E.. The "Private School Advantage" in Argentina. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 9, p. 31, Aug. 2001. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/360>>. Date accessed: 15 Nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v9n31.2001>.
- Frowe, I. (2005) PROFESSIONAL TRUST, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53:1, 34-53, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8527.2005.00282.x
- Friedman, A.A., Galligan, H.T., Albano, C.M. et al. Teacher subcultures of democratic practice amidst the oppression of educational reform. *J Educ Change* (2009) 10: 249. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-008-9090-x>
- FOK, Ping Kwan; KENNEDY, Kerry J.; CHAN, Jacqueline Kin Sang. Teachers, policymakers and project learning: The questionable use of 'hard' and 'soft' policy instruments to influence the implementation of curriculum reform in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Education Policy and*

Leadership, [S.I.], v. 5, n. 6, sep. 2010. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at:
<<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/198/93>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2010v5n6a198>.

- Forsyth, Patrick B, Curt M Adams, and Wayne K Hoy. 2011. *Collective Trust: Why Schools Can't Improve without It*: ERIC.
- Fuglsang, L., & Jagd, S. (2015). Making sense of institutional trust in organizations: Bridging institutional context and trust. *Organization*, 22(1), 23-39.
- Fulmer, C. A., & Gelfand, M. J. (2012). At what level (and in whom) we trust: Trust across multiple organizational levels. *Journal of Management*, 38(4), 1167-1230.
- Gillespie, N., & Dietz, G. (2009). Trust repair after an organization-level failure. *Academy of Management Review*, 34(1), 127-145.
- Gewirtz, S., Dickson, M., Power, S., Halpin, D. and Whitty, G. (2005), The deployment of social capital theory in educational policy and provision: the case of Education Action Zones in England. *British Educational Research Journal*, 31: 651–673. doi:10.1080/01411920500314620
- Giambona, F., Vassallo, E., & Vassiliadis, E. (2011). Educational systems efficiency in European Union countries. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 37(2), 108-122.
- Gill, J. (2008) Social Inclusion for South Australian schooling? Trying to reconcile the promise and the practice, *Journal of Education Policy*, 23:5, 453-467, DOI:10.1080/02680930802054404
- Glanville, J. L., & Paxton, P. (2007). How do we learn to trust? A confirmatory tetrad analysis of the sources of generalized trust. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 70(3), 230-242.
- Gleeson, D., Abbott, I. and Hill, R. (2011), Governing the governors: A case study of college governance in English further education. *British Educational Research Journal*, 37: 781–796. doi:10.1080/01411926.2010.495765
- GLENN, William J. et al. The equity of school facilities funding: Examples from Kentucky.. education policy analysis archives, [S.I.], v. 17, p. 14, aug. 2009. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/16>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v17n14.2009>.
- Glewwe, P., & Muralidharan, K. (2015). Improving school education outcomes in developing countries: evidence, knowledge gaps, and policy implications. *University of Oxford, Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE)*.
- Grabosky, P. (2013). Beyond Responsive Regulation: The expanding role of non- state actors in the regulatory process. *Regulation & Governance*, 7(1), 114-123.
- GRAUE, Beth; DELANEY, Katherine Kresin; KARCH, Anne Sontag. Ecologies of education quality. education policy analysis archives, [S.I.], v. 21, p. 8, jan. 2013. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1163>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v21n8.2013>.
- GRAY, J., GOLDSTEIN, H. and THOMAS, S. (2003), Of Trends and Trajectories: Searching for patterns in school improvement. *British Educational Research Journal*, 29: 83–88. doi:10.1080/0141192032000057393
- Grek, S. and Ozga, J. (2010), Governing education through data: Scotland, England and the European education policy space. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36: 937–952. doi:10.1080/01411920903275865
- GRISSMER, David W; BEEKMAN, John A; OBER, David R. Focusing on Short-term Achievement Gains Fails to Produce Long-term Gains. education policy analysis archives, [S.I.], v. 22, p. 5, feb. 2014. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1218>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v22n5.2014>.
- Grubb, W.N. & Allen, R. Rethinking school funding, resources, incentives, and outcomes .J Educ Change (2011) 12: 121.
- Grundy, S. Big Change Questions – Is Large-scale Educational Reform Possible? *Journal of Educational Change* (2002) 3: 55. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1016531522651>

- Gorard, S. & Taylor, C. (2002). Market Forces and Standards in Education: A preliminary consideration. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23:1, 5-18, DOI:10.1080/01425690120102827
- GOREY, Kevin M.. Comprehensive School Reform: Meta-Analytic Evidence of Black-White Achievement Gap Narrowing. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 17, p. 25, dec. 2009. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/708>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v17n25.2009>.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American sociological review*, 161-178.
- Gouldson, A. (2004). Cooperation and the capacity for control: regulatory styles and the evolving influence of environmental regulations in the UK. *Environment and planning C: Government and policy*, 22(4), 583-603.
- Grimmelikhuisen, S. (2012). Linking transparency, knowledge and citizen trust in government: An experiment. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 78(1), 50-73.
- Guerrero G, Leon J, Zapata M, Sugimaru C, Cueto S (2012) *What works to improve teacher attendance in developing countries? A systematic review*. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Guhn, M. Insights from successful and unsuccessful implementations of school reform programsJ Educ Change (2009) 10: 337. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-008-9063-0>
- Gulati, R. (1995). Does familiarity breed trust? The implications of repeated ties for contractual choice in alliances. *Academy of management journal*, 38(1), 85-112.
- GULOSINO, Charisse; DENTREMONT, Chad. Circles of influence: An analysis of charter school location and racial patterns at varying geographic scales. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 19, p. 8, mar. 2011. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/842>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v19n8.2011>.
- Gundlach, G. T., & Cannon, J. P. (2010). "Trust but verify"? The performance implications of verification strategies in trusting relationships. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 38(4), 399-417.
- Gunningham, N., & Sinclair, D. (2009b). Regulation and the role of trust: reflections from the mining industry. *Journal of Law and Society*, 36(2), 167-194.
- Gunningham, N., & Sinclair, D. (2009a). Organizational Trust and the Limits of Management- Based Regulation. *Law & Society Review*, 43(4), 865-900.
- Gunnulfsen, A.E. School leaders' and teachers' work with national test results: Lost in translation? J Educ Change (2017) 18: 495. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-017-9307-y>
- Haines, F., & Gurney, D. (2003). The shadows of the law: Contemporary approaches to regulation and the problem of regulatory conflict. *Law & Policy*, 25(4), 353-380.
- Hallinger, P., Heck, R.H. & Murphy, J. Educ Asse Eval Acc (2014) 26: 5. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-013-9179-5>
- Hallinger, P., & Heck, R. H. (2011). Exploring the journey of school improvement: Classifying and analyzing patterns of change in school improvement processes and learning outcomes. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 22(1), 1-27.
- Hammersley-Fletcher, L. and Qualter, A. (2010), Chasing improved pupil performance: The impact of policy change on school educators' perceptions of their professional identity, the case of further change in English schools. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36: 903-917. doi:10.1080/01411920903215853
- HAN, Seunghee. School Mobility and Students' Academic and Behavioral Outcomes. **International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership**, [S.l.], v. 9, n. 6, dec. 2014. ISSN 1555-5062.
- Hanafin, J. & Lynch, A. (2002). Peripheral Voices: Parental involvement, social class, and educational disadvantage. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23:1, 35-49, DOI:10.1080/01425690120102845

