



## Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Contexts – Evaluating Education Interventions in South Africa

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ANA	Annual National Assessment
ANC	African National Congress
ANNSF	Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding
ASE	Affordable School Establishment
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
ASIDI	Accelerated Schools Infrastructure Delivery Initiative
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
BEd	Bachelor of Education degree
C2005	Curriculum 2005
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
CEDAW	Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEPD	Centre for Education Policy Development
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CITE	Centre for International Teacher Education
CJCP	Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
CMOC	Context-mechanism-outcome pattern configuration
CNE	Christian National Education
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPTD	Continuing professional teacher development
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
CST	Circuit Support Teams
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DAS	Development Appraisal System
DBE	Department of Basic Education

DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DEO	District education offices
DFID	Department for International Development
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
DIP	District improvement plan
DoE	Department of Education
DoW	Department of Women
DPME	Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
DWCPD	Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities
EC	Eastern Cape
ECD	Early childhood development
ECDOE	Eastern Cape Department of Education
EE	Equal Education
EEA	Employment Equity Act
EFA	Education for All
ELAA	Education Law Amendment Act
ELRC	Education Labour Relations Council
ELRC	Education Labour Relations Council
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESID	Effective States and Inclusive Development Research
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
ESTA	Extension of Security of Tenure Act
ETDP SETA	Education, Training and Development Practices Sector Education and Training Authority
FET	Further Education and Training
FFC	Financial Fiscal Commission
FHAO	Facing History and Ourselves
FHI	Family Health International
FLBP	Funza Lushaka Bursary Programme
FTEN	First-time enrolment numbers
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution

GER	Gross enrolment ratio
GET	General Education and Training
GFP	Gender Focal Points
GHS	General Household Survey
GNP	Gross national product
GPI	Gender parity index
HDI	Human Development Index
HE	Higher education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HEQF	Higher Education Qualifications Framework
HEQSF	Higher Education Qualifications Sub-framework
HESA-EDF	Higher Education South Africa –Education Deans’ Forum
HET	Higher Education and Training
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
HoD	Head of Department
HR	Human resources
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IFTRA	International Forum of Teaching Regularity Authorities
IAL	Incremental Implementation of African Languages
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IJR	Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
IQMS	Integrated Quality Management System
ISASA	Independent Schools Association of South Africa
ISP	Intermediate and Senior Phase
ISPFTED	Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development
ITE	Initial teacher education
LAC	Learning Area Committee

LER	Learner-educator ratio
LiEP	Language in Education Policy
LIFO	Last in, first out
LoLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
LTSM	Learning and teaching support material
M&G	Mail & Guardian
MCEETYA	Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MRTEQ	Minimum Requirement for Teacher Education Qualification
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
MTT	Ministerial Task Team
NAPTOSA	National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NDP	National Development Plan
NEEDU	National Education Evaluation and Development Unit
NEIMS	National Education Infrastructure Management System
NEPA	National Education Policy Act
NER	Net enrolment ratio
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NGP	New Growth Path
NNSSF	National Norms and Standards for School Funding
NPC	National Planning Commission
NPFTED	National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa
NPNC	Non-personnel non-capital
NQA	National Qualifications Authority
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NSC	National Senior Certificate
NSE	Norms and Standards for Educators
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme

NSSF	National School Safety Framework
OBE	Outcomes-based education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSDP	Office on the Status of Disabled Persons
P4C	Philosophy for Children
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PAM	Personnel Administrative Measures
PBEA	Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme
PED	Provincial Education Department
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
PICC	Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PL1	Post level 1
PLCs	Professional Learning Communities
PMDS	Performance Management and Development System
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
PPNs	Post provisioning norms and standards
Q	Quintile
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
REAP	Rural Education Access Programme
ReCEP	Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding Project
REQV	Relative Education Qualification Value
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACE	South African Council for Educators
SACMEQ	Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAHGF	South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAOU	Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysers Unie

SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SASA	South African Schools Act
SA-SAMS	South African School Administration and Management System
SBL	School-based learning
SCS	Senior civil servant
SEF	Systemic Evaluation Framework
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authority
SFPTPEP	Strengthening Foundation Phase Teacher Education Programme
SGB	School Governing Bodies
SIAS	Screening, Identification, Assessment, and Support
SIBG	Schools Infrastructure Backlog Grant
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
SMT	School management team
SNE	Special needs education
SSI	Semi-structured interview
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
STI	Sexually transmitted infections
TALIS	Teaching and Learning International Survey
TE	Teacher educator
TEPEC	Teacher Education Programme Evaluation Committee
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRIS	Teacher Rural Incentive Scheme
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNISA	University of South Africa
UPE	Unaffordable Post Establishment



USA	United States of America
VSP	Voluntary severance package
WC	Western Cape
WCED	Western Cape Education Department
WSA	Whole School Evaluation

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## Chapter 1 - Introduction

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### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The provision of good-quality education in most modern societies requires teachers that actively promote cohesive nation-building, multiple opportunities for identity construction, and sustainable peace, solidarity, and reconciliation practices in their classrooms (Sayed, Tate, Alhawaswi & Mwale, 2012; Smith *et al.*, 2011; Mourshed, Chikjioke & Barber, 2010; Durrani & Dunne, 2010). Teachers and quality teaching are fundamental prerequisites for the generation of democracy, peace, the reduction of conflict, the building of social cohesion, and the upholding of national and individual identities for diverse contexts. This applies to both inside and outside school classrooms.

Furthermore, what students learn in classrooms is shaped by what teachers do and what learning resources teachers utilise to shape the identities of their students, using culturally diverse perspectives and skills that prepare students for both employment and sustainable lifestyles (Barrett, 2007). It is the *quality* of teaching and the agencies of teachers that develop “the values of mutual respect and tolerance in classrooms” required in overall society (Davies, 2011:47; own emphasis). This is especially true in times of violent conflict, division, and of mistrust within different societies, and when global, national, and local inequality levels become disproportionately high so as to engender societal disharmony across a variety of international and national spaces.

In that respect, it is bewildering that “quality education” debates remain characterised by how well students perform in national tests, and the extent to which students (and their learning) relate and are connected to economic growth and human capital priorities. It is moreover disconcerting that quality teaching is too often interpreted and approached as the teaching of life skills, citizenship and peace education, moral and ethical education, gender equality, child protection rights, human rights, and skills for sustainable livelihoods – with good teachers reductively caricatured as those using predominantly learner-centred pedagogies (Sinclair, 2002; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization-International Institute for Educational Planning [UNESCO-IIEP], 2006:2-3). It is rarely acknowledged that particular forms of quality teaching – that concentrate both on structural and psychological transformation and a holistic approach in classrooms that

focuses on interpersonal, institutional, and organisational change – are also an imperative if historic and structural inequities that have been differently produced and reproduced in diverse contexts are to be properly addressed. This requires teachers who understand the multiple, complex contexts in which they teach and that meaningfully contribute to the development of socially cohesive spaces.

This South African country report is part of a larger project funded by the *DFID-ESRC Pathway to Poverty Alleviation Research Project* that focuses on teachers as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion in South Africa and Rwanda. The project set out to identify and analyse the conditions under which education interventions that are focused on teachers lead to peace and social cohesion in classrooms in the two countries, and that help mitigate and reduce different kinds of conflict and violence that hinder teaching and learning there. For the two country studies, the project locates the analysis of different education interventions in relation to global and national contexts, as well as to the context of local schools and institutions, with a specific focus on understanding the role of teachers (in non-binary ways) as potential agents of both peace and enduring conflict.

The starting premise of the project is that lasting and durable peace and the building of robust institutions are contingent on the workings of schools as civic institutions, and on the enabling and empowerment of teachers to act as agents of cohesion and change. In that respect, the concept and term “social cohesion” is used interchangeably with the term “peace”, following the usage employed by international agencies like the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and education policy research centres such as FHI 360 (2015:10), with “peacebuilding” regarded as the equivalent of building or promoting social cohesion (the complexities of the concept “social cohesion” are explored in detail later in this chapter).

The aim of the South African country report is to show, understand, and analyse how conceptualisations or configurations of quality teaching are generated through education peacebuilding interventions in South Africa. “Quality” teaching interventions are defined as those that favour the promotion of teacher agency and their capacities within classrooms to build peace, mitigate violence, and reduce inequality. The goal of the report is to identify and analyse how teachers in different contexts in South Africa are governed, managed, recruited, trained, and supported to promote quality learning in different classrooms.

For the country report, the main focus is on the educational contexts of two South African provinces, namely the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape, which are explicated in Chapters 2 and 3 of this report.

The objective is to understand the conditions under which education interventions operate in different settings, and to identify measures and processes in the two provinces that could enhance the effectiveness of such programmes. Locating the analysis of particular interventions in relation to the macro global and national contexts, the country report targets the inputs of nine different schools (as local institutional providers) across the two provinces, and examines the influence of their contexts and structures as to whether teachers are promoted and supported to become agents of social cohesion and peace, or contributors to conflict.

The focus of the report is crucial for several reasons. Firstly, while the overall literature highlights the importance of teachers in peacebuilding contexts (Smith *et al.*, 2011; Montgomery & McGlynn, 2009), little is known about how teachers are trained and deployed, how and what they teach, what textbooks they use, and the conditions in which they teach.

Secondly, there is a need to generate research evidence that shows how teachers contribute (or do not contribute) to social cohesion in the classroom in order to encourage greater and more substantive donor and government investment in education in countries that experience high levels of conflict. This can also extend knowledge about how investments in education can be more effectively targeted.

Thirdly, little is known about how teachers engage with one another, with communities, and with students in post-conflict contexts (Ezati *et al.*, 2011); with much peacebuilding research lacking rigour and analysis about the differential impact of various interventions (Tomlinson & Benefield, 2005).

Fourthly, there is a need to contextualise and localise discussions about the role and contribution of education interventions that assist teachers to act as agents of social cohesion. This helps us to understand the efficacy of peacebuilding innovations in different countries, especially interventions that involve partnerships with large international agencies such as UNICEF.

Finally, a research project such as this comfortably complements and can be embedded within other research projects, such as UNICEF's recent *Education, Peacebuilding and Advocacy Programme (2012-2016)*. It adds to the relevance of this important study and hopefully its impact in practitioner, policy, and academic domains (UNICEF, 2012; 2006).

## **1.2 CONTEXT AND RATIONALE**

Education in most modern societies is arguably the primary medium through which social solidarity is promoted and where key values and social norms are generated and developed (Durkheim, 1964; Tawil & Harley, 2004). It is through education that engagements with past injustices, historical memory, transitional justice processes, and better communal interaction in the social arena are presumably thought about and tackled, often bringing different communities together to encourage processes of forgiveness and healing. This is especially the case in societies with histories of direct conflict (Hamber, 2007).

Conversely, violent conflict within societies, especially when combined with political mobilisation, remains the inevitable outcome when inequalities based on gender, disability, ethnicity, race, religion, class, educational status, and geographical location, among others, are allowed to fester and endure (Stewart, 2008). This is especially true when structural inequalities limit the distribution of educational opportunities for all citizens, and instead foster conflict and fragility (Smith *et al.*, 2011).

For this reason, equality of access to good-quality education is said to be a key contributor to peacebuilding and poverty reduction. That is because good-quality education arguably restores trust in state functions (Smith *et al.*, 2011) and integrates students to become productive members of society. Good-quality education reduces the likelihood of conflict and promotes social cohesion and forms of social justice by discouraging – when conflict erupts – a reliance on force (or the threat thereof), violence, or fighting. This can occur in relation to broader societal upheaval, individualised disputes between different communities or persons, or discords based on race, gender, or social class. Degu (2005), Schwartz (2010), and Davies (2010) have shown that in contexts where a significant proportion of youth participate in armed conflict, good-quality educational opportunities have helped to reintegrate them as productive members of society and have reduced the likelihood of them taking up arms again.



The role of social cohesion within this approach to quality education is to bring communities together, and help build solidarity, trust, inclusion, social capital, and peace amongst them (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2011; World Bank Forum, 2015; United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2014; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA], 2015).

Social cohesion is understood as the loose bonds that bring individuals together and that influence their behaviour. It equates to building solidarity and trust, inclusion, social capital, and reducing poverty in society. Social cohesion is seen as being promoted when a sense of belonging and a willingness to help is inculcated amongst citizens, and it is distilled when heterogeneous groups have a sense of common belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition, and legitimacy (Chan, To & Chan, 2006). In one sense, social cohesion is seen as “a social glue to fix the cracks in society” (a newspaper headline quoted in Green and Preston, 2001). As such, it is regarded as a societal rather than individual property, and comprises not only individual or communal attitudes and relations (horizontal dimensions) but also structural aspects of governing and governance (vertical dimensions) that affect connections between communities or civil society and the state (Colletta & Cullen, 2000; Friedkin, 2004).

In this respect, the pursuit of social cohesion is bound in efforts to achieve social justice and equity. Pickett and Wilkinson (2010) assert that more equitable societies tend to have greater social and political trust and less violence and crime, while societies with vast income differentials invariably have lower social cohesion. Green, Preston and Janmaat (2006) similarly observed that educational inequality can often be positively correlated with violent crime and political unrest, and negatively correlated with political and civil liberties. They argued that social cohesion is improved when structural, interpersonal, and intergroup domains are directly addressed, and when the aspirational needs of societies for strong social inclusion, social capital, and social mobility are simultaneously pursued. Presumably, social cohesion initiatives only really provide social meaning and respect for citizens when education policies ensure the kinds of participation that place everyone on par with one another as full partners in social interaction (Fraser, 2005).

As such, the key idea that permeates the report is that the creation of a more just and cohesive society requires the dismantling of the kinds of systemic inequality that drive and

frame social injustice. This requires that analytical and historical attention be paid to the ways in which systemic inequalities emerge, and to the social mechanisms that are applied to reduce such inequalities. The report asserts that if the primary goal of social cohesion is to develop bonds that bring individuals and societies together and influence their behaviour (Shuayb, 2012), then the key challenge to education policies is to simultaneously address the micro issues of school, teacher, and student needs and the macro-level challenge of tackling the social, cultural, and political conditions that contribute to unequal distributions within society. This is particularly necessary in a global world where there has been an unfathomable resurgence of neo-liberal political solutions that prefer to utilise structural adjustment and financial austerity measures when addressing perceived education crises.

For the report, *vis-à-vis* social cohesion, it is notable that teachers historically have played a leading role in nation-building, identity construction, and peace and reconciliation (Sayed, Badroodien, Salmon & McDonald, 2016). Indeed, it is the agency of teachers that has been particularly important “in developing values of mutual respect and tolerance in post-war contexts characterized by persisting division and mistrust” (Davies, 2010).

Teachers, however, exercise their roles as *agents* of social justice and cohesion within the particular constraints of their diverse contexts, and often need to disrupt inherited patterns of exclusion and injustice in those contexts if they are to make a difference. This requires a conception of social cohesion that connects to how they understand social justice in their different contexts.

For that, the country report utilises an analytical and normative lens that attempts to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (see Novelli, Lopes Cardozo & Smith, 2015). It links Fraser’s (1995; 2005) work on social justice with the peacebuilding and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995; 1997), and others, as well as to the equity approach of UNICEF, which places a strong emphasis on inclusion, relevance, and participation (see Epstein, 2010).

This introductory chapter begins by outlining the conceptual frameworks that underpin the research. The various literature consulted in the study are also outlined. The chapter concludes by providing an overview of the different chapters that comprise the report.

## 1.3 MAPPING THE CONCEPTUAL TERRAIN

A number of key conceptual tools were central to this project. This section of the report lays out working definitions for the key research concepts in the report; namely social cohesion, violence, peacebuilding, race, governance, equity, agency, and gender.

### 1.3.1 Social cohesion

“Social cohesion is a term widely used but rarely defined” (Green *et al.*, 2006:4). Like many key development concepts, the construct “social cohesion” is contested and open to a variety of interpretations (see Jenson, 2010). In recent policy documents, international organisations like the OECD, the World Bank, and the UNDP conceived of and defined social cohesion in the following ways:

- The OECD defines social cohesion as when a society ensures the “wellbeing of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members opportunities of upward mobility”. Social cohesion is thus a valuable goal in itself that contributes to maintaining long-term economic growth, with education playing a vital role. Social cohesion is strengthened when policies ensure that children have equal opportunities to build their human capital, regardless of socio-economic background. This position includes three components; namely social inclusion, social capital, and social mobility (OECD, 2011:17).
- The Council of Europe (2011) defines social cohesion as “the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means”. This definition captures two key aspects of many definitions, namely “inequalities” and “social relations and ties” (Berger-Schmitt, 2002: 404-5).
- The UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA) similarly captures these two dimensions and defines social cohesion as “the quality of coexistence between the multiple groups that operate within a society [...] along the dimensions of mutual respect and trust, shared values and social participation, life

satisfaction and happiness, as well as structural equity and social justice” (UNICEF, 2014).

- For the World Bank, social cohesion is mainly related to the nature and quality of relationships across people and groups in society, including the state (Marc, Willman, Aslam, Rebosio & Balasuriy, 2012:15). This position sees social cohesion as requiring a convergence across groups in society, which provides a framework within which groups can, at a minimum, coexist peacefully. Social cohesion as such is mainly about the predictability of interactions across people and groups, which in turn provide incentives for collective action.
- The UNDP (2014) conceives of social cohesion as the strengthening of social relations, interactions, and trust within societies. It argues that disparities and inequalities often coincide with political divisions and forms of organised violence, which are sometimes driven by long-standing grievances and collective humiliation. Social cohesion and the social contract can be mutually reinforcing, for better or worse, and thus the very process of negotiating a social contract could possibly repair damaged social cohesion. The UNDP (2014:11) notes that as social cohesion affects the quality and durability of the social contract, a “nascent or transitional state can make greater social cohesion a goal that orients its contribution to the social contract”. Thus, understanding and respecting factors that promote or undermine social cohesion is vital to advancing robust social contracts. For the UNDP, social cohesion needs to focus on the reduction of disparities, inequalities, and social exclusion within or between groups in society.

While the above range of definitions includes conservative conceptions of social cohesion and slightly more radical perspectives, a key consequence of their looseness, according to Chan *et al.* (2006:274), is that social cohesion can, on the one hand, be approached as equivalent to solidarity and trust, and on the other hand, be linked to issues of inclusion, social capital, and poverty. Chan *et al.* (2006:274) thus instead suggest a tighter conceptualisation that approaches the concept as

“a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterised by a set of attitudes and norms that includes

trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations”.

They contend that a sense of belonging and a willingness to help are important requirements for social cohesion, with members participating on different levels of society (Stanfeld, 2006) and including “community relationships with high levels of participation in communal activities and public affairs, and high levels of membership of community groups”.

In this conceptualisation, social cohesion is thus a societal rather than individual responsibility based on the promotion of positive relationships, trust, solidarity, inclusion, collectivity, and common purpose that are firmly linked to issues of social justice and equity.

For the country report, this conceptualisation of social cohesion is expanded to also include ways of directly addressing structural issues and structural factors in society that militate against equality. In so doing, the report draws on the work of Nancy Fraser to develop an alternative conception of social cohesion that encompasses the politics of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation (Novelli *et al.*, 2015). For Fraser (1995; 2005), injustice emanates from structural inequalities engendered by maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation, with social and transformative justice therefore needing to be underpinned by redistribution, recognition, and representation (Fraser, 1995; 2005). Social cohesion, according to Fraser (2005), is promoted when patterns of inequality associated with injustice are disrupted, and when the different dimensions of injustice currently hindering human rights in educational settings are better understood (Keddie, 2012:15).

Following Sayed and Ahmed (2015), the report asserts that education can play an important (yet not exclusive or stand-alone) role in fostering positive peace and in engendering the kinds of justice necessary to transform the root causes of conflict. It notes that a social justice approach

“can provide a fuller rationale for a policy focus on education quality, rather than that provided by a human capital approach with its emphasis on economic growth, or by the existing human rights approach with its emphasis on the role of the state in guaranteeing basic rights”.

As such, it approaches social cohesion as addressing injustice in and through education, especially in conflict-affected regions where socio-cultural, political, and economic inequalities are often at the root of tensions and violence, and argues that social cohesion initiatives can make an important contribution to greater social solidarity within societies (Sayed & Ahmed, 2015; Sayed & Ahmed, 2012; Tikly & Barrett, 2011:3-4).

### 1.3.2 Social cohesion and violence

The report asserts that social injustice is constituted within socio-cultural, political, and economic inequality, and is often the root of many tensions and forms of violence. Approaches to peacebuilding thus also have to be theorised in relation to different conceptions and dimensions of violence, and acknowledge that violence often plays multiple roles in shaping the possibilities for, and of, change.

The report employs a definition of violence that recognises physical attacks as but one dimension of violence:

“Violence can never be understood solely in terms of its physicality – force, assault or the infliction of pain – alone. Violence also includes assaults on the personhood, dignity, sense of worth or value of the victim. The social and cultural dimensions of violence are what gives violence its power and meaning. Focusing exclusively on the physical aspects of torture/terror/violence [...] subverts the larger project of witnessing, critiquing, and writing against violence, injustice and suffering” (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2004:4).

Galtung (1990) provides a conceptual triangle, with the more visible *direct forms of violence* at the top, complemented by the less visible but equally damaging forms of *structural* (or *indirect*) and *cultural violence* at the other two corners of the pyramid. For Galtung, cultural violence refers to the use of some aspect of the perpetrators’ culture to legitimise domination or direct violence (Galtung, 1990), where cultural legitimacy is used via religion, ideology, language, or any other belief, value, norm, or the general way of life of a dominant group. The longer-term harm, loss, and death caused by cultural exclusion are, ironically, often attributed to the victims. Symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1989), on the other hand, is a tacit mode of social and cultural domination that draws on symbols, subliminal messages, and indirect discourses. The perpetrator exerts violence and the victim accepts and normalises it. Discourses impact the public sphere through social and state structures such as the media, laws, policies, programmes, institutions, politics, and economic systems.

Finally, structural violence describes the social and institutional structures used to exclude groups from satisfying their basic needs (Galtung, 1990). These can take the form of institutionalised elitism, racism, and sexism that can cause harm, loss, and eventual death in marginalised communities.

It is argued that narrow conceptualisations of violence can lead to international actors targeting symptoms (public expressions of violence) rather than the underpinning causes. Such conceptualisations normally emphasise visible manifestations of overt violence, and tend to obscure cultural, structural, symbolic, and other forms of violence.

Furthermore, while recognising the importance of understanding the multidimensional nature of violence in its overt and covert forms, violence is also relational. In education, for example, references to violence would imply both overt and covert processes, from direct attacks on schools and teachers, gender-based violence, pupil-on-pupil and teacher-on-teacher violence, to institutionalised modes of religious, class, ethnic, and cultural modes of violence that include cultural and linguistic modes of violence.

For this report, a key challenge is to understand why violence is commonly perceived, in Comparative and International Education for example, as a pattern of fragility that reverses development (Rose & Greeley, 2006). Why do scholars in this field primarily view the concept of violence as an external, disruptive, and destructive force that limits the capacity to provide access to quality services (Salmi, 2000; Seitz, 2004)? Do categorisations of violence as direct, indirect, repressive, and alienating (though sometimes useful for unpacking the various elements that make up violence) not contribute to a divide between individual daily experiences of violence and broader social and political structures (Salmi, 2000)?

As such, this report asserts that a better understanding of the relational dynamics of violence is needed if social cohesion is to lead to social transformation. Drawing on the work of Bourgois and Scheper-Hughes (2004), the following observations about violence are notable:

- Given that violence is an interaction whereby the life chances of human individuals are hindered or destroyed, violence must be seen as a series of processes of control

that operate unevenly in a network of social relationships constituted in space and time;

- Viewing violence as a network of relationships is an acknowledgement that violence does not function in a linear or progressive manner, and therefore is not always predictable;
- Violence has the dual capacity to operate as a binding force that creates hostile personal encounters, and imposes undesired distances;
- Violence can never be reduced to its physical dimension. It inevitably surpasses the materiality of the world to destroy individual and collective senses of dignity and worth;
- Contrary to popular belief, violence is never obvious, not always noisy, and certainly not self-evident. Rather, it can often operate quietly through relationships of distrust, fear, paranoia, and concern; and
- The mere presence of violence invariably permeates individual subjectivities, and limits the range of modalities available to integrate the physical with the emotional body (Bourgois & Scheper-Hughes, 2004).

In this context, social cohesion emerges as a counter-narrative to violence. If violence is the series of processes that distances individuals and collectivities through distrust, fear, anxiety, and despair, social cohesion can be “the total of field forces that act on members to remain in the group” (Friedkin, 2004:411). Factors that characterise high levels of social cohesion could include, among others, the number of interpersonal ties among group members and the extent to which these relational bonds are positive and dense (Friedkin, 2004). Thus, in contexts where high levels of social cohesion exist, interpersonal ties could be characterised by feelings of trust, social solidarity, cooperation, and political engagement. Social cohesion could therefore be both the means through which to transform violence, and also an end in itself. Like violence, social cohesion can be seen as dynamic and non-linear.

On the other hand, given the multifaceted nature of violence, such a view of social cohesion would be wholly unsustainable unless accompanied by a push for social justice. Noting Fraser’s (2005) characterisation of affirmative and transformative remedies and how they operate in four dimensions – namely recognition, redistribution, representation, and



reconciliation – social cohesion is unlikely to embed itself within societies unless historical injustices are acknowledged and understood, and a transition from relationships of fear, distrust, embarrassment, loss, and anxiety, to enriching social relationships between individuals and groups, is facilitated. We argue that in spaces where violence permeates daily life at the micro and macro level, it is the search for social justice through different types of remedies that would best facilitate social cohesion. As such, mechanisms and measures that disrupt patterns of inequality associated with injustice are sought.

The remainder of the report explores the role of teachers in education interventions in building peace. In particular, attention is paid to the extent to which patterns of inequality associated with injustice are disrupted by education interventions.

### **1.3.3 Peacebuilding**

While it is acknowledged that there are multiple interpretations of the term “peacebuilding”, the report conceptualises peacebuilding as a push for core transformations that enable post-conflict societies to move towards sustainable peace. Key post-conflict transformations necessary to produce sustainable peace, or positive peace, as Galtung (1976) called it, require going beyond the mere cessation of violence (negative peace) in order to address the root causes of violent conflict. This involves addressing both drivers and legacies of conflict and the promotion of both social justice and cohesion, by addressing injustices and bringing people and communities together. This is in line with a range of contemporary theories of war and conflict (Stewart *et al.*, 2005, 2010; Cramer, 2005), which see horizontal and vertical inequalities as drivers of conflict. Addressing these inequalities, in their different economic, cultural, and political dimensions, supports the promotion of social cohesion, whereby trust, solidarity, and a sense of collectivity and common purpose are strengthened.

### **1.3.4 Race and racism**

“False as race is as an idea, it is viscerally inscribed in our heads and in our bodies. I learnt how disorientating the idea of ‘racelessness’ is, and that this disorientation disempowers people” (Soudien, 2012:xi). This report takes as its point of departure that “race” is a social construct with a non-linear conceptual trajectory that has been rendered systematically

unstable only in the recent past, most notably by a few “pioneers”, including W.E.B. DuBois and Franz Boas (Omi & Winant, 1993:3). Its early roots are embedded in essentialist biological constructions, but this has been supplanted by a largely acknowledged belief that “race” is illusory. This presents a number of challenges, key amongst which is confronting the idea that “race” continues to have significant traction in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; notwithstanding significant intellectual work that has engaged with the illusion of “race” as normative. For education, and for the purposes of this report, the key challenge is to confront the “continuing significance and changing meaning of race” (Omi & Winant, 1993:3).

In the context of schools and education in post-apartheid South Africa, it is vital that “race” be properly conceptualised. It is a truism that should the diagnosis be wrong, the treatment, here the policy recommendations, its resultant manifestation in, *inter alia*, teacher education curricula, continuing professional teacher development programmes, textbooks, and teacher pedagogies, will be misdirected, with continued gross inequality. In this regard, Fraser (2003:379-386) provides a key conceptualisation of “race” as operating on a continuum of political economy and cultural-valuation extremities. In her framing of the need to understand the ways in which “race” needs to be addressed, she focuses our attention on the dual mechanisms of economic redistribution and radical cultural social shifts if the injustices facilitated by “race” as a social mechanism are to be addressed, and “race” ultimately “removed” as a social phenomenon. This report adopts this dual understanding of how and in which spheres (political economy and cultural) “race” operates.

### **1.3.5 Governance in education**

Governance refers to the sum of all concurrent forms of collective regulation of social issues; from the institutionalised self-regulation of civil society, through the diverse forms of cooperation among state and private actors, to the action of sovereign state agents (Mayntz 2003:66). Aragon and Vegas (2009) highlight two distinctive definitions of governance. The first concerns political control of a system and the context this creates, with governance defined in terms of the policy-making process (e.g. how the rules of a political regime provide the context for policy making). The second refers to the technical capacity and the

ability to implement policies. In most contexts, both the politics and the processes of education sector governance apply.

There is also a third aspect of governance, which is more analytical and considers “governance” as a concept of our time; reflecting a shift from government to governance, and for some towards “global governance” (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992). This involves a shift from the idea of government as the unitary source of educational governance (that funds, provides, regulates, and owns the education system) towards a more “coordinating” and facilitating role involving a range of actors operating at multiple geographical scales. This can be traced to the shift from Keynesian to neoliberal, political economy approaches that have dominated international development debates since the 1980s (Robertson *et al.*, 2006). Dale (2005) viewed this as the scalar and functional division of education governance, which necessitates the exploration of the supra-national or international, national, and sub-national levels. It also requires exploration of governance activities: funding, provision, regulation, and ownership, and the actors and institutions (state, market, community, household) responsible for carrying them out. Analysis of educational governance then reflects on who is doing what, where, with what outcomes, and for whom.

### **1.3.6 Equity and inequality in education**

Equity is a guiding principle and implies “that all children have an opportunity to survive, develop, and reach their full potential without discrimination, bias or favouritism [...] regardless of gender, race, religious beliefs, income, physical attributes, geographical location, or other status” (UNICEF, 2011). In this sense, policies and programmes that aim to address root causes of inequality need to ensure the fundamental rights of all children. This is particularly so for those experiencing deprivation, including access to basic protection and services necessary for survival and development, such as education. Within discussions of equity and inequality there are tensions over the principle of equality of opportunity and provision, versus targeted redress of unequal social location.

For example, while a version of equity might be achieved through ensuring that all schools receive the same funding (based on pupil numbers), for others this would be seen as inequitable given that some schools are located in more socially deprived locations and face

more difficult challenges than others, and therefore should be prioritised. As Bourdieu (2008:36) notes:

“To favour the most favoured and disfavour the most disfavoured, all that is necessary and sufficient is for the school to ignore in the content and teaching it transmits, in the methods and techniques of transmission and the criteria of judgement it deploys, the cultural inequalities that divide children from different social classes. In other words, by treating all students, however much they differ, as equal in rights and duties, the educational system actually gives its sanction to the initial inequality.”

In seeking equity in education, an unequal distribution of resources might therefore be necessary to redress historical inequalities. This has been the underlying argument for policy measures such as affirmative action and positive discrimination, which often inflame political tensions. Any analysis of equity in education thus needs to be grounded in the contextual analysis of the country, existing socio-economic, cultural, political, gender-related, ethnic/linguistic, and religious inequalities, and the resources, policies, and practices aimed at addressing them. Thus, in addressing the economic dimensions of inequality, while *redistribution* is crucial, there are other dimensions of inequality that also require attention. *Recognition* refers to the ways in which culturally related identity-based issues are better manifested, while *representation* concerns how different senses of isolation from decision-making spheres are addressed. These concepts reflect the ways in which different dimensions of inequity and inequality manifest themselves and highlight the need to directly redress them.

### 1.3.7 Agency in education

A pervasive dualism exists within the social sciences; between structure and agency. For Emile Durkheim (1912), structure takes priority over agency, meaning that social life is largely determined by social systems and conditions that regulate individual behaviour. On the other hand, according to the sociology of Max Weber, “social life is largely determined by those individuals, ‘agents’, without whom there would be no social structures” (Bullock & Trombley, 2000:835).

It is a binary that many subsequent sociologists have found limiting. Many have adapted the above approaches and view social systems as the result of interaction between individuals (agency) who are aware of the “rules” (structure) that influence their actions, but who are

also capable of bringing about structural change by influencing the “rules” that govern social action (Novelli & Smith, 2011:7). In doing so, the agency of individuals can either be static, fixed, and essentialised, or it can be multidimensional, situated, and dynamic. It is this latter position that this report adopts. Teachers as peacebuilders are understood in relation to their capacity to influence conflict-driven surroundings, and their ability to think, feel, and act in ways that foster the “values and attitudes” that offer “a basis for transforming conflict itself” (Novelli & Smith, 2011).

### 1.3.8 Gender

The report acknowledges from the outset that women/girls and men/boys of all ages before, during, and after conflict have quite different and varying needs, societal positions, decision-making powers, and experiences of violence. In this regard, it is not enough to engage solely with the economic dimensions of redistribution when attempting to reach “parity of participation” for all men and women in society. Rather, equal importance should be given to socio-cultural remedies for better recognition and political representation in order to ensure “participation on par with others, as full partners in social interaction” (Fraser, 2005:73).

Educational institutions and curricula, when dominated by patriarchal traditions, often perpetuate traditional gender roles and entrench patriarchal values in each generation of school-going children (Leach, 2000; Kabeer, 2005; Unterhalter, 2005), and are dependent on context and the extent to which they are contested. This study found the following approach to gender, namely the South African government’s *Framework for the Development of a National Policy on Gender Equity in Basic Education*, particularly useful:

- *Gender is socially constructed*: This means that “femininity and masculinity are not inherent categories that pre-exist in each individual. Rather, they are historically and socially constructed and connected, and are shaped by social institutions, processes and practices, including those of the school” (Australian Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs [MCEETYA], 1996).
- *Gender is a relational concept*: Femininity and masculinity derive their meaning from each other. This means that gender issues relate to *both* women and men and involve power relations between men and women. The negotiation of power

happens in everyday spaces and is relational. As such, the unequal power relations between women and men that contribute to gender inequalities always need to be highlighted (Subrahmanian, 2005).

- *Gender intersects with other social categorisations:* It is important to recognise that gender intersects in complex ways with factors such as social class background and ethnicity (Smyth, 2007:144), meaning that “the construction of gender varies across different groups of girls and boys with multiple ‘masculinities’ and ‘femininities’” (Smyth, 2007:144). When seeking to redress gendered inequities and inequalities, policies cannot treat girls and boys not as homogenous groups, but as differentiated by contextual factors such as race, socio-economic background, and geographical location.
- *Gender is linked to sexuality:* The dominant understanding of gender is often to treat women and men as complementary opposites, and to view “opposite” sex attraction as the norm. This is discriminatory towards people attracted to the same sex and also those that are gender non-conformists.

## **1.4 SYNTHESIS OF KEY LITERATURE**

The report employed a variety of literature to both shape its arguments and provide the background against which to understand the emergent main findings. These included literature on the contribution of education to peacebuilding, the role of teachers in peacebuilding, and links between teacher agency, education, and peacebuilding. The main issues that emerged from the literature are outlined below.

### **1.4.1 Education and peacebuilding**

The report draws on a variety of findings and arguments about the integration of education and peacebuilding; with the main works highlighting the pivotal role of education in unlocking wider social and economic benefits. In this context, equitable service delivery was emphasised, and exclusion from education viewed as the key grievance in conflicts. Notably, much of the literature identified the state as mainly responsible for delivering education that has an explicit emphasis on conflict transformation, and the nature and degree of its

service delivery were viewed as contributing either positively or negatively to state-building and peacebuilding (Ndaruhutse *et al.*, 2011).

Three rationales, or theories of change, for the integration of education and peacebuilding emerged in this regard, namely delivering peace dividends, strengthening social service sector governance, and providing first-entry points for longer-term peacebuilding. We discuss each in turn.

**Education as a Peace Dividend:** According to this theory of change, by providing social services such as education, people see the benefits of peace and this restores their confidence in the state. The restoration of education only contributes positively to peacebuilding, however, when it is seen to benefit all, and is provided in a way that generates trust between the state and all its citizens. This suggests that education must be provided in ways that are not perceived as political manipulation or patronage, or seen as an imposition that is insensitive to different local contexts.

**Education Governance and Reform:** The second theory of change posits that good governance across sectors creates conditions to constructively manage conflict and overcome horizontal inequalities amongst groups. Impact is treated as highly context specific, and success is dependent on a thorough understanding of the political and economic processes that shape society. From a peacebuilding perspective, these include understanding structural changes to the education system, as well as administrative changes related to the more inclusive participation, representation, and recognition of various interests in education governance and decision making. In this regard, governance policies can either legitimise the state, or be a source of conflict.

For example, decentralisation may be seen as giving power to local communities, but it can also legitimate previous status quos. This has serious implications for state legitimacy and long-term peacebuilding. If decentralisation does not result in greater politicisation of the education sector and lead to greater inclusion and a reduction of education inequalities, and instead excludes people based on locality or identity factors, conflict will result. In this regard, there thus needs to be a careful balance between centralised and decentralised powers and functions, rather than the total centralisation or complete decentralisation of the education system.

**Education as an Entry Point for Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding:** The third theory of change contends that social services provide entry points that address underlying causes of conflict. With regard to education policy and programming, this happens at four levels: protection, addressing inequalities, social cohesion, and reconciliation.

- **Protection:** Voluminous literature related to attacks in education, the protection of children from violent conflict, and the creation of safe and secure learning environments exists. Girls' safety is a particular concern during violent conflict, with negative impacts on their education. Importantly, while education policies and programmes are seen as important in addressing violence against children, many texts argue that the underlying causes of violence need to be simultaneously addressed.
- **Equity and redistribution:** While there is an established body of research on inequalities with regard to access to education, particularly in relation to gender, literature on equity in education is quite sparse, especially with regard to the quality of learning that the marginalised receive, or how ethnicity, religion, geographical location, and/or language impact access.
- **Social cohesion:** The literature that covers the concept of social cohesion generally focuses on levels of trust between citizens and government, and between different groups in society. The literature zooms in on segregated schooling, intergroup contact programmes, peace education, and language of instruction policies as evidence of highly context specific education provision, and argues that social cohesion programmes may have little impact if they focus on interpersonal relations when the underlying causes of conflict are institutional and systemic.
- **Reconciliation and transitional justice:** Education plays an important role in longer-term post-conflict development. Two education policy areas in this regard focus on the curriculum (and the ways in which history education, for example, may contain values that either promote division or encourage peaceful management of diversity) and the extent to which education contributes towards reconciliation following recommendations from formal Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings. It is common in countries that have been affected by conflict to identify education as playing a key role in promoting longer-term reconciliation and preventing the



recurrence of violent conflict. However, it is not an area that is often prioritised as part of education policy development.

#### **1.4.2 Teachers and peacebuilding**

Teachers underpin the success of any education system, but this success varies according to what role they play, and how they play it. From the perspectives of different actors, teachers are both derided and admired and often positioned on a range of continuums – as part of the problem or part of the solution, skilful or ineffectual, victims or perpetrators (of conflict), technocrats or transformative agents.

On the one hand, teachers often position themselves as perpetrators of violence, including political violence where they are engaged with armed groups. They are also often identified as the main culprits in acts of gender-based violence on their students. On the other hand, teachers are also victims of violence, including the direct targeting of teachers for political attacks. In both cases, this is driven by multiple dynamics, including attempts to control or block what and who gets educated, to restrict trade union activity and academic freedom, and for different military rationales. Notably, there is a need to understand the dual role of teachers in post-conflict contexts, as agents that both experience and affect conflict and peace.

With regard to teacher supply and deployment issues in post-conflict contexts, the literature notes that in the initial stages of rebuilding an education system, there may be tension between attracting the most qualified candidates to bridge gaps, and the need for a representative teaching body, including the recruitment of women. Ensuring the redistribution of educational opportunities for a peaceful future is a significant consideration, and solutions for teacher deployment range from incentives such as hardship grants, employment of personnel from remote communities who are provided with school-based training, scholarships for women who commit themselves to teach in remote schools where girls face barriers to enrolment, to the appointment of teachers from historically marginalised groups. Each of these policy decisions may, however, exacerbate existing inequalities, or create new ones.

Furthermore, the literature shows that teacher professional development is vital if equity, peace, and social cohesion are to be secured in different societies. It provides examples of

how teacher agency can be enhanced for peacebuilding, including the development of individual competencies that allow teachers to deliver both skills for employment and social cohesion, and the provision of support that motivates teachers to contribute positively to peacebuilding across all dimensions of their teaching. This includes teacher education to develop engaged, autonomous, and reflexive practitioners; fair and transparent working conditions; deployment and remuneration that reflect and enable their extensive roles and responsibilities; and constructive and developmental processes of accountability that professionally develop teachers' peacebuilding and social cohesion skills.

Finally, the literature highlights the importance of textbooks in how teachers engage with peacebuilding. It shows how textbooks, as a manifestation of societal change, are not used in isolation; teachers and students mediate their content to create meaning in specific social contexts and classrooms. In this regard, it is the relationship between the teacher and the textbook that mediates what learners learn. This is based on the level of agreement (or discrepancy) between textbook content and the positionality of the teacher. A teacher's ethnicity, geographical location, personal beliefs, political leanings, and perception of the desirability of relationships with "the other" impacts on how he/she uses her/his agency to negotiate the text. Teachers can thus either uphold textbook narratives or subvert them.

**Table 1: Key messages in the literature**

Key messages in the literature
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a need to develop a nuanced understanding of teachers' roles and agency in peacebuilding, and in relation to the global/national political economy they operate in.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teachers must be included as important stakeholders in policy planning.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teachers must be positively supported to develop their peacebuilding agency as reflexive, engaged professionals.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In recognition of the complex situation, a policy response requires responsive and reflexive solutions that take teachers' contexts into account.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More credence should be given to the transformative capabilities of well trained, supported, motivated, and remunerated teachers.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a need for a deeper understanding of the myriad pressures faced by teachers both inside and outside of the classroom, allied to clear recognition and backed by positive policy and funding initiatives.</li> </ul>

Source: CITE (2016)

## 1.5 CONCLUSION AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

This chapter outlined the rationale and research background of the report. It also described the research framework that underpins the data collected in the report. The chapter's core argument is that social cohesion founded on equity requires a collective societal vision and undertaking that is founded on social justice, and that this requires a national and global education agenda that places quality education at its core. Crucially, quality education with a strong social justice orientation must not delegitimise the affective and "soft" aspects of education in favour of a narrow instrumentalism, namely one that privileges a focus on numeracy and literacy for the benefits of economic growth.

Chapter 2 describes the South African context of the study by outlining the historical legacy of conflict that characterised the systems of colonialism and apartheid. It further describes the macro-policy and development strategies that were promulgated with the advent of the new democratic government in 1994 to overcome this legacy, and to create a socially cohesive "Rainbow Nation" with a focus on forging unity in diversity. It also outlines the structure of the education system and examines the extent to which the system has addressed the twin imperatives of quality and equity. The chapter illustrates how individuals and groups are invested in different sets of control, privilege, and domination, and highlights how concepts of nation, national identity, and national pride, as captured in curricula, in textbooks, and in teaching, can further deepen inequalities, divisions, and conflict. While refrains to ideas of closed communities and notions of particular identities may often be an understandable response to social fragmentation, they pose a significant danger to socially cohesive societies.

Chapter 3 describes the research and methodological framework, as well as the data analysis approach and analytic techniques.

Chapter 4 provides a critical overview of education policies in South Africa. These have as their foundation the macro-development frameworks discussed in Chapter 2. Attention is paid to specific policies as they relate to social cohesion; ranging from those dealing with the governance of the system, to those affirming individual and group rights. The latter are buttressed by Chapter 9 institutions, which are provided for in the Constitution and include institutions, like the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), that are mandated to

protect and promote the rights of all. The discursive deconstruction of education policies as they relate to social cohesion suggests that the agency of teachers is framed in a context where the state has to carefully negotiate central policy control and decentralised provincial schooling responsibilities. Notably, it is in environments where the state has to contend with a policy framework that accords to schools powers that militate against social cohesion. The chapter notes that overcoming inequality and achieving social cohesion in and through education is difficult, given the deep-seated structural and spatialised inequalities, which are beyond the control of the education sector.

Crucially, Chapter 4 sets the scene for closer examination in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of the various dimensions that inform the extent to which teachers can play a role as agents of social cohesion in the South African context. By highlighting how teacher roles are framed in policy, Chapter 4 provides a foundation for the discussion of three interrelated aspects of teacher agency in the South African context; namely teacher governance (which includes teacher recruitment and deployment), teacher trust and accountability, and different aspects of teacher professional development. In the latter regard, Chapter 7 focuses on how teachers develop knowledge, skills, and dispositions to act as agents of social cohesion in and through initial and continuing professional development.

Chapter 8 focuses on the curricula and textbooks that frame the work of teachers. The chapter engages with how curricula, syllabi, textbooks, and other learning resources in the classroom are harnessed to promote social cohesion, and whether or not materials developed for social cohesion are finding their way into the classroom and shaping teacher pedagogies. The chapter further explores teacher pedagogies in relation to whether teacher practices influence student attitudes to social conflict and different forms of violence.

The main contribution of Chapter 9 lies in how the roles and lives of teachers are shown to be firmly interconnected within the broader networks of relationships and structures in which they participate. Chapter 9 problematises the complex relationship between teachers, their networks, and the everyday practices that define what they do. Furthermore, Chapter 9 records the absence of explicit accounts of what constitutes pedagogies of social cohesion, in practice, and in diverse classrooms shaped differently by inequities of class, race, religion, gender, and location. The chapter highlights the difficulties tied to trying to enact socially just / social cohesion pedagogies in contexts where learning attainment in

languages and mathematics is reductively privileged, and where curricular frameworks delegitimise inequities of class, race, religion, gender, and location, or represent them very narrowly. The chapter brings to the fore the need for more robust, rigorous, and empirically grounded accounts of what pedagogies of social cohesion may look like in multiple and differing classroom contexts, and highlights the pressing need for contextualised and clear understanding of what kinds of pedagogical processes may generate quality learning in schools – all in order to effect social solidarity and change.

Chapter 10, the concluding chapter of this report, draws together some of the main threads and points that emerge from each chapter, and conceptualises what these imply *vis-à-vis* social cohesion and teachers in South Africa. This concluding chapter provides an analysis of the key debates and issues raised across the report, as well as highlighting key policy options and outcomes.

The report now moves on to Chapter 2, in which the South African context of the study is foregrounded.

## Chapter 2 – The South African Country Context: Social Cohesion, Inequality, and Education

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### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter situates the report in a policy context that encompasses the overarching policy framework that framed post-apartheid South Africa following the country's first inclusive democratic elections in 1994. It sets out to provide a key set of understanding that facilitates a broad appreciation of the ways in which this national policy context inflects its approaches to the key issues underpinning the report; namely education, inequality, and social cohesion.

In South Africa, social cohesion is about social integration and equality. It is approached as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society and the extent to which mutual solidarity is given expression amongst individuals and communities. Societies are deemed to be cohesive when group-based inequalities are reduced or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner, which necessitates a proper understanding of the relationship between education interventions and the reproduction of social (dis)integration and (in)equality (Department of Arts and Culture [DAC], 2012).

The DAC is the central government department responsible for issues related to social cohesion, although a variety of other departments (such as the Department of Basic Education [DBE], the Department of Social Development, Department of Sports and Recreation, etc.) play an equally substantial role in inserting social cohesion policies into the public domain (FHI 360 & UNICEF, 2015:10). The interventions of each department are fundamentally focused on initiating forms of social solidarity within South African society – solidarities that counter the persistence of insular identities and continuing group-based inequalities.

The DAC (n.d.) defines social cohesion as

“[t]he degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities. In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions which engender divisions, distrust and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained

manner – this with community members and citizens as active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all.”

Colonialism and apartheid structures of power splintered South African social identities along multiple lines of race and ethnicity, with apartheid in particular cementing these within rigidly unequal spatial patterns. When apartheid ended, South African society was thoroughly disintegrated and unequal, with apartheid legacies firmly manifested within societal structures and continuing to shape different forms of inequality. When a new government came into being in 1994, it thus committed itself to equity, redress, social cohesion, and peace – as captured in the preamble of the new Constitution of 1996.

Given this history, this chapter begins with a discussion of how colonisation and apartheid resulted in disintegration and inequality within South Africa at multiple levels. The chapter evaluates the TRC as the main national intervention that was meant to reconcile a nation that was deeply unequal as a result of its discriminatory past. Thereafter it discusses the macro legislative and policy frameworks and planning strategies of South Africa as interventions intended to render society equal. Following this, the chapter hones in on the education sector; outlining the post-apartheid education structure and examining the twin challenges of quality and equity in education as they impact on social cohesion and peace.