- Hannay, L.M. & Earl, L. School district triggers for reconstructing professional knowledge. *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 311. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9185-2>
- Hanson, K. (2015). *What can Education Systems Research Learn from Health Systems Research?* (Vol. 3). RISE Working Paper 15.
- Harber, c. (2002) Education, Democracy and Poverty Reduction in Africa, *Comparative Education*, 38:3, 267-276, DOI: 10.1080/0305006022000014133
- Hargreaves, D. H. (2001), A Capital Theory of School Effectiveness and Improvement [1]. *British Educational Research Journal*, 27: 487–503. doi:10.1080/01411920120071489
- Hargreaves, A. Sustainability of educational change: The role of social geographies *Journal of Educational Change* (2002) 3: 189. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021218711015>
- Harmon, S. H., Laurie, G., & Haddow, G. (2013). Governing risk, engaging publics and engendering trust: New horizons for law and social science?. *Science and Public Policy*, 40(1), 25-33.
- Harris, A. & Chapman, C. (2004) IMPROVING SCHOOLS IN DIFFICULT CONTEXTS: TOWARDS A DIFFERENTIATED APPROACH, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 52:4, 417-431, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8527.2004.00276.x
- Harris, A. and Ranson, S. (2005), The contradictions of education policy: disadvantage and achievement. *British Educational Research Journal*, 31: 571–587. doi:10.1080/01411920500240726
- Harris, A. Leading Change in Schools in Difficulty. *J Educ Change* (2006) 7: 9. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-006-0009-0>
- Hartley, d. (2007) Organizational epistemology, education and social theory, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 28:2, 195-208, DOI: 10.1080/01425690701192620
- Hatch, T. & White, N. The Raw Materials of Reform: Rethinking the Knowledge of School Improvement *Journal of Educational Change* (2002) 3: 117. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1016516212204>
- Hatch T (2013) Beneath the surface of accountability: Answerability, responsibility and capacity-building in recent education reforms in Norway. *Journal of Educational Change* 14 (2): 113-138.
- Hedgecoe, A. M. (2012). Trust and regulatory organisations: The role of local knowledge and facework in research ethics review. *Social Studies of Science*, 42(5), 662-683.
- Heimer, C. A., & Gazley, J. L. (2012). Performing regulation: Transcending regulatory ritualism in HIV clinics. *Law & Society Review*, 46(4), 853-887.
- Higgins, M., Ishimaru, A., Holcombe, R. et al. Examining organizational learning in schools: The role of psychological safety, experimentation, and leadership that reinforces learning. *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 67. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-011-9167-9>
- Hill, C. W. (1990). Cooperation, opportunism, and the invisible hand: Implications for transaction cost theory. *Academy of Management Review*, 15(3), 500-513
- Hill, L.D. (2016) Race, school choice and transfers to opportunity: implications for educational stratification in South Africa, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 37:4, 520-547, DOI: 10.1080/01425692.2014.952810
- Hilferty, f. (2008) Theorising teacher professionalism as an enacted discourse of power, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29:2, 161-173, DOI:10.1080/01425690701837521
- Hofman, R. H., Dijkstra, N. J., & Adriaan Hofman, W. H. (2009). School self-evaluation and student achievement. *School effectiveness and school improvement*, 20(1), 47-68.
- Hofstede <https://geert-hofstede.com/south-africa.html>*
- Holmberg, S., & Rothstein, B. (2017). Trusting other people. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 17(1-2).
- Hooge, E., T. Burns and H. Wilkoszewski (2012), “Looking Beyond the Numbers: Stakeholders and Multiple School Accountability”, OECD Education Working Papers, No. 85, OECD Publishing, Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k91dl7ct6q6-en>
- Hopkins, D., Stringfield, S., Harris, A., Stoll, L., & Mackay, T. (2014). School and system improvement: A narrative state-of-the-art review. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 25(2), 257-281.

- Hopkins, D. Powerful Learning, Powerful Teaching and Powerful Schools. *Journal of Educational Change* (2000) 1: 135. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010077007233>
- Hopkins, M. & Woulfin, S.L. School system (re)design: Developing educational infrastructures to support school leadership and teaching practice. *J Educ Change* (2015) 16: 371. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-015-9260-6>
- HUANG, Francis Lim. Corruption and Educational Outcomes: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], dec. 2008. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at: <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/142/59>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2008v3n9a142>
- Huber, S.G. & Skedsmo, G. *Educ Asse Eval Acc* (2016) 28: 105. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-016-9241-1>
- Huber, S.G. & Skedsmo, G. *Educ Asse Eval Acc* (2016) 28: 295. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-016-9253-x>
- Hursh, D. (2005), The growth of high-stakes testing in the USA: accountability, markets and the decline in educational equality. *British Educational Research Journal*, 31: 605–622. doi:10.1080/01411920500240767
- Inkpen, A. C., & Currall, S. C. (2004). The coevolution of trust, control, and learning in joint ventures. *Organization science*, 15(5), 586-599.
- Janowicz- Panjaitan, M., & Krishnan, R. (2009). Measures for dealing with competence and integrity violations of interorganizational trust at the corporate and operating levels of organizational hierarchy. *Journal of Management Studies*, 46(2), 245-268.
- Janowicz-Panjaitan, M., & Noorderhaven, N. G. (2009). Trust, calculation, and interorganizational learning of tacit knowledge: An organizational roles perspective. *Organization Studies*, 30(10), 1021-1044.
- Jap, S. D., & Ganesan, S. (2000). Control mechanisms and the relationship life cycle: Implications for safeguarding specific investments and developing commitment. *Journal of marketing research*, 37(2), 227-245.
- JONES, Kim; HOWLEY, Aimee. Contextual Influences on Superintendents' Time Usage. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 17, p. 23, dec. 2009. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/390>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v17n23.2009>.
- Kaffenberger, M. and Pritchett, L. (2017). More School or More Learning? Evidence from Learning Profiles from the Financial Inclusion Insights Data. RISE-WP-17/012
- Kaniuka, T.S. Toward an understanding of how teachers change during school reform: Considerations for educational leadership and school improvement. *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 327. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9184-3>
- Karlsen Bæck, U. (2010) ‘We are the professionals’: a study of teachers’ views on parental involvement in school, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31:3, 323-335, DOI: 10.1080/01425691003700565
- Karlsen, G. E. (2000) Decentralized centralism: framework for a better understanding of governance in the field of education, *Journal of Education Policy*, 15:5, 525-538, DOI: 10.1080/026809300750001676
- Keddie, A. (2007) Games of subversion and sabotage: issues of power, masculinity, class, rurality and schooling, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 28:2, 181-194, DOI:10.1080/01425690701192596
- Kelly, A. (2012), Measuring ‘equity’ and ‘equitability’ in school effectiveness research. *British Educational Research Journal*, 38: 977–1002. doi:10.1080/01411926.2011.605874
- Kim, P. H., Cooper, C. D., Dirks, K. T., & Ferrin, D. L. (2013). Repairing trust with individuals vs. groups. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 120(1), 1-14.