## **2.2 PERSISTENT SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION AND INEQUALITY: THE APARTHEID LEGACY**

Education programmes seeking to ensure peace and more equitable access can be achieved by attending to the root causes of conflict (UNICEF, 2014:1). Historically, much of the causes of conflict in South Africa can be traced back to colonial and apartheid rule, which divided members of society unequally along complex intersections. The post-conflict context in South Africa in turn is characterised by unique features relating to national traditions and local politics, which add a further dynamic to the complex patterns of inequality.

The population of Southern Africa, traced back to the arrival of the San and Khoi around 100 BCE, and the subsequent onset and continuation of colonially driven modernisation, both increased and diversified, to the extent that over a 300-year period, a common legacy of bureaucratic colonial rule came to maintain a pervasive grip on its development (Mamdani, 1996). Oppressive social structures, particularly with regard to constructions of

race, gender, and class, became the order of the day as colonialism expanded its domination.

Jump forward to 1948 and these oppressive structures were further enhanced by the apartheid policies of the then National Party government (1948 – 1994), particularly with regard to constructions of race. During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a system of oppression and racial discrimination was developed with the establishment of “Bantustans” – setting in place the architecture of a policy of separate development, or “apartheid”. A major consequence of these oppressive structures along arbitrary lines of race, gender, class, and space (arising from the massive relocation of communities within urban areas to peripheral areas and to Bantustans) was the multiple, complex fracturing of society and unprecedented degradation of the oppressed. This included a form of decentralisation that perpetuated centralised control of bureaucratic power by the regime, within narrowly conceived ideas of racial supremacy governed by what was described as “*Herrenvolk*” (pejoratively labelled as such due to the linking of apartheid as akin to Nazism) democracy. While the central apartheid government worked to insulate its essential power structure, elements of power were also distributed to collaborators within the system.

Despite the above, security related to large-scale physical violence was crucially not the main priority after 1994 among peacebuilding actors in the South African context, notwithstanding 21 300 people after 1994 formally filing petitions of gross human rights violations with the TRC in South Africa (see Smith, McCully & Datzberger, 2015:4). Arguably, this low number and the lack of focus on “security” can be linked to South Africa “experiencing a reasonably peaceful transition from repression to democracy” (TRC, 1998a:5). Part of the explanation for this political miracle and “smooth” transition was that South Africans under apartheid unsurprisingly bore the brunt of its policies in relative isolation from one another. In the last decade of apartheid, for example, the state security apparatus in South Africa completely cordoned off violence to non-white areas, and while black<sup>1</sup> townships burnt during the height of the uprisings, minority capital businesses remained relatively unscathed and protected by consecutive states of emergency.

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<sup>1</sup> The word “black” is generically used in South Africa to refer to all those historically classified as coloured, African, and Indian. It is used as a generic term to describe those who were historically oppressed and denied citizenship under the apartheid system. Furthermore, in the report at various times the terms “white”, “coloured”, “Indian”, and “African” that formally emerged as a consequence of apartheid policies, are used. This does not suggest in any way that the authors concur that the terms are real or authentic for the contemporary period.



Although there was chronic civil unrest in South Africa for decades before 1994, this was mainly separated by geography and by fear reinforced by repression. The fact that a full scale civil war had been averted, many of the underlying conflict issues that had not emerged into a violence had continued to simmer and left unresolved.

The challenge for social cohesion after 1994 was that the colonial and apartheid spatial demarcations still determined where different communities, determined by racialised apartheid categories, resided, which was further reinforced by levels of income inequality that were among the highest in the world. Although democratisation ushered in a government with a clearly stated commitment to pro-poor policies, and to mitigating inequality, changing the structural elements of apartheid policy posed a number of serious constraints. A government official posed this in the following way:

*“You know, – how do you promote diversity? These are some of the hard issues. The spatial residential areas, you know, where learners go to school, were pretty homogenous. So how do you handle integration?”* (Interview with DBE Representative 3, 2015).

More than 20 years later, South Africans continue to be separated by geography and by fear, now bearing the brunt of neo-liberal capital in relative isolation from one another. Crucially and ironically (ironic, as apartheid was categorised by the UN as a “crime against humanity”), because the social destruction wrought by apartheid was not regarded as acute, i.e. as affecting *communities*, but rather, as seen by the TRC, as affecting a few thousand *individuals*, large numbers of casualties remained invisible, along with areas and people on the periphery of urbanisation, legislated as townships during apartheid, remaining on the fringes of development in post-apartheid South Africa. With the repeal of laws, housing schemes were introduced to provide for those that had previously suffered the brunt of apartheid policies. These were known as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (also widely known as RDP) housing schemes. The key problem, however, was that these schemes were never planned or implemented in residential areas previously set aside for the “white” population. Thus, in terms of both race and class, the physical landscape of apartheid was not substantially altered after 1994. Under democratic rule, even with the deracialisation of the distributional system, processes and policies continued to allow for a persistence of privilege based on previous “apartheid gains”, albeit with social class becoming the main basis of discrimination (Soudien, 2008).

Arguably, the state did introduce a range of measures and mechanisms within the deracialised distributional regime to improve the lives of those previously disadvantaged, including in the fields of education, social welfare, and labour market policies and practices. As Badat and Sayed (2014) argued, the state also propelled (in significant ways) the increase of a black economic elite and middle class in post-apartheid South Africa. But the main consequence was that the black middle class benefited mainly from post-apartheid affirmative action policies, to the detriment of the poor and the unemployed, and particularly those living in rural areas. Colonial and apartheid patterns of life were thus very negligibly addressed in post-apartheid South Africa.

This had serious implications for social cohesion. In an interview with a public forum representative in 2015, he/she noted the following:

*“It’s a little bit naïve to believe that you can have cohesion, you know, in a country with the highest Gini coefficient in the world. It’s a little bit, without addressing it, kind of impossible to address. These are different narratives altogether as there are two different realities here. There’s a reality that pertains to the 10% of the population – or, to be generous, 20% – that occupy skilled jobs in the economy. Now that 20% basically have to be rich, I don’t talk about colour, you just have to be well off; if you have a high socio-economic status, you go to the best schools, which gives you access to the best universities, which gives you access to the best jobs. The rest, the other 80%, it’s a vicious cycle and the problem with that 80% is that not only do you go to a poor college or school and then either go to low-productivity jobs or be unemployed, but if you have children, they go back there too and that cycle continues like we have today. So we’re living in two worlds” (Interview with Public Forum Representative 1, 2015).*

This dire state of affairs in South Africa 20+ years after its first fully democratic elections has been further fuelled by high levels of unemployment and a combination of labour market, welfare, education, and economic policies that have structured particular kinds of societal income. The implication for social cohesion, as the respondent illustrated, is that the rich and poor and the majority and minority (still largely shaped by previous delineations) inhabit “two different worlds” with “different narratives”. As such, they are presumably unable to build a coherent approach to living or developing a common identity.

An analysis of the multiple post-apartheid policies, growth trajectories, and welfare regimes of the period reveals that for many white<sup>2</sup> South Africans, the acquired advantage of social class status under apartheid permitted them to sustain their privileges in the market, and allowed them over time to depend less on privileges acquired via racial discrimination. As such, although policies have reformed the “distributional regime” of the late apartheid period, it has not changed the nature of previously acquired advantages. While post-1994 leaders framed the role of the state as “developmental” in terms of overcoming the legacy of colonialism, because the state secured its power from segmented constituencies and interests, the major drivers of inequality have largely remained. These include unequal and persistent access to assets and increased levels of unemployment and deprivation.

Furthermore, a key driver of inequality in the post-apartheid period has arguably (and ironically) been the push to give representation and place power in the hands of local constituencies. On the one hand, there was a need to embed ideas of effectiveness and centralised control for the sake of political legitimacy, and on the other hand, there was a desire to change the system of governance in the interests of building a broadly “developmental state”.

A key problem was that the move towards decentralisation (also as an outcome of a negotiated settlement) took place mainly in the context of crisis, with years of imposed structural adjustment policies and harsh economic conditions affecting the whole continent from the 1980s onwards. It was an unremitting socio-economic crisis that left Africans worse off than they were ten years before, weakening productive and infrastructural facilities and basic social services such as education. In the 1990s, per capita income had fallen from a low point of US\$752 in 1980 to US\$545 in 1988. The balance of payment deficits, which amounted to US\$3.9 billion in 1980, stood at US\$20.3 billion in 1988 – a six-fold increase. Africa’s debt of US\$48.3 billion in 1978 was multiplied by more than five times to US\$257 billion in 1989, with debt-servicing obligations accounting for 40% of the total export earnings on average, and going beyond 100% for many countries (Mengisteab & Logan, 1995). This, coupled with years of trade embargos and economic sanctions, meant

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<sup>2</sup> The word “white” is a term used to describe those who are of European descent. The word “black” is generically used in South Africa to refer all those historically classified as coloured, African, and Indian. It is used as a generic term to describe those who were historically oppressed and denied citizenship under the apartheid system.

that there was significant pressure post-1994 to prioritise economy and growth issues and to focus on ways to best mobilise available resources to deal with this “crisis”.

A further problem after 1994 was that the required resources and capacities to do so lay mainly within white communities. The state needed to find ways to access these resources and capacities, and it was invariably in these subsequent policies that previous privileges were fortified. Mamdani (1998:6) provides a strong caution in this regard. By historicising and problematising the reproduction and embedding of race identity constructs within different sets of institutions, Mamadani highlights how difficult it is to deconstruct race without fundamentally changing the nature of state formation. He suggests that unless different forms of power associated with the bifurcated state<sup>3</sup> are dismantled, promoting social solidarity (and social cohesion) will remain a huge challenge.

Indeed, there are a variety of explanations for the failure of decentralisation policies to live up to their intended promise after 1994. These range from a lack of funding, to a lack of institutional capacity, and a lack of social capital (Koelble & Siddle, 2013). Much of the criticism of decentralisation has been that the idea that “good governance as an idealised schema of best practice” is seriously flawed, and that a better approach might have been on “good enough governance” tied to historical and contextual realities (Grindle, 2012). Another explanation is that the constitutional vision for decentralisation (see Sayed, 2015) – that there is a huge difference between a constitutional/legal mandate and the actual practice of local government – was wrong. Insufficient financial resources may also have been devoted to this local level of government and the problems of elite capture, increased regulation, and noncompliance have further deepened the rift between the aspirations of the developmental democratic state and reality (Koelble & Siddle, 2013).

In summary, political decentralisation may have delivered a system that is no longer racially prescriptive and has replaced politically fragmented institutions with formalised democratic systems of representative local government. However, as a policy meant to “give power to the people”, decentralisation has instead helped to deepen the gaps between communities and masked the full extent of differences in political local government autonomy. As such,

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<sup>3</sup> Mamdani (1996) posits that the colonial project brought about dual systems of power operating under the colonial authority. The first was urban and premised on civil power, and that excluded the colonised subject on the basis of race. The second was rural, in which colonialism incorporated traditions and indigenous culture into customary law.

for the post-apartheid South African government to attend to social cohesion, it may have to first challenge and alter such issues (as above) tied to the nature of a bifurcated state.

This report examines how education interventions sought to dismantle the structure of power inherited from its colonial and apartheid predecessors, but also asks how or whether interventions have sought to disrupt previously assured privileges in ways that bring about greater levels of social togetherness.

### **2.3 RECONCILIATION, SOCIAL COHESION, AND THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC)**

The process of reconciliation in South Africa is most poignantly tied to the figure of the late President Nelson Mandela and the work of the TRC led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and captured in the symbolic image of the “Rainbow Nation”. The “Rainbow Nation” was founded on a trajectory of reconciliation manifest in the work of the TRC, whose genesis was the Interim Constitution (1993) and the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995. The TRC has been lauded as “the most ambitious and far-reaching of the attempts at catharsis and justice” (Ignatieff, 2001:15).

The purpose of this section is to examine the TRC in terms of its core objective – promoting national unity and reconciliation. In so doing, this section outlines the legislative framework of the TRC, followed by the TRC’s interpretation of its mandate. How the TRC reported on education is used to explicate the interpretation of its mandate.

The report argues that the approach to reconciliation in South Africa after 1994 can probably be traced back to how the TRC framed the term “reconciliation” and defined its parameters. In this regard, it is notable that, from the beginning, the Minister of Justice presented the Reconciliation Bill as a bridge on the journey towards the vision of the Constitution (TRC, 1998a:106). As such, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (34 of 1995) prefaced the final clause of the Interim Constitution with the following:

“SINCE the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 (Act 200 of 1993), provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy, and peaceful co-existence for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief, or sex [...]

AND SINCE the Constitution states that the pursuit of national unity, the wellbeing of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society;

AND SINCE the Constitution states that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for Ubuntu but not for victimisation;

AND SINCE the Constitution states that in order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in respect of such acts, omissions, and offences associated with political objectives committed in the course of the conflicts of the past” (Republic of South Africa [RSA], 1995:2).

A core focus within the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (34 of 1995) was unity and reconciliation. It was decided that the main pathway to achieving this was through a process of amnesty, with the objective of a TRC meant “to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcended the conflicts and divisions of the past” (RSA, 1995:4). As such, the TRC was constituted in 1996 as the main mechanism to explore and grant amnesty (or not).

The TRC was set up, via hearings and investigations, to establish the causes, nature, and extent of gross human rights violations between specified dates (RSA, 1995:4). Gross human rights violations were defined as killing, abduction, torture, or severe ill treatment of any person, or any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command, or procurement to commit such acts (RSA, 1995:3).

The measures by which the TRC was meant to promote national unity and reconciliation were through (1) establishing the truth about gross human rights violations, (2) facilitating amnesty for those who made full disclosures of such acts associated with political objectives, (3) establishing and making known facts about whereabouts of victims, and (4) reporting on the activities and findings, including recommendations of measures to prevent future human rights violations (RSA, 1995:4-5). In essence, the TRC’s mandate was to establish the “truth” about gross human rights violations, related to the causes, nature, and the extent of gross human rights violations between specific dates. This “truth” was legislated as the basis for granting amnesty, and by implication for achieving reconciliation and nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa.

The TRC was constituted as three separate committees: a Committee on Human Rights Violations, a Committee on Amnesty, and a Committee on Reparation and Reconciliation (RSA, 1995:1-2). In practice, this meant that the measures for promoting national unity and reconciliation were carried out by three separate TRC committees, each of which was not constituted in the same way (RSA, 1995:10-20). As such, the TRC was not promulgated as a unitary mechanism.

Moreover, the mandate of the TRC was given a timeframe, as investigating gross human rights violations from the period 1 March 1960 to a “cut-off date contemplated in the Constitution” (RSA, 1995:1,3,4,11,14,16), subsequently decided as 1994 (TRC, 1998a:24).

“In view of the broad agreement that the Commission should complete its work as speedily as possible, the Commission will focus on gross violations of human rights committed since 1960” (RSA, 1996).

This was later limited to focusing on gross human rights violations with a political objective (RSA, 1995:14) and recommending measures to prevent future human rights violations. Appointed by the state president to make up the TRC, the 17 commissioners admitted in 1998 that they had struggled to walk the “tightrope between a too wide and too narrow interpretation of gross violations of human rights”.

“The interpretation of the mandate was the outcome of a long process of wrestling [...] In the process of interpreting the mandate a number of difficult and often highly contested decisions were taken [by the 17 appointed Commissioners]” (TRC, 1998a:58).

The TRC defined severe ill treatment as “acts or omissions that deliberately and directly inflicted severe mental or physical suffering on a victim, taking into account the context and nature of the victim” (TRC, 1998d:591). Furthermore, it stated that “[t]he mandate of the Commission was to focus on what might be termed ‘bodily integrity rights’, rights that are enshrined in the new South African Constitution and under international law” (TRC, 1998a:64). The term “bodily integrity rights” did not, however, appear in the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. The Act also did not define “human rights” as such, something that the TRC followed by only making reference to the South African Constitution of 1996 and international law.

These kinds of limited interpretations by the TRC severely restricted its focus: “As such, the focus of its work was not on the effects of laws passed by the apartheid government, nor on

general policies of that government or of other organisations, however morally offensive these may have been” (TRC, 1998a:64). The explanation tendered by the TRC for this restriction was that it was meant to investigate “specific acts”. While the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (1995) did not actually state that legislation was excluded or that perpetrators could not be lawmakers, the TRC took a particular view that excluded specific acts that were the direct consequence of apartheid legislation, but were deeply felt by millions of victims during that period.

The TRC acknowledged this, noting in 1998 that “[a] strong argument can be made that the violations of human rights caused by ‘separate development’ – for example, Bantu education – had, and continue to have, the most negative possible impact on the lives of the majority of South Africans” (TRC, 1998a:64). However, it held throughout to the limited view that only bodily integrity rights fell within the ambit of the Act’s definition of gross human rights violations (TRC, 1998a:65). As such, the TRC approached reconciliation at the level of the individual and family, whereas apartheid policy wreaked havoc on societal, institutional, and community levels – in addition to individual and family levels. Individuals “were asked about the emotional, medical, and symbolic consequences of violations and the impact on their education and housing” (TRC, 1998a:292).

Ironically, despite the above limitation, the TRC did refer to structural systems associated with human rights violations in its report. For example, with regard to children and the youth, the TRC found that

“[t]he State identified and targeted schools as centres of resistance. Schools were occupied, and students and teachers intimidated and arrested. This created a climate within which unnecessary violence occurred. As a result, education was severely disrupted. Many children were unable to complete their schooling or advance to tertiary education” (TRC, 1998c:255).

In addition,

“[d]uring the apartheid years, people did many evil things. Some of these are the gross violations of human rights with which this Commission had to deal. But it can never be forgotten that the system itself was evil, inhumane and degrading for the many millions who became its second- and third-class citizens. Amongst its many crimes, perhaps the greatest was its power to humiliate, to denigrate, and to remove the self-confidence, self-esteem, and dignity of its millions of victims” (TRC, 1998a:62; own emphasis).



Furthermore, the TRC report acknowledged that most South Africans were denied the right of access to suitable education in the period 1960 to 1994 (TRC, 1998c:170) and thus heard submissions related to teachers being attacked, and schools being invaded and infiltrated (TRC, 1998a:403,432). It also heard submissions noting that “the standard of black education was appalling” (TRC, 1998a:193), “how teachers at school propagated Afrikaner nationalism” (TRC, 1998a:289), “how hundreds died demanding a decent education” (TRC, 1998a:38), that “one of the most iniquitous acts of apartheid was the separation of educational facilities and the creation of the infamous system of Bantu education” (TRC, 1998a:64), and that “separate education, separate amenities, and other restrictions bound” the lives of African, coloured, and Indian people (TRC, 1998a:65).

While noting the structural dimensions of apartheid violations as above, the TRC maintained that it did not have a mandate to act (that those noted were more acts of omission) and that its overall operations should be seen as but one measure instituted to transform the country: “This [limitation] underlined the importance of understanding the Commission as but one of several instruments responsible for transformation and bridge-building in post-apartheid South Africa” (TRC, 1998a:64,211,250).

A further challenge for the focus on reconciliation after 1994 was how “truth” was understood and applied with regard to gross human rights violations. This definition informed how the issue of amnesty was approached and addressed. The TRC understood amnesty to be associated with full disclosure of an incident related to a gross human right violation as opposed to a blanket amnesty, where this was also dependent on public knowledge of past violations (TRC, 1998a:52-53).

Part of the challenge in this regard was that the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act had mandated the TRC to both oversee the amnesty process and make recommendations regarding reparation (RSA, 1995:6). Indeed, the amnesty agreement and possible reparations were crucial to the overall process and making transition possible (TRC, 1998a:125). However, one of the implications of the amnesty process was that where amnesty absolved the (apartheid) state and individuals who committed violations, the burden of reparation was placed on the new democratic state. Also, if a violation did not fall within the ambit of the TRC interpretation, the individual making the claim could not be awarded any form of reparation or rehabilitation.

As such, submissions that were heard that related to the causes of acts or violations did not qualify for reparation or rehabilitation, which meant that reconciliation took on a particular guise under the TRC process. Essentially, reconciliation favoured those who were to be granted amnesty, but not the victims of gross human rights violations broadly conceived. Also, this only occurred between perpetrators and victims of gross human rights violations, as interpreted by the TRC.

The TRC commissioners did, however, immediately recognise this limitation within their work; namely that reconciliation had to move beyond their interpretation of perpetrators and victims (TRC, 1998a:106). In this regard, they recorded that reconciliation had to be viewed as a goal *and* a process, with the TRC merely a pathway and stepping stone in that *process* (TRC, 1998a). They further identified a variety of levels on which reconciliation had to take place: (1) coming to terms with painful truth, (2) reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, (3) reconciliation at community level, and (4) promoting national unity and reconciliation, and reconciliation and redistribution (TRC, 1998a:106-110).

In this process, they reminded critics that the TRC alone could not build the bridge between the dehumanising apartheid past and a just, democratic future (TRC, 1998a:60), nor reconcile all the dilemmas of a fragile democracy (TRC, 1998a:110). The TRC thus took the overall view that “a culture of human rights and democracy requires respect for our common human dignity and shared citizenship, as well as the peaceful handling of unavoidable conflicts” (TRC, 1998a:108).

“The road to reconciliation, therefore, means both material reconstruction and the restoration of dignity. It involves the redress of gross inequalities and the nurturing of respect for our common humanity. It entails sustainable growth and development of the spirit of Ubuntu. It implies wide-ranging structural and institutional transformation and the healing of broken human relationships. It demands guarantees that the past will not be repeated. It requires restitution and the restoration of our humanity – as individuals, as communities, and as a nation. Given the magnitude of this exercise, the Commission’s quest for truth should be viewed as a contribution to a much longer-term goal and vision” (TRC, 1998a:110).

The challenge for South Africa, however, was that the TRC was the only mechanism with a legislative mandate to advance reconciliation after 1994, especially one that hinged on it establishing the “truth” about what had happened before. As noted above, the TRC took a very narrow view of gross human rights violations and also limited this to those with

political objectives in the period 1960 to 1994. As such, the ways in which the TRC went about fulfilling its mandate provided the main architecture for nation-building and reconciliation after 1994.

Crucially, with regard to education, there were a number of recommendations that emerged from the TRC process that had lasting implications. Among the 21 300 people who filed gross human rights violation petitions with the TRC, many were school-going activists targeted in security operations (TRC, 1998a:34), principals who were attacked in that period, and even Congress of South African Students (COSAS) members being implicated in allegations of informants dying (TRC, 1998d:656). The TRC also reported that 51% of those who made statements reported disruption to their education or to that of their children's education, with some schools alleging that when they admitted learners of all races, they were targeted for bombing by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), a white supremacist Afrikaner group, prior to the election in 1994 (TRC, 1998d:724).

As such, given that many submissions had suggested reparations relating to educational activities (TRC, 1998c:178,182,405,408), the TRC felt that special arrangements needed to be recommended for those whose education had been interrupted as a result of engaging in resistance against apartheid (TRC, 1998c:727). In its recommendations, the TRC proposed that this be taken up by various sectors, including education (TRC, 1998c:194). The TRC further recommended that human rights curricula be introduced in formal education (TRC, 1998c:311) and that schools be regarded as spaces where the memory of the past must be kept alive (TRC, 1998d:726). Amongst the TRC's main recommendations, and perhaps of the most important, was that urgent attention be given to the transformation of education in order to prevent human rights violations in the future (TRC, 1998d:194,308). In that respect, it was recommended that all schools and tertiary education institutions in South Africa have available a copy of the TRC report (TRC, 1998d:731).

This set the tone for the role of education interventions in peacebuilding and social cohesion in South Africa, namely that the state gave "even more urgent attention to the transformation of education" (TRC, 1998b:308). Social cohesion was approached as an attempt to directly address issues of integration and inequality; acknowledging that the traumatic history of South Africa created precarious situations that were always going to make it difficult to achieve enduring peacebuilding.

To this end, the elusiveness of achieving reconciliation remains perhaps the most important goal for peacebuilding efforts, as noted by an official of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in 2015:

*“The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation kind of grew out of the TRC process and in fact our founding director was the chief researcher at the TRC, and there was a strong sense that TRC kind of opened up things and we would be failing the nation if it stops there. So that really was the main thinking behind it. And Archbishop Tutu supported it from the start. In fact, he’s still the veteran of the institute. Presently we have three programmes that’s outward looking, we have a programme besides the administration, we have a programme that’s very inward looking, the strategy and communication, it’s really about how we communicate our messages and so forth, but also how do we place ourselves strategically, but also they look after fundraising and so forth because we’re a non-profit, we have to raise funds all the time. The three programmes that’s outward looking; firstly, our policy and analysis and we can refer to them as the research arm, even though every programme does its own research, but there are three big outputs there and some of those works might be of interest to you. The one is the annual reconciliation barometer and it’s a perception-based research project where anything between 2 000 and 3 000 people get targeted and certain questions get asked but it gives us a sense of what people think about where we are at. A number of questions get asked and we’re quite happy to forward some of that information to you. For instance, one of the questions is about cohesion and social interaction. So we find, for instance, social interaction in the workplace, at the schools, that’s not a problem, but that doesn’t necessarily translate into integration, in social activities and so forth” (Interview with NGO Representative 1, 2015).*

The following section considers how macro policies in South Africa have impacted on correcting some of these patterns, and hence promoting social cohesion.

## **2.4 THE MACRO LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY LANDSCAPE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Education interventions in any context cannot be evaluated in isolation from macro policies. This section sets the context for examining how macro policy frameworks enable social cohesion. The South African coat of arms reads “!ke e: /xarra //ke” (“Unity in Diversity”). Diversity in South Africa, however, is fractured by, *inter alia*, race, class, religion, region, and gender. Moreover, in South Africa, as in other former colonies in Africa, diversity is embedded within a history of decentralised indirect rule characterised by oppression, prejudice, and inequality (Mamdani, 1996). Thus, while “Unity in Diversity” is an apt motto, the motto cannot in and of itself alter a lack of integration, or patterns of inequality in societies. A motto also cannot ensure that everybody is recognised, represented, or has

access to redistribution. Rather, it is macro-framing policies that symbolically set the context for realising unity in diversity, integration, and equality, and for promoting social cohesion.

For South Africa, from 1994, the first such macro policy was the Constitution, followed by a series of contested development frameworks from the RDP of 1996 to the National Development Plan (NDP) of 2013. There were also a variety of macro social cohesion frameworks, as well as gender policies that shaped “unity” after 1994.

#### **2.4.1 The South African Constitution: A system of concurrent functions**

The South African Constitution of 1996 took effect on 4 February 1997 and is widely hailed as a glorious example of democratic liberalism (Mattes, 2002:34). As a guiding policy document in South Africa, the Constitution enshrines equality before the law for all South Africans, with the Bill of Rights asserting a wide range of rights. The South African Constitution notes: “The Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of dignity, equality, and freedom” (RSA, 1996:5).

One cornerstone of the South African Constitution is decentralisation; the intention being to foster democratic decision-making institutions from the grassroots level upward, and ensuring citizen participation in administrative structures and developmental debates. During negotiations, much of the discussions centred on preventing “moving backwards” towards a strong federalism that might resemble the designations of former Bantustans under the previous apartheid regime, and to prevent minorities from not allowing simple majority rule.

Badat and Sayed (2014) observed that post-1994 efforts to uproot embedded systems of governance prevalent under apartheid were founded on a constitutional vision of cooperative governance. With local government holding the autonomy to govern the local government affairs of its community, subject to national and provincial legislation, much of the discourse around decentralisation was mainly expressed and grounded within a constitutional framework developed from 1994 that reflected concerns around citizenship, status, recognition, and inclusion within cultural and political levels of government.

This devolution of political authority to sub-national levels of government marked the establishment of three “spheres” of government: national, provincial, and local.

These spheres (as opposed to tiers) were supposed to co-exist in a system of cooperative government, which were “distinctive, interdependent, and interrelated” (The Consitution, 1996). The spheres could perform their functions within their own designated powers and functions, but were limited so as not to encroach upon other spheres. In contrast, spheres were supposed to inform, consult, and coordinate with one another in order to mutually assist and support one another.

The aim of the system of cooperative governance in terms of the roles of intergovernmental entities was to promote collaborative decision making. The coordination and alignment of priorities, budgets, activities, and joined-up policies across interrelated functions and sectors were meant to establish a flow of information within government, and between government and communities. In its conception, it aimed to enhance the implementation of policy and programmes, while at the same time providing a means for the prevention and resolution of intergovernmental conflicts and disputes.

This sphere-system of cooperative governance remains in place, with the Constitution providing for and ensuring that governance in all spheres moves progressively towards the dignity, equality, and freedom of all, and offering the main framework for promoting social cohesion and peace in South Africa. The Constitution has been and is supported in this effort by macro planning strategies (RSA, 1996).

#### **2.4.2 Macro National Development Frameworks: From the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to the National Development Plan (NDP)**

Between 1994 and 2015, South Africa had several macro socio-economic development frameworks. In 1996, the ANC government adopted the RDP. Its broad aim was to address and redress the gross inequalities inherited from apartheid, and establish a more equal society through reconstruction and development. The RDP (RSA, 1994:8-9) was based on six basic principles; namely to address the whole problem, not just part of it; based on the needs and energies of all of our people; to provide peace and security for all; to build the nation; to link reconstruction and development; and to build and strengthen democracy.

The *RDP White Paper* (RSA, 1994:8) was based “on the notion that reconstruction and development are parts of an integrated process. The RDP integrated growth, development, reconstruction, redistribution, and reconciliation into a unified programme”, while emphasising equity and the basic needs of people. In acknowledging the deep scars of inequality left by the past segregated education system, the RDP further considered education to be crucial to facilitate people’s effective participation in a democratic society, in reducing inequalities, and increasing employment and economic growth. It also recognised differences among people, stating that “the cultural diversity of our people was a major national asset” (RSA, 1994:9) and articulating that “unity in diversity” (RSA, 1994:8) was the basis of nation-building.

As such, the RDP provided for a decentralised extension of municipal services via provincial and local governments (RDP, 1994:45). Land matters were also devolved to the local level (RDP, 1994:70), with the RDP recognising that

“[t]he economy was built on systematically enforced racial division in every sphere. Rural areas were divided into underdeveloped Bantustans and well-developed, white-owned commercial farming areas; towns and cities were divided into townships without basic infrastructure for blacks and well-resourced suburbs for whites. Segregation in education, health, welfare, transport, and employment left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency. Violence has had a devastating effect on our society and the need to restore peace and a sense of community security is paramount” (RSA, 1994:7).

This recognition of deep-seated inequalities, however, did not seem to stop municipalities, specifically rural, to be riddled with corruption, with land redress in particular not achieving the desired outcomes. The failure of land redistribution can also be attributed to the role of the Land Bank and other such departments, as well as the failure to enact policies such as the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) which left the structural inequities on agricultural land more or less intact, with large numbers of labourers being forced off the land.

The RDP was subsequently replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy of 1996. At the time it was felt that GEAR arguably introduced neo-liberal competitive market-driven policies that were regarded as controversial for the ideological tradition of the African National Congress (ANC), which emphasised a social democracy and

an egalitarian philosophy (Harver, 2001). The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) replaced GEAR as a macro-economic policy in 2005. In a decade of what was argued featured sustained economic growth and stable macro-economic conditions, ASGISA aimed to cut unemployment and poverty rates in half by 2014. It aimed to do this through various initiatives, including significant investments in public infrastructure, focused attention on “skills and education” and building a “developmental state”. Policies on rural development such as the Spatial Development Initiative (which replaced the rural RDP) also had substantial consequences for development trends in rural areas, with a progressive attainment of rights for rural women.

It was acknowledged at that point that one of the key “binding constraints” on economic and social development was “the shortage of skills — including professional skills such as [the skills among] engineers and scientists; managers such as financial, personnel, project managers, and skilled technical employees such as artisans and IT technicians” (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2012:33). In this regard, it showed the government’s intent at the time to confront poverty and was an early acknowledgement of the difficulties it experienced in policy implementation.

The New Growth Path (NGP) of 2010 replaced ASGISA, which was followed by the NDP in 2012. Also known as Vision 2030, the NDP is a 30-year socio-economic development framework that seeks to grow the economy while tackling unemployment, poverty, and inequality. As a macro policy, the NDP drew explicitly from the NGP and its proposals are largely consistent with the NGP – except for its longer timeframe.

The main aim of the NDP is “to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030” (NPC, 2013:27), with its two major goals being:

- Eliminate income poverty – reduce the proportion of households with a monthly income below R419 per person (in 2009 prices) from 39% to 0%.
- Reduce inequality – the Gini coefficient should fall from 0.69 to 0.6 (NPC 2013:34).

As observed in the above goals, the NDP regards poverty and the associated high levels of inequality as the core problem of contemporary South African society. According to the NDP (NPC, 2013:15), the “primary challenge is to roll back poverty and inequality” with “a combination of increasing employment, higher incomes through productivity and growth, a



social wage, and good-quality public services". The NDP thus regards economic growth as the primary measure for reducing poverty and inequality, with the bulk of the chapters in the NDP addressing various facets of the economy.

The NDP also has a chapter dedicated to education. Chapter 15 of the NDP, "Transforming society and uniting the country", notes that "the shadow of history still lingers. The country is still divided along race and class lines. Social divisions are underpinned by massive inequalities" (NPC, 2013:477). The NDP thus argues that social transformation is crucial in South Africa because deep inequalities and associated mistrust among citizens have "a highly negative impact on economic development and make it harder to forge a social compact that could move South Africa onto a higher developmental trajectory" (NPC, 2013:458). In proposing various strategies to build a socially cohesive society, the NDP (NPC, 2013:35) highlighted the following three themes:

1. Reduce poverty and inequality by broadening opportunity and employment through economic inclusion, education and skills, and specific redress measures.
2. Promote mutual respect and inclusiveness by acting on the constitutional imperative that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and that all are equal before the law.
3. Deepen the appreciation of citizens' responsibilities and obligations towards one another.

The first theme speaks to the two major goals of the NDP: reduction of poverty and inequality. It should be noted that the economic part of the plan was fiercely criticised by the ANC's allies, namely the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). COSATU (2013) argued that the radical economic shift set out in the ANC's election manifest is not translated in the NDP; the poverty line is set too low, and the target of a Gini coefficient of 0.6 remains extremely high compared to other countries in the world. The NDP's core approach of "broadening opportunity" in the economy is also based on a voluntaristic notion of agency with all citizens presumed to be able to freely choose their ends and means, which largely ignores the structural determinations of specific contexts (Barolsky, 2013).

Arguably, the intended economic transformation envisaged in the macro policy does not really aim for structural changes and follows previous macro-development trajectories. In so doing, the policy seeks transformation of the same structures of power that reproduced

inequality in the first place, and focuses on the economy as the main way of addressing mistrust amongst citizens.

The *Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF)* is the government's strategic plan for the 2014-2019 electoral term, which reflects the commitments made in the election manifesto of the governing party, including the commitment to implement the NDP. The MTSF of 2014-2019 is structured around 14 priority outcomes, with Outcome 14 entitled "Nation building and social cohesion". This is one of the two recent additions to the macro policy. Thirty-one actions are planned under five sub-categories. These include: (1) fostering constitutional values, (2) equal opportunities, inclusion, and redress, (3) promoting social cohesion across society through increased interaction across race and class, (4) promoting active citizenry and leadership, and (5) fostering a social compact. The DBE is one of the 11 ministries tasked with actions associated with Outcome 14 of the MTSF, for which the DAC has overall responsibility (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation [DPME], 2014a).

The DBE has the sole responsibility for achieving Outcome 1 of the 14 MTSF outcomes, namely "Quality basic education". The Appendix to Outcome 1 states:

"The NDP's vision for 2030 is that South Africans should have access to training and education of the highest quality, characterised by significantly improved learning outcomes. Education then becomes an important instrument in equalising individuals' life chances, ensuring economic mobility and success, and advancing our key goals of economic growth, employment creation, poverty eradication, and the reduction of inequality" (DBE, 2014b:1).

In both the NDP and the MTSF, the definition of social cohesion is consistent with that provided by the DAC in 2012, except that they articulate social cohesion as a necessary conduit to economic growth. Outcome 1, "Quality basic education", notes that it is intended to advance "our key goals of economic growth" (DBE, 2014b:1).

As such, the main shift from the RDP in 1996 to the MTSF in terms of macro-development policies has been an enhanced emphasis on economic growth and increasing employment. Whereas the main aims of the RDP were to integrate growth and development, and ensure that reconstruction, redistribution, and reconciliation were part of a unified programme, subsequent macro strategies have largely foregrounded economic growth. Education is thus increasingly conceived as developing human resources (HR) and skills for the labour market

and addressing the potential fallout for economic development that social disunity and aspects like unemployment would signify.

Research data reveal that South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world. Among the 110 countries for which Gini index data were available for at least one year between 2008 and 2012 in the World Bank's data set, South Africa ranked as the most unequal, as shown in Table 2. The table also shows the percentage of accrued income of the highest 10% and lowest 20% of the population subgroup, which illustrates disturbingly large economic inequalities in South Africa. The two richest people in South Africa have the same wealth as the bottom 50% of the population (Oxfam, 2014). It is also important to note that inequality is currently greater than at the end of apartheid; the Gini index rating was 59.3 in 1993, while it was 65.0 in 2011<sup>4</sup>. Arguably, the Constitution and macro policies have not adequately provided for conditions to enable social cohesion and peace.

**Table 2: Gini index and income share between 2008 and 2012**

	Country	Gini index	Highest 10% share	Lowest 20% share
1	South Africa	65.0	53.8%	2.5%
2	Namibia	61.3	51.8%	3.4%
3	Botswana	60.5	49.6%	2.8%
4	Zambia	57.5	47.4%	3.6%
5	Honduras	57.4	45.7%	2.6%
106	Belarus	26.5	21.5%	9.4%
107	Czech Republic	26.4	22.2%	9.3%
108	Iceland	26.3	22.2%	9.6%
109	Slovenia	24.9	20.8%	9.7%
110	Ukraine	24.8	21%	10.2%

Source: World Bank data<sup>5</sup>

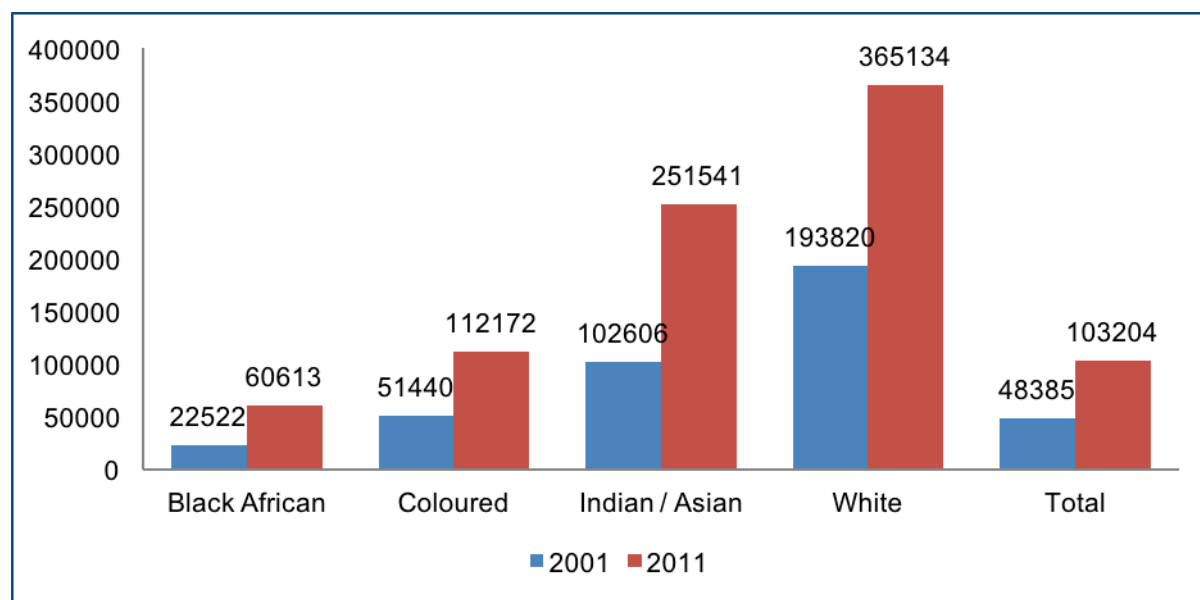
The key threat to social cohesion in the context of the macro-development strategy is the strong association between race and household income. Graph 1 reflects the significant difference of household income across the different population groups as taken from 2011

<sup>4</sup> Source: World Bank data (data.worldbank.org). Gini coefficient – 59.3 (1993), 56.6 (1996), 57.8 (2000), 67.4 (2006), 63.1 (2009), and 65 (2011). (Accessed on 16 September 2015).

<sup>5</sup> When data more than one year old are available for one country, the most recent data were used.

Census data. It shows that while white-headed households' income increased by R171 314 between 2001 and 2011, their black African counterparts' household income increased by R38 091, which is 22% of the former value.

**Graph 1: Average annual household income by race of household head**



Source: Statistics South Africa (Stats SA, 2012:40)

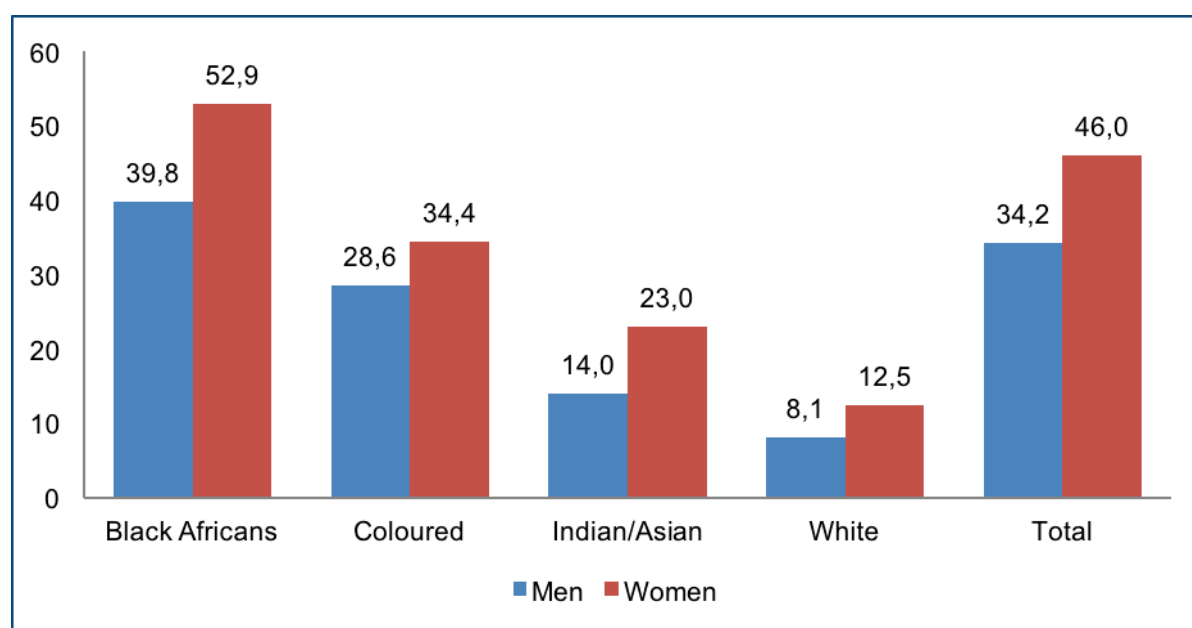
Inequality of income is related to labour market status, among others<sup>6</sup>. Graph 2 shows a significant difference in unemployment rates<sup>7</sup> by sex and race. The unemployment rate amongst women is higher than that among men across all racial groups. In this case, the unemployment rate among white men is the lowest (8.1%), while it is highest among black African women – more than six times that of white men (52.9%). The unemployment rate among black African men and women is the highest, while it is the lowest among white men and women.

When linked to other identity markers such as race, social class, sex, language group, disability, sexual orientation, and geographical location, these inequalities fracture social identity in ways that turn each intersection of these markers into a myriad of different social interactions (Massey, 1994). Such conditions fundamentally limit social cohesion.

<sup>6</sup> In terms of the working age population, the black African population group accounts for 78.2%, while the coloured population accounts for 9.1%, the Indian/Asian population for 2.8%, and the white population accounts for 9.3% (Stats SA, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Unemployed (extended definition): Persons who did not work, but were available to work in the reference period. There is also an official definition (persons who looked for work), which is somewhat lower, but given the fact that there are many who are discouraged from seeking work in the situation, the extended definition is used here. In the official definition, the unemployment rate for white men is 5.0%, while that of black African women is 41.2%.

**Graph 2: Unemployment rate (extended) by sex and race**



Source: Stats SA (2012:48)

## **2.5 GENDER POLICY FRAMEWORKS**

South Africa has made great strides in establishing an enabling legal and policy framework for gender equality, and is regarded as providing a good example of progressive legislation and policy promoting gender equity (Moletsane, 2010; Commission for Gender Equality, 2014). This includes the development of a constitution since 1994 that has articulated non-sexism as a key founding value; Section 1(b) forbids discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, and birth, and Section 9(3) established the Commission for Gender Equality as an independent state institution meant to guard democracy and promote gender equality.

There is also a wide range of legislation in a variety of sectors that had a direct impact on gender issues, such as the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (2000), the Employment Equity Act (EEA, 1998), the Domestic Violence Act (1997), and the Sexual Offences Act (2007). In addition, South Africa is signatory to a number of regional and international instruments which seek to promote the rights of women, including the Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, and the Maputo Protocol. The progressive nature of South

Africa's legislative framework in respect of gender is reflected in the OECD's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI), which is a cross-country measure of discrimination against women in social institutions (formal and informal laws, and social norms and practices). The 2014 SIGI categorised South Africa among "low" SIGI countries along with many Latin American and Eastern European counterparts (OECD, 2012:7).

In terms of institutional arrangements and structures, the National Policy Framework on Gender Equality (2002) was developed after the Beijing Conference on Women; establishing the National Gender Machinery to address the social and economic marginalisation of women. Current key institutions and arrangements include the Department of Women (DoW), the Commission for Gender Equality, the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Women in the Presidency, Gender Focal Points (GFP), and women's rights organisations – all seeking to advance gender equality.

In an interview with a UNICEF representative in 2015, he/she noted that there was a wide range of programmes on the ground that addressed the issue of gender equality:

*"We're training master trainers and providing them ongoing support and mentorship, to be able to roll it out to teachers in schools. That's one direct piece. We also have a piece that we call Girl Education Movements and Boy Education Movements, which is a peer education movement, and what we have done is that they cover various topics and one of the topics they cover would be violence and values to learning, issues of teenage pregnancy, etc."* (Interview with International Agency Representative, 2015).

These legislative reforms were commensurate with the manner in which apartheid legislation fractured identity and opportunity along gender lines, along with race and ethnicity. The apartheid state banished African women and children to the Bantustans (Mamdani, 1996:7), treating them as "aliens" in apartheid South Africa. They were also the only people not counted in the census of the apartheid state when applying the Population Registration Act (Posel, 2001).

Yet, despite the establishment of these progressive legislative frameworks, analysts and activists continue to note persistent implementation challenges and failures (Human Development Department, 2009; Rarieya, Sanger & Moolman, 2015; Commission for Gender Equality, 2014; DoW, 2015).

The Strategic Plan: 2015-2020 of the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (DWCPD) has recognised the challenge, and summarises the critiques as follows:

“The country’s gender machinery, which includes institutional arrangements and structures, has been criticised for being fragmented, dispersed, and characterised by overlapping mandates, as well as being hampered by a severe lack of coordination and cohesion. In addition, the Gender Focal Points are at varying levels of appointment and placement, away from the points of leverage and decision making, and are not positioned to influence policy making and decision making. The result is that decisions, whether they relate to policy, budgets, or programmes, are often gender neutral” (DWCPD 2015:7).

In education, policies have led to gender parity in enrolment and girls outnumber boys in upper secondary schools and universities. However, the quality of educational experience remains poor for most learners, and schools continue to be the context for gender inequalities and violence (Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC], 2014; Moletsane, Juan, Prinsloo & Reddy, 2010). In such contexts, changing behaviour in educational institutions requires substantial attention and work, especially with regard to training teachers on integration and equality (McDonald, 2015; Jansen, 2009; Winkelman, 2005).