- King, K.L., Houston, I.S. & Middleton, R.(2001) An Explanation for School Failure: Moving Beyond Black Inferiority and Alienation as a Policy-Making Agenda, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 49:4, 428-445, DOI:10.1111/1467-8527.t01-1-00186
- KING, Richard A. ; SWANSON, Austin D. ; SWEETLAND, Scott R. . Designing Finance Structures to Satisfy Equity and Adequacy Goals. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 13, p. 15, feb. 2005. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/120>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v13n15.2005>
- Kroeger, F. (2012). Trusting organizations: the institutionalization of trust in interorganizational relationships. *Organization*, 19(6), 743-763.
- Kyriakides, L., Creemers, B., Antoniou, P. and Demetriou, D. (2010), A synthesis of studies searching for school factors: Implications for theory and research. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36: 807–830. doi:10.1080/01411920903165603
- Kyriakides, L. & Demetriou, D. *J Pers Eval Educ* (2007) 20: 43. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-007-9046-3>
- LASSIBILLE, G. & GÓMEZ, L.N. (2000) Organisation and Efficiency of Education Systems: Some empirical findings, *Comparative Education*, 36:1, 7-19, DOI: 10.1080/03050060027737
- Lassila, E. T., Timonen, V., Uitto, M. and Estola, E. (2017), Storied emotional distances in the relationships between beginning teachers and school principals. *Br Educ Res J*, 43: 486–504. doi:10.1002/berj.3280
- Lawton, S.B. Do Teacher Unions Demonstrate the Potential to Promote Positive Forms of Pedagogical, Curricular and Organizational Change that Benefit Student Learning? *Journal of Educational Change* (2001) 2: 71.
- Leach, W. D., & Sabatier, P. A. (2005). To trust an adversary: Integrating rational and psychological models of collaborative policymaking. *American Political Science Review*, 99(4), 491-503.
- LEE, David E.; EADENS, Daniel Wayne. The Problem: Low Achieving Districts and Low Performing Boards. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], v. 9, n. 3, oct. 2014. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at: <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/563/135>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2014v9n3a563>
- Leithwood, Kenneth. 2010. "Characteristics of school districts that are exceptionally effective in closing the achievement gap." *Leadership and Policy in Schools* 9 (3):245-291.
- Lemos, R., & Scur, D. (2016). *Developing Management: An expanded evaluation tool for developing countries*. RISE Working Paper 16/007.
- Levin, B. (2010) Governments and education reform: some lessons from the last 50 years, *Journal of Education Policy*, 25:6, 739-747, DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2010.523793
- Levin, B. Does politics help or hinder education change? *J Educ Change* (2009) 10: 69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-008-9092-8>
- Levin, D. Z., & Cross, R. (2004). The strength of weak ties you can trust: The mediating role of trust in effective knowledge transfer. *Management science*, 50(11), 1477-1490.
- Lewicki, R. J., & Bunker, B. B. (1996). Developing and maintaining trust in work relationships. *Trust in organizations: Frontiers of theory and research*, 114, 139.
- LINN, Robert L.. Performance Standards': Utility for Different Uses of Assessments. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 11, p. 31, sep. 2003. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/259>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v11n31.2003>.
- Louis, K.S. Trust and improvement in schools *J Educ Change* (2007) 8: 1. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-006-9015-5>
- Loyalka, P. K., Sylvia, S., Liu, C., Chu, J., & Shi, Y. (2016). Pay by Design: Teacher Performance Pay Design and the Distribution of Student Achievement.

- LUDLOW, Larry H.. Teacher Test Accountability.. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 9, p. 6, feb. 2001. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/335>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v9n6.2001>.
- Lumby, J. and Azaola, M. C. (2014), Women principals in South Africa: gender, mothering and leadership. *Br Educ Res J*, 40: 30–44. doi:10.1002/berj.3028
- Lumby, J. (2009) Performativity and identity: mechanisms of exclusion, *Journal of Education Policy*, 24:3, 353-369, DOI: 10.1080/02680930802669284
- Luttenberg, J., Carpay, T. & Veugelers, W. Educational reform as a dynamic system of problems and solutions: Towards an analytic instrument. *J Educ Change* (2013) 14: 335. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9196-z>
- Lynch, K. & Moran, M. (2006). Markets, schools and the convertibility of economic capital: the complex dynamics of class choice, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27:02, 221-235, DOI: 10.1080/01425690600556362
- LYONS, Robert; BARNETT, David. School Audits and School Improvement: Exploring the Variance Point Concept in Kentucky. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], v. 6, n. 1, jan. 2011. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at: <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/255/104>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2011v6n1a255>.
- Maggetti, M., & Gilardi, F. (2014). Network governance and the domestic adoption of soft rules. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(9), 1293-1310.
- Maier, U. (2010). Accountability policies and teachers' acceptance and usage of school performance feedback—a comparative study. *School effectiveness and school improvement*, 21(2), 145-165.
- Makkai, T., & Braithwaite, J. (1994). Reintegrative shaming and compliance with regulatory standards. *Criminology*, 32(3), 361-385.
- Mason, C., Cremin, H., Warwick, P. & Harrison, T. (2011). Learning to (Dis)Engage? The Socialising Experiences of Young People Living in Areas of Socio-Economic Disadvantage. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 59:4, 421-437, DOI: 10.1080/00071005.2011.615734
- MATHISON, Sandra; FREEMAN, Melissa. Constraining Elementary Teachers' Work:Dilemmas and Paradoxes Created by State Mandated Testing. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 11, p. 34, sep. 2003. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/262>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v11n34.2003>.
- Matthews, J. (2002) Racialised Schooling, 'Ethnic Success' and Asian-Australian Students. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23:2, 193-207, DOI:10.1080/01425690220137710
- May, P. J. (2007). Regulatory regimes and accountability. *Regulation & Governance*, 1(1), 8-26.
- McBride, M. T., & Skaperdas, S. (2005). Explaining conflict in low-income countries: Incomplete contracting in the shadow of the future.
- McEvily, B., & Tortoriello, M. (2011). Measuring trust in organisational research: Review and recommendations. *Journal of Trust Research*, 1(1), 23-63.
- McEvily, B., Perrone, V., & Zaheer, A. (2003). Trust as an organizing principle. *Organization science*, 14(1), 91-103.
- McGrath, S. (2010) The role of education in development: an educationalist's response to some recent work in development economics, *Comparative Education*, 46:2, 237-253, DOI: 10.1080/03050061003775553
- McLaughlin, M.W. & Mitra, D. Theory-based Change and Change-based Theory: Going Deeper, Going Broader. *Journal of Educational Change* (2001) 2: 301. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014616908334>
- MCNAMARA, Michael J.. Parental Participation and School Based Management in Nicaragua: An SES Analysis of Differentiated Parent Participation in School Councils by Income, Education, and Community Crime Rates. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], v. 5, n. 7, sep. 2010. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at:

- <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/247/94>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2010v5n7a247>
- Militello, M., Schweid, J. & Sireci, S.G. *Educ Asse Eval Acc* (2010) 22: 29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-010-9090-2>
 - MILANOWSKI, Anthony Thomas et al. Recruiting New Teachers to Urban School Districts: What Incentives Will Work?. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], v. 4, n. 8, aug. 2009. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at: <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/132/78>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2009v4n8a132>.
 - Millward, P. & Timperley, H. Organizational learning facilitated by instructional leadership, tight coupling and boundary spanning practices. *J Educ Change* (2010) 11: 139. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-009-9120-3>
 - MINTROP, Heinrich. The Limits of Sanctions in Low-Performing Schools. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 11, p. 3, jan. 2003. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/231>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v11n3.2003>
 - Montecinos ,C., Sisto, V. & Ahumada, L. (2010) The construction of parents and teachers as agents for the improvement of municipal schools in Chile, *Comparative Education*, 46:4, 487-508, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2010.519481
 - MINTROP, Rick; ORDENES, Miguel. Teacher work motivation in the era of extrinsic incentives: Performance goals and pro-social commitments in the service of equity. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 25, p. 44, may 2017. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/2482>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2482>.
 - Møller, J. School leadership in an age of accountability: Tensions between managerial and professional accountability. *J Educ Change* (2009) 10: 37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-008-9078-6>
 - Moore, M. (2015). Creating Efficient, Effective, and Just Educational Systems through Multi-Sector Strategies of Reform. RISE-WP-15/004
 - Moos, L. How Do Schools Bridge the Gap Between External Demands for Accountability and the Need for Internal Trust? *J Educ Change* (2005) 6: 307. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-005-2749-7>
 - Morrone, A., Tontoranelli, N., & Ranuzzi, G. (2009). How good is trust? Measuring trust and its role for the progress of societies. *OECD Statistics Working Papers, 2009(3), 0_1*
 - MOWEN, Thomas J. Punishment in School: The Role of School Security Measures. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], v. 9, n. 2, sep. 2014. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at: <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/483/134>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2014v9n2a483>.
 - Müller, J. & Hernández, F. On the geography of accountability: Comparative analysis of teachers' experiences across seven European countries. *J Educ Change* (2010) 11: 307. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-009-9126-x>
 - Murimba S (2005) The impact of the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ). *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 35: 91-108.
 - Murphy, K. (2004). The role of trust in nurturing compliance: a study of accused tax avoiders. *Law and Human Behavior*, 28(2), 187.
 - Murphy, K. (2016). Turning defiance into compliance with procedural justice: Understanding reactions to regulatory encounters through motivational posturing. *Regulation & Governance*, 10(1), 93-109.
 - Neal, D. (2013). The consequences of using one assessment system to pursue two objectives. *The Journal of Economic Education*, 44(4), 339-352.

- Neves, I.P & Morais, A.M. (2005) Pedagogic practices in the family socializing context and children's school achievement. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26:1, 121-137, DOI:10.1080/0142569042000292752
- Newell, S., & Swan, J. (2000). Trust and inter-organizational networking. *Human relations*, 53(10), 1287-1328.
- NEWTON, Xiaoxia A. et al. Value-Added Modeling of Teacher Effectiveness: An Exploration of Stability across Models and Contexts. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 18, p. 23, sep. 2010. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/810>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v18n23.2010>.
- Noddings, N. Care and Coercion in School Reform *Journal of Educational Change* (2001) 2: 35. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011514928048>
- O'Neill, O. (2013). Intelligent accountability in education. *Oxford Review of Education*, 39(1), 4-16.
- Oomsels, P., Callens, M., Vanschoenwinkel, J., & Bouckaert, G. (2016). Functions and dysfunctions of interorganizational trust and distrust in the public sector. *Administration & Society*, 0095399716667973.
- Oplatka, I. (2004) The characteristics of the school organization and the constraints on market ideology in education: an institutional view, *Journal of Education Policy*, 19:2, 143-161, DOI: 10.1080/0144341042000186318
- Osler, A. and Morrison, M. (2002), Can Race Equality be Inspected? Challenges for Policy and Practice Raised by the OFSTED School Inspection Framework. *British Educational Research Journal*, 28: 327–338. doi:10.1080/01411920220137421
- Osman, R. & Petersen, N. (2010). *Students' Engagement with Engagement: The Case of Teacher Education Students in Higher Education in South Africa*. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 58:4, 407-419, DOI: 10.1080/00071005.2010.527665
- Page, D. (2015), The visibility and invisibility of performance management in schools. *Br Educ Res J*, 41: 1031–1049. doi:10.1002/berj.3185
- Park, A., & Karachiwalla, N. (2015). *Promotion Incentives in the Public Sector: Evidence from Chinese Schools* (No. 2015-09). HKUST Institute for Emerging Market Studies.
- Parylo, O. (2012). Evaluation of educational administration: A decade review of research (2001–2010). *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 38(3), 73-83.
- Penuel, W. R., Riel, M., Krause, A., & Frank, K. A. (2009). Analyzing teachers' professional interactions in a school as social capital: A social network approach. *Teachers college record*, 111(1), 124-163.
- Perrone, V., Zaheer, A., & McEvily, B. (2003). Free to be trusted? Organizational constraints on trust in boundary spanners. *Organization Science*, 14(4), 422-439.
- Petrosino A, Morgan C, Fronius T, Tanner-Smith E, Boruch R (2013) *Interventions in developing nations for improving primary and secondary school enrolment of children: a systematic review*.
- Peurach, D.J. & Neumerski, C.M. Mixing metaphors: Building infrastructure for large scale school turnaround . *J Educ Change* (2015) 16: 379. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-015-9259-z>
- PHELPS, L. Allen; DURHAM, Julie; WILLS, Joan. Education Alignment and Accountability in an Era of Convergence: Policy Insights from States with Individual Learning Plans and Policies. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 19, p. 31, nov. 2011. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/921>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v19n31.2011>.
- Pierre, J., & Rothstein, B. (2010). Reinventing Weber: The role of institutions in creating social trust. *Lagreid P, Christensen T. The Ashgate research companion to New Public Management*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2110, 407-419.
- Pini, B., Price, R. & McDonald, P. (2010) Teachers and the emotional dimensions of class in resource- affected rural Australia, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31:1, 17-30, DOI: 10.1080/01425690903385345

- PLECKI, Margaret L.. Economic Perspectives on Investments in Teacher Quality. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 8, p. 33, july 2000. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/424>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v8n33.2000>.
- Poppo, L., Zhou, K. Z., & Ryu, S. (2008). Alternative origins to interorganizational trust: An interdependence perspective on the shadow of the past and the shadow of the future. *Organization Science*, 19(1), 39-55
- Post, D. (2015). Does Watching Help? In Search of the Theory of Change for Education Monitoring. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 17(1), 72-86.
- Pritchett, L. (2015). Creating education systems coherent for learning outcomes: Making the transition from schooling to learning. Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE) Working Paper, RISE-WP-15/005
- Pritchett, L., & Sandefur, J. (2017). Girls' Schooling and Women's Literacy: Schooling Targets Alone Won't Reach Learning Goals. RISE Working Paper 17/011
- Power, M. K. (2003). Auditing and the production of legitimacy. *Accounting, organizations and society*, 28(4), 379-394.
- Pugh, G., Mangan, J., Blackburn, V. and Radicic, D. (2015), School expenditure and school performance: evidence from New South Wales schools using a dynamic panel analysis. *Br Educ Res J*, 41: 244–264. doi:10.1002/berj.3146
- Quartz, K.H., Kawasaki, J., Sotelo, D. et al. Supporting assessment autonomy: How one small school articulated the infrastructure needed to own and use student data *J Educ Change* (2014) 15: 125. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-013-9219-4>
- Ranson, S., Farrell, C., Peim, N., & Smith, P. (2005). Does governance matter for school improvement?. *School effectiveness and school improvement*, 16(3), 305-325.
- Read, R., Fernandez-Hermosilla, M., Anderson, S., & Mundy, K. (2016). Identifying Research Priorities for School Improvement in the Developing World. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 18(1), 55-67.
- Raffe, d. (2013) What is the evidence for the impact of National Qualifications Frameworks?, *Comparative Education*, 49:2, 143-162, DOI:10.1080/03050068.2012.686260
- Rhamie, J., Bhopal, K. & Bhatti, G. (2012). Stick to your own kind: Pupils' Experiences of Identity and Diversity in Secondary Schools. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 60:2, 171-191, DOI: 10.1080/00071005.2012.681626
- Riley, K. A. (2013), Walking the leadership tightrope: building community cohesiveness and social capital in schools in highly disadvantaged urban communities. *Br Educ Res J*, 39: 266–286. doi:10.1080/01411926.2012.658021
- RIPPNER, Jennifer. Barriers to Success? The Role of Statewide Education Governance Structures in P-20 Council Collaboration. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 23, p. 74, aug. 2015. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1909>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.1909>.
- RISE (2015). The Pivot From Schooling To Education. RISE vision Document 1
- RISE (2016). Ambitious Learning Goals Need Audacious New Approaches. RISE Vision Document 2
- Roberts-Holmes, G. and Bradbury, A. (2017), Primary schools and network governance: A policy analysis of reception baseline assessment. *Br Educ Res J*, 43: 671–682. doi:10.1002/berj.3285
- ROBERTSON, William Brett. Mapping the Profit Motive: A Comparative Analysis of For-Profit and Non-Profit Charter Schools. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 23, p. 69, july 2015. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1864>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.1864>
- Rothstein, B. (2017). Gender equality, corruption and meritocracy. BSG Working paper BSG-WP-2017/018. Oxford: University of Oxford/Blavatnic School of Governance