## **2.6 UNPACKING POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION**

### **2.6.1 Structure of the education system**

According to Section 29 of the Constitution, all South African citizens have a right to basic education, which includes adult basic education, and to further education, which the state through reasonable measures must make progressively available and accessible. This education must be in the official language or languages of the citizens’ choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. Education can also be provided through independent educational institutions, at their own expense, where the state must ensure that they do not discriminate on the basis of race, are registered with the state, and maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions. Under the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996, education is not only a right but compulsory for all South Africans from the year in which they turn seven (Grade 1) to the end of year in which they turn 15 (or the completion of Grade 9, whichever comes first).

The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act of 1995 was one of the first pieces of legislation to be passed into law by the first post-apartheid government. This framework provided for the establishment of the National Qualifications Authority (NQA) responsible for establishing the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) (2008). The NQF integrated education and training at all levels within one framework. The NQF amendment of the sub-framework consists of ten levels, divided into three broad bands of education: General Education and Training (GET), Further Education and Training (FET), and Higher Education and Training (HET). School life spans 13 years or grades, from R or “reception year”, through to Grade 12 or “matric” – the year of matriculation. GET runs from R to Grade 9, and is subdivided further into phases called the Foundation Phase (R to Grade 3), the Intermediate Phase (Grade 4 to 6), and the Senior Phase (Grade 7 to 9). GET also includes Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET), which is available to adults who want to access basic education provision. FET takes place from Grade 10 to Grade 12, and also includes non-tertiary vocational training.

For historical reasons, the administrative structures of most schools do not reflect the division of bands and phases. The majority of schools are either primary schools (Grade 1 to 7, often with R), or secondary schools, also known as high schools (Grade 8 to 12). There are also combined schools and intermediate schools. Combined schools offer at least one grade in each of the following four phases: Foundation Phase, Intermediate Phase, Senior Phase, and FET band. Intermediate schools offer both upper primary grades and lower secondary grades.

The schooling system comprises both public and independent schools (which comprise for-profit and not-for-profit schools in South Africa). Whilst there is much debate about the independent school sector in South Africa, it caters for no more than about 4-5% of all South African learners and accounts for no more than about 8-9% of all schools (Sayed, n.d.). This is notwithstanding claims by the Independent Schools Association of South Africa (ISASA) that this sector grew by over 40% between 2010 and 2015. This sector includes low-fee-paying faith-based or religious schools or those in remote areas. There is much debate about the role of the sector, not just about its size or growth but also about its future shape and future within the schooling sector. Some envisage a system of provision in which the



logic of school choice is extended to encompass free movement of learners from public to independent schools.

The academic school year is from January to December. Table 3 depicts a general overview of the education system in South Africa, but does not include all types of schools or information on vocational education.

**Table 3: South Africa's Education System**

Band	Phase	Institutions (examples)	School Grades	Qualifications	NQF Level
Higher Education and Training (HET)		College, University		Doctoral degree Doctoral degree (professional)	10
				Master's degree Master's degree (professional)	9
				Bachelor honours degree Postgraduate diploma Bachelor's degree	8
				Bachelor's degree Advanced diplomas	7
				Diploma Advanced certificates	6
				Higher Certificates	5
				Further Education and Training (FET)	
11	Intermediate Certificate	3			
10	Elementary Certificate	2			
9	General Certificate	1			
General Education and Training (GET)	Senior	Primary	8		
			7		
	Intermediate		6		
			5		
			4		
		3			
		2			
		1			
		Foundation	R (0)		
			ECD centre	(00) (000)	

Source: DBE (2015a:19)

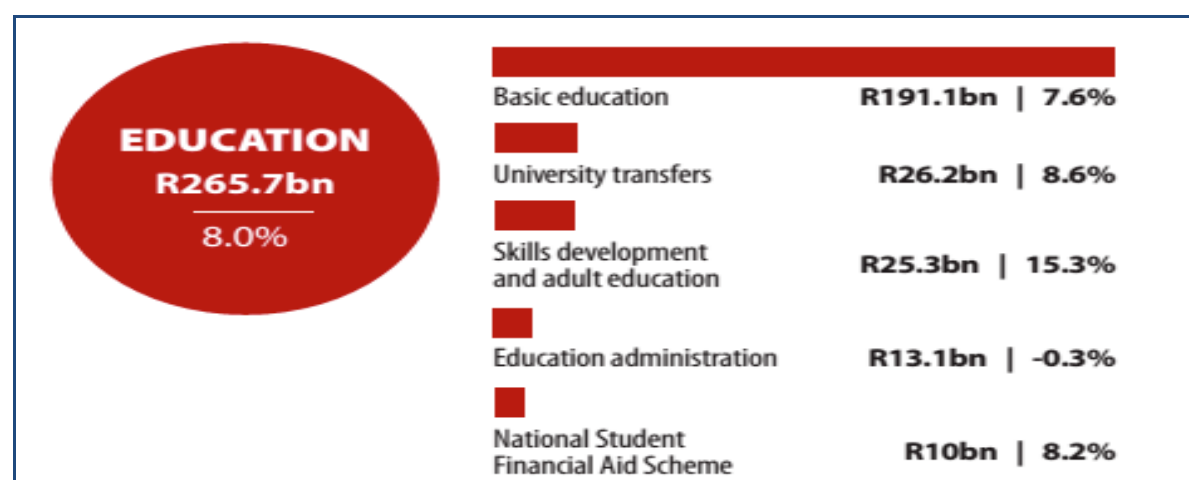
In 2009, the national Department of Education (DoE) was split in two, namely the DBE and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). The DBE shares responsibilities with the provincial education departments (PEDs) for early childhood development (ECD),

school education (GET), and special education. Higher or tertiary education is governed by the DHET.

## 2.6.2 Budget

South Africa has high rates of public investment in education. In 2012, 6.8% of the gross national product (GNP) and 20.6% of total government expenditure were invested in education, while the world average is 5.0% and 13.7%, and the average in middle-income countries is 4.9% and 15.1% respectively (UNESCO, 2014). Figure 1 provides a summary of the education budget of National Treasury in 2015. The consolidated government expenditure is R1.35 trillion, with the education budget of R265.7 billion representing 20% of the national budget. Within the education sector, 72% is allocated for basic education, while university, skills development, and adult education, as well as student state funding, receive about 10% each.

**Figure 1: Education sector budget for 2015 and budget growth rate**



Source: National Treasury (2015)<sup>8</sup>

Schools are funded from provincial education budgets, determined largely by their own legislatures. Provincial budgets are financed via grants and transfers from the national treasury. In other words, a school would not receive money from the DBE, but from the PED in which it is located. The provincial department in turn receives money directly from National Treasury. These transfers do not stipulate how much each province must spend on education (although subsequent legislation stipulates guidelines for spending 80% on

<sup>8</sup> Percentages reflect growth relative to 2014/2015 estimated outcome.

salaries and 20% on non-teaching inputs). These are multisectoral block transfers driven by the “Equitable Shares Formula”, a formula that is largely population driven. Importantly, the formula does not produce absolute amounts of funding, nor was it originally based on a sense of “adequacy” or “costed norms” approach to meet specific needs. It simply produces shares of revenue that are then divided amongst claimants to that revenue in what is hopefully an equitable manner.

### 2.6.3 School education

Table 4 summarises key data of basic education institutions. In 2013, there were 25 720 ordinary schools in South Africa, of which 1 584 (6.2%) were independent schools. The national average learner-educator ratio in ordinary schools is 29.4:1, ranging from 27.2:1 in the Free State to 31.5:1 in the Northern Cape province (DBE, 2015a).

**Table 4: South Africa’s basic school data in 2013**

School type	Level	Institutions	Learners	Educators
<b>Public schools<sup>9</sup></b>	Primary	14 028	6 262 384	190 523
	Secondary	5 838	3 828 806	139 009
	Combined	3 911	1 609 471	52 706
	Intermediate	359	275 183	9 591
	<b>Total (Public)</b>	<b>24 136</b>	<b>11 975 844</b>	<b>391 829</b>
<b>Independent schools</b>	Primary	530	121 708	6 735
	Secondary	260	67 103	4 853
	Combined	385	98 641	5 981
	Intermediate	409	226 352	15 625
	<b>Total (Independent)</b>	<b>1 584</b>	<b>513 804</b>	<b>33 194</b>
<b>Total (Public and independent)</b>		<b>25 720</b>	<b>12 489 648</b>	<b>425 023</b>
<b>Other Education sectors</b>	ECD	3 859	277 736	11 874
	SNE <sup>10</sup>	448	116 504	10 252
	<b>Total (Other)</b>	<b>4 307</b>	<b>392 240</b>	<b>22 126</b>
<b>Grand total</b>		<b>30 027</b>	<b>12 883 888</b>	<b>447 149</b>

Source: DBE (2015a:21)

<sup>9</sup> Both public schools and independent schools include special needs education learners in those schools. South Africa is promoting an inclusive schools policy (referred as full-service schools). There are various estimates of the number of learners with special needs, ranging from a minimum of 2% to as high as 4%. Certain basic tools for identifying appropriate support (such as tools for screening learners) are under development (OECD, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Special needs education, including stand-alone special needs schools and those attached to ordinary public and independent schools.

In South Africa, the school enrolment rate is generally high. As shown in Table 5, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) in 2013 was 97% for GET band (Grade R to 9) and 81% for FET band (Grade 10 to 12). The net enrolment ratio (NER) is not available in the DBE annual statistics. *The 2015 Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report* has primary education adjusted NER for 2012; of which the total is 90%: male 90% and female 91%. The GER is defined as the number of learners, regardless of age, enrolled in a specific school as a percentage of the total appropriate school-age population. The Eastern Cape reflects a GER value of more than 100% for the GET band, suggesting that inappropriate-aged learners were enrolled. In some provinces, repetition is a serious problem. For the FET band, GER was higher for females than for males, indicating that, relative to the appropriate school-age population, there were more female learners than male learners in the school system. Female learners remain in the system longer than male learners, and this trend continues through to higher education (HE) (DHET, 2015).

**Table 5: Gross enrolment ratio (GER) in ordinary schools in 2013**

	South Africa			Eastern Cape			Western Cape		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
<b>GET band (Gr. R-9)</b>	95	99	97	109	114	112	82	82	82
<b>FET band (Gr. 10-12)</b>	87	76	81	84	68	76	69	55	62
<b>Total (Gr. R-12)</b>	93	94	93	103	103	103	79	76	77

Source: DBE (2015a)

#### 2.6.4 Post-school education and training

In 2013, there were 983 698 students in 23 public universities and 119 941 students in 113 other private Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), with 89% of students enrolled in public universities. In addition, two new public universities were established in 2014. Since the appearance of the *White Paper on Higher Education in 2004*, some public universities have been merged with technikons (polytechnics) to create larger comprehensive universities. All private HEIs have to be registered with the DHET. HEIs are guaranteed academic freedom under the Constitution and institutional autonomy under the Higher Education Act of 1997.

Since 2009, the DHET was also tasked with governing FET colleges that provide vocational and occupational education and training. Vocational training programmes generally last

three years, leading to Occupational Certificates. A Level 4 certificate is equivalent to the general education National Senior Certificate (NSC). There were 50 registered public colleges in 2013 with 639 618 learners, as well as 627 registered private colleges that served 154 632 learners (see Table 6).

The Adult Basic Education and Training Act of 2000 underpins the provision of ABET. ABET is offered in public and private adult learning centres for adults and out-of-school youths. Table 6 summarises the number of institutions and learners (post-school provision) in 2013.

**Table 6: Post-school education and training institutions in 2013**

	HEIs		FET colleges		ABET centres		Total
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	
<b>No. of institutions</b>	23	113	50	627	3,150	150	4 025
<b>No. of students</b>	983 698	119 941	639 618	154 632	249 507	8 316	2 155 712

Source: DHET (2015)

## 2.7 INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION

After more than two decades since the end of segregated education, public education in South Africa continues to be marked by unyielding inequalities. The 2015/2016 Technical Report from the Financial Fiscal Commission (FFC) described the situation as follows:

“South Africa inherited a dual public education system in which historically advantaged schools (or former Model Cs) co-exist with township, rural, or poor schools. Former Model C schools are well resourced, have better facilities, and have better qualified teachers, can augment state funding with school fees, and thus produce better outcomes. Meanwhile, township schools are economically deprived, rely entirely on government for funding, face restrictions in charging school fees, largely accommodate poor learners, have little or no education facilities, and generally produce sub-optimal results” (Rakabe, 2014:105).

This section, via quantitative data, highlights persisting inequalities in the current education sector. Despite limitations in available data, a complex illustration of intersecting inequalities with respect to socio-economic status<sup>11</sup>, race, language, gender, geographical

<sup>11</sup> In South Africa, public schools are categorised into five quintiles based on the socio-economic status of communities in which they are based: from the “poorest” (Q1) to the “least poor” (Q5). Quintile school classification is used as a proxy for socio-economic status in this section.

location, (provinces, rural/urban, etc.) and disability<sup>12</sup> can be discerned. Data for learners are reviewed first, followed by schools, provinces, and HE, and ending with notes on gender and violence.

### 2.7.1 Learner access

Since 1994, South Africa has improved in terms of access to basic education. As noted above, school enrolment is high in South Africa; the GER for Grade R to 9 is 97% and FET band (Grade 10 to 12) is 81%. The OECD stated in 2008 that South Africa is “close to achieving universal basic education” (OECD, 2008:49). This is corroborated by the annual General Household Survey (GHS) that consistently finds approximately 1-2% of children aged seven to 15 not attending an educational institution<sup>13</sup>.

However, the high enrolment rate is deceptive, as it hides the fact that around 15% of learners do not complete Grade 9, and as many learners repeat grades and drop out at age 15 without having reached Grade 9 (DBE, 2013a)<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, there are significant differences among provinces. For instance, Grade 9 attainment in the Eastern Cape was the lowest among the provinces in 2011 (about 77%), while Grade 9 attainment was the highest in the Western Cape (about 87%) and Gauteng (about 91%) (DBE, 2013a).

Overall, data show that of every 100 pupils that start Grade 1, 50 will drop out before Grade 12 (most of which happens in Grade 10 and 11), 40 will pass the NSC exam, and 12 will qualify for university (Spaull, 2013). The likelihood of a child from a poor socio-economic background reaching matric by age 19 or 20 is 17%, compared to 88% for a child from a more privileged background (SAHRC & UNICEF, 2014).

In other words, the distribution of qualifications with respect to social class in South Africa is deeply unequal, which cannot be corrected unless the state invests significant resources in poor communities. This will be difficult, given the ways in which the education system is organised.

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<sup>12</sup> There is not much large-scale disaggregated data on disability. This issue is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3 as part of the policy review on the Inclusive Education Policy.

<sup>13</sup> The 2011 Census reports a lower enrolment rate, for example 95.5% for 14 years old. The DBE’s Action Plan of 2019 (2015b) explains why the DBE uses GHS data for planning.

<sup>14</sup> The percentage of youths who by age 22 had completed Grade 9 improved from 80% in 2003 to around 85% in the years 2009 to 2011 (DBE, 2013a). This shows improvement, but more analysis is needed (by, for example, race and socio-economic status) on the 15% of learners who fail to complete Grade 9.

Furthermore, research suggests that children with disabilities are substantially less likely to attend school than their non-disabled peers. According to the 2007 Community Survey, school attendance among non-disabled children of compulsory school age (seven to 15 years) was 96%, compared with only 78% among children with reported disabilities – nearly 20% lower (Department of Social Development *et al.*, 2012; Stats SA, 2008). Although the DBE has made significant progress in promoting inclusive education, a recent Human Rights Watch (2015) report suggested that discrimination against children with disabilities at school level, particularly against children with intellectual disabilities, multiple disabilities, autism, or foetal alcohol syndrome, remains high.

### 2.7.2 Learner repetition

Grade repetition is a common practice in South Africa. In 2009, on average 9% (male 10.2%, female 7.7%) of learners enrolled in schools were repeating the grade they were in the previous year (DBE, 2011a). International comparative information for primary schools for 2007 (UNESCO, 2010:355, cited in DBE, 2011a:4) showed that South Africa's average level of repetition in primary schools (at 7%) was higher than the average level for developing countries (5%) and for developed countries (1%). Although there are different forms of repetition<sup>15</sup> and some forms may be beneficial to students in certain circumstances, it generally represents inefficiency of the education system and wastage of resources for society (Bropy, 2006). While high repetition rates cannot easily be correlated with learners accessing poor-quality schooling, certain groups of learners do experience disproportionately larger challenges.

Social Surveys Africa (2010) conducted a nationally representative household study on access to education and listed four factors associated with repetition; namely geographical location, language, race, and socio-economic status of the household, which intersect with one another. Using these four factors in relation to repetition, the following sections summarise key data and arguments.

*Geographical area:* The study concluded that living in a traditional area (primarily former homelands under apartheid) emerged as the most significant variable in predicting grade repetition, compared to children in three other settlement types (formal areas, informal

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<sup>15</sup> UNESCO (2006) suggests five forms of repetition.

settlements, or commercial farms). Geographical location was seen as a proxy for two factors: 1) the living environment, as large numbers of poverty-stricken households are located in traditional areas, and 2) quality of school, as the vast majority of Quintile (Q) 1 and 2, which are poor and under-resourced schools, are located in traditional areas (77%).

*Language:* Various studies point out that many schools choose English as the medium of instruction as early as Grade 4, and that the majority of learners struggle to master academic content due to difficulties in language proficiency. It is not surprising that learners whose home language includes English are far less likely to repeat a grade than other children, as shown in Table 7.

**Table 7: Language and percentage of repetition**

Home language	Has repeated (%)
English	11.6%
Afrikaans	24.7%
Setswana	33.8%
IsiZulu	34.0%
IsiXhosa	36.8%
Sesotho	36.8%
IsiNdebele	38.6%
Siswati	40.0%
Sepedi	40.9%
Tshivenda	47.5%

*Source: Social Surveys Africa (2010:11)*

*Race:* Table 8 presents the repetition rates by population groups from the UNDP study (2010). The repetition rates are higher at the beginning of primary school, and also upon transition to secondary school (Grade 8). Thereafter, repetition rates are very high in Grades 10 and 11. Also, African males are at a much higher risk – repeating at significantly higher percentage levels than other learners. Interestingly, the number of coloured males who repeated grades was proportionately higher than any other group in Grade 9.



**Table 8: Percentage of learners repeating Grades 1 to 12 by population group**

Grade	All		African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	11.8	6.0	13.2	6.7	3.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.7
2	8.4	4.2	9.4	4.7	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.0	2.3	0.9
3	8.8	5.2	9.6	5.7	7.1	3.9	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.3
4	8.0	4.7	8.9	5.2	5.8	2.1	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0
5	6.9	3.7	7.8	4.2	3.0	1.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.4
6	5.5	3.7	6.2	4.0	1.6	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
7	6.2	3.8	6.9	4.1	4.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
8	10.0	6.3	11.0	7.0	6.3	4.9	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0
9	8.9	6.8	9.2	7.7	15.3	4.0	1.9	0.0	1.0	0.1
10	20.7	14.2	22.8	15.7	10.6	11.8	0.0	2.9	8.7	0.0
11	16.3	16.6	18.1	19.0	9.6	4.7	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
12	10.6	15.7	12.6	19.4	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: UNDP (2010:10)

### 2.7.3 Learner socio-economic status

The Social Surveys Africa (2010) study also showed a correlation between grade repetition and household socio-economic status. For example, it shows that 39.2% of learners (all ages) in Q1 schools have repeated once or more, versus 18.7% in Q5 schools, and that only 11% of learners residing in a household where the household head had a tertiary education had repeated a grade, versus 42% of learners living in households where the household head had had no formal education.

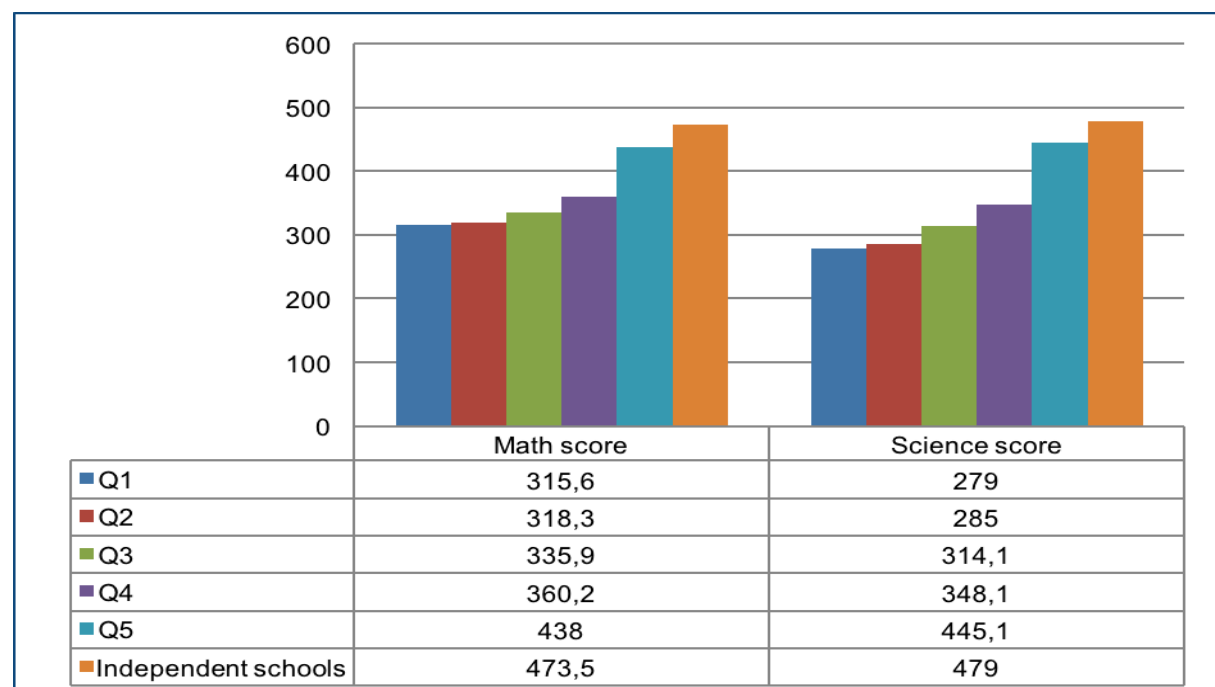
### 2.7.4 Learner achievement

International standard measurements show that South African learners lag behind their peers from the rest of the world, including in neighbouring African countries. For instance, South Africa participated in four Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) assessments in 1995, 1999, 2002, and 2011. In 2011, South African learners'

average scores were 352 for mathematics and 332 for science<sup>16</sup>. Considering that a score of 500 is the midpoint for all TIMSS country average scores, this was quite low. According to these results, three-quarters of South African learners had not acquired the minimum set of mathematical or science skills (benchmark of 400) by Grade 9 – only 24% and 25% of learners achieved more than 400 for maths and science respectively (Reddy *et al.*, 2015).

Disconcertingly, learners' performance showed a high correlation with the economic status of a school's community. Graph 3 indicates average scores for each quintile for public schools and independent (private) schools.

**Graph 3: TIMSS 2011 achievement by school type**



Source: Reddy *et al.* (2015:11)

The results above confirm the bimodality pattern pointed out in other studies where Q1 to Q4 schools indicated similar achievement levels, while Q5 schools achieved much higher levels. This pattern remains consistent across different tests<sup>17</sup>, grades, and subjects (Van der Berg, 2007; Spaul, 2013).

<sup>16</sup> TIMSS test scores are divided into four international benchmarks. Learners who achieve a test score of 625 are at an “advanced” international benchmark. Learners who achieve at least 550 and 475 are at the “high” and “intermediate” benchmarks respectively. The “low” international benchmark identified learners who achieve a score of 400. Learners who score below 400 have not demonstrated knowledge of the most basic skills in mathematics and science. A score of 500 is the mid-point.

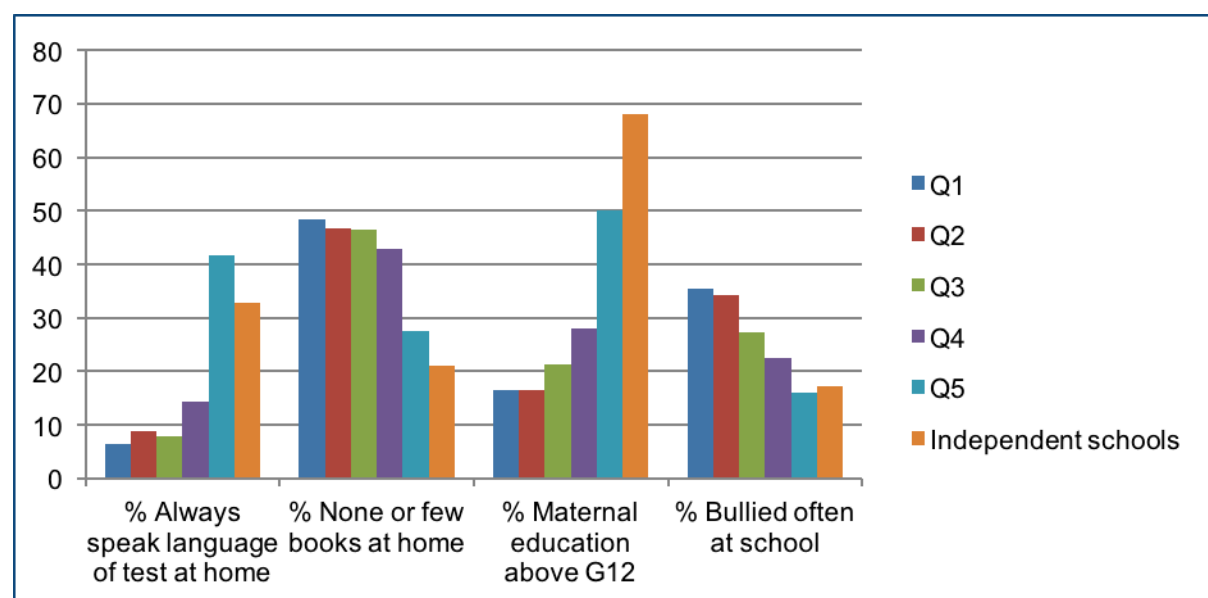
<sup>17</sup> Cf. South Africa’s Annual National Assessment (ANA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), and the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ).

The NPC also stated in their report: “Learners within the bottom four quintile schools generally receive a significantly poorer quality education relative to those in the highest quintile schools” (NPC, 2011:24). Some studies argue that the gap between Q5 students and other students widen at higher grades, suggesting that success and failure compound with each school year (Dell & Dell, 2013; Spaul, 2013).

The 2011 TIMSS data also showed that nearly 90% (87.5% for math, 87.1% for science) of learners at no-fee schools (Q1 – Q3) scored less than 400, compared to nearly 50% (55.7% for maths, 54.0% for science) in fee-paying schools (Q4 – Q5). Looking at excellence, about 10% of learners at fee-paying schools were at either advanced or high level, while top learners at non-fee schools constituted only a small percentage of intermediate-level achievers (Reddy *et al.*, 2015).

A learner’s background also has a strong correlation with the school quintile category. Graph 4 provides indicators related to the background of learners who participated in TIMSS 2011. This suggests a bimodality pattern between Q1 – 4 schools and Q5 independent schools.

**Graph 4: TIMSS 2011 learner information by school type**



Source: HSRC (2012: 12)

There are, however, encouraging trends. The greatest improvement in TIMSS national test scores both in maths and science occurred between the recent two tests (2002 and 2011) (Reddy *et al.*, 2015). In addition, the greatest improvement was among groups who can be described as the “most disadvantaged” and who scored the lowest initially (HSRC, 2012).

For example, the poorest-performing provinces in 2002 (including the Eastern Cape, Limpopo, Free State, and Gauteng) showed notable increases in test scores (Reddy *et al.*, 2015). Notwithstanding this improvement, the general trend, however, has not improved. Moreover, the previous results directly mirror what happened with different institutions under apartheid. For example, in the Eastern Cape, schools from previous Bantustans struggled the most, while in the Western Cape the increase in test scores occurred mainly in previously advantaged schools and echoed what happened during colonialism and apartheid in urban centres.

#### **2.7.5 School infrastructure**

Former Model C schools are historically invested with high-quality facilities, equipment, and resources. They can also augment state funding with fairly high school fees, enabling many of them to add to their facilities, equipment, and learning resources and to expand their range of cultural and sporting activities. With regard to school infrastructure, pro-poor funding from the South African government has not resolved the stark differences between the small number of privileged public schools and the majority of poorer schools. This has not been helped by a very high backlog in school infrastructure. For example, in 2015 only 17% (Western Cape: 29.93%, Eastern Cape: 4.61%) of schools had stocked libraries, 29% (Western Cape: 0%, Eastern Cape: 53%) had pit toilets as their only sanitation facilities, and 4% (Western Cape: 0%, Eastern Cape: 4%) did not have electricity. A further 81.73% (Western Cape: 66.74%, Eastern Cape: 94.32%) had no laboratories and 59.10% (Western Cape: 40.83%, Eastern Cape: 89.21%) had no computer rooms (DBE, 2015a). The Eastern Cape had the largest school infrastructure deficit (DBE, 2015a:4).

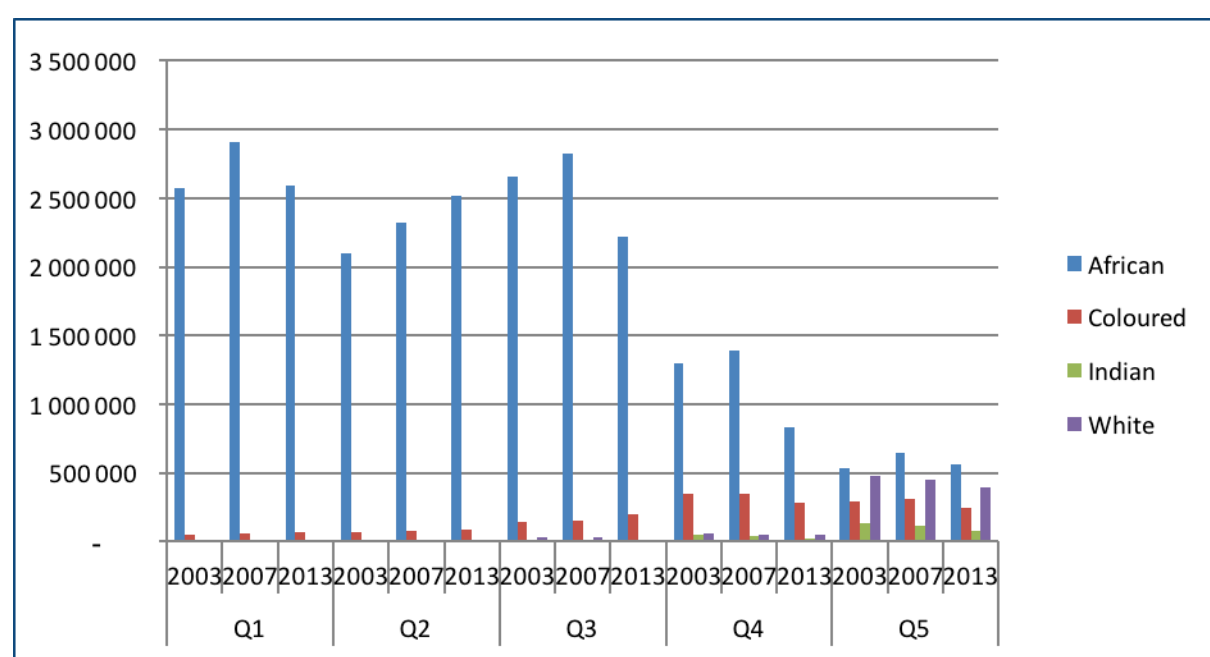
#### **2.7.6 School racial integration**

The scars of the racially segregated school system under apartheid retain their hold over current schools. South Africa has a bimodal public education system in which historically

advantaged schools (including former Model C schools) co-exist with township, rural, or poor schools. Well-resourced schools are mostly located in urban areas and used by those (the minority) who can afford them (which is the majority of those previously advantaged by apartheid). Poor learners and those who were predominantly disadvantaged under apartheid attend the high number of poorly resourced schools.

Race and socio-economic status remain interrelated in South Africa, and this can be observed in the racial composition of schools in each quintile. Graph 5 shows enrolments in each quintile in 2003, 2007, and 2013. Only Q5 (wealthiest) schools have a significant mix of different learners, and Q1 to Q3 schools are predominantly black<sup>18</sup>. Integration along previous race lines has occurred very partially, and where they have (such as in former Model C schools), this has involved “assimilation” into school cultures rather than integration.

**Graph 5: Enrolment per race and quintile (number)**



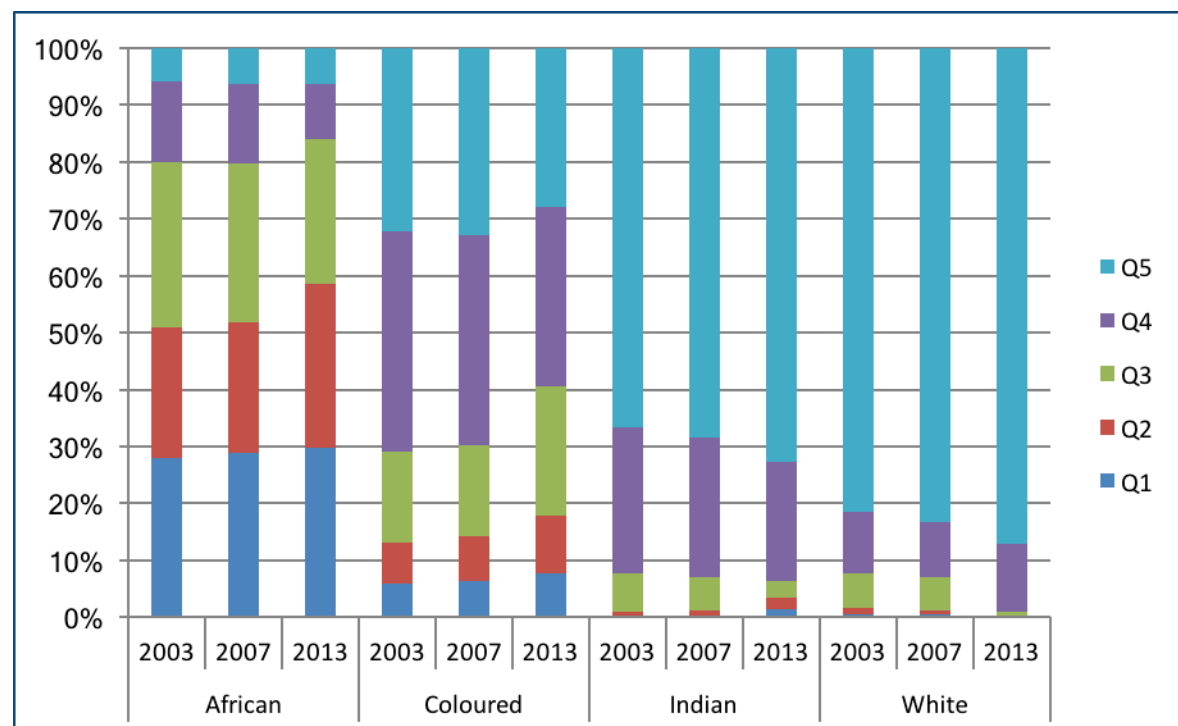
Source: Adapted from FHI 360 & UNICEF (2015:13)

<sup>18</sup> In reading the graph, a few points should be kept in mind: i) in 2013, black, coloured, Indian, and white students comprised 86%, 9%, 1%, and 4% respectively; ii) wealthier fee-paying schools (Q4 and Q5) had less enrolment in total, about half of Q1 to Q3; and iii) total enrolment decreased by 14% between 2007 and 2013, possibly because of a reduction in repetition.

Similarly, Graph 6 indicates the distribution of learners across quintiles for each racial group as a way of reflecting patterns in each group. It shows that in 2013, the majority of white (87%) and Indian (73%) learners went to Q5 schools. When comparing three sample years, 2003 and 2007 data show similar patterns. However, between 2007 and 2013, the concentration of white learners in fee-paying schools (Q4 and Q5) increased; such that 99% of all white learners went to Q4 or Q5 schools in 2013. This development was similar for Indian learners. In 2013, only 6% of African learners were enrolled in Q5 schools.

Notably, the percentage of coloured and African learners in fee-paying schools decreased between 2007 and 2013 from 70% to 59%, and 20% to 16% respectively. Given the difference of Q5 schools and other schools in terms of school environment, human and material resources, and achievement levels, this stark difference in school experience between groups resembling those differentiated under apartheid along racial lines cannot be overemphasised, and its implications for social cohesion across still-fractured, racially inflected communities are decidedly problematic.

**Graph 6: Enrolment per quintile per race**



Source: Adapted from FHI 360 & UNICEF (2015:13)

### 2.7.7 Education budget

After 1994, the ANC government paid significant attention to education reform, specifically with regard to addressing historical disparities in resources. It introduced the National Norms and Standards for School Funding (NNSF), which remains the central instrument for redistributing resources to date. This section briefly reviews school-level funding.

The quintiles of schools are used to determine funding, with each school allocated funding according to a set of per-learner allocations applicable to each quintile. Schools in Q1, Q2, and Q3 are no-fee schools, while schools in Q4 and Q5 are fee-paying schools. For the former group, the state provides them with a larger Norms and Standards allocation to compensate them for their lack of income from fees. Table 9 describes the target allocation for 2015 (in millions), which was set at national level, although provinces determine actual spending.

**Table 9: National table of targets for the school allocation (2015)**

Allocation	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
2015	R1 116	R1 116	R1 116	R559	R193

*Source: DBE (2015a)*

Besides the differentiation between quintiles and fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools, a National Poverty Distribution table is used to account for the stark difference between provinces. As such, allocations are determined according to the poverty of the community around the school, as well as certain infrastructural factors to determine the proportion of learners within each province that will be accommodated within each of the five quintiles (see Table 10). From the table it can be seen that the Western Cape is the wealthiest, and nearly 60% of learners fall in Q4 or Q5. Limpopo and the Eastern Cape have more than 70% learners in Q1 to 3 schools.

**Table 10: Poverty distribution among provinces (2015)**

Province	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
Eastern Cape	27.3	24.7	19.6	17	11.4
Free State	20.5	20.9	22.4	20.8	15.4
Gauteng	14.1	14.7	17.9	21.9	31.4
KwaZulu-Natal	22.1	23.2	20.2	18.7	15.8
Limpopo	28.2	24.6	24.2	14.9	8
Mpumalanga	23.1	24.1	21.5	17.7	13.5
Northern Cape	21.5	19.3	20.7	21.4	17.1
North West	25.6	22.3	20.8	17.6	13.7
Western Cape	8.6	13.3	18.4	28	31.7
South Africa	20	20	20	20	20

Source: DBE (2015a)

Despite its clear pro-poor nature, the current funding formula is not without problems. Although the NNSSF creates national adequacy benchmarks for learner subsidies, these do not have an empirical basis and are only adjusted annually by inflation rates. Formulas such as the equitable share are not based on costed norms *per se*. As such, equity is only partially achieved by making the formulas population driven.

Importantly, in the division of shares of revenue, there is a second process of the provincial budget, which means that there are no absolute amounts of funding or counterbalances of “adequacy” to meet needs. Although education is an important nominal “driver” of the allocation, in that it carries a weight of 41% in the total allocation of shares, the internal provincial allocations of education are on average very close. Provinces have a mandate that forces them to redistribute internally out of a fixed bottom line, but have a very tight envelope within which to avoid the crisis of an unfunded mandate which affects total expenditure on schooling (Crouch, 2005). This narrow conception of inputs is not based on a notion of adequacy, and so cannot deal with issues such as management quality, the contexts of rural and township schools, and the barriers of home language faced by pupils. As such, it is ostensibly a per-pupil expenditure model based principally on public recurrent expenditure (Crouch, Gustafsson & Lavado, 2009).



The issue of inadequacy becomes even more obvious when it is calculated using the shares that are actually distributed by provinces, and comparing them to the approximate per-pupil amounts that should happen in each province; considering the number of Q1, Q2, or Q3 schools, and their weightings. The FFC's recent report, *Equitable Resourcing of Schools for Better Outcomes* (Rakabe, 2014), demonstrates how using the per-capita learner allocations as a single indicator of equity is insufficient because of the differences in need, demand, costs, and deprivation across provinces.

Also, as Table 11 shows, after covering personnel costs, few provinces can adequately fund schools as per the national policy guidelines. On average, provinces use 8% of primary and secondary school allocations for non-personnel non-capital (NPNC) education inputs such as learning and teaching support material (LTSM), school maintenance, and other day-to-day operational costs. Limpopo and the Northern Cape and North West provinces are unable to meet the learner subsidy targets because of their large wage bills. The situation is especially serious in the North West province, where the estimated per-learner allocation is R175 compared to the average target of R814.

**Table 11: Estimated variance between allocated and stipulated learner subsidies – 2012 (in Rand)**

	EC	FS	GT	KZN	LP	MP	NC	NW	WC
Primary schools allocation	5 889	4 461	11 299	17 300	9 099	6 885	1 979	5 109	6 368
Secondary schools allocation	14 187	3 131	8 161	11 810	8 376	4 121	954	2 407	4 051
<b>Total allocation</b>	<b>20 076</b>	<b>7 592</b>	<b>19 460</b>	<b>29 110</b>	<b>17 475</b>	<b>11 006</b>	<b>2 933</b>	<b>7 516</b>	<b>10 419</b>
Compensation of employees	18 101	7 000	16 804	25 382	16 202	10 202	2 755	7 383	9 389
COE as % total school allocation	90%	92%	86%	87%	93%	93%	94%	98%	90%
Residual / school subsidies	1 975	592	2 656	3 728	1 273	804	178	133	1 030
No of secondary school learners	614 454	244 813	677 137	1 538 012	680 471	387 617	91 930	259 678	335 343
No of primary school learners	1 130 356	367 909	1 052 827	1 057 454	850 275	575 576	165 862	447 931	584 754
<b>Total number of learners</b>	<b>1 886 982</b>	<b>646 093</b>	<b>1 858 745</b>	<b>2 812 844</b>	<b>1 665 013</b>	<b>1 027 851</b>	<b>274 189</b>	<b>760 272</b>	<b>991 685</b>
Estimated per-learner allocation	1 046	916	1 429	1 325	765	782	649	175	1 038
Average prescribed per-learner subsidy weighted by provincial poverty distribution	858	786	676	805	891	798	771	814	580
<b>Variance</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>753</b>	<b>521</b>	<b>-127</b>	<b>-15</b>	<b>-123</b>	<b>-639</b>	<b>459</b>

Source: Rakabe (2014)

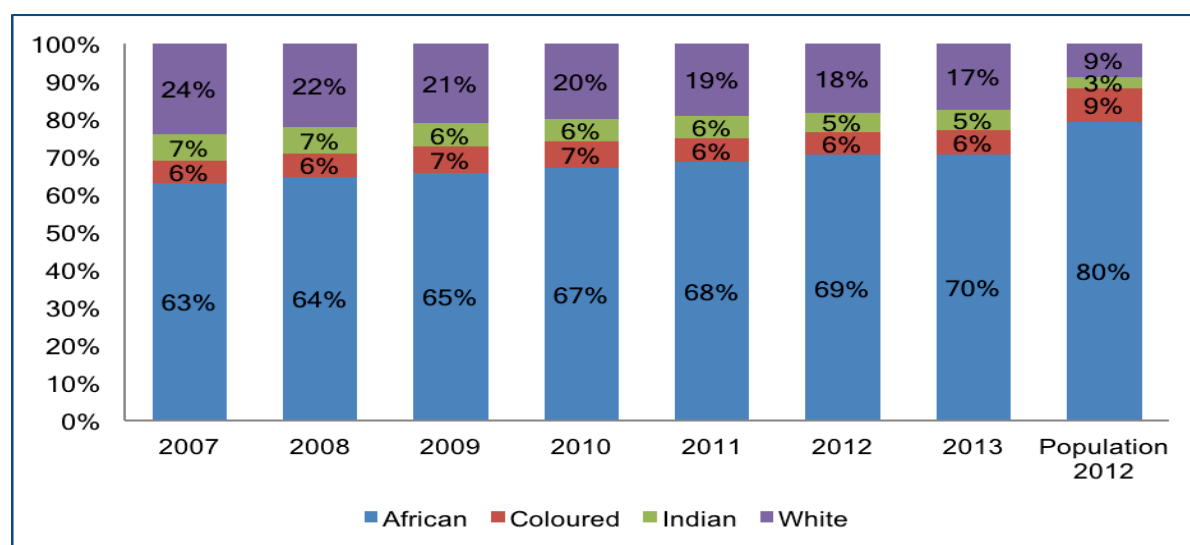
Importantly, the formula does not produce absolute amounts of funding, nor was it originally based on a sense of “adequacy” or “costed norms” approach to meet specific needs. It simply produces shares of revenue that are then divided amongst claimants to that revenue in what is hoped to be an equitable manner.

The irony in the official state expenditure tabulated in the figures above is that it does not illustrate the “real” expenditure on education in South Africa. Despite the apparent “pro-poor” redistributive mechanism, the education budget remains very limited, with an over-dependence on private expenditure in education. This has precarious implications for social cohesion. Furthermore, given that the budgetary process only categorises schools in terms of level of community poverty and does not look at the actual learners in schools, in practice little is known about what the quintile system actually means for the actual financial experiences of school actors.

### 2.7.8 Higher education (HE)

During apartheid, the government was more focused on educating the white population and opportunities in HE for those from other race groups were therefore limited. Graph 7 indicates the proportional representation of students of different population groups from 2007 to 2013 in public HE, including both contact and distance education. The proportion of African students has steadily increased in this period.

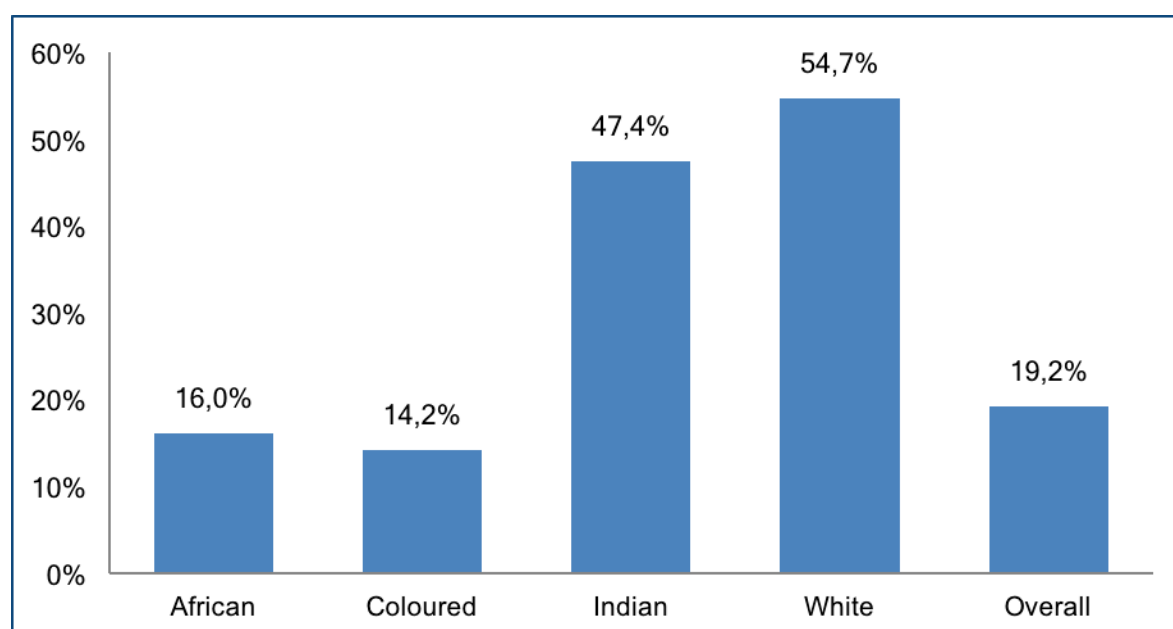
**Graph 7: Percentage of students enrolled in public HEIs by population groups**



Source: Compiled from DHET (2015) & Council of Higher Education (CHE, 2015)

Notably, the student participation rate of the African population group remains proportionally low in comparison with the Indian/Asian and white population groups. Graph 8 shows the HE participation rate for each population against the size of population groups in 2012. South Africa had an overall participation rate of 19% in 2012, which was up from 2011 at 17%. Yet, while the participation rates for Africans and coloureds increased in the period 2007 to 2012, this was still much lower than for white and Indian learners. The difference in participation by race is particularly pronounced at the postgraduate level. More white and Indian students (34%, 8% in 2012) constituted larger proportions of students at postgraduate level compared to undergraduates.

**Graph 8: Participation rate in public HE by population group**



Source: CHE (2012)

### 2.7.9 Gender and violence

South Africa achieved gender parity for learners from age seven to 15 years old in 2013 (DBE, 2014a). The gender parity index (GPI) for GET band (Grade R-9) in that year was 0.96<sup>19</sup>. It was found, however, that at the higher level of schooling and HE, more female learners were found than male counterparts. In 2013, the GPI of FET band (Grade 10-12)

<sup>19</sup> Gender parity is attained when the GPI is between 0.97 and 1.03. As seen in the other parts of the report, more boys repeat grades at early primary, and this, at least partly, accounts for the reason of more boys in the GET band. The survey of children between ages seven to 15 years old who stay at educational institutions show that gender parity has been achieved though not equality as discussed in this report.

was 1.14 for the national average and all nine provinces revealed a GPI of greater than 1.03. This suggested a gender gap favouring girls. Furthermore, at HEIs (public and private combined), 58% of students were female, while 42% were male (DHET, 2015).

There is also no significant gender gap with regard to academic achievement in South Africa. For example, in the TIMSS 2011, South African girls outperformed boys in both maths and science, but the difference was not statistically significant (maths: 354 for girls, 350 for boys; science: 335 for girls, 328 for boys) (Reddy *et al.*, 2015: 11).

That being said, statistical data always have limitations. The above comparisons cannot be used to suggest that there are not gender disparities in South Africa's education system. Schools continue to be the main context for gender inequalities experienced by both boys and girls, which suggests that the quality of learning experiences must be more closely scrutinised at the institutional level (Rarieya *et al.*, 2015:1).

The same applies to the issue of violence within school settings. Given that the DBE does not systematically collect data on violence, the available data have limitations in their coverage or level of analysis. However, the *2012 Social Profile of Vulnerable Groups* (Stats SA, 2013) contains some data on the experience of violence/punishment/abuse by learners at school. It shows that 17% of learners were exposed to some form of violence, punishment, or verbal abuse while attending school during 2012. The vast majority of those experiences related to corporal punishment by teachers (91.5%), followed by physical abuse by fellow learners (8%), and verbal abuse by fellow learners (7.6%).

There were a few trends amongst different groups. Firstly, in terms of population group, black African children (19.9%) were significantly more likely to be exposed to violence/punishment or abuse than children from other population groups (9.9% for coloured; 2% for Indian/Asian; 2.8% for white). With regard to provinces, a higher rate of learners in the Eastern Cape (30.0%) and KwaZulu-Natal (22.3%) experienced violence/abuse, while it was very low in Gauteng (6%). What is not known is whether the ways in which violence is understood is consistent across the provinces, or what kinds of violence different learners are exposed to in different contexts. Such statistics would provide a much deeper understanding of the effects of violence in different communities.

## 2.8 CONCLUSION

One of the objectives of public education is to provide opportunities for all children to succeed in school and have better life choices. At the same time, mass public education can be a mechanism for building a shared and common understanding and identity (Hobsbawm, 1992). As illustrated in this chapter, the conditions within the South African mass public education system contain highly unequal educational outcomes with respect to class, race, language, ethnicity, and religion. The chapter showed that inequality in society at large and in education in particular has persisted, which poses a threat to social cohesion. There is clearly a bifurcated education system, with rates of academic success and better learning environments badly skewed in favour of Q5 schools. These are typically the wealthiest urban schools serving largely middle-class learners mainly from the white population. In contrast, the poorer schools remain marginalised and continue to serve those who are very poor and mainly black. As such, learners from well-resourced, former Model C schools spatially and cognitively experience learning quite differently than learners from poor socio-economic backgrounds, who are mostly black learners. Differential learning experiences generate disparate academic outcomes with consequences for opportunities, while divergent experiences also construct quite different identities.

While neither opportunities nor identities are inherent obstacles for realising peace or social cohesion, when these are punctuated by past patterns of inequalities that do not recognise groups that had suffered in the past, or deal with issues of representation or redistribution, they become drivers of conflict. The statistics presented in this chapter demonstrate that inequalities manifest along lines that echo those of colonialism and apartheid.

There have, however, been some significant changes. For one, the government is aware of the problem, and its pro-poor funding policies seem to be showing improvements in the academic achievement levels of the previously poor-performing schools and provinces. To realise South Africa's vision of providing all children with quality education irrespective of their background, may require more focused efforts. To promote higher levels of social cohesion, tapping into the transformative potential of education would demonstrate the government's determination to realise more equal education opportunities for all children.

The chapter demonstrated that it remains important to shift the inequalities produced in the past, which means that it is equally important to shift the institutions that contributed to inequalities. The next chapter evaluates education policy interventions in respect of the consequences (intended and unintended) they have had on education institutions. It is asserted that this shows how the capacity for social cohesion could be embedded within education policy, both in the processes by which policy emerges in text, as well as in practice. The agency (or subjectivities) of teachers are fundamentally tied to the manner in which education policies enable or disable the institutions in which they operate.

As noted in this chapter, social cohesion initiatives are severely constrained by the limits placed on individual experience with respect to education outcomes.

Chapter 3 outlines the key methodologies that frame the project.

## Chapter 3 - Methodology

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### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the methodological approach of the project.

It begins by outlining the research aims and questions. It then discusses the methodological framework of the study. This framework is located within a conceptual understanding that locates teacher agency within a nested approach, at the heart of which is quality student learning. It is argued that quality student learning, which includes learning for social cohesion, is impacted by a quality teacher, who, in turn, is impacted by teacher professional development, the school environment and context, the national education policy context, and the national social, political, and economic environment, all of which is in turn impacted by the global context. It also outlines Pawson's (1997) realist evaluation approach that guides and frames the investigation of specific aspects of teachers' work in South Africa. The chapter concludes by briefly outlining how the research questions and framework were operationalised in the context of this study. More specific details on the methodology for this study are presented in each of the chapters that follow.

### 3.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The study is aimed at understanding the conditions in which education interventions focused on teachers can promote peace and mitigate and reduce violence with a view to identify measures and processes that can increase the effectiveness of such programmes in conflict-affected situations. It locates the analysis of the specific education interventions in relation to the macro global and national contexts, as well as the context of schools as institutions. It focuses on the role of teachers, who are both potential agents of peace and of enduring conflict. Given that lasting and durable peace and the building of institutions is contingent on the workings of schools as civic institutions and teachers as agents, in addressing and evaluating interventions we deploy the "4Rs" framework as a heuristic device to allow us to explore the way teaching interventions and teachers themselves mediate social injustices that might lead to an undermining of sustainable peacebuilding – in terms of matters of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation.

The overarching aim of the study is to identify elements of education policy interventions that have enabled teachers to become active agents of peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries and that may inform future interventions. The overarching objective of the country report is to show and understand the conditions in which education interventions that are focused on teachers promote peace and social cohesion and mitigate and reduce violence. The aim is to identify measures and processes that can increase the effectiveness of such programmes in different situations. The specific objectives are to:

- critically examine the role of teachers and quality of teaching in supporting education for peacebuilding and social cohesion;
- enhance national and global policy dialogue and understanding about teachers as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion;
- create and communicate new knowledge to policy experts, policymakers, and civil society organisations at local, national, regional, and international levels on the effects of education peacebuilding interventions; and
- develop indicators and a metrics system for evaluating the efficacy of educational interventions concerned with teachers as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion.

These objectives are pursued through empirically grounded evaluations of the nature, implementation, and impact of large-scale interventions designed to support teachers as peacebuilders in public schools in South Africa<sup>20</sup>.

The main research question that guides this study is: To what extent do education peacebuilding and social cohesion interventions in diverse country contexts promote teacher agency and the capacity to build peace and reduce inequalities? In answering this question, we examine the underlying theory of change and conception of equity and of teachers that underpin the selected interventions; paying particular attention to how they seek to mitigate gender, ethnic, religious, and socio-economic inequities of, in, and through education.

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<sup>20</sup> The report focuses on state-provided public schooling. As such, it does not include private schooling (referred to as independent schooling in South Africa). However, it recognises that issues of social cohesion do not only affect public schools.



The overarching research question will be explored through the following research sub-questions (RQs):

- RQ1:** What are the global and national policy contexts within which the education interventions are located, with particular reference to teachers?
- RQ2:** How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are recruited and deployed to remote and rural conflict-affected contexts?
- RQ3:** How, and in what ways, do textbooks and curricula used by teachers promote peace and tolerance?
- RQ4:** How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are trained for peacebuilding?
- RQ5:** How have the selected interventions managed to ensure that teachers build trust and enhance accountability to the local community?
- RQ6:** What are the pedagogies of teachers in the classrooms, and what strategies do they use to develop peacebuilding skills aimed at reducing conflict in their classrooms?

### **3.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH**

#### **3.3.1 Redistribution, Recognition, Representation, and Reconciliation: The 4Rs analytical framework**

The theoretical framework for this project is derived from research conducted within the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding Project (ReCEP) and as developed in a working paper by Novelli *et al.* (2015) subtitled *4Rs in Conflict-affected Contexts*. These provide an overarching analytical framework that combines social justice and transitional justice thinking to develop a normative framework for the study of education and peacebuilding. In doing so, it recognises the multiple dimensions of inequality and injustice that often underpin contemporary conflicts and the need to address the legacies of these conflicts in and through education.

The framework is in line with broader and well-established peacebuilding thinking (Galtung, 1976; Lederach, 1995, 1997) that highlights the need to address both negative peace (the cessation of violence) and positive peace (the underlying structural and symbolic violence that often underpins the outbreak of conflict – the drivers of conflict). As such, the framework recognises the importance of addressing and redressing the “legacies of conflict”

in tandem with addressing the “drivers of conflict”.

In that respect, there has been a long and heated debate within conflict studies on the relationship between inequality, injustice, and conflict, with the debate often framed in terms of “*greed versus grievance*” explanations. It is suggested that wars are driven less by justified “grievances” and more by personal and collective “greed” (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). Where humans are engaged in conflict, they are viewed as “economic agents” making cost-benefit calculations and trying to maximise returns through engagement in violent conflict. For these thinkers, the route to peace and security is not through addressing injustice, inequality, and structural exclusion, but through increasing the cost of access to resources for those regarded as engaging in violence.

A strong critique of this work argues that horizontal inequalities (between groups) are important contributors to the outbreak of conflict (Stewart, 2005; 2010). This argument is supported by strong econometric evidence (Cederman *et al.*, 2011) linked to horizontal inequalities on aspects of ethnicity, tribe, or religion and involving a range of dimensions that include the economic (access to land, income, and employment), the political (access to political power and representation), the social (access to public services), and the cultural (respect for difference and identity, language rights, etc.). Commentators assert here that in armed conflicts, real or perceived horizontal inequalities provide catalysts for group mobilisation and uprisings that often lead to conflict and violence.

While there is fairly limited research on the relationship between the outbreak of armed conflict and education and inequality, these commentators point to recent quantitative research (FHI 360 & UNICEF, 2015) that shows a robust and consistent statistical relationship, across five decades, between higher levels of inequality in educational attainment between ethnic and religious groups, and the likelihood that a country will experience violent conflict. While the research is unable to identify causal mechanisms, or explain the complexities of understanding such causal mechanisms, what it does highlight is that multiple dimensions of inequality beyond education outcomes need to be constantly investigated, as well as the different ways in which the education system might contribute to or mitigate conflict.

The 4Rs framework provided by Novelli *et al.* (2015) builds on this thinking by developing a normative approach that captures the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social

dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace. In this, the framework combines the interconnected dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation to examine inequalities within the South African education system in the following ways:

1. *Redistribution* concerns equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for different groups in society – particularly marginalised and disadvantaged groups.
2. *Recognition* concerns respect for and affirmation of diversity and identities in education structures, processes, and content in terms of gender, language, politics, religion, ethnicity, culture, and ability.
3. *Representation* concerns participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of human and material resources.
4. *Reconciliation* involves dealing with past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships and trust.

As an analytical tool in the education sector, the framework is also able to engage with cross-sectorial programming focused on conflict transformation, as outlined in Table 12.

**Table 12: Using the 4Rs framework to analyse education systems**

Analysing Education Systems Using the 4Rs: Potential 'Indicators'	
Redistribution (addressing inequities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vertical and horizontal inequalities in education inputs, resources, and outcomes (quantitative data)</li> <li>• Distributive effects of macro education reforms or policies (e.g. impact of decentralisation and privatisation on different groups and conflict dynamics)</li> </ul>
Recognition (respecting difference, addressing cultural equity)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies on language instruction</li> <li>• Recognition of cultural diversity and religious identity in curriculum</li> <li>• Citizenship and civic education as a means of state-building</li> <li>• 'Relevance' of curriculum to diverse communities and local livelihoods</li> <li>• Addressing violence based on difference in education settings</li> </ul>
Representation (encouraging participation, addressing political equity)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participation (local, national, global) in education policy and reforms</li> <li>• Political control and representation through education administration</li> <li>• School-based management and decision making (teachers, parents, students)</li> <li>• Support for fundamental freedoms in the education system</li> </ul>
Recognition (dealing with injustices)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Addressing historical and contemporary injustices linked to conflict</li> <li>• Integration and segregation in education systems (e.g. common institutions)</li> <li>• Teaching about the past and its relevance to the present and future</li> <li>• Vertical trust in schools and education system, and horizontal trust between identity-based groups</li> </ul>

Source: Novelli et al. (2017)

### 3.3.2 Realist evaluation

The project methodology utilises Pawson's (2006) realist approach that views evaluation as a process that both identifies how the evaluated policies and programmes work and how they expect to achieve their objectives by (re)constructing the theory of change behind the policies and programmes. The process also tests whether the theory of change is sufficiently robust to make the policy or programme successful once implemented in the field (Mayne, 2008). In a realist evaluation, it is not enough to test whether or not an intervention achieves its objectives. Rather, what is required is an understanding of why the intervention does (or does not do) so as a way of drawing lessons on how to improve future interventions. It recognises that programmes do not work generically, but work in particular ways in particular places and give rise to both intended and unintended outcomes.

Several assertions are central to the realist approach (as drawn from Pawson & Tilley, 1997). Firstly, policies and programmes are themselves theory laden, and evaluation is the process of testing and refining those theories to explain why and how they work, or do not work, in particular contexts. Policies and programmes are therefore underpinned by particular understanding drawn from social theory on the behaviour of humans as agents, which draw upon different traditions that are themselves contested. Secondly, programmes are embedded in complex social systems. The task of the evaluator therefore is to attempt to uncover the different layers of social reality that interact with any programme intervention. This can help unpack why programmes might work in one place but not another, and might have a range of differing intended and unintended outcomes. Thirdly, programmes are active, and mechanisms interact with living subjects who act on those interventions. They are not static; thus the relational aspects are likely to change over time and produce differing outcomes. Therefore, understanding programme participants' interpretations of interventions is crucial. Fourthly, and related to the third point, programmes are open systems subject to influence from a wide range of socio-economic, political, and cultural factors and actors, and are likely to change over time as actors and factors adapt.

Moving beyond the core assumptions of realist evaluation, four key terminologies used in the process of applying realist evaluation techniques include "mechanism", "context", "outcome pattern", and "context-mechanism-outcome pattern configuration (CMOC)" (Pawson, 2004:10).

*Mechanisms* move beyond the simple question of whether programmes work and get to the deeper question of *why* programmes work (or do not work). It does so by understanding the processes that operate within a programme that, in interaction with human participants, lead to some kind of change process. Programmes are often made up of multiple mechanisms that interact with one another to produce intended and unintended outcomes. For example, a teacher programme to encourage teachers to work in remote or underserved and under-resourced areas might do a range of things: provide a financial incentive, offer in-kind non-financial incentives (accommodation), or introduce career incentives (provide training to local unqualified teachers to become registered teachers). Mechanisms might also explain a programme's failure. For example, incentives might offer a route for patrimonial or clientelist "capture", leading to unqualified and disinterested "teachers" gaining employment due to local contacts. To cite Pawson (2004: 11), "It is not programmes that work but the resources they offer that enable their subjects to make them work", and they may work in intended and unintended ways.

*Context analysis* is crucial for realist evaluation. Mechanisms are presumed to work differently in different "contexts". Understanding and making sense of the "context" thus becomes a central task of evaluation. Questions will emerge from this, such as "who does this programme work for, and under what circumstances". It is a given that some contextual factors might facilitate the working of the programme and others may undermine it – with mechanisms, as noted above, which are likely to work in a range of different ways. The task of the researcher is to try and isolate the different contextual factors that affect the programme's activities.

*Outcome patterns* represent the intended and unintended outcomes of a particular programme intervention. These might be short term, longer term, or variegated in their effects. This might entail a mechanism of incentives (such as teacher programmes in remote areas) encouraging high take-up of places in the short term, but leading to high attrition rates in the longer term. Similarly, training leading to a formal qualification for local unqualified teachers might lead to high enrolment in the short term, but upon qualification, those teachers may use their new status to move from the remote area and work in "easier" urban areas.

CMOC pulls together theory, context, mechanisms, and outcomes to better understand why (or why not) some programmes, activating particular mechanisms in set places, lead to certain intended and unintended outcomes.

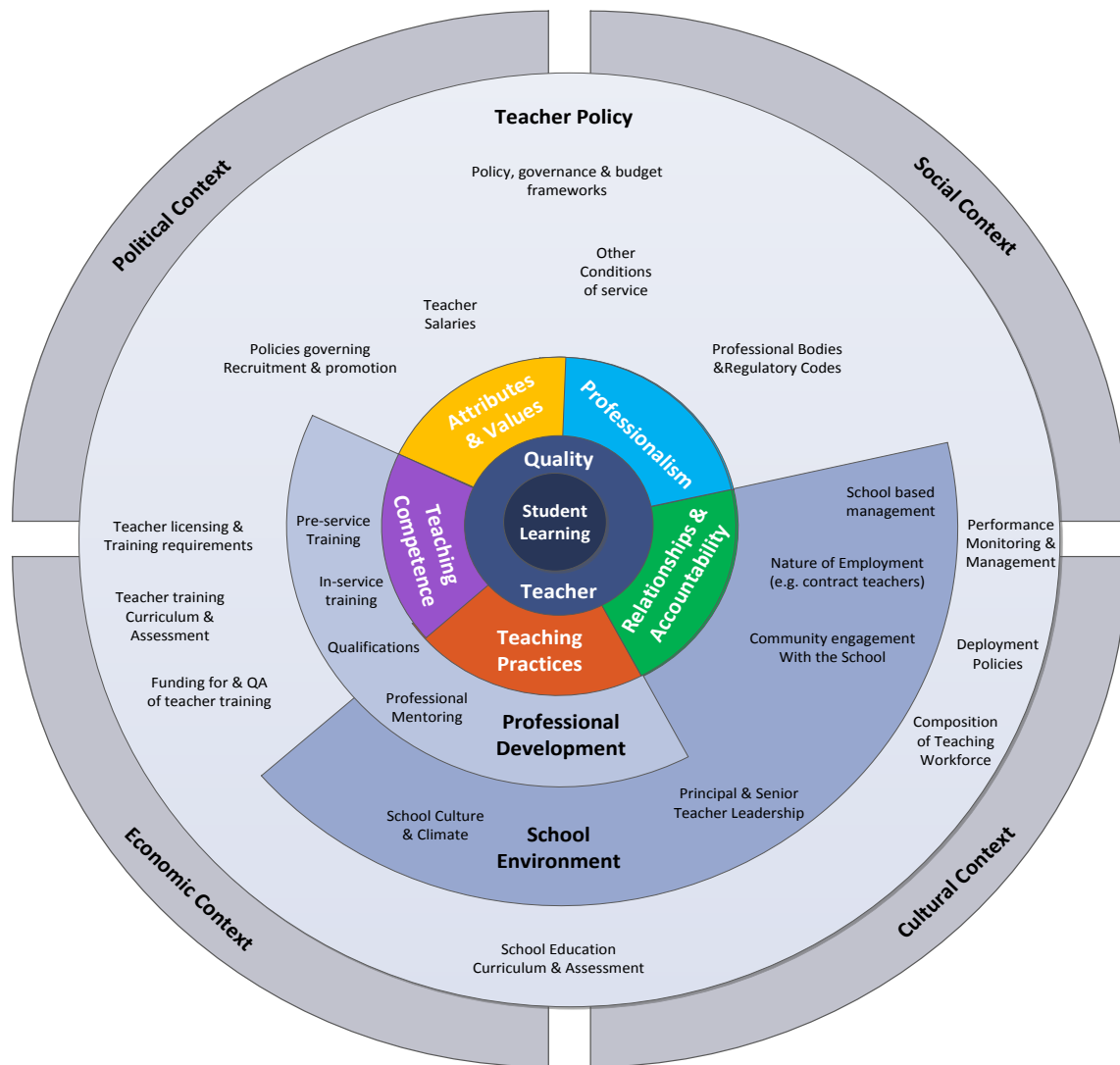
In terms of a methodological approach to applying realist evaluation, the starting point is to uncover the *programme theory*. This is often not as straightforward as it might seem, as programme theories are often implicit rather than explicit. They are thus likely to require a process of *creative investigation*, through careful analysis of programme documents and interviews with the architects of the programmes, to *elicit* understanding of why a programme was developed, why it is likely to work, on whom, and with what intended effects. This is followed by a complex disentangling of the programme itself; tracing it from inception to implementation, *tracing the programme mechanisms* that activate (or do not activate) the desired outcomes, and exploring intended and unintended outcomes. This all needs to be grounded in an understanding of the particular *context* within which the programme is implemented to try to understand why, or why not, the programme worked in location X or Y. This is followed by exploring outcomes in relation to mechanism, theory, and context, with the aim to offer advice on what might work better in certain places, and why.

### 3.3.3 Teacher agency framework

Figure 2 provides a conceptual framework for the analysis of interventions to support teachers as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion. In particular, it highlights the different interrelated levels of analysis which underpin the study of teachers, including the global policy environment, national policy frameworks, and interventions regarding teacher governance, professional development, and the school-level environment and practices. It develops a realist framework which recognises both institutional change (at national governance, teacher training, and school institution levels), as well as individual changes of teachers who are training to be or are already teachers, taking into account the specificity of diverse contexts. These interrelated levels are framed by the global as well as the national political, economic, social, and cultural context in each country. The two frameworks are used complementarily in the analysis of teacher agency in conflict-affected contexts. The 4Rs framework frames the various dimensions of teachers' work as identified in Figure 2.

For example, how is teacher agency constituted in national and global policy contexts to effect peace and social cohesion, and how are teachers trained to ensure learner representation and recognition in schools and classrooms? In that respect, the 4Rs framework provides a conceptual framework for applying a social justice lens to the study of teachers and their work and training for the dimensions listed in in Figure 2.

**Figure 2: Framework for researching teacher agency in post conflict contexts**



Source: Adapted from Naylor & Sayed (2014:22)

### 3.3.4 Research operationalisation

**Desktop Review:** A review of existing literature on youth, teachers, and policies within education was conducted in each of the country case studies, with a particular focus on their relationship to equity, inequalities, and social cohesion. Available government and donor policy and strategy documents, reports, academic literature, and education statistics were examined.

**Data Collection:** The research adopted a qualitative approach, by drawing on a range of data sources including one-to-one interviews with diverse education and peacebuilding stakeholders in each country, focus groups, paper-based questionnaires (for student teachers), lesson observations (at teacher education institutions), analysis of existing statistical datasets, and analysis of policy documents. Research instruments are available on request from the research team. This approach enabled the inclusion of multiple and comparative perspectives, as hundreds of student teachers, policymakers, and facilitators/teachers/principals participated in the study. Using an inclusive approach, the language used in interviews was contingent upon research participants' comfort, and the interviews were conducted in multiple languages.

**Data Analysis:** All interview data were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants and fully transcribed. Where languages other than English were used, they were translated into English. We analysed qualitative data, including interview transcripts and notes, and coded them. Reflections emerging from the data in each country were discussed in cross-country consortium meetings, which enabled a refinement of the emerging findings. The findings have been reviewed in a series of validation events with stakeholders.

**Stakeholder Engagement:** Throughout the research process, from conception to completion, we engaged with a wide range of national and international stakeholders: international agencies, national government officials, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), local NGOs, teachers, youth, and students. We held inception and validation events in each of the countries, presented interim findings at national and international conferences and will continue to disseminate the work widely through a broad and strategic dissemination process. This is central to our approach and seeks to provide theoretically informed but policy-relevant research that will hopefully contribute to the



better application and promotion of education as a contribution to sustainable peacebuilding.

Chapter 4 reviews *education policy* in South Africa, as distinct from the policy investigation in Chapter 2, which explicated the broad policy framework that constituted the post-apartheid South African political landscape.

## Chapter 4 - Education policy review: South Africa, 1994-2016

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### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Teachers teach within education systems. Teacher agency and capacity are therefore extant within and subject to the particular education system in which they teach. Education policy is an important modality for framing the education system and consequently teacher agency. Education policy frames the education system and hence situates teachers' capacity to build peace and reduce inequalities. With the aim of establishing how teacher agency to promote social cohesion is enabled or constrained, this chapter asks how education policy in South Africa frames the education system.

Social disruption and fragmentation were spawned in South Africa by colonial and apartheid rule. Colonial rule splintered social identities along racial and ethnic lines, while at the same time attaching unequal material resources and value to them (DoE, 1995; DPME, 2014c). Apartheid rule further entrenched the splintered social identities and related inequalities, with fragmentation exacerbated by particular spatial governance and settlement arrangements during both colonialism and apartheid. "Apartheid spatial patterns mean limited opportunity for sharing of space across race and class and thus there is still limited interaction across race" (DPME, 2014c). Embedded within colonial and apartheid organisations, social institutions – including those associated with education – were instrumental in perpetuating inequalities and reproducing social fragmentation, which in turn militate against social cohesion.

Drawing on the theoretical framework of Novelli *et al.* (2015), a transformative vision of social cohesion as social justice is adopted in this report; one which relates to a propensity to address structural factors that militate against equality. This chapter reviews education policy in South Africa from a normative perspective, that a transformative vision of social cohesion "as social justice", embedded within education policy and the education system, would be a key measure to enable teacher agency to promote social cohesion. Similarly, should inequality be allowed to persist in the education system, teacher agency is inevitably constrained.

This approach is consistent with the view articulated by the South African state in its current MTSF: “The country cannot achieve unity and social cohesion without reducing the gaps between rich and poor, black and white, women and men, city and country” (DPME, 2014c).

The next section of the chapter provides a broad overview of the research methods used in this chapter. The third section offers a chronological summary of the key education policies and changes since 1994. The fourth section discusses the current sector plans in order to identify the imperatives regarding social cohesion in South African education policy.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh sections discuss aspects arising from the current sector plans with regard to social cohesion. The fifth section considers decentralisation within education policies in post-apartheid South Africa, the sixth section examines values in education, and the seventh section considers language of instruction policies.

The eighth section analyses policy related to how the right to a safe and conducive learning environment is enacted. In the ninth section, the chapter discusses the minimum norms and standards for public school infrastructure policy. The penultimate and tenth section of this chapter discusses the affirmation of individual and group rights as promised by the Constitution. The final section offers policy recommendations related to key themes emerging from the analysis.

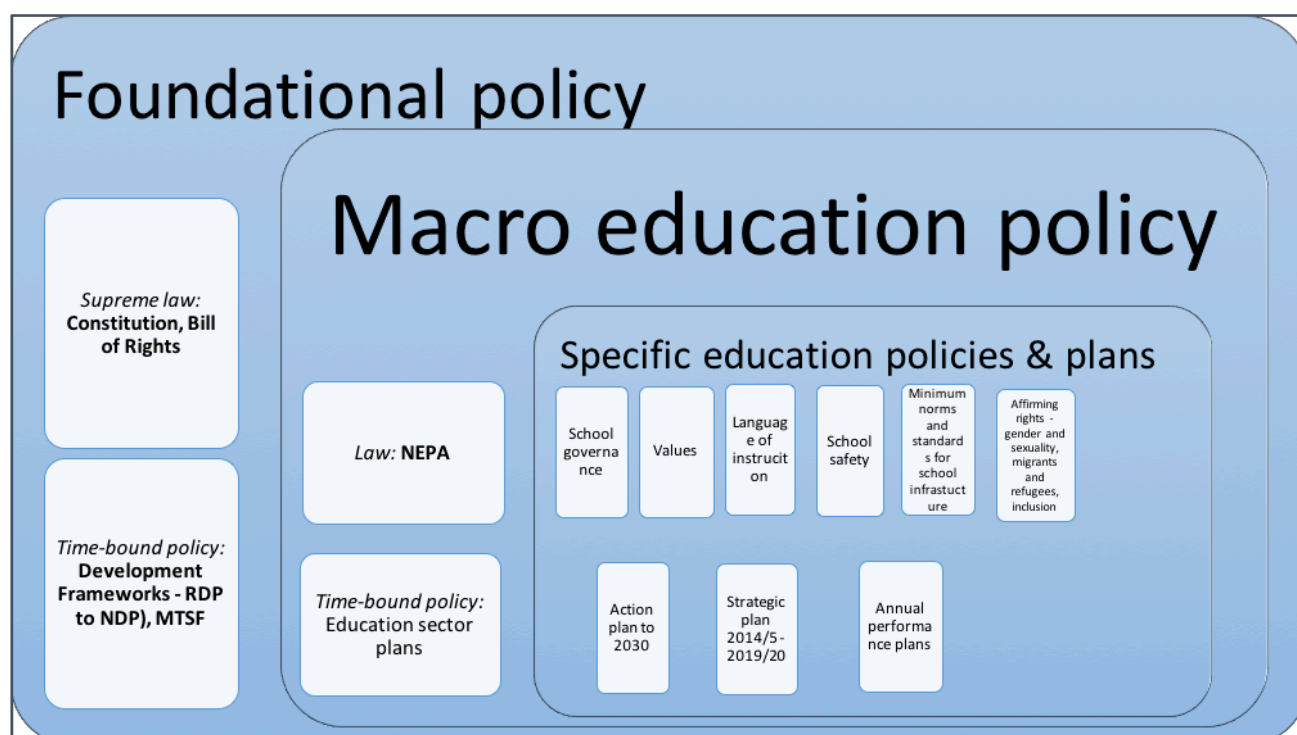
## **4.2 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH METHODS USED IN THIS CHAPTER**

The overarching methodology for the research project was outlined in Chapter 3. This section provides a brief outline of the particular aspects of the methodology and methods related to this chapter.

Consistent with the policy analysis proposed by Rizvi and Lingard (2010), this chapter regards policy as discourse seeking to understand the text both in terms of what is said, as well as what the silences and omissions mean. The analysis considers the policy process as well as the multiple and contested understanding of policymakers and stakeholders about the policy framework in relation to its articulation of social cohesion, propensity to address structural factors that militate against equality, and related capacity to enable or constrain teacher agency to promote social cohesion.

In doing so, the chapter draws on two primary research methods; documentary analysis of a selection of education policy documents, and interviews. The principal primary data sources for this chapter were South African education policy documents. The policy architecture of South Africa is illustrated in Figure 3. Figure 3 locates key supreme law and macro policies in relation to specific education policies. This chapter draws on the macro and specific education policy as illustrated in the policy architecture.

**Figure 3: Policy architecture in South Africa**



Source: CITE (2016)

The policies reviewed in this, and subsequent chapters, are tabulated in Table 13. A selection of the policy documents are analysed in this chapter. The review of policies in this chapter encompasses a range of texts, including legislation, white papers, discussion documents, and education sector strategic plans – all of which are analysed in relation to how they offer a transformative vision of social cohesion as social justice as a measure of their capacity to enable or constrain teacher agency in this regard. In particular, the analysis examines how the mechanisms in education policy address structural factors that militate against equality.

**Table 13: South African policies reviewed for this report**

<b>Policy focus</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Policy</b>
Foundational	1995	RDP
Foundational	1996	Constitution
Foundational	1996	GEAR
Foundational	1997	Integrated National Disability Strategy
Foundational	2005	ASGISA
Foundational	2008	National Disability Framework
Foundational	2009	NGP
Foundational	2009	Green Paper: National Strategic Planning
Foundational	2012	NDP
Foundational	2014	MTSF
Macro education	1995	SAQA
Macro education	1995	<i>White Paper 1: Education and Training</i>
Macro education	1996	<i>White Paper 2: Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools</i>
Macro education	1996	SASA
Macro education	1996	National Education Policy Act
Macro education	1996	Green Paper on the Transformation of Higher Education
Macro education	1997	Higher Education Act
Macro education	1997	Education Laws Amendment Act
Macro education	1997	<i>White Paper 3: Programme for the Transformation on Higher Education</i>
Macro education	1997	Higher Education Qualifications Framework (HEQF)
Macro education	2001	<i>White Paper 5 on Early Childhood Education</i>
Macro education	2001	<i>White Paper 6: Special Needs Education</i>
Macro education	2008	National Qualifications Framework Act
Macro education	2008	No-fee school policy
Macro education	2012	Action Plan 2014
Macro education	2013	<i>White Paper for Post-school Education and Training</i>
Macro education	2013	Higher Education Qualifications Sub-framework (HEQSF)
Macro education	2015	Action Plan 2019
Macro education	2015	Five-year strategic plan
Specific education – School Governance	1998	National Norms and Standards for School Funding Act (NNSSF)
Specific education – School Governance	2013	Organisation, Roles, and Responsibilities of Education Districts

<b>Policy focus</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Policy</b>
Specific education – Values	2001	Manifesto on Values, Education, and Democracy
Specific education – Language	1997	Language in Education Policy (LiEP)
Specific education – Language	2013	Incremental Implementation of African Languages (IIAL)
Specific education – School Safety	2001	Regulations for Safety Measures at all Public Schools
Specific education – School Safety	2002	Policy Framework for the Management of Drug Abuse by Learners in Schools
Specific education – School Safety	2002	Regulations to Prohibit Initiation Practices in Schools
Specific education – School Safety	2015	National School Safety Framework (NSSF)
Specific education – infrastructure	2013	Minimum Norms and Standards for Public School Infrastructure
Specific education – infrastructure	2015	National Learner Transport Policy
Specific education – Affirming rights	2008	National Strategy on Screening, Identification, Assessment, and Support (SIAS)
Specific education – Teacher Governance	1998	Employment of Educators Act
Specific education – Teacher Governance	1998	Development Appraisal System (DAS)
Specific education – Teacher Governance	1999	National Student Financial Aid Scheme Act
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2000	South African Council for Educators Act
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2001	Education Laws Amendment Bill
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2001	Whole-school Evaluation (WSE)
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2002	Performance Management and Development System (PMDS)
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2002	Systemic Evaluation Framework (SEF)
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2003	Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS)

<b>Policy focus</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Policy</b>
Teacher Governance		
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2005	Education Laws Amendment Act
Specific education – Teacher Governance	2007	Education Laws Amendment Act
Specific education – Curriculum	1997	Curriculum 2005 (C2005) (OBE)
Specific education – Curriculum	2002	Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS)
Specific education – Curriculum	2005	National Curriculum Statement (NCS)
Specific education – Curriculum	2011	Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)
Specific education – ITE	2000	Norms and Standards for (Teacher) Education
Specific education – ITE	2005	Ministerial Committee on Teacher Education
Specific education – ITE	2007	National Policy Framework for Teacher Education
Specific education – ITE	2011	Minimum Requirement for Teacher Education Qualification (MRTEQ)
Specific education – ITE	2015	MRTEQ
Specific education – CPTD	2011	Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in SA (ISPFTED)

*Source: CITE (2016)*

In addition to the policies, primary data for this chapter were drawn from 25 interviews with public officials in national and provincial government departments, as well as government agencies (DBE, DHET, DPME, and Stats SA), education sector NGOs, international agencies (for example, UNICEF), and professional associations (for example, unions and governing body associations).

### 4.3 AN OVERVIEW OF POST-1994 EDUCATION POLICY CHANGE

This section provides a broad overview of South African education policy between 1994 and 2016. The purpose of the overview is to sketch the education system of South Africa in which teachers operate. The post-apartheid government promoted education policy and programmes as a foundational element of democratic transformation (Sayed & Kanjee, 2013) linked to the values enshrined in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The Constitution of South Africa is the supreme law and provides the legal foundation for all policy in the country. Section 29(1)(a) of the Constitution entitles everyone the right to a basic education and makes provision for a single education system; including one national and nine PEDs. A comprehensive legislative framework has been developed in order to frame the realisation of the right to education enshrined in the Constitution. The broad framework is examined below according to the periods of the four subsequent Ministers of Education since 1994. Due to its seminal nature, some pieces of legislation between 1994 and 1999 are discussed in more detail than those in later periods.

The period 1994 to 1999 was arguably the most significant period in terms of policy formulation in recent South African history. This stands to reason, given that the period after 1994 required the development of frameworks that sought to restructure the education sector completely and build a unified and democratic education system that redressed past injustices. The task to inscribe in law the framework and vision of the new democratic Constitution of 1996 – three green papers, four white papers, six bills, and 20 acts – was immense (Sayed, Kanjee & Nkomo, 2013). Transformation in education was particularly singled out in wider reform discourse for its social transformative potential.

The 1995 *White Paper for Education and Training* (White Paper 1) articulates the purpose of education as enabling

“[a] democratic, free, equal, just, and peaceful society to take root and prosper in our land, on the basis that all South Africans without exception share the same inalienable rights, equal citizenship, and common national destiny, and that all forms of bias (especially racial, ethnic and gender) are dehumanising” (DoE, 1995:4).

White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) articulates the purpose of education as a mechanism for transforming the conditions of society constituted during colonialism and apartheid. Such an education system would address the structural factors that militate against equality.



Much would have to be done to make this vision of transformative education a reality. In White Paper 1, Minister Sibusiso Bengu (the first Minister of Education) stated that “South Africa has never had a truly national system of education and training, and it does not have one yet” (DoE, 1995:2).

The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act (Office of the President, 1995) was the first legislation, with respect to education, to be promulgated by the post-apartheid government. The SAQA Act provides for the establishment of an authority whose responsibility was establishing an NQF (Sayed & Kanjee, 2013:16). A lot of time was devoted to the NQF in White Paper 1 as well (DoE, 1995). The objectives of the NQF stated in the SAQA Act, concomitant with what is outlined in White Paper 1, are to:

- “create an integrated national framework for learning achievements;
- facilitate access to, and mobility and progression within education, training, and career paths;
- enhance the quality of education and training;
- accelerate the redress of past unfair discrimination in education, training, and employment opportunities; and thereby
- contribute to the full and personal development of each learner and the social and economic development of the nation at large” (Office of the President, 1995).

The second piece of education legislation promulgated after 1994 was the National Education Policy Act (NEPA) (DoE, 1996a). The purpose of NEPA is “to adopt legislation to facilitate the democratic transformation of the national system of education into one which serves the needs and interests of all the people of South Africa and upholds their fundamental rights” (DoE, 1996a:1). NEPA sets out the concurrent legislative competence in education where national and provincial governments share responsibility for all education, except tertiary education.

Section 4 of NEPA requires that education policy be directed towards the advancement and protection of fundamental rights, the personal development of each learner, and the nation at large (DoE, 1996a). NEPA makes provision for the Minister of Education to promulgate policy for the education sector of South Africa (DoE, 1996a). NEPA also determines policy related to teacher salaries and conditions of service (DoE, 1996a). Together with White

Paper 1, the SAQA Act and NEPA are the formative framing mechanisms of the unified South African education system post-1994.

Two further pieces of legislation were promulgated in 1996 that relate to schools as sites of learning as opposed to the education system as a whole; a second white paper (White Paper 2) on the organisation, governance, and funding of schools (DoE, 1996b) and SASA of 1996 (DoE, 1996c). White Paper 2 states that “the school system must therefore be unified through a managed process of change based on respect for constitutional rights and freedoms, redress, equity, and an improvement in the quality of learning” (DoE, 1996b:7). SASA was a key piece of legislation during this period; it was aimed at ensuring that all children have the right of access to quality education, making schooling compulsory, and providing for equitable allocation of state funding.

Between 1999 and 2004, the scope of policy activity was broadened beyond laying a foundational structure for the education system (Sayed *et al.*, 2013:9). For instance, two white papers (White Papers 5 and 6) issued in this era are on ECD and SNE (DoE, 2001a; DoE, 2001b), and significant laws include the ABET Act (RSA, 2000a). There was also active refinement of policies by amendments of laws promulgated during the period. Notably, Minister Kader Asmal initiated the Values in Education programme, which sought to identify and realise the central values in South African education based on the Constitution. The initiative led to the formation of important policies, including the Manifesto on Values, Education, and Democracy in 2001 (discussed in the next section), and the National Policy on Religion and Education in 2003. The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (DoE, 2001c:1) intends to flesh out values and behaviour for democracy in the education arena.

In the period 2004 to 2009, during Minister Naledi Pandor’s tenure as Minister of Education, there were significantly fewer major policies in the form of white papers or acts. *White Paper 7 on e-Education* was released in 2004. Policy activity was largely in the form of notices. An important notice in terms of this research was the Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding (ANNSSF), which came into effect on 1 January 2007. This notice recognises that the funding provisions of SASA worked to the advantage of public schools patronised by middle-class and wealthy parents. This reflects past discriminatory investment in schooling and disparities in the income of parents. To address these

inequalities, a progressive pro-poor funding policy was introduced and 40% of schools, namely the poorest two-fifths as determined by poverty indicators, were made no-fee schools<sup>21</sup>.

The period of the current minister, Angie Motshekga (2009 to present) opened with the Presidency publishing the *Green Paper on National Strategic Planning*, which emphasises the importance of developing a long-term perspective to realising the country's vision (The Presidency, 2009). In response, the DBE developed its long-term vision, *Action Plan 2014: Towards the Realisation of Schooling 2025* (DBE, 2012). This envisages improving the implementation of existing legislation rather than promulgating additional interventions. In line with this vision, Minister Angie Motshekga completed a term in 2014, and was re-appointed as Minister of Basic Education in the fifth post-apartheid Cabinet in 2014.

In Minister Motshega's term, important levers to improve the education system's efficiency were introduced, including the establishment of the National Evaluation and Development Unit in 2009 to facilitate school improvement through systemic evaluation, the first large-scale ANA in 2011, and the introduction of a revised curriculum (CAPS) in 2011. With regard to this study, it is important to note that the term "social cohesion" starts to appear more often in the education policy discourse, as a reflection of macro policies such as the NDP and the MTSF in the period.

Despite the intention to implement existing legislation as opposed to additional promulgations, the last few years of Minister Motshekga's term (2013 to 2015) have witnessed a number of policy interventions. These education interventions attempted to consolidate past interventions or attend to gaps in response to the 2009 Green Paper.

Post-apartheid education legislation tied the purpose of education to transforming conditions of society to redress colonial and apartheid oppression. The scale of change was immense and structural; 19 racially divided education departments were merged into a single national department. The obvious manifestation of discrimination in access to schooling was repealed, making it illegal for schools to discriminate on any grounds. At the same time, schools remained in the same segregated spaces than before 1994. While this

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<sup>21</sup> In 2010, no-fee school status was extended to the poorest three quintiles.

may be read as stating the obvious, central to apartheid oppression was unequal, disparate, and discriminatory spatial engineering.

“Although South African education policy has opened schools and attempted to address disadvantage in school access – and many recognise this as important progress, the overlap of class, race, and racially divided housing undermines the efficacy of these policies” (FHI 360 & UNICEF, 2015:34).

Legislative desegregation did not translate into spatial desegregation for the majority of learners. Moreover, the areas that were underdeveloped during apartheid have not been developed to the extent that wealthy, previously white areas are. The schools that were unequally developed in those areas have also not been resourced comparatively. In effect, the unequal distribution or maldistribution that characterised apartheid spatial planning and development was not remedied after 1994 by the government of national unity or the later ANC government. Consequently, the majority of South African learners continue to experience access to schools that are under-resourced and located in marginalised and poor communities. The statistics presented in Chapter 2 illustrate that learning outcomes are negatively concomitant to the socio-economic status of learners. This means that education policy has not been able to address the structural factors that militate against equality; equality is based in legislation, not everyday life. This inability has implications for social integration and constrains teacher agency to promote social cohesion. The following section analyses current education sector plans to determine what the priorities are.

#### **4.4 CURRENT EDUCATION SECTOR PLANS**

This section analyses current national plans that relate to education as well as education sector plans as indications of the current priorities of the state with respect to the education system. The current macro-development framework of the South African state, the NDP, charts out a vision up to 2030 (NPC, 2012). The NDP has separate chapters dedicated to education, nation-building, and social cohesion. The thrust of the NDP is towards economic growth, with education and social cohesion articulated as supporting measures.

The NDP is paired with an MTSF that frames government priorities between 2014 and 2019 in line with and to achieve the NDP vision to 2019 (DPME, 2014c). The MTSF is organised around the outcomes of the NDP, establishing sub-outcomes for each. Each sub-outcome is further divided into actions with a corresponding minister, responsible to ensure that

indicators, baselines, and targets for the period ending in 2019 are reached (see for example DMPE, 2014a). A thrust towards economic growth is similarly evident in the MTSF.

For instance, the MTSF states that “[i]mproved performance in the schooling system is at the heart of building the skills base for economic growth” (DPME, 2014b:12).

The macro-development plans of the state guide the sector plans of the DBE, as well as each of the nine PEDs’ plans. “The DBE’s Strategic Plan is anchored on the government’s Medium Term Strategic Framework” (DBE, 2016a). Various ministries, including the DBE, are assigned tasks to achieve the outcomes, and they have incorporated strategies in their respective sector plans. The DBE is solely responsible for Outcome 1: Quality Basic Education. The thrust of Outcome 1 relates to learning outcomes. None of the outcomes related to learning outcomes makes direct reference to social cohesion; notwithstanding the fact that learning outcomes manifest deep social inequalities (Fleisch, 2008; Spaul, 2013).

The Minister of Arts and Culture has overall responsibility for the delivery of targets in Outcome 14 (nation-building and social cohesion) of the MTSF (DPME, 2014a). The Minister of Basic Education is, however, responsible for five actions across four of the five sub-outcomes of the outcomes for nation-building and social cohesion. The first action relates to values, the second to language, the third to schools, the fourth to participation, and the fifth to governance. Table 14 illustrates the location of the actions related to social cohesion that the Minister of Basic Education is responsible for.

**Table 14: MTSF actions related to social cohesion the Minister of Basic Education is responsible for**

Sub-outcome	Action	Indicators
Fostering constitutional values	Promote the Bill of Responsibility, constitutional values, and national symbols amongst children in schools.	<i>National stakeholder forum established and reporting quarterly on different roles they perform in schools.</i>
		<i>Printing and distributing Bill of Responsibilities booklets, posters, and flyers together with Values in Action manuals.</i>
		<i>Activities that show engagement with the Bill of Responsibilities. Regions to report.</i>

		<i>Number of learners that participate in moot courts and other democracy programmes.</i>
		<i>Number of schools reciting the Preamble of the Constitution at school assemblies.</i>
		<i>Percentage of schools flying the national flag.</i>
		<i>Percentage of schools that have booklet and poster (frame) of national symbols and orders.</i>
Equal opportunities, inclusion and redress	Increase multilingualism in the school environment.	<i>Percentage of schools where one African language is taught.</i>
	Promote social cohesion in schools.	<i>Number of schools which offer Art in schools.</i>
		<i>Oral history programme is part of the national curricula.</i>
		<i>National Action Plan against Racism, Xenophobia, Sexism and Related Intolerances implemented in schools.</i>
Promoting social cohesion across society through increased interaction across race and class	Provide mass participation opportunities.	<i>Mass participation sport events inclusive of social cohesion programme.</i>
Promoting active citizenry and leadership	Improve participation in School Governing Body (SGB) elections.	<i>Number of programmes and interventions to increase voter turnout in schools run from the DBE.</i>
		<i>Percentage of parents who participate in elections of SGBs (number of parents who participate / number of parents who should participate).</i>

Source: Extracted from DPME (2014a)

The DBE has long-term vision statements, medium-term plans, and annual sector plans that outline how it will achieve the outcomes set by the NDP and MTSF. In the remainder of this section, the priorities of the education sector are analysed from the DBE's strategic, medium-term, and annual plans.

The current sector plan of the DBE is the *Action Plan to 2019: Towards the Realisation of Schooling 2030*, a strategic medium-term plan of the DBE between 2014 and 2019 that sets 27 sector goal statements and details the direction which the basic education sector intends to take up to 2030. The purpose of the plan is to achieve quality schooling as a measure to achieve higher employment and earning as well as economic growth (DBE, 2015b:6).

To reiterate, the Action Plan contends that

“[g]etting more learners to obtain the National Senior Certificate (NSC) on successful completion of Grade 12 in a school, or some equivalent qualification outside the schooling system, is widely considered an important prerequisite for improving economic growth and reducing income inequality in South Africa” (DBE, 2015b:34).