- Rothstein, B. (2013). Corruption and social trust: Why the fish rots from the head down. *social research*, 80(4), 1009-1032
- Rottmann, C. Forty years in the union: Incubating, supporting, and catalyzing socially just educational change *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 191. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9180-7>
- RYAN, Sharon; ACKERMAN, Debra J. . Using pressure and support to create a qualified workforce.. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 13, p. 23, mar. 2005. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/128>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v13n23.2005>
- Riley, K. Leadership, Learning and Systemic Reform. *Journal of Educational Change* (2000) 1: 29. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010025020624>
- Riley, K. Can schools successfully meet their educational aims without the clear support of their local communities?. *J Educ Change* (2008) 9: 311. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-008-9074-x>
- Santizo Rodall & Christopher James Martin (2009) School - based management and citizen participation: lessons for public education from local educational projects, *Journal of Education Policy*, 24:3, 317-333, DOI:10.1080/02680930802669268
- Sayed, Y., Soudien, C. & Carrim, N. Discourses of Exclusion and Inclusion in the South: Limits and Possibilities .*Journal of Educational Change* (2003) 4: 231. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JEDU.0000006162.07375.aa>
- SCAFIDI, Benjamin; FREEMAN, Catherine; DEJARNETT, Stan. Local Flexibility within an Accountability System. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 9, p. 44, oct. 2001. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/373>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v9n44.2001>.
- Scheerens, J. (2001). Monitoring school effectiveness in developing countries. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 12(4), 359-384.
- Schneider, J., Jacobsen, R., White, R., & Gehlbach, H. (2017). March 2). The (mis) measure of schools: How data affect stakeholder knowledge and perceptions of quality.
- Seddon , T., Stephen Billett & Allie Clemans (2004) Politics of social partnerships: a framework for theorizing, *Journal of Education Policy*, 19:2, 123-142, DOI:10.1080/0144341042000186309
- Shapiro, S. P. (1987). The social control of impersonal trust. *American journal of Sociology*, 93(3), 623-658.
- SHARMA, Andy; JOYNER, Ann Moss; OSMENT, Ashley. Adverse Impact of Racial Isolation on Student Performance: A Study in North Carolina. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 22, p. 14, mar. 2014. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1354>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v22n14.2014>.
- Shirley, D. Community organizing and educational change: a reconnaissance *J Educ Change* (2009) 10: 229. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-009-9112-3>
- Searle, R., Den Hartog, D. N., Weibel, A., Gillespie, N., Six, F., Hatzakis, T., & Skinner, D. (2011). Trust in the employer: The role of high-involvement work practices and procedural justice in European organizations. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22(05), 1069-1092.
- Singh, A. (2015). Learning More With Every Year: School Year Productivity and International Learning Divergence. RISE Conference 2015
- Sitkin, S. B., & Roth, N. L. (1993). Explaining the limited effectiveness of legalistic “remedies” for trust/distrust. *Organization science*, 4(3), 367-392.
- Six, F., Nooteboom, B., & Hoogendoorn, A. (2010). Actions that build interpersonal trust: A relational signalling perspective. *Review of Social Economy*, 68(3), 285-315.
- Six, F., & Skinner, D. (2010). Managing trust and trouble in interpersonal work relationships: Evidence from two Dutch organizations. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 21(1), 109-124.
- Six, F., & Sorge, A. (2008). Creating a high- trust organization: An exploration into organizational policies that stimulate interpersonal trust building. *Journal of Management Studies*, 45(5), 857-884.

- Six, F. (2013). Trust in regulatory relations: How new insights from trust research improve regulation theory. *Public Management Review*, 15(2), 163-185.
- Skedsmo, G. & Huber, S.G. Educ Asse Eval Acc (2017) 29: 315. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-017-9271-3>
- Snyder, S. (2013), "The Simple, the Complicated, and the Complex: Educational Reform Through the Lens of Complexity Theory", *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 96, OECD Publishing, Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k3txnpt11nr-en>
- SOHN, Kitae. Teacher turnover: An issue of workgroup racial diversity.. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 17, p. 11, june 2009. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/13>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v17n11.2009>
- Stieha, V. & Raider-Roth, M. Presence in context: Teachers' negotiations with the relational environment of school. *J Educ Change* (2012) 13: 511. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-012-9188-z>
- Stoll, L., Bolam, R., McMahon, A. et al. Professional Learning Communities: A Review of the Literature. *J Educ Change* (2006) 7: 221. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-006-0001-8>
- Stone-Johnson, C. Intensification and isolation: Alienated teaching and collaborative professional relationships in the accountability context. *J Educ Change* (2016) 17: 29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-015-9255-3>
- Supovitz, Can high stakes testing leverage educational improvement? Prospects from the last decade of testing and accountability reform. *J Educ Change* (2009) 10: 211. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-009-9105-2>
- Sydow, J. (2006). How can systems trust systems? A structuration perspective on trust-building in inter-organizational relations. *Handbook of trust research*, 377-392
- Tannock, S. (2008) The problem of education- based discrimination, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29:5, 439-449, DOI: 10.1080/01425690802326846
- Taras, V., Kirkman, B. L., & Steel, P. (2010). Examining the impact of Culture's consequences: a three-decade, multilevel, meta-analytic review of Hofstede's cultural value dimensions.
- Taras, V., Steel, P., & Kirkman, B. L. (2012). Improving national cultural indices using a longitudinal meta-analysis of Hofstede's dimensions. *Journal of World Business*, 47(3), 329-341.
- Teddlie, C., Stringfield, S. & Burdett, J. *Journal of Personnel Evaluation in Education* (2003) 17: 5. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1025020928735>
- Tett, L., Jim Crowther & Paul O'Hara (2003) Collaborative partnerships in community education, *Journal of Education Policy*, 18:1, 37-51, DOI:10.1080/0268093032000042191
- Thomas, H. & Qiu, T. (2013). Continuing Professional Development: Accountability, Autonomy, Efficiency and Equity in Five Professions. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 61:2, 161-186, DOI: 10.1080/00071005.2012.756445
- Thomas, G. (2013), A review of thinking and research about inclusive education policy, with suggestions for a new kind of inclusive thinking. *Br Educ Res J*, 39: 473-490. doi:10.1080/01411926.2011.652070
- Tichnor-Wagner, A., Wachen, J., Cannata, M. et al. Continuous improvement in the public school context: Understanding how educators respond to plan-do-study-act cycles. *J Educ Change* (2017) 18: 465. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-017-9301-4>
- Timperley, H.S. & Robinson, V.M. Achieving School Improvement through Challenging and Changing Teachers' Schema. *Journal of Educational Change* (2001) 2: 281. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014646624263>
- Tikly, L. (2011) Towards a framework for researching the quality of education in low- income countries, *Comparative Education*, 47:1, 1-23, DOI:10.1080/03050068.2011.541671
- Troman, G. (2000). Teacher Stress in the Low-Trust Society. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. 21:3, 331-353, DOI: 10.1080/713655357
- Towndrow, P.A., Silver, R.E. & Albright, J. Setting expectations for educational innovations. *J Educ Change* (2010) 11: 425. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-009-9119-9>

- TORRES, Mario S.; ZELLNER, Luana; ERLANDSON, David. Administrator Perceptions of School Improvement Policies in a High-Impact Policy Setting. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, [S.l.], sep. 2008. ISSN 1555-5062. Available at: <<http://journals.sfu.ca/ijepl/index.php/ijepl/article/view/127/53>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22230/ijepl.2008v3n7a127>
- Tuytens, M., & Devos, G. (2014). How to activate teachers through teacher evaluation?. *School effectiveness and school improvement*, 25(4), 509-530.
- UNESCO (2017). *Global Education Monitoring Report*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Uslaner, E. M. (2002). *The moral foundations of trust*. Cambridge University Press.
- VAIN, Magister Pablo Daniel. School Rituals and Educational Practice. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 10, p. 13, feb. 2002. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/292>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v10n13.2002>
- Vanderhaar, J.E., Muñoz, M.A. & Rodosky, R.J. *J Pers Eval Educ* (2006) 19: 17. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-007-9033-8>
- Van De Walle, S., & Six, F. (2014). Trust and distrust as distinct concepts: Why studying distrust in institutions is important. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 16(2), 158-174.
- Vangen, S., & Huxham, C. (2003). Nurturing collaborative relations: Building trust in interorganizational collaboration. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 39(1), 5-31.
- Verkuyten, M. (2002). Making Teachers Accountable for Students' Disruptive Classroom Behaviour, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23:1, 107-122, DOI:10.1080/01425690120102881
- Visscher, A. J., & Coe, R. (2003). School performance feedback systems: Conceptualisation, analysis, and reflection. *School effectiveness and school improvement*, 14(3), 321-349.
- Von Otter, C. & Stenberg, S. (2015) Social capital, human capital and parent–child relation quality: interacting for children’s educational achievement?, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 36:7, 996-1016, DOI: 10.1080/01425692.2014.883275
- Vryonides, M. (2007), Social and cultural capital in educational research: issues of operationalisation and measurement. *British Educational Research Journal*, 33: 867–885. doi:10.1080/01411920701657009
- Walker, W. (2003) Framing Social Justice In Education: What Does The ‘Capabilities’ Approach Offer? *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 51:2, 168-187, DOI: 10.1111/1467-8527.t01-2-00232
- WALKER, Elaine M.. Politics of School-Based Management. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 10, p. 33, aug. 2002. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/312>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v10n33.2002>.
- Wantchekon, L., Klasnja, M., Novta, N. (2014). Education and Human Capital Externalities. RISE conference paper.
- Waters, Timothy J, and Robert J Marzano. 2006. "School District Leadership That Works: The Effect of Superintendent Leadership on Student Achievement. A Working Paper." *Mid-Continent Research for Education and Learning (McREL)*.
- Watson, C. (2011), Accountability, transparency, redundancy: Academic identities in an era of ‘excellence’. *British Educational Research Journal*, 37: 955–971. doi:10.1080/01411926.2010.508514
- WATSON, Susan; SUPOVITZ, Jonathan. Autonomy and Accountability in Standards-Based Reform. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 9, p. 32, aug. 2001. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/361>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v9n32.2001>
- WAYNE, Andrew J.. Teacher Inequality. *education policy analysis archives*, [S.l.], v. 10, p. 30, june 2002. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/309>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v10n30.2002>.

- WEATHERS, John M.. Teacher Community in Urban Elementary Schools: The Role of Leadership and Bureaucratic Accountability. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 19, p. 3, jan. 2011. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/887>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v19n3.2011>
- Webb, P.T. (2005) The anatomy of accountability, *Journal of Education Policy*, 20:2, 189-208, DOI: 10.1080/0268093052000341395
- Webb, P.T. (2006) The choreography of accountability, *Journal of Education Policy*, 21:2, 201-214, DOI:10.1080/02680930500500450
- Weibel, A., Den Hartog, D. N., Gillespie, N., Searle, R., Six, F., & Skinner, D. (2016). How do controls impact employee trust in the employer?. *Human Resource Management*, 55(3), 437-462.
- Weibel, A. (2007). Formal control and trustworthiness: Shall the twain never meet?. *Group & Organization Management*, 32(4), 500-517.
- Weiner, G. (2002), Auditing Failure: Moral competence and school effectiveness[1]. *British Educational Research Journal*, 28: 789–804. doi:10.1080/0141192022000019062
- West, A., Mattei, P. & Roberts, J. (2011). Accountability and Sanctions in English Schools. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 59:1, 41-62, DOI: 10.1080/00071005.2010.529416
- Westthorp G, Walker DW, Rogers P, Overbeeke N, Ball D, Brice G (2014) Enhancing community accountability, empowerment and education outcomes in low and middle-income countries: A realist review. Technical report. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London. <http://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/cms/Default.aspx?tabid=3450> (accessed 8 July 2014).
- Wiley, S.D. Contextual Effects on Student Achievement: School Leadership and Professional Community *Journal of Educational Change* (2001) 2: 1. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011505709050>
- Wilkoszewski, H. and E. Sundby (2014), “Steering from the Centre: New Modes of Governance in Multi-level Education Systems”, OECD Education Working Papers, No. 109, OECD Publishing, Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jxswcfs4s5g-en>
- Williams, P. (2002). The competent boundary spanner. *Public administration*, 80(1), 103-124.
- Williams, J. and Ryan, J. (2000), National Testing and the Improvement of Classroom Teaching: Can they coexist?. *British Educational Research Journal*, 26: 49–73. doi:10.1080/014119200109516
- Winter, S. C., & May, P. J. (2001). Motivation for compliance with environmental regulations. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 20(4), 675-698.
- Woo, D. J. (2016). Advancing Ecological Models to Compare Scale in Multi-Level Educational Change. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 18(1), 68-82.
- Woods, P.A. (2000). Varieties and Themes in Producer Engagement: Structure and agency in the schools public-market. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21:2,219-242, DOI:10.1080/713655342
- YEH, Stuart S. . Limiting the Unintended Consequences of High-Stakes Testing.. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 13, p. 43, oct. 2005. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/148>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v13n43.2005>.
- Young, H. (2017) Busy yet passive: (non-)decision-making in school governing bodies, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38:6, 812-826, DOI:10.1080/01425692.2016.1158641
- YOUNG, Viki M.; KIM, Debbie H.. Using Assessments for Instructional Improvement: A Literature Review. education policy analysis archives, [S.l.], v. 18, p. 19, aug. 2010. ISSN 1068-2341. Available at: <<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/809>>. Date accessed: 15 nov. 2017. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v18n19.2010>
- Zajac, E. J., & Olsen, C. P. (1993). From transaction cost to transactional value analysis: Implications for the study of interorganizational strategies. *Journal of management studies*, 30(1), 131-145.
- Zand, D. E. (1972). Trust and managerial problem solving. *Administrative science quarterly*, 229-239.
- Armstrong, P. (2014) Teacher Wages in South Africa: how Attractive is the Teaching Profession? Working Paper no. 08/14. Stellenbosch: department of Economics, university of Stellenbosch.