Contrary to addressing structural factors, the Action Plan seeks to focus on improving individual learners' learning outcomes in significant ways. For instance, the two key challenges for the DBE articulated in the Action Plan are ANAs and e-Education. In terms of ANAs, the DBE will ensure that tests will be secure and include anchor items, as well as explore the use of item response theory (DBE, 2015b: 17; DBE, 2016b). Not only is this focus on individual learners' learning outcomes but also on particular items of large-scale tests.

The *Five-year Strategic Plan (2015/2016 – 2019/2020)* (hereafter referred to as the Strategic Plan) is an operational medium-term plan, based on the Action Plan, that identifies outcome-orientated goals and objectives (DBE, 2015a). The Strategic Plan embeds itself in the NDP and draws on the MTSF outcomes, particularly related to social cohesion, more so than the Action Plan. The DBE's Strategic Plan is more explicit about social cohesion and operationalises the goals of the MTSF (DBE, 2015a).

Within the DBE's sector plans, components of social cohesion programmes are add-on, non-educational services, and are not organically integrated into their core programmes of teaching and learning. Social cohesion is absent from the proposal to re-design ANA for 2016 and beyond (DBE, 2016b). This approach is very similar to the NDP, as well as the MTSF; namely to position programmes and interventions meant to foster social cohesion

and nation-building as add-ons or plug-ins rather than to mainstream them. All activities potentially influence or impact social cohesion, or social fragmentation. Hence, it would probably be more apt to make reference to a socially cohesive attitude that encompasses an approach to all activities, rather than regard specific activities as “social cohesion activities”.

No attempts are made in the Action Plan or Strategic Plan to address structural factors that militate against equality, despite the acknowledgement that “the quality of education for black children is still largely poor, meaning employment, earning potential, and career mobility is reduced for these learners” (DBE, 2015a:28). The large-scale interventions – CAPS, ANA, workbooks, and infrastructure – are, while system-wide, not intended to effect structural change in the system. The problem is assumed to emanate from particular deficits on the part of poor black learners, teachers, their classrooms, and institutions (DBE, 2015a).

The following sections in this chapter address aspects considered priorities within the MTSF and education sector plans; governance, values, language, safety, and infrastructure. The chapter explores these priorities in relation to social cohesion and hence their propensity to militate against equality. The chapter also discusses affirming rights in education with particular reference to refugee and asylum-seeking learners and inclusive education. An overview is provided of significant related legislative and policy moments in each section.

#### **4.5 DECENTRALISATION IN EDUCATION POLICY**

MTSF indicators related to social cohesion and school governance focus on parental involvement linked to voting of SGBs. The nature of decentralised governance within the South African education system, however, frames what is possible in more ways than SGB voter turnout, albeit interconnected. Pieces of legislation that constitutes governance in the South African education system after 1994 are NEPA (DoE, 1996a), White Paper 2 (DoE, 1996b), SASA (DoE, 1996c), and the NNSSF (DoE, 1998a) framed by White Paper 1. These pieces of legislation have implications for school governance, funding, and district accountability.



#### 4.5.1 School governance

White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) lays out the basic principles and priorities for the transformation of a fragmented education system and for redressing gross inequalities in school provisioning, and outlines the principles of access, redress, equity, and democratic governance. White Paper 1 proposes the establishment of SGBs in all schools and emphasises the need to define the relationship between SGBs and education governance structures within provincial education systems. White Paper 1 introduces the concept of participative management and proposes that state involvement in school governance be minimal for legal accountability purposes. At the same time, National Norms and Standards are developed centrally by the state, as outlined in NEPA (DoE, 1996). NEPA mandates the Minister of Education working with provinces through a concept of cooperative governance to determine national policy for the planning, provision, financing, staffing, coordination, management, governance, monitoring, and evaluation of the education system.

The purpose of SASA is to “provide for a *uniform* system for the organisation, governance, and funding of schools” (DoE, 1996c; own emphasis). One of the articulated principles of the reform was to “[r]edress past injustice”, and, like the Constitution, SASA forbids all forms of discrimination, and forbids schools, including private schools, from using race to discriminate during admission. According to SASA, broad-based participation in decision-making processes is essential for the democratic movement and social change.

SASA states that governing bodies are composed of the school principal, elected representatives of parents (who have a majority stake), educators, and non-teaching staff, and, in secondary schools, learners. The basic functions of all SGBs, as laid down by SASA, include developing and adopting a constitution and a mission statement for the school, adopting a code of conduct for learners, determining an admissions policy for the school, administering and controlling the school’s property, raising additional income to supplement state funds (including the charging of school fees subject to approval by the parents of learners), and other fundraising activities.

The scope of the SGB is wide; spanning a number of matters that may impact on equality in the education system. In other words, notwithstanding a guiding document, the Constitution, and central policy development, SGBs have been given wide-ranging powers to

govern. This means that these matters could have been handled any number of ways. How these enable or constrain teacher agency is therefore multiple and complex.

Thus, although SASA intended to provide a uniform system for the organisation, governance, and funding of schools, it also devolved significant powers to SGBs as a mechanism for broad-based participation of members of school communities. SGBs are authorised to develop school policy that mitigates uniformity in organisation, governance, and funding of schools.

SASA provides no direction for districts and little for provincial education governments to exercise oversight in terms of SGB policy. The extent to which these may militate against democratic culture has been brought to the fore in 2016 with learners seeking redress from PEDs for matters such as hair styles, which have seen black students at privileged former Model C schools abandon their classes to stage highly visible protests against what they recognised and named as assimilationist and discriminatory policies against black (as opposed to normative “white”) bodies (see Sayed, 2016).

#### **4.5.2 School funding**

In 1998, following SASA (DoE, 1996c), the South African government developed a policy to address inequalities in the funding of schools within the education system, namely the NNSFF (DoE, 1998a). This set in place pro-poor norms for expenditure by schools on municipal services such as water and electricity, stationery, and learning support materials. In 2006, further amendments to the norms for funding, in the ANNSF (DoE, 2006a), were effected, which noted and acknowledged the creation of a two-tier system as an unintended outcome of the previous policy:

“Ironically, given the emphasis on redress and equity, the funding provisions of the Act appear to have worked thus far to the advantage of public schools patronised by middle-class and wealthy parents. The apartheid regime favoured such communities with high-quality facilities, equipment, and resources. Vigorous fundraising by parent bodies, including commercial sponsorships and fee income, have enabled many such schools to add to their facilities, equipment, and learning resources, and expand their range of cultural and sporting activities. Since 1995, when such schools have been required to down-size their staff establishments, many have been able to recruit additional staff on governing body contracts, paid from the school fund” (DoE, 2006a:10).

The amended policy focuses on more equitable interprovincial expenditure and requires that the DBE, rather than the provincial department, ranks all public schools from poorest to least poor (Mestry, 2014).

From 2007, the poorest 40% of schools (Q1 and Q2) were granted no-fee status, which was extended to Q3 in 2009. The PED, using a standard national procedure, determines the lists of no-fee schools at provincial level. Each school is assigned a poverty score using data from the community in which the school is located. No-fee schools lacking additional resources (such as qualified teachers) are not able to use these funds to meet such needs, despite being forced to compete within what appears to be a quasi-market governed by parental choice (Woolman & Fleisch, 2006). However, schools that receive income from school fees do have the autonomy to hire teachers additional to those allocated by the PEDs. Given the bases of determination – income dependency ratio and education level of the school catchment – it stands to reason that some schools have access to significantly more private resources than other schools.

A consequence of school-funding models is unequally resourced schools within a *uniform* education system. A government official described the South African education system as being constituted as “two school systems”:

*“A system that is the former white Model C schools and they are becoming more integrated so they are not white anymore. So it’s the former upper-level state-funded schools who are now partly state and private funded because they charge reasonably fairly high fees [...] So that’s the one part of the system, let’s call it the former Model C schools, and then you’ve got black rural, blacks, black state urban and rural schools [...] They talk about a bi-modal distribution, you know, so there’s the ex-Model Cs and then there’s the others”* (Interview with Government Official 17, 2015).

The funding models of education interventions do not promote integration, equality, and the future peace of communities and the nation at large. In effect, while the funding model may be termed “pro-poor”, it has not altered unequal structural factors; it has kept it thoroughly intact.

### 4.5.3 District level of governance

Emphasis on districts is a key focus in the MSTF: “Government will continue to strengthen the capacity of education districts so that they can oversee and support the running of *individual* schools” (DPME, 2014c:9; own emphasis). In line with this, the DBE has endeavoured to strengthen districts’ capacity (DBE, 2015a). For the DBE (2015a:3), this entails “proper monitoring and support of the curriculum”, “using the results of the ANA to guide and mentor schools and teachers”, and “mentor[ing] poor performing districts with the intention of ensuring that results improve”. In order to ensure this, the DBE (2013a) has developed a policy on the Organisation, Roles, and Responsibilities of Education Districts, titled *Effective Districts, Better Quality*.

Education district offices are the link between PEDs, schools, and the public (DBE, 2013a:4). Education district offices are positioned as a critical local hub of service provision to education institutions in provinces. Yet education district offices have no original powers but are part of the provincial sphere of government with the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Education in each province deciding how districts operate and function (DBE, 2013a). Indeed, there is no reference to districts in either NEPA (DoE, 1996a) or SASA (DoE, 1996b).

There are high levels of disparities between education districts that are “gross and unacceptable in democratic South Africa”, according to the DBE (2013a:6). The conditions of district offices, particularly in rural areas, are also not uniform across provinces (DBE, 2013a). District offices have been unable to fulfil their core functions due to overcrowding of districts, unclear lines of accountability, a lack of delegated authority for planning, and uneven post provisioning (DBE, 2013a).

The policy on the Organisation, Roles, and Responsibilities of Education Districts intends to provide for a uniform organisation “that establishes a common basis for district norms and standards across all nine provinces” (DBE, 2013a:8). The policy places the districts in a pivotal role; rendering district offices as the link between PEDs, their respective education institutions, and the public with national norms regulating the respective size of an education district and circuit (DBE, 2013a). A model of post provisioning for the staffing of districts has also been established based on numerical parameters and factors taking into

account the context or circumstances of a particular district, such as distance and poverty (DBE, 2013a).

Furthermore, lines of vertical accountability have been strengthened, making provincial heads of department (HoDs) accountable for the performance of their district education offices (DEOs). Districts have to monitor the quality and implementation of school improvement plans, using a standardised template and submitting district improvement plans (DIPs) using NSC and ANA results as the basis of their planning in alignment with the national delivery action plans (DBE, 2013a). Critically in line with centralised textbook provision, provisioning and retrieval of textbooks have become a priority for districts (DBE, 2013a).

The policy designates Circuit Support Teams (CSTs) as responsible for coordinating learning outcomes by focusing on what happens in the classroom (DBE, 2013a). The model places emphasis on professional and managerial support by districts to schools but centralises administrative support in this process.

Current policies suggest a shift towards symmetrical recentralisation, and more central and provincial intervention through districts. Whether this unsettles the deep-seated inequities introduced by the governance policies introduced after 1994, or counterbalances the tendency of the system to reproduce “markets of choice”, remains to be seen.

#### **4.6 VALUES IN EDUCATION**

The South African government contends that “[u]nity in diversity will be fostered by a shared commitment to constitutional values” (DPME, 2014c). This was echoed by an interviewee:

*“You cannot build social cohesion [...] without values. I mean, how do you build social capital if you can’t build the, you know, the values of trust and respect for human dignity? You can’t build social capital, you know. So those values underpin the building of social capital but social cohesion has a slightly different theoretical frame [...] Values are embedded within the broader frame of the social cohesion”* (Interview with Government Official 3, 2015).

The majority of the indicators in the MTSF (DPME, 2014a), related to social cohesion for which the Minister of Basic Education is responsible, fall within the sub-outcome of

fostering constitutional values. This section reviews seminal education policies that articulate values and principles in South Africa since 1994.

In addition to an emphasis by the South African government on the role of education in fostering constitutional values in order to promote social cohesion, research suggests that schools built on strong values are forerunners with respect to teacher development (Centre for Development and Enterprise [CDE], 2015:16). Located in the classroom, teachers are ultimately responsible for the values that learners imbibe. A common frame of reference underpinned by a shared value system could act as a mechanism to assist teachers to act in unison, and aid their collective agency in promoting social cohesion.

Values have been central to education policy since the onset of the post-apartheid period. White Paper 1 outlines the priorities, values, and principles of the education system (DoE, 1995). Moreover, it aligns itself to a vision of national unity, wellbeing, and peace drawn from the Interim Constitution and calls on South Africans to develop an appreciation of their diverse backgrounds in order to build a common future (DoE, 1995). White Paper 1 affirms the Ministry of Education's intention to develop policies that interpret constitutional provisions in a balanced manner and promote constitutional intentions and values that include democracy, equality, fundamental rights, and freedoms, as well as collective rights such as language, culture, and religion (DoE, 1995:35).

The most significant education policy intervention in terms of the policy process related to values, however, occurred in the period 1999 to 2004 under Minister Kader Asmal with the Values in Education Initiative. This initiative sought to identify, realise, and embed central values from the South African Constitution in the education system, and led to the formation of key policies such as the Manifesto on Values, Education, and Democracy of 2001 and the National Policy on Religion and Education of 2003 (Sayed *et al.*, 2013).

The manifesto identified ten fundamental values (as contained in the Constitution) that it regarded as key to compelling social transformation: democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, Ubuntu (human dignity), an open society, accountability (responsibility), the rule of law, respect, and reconciliation. This was supported by 16 strategic actions to instil democratic values in young South Africans in schools, and included actions such as nurturing a culture of communication and participation in schools, role modelling and promoting commitment, as well as competence

among educators, making arts and culture part of the curriculum, making schools safe to learn and teach in, and ensuring the rule of law.

While this was a significant policy for prompting social cohesion, it was not legislated as such “on the notion that values cannot be legislated” (DoE, 2001c:4). The difficulty of dealing with the issue of values was recognised by the then minister, who noted that “values cannot simply be asserted; they must be put on the table, be debated, be negotiated, be synthesised, be modified, be earned” (DoE, 2001c:18).

Even now there is recognition that promoting values is not occurring in education:

*“The value strategy always struggled, primarily, I think, because there was, you know, not much buy-in. The strategies were never really located within schools, it was always seen as a kind of an add-on for provincial officials, and so from the outset it struggled. There was also a kind of a tension from the word go, because a lot of people felt that this was an ANC-imposed set of values”* (Interview with Government Official 6, 2015).

The focus on values and social cohesion has witnessed a recent resurgence; an objective statement of the DBE (2015a:41) is “to entrench the values of the country in learners as part of developing them to be well-rounded citizens through various social cohesion programmes”. An indicator of this is the “number of educators, officials and learners participating in DBE organised activities on social cohesion, nation building, citizenship, rights and responsibilities, and constitutional values” (DBE, 2015a:41).

“The following key programmes are being implemented in partnership with other government Departments and external partners: the Nkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition, the Schools Moot Court Competition, the Youth Citizen Action Programme, the Techno Girls Empowerment Programme and the Schools Democracy Programme” (DBE, 2016a:60).

In addition, the DBE (2016a) regards curriculum support in terms of content on human rights, nation-building and constitutional awareness in workbooks, and teacher development related to gender-based violence to be central to platforms for engaging with values.

Despite these programmes, there was a sense amongst interviewees of an absence of common values which could mediate social cohesion, even though there is a sense of a shared commitment to attaining social cohesion as a national imperative:

*“Yes, I mean I think that there is obviously in our society at the moment less allegiance, I think to a national project, that, you know, we all kind of bought into in the early 90s, you know, the sense that we’re South African, your allegiance to the flag. I mean, to give an example, we had a national schools choral Eisteddfod last week, it is about 16 000 schools from around the country that participated, and if there was one white child on that stage, it was a lot, or one coloured child for that matter. It was almost exclusively black African. And so you’ve got to ask questions about what happens in our schools. We also know that reports of incidences of racial discrimination to the Department are increasing. You know, xenophobia is such a terrible example, horrific example [...] of the extent to which we no longer buy in to a kind of a national social cohesion project [....] You know, it just seems like as a society we kind of lost our moral compass, you know, not that values have anything to do with morality necessarily, but the point is that we seem to be less committed to this ideal that we can be a very successful, united society” (Interview with Government Official 6, 2015).*

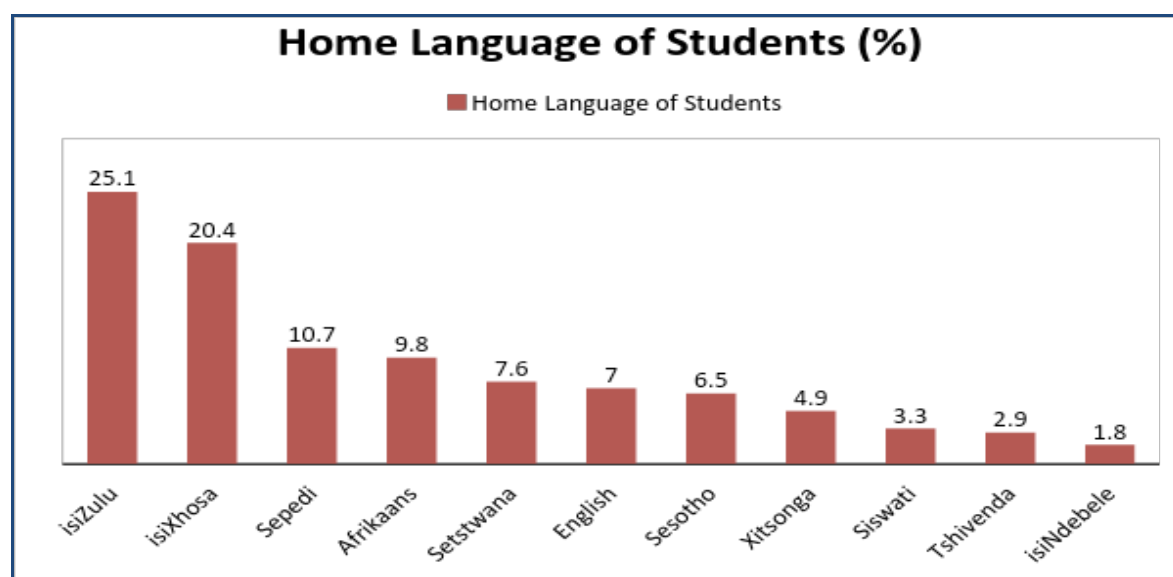
The key challenge in the current period has been how to ensure that education policies, which embed values that would promote social cohesion, gain traction in policy processes and that it does not remain policy rhetoric or a mere policy symbol.

#### **4.7 LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION**

Increasing multilingualism is one of the actions tied to promoting social cohesion and nation-building in the MTSF (DPME, 2014a). However, a major challenge for learners and schools in terms of outcomes is the language of instruction. The majority of schools select English as the first additional language during the Foundation Phase, and start using it as the language of learning and teaching in Grade 4, if not before. While English is the home language of a minority of learners (7%), 65.3% of learners are being taught in English (DBE, 2010) (see Graphs 9 and 10).

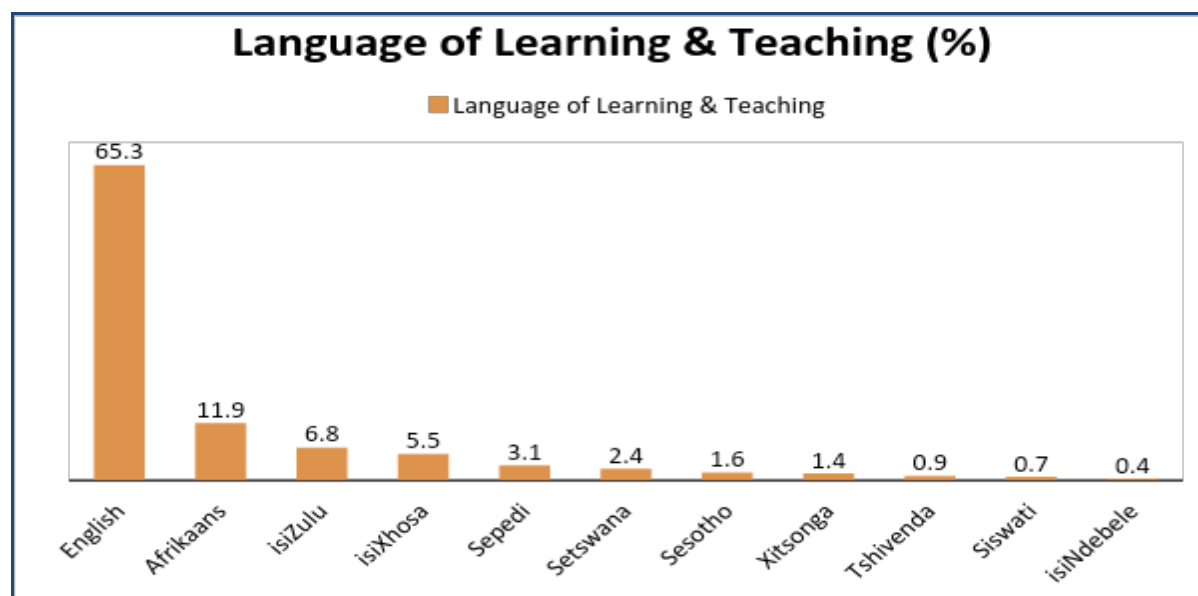


**Graph 9: Home language of learners**



Source: DBE (2010)

**Graph 10: Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT)**



Source: DBE (2010)

This has significant consequences for learning outcomes. Learners' struggle to adapt to the use of English and their failure in South African primary schooling can be attributed to transitioning too early to English (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004; De Klerk, 2000; Desai, 2001). Table 15 highlights the disjuncture and contradictions between mother tongue language, LoLT, and education outcomes.

**Table 15: Home language and learner repetition**

Home language	Has repeated (%)
English	11.6%
Afrikaans	24.7%
Setswana	33.8%
IsiZulu	34.0%
IsiXhosa	36.8%
Sesotho	36.8%
IsiNdebele	38.6%
Siswati	40.0%
Sepedi	40.9%
Tshivenda	47.5%

Source: DBE (2010)

LoLT, together with repetition rates of learners, is indicative of structural factors permeating the relationship with languages of instruction in the South African education system.

The quandary is that while there is a legislative framework that promotes 11 official languages and learners' right to use them, the languages have not been developed for academic use. Following the Constitution, the LiEP (DoE, 1997) encourages bi- and multilingualism; requiring learners to demonstrate proficiency in at least two languages during their school careers. In line with SASA, SGBs are afforded the authority with respect to setting language policies for their respective schools (DoE, 1997). The LiEP (DoE, 1997), moreover, makes provision for learners and parents to find schools that best suit their linguistic needs. The LiEP (1997) also makes provision for the academic development of curriculum subjects in all official languages.

Despite the policy injunctions, curriculum subjects have not been developed:

*“What the government is planning to, because you can't say, yes, we want to promote the African languages when they are not being developed, the textbooks are not being written. Ja, but I mean, it is ambitious, because, as you know, if you are looking at the textbooks, is that the African languages have not been developed at the particular level that you can teach it in or in the Senior Phase. You can't teach maths in Zulu in matric”* (Interview with Government Official 3, 2015).

In effect, this means that maths cannot be taught at the FET phase in the first language of the majority of South African learners. It would appear that Section 6(2) of the Constitution has not been adhered to:

“Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.”

A new language policy has been drafted, the IIAL (DBE, 2013b). The draft IIAL policy is broadly intended to, amongst others, promote and strengthen “the use of African languages by all learners in the school system by introducing learners incrementally to learning an African language from Grade 1 to 12 to ensure that all non-African home language speakers speak an African language”, and, crucially, “promote social cohesion by expanding opportunities for the development of African languages as a significant way of preserving heritage and cultures” (DBE, 2013b). The IIAL seeks to “promote the economic and social benefits of multilingualism while developing indigenous languages as a means of preserving heritage” (DBE, 2013b). The incremental introduction of African languages is regarded “as a social cohesion issue *and* a curriculum intervention initiative” (DBE, 2015a:27; own emphasis). Yet, the IIAL policy does not intend to remedy the neglect of developing African languages in curriculum subjects. The intention is to gradually phase in the policy by offering an African language incrementally from Grade 1 to Grade 12 and not to develop African languages to support all curriculum subjects from Grade 1 to Grade 12.

The majority of South African learners speak an African language; the challenge is that they are unable to sit for NSC examinations in those languages. This is directly reflected in ANA statistics presented in Chapter 2.

While the IIAL could be regarded as a significant intervention with respect to increasing opportunities for communication between those who are not conversant in an African language, this policy does not address the pressing LoLT paradox. The policy does not concede that LoLT is fundamentally skewed in favour of a minority of learners in the system, with devastating effects on academic education outcomes. IIAL does not address structural factors related to language that militate against equality.

Further interventions to remedy this situation include:

*“We’ve got another project in the Eastern Cape focusing on bilingual teaching and it’s really in the Foundation Phase. So it’s developing the teaching architecture and it is developing the materials and the resources that are required to teach learners in their home language, plus English, and its developing material in the home language, so it’s not developing it in English and then translating it to a home language. It’s developing it in the home language for learners because we know the children learn best in their home language, but they make that switch in Grade 4 to English, which makes it very hard. So it is helping teachers teach bilingually, but using authentic, real material developed in the home language” (Interview with International Agency Representative 1, 2015).*

Expansion of such interventions may go a long way to promote social cohesion, quality education, and teacher agency to promote both.

#### **4.8 VIOLENCE, SAFETY, AND SOCIAL COHESION IN EDUCATION**

Safety at schools is fundamental to learners learning and interacting with one another. There is increasing concern in South Africa that the environment necessary for effective teaching and learning is undermined by widespread violence at schools. Bullying, theft, sexual and gender-based violence, assault and fighting, gang-related violence, cyber bullying, xenophobia, corporal punishment, and homophobia are some of the most prevalent forms that have been identified by various studies (Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Mncube & Harber, 2013).

School safety takes its source from the Constitution (1996): Chapter 2, and the Bill of Rights, which contains provisions to protect the rights of learners to learn and educators to teach in a safe environment, free from all forms of violence. Learners have the right to, among others, an environment free from racial and gender discrimination (Section 9), human dignity (Section 10), life (Section 11), freedom and security of the person (Section 12), protection from maltreatment, neglect, and abuse or degradation (Section 28), and basic education (Section 29). These commitments are enshrined in SASA (DoE, 1996c), which prohibits corporal punishment at school (Section 10); obligates a governing body of a public school, after consultation, to adopt a code of conduct for the learners to establish a disciplined and purposeful environment, with which learners are obliged to comply (Section 8); and provides that a governing body may suspend learners, after a fair hearing, as a

correctional measure or recommend to the head of department to expel such a learner from a public school (Section 9).

Subsequent to SASA, a number of policies regarding safety were developed between 1999 and 2004. This included the Regulations for Safety Measures at all Public Schools (DoE, 2001d), which addressed, among other things, the prohibition of dangerous weapons, the possession of illegal substances, access to school property, and safety measures for the transport of learners; Regulations to Prohibit Initiation Practices in Schools (DoE, 2002a); and the Policy Framework for the Management of Drug Abuse by Learners in Schools and in Public Further Education and Training Institutions (DoE, 2002b).

The emphasis on specific safety policies for dealing with specific aspects continued between 2004 and 2008, with several regulations such as Devices to be Used for Drug Testing and the Procedure to be Followed (DoE, 2008a), and the Example of a Code of Conduct for a School (DoE, 2008b) as practical assistance to school to develop and implement a code of conduct for learners. In 2006, Minister Pandor stated,

“Listening to the outpourings of anger and frustration on talk radio over the past two weeks, it has become clear to me that most principals and parents do not know that a range of powers are available for schools to instil discipline and appropriate behaviour in schools” (DBE, n.d.).

This statement suggested that there was little shared understanding between government authorities and school-level stakeholders in terms of the responsibilities to ensure school safety, hence possibly little coordination and inadequate implementation.

A process of developing a clear and more systematic approach to school safety started in 2009. The DBE and the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) started the Hlayiseka (“to be safe”) Project in 2009 to assist schools with the early detection of crime and violence. However, communication was a challenge. As of August 2015, 16 406 schools are linked to local police stations and have established Safe Schools Committees to address crime and violence at schools (DBE, 2015). The NSSF was approved in April 2015. Monitoring and implementation of the NSSF (CJCP, DBE & UNICEF, 2015) are part of the DBE’s (2016a) current annual performance plan.

The purpose of the NSSF:

“is to focus only on the levels of violence that have been plaguing schools countrywide to provide a guide on managing the school to be a safer space, making sure the appropriate structures, policies, and enabling environment are in place, as well as to direct school management and all within the school towards appropriate remedial and preventative interventions” (CJCP, DBE & UNICEF, 2015:3).

The aim of the NSSF is to integrate the existing school safety strategies and policies, as well as to provide a clearer and more comprehensive approach to addressing the violence prevention needs of schools. It adopts a “whole-school approach” to school safety that includes the use of diagnostic tools that will assist schools to develop their own school safety plans tailored to suit their specific needs. The training of provincial master trainers was to be completed by the end of August 2015 (DBE, 2015).

Given the inequality present among schools it is likely that well-resourced schools can and do address safety issues, while less well-resourced schools cannot. The policy does not address the structural factors that lead to the levels of violence in schools in the first place. Policies about school safety, like many of the policies reviewed in this chapter, suggest that the problem is related to the structural factors that militate against equality. Education policies do not address structural factors; tending to focus on symbolic or micro-level interventions. Education policies have limited traction in shifting the historic and deep-seated structures of inequity and fragmentation in society, as the following respondent noted:

*“Those children find themselves in, besides having a school that’s ill-equipped, is also whatever goes with that, which is the violence, gangsterism, all those things, kind of when you come with peacebuilding mechanisms and trying to incorporate this into a school, it’s almost, it’s not counterproductive or it’s not useless but teachers have, one principal said to us, ‘We’re doing all this and the kids go home and everything that we’ve tried to do at school is just lost when the child goes home’”* (Interview with an NGO representative, 2015).

#### **4.9 MINIMUM UNIFORM NORMS AND STANDARDS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURE**

Infrastructure is one of the strategic focus areas and non-negotiables of the DBE until 2020 (DBE, 2015a). The minimum norms and standards for public school infrastructure became legally binding in November 2013, providing that every school must have water, electricity,

Internet, working toilets, safe classrooms with a maximum of 40 learners, security, and thereafter libraries, laboratories, and sports facilities. The law was a result of public campaigns and litigation against the DBE by a range of civil society organisations, including Equal Education, and a landmark case led by the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) (see Equal Education, 2015). Doron Isaacs from Equal Education said,

“The papers seek an order compelling Minister Motshekga to prescribe minimum norms and standards for school infrastructure. This is the most far-reaching court case about the right to basic education to have been launched in the democratic South Africa” (cited by *Mail & Guardian*, 2012).

The minimum norms and standards are “regulations that define the infrastructural conditions that make a school a school. They stipulate the basic level of infrastructure that every school must meet in order to function properly” (Equal Education, 2015). These standards are for PEDs to fulfil and for which government officials can be held accountable. The minister announced that each MEC of the PEDs is to implement these regulations and provide the minister with detailed plans on how this will be done. This will help the minister to evaluate the progress in relation to the timeframes stipulated in the regulations (DBE, 2014). This will also serve as a guideline for budgeting and planning (Section 27, 2015).

By law, the government is fully responsible for improving school infrastructure. This means that all schools, regardless of the class, gender, and race of the learners, have the right to learn in decent schooling infrastructure. Education is unequal in South Africa because during apartheid, former white schools received more funding than any other schools. This unequal distribution lingers, with a lasting negative impact on school infrastructure and the quality of education today.

The gravity of the schooling infrastructural problem in South Africa is illustrated in Table 16. Information for the table comprises data drawn from the National Education Infrastructure Management System (NEIMS) Report (DBE, 2011b).

**Table 16: Infrastructure backlogs**

<b>Infrastructure</b>	<b>No. of schools that do not have this infrastructure (Out of the total of 24 793 public ordinary schools)</b>	<b>No. of schools with unreliable infrastructure</b>
Electricity	3 544	A further 804 schools have an unreliable electricity source
Water	2 402	2 611
Ablution facilities	913	11 450 (schools are still using pit latrine toilets)
Libraries	22 938	19 541 (do not even have a space for a library)
Laboratory facilities	21 021	1 231 (schools have stocked laboratories)
Schools with no fencing at all	2 703	(Not available)
Computer centre	19 037	3 267 (have a room designed as a computer centre but are not stocked with computers)

Sources: DBE (2011); DBE (2015a)

While there are no recent comparative data on infrastructure by poverty ranking quintile, 2006 data highlight the large gaps between different school types. It is clear that the majority of wealthy Q5 schools do not have major infrastructure gaps.

**Table 17: School infrastructure backlogs by school quintile (2006)**

<b>Quintile</b>	<b>No electricity</b>	<b>No water</b>	<b>No toilet</b>	<b>No library</b>	<b>Learners /class &gt;=45</b>
Q1	22.1	14.8	53.3	92.1	35.2
Q2	16.9	12.2	47.8	88.6	32
Q3	8.2	5.4	30.6	77.4	31.2
Q4	1.8	0.5	6.7	55.2	26.4
Q5	0.6	0.2	2.2	29	14.9
National average	9.0	6.2	27.5	72.1	22.0

Source: Rakabe (2014:119)

The objective of the regulation is to provide the minimum norms and standards for public school infrastructure, and these regulations are applicable to all schools in South Africa. The DBE developed the Accelerated Schools Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI), which aims



to eliminate the backlog of school infrastructural development, upgrade schools according to the norms and standards for school infrastructure, and improve poor infrastructure and safety. ASIDI is funded by the Schools Infrastructure Backlog Grant (SIBG) and forms part of the broader Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC). ASIDI is a R8.2 billion public-private partnership programme (DBE, 2015d). The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) has partnered with the DBE to provide support for this programme and the Schools Building Programme, as well as the planning, preparation, and implementation of the schools infrastructure in the period 2012 to 2014. According to the DBSA (2013), 49 schools were under construction during this period. The ASIDI programme plans to replace 510 schools built out of inappropriate materials.

Much of the improvements were made in the Eastern Cape, in which over 400 mud schools need to be replaced (Equal Education, 2015). Equal Education's new focus is to push for the implementation of the law and make sure government is held accountable. Equal Education and the NGO Section 27 are currently concerned about the delay in infrastructural improvement and the release of the plan to the public in order that parents, schools, communities, and civil society organisations may monitor the progress of the implementation and keep government accountable from the bottom up. Much success has been derived from such pressure, such as that imposed by Section 27, in which the sanitation plan for schools in Limpopo were released, which they are now able to monitor (Section 27, 2015). The pressure of organisations such as Equal Education is also evident in the release of the National Learner Transport Policy in October 2015, an imperative in a context where walking to school is a reality for many. For example, a study in Johannesburg/Soweto, using data of a sample of 1 428 children drawn from the *Birth to Twenty* cohort study, showed that over 25% of children were found to be travelling more than 5 km each way to school and back on a daily basis (De Kadt, 2011). The success of sustained civil society action in achieving minimum norms and standards in public school infrastructure and other policy changes in the South African context deserves further examination in relation to understanding conditions for education interventions that facilitate peacebuilding.

## 4.10 AFFIRMING RIGHTS

The previous sections reviewed a large portfolio of education policies in South Africa since 1994. These policies have sought to address a range of pressing matters related to the structural legacy of apartheid and the conditions left in its wake; from the physical conditions of schools, to how they are governed and resourced, and what learners learn and are encouraged to be. The policies promote a strong vision of rights in South Africa, which are buttressed, within the rubric of a constitutional democracy, by the establishment of independent state institutions to support this goal as enshrined in the 1996 Constitution. Two areas, although briefly discussed here, are highly significant in relation to a transformative vision of social cohesion, namely xenophobia and inclusive education.

### 4.10.1 Refugee and asylum-seeking learners

*“South Africa follows a social integration approach to refugees and asylum seekers, where the state is liable to provide protection from harm and discrimination but you, as the asylum seeker, must self-integrate into society by finding schools for your children, shelter, and work” (Interview with 1 NGO 5, 2015).*

Access to education constitutes one of the responsibilities that receiver countries need to accommodate due to the status of education as an inalienable right. Specific documents dealing with rights for refugees include the Refugees Act and the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights considers basic education to be a human right for everybody regardless of nationality (Chapter 2, RSA, 1996). The Refugees Act (RSA, 1998b) states that refugees and asylum seekers are entitled to the same basic health and education as nationals.

*“The Constitution and the South African Schools Act are the two critical pieces of legislature that determine how refugees can access the right to education. School governing bodies have certain powers in terms of setting rules for schools but they still have to be inclusive. There is a definitional problem with asylum seekers and refugees that is also accompanied by issues of language and the fact that most schooling in South Africa is conducted in English” (Interview with 1 NGO 5, 2015).*

As of 2009, at least 24% of refugee and asylum-seeking children were out of the school system – and there is a margin for error due to the lack of documentation and tracking data available on these persons. One of the difficulties of realising the education rights of refugees is the policy contradictions between the Department of Home Affairs’ regulations, refugee policy, and education policies, in that while education policies provide for all

children to receive free, compulsory basic education (e.g. the Constitution), many schools require documents that poor asylum-seeking families or children are not in possession of (something that the Admission Policy document neglects to deal with because it only accommodates children whose families have made an application for refugee status). Thus whilst the policy on school admissions is clear, implementation on the ground and a lack of effective and efficient checks and balances to ensure that rights and duties are properly administered remain a problem.

#### **4.10.2 Inclusive education**

Inclusive education was enshrined as part of the agenda of universal and quality education, shifting away from a dual system of education to one that sought to integrate children with disabilities into the ordinary schooling system. SASA (DoE 1996c), the *White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy* (Office of the President 1997), *Education White Paper 6: Special Needs Education: Building an inclusive education and training system* (DoE, 2001b), the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN, 2006), and the National Disability Policy Framework and Guidelines for the Implementation of National Disability Framework (Office on the Status of Disabled Persons [OSDP], 2008) are key policy interventions relating to the needs of disabled children (Makoelle, 2012). In addition, the National Strategy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support (SIAS) (DoE, 2008c), provides guidelines on implementing inclusive education policies and screening learners for special needs schools.

White Paper 6 proposes an incremental strategy to implementing the actions proposed, in order to track progress and ensure schools were responding positively to change (DoE, 2001b). This was through the understanding that dealing with inclusive education would be a long-term process that would be improved by concerted, well-directed short- and medium-term interventions. White Paper 6 further points to a spatial bias of special needs schools as a barrier to entry. Gauteng and the Western Cape accounted for nearly 50% of all special needs schools in the country in 2001, while the majority of learners in need of support were found outside of the major metropolitan areas (DoE, 2001b). This made it especially necessary for ordinary schools to become inclusive environments, and special

needs schools to become centres of support and information for schools becoming “full-service” institutions.

A key differentiation made in White Paper 6 was between *mainstreaming* and *inclusion*. *Mainstreaming* is an approach that tries to fit the learner into an existing system with the focus on them and how they adapt with some measure of support into the “normal” classroom routine and environment (DoE, 2001b). *Inclusion* focuses on the system of learning and teaching, and generating inclusive attitudes and learning approaches that recognise, respond to, and mitigate the differences between learners so that the full range of learning needs are met (DoE, 2001b).

Pottas (2005) and others agree that teacher training and continuing professional development are integral to the success of an inclusive education system because it will alleviate the sense of inadequacy, inability, and lack of confidence that many teachers currently in the system feel, and so will ensure that teachers entering the system are better equipped to cope with the diversity of needs they will be presented with in the course of their careers (Naicker, 2000; Pottas, 2005; Donohue & Bornman, 2014).

Donohue and Bornman (2014) argue that a major barrier to implementation is the ambiguity in White Paper 6 about the roles, responsibilities, and objectives in answering the call for inclusive education. They applied a top-down policy implementation approach to this analysis on the basis that the drive to improve the inclusiveness in schools necessitates clear direction from policy because of the complex array of perspectives, attitudes, and capabilities on the ground.

Despite the publication of White Paper 6 in 2001, few other supporting documents and policies have been published and/or implemented with desirable effect (Donohue & Bornman, 2014). The outcome of this intervention is limited in its success because it is located within a government department that is already stretched in terms of its available resources and so cannot direct funding in a manner that has the greatest effect, but that also is uncertain where else the inclusive education programme *should* go, which is something Donohue and Bornman do not address. Wildeman and Nomdo (2007) show that without the necessary support of the Department of Basic Education and corresponding agencies, schools and their managers are likely to fall back on mainstreaming and special

needs - type educational practices to cope with the insertion of disabled children into their environments.

A report by UNICEF in 2012 found that 98% of ordinary schools had no paved access to buildings, 98% had no appropriate ramps to access all buildings, and 97% did not have appropriate toilet facilities for disabled learners (UNICEF, 2012:67). The minimum standards for public school infrastructure do not address the infrastructural requirements of learners with disabilities. Of increasing concern is that special education facilities function as “day-care centres” that do not teach skills such as literacy or numeracy, and do not separate learners according to age or learning needs.

#### **4.11 CONCLUSION**

This chapter reviewed education policy in South Africa with respect to how it frames the education system, with the aim of establishing how teacher agency to promote social cohesion is enabled or constrained. Given the social disruption and fragmentation spawned in South Africa by colonial and apartheid rule, this chapter reviewed education policy from the normative perspective that a transformative vision of social cohesion as social justice embedded within education policy and the education system would be a measure of enabling teacher agency to promote social cohesion. Similarly, should inequality be allowed to persist in the education system, teacher agency would be constrained. The policy analysis in this chapter examined the extent to which structural factors that militate against equality are addressed in education policy as a measure for offering a transformative vision of social cohesion. Themes that relate to this are briefly summarised below as the conclusion to the chapter. Each theme is drawn from a separate section of the chapter, starting with the overview of post-1994 education policy change.

The analysis of education policy in the overview of post-1994 education policy illustrates how conditions of legislative parity were constructed on paper by the democratic government. In comparison to the apartheid education system, dramatic shifts had occurred via a raft of progressive policies. There was now one, non-racial national education department that led nine PEDs, where before one national education department led 19 racially, ethnically, and geographically separated education departments. Learners are now

free to attend any school of their choosing, where before they could attend only schools that coincided with their designated racial category.

Notwithstanding the legislative equality, Christie (2016:435) contends that “South Africa remains profoundly unequal, as is evident in all dimensions of education provision”. Postma, Spreen and Vally (2015:1) claim that the education system in South Africa has perpetuated inequalities and social injustice since 1994. Crudely put, legislative equality was not sufficient to realise social justice in the education system. Consequently, teachers operate in a regarded-as-equal education system that is widely accepted to be thoroughly unequal in practice.

Nation-building and social cohesion constitute Outcome 14 of the South African macro-economic MTSF (DPME, 2014c). Social cohesion has filtered from the national policy discourse into DBE policy texts and interventions. As such, education sector plans take up actions, indicators, and targets without providing a definition of social cohesion subject to education specifically. In one sense, this is not a problem. From the perspective that social cohesion is sought to be a product of increased social interaction and shared activities, actions like reciting the preamble of the Constitution and learners taking part in moot courts can be derived.

In another perspective, it appears as if a lack of definition that has emerged from education has left the “core business” of education untouched by indicators and targets related to social cohesion. For example, social cohesion has not entered into the debate related to education outcomes which engender a bimodal system of education. The probability that learning outcomes may be the most significant factor militating against equality and hence social cohesion has not filtered through to indicators and targets related to social cohesion in the MTSF or education sector plans, even though this problem is acknowledged. Current education plans do not attempt to arrest the inequality that exists in the system. Enhancing the validity of assessments, a key element of the current strategic plan of the DBE, will not change the unequal results – it will merely validate it.

Education policy has redressed the most obvious inequities of apartheid, namely race as a determinant of access to public schools. It has furthermore equalised expenditure as well as affirmed the rights of individuals. Schools have been rendered democratic and accountable via SGBs.

Yet interclass integration may have receded in the aftermath of apartheid. It is noteworthy that the reconciliation barometer indicates that more South Africans regard class (27.9%) as the biggest division, not race (14.6%) (FHI 360 & UNICEF, 2015:32). The absence of cohesion across class lines is rendered possible by a policy framework, which, as this chapter revealed, enables strong, assertive SGBs, bolstered by private education expenditure, to use the space of democratic participation for self-aggrandisement and self-interest.

Strong SGBs have led an assimilationist school integration process (Soudien, 2004). The fee-paying model adopted by the post-1994 government has resulted in those with the means fleeing with their money to schools that were the best resourced during apartheid. This has left the poorest schools – in the most disadvantaged spaces during apartheid, overwhelmingly attended by black learners – in a situation that mirrors precisely what used to be the divisive norm under apartheid. An unequal education system is not unique to South Africa. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) have demonstrated that education reproduces unequal power relations in society. The challenge therefore is larger than the apartheid legacy. The apartheid legacy does of course make the process of reproducing inequality much easier, and also less acceptable.

As with legislative equality, values related to equality and respect have been paper based and bound. Although the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy was drafted, it has yielded no traction on the ground. The decentralised system of SGBs may be spawning isolated, contradictory “value hives” that are not conducive to social cohesion at a national level.

The South African Constitution acknowledges 11 official languages. All were meant to, according to the LiEP (DoE, 1997), be developed as LoTL. Despite this policy, mathematics cannot be taught to Grade 12, let alone tertiary level, in the most widely spoken language in South Africa, isiZulu. This situation is dire for social cohesion in two important respects. Firstly, mother-tongue education is impossible and increasingly impractical for the majority of learners, with devastating effects on learning outcomes and retention levels. Secondly, learners’ languages and consequent ways of life are not being recognised or respected within the education system. The IIAP implicates the wealthy sector of schools where African languages are not spoken. In the majority of South African schools, learners speak African languages; they require textbooks in African languages.

Schools in South Africa are unsafe places for many learners and teachers. The NSSF seeks to improve the situation with statistics and safety plans that individual schools are responsible and accountable for. Given the inequality present amongst schools, it is likely that well-resourced schools can provide this, while less well-resourced schools cannot. The policy does not address the structural factors that lead to the levels of violence in schools in the first place. Safety in schools requires a societal approach, given the relationship between community and school safety. The majority of schools do not, on their own, have the capacity to manage their safety challenges, no matter how well they can quantify related incidents.

Ensuring basic infrastructure in all schools is a high priority in the current education sector plans, after the courts ruled in favour of it. The infrastructure disparities amongst South African schools are dismally unequal. It would take the effort and innovation of all in the education system to ensure that all learners have equal access to infrastructure. Currently, schools operate in virtual isolation from one another in terms of infrastructure, selfishly holding on to what they have been able to amass either from the apartheid government or private funding. While infrastructure backlogs may be high on the DBE agenda, achieving equal access for all will require a lot more generosity in spirit by all.

All South African learners have a right to education, provided they have access to sufficient resources for legal recourse when this is not available to them in practice. The brief coverage of refugee and asylum-seeking learners' right to education, as well as inclusive education, further illustrates the point. In practice, South African learners have unequal access to rights and unequal access to resources that can provide for legal recourse.

Similar to legislative equality, this theme illustrates the gross inequality within the South African education system and the conditions in which teachers are teaching. Teacher agency is therefore fundamentally constrained by these conditions.

#### **4.12 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The recommendations at the end of this chapter of the report arise from the detailed description of the array of education policies that have been promulgated since the advent of democracy in 1994. The first recommendation is that the Education Ministry should urgently undertake a technical review of existing policy, and noting areas that require



immediate attention in order to bring about justice in the system. Policy innovations are required that would enhance redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation commensurate to addressing social disruption and fractures spawned by apartheid. Arguably, while there are a range of progressively intentioned policies, the deep inequalities that characterise South Africa's education system make it imperative that urgent attention be paid to political, economic, and cultural factors that undermine a progressively intentioned suite of policies.

Secondly, social cohesion must be conceptualised in relation to the core focus of education. Quality basic education has to be conceptualised in relation to social cohesion. In so doing, social cohesion is to be defined in relation to an approach that will address the savage inequalities that damage South Africa's learners, rather than a reductionist focus on activities such as flying the flag and reading from the Constitution.

Thirdly, considerable attention must be paid to the myriad structural factors associated with violence in schools. It is a key recommendation of this report that intersectoral policy-making regimes must be established so that factors outside the direct ambit of the power of the DoE are addressed as part of a collective effort to drive a holistic set of programmes that emanate from a shared, intersectoral state vision.

Penultimately, the chapter urges that the DoE begins an earnest determination of anomalies that characterise South Africa's education system. One of the most glaring examples of these anomalies is the issue of the creeping privatisation of public education. For one, the issue of teachers appointed by a governing body must be systematically approached in order that the massive inequalities within rich and poor schools are systematically reduced.

Finally, following from this, it is recommended that the governance policy regimes be revisited in order to determine whether the current decentralisation model delivers on its intentioned improvements at local level. This report urges that attention be paid to the role of SGBs as agents of potential exacerbation of inequality in schools, and that decisive policy direction, skewed towards the impoverished urban township and rural schools, be enacted.

The chapters that follow examine teacher deployment and recruitment, trust and accountability, teacher professional development, textbooks and curriculum, and teacher pedagogies for social cohesion.

## Chapter 5 - Teacher Recruitment and Deployment

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### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines how the governance and management of teachers can either support or erode social cohesion. The chapter gives effect to this by examining key teacher recruitment and deployment interventions. These interventions should be seen as subsequently linked to the following section which examines relations of trust and accountability in education in order to ascertain how certain outcomes may be reconciled with high levels of social fragmentation and contestation in this context.

These outcomes reflect ways that social cohesion in policy is borne by interventions, and whether these are able to directly face the tensions of increasing social inequalities and affirm objectives concerning social justice to manage complex relations, such as those governing teachers in education that continue to run along entrenched geographic, ethnic, and socio-economic fault lines. Moreover, the analysis of such policies suggests they may negatively or positively impact on teachers, students, and communities by limiting or extending teachers' capacity to (re)build systemic trust and accountability in their schools.

In the preceding chapters, social cohesion was presented through macro policies as requiring the state and society to co-create the policy guidelines and enabling conditions for the social interactions and behaviours that make such a vision a living reality, to shore up a compact between the government and the governed around a "template" for nation-building. However, it is also noted that the substitution of a paradigm of citizenship for a broader narrative or vision of social cohesion which ignores deeply entrenched conflicts may also have unintended consequences.

Governance is fundamental to constituting this compact in the vertical relationship between the state and society. Governance interventions serve to realise and sustain the goals proposed within social contracts as framed by the Constitution. Governance is also fundamental to establishing sustainable horizontal dynamics between groups. As such, building social cohesion and a common identity can be seen as going hand in hand with developing accountable and effective democratic institutions. In contrast, a lack of social cohesion leads to political fragmentation, weak governing bodies, and a vicious cycle.

Lower levels of social cohesion, trust, and an absence of citizenship and state legitimacy undermine formal institutions and state-society relations. Within the education system in particular, weak governance and stark divisions establish barriers to the formation of state bodies capable of distributing public services and applying the law evenly in ways to sustain agreements on fundamental principles and values.

### **5.1.1 The erosion of social cohesion**

Teacher governance supports social cohesion in that it determines and regulates the equitable allocation and employment of teachers, arguably the most critical resources in education. Teachers stand at the crossroads of state-society and horizontal relations. When such relations break down, it places pressure on institutions and the political system, as well as on teachers in schools. The difficulty that education policymakers face in this situation is one of establishing social cohesion within and through institutions in a context in which these institutions are under pressure, or are in need of finding new sources of solidarity, and at times are splitting apart. This is a point emphasised by the 2014-2019 MTSF (DPME, 2014), incorporating goals for social protection, nation-building, and social cohesion. It presents a vision driven by accountability, proposing the promotion of effective and development-oriented public service, and citizen-based monitoring of government service delivery. As this section will suggest, a deeper consideration of ways that the deployment and recruitment of teachers can be seen to build trust and solidarity and either explicitly support or hinder the goal of sustaining and establishing social cohesion is needed.

While policy and bureaucratic frameworks unite a wide range of stakeholders to effect change in South Africa, the schooling system remains largely bifurcated within an unequal society; a fact also suggested by the Presidency's report, *A Nation in the Making* (2006:87):

“In this context, our social system is a market-based economy which retains most of the features of racial exclusion within which it was constructed. As such, survival-of-the-fittest does inform a great part of society's morality; and individuals and groups ally with one another or act variously in order to thrive in the market jungle: as owners or producers of wealth, as holders of political office or the governed, or as the economically marginalized [...].”

This fracturing of social and economic conditions has led to an overall crisis within the sphere of state-society relations. South Africa in 2016 exhibited the tenth most deteriorated

performance among 54 African countries over the last decade, registering a decline in Accountability (-13.1) with Corruption and Bureaucracy, Corruption Investigation, and Diversion of Public Funds featuring among the country's ten most worsening indicators over the decade (Naidoo, 2016). Long-term trends show that trust is low and democratic legitimacy is being eroded by mounting democratic and institutional discontent, such that in 2013 less than 36% of the adult population reported being satisfied with the way democracy works in South Africa – the lowest since 2003 (Roberts, Gordon & Struwig, 2016).

### 5.1.2 Insurgent citizenship and education

In this context, recent scholarship on civic unrest in South Africa highlights the anger of many communities over the non-inclusive decision making, corruption, and malpractices of local councillors and government officials (Alexander & Pfaffe, 2014). Political analysis reflects disillusionment and a shift from an “allegiant political culture towards one with a more assertive nature” (Dalton & Welzel, 2014). An example of how this has played out in education, particularly in rural areas, has been the burning of schools in 2016 in Vuwani, Limpopo, signalling discontent over access to resources. In a similar way, in urban areas xenophobic attacks were sparked by a number of factors in 2008 as a consequence of fiscal austerity. In effect, claims to citizenship, violence, and service delivery have become linked in extricable ways to education and other public goods, whereby it is the “brick” and the “ballot” (Booyesen, 2007) that complement citizens’ strategies to improve services.

In summary, the difficult position of education within this pattern of discontent and violence was expressed in a way closely reflecting the Presidency’s report cited above, as one senior official put it:

*“I think we just have a lot of competition in the system at the moment and an absence of care, hierarchy [...] You know that violence has been embedded in the schools in society and so on but how you escape that? You know, are we doomed to forever, you know, now repeat those cycles (Interview with Government Official 17, 2015).*

### 5.1.3 A difficult reform agenda

Recent reports of corruption in education in South Africa, such as the Ministerial Task Team (MTT) “Cash for Posts” report (Volmink *et al.*, 2016) suggest that the delivery of patronage to teachers and education bureaucrats is a key element affecting the governance of the schooling system. According to Corruption Watch (2014), corruption in schools was identified as one of the most prevalent forms of dishonesty in the country. Instead of directly tackling this, Westaway (2015) suggests that the government has increasingly focused its messaging on a compensatory narrative, focusing on the beneficiaries of school-based welfare, namely learners and their families, and the tangible benefits of service delivery, such as free schooling, a free textbook for every subject, free uniforms, free meals, and the close proximity of public schools rather than the quality of results.

Consequently, this focus has not challenged actors to change perceptions of accountability and transparency at the top, presenting a difficult reform agenda. As evidence of this, the Auditor General, after conducting its assessment of the DBE in October 2015 (Parliamentary Monitoring Group [PMG], 2015a), suggested that improving governance requires stronger accountability measures, stating that

“[i]n order to make a change, it is necessary to set the tone at the top to establish an ethical climate promoted by senior management – providing internal financial controls. Such business ethics would help prevent fraud and other unethical practices. Following on, it is important to start holding people accountable. In the case of the Eastern Cape there has also been a history of disclaimers, however the problem with this province is the involvement of too many parties in the process. Thus, in order to seek a change, the same recommendations of setting the tone at the top and holding people accountable would apply”.

While the broad system-wide perspective provided by such assessments tends to obfuscate many of the operations of governance, it is necessary to highlight broad patterns in the evidence with some differentiation. Comparatively, the operation of the Eastern Cape bureaucracy has been characterised by fragmentation and contestation, while the Western Cape has conversely been characterised by robust interparty political competition. The Western Cape tends to operate along more impersonal and hierarchical principles built on the foundation provided by both the formerly “white” and the formerly “coloured” education bureaucracies (Fiske & Ladd, 2004:75-76). As a recent working paper (Levy,

Cameron, Hoadley & Naidoo, 2016) shows the Western Cape Education Department's (WCED) capabilities are considerable; steered by a single Superintendent General since 2009, these include a fully functional, sophisticated online tracking system for individual learners, online school improvement plans, school-level budget and staffing planning tools, as well as school and district monitoring plans led by comparatively strong district directors and competent principals. The Western Cape scores comparatively higher than any other province in maths and home language SACMEQ scores, which Gustafsson and Taylor (2016) show to be significantly linked to bureaucratic quality after factoring in socio-economic status characteristics of pupils and teacher and classroom characteristics, in ways that Levy *et al.* (2016) suggest are also beneficial for low-income communities.

In contrast, as Levy *et al.* (2016) demonstrated, both the Transkei and Ciskei in the Eastern Cape, as former Bantustans organised around personalised patronage interests, have been characterised by a pattern of conflict within and between elites of the ANC, despite provincial electoral dominance (Streek & Wicksteed, 1981). Levy *et al.* (2016) suggest that this has led to the apparent deepening of patronage in the operation of institutions within the education bureaucracy, with high leadership turnover (five MECs between 2002 and 2011 and eight Superintendent Generals since 2008), leading to government intervention and the selection of an Acting Deputy Director-General of the DBE to take the position of incumbent Head of Department in the Eastern Cape in December of 2016 (PMG, 2016).

For all the clarity afforded by the comparative perspective, Levy *et al.* (2016) argue that in this context, taking local school-level dynamics into consideration in both provinces shows them to be decisive, while still loosely linked to these broader forces. They conclude by summarising that where political constraints may mean that hierarchical bureaucratic improvement is infeasible, this is neither an inevitable nor always helpful perspective, and other returns may be achieved by efforts to further strengthening horizontal governance and "soft governance" options that prioritise the agency of diverse actors such as teachers, parents, and other stakeholders.

### 5.1.4 Teacher governance and distribution

The legacy of apartheid has resulted in wide disparities in the distribution of teachers across the system. Consequently, several interventions were introduced to correct the distribution of teachers, although these have been constrained by the capacity of decentralised education management systems, fiscal pressure, lack of coordination, and ineffective implementation. As backdrop to the interventions analysed, this section commences with an overview of recruitment and deployment in South Africa and of teacher supply and demand.

## 5.2 METHODOLOGY

A variety of primary sources were used in this chapter, including international and national research reports and national policies. Primary data sources include nine semi-structured interviews with policymakers, NGO and programme managers, education specialists, academics, and other education stakeholders. Secondary sources include a number of official reports from national and international organisations, as well as programme evaluation reports. Challenges in collecting empirical data included obtaining a broad range of perspectives from national and provincial HR policymakers and officials responsible for implementation, which are supplemented by secondary sources from scholarly literature.

Table 18 tabulates the data that were collected for this section of the research project.

**Table 18: Methodology table for teacher governance**

Method	Source	Number	Organisations
<b>Semi-structured interviews</b>	Programme facilitators and policymakers	9	1. DHET 2. DBE 3. REAP (NGO) 4. Treasury 5. Funda Lushaka Bursary Programme (FLBP) 6. Presidency (x 2) 7. CEPD 8. CPUT Multigrade Teaching Centre
<b>Documents</b>	Primary (e.g. policy texts,	13	1. Funda Lushaka Implementation Protocol 2. SASA

	project documents, etc.)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. NEPA</li> <li>4. National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa (NPFTED)</li> <li>5. NDP</li> <li>6. MTSF</li> <li>7. <i>Action Plan to 2014 – Towards Schooling 2025</i></li> <li>8. Employment Equity Act</li> <li>9. Employment of Educators Act and amendments</li> <li>10. Post-distribution model for the allocation of educator posts to schools (2008)</li> <li>11. Labour Relations Act</li> <li>12. Action Plan 2019</li> <li>13. Provincial Circular Notices</li> </ul>
<b>Other Documents</b>	Secondary (e.g. project evaluation reports, etc.)	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Funza Lushaka Implementation Evaluation</li> <li>2. MTT Cash for Posts report</li> <li>3. Technical Report: Teacher Supply And Demand In South Africa (CDE)</li> <li>4. Reviews of National Policies for Education: South Africa (OECD, 2008)</li> <li>5. National Education Evaluation and Development Unit (NEEDU) National Report 2013 – Teaching and Learning in Rural Primary Schools</li> <li>6. The Quantity and Quality of South Africa's Teachers (No. 11) (CDE)</li> <li>7. Atlas of Education Districts in South Africa (DBE &amp; UNICEF, 2013)</li> <li>8. An Overview of Research, Policy and Practice in Teacher Supply and Demand 1994-2008 (Chisholm, 2019)</li> <li>9. National Implementation of Post Provisioning (UNICEF / Deloitte / DBE)</li> <li>10. Accountability in Public Services in South Africa (World Bank)</li> <li>11. The Politics and Governance of Basic Education: A Tale of Two South African Provinces. (ESID)</li> </ul>

Source: CITE (2016)



### 5.3 DEPLOYMENT, RECRUITMENT, AND SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Teacher deployment and recruitment are framed by the availability and capacity of teachers on the one hand and the demand for teachers on the other. Teacher demand is a combination of growth in learner enrolment and the replacement of teachers who terminate their services. Increased demand is thus linked to population growth, high repetition rates, policy changes such as lowering learner-educator ratios (LERs) and decreasing class sizes, as well as enhanced access to previously marginalised groups. The National Teacher Audit of 1996 highlighted a mismatch between teacher supply and demand (on the basis of race and ethnicity), with high numbers of unqualified teachers in the system (Hofmeyr & Hall, 1996). The management of the teaching profession in South Africa is thus examined in terms of this legacy, and how it has attempted to address challenges and contexts in the post-apartheid situation in relation to the supply and demand of teachers. Teachers have been a focal point of reforms, framed as essential assets to be (re)deployed or as individual actors to be incentivised within these interventions.

#### 5.3.1 Teacher deployment and recruitment 1994-1999

Between 1994 and 1999, the state undertook two main interventions intended to transform the deployment and recruitment of teachers and, in doing so, reframed the system of teacher governance. The first was the rationalisation, redeployment, and redistribution of teachers *within* the system. The second involved right-sizing teacher remuneration so that it no longer reflected racial and gender inequities. A third related intervention pertained to restructuring teacher education colleges and incorporating them into the HE sector (this is discussed in the following section on initial teacher education).

At the end of apartheid, the teacher-pupil ratio stood at between 1:20 and 1:30 for whites and between 1:40 and 1:70 for African pupils (Case & Deaton, 1999). In addition to being distributed unevenly, teachers were also unevenly qualified along racial lines, with higher rates of qualifications for white teachers (99%) and Indian teachers (93%) than for coloured (71%) and African teachers (54%) (Balfour, 2015).

The teacher rationalisation programme sought to achieve a more equitable distribution of teachers across schools and provinces. The intervention sought to achieve an equal LER.

This rationalisation programme succeeded in redeploying approximately 30 000 teachers more evenly across schools based on a given set of criteria (Jansen & Taylor, 2003).

Teachers who were not willing to move to other schools could, as part of this intervention, apply for voluntary severance packages (VSPs), at a targeted cost of around R600 million (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). These mechanisms did not, however, achieve greater equality.

These consequences are described as unintended by many commentators (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). A major fallout of the teacher rationalisation programme was massive overspending by the provinces, largely because of the unanticipated large number of teachers taking VSPs. In contrast to a target of R600 million, by 1997 more than 19 000 teachers had applied for the packages and more than 16 000 had been approved, at an estimated cost of R1.05 billion. Rather than attempting to eradicate the backlogs of the past by providing more teachers to schools in historically disadvantaged areas, the government opted for redistribution with incentives attached. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, the improved placement strategy had unintended consequences; splitting unions along racial lines (Whittle, 2008), provoking widespread protests, and leading unions to threaten national strike action. Some teachers reacted bitterly to redeployment or retrenchment (Chudnovsky, 1998). Bearing the emotional scars of oppression under apartheid, they responded by taking the VSPs with resistance, professing to be unable or unwilling to carry out their duties. Another of the unintended consequences of the programme was that the reallocation of educators inadvertently favoured schools with more diverse curricula, or with established mathematics, science, and technology programmes, which in both cases were usually former white schools (OECD, 2008).

Due to the rationalisation policies, the number of employed teachers declined between 1999 and 2004 from 365 447 to 362 042. This stagnation in the number of teachers employed between 1999 and 2004 led to a decline in the number of young teachers entering the system. In addition, there was a substantial decline in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) enrolments in contact colleges between 1994 and 2000, from 71 000 to 10 000 due to the merging and closure of teacher colleges in Bantustans in ways that were spatially and racially determined (discussed in the later section on ITE).

The right-sizing of the education sector was guided by the intention to equalise salaries and working conditions for educators. The salaries for men and women, as well as across race

categories, were equalised, together with marginal salary improvements for teachers overall. Black teachers who had attained four years of post-secondary education experienced real pay increases in the region of 25% in the mid-1990s (Gustafsson & Patel, 2008). A consequent outcome of the intervention was that it stretched the state's system of teacher governance to its financial limits. This sharp increase in the unit cost per teacher post-1994 generated considerable constraints for the public education system, making it considerably more challenging to maintain LERs (Gustafsson & Patel, 2008).

### 5.3.2 Teacher recruitment and deployment at present

Teacher recruitment in South Africa currently faces a number of challenges pertaining to demand and supply (Van Broekhuizen, 2015), with a problem of rising enrolments and static teacher supply. Based on demographic projections and current promotion, repetition, and dropout rates, the school population will rise from just over 12.4 million in 2013 to just under 13.4 million in 2023. A second challenge to the supply of teachers is age; the average age of South African teachers is increasing.

**Table 19: Age profile of teachers**

Year	New young ITE graduates Produced <sup>1</sup>	Pool of young, qualified, potential teachers <sup>2</sup>	New young, qualified, entering teachers <sup>3</sup>
2007	3 873	13 356*	4 882
2008	4 141	15 931*	4 954
2009	4 556	18 361*	4 369
2010	5 575	20 819*	5 582
2011	7 202	24 043	5 790
2012	9 081	28 404	5 213
2013	10 384	33 879	4 669
2014		39 699	

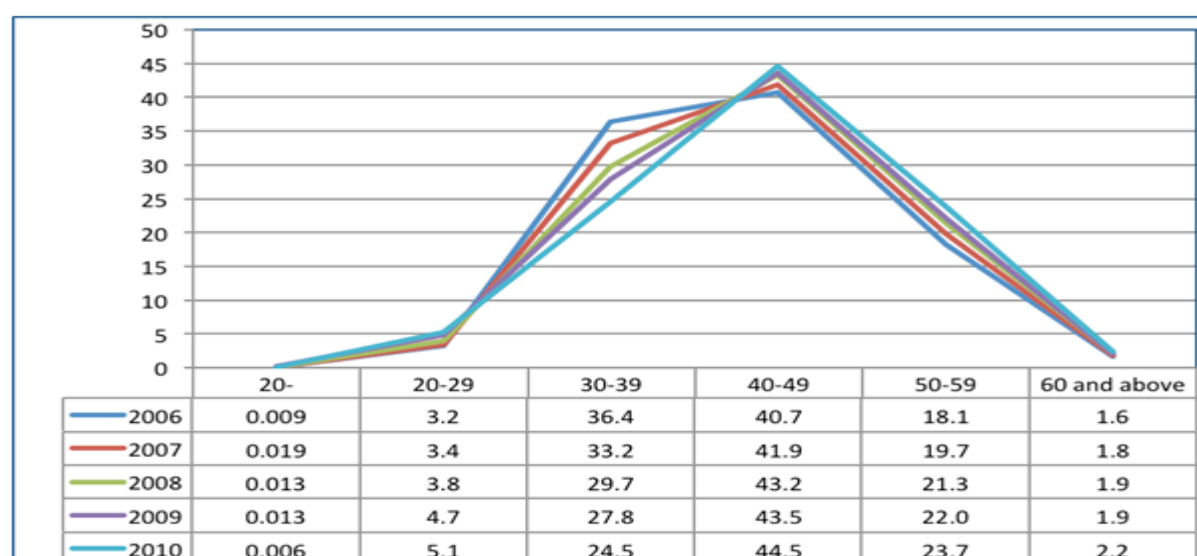
NOTES: <sup>[1]</sup> Estimated number of new ITE graduates aged 29 or below produced by the public HE system per year based on HEMIS. <sup>[2]</sup> Cumulative number of ITE graduates produced by the public HE system since 2000 who are 30 years of age or younger. In any year, this group represents the population of young, qualified, potential teachers, regardless of whether or not they are practising teachers. <sup>[3]</sup> Figures are likely to exclude individuals who graduated with ITE qualifications at very young ages before 2000. <sup>[4]</sup> Figures for 2007 - 2012 taken from Gustafsson (2014) and for 2013 from DBE (2013). Figures reflect the number of qualified first-time teachers aged 30 or below entering the public school system for the first time in respective years based on PERSAL data.

Source: DBE (2013d)

Until recently, the low production of young ITE graduates acted as a constraint on the ability to employ young teachers. Van Broekhuizen (2015) indicated that the employment of 5 213

young new teachers in 2012 was well below the DBE's baseline goal of 8 227 new young teachers, as stated in its annual targets.

**Graph 11: Young ITE graduate production, the pool of young qualified individuals, and new, young practising teachers (2007-2014)**



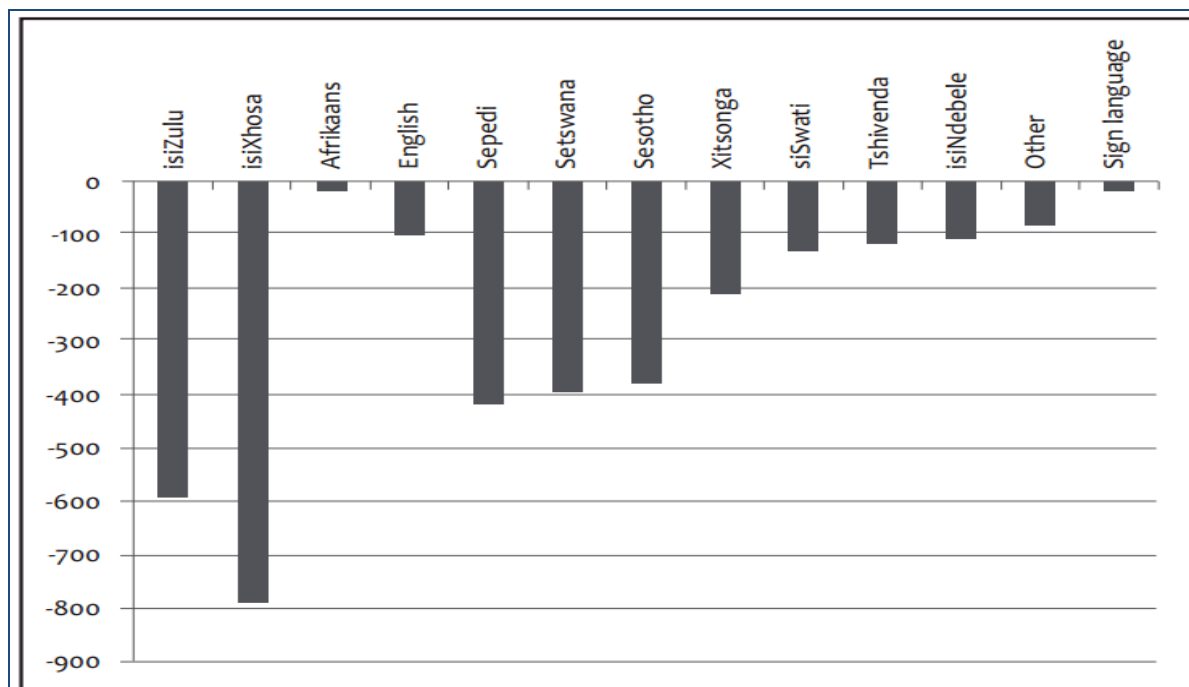
Source: Van Broekhuizen (2015)

Graph 11 illustrates an incommensurable association between ITE graduates and teachers entering the teacher workforce. This suggests that the presence of graduates does not automatically translate into them entering the profession. Additional measures and mechanisms are required to assist with the absorption of graduates despite policy intention to employ them.

Disaggregating supply and demand may explain part of the absorption failure. Teacher supply does not correlate with absolute amounts of teachers, graduates, and learners only. The shortages intersect language, phase, subject, as well as urban-rural disparities. Of the 1 275 teacher graduates expected in 2009, 168 (13%) had an African language as their mother tongue, 558 (44%) were Afrikaans speakers, and 549 (43%) were English speakers (DBE & DHET, 2011). Since most learners have an African language as their mother tongue, this constitutes a significant mismatch between graduates in 2009 in relation to the language requirements of learners. The mismatch becomes more apparent at the provincial level. One hundred and twenty-four (124) (74%) of the African mother tongue graduates were produced in KwaZulu-Natal and only 44 (26%) elsewhere (DBE & DHET, 2011).

Within the Foundation Phase, language-specific shortages were calculated in terms of the supply of new teacher graduates in 2012 and are displayed in Graph 12.

**Graph 12: Supply of teachers by language**



Source: Green, Adendorff & Mathebula (2015)

An overall mismatch of supply in terms of Foundation Phase teachers across the system is a key area of concern for the DBE. A recent estimate using a multivariate model suggested that there will be a negative gap of Foundation Phase teachers of between 15 220 and 42 135 by 2020, accumulating over the years from 2013 to 2019 (Green *et al.*, 2015). The authors indicated that the public HE system can be expected to produce no more than 3 880 effective new Foundation Phase ITE graduates in total by 2019.

Teacher churn and attrition are another challenge to teacher deployment and recruitment. Many teachers resign but return to teaching after some time. The average join rate as a proportion of employed educators in the previous year was 6.94% and the average leave rate was 5.37% per annum between 2004 and 2012. However, many of the leavers are qualified and experienced teachers who will return to the system, mostly within two to four years.

However, many qualified teachers leave and do not return. The analogy made by Simkins (2015) in a recent report was that the system acts like a leaky bucket; almost as fast as new

qualified teachers enter the system, experienced and qualified teachers are leaving it. Half of all individuals entering teaching in recent years come from a “reserve stock of potential teachers” (Van Broekhuizen, 2015).

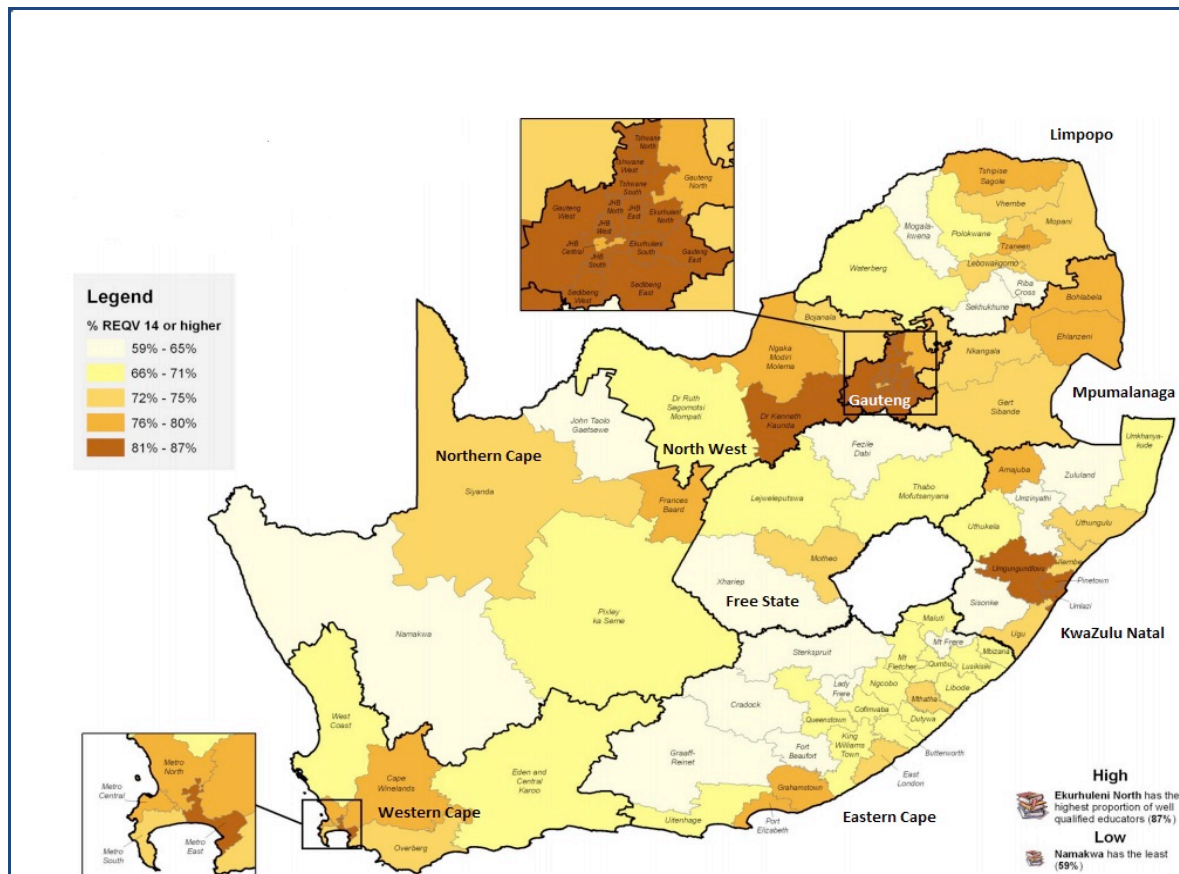
Teacher attrition and problems of retention are due to the fact that teachers in certain subject areas may leave the profession in order to earn more in the labour market, particularly in key subjects such as maths and science (Armstrong, 2009). The issue of “teacher disadvantage” in the labour market increases with the number of years of experience, so that the longer a worker remains in the teaching profession, the worse off teachers are relative to their non-teaching counterparts. It becomes increasingly unattractive for teachers to remain in the profession as they gain more experience, and the financial incentives for talented teachers to remain in the teaching force become gradually smaller the longer they remain there.

### **5.3.3 The challenges of teacher recruitment and deployment in rural areas**

Of the 26 000 schools in South Africa, just over 13 000 are listed as rural, accounting for more than 50% of ordinary schools (DBE, 2012). These schools cater for around 30% of learners. Of these, 27% had one or more multigrade class (more than 3 500) of which the majority are in the Eastern Cape (35%) and KwaZulu-Natal (29%). The attributes of rurality that adversely affect the quality of education include a lack of qualified teachers, multigrade teaching, adverse teacher-learner ratios, irrelevant curricula, and competing priorities between accessing education and domestic chores. Teachers may be unwilling to move to rural areas where social and cultural opportunities are limited and salaries may not contain an enticement peg.

There is a geographical maldistribution of teacher qualifications; the likelihood of teachers being underqualified is significantly higher in rural areas. The map in Figure 4 shows the geographic distribution of educators holding a qualification of Relative Education Qualification Value (REQV) 14 or higher.

**Figure 4: Distribution of well-qualified educators REQV 14 or higher (PERSAL, Sept. 2012)**



Source: DBE & UNICEF (2013)

The highest proportion of REQV 14 or higher qualified teachers is in Gauteng and the Western Cape. This means the provinces with lower LERs also have the highest-qualified teachers. The maldistribution of teachers is thus multifaceted.

Rural teaching and schools are qualitatively different. Rural communities often face challenges associated with an aging population, poverty, and isolation. However, understanding the challenges faced by teachers requires taking into account that rural teachers' motivations and contexts differ from those of urban teachers. Rural teachers often find themselves working in smaller schools within close-knit communities, where schools are seen as important public institutions and where social capital may offer resources and forms of support for public education. In short, rural ecologies possess challenges and attributes that differ from urban communities (Heeralal, 2014). In response to the Ministerial Committee on Rural Education, a Directorate of Rural Education was established in 2006. This was, however, subsequently disbanded in 2010 on the grounds that many of the problems affecting rural children equally affected urban schools serving poor children

and that these problems were best addressed across the board (National Education Evaluation and Development Unit, 2013).

*“Rural teachers often complain of a lack of opportunities for personal and professional growth, and feelings of isolation. An expert on rural education interviewed relayed the following: ‘There is [...] no integration or no common view of what our teachers in rural areas require’”* (Interview with Rural Education Researcher, 2015).

The situation of rural provinces is one of systemic malfunction. The NEEDU report of 2012 attributed the crisis in the Eastern Cape in 2011 to the refusal of teachers to move in response to learner migration, and the hiring of too many teachers, followed by a collapse of the budget. In late 2011, the administration of the Eastern Cape Department of Education (ECDOE) was taken over by the DBE in terms of Section 100 of the Constitution. A similar crisis led to the DBE stepping in to administer the so-called “textbook crisis” in Limpopo in 2012, which Chisholm (2013) showed was, in fact, ultimately caused by the appointment of teachers and other staff in excess of post-provisioning guidelines, alongside corruption in the allocation and pricing of tenders for textbooks (Chisholm, 2013).

Collective Agreement 2 of the EEA sets out the basis for retrenching teachers and redeploying them to urban areas if there is a need due to learner migration. This process is seldom implemented in rural provinces, particularly due to teacher resistance to moving and consequently temporary posts are created in these areas of need. In 2012, Gustafsson estimated that 11% of all teachers were temporary appointments, and of these, at least half were teachers identified as having to move to other schools, thus increasing personnel costs.

Teacher shortages, poor transport services, poor access to social services, and long distances to and from school also have a direct knock-on effect on teacher effectiveness in rural schools. Findings from a recent study (Moletsane *et al.*, 2015) suggested that teachers in rural school contexts face multiple deprivations and tend to experience high stress and dissatisfaction levels, and consequently are more likely to take leave, including unsanctioned leave, and leave classes unattended, which all negatively affect teaching and learning. The *Emerging Voices Report* (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005) highlighted a lack of priority given to rural education, attributed to the fact that urban constituencies are more vocal and better organised than rural communities, suggesting that a lack of



recognition of the needs of the rural poor and deeply entrenched social inequities also act as barriers to the improvement of rural education. Innovative interventions are thus needed to address the needs of teachers in rural areas.

#### **5.3.4 Current policies and reforms**

In 2011, the DBE released *Action Plan to 2014*, a report outlining the priority areas that need to be addressed in this period. The plan's overall aim is to improve learner performance by overcoming the weaknesses in the education system. This is to be done particularly by improving access to education, providing safe buildings, promptly providing learning and teaching materials, and by increasing educator numbers and improving their skills.

The non-negotiables of the *Action Plan* form part of the key deliverables that will find expression in the DBE's plans and in provincial plans. Teacher deployment and placement are specifically targeted by the DBE's Programme 3: Teachers, Education Human Resources and Institutional Development, which seeks alongside other objectives to:

- develop a supply and demand model to incorporate information about teacher recruitment, attrition, exit, utilisation, and migration to inform planning and resourcing of the teaching workforce; and
- change the process of appointing principals so that competent individuals are in schools to heighten school management and ensure that curriculum implementation takes place.

The DBE also pledged in 2014 to introduce an Education Human Resource Planning Framework, which aims to guide efforts to provide the right quality and quantity of teachers and support staff, with the right qualifications and competencies, in the right positions, at the right time. As such, these objectives are also presented within the *Action Plan to 2019* (DBE, 2015b) through the following goals (among others):

- Goal 14: Attract a new group of young, motivated, and appropriately trained teachers to the teaching profession every year.
- Goal 15: Ensure that the availability and utilisation of teachers are such that excessively large classes are avoided.

- Goal 21: Ensure that basic annual management processes take place across all schools in the country in a way that contributes towards a functional school environment.

A strategy to improve teacher recruitment and deployment to reduce teacher shortages in schools was finalised and approved in April 2013 in conjunction with the PEDs (DBE, 2015a). This document outlined strategies and guidelines for management of the post provisioning process, and the deployment of educators in the system, including challenges related to the utilisation of educators additional to post establishments. The overall aim of the strategy document is to ensure stability in staffing at school level and to improve efficiency in processes for the deployment of educators. In addition to this, the government has allowed the appointment of temporary teachers until posts are permanently filled, and has proceeded to evaluate current incentive programmes in place by offering bursaries and rural allowances to teachers.

The Department of Basic Education has sought to move away from an annual model of post establishment towards a multi-year model and towards adopting norms and standards for post provisioning to support better management, redeployment, and replacement of educators. Building stability in the system in terms of the declaration of post management has required the intervention of the central government in terms of HR matters in two provinces. This has led to a collective agreement that the declaration of posts be dealt with over a period of two years to resolve the issue; for example: Limpopo has an excess of educators that needed to be placed.

The DBE has developed a number of strategies to redress the imbalances in teacher recruitment and deployment. The main strategies can be categorised as post provisioning norms and standards (PPNs), the Teacher Rural Incentive Scheme (TRIS), and the FLBP (discussed later in this chapter).

Supply-side measures focusing on increasing the supply of teachers in specific subject areas and phases are targeted by two interventions, the Strengthening Foundation Phase Teacher Education Programme (SFPTEP) and the FLBP. Demand-side measures include rural incentives (TRIS). The PPNs can be seen as a defensible mechanism for regulating the equitable distribution of HR. These are analysed in the next section.

## 5.4 INTERVENTIONS

### 5.4.1 Intervention 1: Post provisioning norms (PPNs)

In 1998, PPNs were devised as an intervention to manage teacher employment and deployment in order to apply an equitable distribution of publicly funded educator posts across public schools and technical colleges. As such, it was intended to act as a model and as a defensible distribution mechanism for all posts to schools, while also ensuring that these posts would be affordable to the state. It was based on two key principles:

- Available posts should be distributed among schools, proportionally to their number of weighted learners.
- The notion of weighted learner numbers to compensate for subjects and/or grades that require greater concessions than others, as well as the size of the school in terms of learner numbers.

The PPNs determine educator requirements for schools based on available resources, rather than on requirements for effective teaching and learning. As such, Prew *et al.* (2015) argue that unlike the Norms and Standards for School Funding, it is less explicit in terms of the use of the post basket to pursue the goals of equity, access, and redress.

In practice, as it is not based on proportions of rand-value funding, the PPN model has tended to entrench the relative advantage of schools favoured during apartheid and initially favouring dual-medium schools, with extra weighting for learners taking subjects such as music and drama.

In 2002, a revised PPN model introduced a redress factor allowing provinces to set the use of 5% of available posts for poverty redress; however, this had a minimal impact on LERs (Prew *et al.*, 2015). The redress posts are distributed at the provincial level, following the school quintile system as specified in Table 20.

**Table 20: Redress post by quintile**

School Quintiles	Allocation from redress pool of posts
Poorest 20%	35% of posts
Next 20%	25% of posts
Next 20%	20% of posts
Next 20%	15% of posts
Least poor 20%	5% of posts

*Source: Prew et al. (2015)*

The 2002 model introduced weighting to incorporate factors such as class size, medium of instruction, school phase, dealing with key subjects such as mathematics and science, and learner disability.

Due to the PPN being a defensible model of distributing posts, it has not sought to impede the highest qualified and best paid educators from gravitating disproportionately towards Q5 schools, being primarily driven by resources rather than by redress factors (Motala, 2006). Consequently, it also did not explicitly seek to eliminate privilege in terms of access to subject choices or resources that improve teaching and learning, including qualified subject teachers or subject advisors at a provincial level.

Conversely, over time the government has progressively introduced adequacy benchmarks for provision. The Education Laws Amendment Act (No. 24 of 2005) enabled the Minister of Education to declare schools serving the poorest communities as no-fee schools. These received a guaranteed number of educators beyond the basic government quota, and pre-specified minimum amounts of funding. While this facilitates access, LERs remain higher and teacher qualifications and content knowledge remain skewed in favour of fee-charging schools. Subsequent policies to lower aggregate LERs, while increasing school funding, have also had less effect on reducing systemic exclusion. Research into the effects of redistributive increases in expenditure per pupil upon educational attainment for African learners suggests that lower LERs and larger expenditure per pupil strongly increase the likelihood of attaining primary education, but have little impact on secondary or higher education attainment (Kimani & Bhorat, 2014).

The DoE (2007) acknowledged that the 1998 PPN model focused on relative needs for teacher posts, and that revised norms should instead attempt to reflect absolute needs as a planning goal for effective curriculum delivery. However, resource constraints still result in

instances where PPN allocation will be higher or lower than can be effectively utilised; for example, if the number of classrooms is not sufficient for the teachers deployed, or in small rural schools where teaching occurs in multigrade classes – as one interviewee explained:

*“You could see it in a rural school that where you’ve got 100 kids ranging over six grades. The post provisioning should take into account the age range, but it takes into account the number of children, so it will get one or two teachers, say, to cover it, so that is why you’ve still got multigrade classes”* (Interview with Senior Education Official 5, 2015).

In 2008, the model was altered to more directly target the pro-poor provision based on quintiles, so, the average class size for Q1 (poorest) Senior Phase would be 39, compared with 42 for Q5 (least poor). The extent of this pro-poor alteration was deemed potentially less than the already existing minimal 5% commitment, and unions voiced concern that the model may punish already under-resourced schools in order to make financial savings (South African Democratic Teachers Union [SADTU], 2012).

In an overview of current implementation, Thwala (2014) summarised that this infusion of the central authority and market systems of teacher deployment in the post establishment model continues to exacerbate tensions between school communities and the education officials in relation to responsibilities in the recruitment and appointment of teachers. Thwala’s study (2014) of constraints to the recruitment of maths and science teachers in Mpumalanga suggested that the PPN acts principally as a cost curtailment measure, and that subsequent implementation is characterised by transgressions and narrow goals.

In terms of provincial differences, a study by Pon (2012) in Gauteng and the Western Cape concluded that in Gauteng the distribution of state-remunerated educator posts is not pro-poor, is roughly equal across poverty quintiles, and the average state-paid salary of educators (as a proxy for qualification level) is the lowest in the poorest 40% of schools. Pon (2012) also pointed out that due to SGB appointments, the average total number of educators in a school decreases as poverty increases. In contrast, Pon (2012) showed that in the Western Cape the inverse occurs, but it remains the case that the richest schools are still able to receive educators with higher levels of qualifications.

One of the limitations of the PPN model is that it depends for its efficacy on the PEDs’ capacity to manage the burden of administration and implementation. If learner numbers decrease, the PPN reduces the number of posts allocated to a school; meaning that

educators occupying those posts are declared “in excess” and are moved to schools that have gained additional learners. Moving posts and educators around is a highly complex process and has proved to be destabilising for curriculum delivery, as well as a severe management challenge in the provinces (Prew *et al.*, 2015).

The protraction of appointment procedures and rigid application of the model in practice can also negatively impact on poorer schools, as the model is not easily adjusted to accommodate unexpected changes in enrolment. Thwala (2014) indicated that schools find that bureaucratic red tape often leads to delays in the appointment of teachers, which leaves them without staff at the beginning of the year. Former Model C schools, however, are effectively able to bypass these delays by appointing a teacher via the SGB and then later recommending them to be appointed as state-paid teachers. Thwala (2014) showed that, in contrast, poorer schools have no choice but to recruit teachers from the redeployment list of excess teachers or from the placement list of bursary beneficiaries.

While conflicting reports suggest no quantitative shortages of teachers, imbalances and over-supplies in certain phases and provinces persist. As the model only disaggregates the LER for primary schools (40:1) and for high schools (35:1), it can only take into account a very narrow disaggregation of needs and contexts. In reaction to setting average LERs via the PPN system, those schools able to employ teachers to maintain smaller class sizes have continued to do so. From 1996 to 2000, SGB teacher posts funded by schools tripled from 10 931 to 29 939 to constitute 8% of all teachers employed in public schools in 2000 (Crouch, 2001).

The DBE has increasingly opted to lower LERs, setting a target across all phases of schooling to 30:1 in 2009 (Politicsweb, 2012). However, administrative staff posts have to be accounted for and included in the PPN model, so LERs do not translate into exact uniform class sizes in each school. Once administration is factored in, an LER of 34:1 in South Africa in fact yields an average class size of approximately 40 learners (Marchant & Lautenbach, 2011). Consequently, government pressures to reduce class sizes below fixed limits that narrowly account for needs and contexts without expanding the resource envelope may simply lead to support and administrative staff duties being pushed onto teachers.

In contrast, Q5 schools are able to counterbalance these pressures using extra funds to keep class sizes smaller than those permitted by the mechanism. On being asked how they would manage without of the capacity to hire these extra teachers, one principal observed:

*“It will be a disaster. Some classes will be huge, some classes will be smaller, but the average will be 1:40 [...] No, no teacher will cope with that [...] It is a losing battle to teach more than 30 learners in a class. Thirty is a maximum in a class”* (cited in Thwala, 2014).

#### **5.4.1.1 Out-of-subject-field teachers**

The PPN model also does not link the responsibilities to the post established to post allocation, meaning that teachers may be forced to teach out of field. In 2011, the CDE noted that in 2005, the DoE reported that 44% of teachers, qualified to teach scarce subjects (e.g. mathematics), were teaching other subjects (CDE, 2011, cited by McCarthy, 2011). The CDE reported significant anomalies in post distribution in the Eastern Cape, with only 7 090 of 16 581 teachers qualified to teach mathematics actually teaching mathematics.

In effect, two kinds of distortions may be taking place. The first is that teachers with scarce qualifications are fungible, so schools are able to motivate the appointment of a teacher with maths qualifications successfully but then opt to use them to supplement other classes in other ways. The second is that because of scarcity and perceived incentives linked to teaching shortage subjects, a number of teachers opt to teach maths out of field. Thwala (2014) confirmed this first distortion by observing that schools are “hoarding” qualified mathematics and science teachers, while other schools face difficulties in attracting qualified teachers for these subjects. However, Thwala (2014) confirmed that the ability to appoint teachers via SGB posts and later transfer them to government posts, in contrast, ensures a more efficient and constant flow of teachers in scarce subjects like mathematics to more advantaged schools.

#### **5.4.1.2 Barriers for recruitment**

The post provisioning mechanism depends on negotiations between principals, whose interest is in maintaining overall levels of enrolment, and parents, who are positioned effectively to act as shareholders within the school. As control over this process and criteria

for appointment is variable, the mechanism does not play out in the same way in every context, particularly given pressures from unions, which are only supposed to act as observers.

Surplus or excess teachers in this process are determined by the “last in, first out” (LIFO) principle, which works against newly qualified teachers irrespective of age, qualification, or experience. Their names are forwarded to the PED, which places them on the list of interviewees for another school seeking to fill a vacancy, and they become redeployed on a temporary basis until a permanent position becomes available. In effect, this limits the ability of schools to obtain approval for post level 1 (PL1) teachers:

*“[T]hey’ll tell the circuit manager to deploy the excess teachers that have a shortage before we can even talk about recruiting new teachers. The process of redeployment must be the first one [...] and that must happen somewhere after we’ve received the post establishment [...] so that you don’t even get a chance to motivate for a teacher you want to recruit” (Thwala 2014).*

In effect, while PL1 positions were intended to be advertised publically, this stipulation has changed in current policy. However, Thwala’s study (2014) found that the provision of the EEA and Personnel Administrative Measures (PAM) was not being followed by either the PEDs or schools. An interviewed district official said: *“We don’t advertise post level 1 posts in a vacancy list in this province. We don’t do that” (Thwala 2014).*

Thwala (2014) observed that this practice has been in place at schools since 1994. Instead, principals collectively headhunt new teachers for vacancies in their schools, or attract them from other schools, and more qualified teachers tend to submit their profiles to advantaged schools. While comparatively better-off schools are able to expand and recruit to match demand, impoverished schools may not have extra classrooms with which to absorb extra teachers to match demand. Principals observe that this comparative advantage also allows better-off schools to market themselves more effectively: *“A school markets itself [...] If you do well, your enrolment does not drop, it goes up [...] and it gives you an allowance to get more teachers” (Thwala, 2014).*

The system is supposed to redeploy excess teachers via the nominated redress pool system; however, in some provinces the MEC may also create ad hoc pools of teachers declared in excess, to be available in the case of overcrowding. Although set aside for this purpose, it seems that the allocation of these ad hoc posts to schools occurs on a first-come, first-



served basis. As one district official pointed out, because schools must wait until all provincial redeployment is first complete, it is possible for wealthier schools to request to appoint these ad hoc posts via the SGB system:

*“There is really no policy that is in place to say how they should be allocated [...] You can go and check at head office, the people who get most of the ad hoc posts are the former Model C schools” (Thwala, 2014).*

In effect, the absence of policy also leads to gaps in implementation and barriers for recruitment. There is a clear gap between the model and criteria used in reality that go beyond subject-/phase-level qualifications applied when teachers are selected for and appointed to posts. If principals have to seek first to answer the concerns of unions and parents, and consider the restrictions of funding based on overall learner enrolment, then the allocation of teachers to specific subject areas may suffer given the shortage of educators in specific areas.