- Carnoy, M., Chisholm, L. & Chilisa, B. (2012) *The low achievement trap: Comparing schooling in Botswana and South Africa*. Cape Town: hSRC Press.
- Chisholm, L. (1999) 'The democratization of Schools and Politics of Teachers' Work in South Africa', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 29(2): 111 – 126.
- de Clercq, F. (2013) 'Professionalism in South African education: The challenges of developing teacher professional knowledge, practice, identity and voice', *Journal of Education* 57 (2013): 31 – 54.
- Flesich, B. & Schoer, V. (2014) Large-scale instructional reform in the global South: insights from the mid-point evaluation of the gauteng Primary Language and Mathematics Strategy. *South African Journal of Education* 34(3)
- Flesich, B., Schoer, V., Roberts, g., & Thornton, A. (2016). System-wide improvement if early-grade mathematics: new evidence from gauteng Primary Language
- gustafsson, M. (2016) Teacher supply and the quality of schooling in South Africa: Patterns over space and time. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: WP03/2016 university of Stellenbosch.
- gustafsson, M. & Taylor, S. (2016). Treating schools to a new administration: Evidence from South Africa of the possible impact of better practices in the system-level administration of schools. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: WP05/2016 university of Stellenbosch.
- heystek, J. (2015) 'Principals' perceptions of the motivation potential of performance agreements in underperforming schools', *South African Journal of Education* 35(2): 1 – 10.
- Spaul, n. (2015a) Accountability and Capacity in South African Education. *Education as Change*. 19(3): 113 – 142.
- Van onselen, g. (2012) how Sadtu and the SACE have damaged accountability in SA education, June, [online], Available: <http://inside-politics.org/2012/06/25/how-sadtu-and-the-sace-have-damagedaccountability-in-sa-education/>. [Accessed: June 2013].
- Wills, g. (2015a) A profile of the labour market for school principals in South Africa: Evidence to inform policy. Stellenbosch Working Paper Series no. WP12/2015. Stellenbosch: department of Economics, Stellenbosch university
- Adams, K. and S. Christenson, (2000), "Trust and the family-school relationship examination of parent-teacher differences in elementary and secondary grades", *Journal of School Psychology* 38: 477-497.
- Becerra, M. and A. Gupta (1999), "Trust within the organisation: integrating the trust literature with agency theory and transaction costs economics", *Public Administration Quarterly* 23(2): 177-203
- Bjørnskov, C. (2009), "Social trust and the growth of schooling", *Economics of Education Review* 28: 249–257.
- Bryk, A. and B. Schneider (2002), *Trust in Schools: A Core Resource for Improvement*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Burns, T. (2012), "Getting it right: capacity building for local stakeholders in education", *Governing Complex Education Systems background document*. EDU/CERI/CD/RD(2012)2.
- Carless, D. (2009), "Trust, distrust and their impact on assessment reform", *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education* 34(1): 79-89.
- Codd, J. (1999), "Educational reform, accountability and the culture of distrust", *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 34(1): 45-53.
- Daly, A. (2009), "Rigid response in an age of accountability: The potential of leadership and trust", *Educational Administration Quarterly* 45(2): 168-216.
- Daly, A. J., & Chrispeels, J. (2008). A question of trust: Predictive conditions for adaptive and technical leadership in educational contexts. *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, 7(1), 30-63.
- Dincer, O. (2011), "Trust and schooling in the United States", *Economics of Education Review* 30: 1097-1102.
- Dworkin, A. and P. Tobe (2014), "The effects of standards based school accountability on teacher burnout and trust relationships: A longitudinal analysis", in D. Van Maele, P. Forsyth and M. Van

- Houtte (eds), *Trust and School Life: The Role of Trust for Learning, Teaching, Leading, and Bridging*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer, pp. 121-144.
- Edelenbos, J. and E.H. Klijn (2006), "Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: a comparative analysis of six interactive processes in the Netherlands", *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16: 417-446.
 - Fullan, M. (2011), "Choosing the wrong drivers for whole system reform", Centre for Strategic Education Seminar Series Paper No. 204.
 - Goddard, R., M. Tschannen-Moran, and W. Hoy, (2001), "A multilevel examination of the distribution and effects of teacher trust in students and parents in urban elementary schools", *Elementary School Journal* 102(1): 3-17.
 - Goddard, R., S. Salloum and D. Berebitsky (2009), "Trust as a mediator of the relationships between poverty, racial composition and academic achievement: evidence from Michigan's public elementary schools", *Educational Administration Quarterly* 45: 292-311.
 - Hopfenbeck, T., A. Tolo, T. Florez, and Y. El Masri (2013), *Balancing Trust and Accountability? The Assessment for Learning Programme in Norway: A Governing Complex Education Systems Case Study*, Education Working Paper No. 97.
 - Hoy, W. and M. Tschannen-Moran (1998), "Trust in schools: a conceptual and empirical analysis", *Journal of Educational Administration* 36(4): 334-352.
 - Hoy, W. and M. Tschannen-Moran (1999), "Five faces of trust: an empirical confirmation in urban elementary schools", *Journal of School Leadership* 9(3): 184-208.
 - Ingersoll, R. (2005), "The anomaly of educational organisations and the study of organisational control", in L. Hedges and B. Schneider (eds), *The Social Organisation of Schooling*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 91-110.
 - Klijn, E.-H., J. Edelenbos and B. Steijn (2010), "Trust in governance networks: its impacts on outcomes", *Administration and Society* 42(2): 193-221.
 - Kochanek, J.R., and M. Clifford (2014), "Trust in districts: The role of relationships in policymaking for school improvement", in D. Van Maele, P. Forsyth and M. Van Houtte (eds), *Trust and School Life: The Role of Trust for Learning, Teaching, Leading, and Bridging*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 313-334.
 - Moolenaar, N. and P. Slegers (2010), "Social networks, trust and innovation: The role of relationships in supporting an innovative climate in Dutch schools", in A. Daly (ed.), *Social Network Theory and Educational Change*, Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, pp. 97-114.
 - Moolenaar, N., Karsten, S., Slegers, P., and A. Daly (2014). "Linking social networks and trust at multiple levels: Examining Dutch elementary schools", in D. Van Maele, P. Forsyth and M. Van Houtte (eds), *Trust and school life: The role of trust for learning, teaching, leading, and bridging*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 207-228.
 - Morris, E. (2001), *Professionalism and Trust: The Future of Teachers and Teaching*, London: DfES/Social Market Foundation.
 - Morris, P. (2004), "Teaching in Hong Kong: professionalization, accountability and the state", *Research Papers in Education* 19(1): 105-121.
 - Rothstein, B. and E. Uslaner (2005), "All for all. Equality, corruption and social trust", *World Politics* 58: 41-72.
 - Tschannen-Moran, M. (2014), "The interconnectivity of trust in schools", in D. Van Maele, P. Forsyth and M. Van Houtte (2014), *Trust and School Life: The Role of Trust for Learning, Teaching, Leading and Bridging*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 57-81.
 - Van Maele, D. and M. Van Houtte (2009), "Faculty trust and organisational school characteristics: An exploration across secondary schools in Flanders", *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 45(4): 556-589.
 - Van Maele, D. and M. Van Houtte (2011), "Collegial trust and the organisational context of the teacher workplace: the role of a homogeneous teachability culture", *American Journal of Education* 117: 437-464.