#### **5.4.1.3 Transgression and absence of policy**

The decentralised system relies on the budget as an instrumental mechanism for controlling policy. The PPN model, despite subsequent alterations, faces challenges when the mandate of the provinces does not fit within prescriptions. In an interview, the budget and post provisioning processes were described as a “blunt instrument” that was based on population and learner numbers, and which faces challenges in meeting the direct needs within the provinces.

A government official put it this way:

*“The only problem with population is you’re always behind, you always don’t know and the problem with it is it’s also a blunt instrument because in the Western Cape and in Gauteng in the beginning of January, caregivers, parents, guardians of children in the Eastern Cape will say, ‘Oh, my children are not going to school here, let me just put them on a bus and we send them to the Western Cape’, and here the Western Cape gets 10 000 more learners. Ideally the 10 000 divided by 35 teachers in the Eastern Cape should come with the learners on the bus to be in the Western Cape, but they don’t, so now you have this anomalous situation where the Eastern Cape has got less learners, they should have less teachers, they should have less money in the education budget, and we should just move it – which we do. The problem is the teachers are still there and they still have to be paid and they’re not going anywhere” (Interview with Government Official 11, 2015).*

In 2011, the declared 2012 post provisioning for the Eastern Cape was found to be faulty with more than 3 000 teacher posts vacant, despite having been placed under the minister's control following a Section 100 intervention the year before. In 2012, the situation remained unresolved after 18 months of legal and other disputes (John, 2012). In December 2012, the court overturned an application by unions to take the MEC in the Eastern Cape to court<sup>22</sup> over post provisioning for 2013 due to a lack of consultation and a reduction in posts for public schools, with the MEC claiming a budget shortfall of R1.6 million. The unions also sustained that the post establishments were irrationally distributed, being at variance with the previous establishments and not linked to the relevant numbers of learners in the schools.

During 2013, research was commissioned to review the progress of the implementation of PPNs and to assess the impact of teacher provisioning, planning, utilisation, and deployment. One of the main findings was a lack of convergence in terms of policy interpretation and implementation, including different ways in which the PPNs and processes were implemented in PEDs.

In regard to implementation, the report found that at least seven of the nine provinces were distributing an Unaffordable Post Establishment (UPE) and the concept of an Affordable School Establishment (ASE) was not considered in management processes at provincial level. The problem of clean data was noted as a common obstacle in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga. The report also states that:

“[a]n environment has been created in the sector where there is a number different versions of the Post Distribution Policy (at least four versions). With staff turnover at provincial level there is a significant risk that a province may implement an incorrect version of the policy. Especially in a situation where the DBE may even provide the incorrect policy to the province” (DBE, 2013).

The report recommended that the system moved from an “educator focus” to a “school focus”, suggesting that the DBE should consider incentives to encourage highly qualified teachers teaching at schools with a high number of permanently employed teachers above the school post establishment to choose to teach high-value subjects at poor rural schools in

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<sup>22</sup> South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) and Others v MEC for the Department of Basic Education (DBE): Eastern Cape Province and Others (2013).

remote districts, rather than lower-valued subjects offered at rich peri-urban schools in the same district. Subsequently, the DBE commissioned a service provider to support the DBE in standardising PPN implementation.

In relation to how further norms and standards for post provisioning may work to support better provisioning, an interviewee suggested that it depended on the degree of accountability involved:

*“When you don’t have the mutual respect in the intergovernmental departments working together for the greater good of the country, constitutional perspective on matters, then National resorts to ‘Let’s give them norms and standards’. So how norms and standards may help is in the blunt instrument business of forcing them to allocate money to something, otherwise you can have one of the NGOs like Equal Education taking you to court, but even that, really, the Eastern Cape has been taken to court many times and they just ignore the court order. So we’ve got a problem now but yet our solution is still the same old, same old: let’s give more, more stuff, not, let’s go down there and ask people, ‘Why don’t you do this?’ – it is just the recalcitrant teenager approach to matters, or is there a real reason? Do you want more flexibility? If we gave you more flexibility would you do the right thing?”* (Interview with Government Official 11, 2015).

#### **5.4.1.4 Current priorities**

The Directorate of Educator Human Resource Planning, Provisioning and Monitoring has proposed a draft strategy on the recruitment and deployment of educators, titled “Towards Improvement of Recruitment and Deployment of Educators by 2014/15” (DBE, 2015i). The draft policy seeks to address the high levels of inefficiency and ineffectiveness in the system by moving away from the annual declaration of school post establishment towards a multi-year establishment declared once every three years. However, the strategy states that PEDs, which are “better equipped to deal with the challenges”, will be able to maintain the current system.

The strategy identifies challenges, including difficulties in effectively dealing with the issues related to teachers declared additional to post establishment, high levels of utilisation of temporary appointments resulting from irregular advertisement of vacant posts, contradictions around the co-existence of reported shortage of teachers, and non-placement of FLBP and other new graduates.

In addition, the strategy proposes advertising PL1 on the basis of a closed bulletin for identified categories of teachers and discontinuing advertisement via an open bulletin. The strategy suggests that this may enable the PEDs to more easily deploy new teachers to areas of need, such as rural areas, in order to counter the continuous recycling of experienced teachers versus the induction of new graduates.

However, the new strategy requires that databases and processes are developed in order to prioritise deployment and placement at a national level via a centralised recruitment mechanism for PL1 educators. It will also require the development of clear guidelines or regulations on the transfer of serving teachers upon request. It also recommended that the collective agreement on the observer status of unions be reviewed.

In 2014, the DBE began developing a system of teacher profiling, which collects details of the areas' teachers who are qualified to teach to assist in this process, and has specified that all schools are required to be on a centralised data system (South African School Administration and Management System [SA-SAMS]) by 2015 to help resolve data issues (DBE, 2015h). Current policies propose that the availability of better, timelier data will go a long way to assist provinces with the provisioning of ad hoc posts.

#### **5.4.1.5 Conclusion – PPNs**

A number of further interventions are in development that seek to strengthen the PPNs with standards for implementation and a central system of monitoring the model's implementation at a distance. While the main thrust of HR policy states that the system needs better teachers and more of them, in order to utilise these effectively, it seems it at least also requires better data and more of it.

Chisholm (2009) suggested that both provinces and schools tend to subvert national goals to improve the equity, quality, and outcomes of education through supplying inappropriately qualified teachers to schools. She raised questions about the adequacy of the post provisioning model to enable less affluent schools or schools in previously disadvantaged areas to address overcrowding and inappropriate allocation of teachers to teach subjects for which they were not qualified; in effect pointing to the fact that policy and planning have to be flexible and sensitive to context. Chisholm (2009) stated that the politics of race plays a

role, in that provinces, unions, or SGBs can, by their appointments, seek either to keep the ethos of a school intact or to alter it.

As one government official within the DBE stated:

*“A teacher carries a level of power, and that level of power gets exercised within a school and they use that power consciously or unconsciously to determine the ethos and the values of what will happen in the school. So if you have a predominantly, if you have a white teaching force in a school, that the learner population is predominantly black, the ethos of that school will largely be determined, may largely be determined, by the view, by how those white teachers view the world and that can be impacting on the language policy, for example, in a school. Also, if your school governing bodies are not represented, the issue of language policy, the issue of what cultural days gets celebrated in schools, what sports are getting played at the school, so it has a huge impact, it is important to ensure that you have representation and that the transformation process is followed through in all our schools”* (Interview with Government Official 2, 2015).

However, the clear intention to effect redress and transformation in schools conflicts with the barriers posed by implementation and the decentralised system of governance. Explaining this in a comprehensive review of strategies to address the shortage of science and mathematics educators, Magano (2014:44) concluded:

*“HR managers operate according to policy and they know and understand regulations and procedures very well. But the situation of having to do what one has to do has filtered to the level of the school principal. It is not surprising that the DBE is not able to question or dispute actions taken at the level of the province, given that it has not provided the initial guidance or clear policy implementation plans. While departments of education, national and provincial, are equally responsible, the steering by the National Education Department must be directive. From the beginning things are done the wrong way and it continues like that; administration changes from time to time, no one takes responsibility, cross-purpose results and challenges remain.”*

One major problem with the mechanism of PPNs is that it is operationalised as a costing model rather than a policy, so equal resourcing is not explicitly geared towards redress. Consequently, as an allocation mechanism, it is resource driven, catering for relative needs versus absolute needs for planning. Essentially, this means that the budget is the *de facto* tool for planning and the mechanism relies on the PEDs for effective implementation.

As shown above, the rigidity of this model does not allow it to deal well with the wide variety of contexts and needs, and further pressures to constantly reduce class sizes can lead to teachers being burdened with more administrative tasks. While this negatively

impacts on poorer schools, Q5 schools have a significant comparative advantage in being able to circumvent the process using SGB appointments. Even within those provinces where the PPN distribution is marginally progressive, the richest schools are still able to recruit the teachers with the highest levels of qualifications.

Because the PPNs do not link the responsibilities of the post established to the post allocation, in effect implementation is skewed by HR managers and principals acting to interpret the policy to fit different pressures, leading to the “hoarding” and pooling of posts at provincial and school levels. As such, it presents a barrier for recruitment in that new teachers face a situation whereby the regulative norms are established around “turf” and the rule of last-in first-out acts as an incentive for cadre deployment and nepotism. Principals may instead collectively headhunt for candidates that show a “fit” with the ethos of the school, and poorer schools often have to “fit” the curriculum around the teachers that they are given, rather than the curriculum. Increased pressure to market the school to keep up enrolment does not “fit” the needs of all schools equally, and tends to discriminate against the poorer schools in terms of focusing on quality teaching. As one group of principals leading successful township schools stated at a meeting attended by the researchers, only a principal who had learned to say “no” and stick to the criteria for appointment, and who would bluntly refuse under any circumstances to take an unsuitable candidate offered to the school by the system and the labour market, stood any chance of turning around a school in a hardship area to establish a stronger focus on the delivery of quality education.

The fact that at least seven of the nine provinces were distributing a UPE and using different versions of the PPN suggests a significant absence of policy and lack of monitoring and coordination. The *de facto* rule of “doing what you have to” as the mode of operation in reality prevails. Actors correctly perceive that policy is not directive enough to overcome the barriers and that it lacks adequate implementation planning and guidance, and thus perceive the logic of PPNs to be about balancing the budget. Consequently, they seek to develop the means to do this above the goals for the transformation of the schooling system.

In short, the PPN system itself does not facilitate the efficient allocation of teachers and absorption into areas of need to work alongside the attainment of goals for equity.

While this is also due to the low attractiveness of teaching, poor working conditions, and salaries, it is exacerbated by inefficient teacher recruitment and retention processes, as well as deployment systems in place at provincial and school level.

#### **5.4.2 Intervention 2: The Funza Lushaka Bursary Programme (FLBP)**

The FLBP is a multi-year, service-linked bursary scheme designed to raise the number of newly qualified teachers entering schools, particularly in poor and rural areas, by offering full-cost bursaries to eligible students who enrol in specific ITE programmes. The stated purpose of the programme is to ensure that the basic education sector responds adequately to the supply-and-demand needs for high-quality teachers in nationally defined priority areas. The FLBP falls within the mandate of the DBE as a key deliverable as indicated in the *Strategic Plan 2011-2014* and the *Action Plan 2009 to 2014*.

##### **5.4.2.1 Design and intentions of FLBP**

The FLBP is designed to achieve the following goals:

- To attract quality students, and ensure that students are trained in identified priority areas.
- To contribute substantially to the supply of adequately trained teachers with a focus on rural and poor schools.

The stated objectives of the FLBP are:

- to employ efficient and effective recruitment mechanisms to attract quality students (aged 30 and below) to become teachers in identified priority areas;
- to increase the number of first-time enrolments by 10% year to year;
- to provide financial assistance to South African youth with academic potential to enter and complete tertiary studies in teacher education programmes;
- to ensure a satisfactory completion rate of funded students; and
- to ensure that FLBP graduates are placed appropriately in schools.

The FLBP was established in 2007 and is managed by the DBE. It is administered financially by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). The DBE collaborates closely with

HEIs in order to ensure proper selection of students, and to manage the disbursement of funds to qualifying students. The selection criteria are merit based, and PEDs are involved to ensure that bursary funding is directed to priority areas and subjects, critically in areas of literacy, numeracy, and science.

In order to be eligible for an award, students must either be enrolled for a four-year Bachelor of Education degree (BEd) or a one-year Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and specialise in at least two of the priority teaching areas identified by the DBE. The conditions of the scheme stipulate that recipients must be appointed to schools by the relevant PEDs upon graduation, where they are obligated to teach for the same number of years for which they received the bursary (Van Broekhuizen, 2015).

The average value of the bursaries awarded in 2012 was between R56 696 and R66 000. In 2013/2014, R894 million was spent on the FLBP, which provided bursaries to 14 512 students. Approximately 3 262 of these entered the teaching profession in 2014, with an additional 13 500 bursaries to be awarded to prospective teachers in 2014/2015 and a further 39 000 bursaries to be awarded over the medium term. In 2014, 3 214 of 3 868 were placed in schools (DPME, 2015). The DBE's annual report for 2014-2015 indicated that a total of 14 349 bursaries were eventually awarded – surpassing the target of 13 500 (DBE, 2015j).

The outputs of the bursary programme are measured against the number of qualified teachers in the following priority areas:

- Foundation Phase (Grades R to 3): Specialisation in an African language.
- Intermediate and Senior Phase (Grades 4 to 6 and 7 to 9 respectively): With a teaching major in one of the following: African languages, English, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and Technology.
- FET phase (Grades 10 to 12): With a teaching major in one of the following: Accounting, African languages, Economics, English, Geography, Mathematics, Mathematical Literacy, Agricultural Sciences, Life Sciences, Physical Sciences, Agricultural Technology, Civil Technology, Electrical Technology, Mechanical Technology, Information Technology, Computer Applications Technology, and Engineering Graphics and Design.



The results of the FLBP are to be assessed against its main intended outcomes:

- An increased number of students recruited and funded in ITE programmes.
- A satisfactory completion rate of FLBP bursars.
- The placement of qualified bursars in rural and poor schools.
- Increased supply of qualified teachers in the identified priority areas and phase specialisation.

The gender distribution of FLBP bursaries has consistently been geared towards female graduates on average. The DBE's five-year plan for 2015-2019 states that it has become critical that the expansion of the FLBP is complemented by ensuring that all graduates are absorbed into the schooling system and deployed in areas of shortage. It states that the DBE will develop a supply-and-demand model to incorporate information about teacher recruitment, attrition, exit, utilisation, and migration to inform planning and resourcing of the teaching workforce, especially in areas of skills shortage, and to inform a comprehensive national strategy for HR in the basic education sector that will be finalised in the medium term (DBE, 2015e).

#### 5.4.2.2 Outcomes

As ITE programmes are multi-year and the bursary holders are joined each year by a new cohort, the FLBP has expanded in size rapidly since its inception in 2007.

**Table 21: Total enrolments and first-time enrolment numbers (FTEN) in ITE programmes vs numbers of FLBP recipients (2007-2013)**

Year	ITE Programmes <sup>1</sup>		Funza Lushaka Bursary Recipients <sup>2</sup>			
	Enrolments	FTEN	All <sup>3</sup>	All (%) <sup>4</sup>	New <sup>5</sup>	New (%) <sup>6</sup>
2007	29 926	10 950	3 669	12.3	3 669	12.3
2008	34 641	12 807	5 189	15.0	2 881	8.3
2009	42 151	16 553	9 190	21.8	5 744	13.6
2010	52 477	18 832	10 073	19.2	3 745	7.1
2011	74 038	28 947	8 716	11.8	1 732	2.3
2012	86 880	29 737	11 455	13.2	5 527	6.4
2013	94 127	26 503	14 512	15.4	6 847	7.3

NOTES: <sup>[1]</sup> Estimated numbers of total headcount enrolments and FTEN in undergraduate and postgraduate ITE programmes. These figures correspond to the estimates presented in Table A.1. <sup>[2]</sup> Figures on the number of Funza Lushaka recipients derived from various sources, including DBE (2012a, p. 11), and FLBP data received from the DBE. <sup>[3]</sup> Total number of Funza Lushaka bursary recipients. <sup>[4]</sup> Total number of Funza Lushaka bursary recipients (as in column 4), expressed as a percentage of the estimated total number of headcount enrolments in ITE programmes (as in column 2). <sup>[5]</sup> Number of students receiving Funza Lushaka bursaries for the first time. <sup>[6]</sup> Number of new Funza Lushaka bursary recipients (as in column 6), expressed as a percentage of the estimated total number of headcount enrolments in ITE programmes (as in column 2).

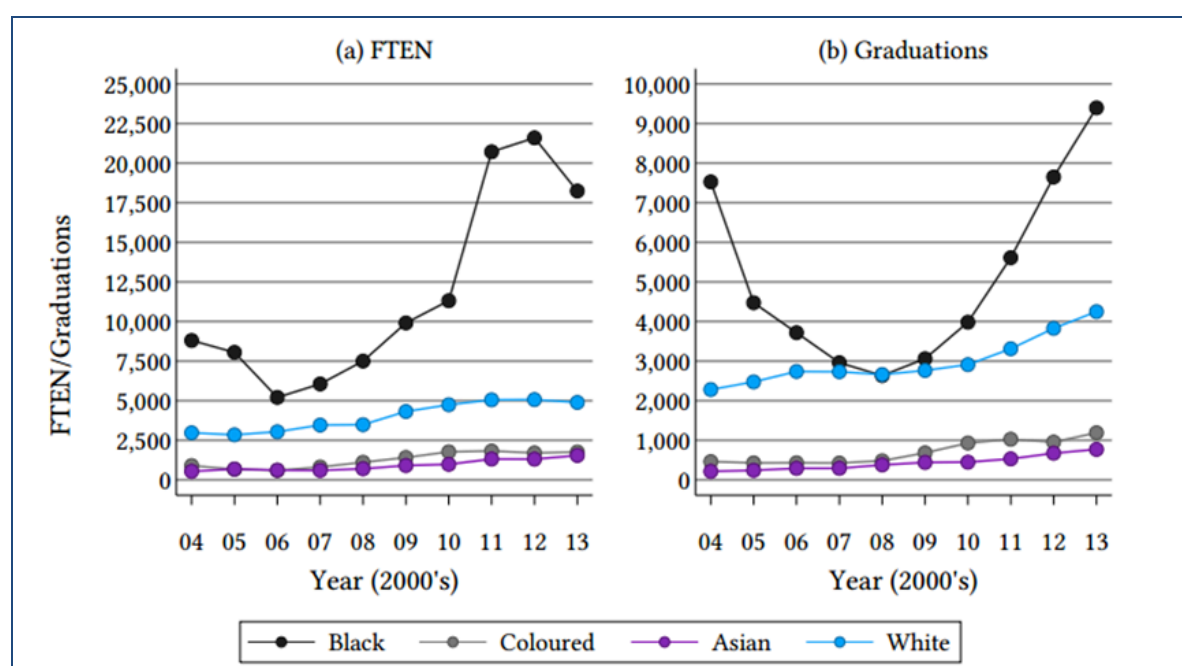
Source: Van Broekhuizen (2015)

Van Broekhuizen (2015) indicated that the number of bursaries awarded each year has risen by an estimated 22.4% on average per year from 3 670 in 2007 to just over 14 500 in 2013. It is evident that the number of individuals deciding to enrol in ITE programmes over the period has increased between 2006 and 2013. However, Van Broekhuizen (2015) cautioned against attributing this directly to the introduction and subsequent expansion of the FLBP as it should not be taken at face value as evidence of causality without more empirical data. However, it is possible to examine to what extent students entering ITE programmes for the first time have access to FLBP funding.

From the data offered by Van Broekhuizen (2015), it is evident that there was a significant increase in FTEN in ITE in 2010, which was preceded by nearly a doubling of bursaries from 5 189 in 2008 to 10 073 in 2010. During the same time period, the share of NSFAS awards allocated to FTEN ITE students rose from 18% to around 27%. Van Broekhuizen's (2015) data also showed that there was a considerable increase in FTEN for black students in that year, and a significant driver of the increase in ITE FTEN was due to the increased enrolment of graduates through the University of South Africa (UNISA) in undergraduate distance programmes for ITE, alongside an increase in enrolments at other contact ITE providers.

What Van Broekhuizen (2015) showed is that new ITE graduates are made up of three groups. For every ten ITE graduates produced in 2013, approximately four were black females, two were black males, and just over two were white females. These groups make up more than 80% of all ITE graduates produced by public HEIs between 2004 and 2013. This suggests that there has been a considerable change from the scenario in 2009, when it was thought that too few black individuals were entering teacher education.

**Graph 13: FTEN and graduations in ITE programmes by race (2004-2013)**



Source: Van Broekhuizen (2015)

Consequently, Van Broekhuizen (2015) suggested that despite not being able to directly attribute this rise to the FLBP alone, the extent to which FLBP ITE graduates are absorbed into the teaching profession subsequent to graduation might as well be seen as “a best-case scenario” for incentivising newly qualified potential teachers to gain employment in South Africa in shortage subjects and rural contexts. A similar perspective was taken by a senior policymaker in regards to the programme:

*“Remember, we cannot fund every child who wants to become a teacher, but we can try and provide that impetus, that stimulus, to keep the interest in teaching alive because somebody will consider teaching because there is this bursary available”* (Interview with Government Official 2, 2015).

However, a number of reports have noted that the uptake of FLBP graduates in the schooling system has been slow in general and that graduates are not always allocated to schools by the PEDs (DBE & DHET 2011). It seems that in 2011 this occurred in the Eastern and Western Cape, and in the Free State to some extent. However, in 2012 this seems to have improved marginally within the Western Cape, but not in the Eastern Cape. It is unclear how many FLBP bursars who are placed are only employed in temporary positions (DBE & DHET, 2011:40).

In relation to the issue of language and representation, a senior policymaker pointed out that the sustainability and effectiveness of the incentives depend crucially on these issues, as well as the coordination with HEIs and how they work to include African languages and content into their ITE programmes:

*“The question is, to what extent has Higher Education Institutions embraced this opportunity? So it’s one thing for us to recruit teachers for these languages, but we need to always remember, we want those teachers to go teach children to read, write, and do mathematics [...] I need to be trained with particular skills – how to use my language in order to assist somebody to read, write, and do mathematics, and how have teacher training institutions been able to adopt that”* (Interview with Government Official 14, 2015).

Finally, there is a constant mismatch between the kinds of schools where newly qualified teachers want to work, and where they are most needed. Van Broekhuizen (2015) suggested that while the FLBP and other service-linked funding may remedy this situation, its effects will be limited to the extent to which constraints and weaknesses throttle the supply chain, and that a comprehensive view must take into account not only recruitment but also conversion, absorption, retention, and utilisation. In their view, to ensure that greater numbers of new ITE graduates apply for teaching positions in poor and rural schools, ultimately, teachers coming into the workforce will need to have other kinds of incentives in order to do so.

#### **5.4.2.3 Challenges**

Initial challenges for the FLBP have appeared to be with loopholes in the FLBP mechanism for subject selection, delays in NSFAS’s delivery mechanism, the sufficiency of funding, and piloting the use of cell phone payments.

Wits Vuvuzela (2015) reported on the issue of the availability and sufficiency of financial resources within the FLBP. Delays led to students not receiving the bursaries at the beginning of the year due to a lack of alignment of selection process with university registration periods and government processes. Nkosi (2015) reported that weak spots and glitches in the NSFAS electronic system led to delays and the incomplete payments of bursaries. This has been partly due to the piloting of a cell phone funds allocation system that issues vouchers. The rationale for using vouchers, as stated by the DBE (2015), was so

that it could ensure that the bursary money was used for what it was meant for, but this was perceived negatively by students.

Similarly, changes to the FLBP specifying that students studying Foundation Phase teaching would already need to be trained in an indigenous African language have met with controversy (Villette, 2015). Similarly, the ability of bursary holders to make use of loopholes in the FLBP once they had received the bursary, by changing their course packages mid-stream to easier subjects not needed by the DBE, may have affected the placement of graduates (Democratic Alliance [DA], 2013).

The FLBP has faced different forms of support since 2007 in terms of engagement from different parties. While critics supporting a market-driven approach support the scheme, they tend to implicitly argue against supply measures that do not harness market forces. For example, the 2011 report from the CDE supported the FLBP but questioned state-supported enhancement programmes to improve the quality of existing teachers (McCarthy, 2011). It suggested that the most talented graduates will continue to emigrate, opt for jobs at private or former Model C schools, or opt for other careers despite incentives to do otherwise (McCarthy, 2011). The report suggested that the government is not able to steer public ITE institutions to provide the necessary supply, and that teacher training and retraining should be opened up to the private sector (McCarthy, 2011). The CDE report argued against a broad-based government policy of “more and better teachers” and instead proposed a focus on selective skills and on “particular types of teachers” who are better supported and better paid.

Unions broadly support the bursary scheme, although SADTU argued that some of the implementation problems of the FLBP are that it promotes mathematics and science at the expense of other subjects (SADTU, 2014), and that students registering for one specialisation have been able to change their course once they received the bursary. In addition to this, universities have been able to allocate the bursaries to learners from affluent backgrounds, which suggests that the recruitment of students via this incentive alone may not necessarily address the shortage of teachers in rural areas.

The impact on vacancies in rural areas from 2013 seems to indicate that many of the rural placements themselves are within the particular provinces that have a high number of small schools in rural areas, such as KwaZulu-Natal. Placement rates for certain provinces (Eastern

Cape) show that the FLBP has faced consistent problems with the placement of graduates, although this has improved over time. One of the consistent challenges for the FLBP has been the placement of graduates given the systemic problems with recruitment and deployment. However, 2014 results showed improvement in the placement of bursary holders and large overall increases in the number of educators under 30 entering the profession.

**Table 22: Placement rates for FLBP / entering educators under 30 by province: 2014 (2013 cohort)**

Province	Educators under 30	Unplaced	Placed	Ratio
Eastern Cape	168	191	229	55%
Free State	629	17	256	94%
Gauteng	2 685	157	610	80%
KwaZulu-Natal	1 733	131	741	85%
Limpopo	638	10	280	97%
Mpumalanga	530	7	250	97%
North West	1 100	0	277	100%
Northern Cape	843	2	119	98%
Western Cape	2 422	139	459	77%
Total:	10 748	654	3 221	83%
Target:	8000			85%

*Source: Created by Tom Salmon*

As the bursaries are intended for students to take up a provincial teaching position, crucially it is the responsibility of the provinces to reserve or provide teaching posts for the qualifying bursars, and appoint them within 60 days. If it is proved that the PED has failed to place the bursar within the stipulated 60 days, the bursar is then absolved of bursary obligations.

The initial impact of graduate placements on vacancies in 2013 and 2014 indicates that graduates have tended to opt for those provinces that dominate ITE enrolment (KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, and Western Cape). This suggests that graduates may tend to not travel between provinces if there are jobs available in the provinces where they are trained.

Without clear information about the vacancies available in the provinces, the placement of bursars faces challenges and may not be as successful if the number of teachers in need is

known in advance (Magano, 2014). Furthermore, it is important to consider the final stages of retention and utilisation of the students and their development in these contexts. As a senior expert in rural education stated, new graduates need scope for development in rural contexts, which is lacking:

*“You need to think of ongoing teaching development programmes and by having ITE at the universities and even hoping that those students will go back to their homes and teach in rural areas, you are still going to have the major problem of induction, mentoring, and continual professional development and so you need to get your strong district officers but you need to have sites of teaching education [...] to give them a big enough career progression”* (Interview with Government Official 9, 2015).

Another key point made in relation to the selection of students for the programme was in terms of the criteria used by the FLBP, with suggestions that their recruitment and screening are not intensive enough. Furthermore, the areas the students have come from should be considered as important. The likelihood of strengthening the FLBP by targeting students from rural contexts and supporting them to return to work in their own communities was advanced as an attractive option by an experienced manager of programmes that supports students from rural contexts:

*“I think it tends to be people with roots and links to that area, who maybe feel a commitment to go back and give back to that community; so yeah, I think teaching is one of the professions at least where there probably are career paths open to graduates, who originate from those areas, you know. If you’re studying Finance or Engineering, you’re probably going to stay ... You’re less likely to return to that area [...] there can be a sense that, you know, they are not economically vibrant areas or not well serviced by essential, you know, needs and so there has to be extrinsic incentives to motivate people to want to go there [...] You want to get more teachers for rural schools; to me it is probably the right approach to recruit from rural areas, though I think it is going to be the exception of city kids to go study teaching who then want to go and work in a rural area. I think it is probably people who originated from a rural area, who has some kind of commitment to that, who will want to go back”* (Interview with Government Official 3, 2015).

However, in making this same point to a government official, the consideration was that there need to be flexibility and a vision for how such incentives can help to change the organisation and ethos of schools, and that attracting a wide spectrum of candidates is also important for the FLBP:

*“I also think in rural schools, maybe the same thing can apply. You need to attract somebody that understands rurality, but you have to be careful not to be dogmatic and rigid about it. Some of us believe that if you attract somebody that grew up in a*

*rural village and they become a teacher in that school, that they will have a greater understanding of the community and therefore add greater value to the school. I think there's an element of truth in that and I think it's something that we actively pursue at the moment, to try and recruit like that. I do think one mustn't be too rigid around it because I think rural villages and rural schools are also entitled to teachers who will broaden the village, the vision, and the view of children, and I think the same goes for gender as well. I think for a long time in the 90s and early 2000s, in this particular area around Pretoria there was, for example, not one female principal in some of the, in the former Model C white primary schools and high schools but that has now changed and it is changing and I think it's gender as well. It's important that in your recruitment and in deployment that you at times deliberately consider these issues. It does become more complicated, especially when the rubber actually hits the tar and one is under pressure to deliver in a number of things, that you then compromise in some of these things"* (Interview with Government Official 3, 2015).

Thwala's (2014) study of the management constraints in the distribution of qualified mathematics and science teachers in senior secondary schools in Mpumalanga showed that one of the key challenges for implementation is the decisions of principals and district officials. Principals said they would not take bursary holders and would prefer more experienced teachers for subjects like Grade 12 mathematics, and may opt for foreign teachers who are perceived to be of high quality, thereby choosing to disregard policy despite being instructed to prioritise the placement of bursary holders:

*"Principals of schools will close one eye and say 'no, no, no, we don't want a FLBP, we don't want a teacher in addition, we want this foreign teacher because he is good'. That's the practice in the schools"* (cited in Thwala, 2014).

However, Thwala (2014) indicated that many principals clearly understood and supported how the policy was intended to be implemented:

*"National compiles the list [...] because they know who is about to complete [...] National gives it to the province. Our province then forwards that information to the districts. We are the ones who must then place them in terms of that list [...]. Immediately when they qualify, you must employ them permanently the first day. They don't serve probation"* (cited in Thwala, 2014).

The challenge of capacity and financial resources for deployment at the provincial level, alongside resistance from schools, were identified as key challenges by a government official:

*"I think it's real concerns about capacity and financial resources at a provincial level to be able to deliver on this. Schools also, they don't, on the way we do the deployment, you know, some schools feel that we're imposing students on them into*



*their schools, they could have chosen, selected other teachers, now we're imposing Funza Lushaka graduates onto them, so there's some resistance. Their school governing bodies definitely have that, and it's a real sentiment"* (Interview with Government Official 15, 2015).

The key issue of preparing teachers to be able to adapt to work in a range of contexts and changing perceptions of what it is like to work in township schools or rural schools was stressed by a government official in regards to the programme:

*"We need to prepare teachers early on to be able to teach in a different context, whether it's in the rural context or in a high-density informal settlement, in order to provide teachers that have knowledge and the expertise to be able to deal with those kinds of areas. I think the one reason why people don't go into those areas is because of this fear of the unknown and not being properly prepared to be able to teach in multiple contexts"* (Interview with TE 1, 2015).

#### **5.4.2.4 Conditions to strengthen the FLBP**

In the course of 2014, the DBE took steps to strengthen the FLBP in a number of ways:

- The period within which the PED has to offer an appointment (placement) to a graduate bursar has been removed.
- Stipulating the province where a bursary holder will be placed upon graduation at the time the students first accept the offer for the bursary.
- Emphasising that changing of approved areas of specialisation (subject and/or phase) is viewed as a breach of contract and the bursary will be converted into a loan which the student will have to repay with interest.
- The issue of availability of financial resources within the FLBP has been addressed by allowing budget roll-over of bursary funds.

Furthermore, the FLBP has been strengthened in terms of coordination by:

- creating a consolidated action plan indicating the various activities required, responsibilities, and timeframes;
- broadening the roles and responsibilities of PEDs regarding the identification, recruitment, selection, monitoring, and support of FLBP holders and new teachers at provincial level;
- determining the demand for certain teaching areas of specialisation on a yearly basis through profiling of vacancies in schools and future vacancies due to attrition;

- improving the monitoring and support of FLBP holders at universities;
- broadening and improving the effectiveness of district and community-based teacher recruitment campaigns and linking them to teacher assistance programmes; and
- introducing induction programmes for new teachers in all South African public schools (DBE, 2015h).

In 2014, the DBE devised an implementation protocol (DBE, 2015h) in terms of the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act of 2005 (Act No. 13 of 2005). The aims of the protocol are to ensure that parties work together effectively, and sets out responsibilities and provides mechanisms for the management of the FLBP and the settlement of any disputes or disagreements. The protocol identified challenges facing the implementation of the FLBP as the availability of financial resources and the availability of vacant posts in which to appoint students (DBE, 2015h).

In 2015, the DBE announced that approximately 14 000 bursaries, with a value of R991 084 000, would be awarded to students, of which more than 10 000 would go to returning students. The DBE introduced a district-based teacher recruitment campaign for the FLBP, more specifically targeting rural and poor communities as well.

Due to district-based recruitment in 2015, first priority had gone to district- and community-based applications. The FLBP's broader recruitment strategy in this year went beyond school-going youth, in order to reach out-of-school youths who had not yet had the opportunity to study at HEIs. In 2014, out-of-school youths were recruited from communities in Modjadji, a rural community, and Gauteng. There had been 4 827 graduates who needed to be placed in 2015, and by the end of March, 62% had been placed.

With regard to strengthening the FLBP in this way, a government official explained that this change in focus was intended to specifically target both township and rural placements more effectively:

*"The second area that we have done and with reasonable success was to place a bigger emphasis on rural communities and high-density informal communities and we've done that through two strategies. It's a district-based and a community-based teacher recruitment context, which gives the opportunity to a school in a rural area to identify a learner within that particular school and to recruit that learner for teaching, with the idea that that learner will eventually, after they've graduated,*

*come back to that school. The community-based recruitment works on the same principle. It's got the focus on out-of-school youth with a Bachelor's exemption or endorsement, who has not been able to access a university before, that we recruit them, we provide them the bursary, they study with the idea that they go back to that community to go and teach there, and linked to that is looking at our graduates, unemployed graduates, who have graduated and they offer the scarce skills of mathematics and science and technology to recruit them, let them do a PGCE for one year with Funza Lushaka and then let them teach. I think those interventions have started to produce teachers that can go back into those rural areas"* (Interview with Government Official 7, 2015).

In addition, the DBE has moved towards setting a ratio in recruitment between the community and district-level involvement. Involving the districts in this process was perceived as a measure to improve the placement of students. In district-based recruitment, the district itself provides its needs, and the DBE recruitment is then based on those needs.

A full implementation evaluation of the FLBP was released in 2016. The findings of the implementation evaluation made a number of recommendations related to improving the efficiency of the programme. However, a principal challenge to its inefficiency noted in the evaluation is that the placement of FLBP graduates is largely not within the control of the programme and relies on coordination with other actors. As such, although 83.5% of FLBP graduates are placed within public schools, only 50.6% reported that they are in schools within the poorest quintiles and mechanisms also do not exist to detect or track when they have changed their specialisation during the course of studies effectively. In addition to this, nearly 25% of all graduates were in effect placed in their teaching positions directly by schools.

A second important recommendation is that given the scale of the programme and the amounts of funds available, the Department should allocate more resources for administration, and establish a dedicated unit within or outside of the ITE Directorate to manage it.

The evaluation also notes that coordination is key, and that its ability to have impact depends critically on other stakeholders (DBE, DHET, universities, and NSFAS) and must be linked to ongoing discussions about the quality of ITE and various systems for placement.

Despite these challenges, the evaluation provides evidence that the FLBP is broadly effective (and cost effective) in attracting high-achieving students who complete ITE programmes in good time and take up government-paid positions in public schools.

#### **5.4.2.5 Conclusion – FLBP**

The fact that the FLBP has been strengthened in these ways indicates that there have been weaknesses in terms of implementation and coordination. There are specific weaknesses in the supply chain of teachers, therefore the initial strategy has come up against a range of these challenges. The strategy may be working well in terms of increasing the enrolment rates and the shape of the supply of new graduates overall, but this does not necessarily lead to a chain of effective absorption, retention, or utilisation.

With regard to the greatest challenge for the FLBP, a government official identified the following:

*“It’s management information systems. At the moment we’re offering a bursary of R991 million and we’re offering to 24 higher education campuses to 14 000 students more or less, and I think the biggest challenge for the bursary is how to manage that information in a credible way and I don’t think we’ve lived up to that, because of a lack of management information systems. It then translates in the end to the second huge challenge and that is how do you deploy these teachers into schools, into the correct classrooms after they’ve completed their degrees?”* (Interview with Government Official 7, 2015).

Another key conceptual challenge for the FLBP is that it must act as a kind of compromise between an incentive for broad-based teacher training, an incentive for teachers to choose to work in rural areas, and an incentive for teacher training to address skill shortages in the economy (maths and science). As such, it appears to have been able to work as a general incentive to attract students into teaching in terms of overall numbers. It may have been effective in terms of incentivising public ITE providers to expand or create specific programmes in the Foundation Phase, for example. However, it has appeared to struggle in the targeting of selective training bursaries as teachers themselves may default on promises to teach certain subjects, or choose not to move to rural areas. In addition to this, the absorption of these teachers requires provinces to have tight control on the deployment process, and accurate information around posts is not always available for placement of specifically trained educators.

There are a number of reasons why the absorption of these graduates may face constraints. If graduates have to contend for jobs with a far larger “reserve” of experienced and already trained teachers with an unknown distribution – who are able to take some of the jobs available for these bursary holders – then this impacts negatively on the effectiveness of efforts to link targeted recruitment with deployment mechanisms. Questions about the quality of the training of bursary holders, problems with their fit in terms of subject matter, and language of instruction create doubts for principals wishing to appoint them. In addition to this, poor or incorrect information about the graduates or how to contact them, or inconsistent use of mechanisms such as placement lists, or competing databases of foreign teachers in use in districts, may undermine the implementation of the intervention.

Furthermore, if the graduates are not able to receive reliable information about posts and are not willing to travel to work in different areas, the opportunity costs of the incentives for these graduates diminish considerably at the point of absorption. The system of post provisioning as a mechanism is driven by the priorities of HR managers, principals, and parents. Although provinces implement it, the DBE initially may not have been directive enough for the centralised supply-based control or incentives to reach their targets in all cases.

As one government official expressed, the system of concurrent governance creates challenges, and if there is not sufficient investment in the policy, this in effect can weaken implementation. As the interviewee explained, this lack of alignment in turn may have a negative impact on social cohesion:

*“The complexities around FLBP, for example, might be that a province would say that you’ve got these national priorities but we want to focus on these priorities and then we have to negotiate around it. It makes it a bit more difficult, or you want to place your Funza Lushaka bursary holders in this way, but we want to do it in this way and then you can negotiate around it, and in those processes, sometimes, service delivery is the one that, and then social cohesion probably, that suffers. For example, we want provinces to be actively involved with recruitment, but if they don’t make the human resource capacity available, and also the accountability mechanisms that go around it, then the approaches will be half-hearted and you will not have the quality that you aspired for at the beginning”* (Interview with Government Official 7, 2015).

The FLBP has not been posited on a demand-based model, so it is prone to distortion at local level. If schools are able to appoint teachers from a reserve pool or teachers who are “in excess” in ways that do not fit with the intentions of the incentive programme, then this

may increasingly reduce its ability to fill posts with those who have received incentives in a satisfactory way. For this reason the introduction of an implementation protocol and bursary reporting standards in 2015 is intended to support and more tightly control the implementation of the programme.

A further area in which the FLBP has developed over the last three years has been in terms of moving from being a national programme in which *“in the first few years, I think universities were crucial; they almost ran the show at that point”* (Government Official 7, 2015), to becoming a more coordinated FLBP with a greater involvement of the provinces, districts, and HEIs. One government official explained:

*“The Department and the minister started to realise that if we are going to attract students for rural areas and start to make the programme, realising the kind of transformation goals that we have as well, the role of districts and provinces become increasingly important. So currently, as we’re speaking, we have actively moved from changing the perception that Funza Lushaka is a bursary programme of DBE to a bursary programme that serves the basic education sector and in that sector the nine provinces, the Department of Basic Education, the Department of Higher Education, and the 24 Teacher Education campuses are essential stakeholders and role players and important ones and [...] the National Student Financial Ed Scheme [...] and then the students, of course, 14 000 of them, they have a large voice”* (Interview with Government Official 9, 2015).

The recruitment phase of the supply chain for graduates seems to suggest that more careful criteria are required, with the option to recruit graduates from rural contexts, who may return to teach in their own communities, as one option for continuing to strengthen the intervention. The merits of this bottom-up strategy from 2012 towards tailoring the model of recruitment based on locally identified needs should be more carefully examined by research. It is highly possible that recruiting bursary holders with more flexible criteria may allow the mechanism to work in a different ways than taking a top-down approach.

Importantly, the FLBP has been considerably strengthened in 2015 in terms of alignment and coordination, which opened up greater opportunities for stakeholder representation and participation through the district- and community-based teacher recruitment strategies. This means that more responsibilities are allocated to PEDs for the coordination of identification, recruitment, selection, monitoring, and support, and requires schools to manage the induction process of bursary holders. To perform these tasks in a decentralised way, the right allocation of dedicated HR is a critical factor.

Principals also play a key role in implementation that is insufficiently recognised. If they are not assured of the validity, usefulness, and relevance of the information they are given on placements lists, they may not make effective choices. Profiling teachers already in the existing teaching workforce to more effectively target subject shortages is a system-wide reform which will assist the targeting of bursary holders. However, in the short term, simple, accurate, and timely information must be directed towards those responsible for implementation based on available resources. Any system of information about the bursary holders and the placements available should seek to be relevant and inclusive of the needs of principals and bursary holders, as well as HR managers, in order to assist these stakeholders to make better informed choices regarding the “fit” of a bursary holder in any given context.

Similarly, if provinces are not drawn into negotiation around the mechanism and if the opportunities for participation and recognition are not strengthened, then the unintended consequence may be that the emphasis on strengthened accountability and implementation protocols may not lead to effective alignment and convergence within the decentralised system. This kind of coordination requires input from all stakeholders, and it is this convergence and flexibility that may bring together the right mix of compromises between the FLBP being an incentive for broad-based teacher training, an incentive for teachers to choose to work in rural areas, and an incentive for teacher training to address skill shortages in the economy, thereby redistributing teacher qualifications to mitigate past maldistribution.

The role of HEIs is critical and graduation rates at universities must be improved to capitalise on the increased FTEN of disadvantaged black students, and efforts should be made to track bursary holders through the process in a disaggregated way to seek to understand why so many do not complete their studies. Seeking to foster uniformity across ITE providers who hold strong traditions of autonomy is not easy. However, ITE providers should seek to prepare graduates for rural and hard-to-staff teaching contexts, and remove the fear of the “unknown”. Similarly, perceptions of the poor quality of graduates and the rapid expansion of distance programmes from UNISA should be carefully monitored. Critically, ITE providers need to play a part in developing the vision of how such incentives can help to change the

organisation and ethos of schools, and attract a wide spectrum of candidates to participate in that process through their programmes.

### **5.4.3 Teacher Rural Incentive Scheme (TRIS)**

In October 2004, an amount of R4.2 billion was allocated to enhance HR capacity in the education sector. An educator incentives policy was identified as one of the projects and an amount of R840 million was set aside for the financial years 2005/2006 to 2007/2008 for that purpose. This was distributed to PEDs according to the equitable share formula. It was expected that, as from the 2008/2009 financial year, PEDs would have allocated funds for incentives as part of their baseline budget.

The policy on incentives was signed by the minister in December 2008 and R500 million, equivalent to 46 726 incentive posts, was transferred to PEDs for the financial year 2007/2008. A report on incentives, as given by PEDs in April 2010, indicated that while some were in a position to implement the policy, starting in the 2010/2011 financial year, others reported financial constraints. At the end of the 2011/2012 financial year, only two of the nine provinces reported having implemented the incentives policy or having paid the allowances (Magano, 2014).

The overall aim of the policy is to contribute towards ensuring that the public education system recruits and retains the right quality and quantity of educators for all schools to improve the quality of education.

The need for the introduction of the policy on teacher incentives is due to the acknowledgement that teacher shortages were more acute in:

- certain geographical areas, especially in “rural” areas; and
- certain specific subject areas (mathematics, science, and technology).

The conceptualisation of the policy acknowledged that within these broad categories, there was a need to focus on the level of a post, hence the principle of incentivising posts made it difficult to recruit and retain educators.

The policy provides for two categories of schools in which posts can be incentivised and these are posts in “remote schools” and in “other schools”. The “other” category is further divided into three, which are (1) posts in schools experiencing chronic shortages of



educators in certain subjects/learning areas to be identified by PEDs, (2) hard-to-teach schools, and (3) where a school principal or governing body has requested that some post(s) in the school be eligible for an incentive.

The main criterion for the incentive distribution to certain subjects is determined by the PED. The policy does not provide for prioritisation in terms of poverty ranking or no-fee schools, which suggests that the intention was that once the scarce skills were identified in a PED, all such posts would be incentivised. The main criterion for the hard-to-teach schools is based on an unspecified factor that impacts negatively on the recruitment and retention of educators. The incentive is informed by a request made by the principal or the SGB based on factors which may be unique to a particular school or posts that may be advanced or unspecified. The concept of “remote” as opposed to “rural” was deliberately introduced to avoid the weakness regarding the definition of “rural” as a concept.

A model was developed that classified towns into three types; based on the level of access to basic facilities and a “weighted distance” between three towns was used as the distance to form part of the criteria to determine posts to be incentivised.

The weaknesses in the model were acknowledged at the outset, and PEDs were requested to conduct manual verification before finalising the incentives determination. These included checking:

- missing schools, missing GPS coordinates, and incorrect GPS coordinates; and
- distances by road to the schools, rather than straight-line distances from the school to a point in the nearest town (DBE, 2014).

According to the DBE, although the actual implementation of the policy in PEDs was delayed for some years, progressively more PEDs are reported to be implementing it. In the 2013/2014 financial year, all PEDs, except Gauteng and Mpumalanga, were paying incentives to qualifying educators occupying incentivised posts.

#### **5.4.3.1 Problems with implementation**

Teachers in provinces raised a number of complaints about difficulties in implementation. The bulk of these have come from three PEDs; namely Limpopo, North West, and the Eastern Cape. A common feature of the implementation model chosen by these PEDs is that

they chose to use the remoteness/distance criteria to identify and prioritise posts to be incentivised.

Specific complaints regarding the perceived unfairness in the implementation of the policy in affected PEDs include:

- inadequate communication of the overall aim and objectives of the policy to districts and schools;
- inadequate communication of the criteria for identifying posts to be incentivised;
- inherent weaknesses in the weighted distance model due to incomplete data that were used to develop the model; including missing schools, incorrect or missing GPS coordinates, and the fact that the model uses a straight line to determine distance as opposed to road distance; and
- relying on a desktop exercise using the weighted distance model to identify posts to be incentivised, without conducting a manual verification process (DBE, 2014).

Specific problems that have been reported to exist in Limpopo, North West, and Eastern Cape are as follows:

- All or some posts in one school are incentivised, while all posts in the next school in close proximity (sometimes literally across the road) are not incentivised, with no credible explanation (criterion) given.
- In the same school, only some posts are incentivised while others are not incentivised, with no credible explanation (criterion) given.
- A whole area or circuit where no posts are incentivised when teachers feel that the area qualifies.

A number of studies have raised concerns over the implementation of the incentives, citing a lack of commitment and coordination as reasons for problems at a provincial level. Magano's (2014) findings revealed little commitment from PEDs in sustaining incentives, particularly for mathematics and science teachers, meant to attract and retain teachers in poor and remote schools. As such, it appears that PEDs are working at cross purposes with the policy.