- Van Maele, D., Forsyth, P. and M. Van Houtte (2014), *Trust and School Life: The Role of Trust for Learning, Teaching, Leading and Bridging*, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Wermke, W. (2014), "Teachers' trust in knowledge sources for continuing professional development: investigating trust and trustworthiness in school systems", in D. Van Maele, P. Forsyth and M. Van Houtte (2014), *Trust and School Life: The Role of Trust for Learning, Teaching, Leading and Bridging*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 335-352.
- MOOC Coursera Corruption; <https://www.coursera.org/learn/wharton-corruption/home/info>
- Dincer, Oguzhan, and Michael Johnston. "Measuring illegal and legal corruption in American States." *Edmund J. Safra Working Papers* 58 (2015).
- Gray, C. W., & Kaufmann, D. (1998). Corruption and development. *Finance and development*, 35(1), 7.
- Nichols, P. M. (2012). The psychic costs of violating corruption laws. *Vand. J. Transnat'l L.*, 45, 145.
- Sweeney, G., Despota, K., & Lindner, S. (2013). *Transparency International Global Corruption Report: Education*. New York: Routledge.
- ANA reporter (9 maart 2016). SA schools 'hotspots' for corruption - report. <https://mg.co.za/article/2016-03-09-graft-in-sa-schools-tops-corruption-reports> (retrieved 8 January 2018)
- Meier, B. (2004). *Corruption in the education sector: An introduction*. Report for Transparency International
- Pillay, S. (2004). Corruption—the challenge to good governance: a South African perspective. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 17(7), 586-605.
- Serfontein, E., & De Waal, E. (2015). The corruption bogey in South Africa: Is public education safe?. *South African Journal of Education*, 35(1), 01-12.
- Uslaner, E. M., & Rothstein, B. (2014). The historical roots of corruption: State building, economic inequality, and mass education. *Comparative Politics*, 48(2), 227-248.
- Leeuw, F. L. (2002). Reciprocity and educational evaluations by European inspectorates: assumptions and reality checks. *Quality in Higher Education*, 8(2), 137-149.
- Wills, G. (2016). *An economic perspective on school leadership and teachers' unions in South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch University).
- Habtemichael, F & Cloete, F. (2010). Complexity Thinking in the Fight Against Corruption: Some Perspectives From South Africa, *Politikon*, 37:1, 85-105, DOI: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492151
- Vanneste, B. S., Puranam, P., & Kretschmer, T. (2014). Trust over time in exchange relationships: Meta- analysis and theory. *Strategic Management Journal*, 35(12), 1891-1902.
- Vanneste, B. S., & Frank, D. H. (2013). Forgiveness in vertical relationships: Incentive and termination effects. *Organization Science*, 25(6), 1807-1822.
- Davies, B., & Bansel, P. (2007). Neoliberalism and education. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 20(3), 247-259.
- Levy, B., Cameron, R., Hoadley, U., & Naidoo, V. (2016). The politics and governance of basic education: A tale of two South African provinces.
- NEEDU (2013). National report. Teaching and Learning in Rural Primary Schools. Pretoria: NEEDU. www.education.gov.za/NEEDU/tabid/860/Default.aspx
- Jansen*, J. D. (2004). Autonomy and accountability in the regulation of the teaching profession: A South African case study. *Research Papers in Education*, 19(1), 51-66.
- Puranam, P., & Vanneste, B. S. (2009). Trust and governance: Untangling a tangled web. *Academy of Management Review*, 34(1), 11-31.
- Pattillo, K. M. (2012). *Quiet corruption: Teachers unions and leadership in South African township schools*.
- Volmink, J., Gardiner, M., Msimang, S., Nel, P., Moleta, A., Scholtz, G., and Prins, T. (2016). *Report of the Ministerial Task Team appointed by Minister Angie Motshekga to investigate allegations into*

the selling of posts of educators by members of teachers unions and departmental officials in provincial education departments. Pretoria: Department Basic Education; Republic of South Africa

- Taylor, N. (2002). ACCOUNT ABILITY AND SUPPORT: IMPROVING PUBLIC SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA; A Systemic Framework. Working paper
- Ministerial Committee on a national education evaluation and development unit (2009). *Final report.* Pretoria: Government Gazette Republic of South Africa, No. 32133
- Chingwete, A. (2016). In South Africa, citizens' trust in president, political institutions drops sharply. Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 90 | 17 May 2016.
http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6_dispatchno90_south_africa_trust_in_officials.pdf (retrieved March 2018).

Appendix 1. Sources for phase 1 of the literature review

Accountability:

- Ehren, M.C.M. (Eds.) (2016). *Methods and Modalities of Effective School Inspections*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Eddy-Spicer D., Ehren M., Bangpan M., Khatwa M., Perrone F. (2016) Under what conditions do inspection, monitoring and assessment improve system efficiency, service delivery and learning outcomes for the poorest and most marginalised? A realist synthesis of school accountability in low- and middle-income countries. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, UCL Institute of Education, University College London. <https://www.gov.uk/dfid-research-outputs/protocol-under-what-conditions-do-inspection-monitoring-and-assessment-improve-system-efficiency-service-delivery-and-learning-outcomes-for-the-poorest-and-most-marginalised-a-realist-synthesis-of-school-accountability-in-low-a?cachebust=1481814745>
- Schillemans, T. (2013). *The public accountability review. A meta-analysis of public accountability research in six academic disciplines. A working paper*. Utrecht: University School of Governance.

Trust:

- Bachmann, R., & Zaheer, A. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of trust research*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Braithwaite, J. (1998). Institutionalizing distrust, enculturating trust. *Trust and governance*, 343, 356.
- Braithwaite, V., & Levi, M. (2003). *Trust and governance*: Russell Sage Foundation
- Cerna, L. (2014). Trust: What it is and Why it Matters for Governance and Education. *OECD Education Working Papers* (108), 0_1.
- F. Lyon, G. Möllering, and M. Saunders (Eds). *Handbook of Research methods on Trust*. Cheltenham/Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Lewicki, R. J., McAllister, D. J., & Bies, R. J. (1998). Trust and distrust: New relationships and realities. *Academy of management Review*, 23(3), 438-458.
- McEvily, B., Perrone, V., & Zaheer, A. (2003). Trust as an organizing principle. *Organization science*, 14(1), 91-103.
- Six, F., and Verhoest, K. (Eds). *Trust in regulatory regimes*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Van De Walle, S., & Six, F. (2014). Trust and distrust as distinct concepts: Why studying distrust in institutions is important. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 16(2), 158-174.
- Zaheer, A., McEvily, B., & Perrone, V. (1998). Does trust matter? Exploring the effects of interorganizational and interpersonal trust on performance. *Organization science*, 9(2), 141-159.

Capacity

- Creemers, B. and Kyriakides, L. (2016). Theory development in educational effectiveness research (p.149-173). In: Chapman, C., Muijs, D., Reynolds, D., Sammons, P., & Teddlie, C. (Eds.). (2016). *The Routledge international handbook of educational effectiveness and improvement: Research, policy, and practice*. Routledge.
- Chapman, C., Muijs, D., Reynolds, D., Sammons, P., & Teddlie, C. (Eds.). (2015). *The Routledge international handbook of educational effectiveness and improvement: Research, policy, and practice*. Routledge.
- Scheerens, J. (2001). School effectiveness in developing countries. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 12(4), 353-358.
- Muijs, D., Harris, A., Chapman, C., Stoll, L., & Russ, J. (2004). Improving schools in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas—A review of research evidence. *School effectiveness and school improvement*, 15(2), 149-175.
- OECD (2017). *Governing complex education systems*.