One of the reasons given for this was opposition from the unions to the incentives being targeted at only some subjects. In 2014, KwaZulu-Natal education head, Dr Nkosinathi Sishi, stated:

“It’s concerning to apply a policy that in itself perpetuates unfairness. KwaZulu-Natal is just one of two provinces that still uses this policy; it is not sustainable to continue to use [...] we can even be open to litigation in the event that a teacher says they feel they are being unfairly disadvantaged by the Department. This policy was never intended to be a ‘rural allowance’. It was an incentive for teachers to teach gateway subjects at hard-to-teach schools. Then the unions felt it would discriminate because they felt all the subjects were critical” (cited in Mlambo 2014b).

The unions claimed that their objections were directed principally towards the problematic manner in which the schools/posts were selected, and warned that if that was not attended to, the whole process would be highly unsustainable (SADTU Limpopo Provincial Secretariat, 2013).

In Mpumalanga, although the rural allowance has been introduced for mathematics teachers, officials questioned why the incentive was never paid despite the fact that it was included in the budget (Thwala, 2014).

In KwaZulu-Natal, reports show that errors, abuses, and possible fraud took place in the payment of rural allowances to non-qualifying teachers. Letters were sent to some teachers to tell them they would have to repay amounts of up to R9 000 that they had wrongly received and that they would cease to receive the allowance (Mlambo, 2014a). This led to calls for the incentive to be scrapped by the KwaZulu-Natal DoE as it “perpetuates unfairness” among teachers and was increasingly becoming a financial burden (Mlambo, 2014b), pointing out that a teacher’s salary, together with the rural allowance, was almost the same as that of a school’s head of department.

Magano (2014) also showed that provinces have interpreted the policy as a blanket measure for rural schools, thereby reducing the targeted intention of the incentive and removing the specific focus on hard-to-teach subjects. One reason given for this was that it faced opposition from unions in certain provinces:

*“We said we will only concentrate on scarce subjects, which are mathematics and science, in Quintile 1 schools in poverty-stricken areas and also have a collective agreement with the unions, but now we cannot because the unions reject this policy;*

*they say it was imposed at that time. So now the policy as it is now does not assist us” (Interview with Government Official 15, 2015).*

Magano (2014) indicated that rural provinces do not necessarily experience a serious staff turnover problem, but the ability to attract mathematics and science teachers remains a problem. For this reason, many schools resort to hiring foreign teachers, complicating the context in which incentives for subject shortages work. The following observation was made by a principal in Magano’s study (2014) with regard to rural teachers:

*“They do stay because teachers only move to urban schools when they are promoted. The movement of teachers out of rural schools is not rife. I will tell you what we have observed in our rural circuits. Teachers will stay there and work since we do not advertise PL1 posts; as soon as HOD posts are advertised, a few may apply and be promoted” (cited in Magano, 2014).*

Magano (2014) stated that anecdotal evidence suggested that the majority of the PEDs do not always pay the incentives, even though allocations appear to be reflected in their annual budgets. She reported that while HR managers claimed that incentives were being paid, reports submitted to the national DoE contradicted these statements. Magano (2014) pointed out that if PEDs are not required to provide evidence in terms of a detailed PERSAL report of who was paid and how much, the DBE cannot check that incentives are paid.

A review of the policy by the DBE showed that the provinces have chosen to implement it in different ways. The Free State, Northern Cape, and Western Cape have moved to incentivise some or all posts in “farm schools”, while posts are incentivised in poverty “nodal areas” in KwaZulu-Natal. Seven PEDs have implemented some form of a remoteness incentive, with Gauteng not implementing this and Mpumalanga planning to implement a scarce subject-based incentive. However, the central trend in all PEDs that are implementing posts is that once schools are identified to be targeted, all posts in that school are incentivised, which is short of what the policy had intended, in terms of the principle of prioritising specific posts that are hard to fill.

It appears that these criteria have been developed separately by provinces over time, based on established factors that lead to fewer complaints. This difficulty in implementation was also raised by a government official, who put it this way:

*“It’s been gazetted [...] but the fact that it had to be implemented, it depended and it still depends on the budget availability in each province and therefore every province*

*will consider it on merit, on its own. Also, there were issues about what constitutes 'rural' in the South African context; why does the school across the railway on that side, there's a rural school and my school that is positioned this side of the railway, is not rural?" (Interview with Government Official 15, 2015).*

The DBE (2014) suggested that at a practical implementation level, an additional criterion to determine posts that are difficult to attract and retain teachers for is still required, such as staff turnover rate, with a particular standard set in relation to the PED average. The DBE suggested that this would have to be scientifically defensible and not anecdotal in order to avoid disputes of unfairness. However, in the context of the current HR management information in the sector, it is still perceived to be difficult to manage, monitor, and evaluate the approach.

At a practical level, given the open-ended and undefined concept of a "hard-to-teach" school, managing implementation with any level of consistency is perceived to be problematic. Similarly, for the posts requested to be incentivised by principals, it was considered that similar conceptual and practical implementation issues existed.

#### **5.4.3.2 Strengthening policy**

In a review of rural incentives, the DBE (2014) suggested a number of measures to strengthen the policy to bring about convergence with how it is implemented. The following are proposed:

- Only two types of incentives should be implemented – for remoteness and scarce skills/subjects.
- With regard to remoteness, in addition to distance, e.g. farm schools, poverty nodal areas should be used for prioritisation.
- Similar prioritisation should be provided for in terms of prioritisation in terms of scarce skills.
- Once criteria have been determined, all posts in a school must be incentivised.
- Only professionally qualified teachers should qualify for the incentive.

Furthermore, the DBE is aiming to develop a clear monitoring framework with indicators that will involve regular reporting based on targets. An evaluation of the impact of the policy based on a baseline evaluation will also be conducted.

The DBE has suggested, however, that it may be necessary to discontinue the policy and re-evaluate the need for the recruitment and retention incentive; taking into account other developments such as targeted bursary schemes and improved supply, targeted recruitment of foreign educators in the short to medium term, an in-depth analysis of attrition to establish trends over time, and incentives such as a premium or compensation via a differentiated pay system, as opposed to focusing on recruitment and retention, in which case the policy will have to be rebranded.

In response to a question in August 2015 about incentives for rural teachers, the Minister of Basic Education suggested that the policy was being strengthened but that the DBE was considering using a range of non-financial incentives for this. The minister stated that the Department was in the process of reviewing the policy on incentives for teachers to address some of the policy gaps that existed. The aim was to ensure that the policy began to mitigate the unfavourable conditions that make it difficult to attract and retain teachers in rural areas. The additional measures proposed alongside the existing monetary incentives included provisioning of accommodation, transport, and other non-monetary incentives, including easier access to professional development opportunities.

In fact, the financial incentives themselves may not be as effective, particularly in supporting scarce subjects in rural areas, but broader policies to strengthen teaching in science and mathematics alongside improved governance are crucial support mechanisms in terms of the impact of incentives. With regard to policies that further mathematics and science in rural areas, the DBE (2015) stated:

“The unintended consequences of those policies was an incentive for teachers to go and teach in those schools, as they were seen as successful schools because there’s good governance, there’s good management, which attracts teachers to go and teach there. But it’s not particular incentives, designed policies that are success, it’s other policies that perhaps contributed to attracting teachers to those schools. The challenge, I think, with incentive policies in South Africa is with the issue of financial resourcing and as long as we have a high HR salary bill, incentives will remain a challenge for South Africa.”

In terms of how teachers perceive TRIS, a study of the policy by Poti, Mutsvangwa and Hove (2014) in the North West province explored teachers’ feedback via interviews and a questionnaire. The respondents were asked to indicate any other issues related to rural allowances that they thought had to be attended to in order to strengthen the allowances.

Some of the common responses indicated that they should be aligned with inflation as they are used for travelling, and that the method used to determine the remoteness of the school should be revisited and corrected. Furthermore, teachers felt the allowances should be paid monthly, like the housing allowances, and that the DBE should speed up the process of payment. Payment particularly should be consistent and continuous as the allowances are sometimes not paid for a whole year, and that the incentive scale should be revised. Finally, teachers felt that qualifications and subjects taught should be considered when making payments for rural allowances.

According to one government official, there is a need for incentives to fit into a much broader package of measures to support rural communities and communities in hard-to-staff contexts, beyond simply offering financial assistance:

*“[Y]ou’re not going to attract teachers to rural schools or high-density informal areas to teach in those schools unless you have a government intervention. In other words, you cannot expect basic education to give an incentive, give you a cottage in a school to go stay there, water and electricity is unreliable, with intermittent access to Internet, where it’s a nice cottage but your car gets broken into every night or the road towards you’re going to teach is in such a state that it’s pointless to invest in a car, so you’re walking. One’s child gets sick; how do you get that child to a doctor? Attracting teachers to rural areas needs to form part of a broader government initiative and broader government policy direction, and I think that in South Africa where we sometimes fail to be able to deliver, is integrating and ensuring that government works together with rural development and that the needs of education is considered there”* (Interview with Government Official 9, 2015).

In terms of its effect on teacher retention, Poti *et al.* (2014) showed that the impact of rural allowances was limited due to implementation problems but that TRIS did motivate teachers to work at their current schools and 71% were satisfied with it. Poti *et al.* (2014) further demonstrated that TRIS had managed to retain some teachers, but this was offset by the effect of delays and inconsistent payments. Retained teachers in the study indicated that they would not go to urban areas unless through promotion and that requests for transfer had been minimal since the inception of rural incentives. However, the study also indicated that 45% of the respondents would be happy to relocate to an urban school if given a chance to do so despite receiving the rural allowance, while 39% indicated that they would not.

#### 5.4.3.3 Conclusion – TRIS

TRIS has clearly faced considerable pressures due to budget constraints and implementation problems. In effect, it has become a decentralised policy that is targeted by provinces to the areas where they think it will be most effective. This appears to have potentially increased its effectiveness and countered some of the implementation issues.

Magano (2014) suggested that, in effect, the problem with the policy is that it is too broad-based and cannot target specific subjects, and in effect these are not clearly incentivised in practice. Where criteria for implementation differ between provinces, only some of the PEDs are able to implement the policy according to defined criteria, while others experience challenges.

In addition to this, Magano suggests that this is a situation of competing national and provincial priorities; stating that should any competing priority in the PED arise, money budgeted for incentives will be the first target for the PEDs. Magano (2014) stated that if the implementation of the policy does not occur from the outset, it is difficult to re-orientate it and while budgeting for incentives will be reflected for compliance, incentives will either not be paid or an attempt to pay a few teachers will only be partially made, but not to a set target.

The above discussion suggests that one of the problems with the policy is that TRIS targets too many teachers and cannot be effectively deployed in a one-size-fits-all manner. Two aspects arise from this: firstly, whether the payment of the incentives should be better accounted for by PEDs via PERSAL; and secondly, whether the criteria used for targeting the incentive should be developed at a provincial level.

From the above discussion it is clear that incentives for all rural teachers are costly, and they are not targeted at specific subject areas as intended, but seek to cover a wide range of contexts and needs. Due to opposition from unions and re-interpretation at the provincial level, the incentive has been broadly implemented as a pay rise targeting the teacher rather than the post. This stems partly from the conception of the policy attempting to act as an incentive for both scarce subjects and rural teachers at the same time.

Furthermore, the above discussion suggests that one policy or incentive alone may not be sufficiently effective. Incentives need to be conceptualised clearly and need to fit into a



package of interlinked policies that address rural concerns, or as one government official stated:

*“Strengthen the policy, make it very clear what is rural, what is not rural, what is township, and what is not township, and then provide the financial resources for that and the most, probably the most important, is that, look at the broader government involvement rather than just one or two policies within basic education”* (Interview with Government Official 12, 2015).

TRIS appears to work less effectively as an incentive to attract teachers to teach specific subjects in rural schools. However, it seems that it may work better as a measure to retain teachers within rural schools who are already trained and experienced, to remove the competing incentive for them to seek promotion to urban schools.

Financial incentives may be an effective way to retain teachers in rural schools, but it seems that additional kinds of incentives to recruit new teachers to rural schools are an alternative option being considered by the DBE. Furthermore, it seems that incentives only work on the condition that they are not washed out by other factors, such as deployment constraints, delays in payment, or opportunities for promotion to urban centres. Mulkeen (2009) pointed out that incentive schemes can also be outweighed by counter-incentives from urban schools. This is particularly true if schools in richer communities are able to raise money from parents through voluntary contributions or parent-teacher associations. This, in effect, acts to further increase the relative disadvantage of communities in rural and poorer areas.

In effect, TRIS simply ends up incentivising the teacher rather than the post. The provinces have adapted TRIS to fit their specific needs in different ways. This *de facto* form of implementation should be recognised by policy, alongside the fact that it depends on the budget constraints faced in each province. Information on staff turnover rates and targets for objectively considering the posts to incentivise may assist in identifying a scientifically defensible set of criteria. A range of measures are already in place to bring about convergence with how TRIS is implemented. However, including accommodation, transport, and other non-monetary incentives such as access to professional development opportunities seem to be a more sustainable way of strengthening the scheme to fit different contexts.

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

This section reviewed education interventions that focus on matters of teacher governance. These included interventions directed at managing teacher recruitment and deployment in particular. The analysis showed that the supply and demand of teachers are strongly influenced by past distribution regimes, particularly qualification inequities, and maldistribution entrenched by colonial and apartheid governance practices. Patterns of inequities contributed to segregated, segmented, fragmented, splintered, and unequal teaching and learning experiences and outcomes. As a consequence, political frameworks and institutions indirectly set out the goals for social cohesion and in overseeing their implementation by bureaucracy and the consequent outcomes for social justice, these outcomes are too often described as “elusive”. Bureaucracies are also embedded in their own political and historical contexts in different ways that often require reconciling competing interests and objectives – a task that is significantly complicated by the decentralisation of key decisions to provincial levels. Social cohesion is severely stunted under these conditions. In a context of fragmentation, misrepresentation rather than representation prevails, with dire consequences for accountability. Evaluating the effectiveness of interventions showed that there are negative consequences as well as inefficiencies across the system of recruitment and deployment. The interventions in this section suggested that there is indeed a long road to walk to achieve equality in and through teacher recruitment and deployment. Each intervention’s challenge can be summarised as follows:

### 5.5.1 PPNs

The education labour market does not resolve the pressures of budgetary constraint on HR allocation or in regards to post provisioning, which works around the infusion of a centralised model with market demand. Intending to redistribute teachers by absolute learner enrolment does not address contextual patterns of maldistribution in regards to teacher qualification and school context. Where absolute learner enrolment is the only factor in the calculation of post provisioning, the eventual outcomes may remain skewed and unequal.

There is also a clear disjuncture between policy intention and the provincial implementation. The key conceptual purpose of the policy is as a cost curtailment measure and provincial operationalisation of the policy reflects that. By the time it reaches the school, it has little impact in relation to attaining equity.

### **5.5.2 FLBP**

A key conceptual challenge for the FLBP is that it must act as a kind of compromise between an incentive for broad-based teacher training, an incentive for teachers to work in rural areas, and an incentive for teacher training to address skill shortages in the economy.

In addition, supply-side interventions are necessary. The potential of the FLBP is high in terms of reversing some of the apartheid provisioning legacies and should be supported. Furthermore, district-based recruitment is one way of strengthening its impact in terms of social justice.

### **5.5.3 TRIS**

The problem with the policy is that TRIS targets too broad a range of teachers in different contexts and cannot be effectively deployed in a one-size-fits-all manner. Two aspects arise from this: firstly, whether the payment of the incentives should be better accounted for by PEDs; and secondly, whether the criteria used for targeting the incentive should be developed at a provincial level. One policy or incentive alone may not be sufficiently effective. Incentives need to be conceptualised clearly and need to fit into a package of interlinked policies that address rural concerns.

Furthermore, financial rural incentives for teachers are not, on their own, adequate to bring about sustained teacher supply; enhancements to infrastructure and services in those areas are further requirements.

### **5.5.4 Recommendations**

Governance interventions should foster a stronger social compact to address the drivers of weak teacher governance further upstream in the system, focusing on perceptions of

accountability and transparency as well as the causes of persistent teacher churn and attrition and broader political economy drivers such as cadre deployment.

Building trust and social cohesion through teacher governance requires also focusing on the inequities that push teachers and education bureaucrats to negatively impact on the system as a whole; eroding social cohesion, government legitimacy, and intergroup relations. Interventions should aim to promote the absorption of new graduates, as well as strengthening redeployment and recruitment in ways that explicitly promote social cohesion as an outcome.

Secondly, there appears to be inadequate communication of the overall aim and objectives of policies to districts, schools, and unions. The design of recruitment and deployment interventions suggests that successful implementation relies principally on actors at the provincial level. However, without strong coordination at this level, the opposition of unions and other actors can work against the intentions of policy. The roles of principals do not appear to be conceived of strongly, such as by assisting in determining what an effective affordable school post establishment could be, rather than working from a post establishment determined at provincial level that may be unaffordable for the state. Similarly, principals and bursary holders appear to be provided with little information about each other's reciprocal needs and objectives. The lack of communication of criteria to schools and district actors for identifying posts to be incentivised by TRIS appears as a similar weakness. As such, interventions appear to weakly account for the agency of these actors – resorting to a blunt “one-size-fits all” approach that does not seek to connect with stakeholders lower down the implementation chain effectively.

Thirdly, continuing efforts to foster an ethical climate with the introduction of internal financial controls (PMG, 2016) alongside targeted interventions to support weak provincial governance structures may further strengthen accountability and transparency. However, building trust and social cohesion through teacher governance requires also focusing on the inequities that push teachers and education bureaucrats to negatively impact on the system as a whole, and eroding social cohesion, government legitimacy, and intergroup relations.

Fourthly, in this light, the recommendation is that the system should consider how a shift from an “educator focus” towards a “school focus” could be leveraged to involve schools in contextual decisions relating to teacher management more constructively.

Additionally, teacher agency to contribute towards different school needs in ways to foster social cohesion goals is not facilitated by the existing barriers to their movement between provinces (Gustafsson, 2016) and between different schools.

Fifthly, incentives need to be considered pragmatically in terms of their broad outcomes and feasibility. Financial incentives have assisted to support an overall growth in teacher supply, but a single programme or intervention may not work equally well to incentivise teaching scarce subjects and teaching in rural contexts if it is too broad-based to target one or the other effectively. Similarly, rationally weighted incentives (such as those based on distance) may appear outwardly defensible or preferable, but may not be feasible in practice. Similarly, certain incentives may simply be more easily negated by other factors, such as deployment constraints, delays in payment, and/or opportunities for promotion to urban centres.

Sixthly, incentives need to be supported by the broader scheme of policy to effect change. There is a clear need for incentives to fit into a much broader package of measures to support rural communities and communities in hard-to-staff contexts, and these need to look beyond simply offering financial assistance or bursaries. Coordination among a range of stakeholders is also important for implementation. Where a number of forces appear to work against the intention of policy, strengthening policy to bring about convergence with how it is being implemented may be necessary.

Seventhly, the rational allocation of teachers in use itself is often neither pro-poor nor equity focused (Ally and McLaren, 2016). Instead, recommendations should be considered to effect redress. Taking a bottom-up adequacy approach with “costed norms” versus a top-down input driven approach (driven by inputs such as LERs) can also encourage a tighter focus on minimum standards and more efficient use of resources, which may establish ways to hold schools and provinces accountable for performance. Currently the PPNs are also undermined by transgression in ways that work against equity goals. Improved data management systems may help to tackle barriers for recruitment and the prevalence of out-of-field teachers within the poorest schools. Programmes could also consider ways to encourage highly qualified teachers teaching at schools with posts above the establishment to move to teach high-value subjects at poor rural schools. For example, such as a points-based incentive for teachers to opt to forfeit short-term gains of teaching lower-valued

subjects offered at rich peri-urban schools in exchange for promotional opportunities or post appointment opportunities into other selected urban schools in the future.

Finally, social cohesion depends on systems predicated on recognition that value participation and effect equal distribution. Partnerships with stakeholders in the interventions, alongside incentives, are therefore fundamental. Social cohesion is also contingent on a balance between centralised versus decentralised activities. Fostering the right kind of sustainable intergovernmental collaboration and provincial cooperation with districts and communities also hinges on systems of monitoring and accountability and efforts to realise a convergence between stakeholders and implementation on the one hand, and redress and reconciliation on the other. Consequently, considering institutional diversity and political drivers is critical for supporting social cohesion with emphasis on the multiple and differentiated entry points for improving governance.

The next chapter examines the concepts of teacher trust and accountability as key elements in the creation of sustainable social cohesion in school, community, and state ecologies.

## Chapter 6 - Teacher Trust and Accountability

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### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the state of teacher trust and accountability as an expression of the values and behaviours that frame the education system in South Africa. What is valued in an education system expresses to whom and for what a teacher feels accountable, together with who holds her/him to account and for what. Moreover, these call attention to the opportunities and limitations in relation to which teachers act. There is an increasing global move to improve accountability within education (Bruns, Filmer & Patrinos, 2011). Evidence is internationally available on education reforms to improve accountability. Developing countries' education results are, according to Bruns *et al.* (2011:2), improving as a result of, among other reasons, strengthening accountability and adopting various and rigorous evaluation strategies, such as impact evaluations to test whether programmes are delivering their desired results.

Furthermore, in order to promote social cohesion, teachers need to be trusted, not only as individuals within their school communities, but also collectively as a teaching profession. In order for this to happen, teachers need to be trusted, act in trustworthy ways, and establish trust relationships with the government, the school, learners, and the communities in which their school is located. In order to establish trust, interventions and processes are put in place, such as the ones that will be discussed later, to ensure that there are accountability mechanisms for teachers. Accountability mechanisms provided by governance structures is therefore one way to build the trust and the trustworthiness of teachers. Before discussing the South African education context in relation to trust and accountability, methodology and definitions will first be discussed briefly.

### 6.2 METHODOLOGY

A variety of primary sources were used in this chapter, including international and national research reports, national policies such as the NDP, *Action Plan to 2014 – Towards the Realisation of Schooling 2025*, the MTSF, SASA, and the South African Council for Educators' (SACE's) Code of Professional Ethics. An analysis of primary data sources included nine semi-structured interviews with members of professional bodies and NGOs, 12 learner focus

groups with learners from Grade 8 and 9, and 102 questionnaires surveying all Grade 8 and 9 teachers from nine schools – six in the Western Cape and three in the Eastern Cape.

The process of data collection started in June 2015, when a conference on teacher professionalism was held in Pretoria. The conference was used as a platform to connect with and set up interviews with important education stakeholders attending the event, including members of SACE, professional bodies such as the National Association of SGBs, NGOs, and international organisations such as UNICEF, as well as academics from most South African universities and teacher unions.

The research continued in 2016, when questionnaires were administered to all Grade 8 and 9 teachers in nine schools in total – six in the Western Cape and three in the Eastern Cape. The selection of schools for the Western Cape included one urban rich school, two urban poor schools, one rural school, and one rural poor school. The selection of schools in the Eastern Cape included one urban rich school and two rural poor schools.

Table 23 shows the data that were collected for this section of the research project.

**Table 23: Methodology table for teacher trust and accountability**

Method	Stakeholder	Number	Position in organisation	Sex
<b>Semi-structured interview</b>	Policymaker	9	1. SACE – President and CEO (two interviews)	F
			2. Norkitte Education Leadership Initiative – director/ coordinator	M
			3. National Education Collaboration Trust – former CEO	M
			4. National Professional Teachers' Association of South Africa (NAPTOSA)	F
			5. SADTU	M
			6. South African Principals' Association – former president	F
			7. Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (SAOU)	M
<b>Questionnaires</b>	Teachers	102		
	Learners	60 – 96 learners	Twelve focus groups with learners from Grade 8 and 9, across six schools in the Western Cape and three in the Eastern Cape	



Method	Stakeholder	Number	Position in organisation	Sex
Documents	Primary (e.g. policy text, project documents)		SACE Code of Professional Ethics SASA (1996) NEPA NPFTED NDP MTSF <i>Action plan to 2014 – Towards Schooling 2025</i>	

Source: CITE (2016)

### 6.3 DEFINITIONS OF TRUST AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is an ethical concept and is characterised by “proper behaviour and [it] deals with the responsibilities of individuals and organisations for their actions towards other people and agencies”. The concept is used in practical settings, notably in describing arrangements for governance and management in public services and private organisations (Levitt, Janta & Wegrich, 2008:vii). The term “accountability” is used similarly to other concepts such as “transparency, liability, answerability and other ideas associated with the expectations of account-giving” (Levitt, Janta & Wegrich, 2008: 1-2). Bovens’ (2005) research defined accountability as “a social relation in which an actor feels an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct to some significant other” (cited in Levitt *et al.*, 2008:2). These definitions point out honesty and openness within a horizontal and/or vertical relationship structure for the purpose of giving an account of one’s actions. The extent to which an organisation gives an account of their actions and behaviours determines the level of trust it can obtain; account giving helps to facilitate trust. Consequently, mistakes or misconduct can be corrected, or conversely, good conduct can be rewarded. Accountability is therefore vital in the teaching profession where a number of stakeholders including children, and, most importantly, where children are involved.

What follows is an explication of professional accountability, which refers to an accountability typology which uses specific methods of holding actors accountable “through codes of conduct or practice systems of regulation designed or operated by peers” (Ruth, Barbara & Kai, 2008:viii). SACE’s Code of Professional Ethics is a mechanism through which teachers are held accountable. Literature has shown that there is a tendency towards de-

professionalising the teaching profession. This is with reference to changes in the autonomy of professionals, the introduction of more external controls, performance measurements and monitoring, and more transparency in accountability in relation to consumer choice (Levitt *et al.*, 2008:ix).

There is thus a tension between teachers' identity as independent professionals (autonomy), who are able to make informed decisions, and the various accountability mechanisms (control) teachers are required to comply with (Levitt *et al.*, 2008:vii-viii).

Levels of autonomy and control therefore depend on the relationship between the stakeholders involved (Levitt *et al.*, 2008: viii). Where there are high levels of trust, managerial control and intervention are fairly low and autonomy is high. Where there are low levels of trust, managerial intervention is high and professional autonomy is low (Levitt *et al.*, 2008:viii). Gale and Densmore (2003:85) stated that "teacher professional judgment has been replaced by pre-specified, highly routinized curricula" (cited in Govender, n.d.). Levitt *et al.* (2008:2) stated that in order to achieve accountability in practice it is important to engage with the actors who would be held accountable for their performance. Deliberation or debate are important elements of the accountable relationship.

Trust, on the other hand, is an essential value needed to create an effective and cooperative organisational system (Paliszkievicz, 2011:315). Trust is an important predictor of positive outcomes within relationships. There are different yet similar definitions of trust. Sztompka (1999) defines trust as "the expectation that other people, or groups or institutions with whom we get into contact – interact, cooperate – will act in ways conducive to our well-being" (as cited in Harris, Caldwell & Longmuir, 2013:5). Trust in relation to teachers is therefore concerned with how the firm belief in the integrity, ability, and effectiveness of teachers is built (*ibid.*); firstly by their own practices and behaviours, and also through professional bodies such as SACE, SGBs, and mechanisms such as the SACE professional code of ethics and SGBs' power to make teacher appointments.

On a macro scale, trust and accountability are tied together in the sense that without accountability mechanisms in place within the teaching profession, there cannot be structural trust. Accountability mechanisms such as the Code of Professional Ethics and SGB policies therefore enhance structural trust of the teaching profession; however, it may do little for the relational trust of teachers. Structural trust is useful for the employer (DBE), the

public, and the reputation of the teaching profession. Relational trust, on the other hand, is based on individual interactions between learners, parents, and teachers. This is determined on a micro level and is as important as the macro level of trust.

#### **6.4 TEACHER TRUST AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The purpose of accountability in a system is to focus the resources and capacities of an organisation or system towards a particular end. Two separate but equally relevant matters arise in this respect. Firstly, accountability would be influenced by the state of coherence articulated with respect to the particular end of the system. Secondly, accountability depends on the capacity to mobilise resources in response to the accountability mechanisms and demands in place. Trust is an important element in mobilising resources. To this end, accountability will improve to the extent that inequality in the education system decreases.

Accountability can relate to education stakeholders' proportionate responsibility for the performance of schools and teachers. The outcome of accountability can thus be measured in relation to those implicated to respond, as well as their capacity to respond. These would be inferred from the manner in which the "end" is articulated. In short, what is the end and what is the level of consensus in this regard?

The NDP (2011) highlighted the importance of accountability within the education sector. Accountability among stakeholders includes schools and teachers being held accountable to the DoE and education authorities. In addition, it addresses weaknesses and gaps in teaching, administrative support, and management. The MTSF's "strategic approach is to aim for policy and implementation stability by strengthening key interventions through strengthening education accountability, planning, and management systems, as well as aligning existing policies to monitor performance and make the system run better" (DBE, 2014b). The policy document presented by the DBE, *Schooling 2025*, is the education sector's long-term action plan for schools. This document uses a variety of sources to synthesise the challenges and solutions facing the education system. Twenty-seven education goals are outlined in this plan. Interestingly, none of these goals address accountability.

The DBE places the onus of attaining these goals on all education stakeholders (DBE, 2011b:13-14). These structures and stakeholders include the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC), Umalusi, SACE, and SAQA (DBE, 2011b:43). SGBs have a significant amount of authority within the schooling system to improve accountability measures. Over and above these chains of authority, the minister ultimately has responsibility for the realisation of these goals. In addition, social capital plays a major role in stakeholders' ability to fulfil their mandate. Schools need to have the capacity to respond to accountability measures. SGBs may not be equally empowered to engage in measures of teacher accountability.

Increasing accountability measures without increasing capacity to respond is not effective. The context for trust in the South African case is both relational and structural. Relational trust refers to "the trust a person puts in another person or group of people [...] a generalised type of trust usually established over time" (Harris *et al.*, 2013:5). This is relevant for teachers and their school community, colleagues, learners, and learners' parents. Structural trust, on the other hand, is "trust that we put in entire institutions, companies, and brands" (Harris *et al.*, 2013:5). This trust is relevant and highly important for the teaching profession. The Finnish education system has acquired a large amount of structural trust that has gained a positive international reputation.

"The culture of trust meant that education authorities and political leaders believe that teachers, together with principals, parents, and their communities, know how to provide the best possible education for their children and youth. Trust can only flourish in an environment that is built on honesty, confidence, professionalism, and good governance [...] Public institutions enjoy high public trust in Finland. Trusting schools and teachers is a consequence of a well-functioning civil society and high social capital. Honesty and trust [...] are often seen as among the most basic values and building blocks of Finnish society" (Sahlberg, 2010:130-131, cited in Harris *et al.*, 2013:9).

An important point made in this excerpt is that trusting schools is a consequence of a well-functional civil society and high social capital (formal and informal partnership to support the school) (Harris *et al.*, 2013:10), and is an important factor to be borne in mind in the South African context. In fact, it is found that there is a strong association between the level of trust and the level of improvement (Harris *et al.*, 2013:17). Schools that have improved and made good progress have strengthened three forms of capital in addition to social capital, namely intellectual capital (level of skill of employees), spiritual capital (morals, purpose, beliefs, and attitudes towards life and learning), and financial capital (money

available to support the school). Trust was an important factor in each of these (Harris *et al.*, 2013:10).

It is important to point out that trust does not directly affect student grades and learning improvement, but rather creates the social fabric, such as the environment and support conducive to learning (Bryk *et al.*, 2010:1508, cited in Harris *et al.*, 2013:19) that may impact positively on student learning outcomes.

The 2012 NEEDU report made a distinction between “teachers who can’t and teachers who won’t” and explained why schools in many cases are not doing what is expected. Elmore (2004:117) stated that “accountability systems and incentive structures, no matter how well designed, are only as effective as the capacity of the organisation to respond”.

Stakeholders within the South African education sector are reported to be uncoordinated, and working towards their own goals, rather than a collective goal in most instances (Van der Berg *et al.*, 2011). For example, it is claimed that teacher unions protect the wage interests and the working conditions of teachers, rather than children’s educational development. Increased education decentralisation, moreover, is found to result in weaker systems of accountability and support (Van der Berg *et al.*, 2011). This may be due to unequal capacities of individuals in decentralised structures. For instance, SGBs rely on parents and members to fulfil their roles effectively.

Resources have to be understood within context. In other words, schools cannot mobilise resources they do not have; for example, the capacity to improve precedes and shapes schools’ responses to the external demands of accountability systems. Spaul (2014) suggested that in order to improve accountability, there should be an increase in information and transparency at all levels; the DBE, district, school, classroom, and learner should be strengthened.

#### **6.4.1 Trust and accountability interventions**

This chapter presents two interventions, namely SACE (accountability aimed at teachers) and SGBs (accountability for and within schools), which intend to provide accountability measures and mechanisms with respect to how teachers are evaluated. The evaluation considers which interventions direct accountability, the stakeholder who is implicated in

holding the teacher to account, the level of responsibility accorded to the teacher, and the teachers' capacity to respond.

#### 6.4.2 South African Council for Educators (SACE)

SACE is a professional council established in terms of the SACE Act (No. 31 of 2000), aimed at enhancing the status of the teaching profession with a vision of excellence towards education (SACE, 2011:4). It is one of 17 similar international organisations under the broader body called the International Forum of Teaching Regularity Authorities (IFTRA).

The SACE Act and NPFTED (2007) grant SACE the legislative authority and mandate (SACE, 2011:7) to serve two functions; namely the registration and discipline of teachers, and to develop and manage teacher professional development systems (although it does not have the resources and capacity to provide training).

“In 2007, SACE was given overall responsibility for the implementation, management and quality assurance of a Continuing Professional Teacher Development (CPTD) Management System. The aim is to enhance the quality of teaching in public schools through a process of recognising, supporting and tracking teacher professional development. The SACE Council approved the CPTD implementation plan in November 2012 and it has subsequently been implemented on a phased-in basis, beginning with principals and deputy principals in January 2014”(CDE, 2012).

SACE plays a role in advising the minister on teacher education and development issues, research, and developing the professional development policy (SACE, 2011:23). SACE attempts to professionalise the teaching profession through codes of professional ethics and the development of disciplinary approaches.

SACE's mandate can be summarised with the following three objectives that are supported by the NPFTED (DoE, 2006):

- **To provide for the registration of educators (a requirement for being appointed as a teacher in a public school);**

This involves various types of registration including part-time posts:

*“So we have decided on minimum registration criteria, for you to be a registered teacher. At the moment now it is a four-year teaching qualification roughly, which is what the universities do. But then there are other variations that we accept, to give you full registration. We then have another category of registration called provisional registration, that caters for all of the other types of registration, conditional*

*registration, where there are shortages and qualified teachers are not available. There are a number of teachers that teach under provisional registration. For example if you're teaching Art in a school and you may not have a teaching qualification, but you are a well-known artist, so we register you, because the school says the person comes once a week and teaches Art. We have no problem. So we give them conditional registration. So that is the first mandate, and of course that mandate has grown from simply registering educators on the basis of some paper qualification to now it has reached some level of sophistication where councillors agreed that it will vet all the teachers to see if they are of good standing in character, which we didn't do in the past. We took their commitment on their application form and if it said something about they had a process against them, then we would have a hearing but we didn't do this. So now we've jacked up our requirements. Secondly we, from this year on, we will be verifying all the qualifications, because there is a lot of stories about teachers having fraudulent certificates" (Interview with 2 Professional Association 1, 2015).*

- **To promote the professional development of educators; and**
- **To set, maintain, and protect ethical and professional standards for educators by means of the functioning of the council (SACE, 2011:6).**

SACE has also created an additional support structure for teachers:

*"We have a call centre. Because we find that teachers are lost quite often as to getting some advice on a matter that pertains not only to the professionalism but to the general wellbeing. So we have taken it upon ourselves to say, let's help these teachers, just give them the right telephone numbers. Let's take the case and pass it on to an authority that will deal with it. So you know, we are trying to bring into the council now, this notion of looking after the teachers, their wellbeing, giving them support, and even appreciation. It's part of this kind of secondary mandate where we will engage in a lot of activities throughout the year. We used to, but it is going to be more vigorous where we go out and show our appreciation to teachers, interact with them and hear them and listen carefully and maybe bring back ideas that we can work on. Yeah, so those three mandates have kind of generated this kind of sub-mandates, and that is about the being of SACE now" (Interview with 2 Professional Association 1, 2015).*

The role of SACE in the professional development of teachers has been contested. The main issue of contestation is whether SACE should promote continuous professional development and also act as a provider of continuous professional development. This contestation has affected the implementation of professional development functions and advising the minister, as well as promoting the image of the profession (SACE, 2011:23-24). SACE (2011:34) provides recommendations, including the revision of the Code of Professional Ethics and the disciplinary methods at the end of every financial year. SACE also develops a

concept document to help educators understand their role in discipline, a comprehensive communication and advocacy strategy, and proposes publications such as the code of ethics poster and disciplinary procedures (SACE, 2012:35). As such, it provides a framework for teacher accountability beyond their role in narrowly conceived academic achievement. SACE provides the overarching ethic to which teachers are held accountable as agents of social cohesion for society in education.

## **6.5 THE SACE CODE OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS**

The Code of Professional Ethics is developed, maintained, and improved by SACE, based on the SACE Act of 2000. The purpose of the Code of Professional Ethics is:

- to provoke thinking, debate, and discussion about ethical issues in education; and
- to sharpen the understanding of ethical issues and the ability to act ethically.

The Code of Professional Ethics states that educators are accountable to the learners, the parents, the community, their colleagues, their employer, and the council. The Code of Professional Ethics should be reviewed, but the frequency thereof is unstated. SACE's Code of Professional Ethics provides guidelines for appropriate relationships among teachers and their colleagues, learners, parents, community, employers, and the council. However, the number of unprofessional incidences among a minority of teachers shows that one cannot assume that all teachers are aware of professional conduct (SACE, 2012:22).

SACE has attempted to inform all teachers of the Code of Professional Ethics, but there are no monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in place to check if all teachers are aware of these ethics. SACE does not have the resources or capacity to reach the majority of SACE-registered educators (SACE, 2011:32). SACE has found face-to-face contact with teachers the most useful and effective, as there can be a better understanding of the consequences of contravening the code.

## **6.6 TEACHER MISCONDUCT**

As previously mentioned, SACE is responsible for disciplinary procedures and sanctions. A 2008-2009 report (SACE, 2012), based on the misconduct of teachers, showed the different types of misconduct, the severity thereof, and comparison to the other provinces.



In 2008, 277 cases were reported and 265 cases in 2009 (SACE, 2012:3). In 2009, 287 people were accused in a total of 265 cases reported (SACE, 2012:5). In 2008, 30% of the misconduct comprised unprofessional conduct, followed by 25% as cases of assault, and 17% as cases of fraud. Most prominent types of misconduct found in 2009 by educators were also professional misconduct at 25%, assault and sexual misconduct at 18%, and fraud at 17%. In 2007, a study revealed that South African teachers are absent on an average of eight days per year, excluding strikes, and 20 days including strikes. This loss of time does not include non-teaching time, even when teachers are present. A recent study observing 58 schools in the North West concluded that “teachers did not teach 60% of the lessons they were scheduled to teach in North West” (Carnoy & Chisholm et al, 2012: xvi). Also of concern is the prevalence of the financial mismanagement by school leaders, and the possibility that they might have obtained their positions illegally (SACE, 2012:17).

As demonstrated in the statistics above, teachers may be perpetrators of violence against learners. Cases of sexual relations between teachers and learners also emerged. A significant issue, impacting hugely on social cohesion in schools, is the number of sexual misconduct cases reported to SACE:

*“Closely, almost second, would be the cases of sexual misconduct, where you’d find teachers now take advantage of learners, especially the girl child. But you do get other permutations, you know; boys being also taken advantage of by male teachers and by female teachers, so there is a permutation that goes on, but definitely the large majority of cases would be male teachers who prey upon teenage girls, grown girls”* (Interview with 1 Professional Association 1, 2015).

In addition, corporal punishment is the most common violation according to an interviewee:

*“The most common violation on the code of ethics is in terms of corporal punishment [...] by a long way. And then you would find the second category would be violence among educators [...] all of these cases, not only are they violations of the code of ethics but they are actually criminal matters and they go to the police as well”* (Interview with 1 Professional Association 1, 2015).

Table 24 indicates the number of teachers surveyed who still use corporal punishment. A significant number of teachers do not use corporal punishment.

**Table 24: Teachers who say they physically discipline learners**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Never	58	56.9	56.9	56.9
About once a month	4	3.9	3.9	60.8
About once a week	4	3.9	3.9	64.7
Every day	3	2.9	2.9	67.6
No response	33	32.4	32.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)

Learners are also exposed to a high level of violence in some communities. Table 25 shows the effect violence has on learners:

**Table 25: The effect of violence on learners**

Answers	Fees	No fees	Total
Learners lose their ability to concentrate in class	86.21	84.04	85.32
Learners' academic performance suffers	81.15	81.7	81.38
Learners see violence as the best way to solve problems	75	73.77	74.5
Learners become depressed	76.01	70.98	73.94
Learners have less time to learn	74.53	72.77	73.81
Learners miss classes	72.27	70.54	71.56
Victimised learners become violent towards others	70.33	68.97	69.77
Learners drop out of school	66.43	71.99	68.72
Learners suffer physical harm	62.62	56.47	60.09
Learners become afraid of violent teachers	50.62	45.42	48.49
<b>Total</b>	<b>715.19</b>	<b>696.65</b>	<b>707.57</b>

Source: CITE Teacher Professionalism Study Draft Report (2016)

Although responses could be interpreted in different ways, disaggregating them by fee- and non-fee-paying schools (thus intersecting race and class) did not show major differences regarding the effects of violence. Most teachers strongly agreed that the best way to support learners to deal with violence in schools is to have a dedicated social worker, followed by increased security, and by implementing the School Safety Programme. Disaggregated by fee status, the data suggested that teachers at no-fee schools tend to

favour greater disciplinary measures and securitisation at their schools, which suggests they may face higher levels of physical violence and/or the police do not protect their communities as much. Teachers at no-fee schools indicated that CPTD and ITE should play a greater role in preparing teachers to deal with violence – suggesting that current training programmes may not be effective in preparing teachers to teach poor children who face significant systemic violence. Teachers at no-fee schools indicated a greater need for support from the school management team (SMT), consistent with their responses in other sections which emphasised poor school governance as a significant obstacle to their professional status as teachers.

Interestingly, most of the accused were educators, who accounted for 75% of the accused in 2008 and 63% in 2009. Principals / acting principals / deputy principals comprised 21% of the accused in 2008 and 26% in 2009 (SACE, 2012:7). This may be an indication that selection procedures for principals and their ongoing professional support are currently inadequate. Something to consider is the illegal attainment of posts by principals and teachers, which may be linked to teacher underperformance in leadership positions and a compromise of SACE's independence from political influence. The MMT who investigated the selling of posts by a teacher union stated the following:

“SACE plays a crucial role in the regulation of the teaching profession. However its close links with and allegiance to a single Teacher Union, SADTU, has raised questions about its independence, even though the composition of its Council is in accordance with current structural agreements” (DBE, 2016:27-28).

One interviewee addressed the relationship between teacher unions and SACE:

*“Let me start here, council as council is made up of 31 members. Number 1, of the 31 members, 18 of them come from the organised teaching profession. Immediately you can see they are in the majority. All the unions are represented and the minister has her own reps - five of them. Then [also] your independent schools as SGBs, etc. – all the stakeholders. So it starts there. So in a way, all the decisions that you are making as SACE, it's largely the unions themselves making those decisions, but in addition to that, we have a very good, healthy relationship because each and every programme that we are running, we do have bilateral with them so that we can get a buy-in and we haven't had a situation where we had tensions in terms of anything that we are running. When we were introducing the CPTD system, we had to consult with all of them, get a buy-in and as a result, most of them are running those programmes on our behalf. They're assisting us in terms of orientating their members. When we go to decisions, they're there to come and support because when teachers see their unions there, for them, automatically, they buy into the process that you are running. So ja, I*

*think it's healthy that we have a healthy relationship"* (Interview with 1 Professional Association 1, 2015).

It is important to highlight that teachers may also be victimised at schools:

*"There have been reported incidences where teachers were threatened and actually physically assaulted. Within the Code of Conduct for Learners it's one of the different categories of behaviours that is inappropriate and that has to be, you know, as a transgression there are certain consequences that have been attached to that. So, in other words, if a child assaults a teacher, there are consequences and that should be within the code of conduct for schools"* (Interview with Government Official 7, 2015).

And,

*"There was a major case in the Vaal Triangle where a teacher was actually beaten by a child. The province immediately took all the disciplinary actions. It's one of those cases that went viral. Unfortunately, you know, the subtle bullying, the subtle violence towards teachers, those things do not, are not in the face of the public, they're managed at that level, but with that severe case that went viral, we could see it all over the news, that was a problem and immediately action was taken there"* (Interview with Government Official 7, 2015).

What is important to highlight is that teachers are not solely perpetrators but may also be placed in vulnerable and risky positions as teachers in different contexts. Teachers can be negatively affected by various types of learner behaviour. "Research has found that in many cases children are perpetrators of violence, and teachers are becoming victims thereof" (SACE, 2011:4). Three out of five high schools reported cases of learners verbally abusing teachers. One out of four high schools reported cases of teachers being physically abused, and 2.4% reported cases of teachers being sexually assaulted. Learner access to alcohol and drugs has led to more overt forms of violence toward teacher authorities. Research also shows 57.7% of teachers at primary school and 58.1% of teachers at secondary schools feeling unsafe in schools (SACE, 2011:19).

The impact of violence on teachers includes negative feelings towards learners, less interest in teaching or people wanting to become teachers, high levels of burnout and a greater chance of deciding to resign, stress and depression, and feeling unsupported (SACE, 2011:21). There is a need for psychiatric and psychological counselling for both teachers and learners, as recommended by SACE. This will hopefully be made widely available to teachers in order to support the work they do (SACE, 2012:28). With regard to how violence impacts

teachers, Table 26 illustrates that teachers feel demoralised, unsafe, and unable to complete their work on time.

**Table 26: Impact of violence on teachers**

Answers	Frequency	% responses	% cases
Teachers feel demoralised	1712	16.3	78.5
Teachers feel unsafe at school	1687	16.06	77.35
Teachers cannot complete the syllabus	1574	14.99	72.17
Teachers' professional status is undermined by violence	1481	14.1	67.9
Teachers feel threatened by learners	1477	14.06	67.72
Teacher absenteeism from school increases	1262	12.02	57.86
Teachers feel threatened by other teachers	788	7.5	36.13
Teachers use violence to discipline learners	521	4.96	23.89
<b>Total</b>	<b>10502</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>481.52</b>

*Source: CITE Teacher Professionalism Study Draft Report (2016)*

According to the responses collected from a representative sample of teachers in the Western Cape who completed a teacher professionalism survey, the most significant effects that violence on learners had on the school was loss of concentration. Somewhat surprisingly, the least frequent response was that learners were afraid of violent teachers. Table 27 indicates the teachers' responses to how schools can be supported to mitigate violence.

**Table 27: Supporting schools to mitigate violence**

Answers	Frequency	% responses	% cases
Each school should have a dedicated social worker	2045	9.03	93.72
There should be increased security at schools	2033	8.97	93.17
The South African police services' safe schools programme should be implemented	1985	8.76	90.97
Provide teachers with better behaviour management training	1966	8.68	90.1
CPTD should help teachers deal with violence	1954	8.62	89.55
The SMT should be more effective in implementing policies to tackle violence	1940	8.56	88.91
Schools should be able to expel violent learners	1937	8.55	88.77
I wish my initial teacher training had prepared me better for dealing with violence	1750	7.72	80.2
Learners should be involved in decision making at schools so they learn to be responsible for others	1663	7.34	76.21
The DBE should play a stronger role in ensuring that corporal punishment does not occur	1563	6.9	71.63

Answers	Frequency	% responses	% cases
Schools are not well-run; if they were better run they could tackle violence more effectively	1336	5.9	61.23
All learners should be taught African history so that they appreciate the value of other African cultures	1253	5.53	57.42
All learners should be taught history so they understand the negative consequences of violence	1231	5.43	56.42
<b>Total</b>	<b>22656</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1038.31</b>

Source: CITE Teacher Professionalism Study Draft Report (2016)

The overwhelming response is that schools should be supported by social workers, followed by an increase in security at schools, and also large support for the implementation of the Safe Schools Programme. Concerning how much learners trust their teachers, learners showed varying degrees of trust in their teachers depending on the relationship the teacher and learner had developed. One can see this reflected in this conversation in different focus groups at different schools:

*INTERVIEWER: Do you trust your teachers?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Because they have been through the same problems that we are going through right now; they know what's going on like in our age group (Grade 8 learners, focus group, urban, fee-paying school, Western Cape).*

*INTERVIEWER: Do you trust your teachers?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Some of them.*

*INTERVIEWER: What kind of teachers will you trust?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: The teacher that you can tell your problem to and that can understand you.*

*INTERVIEWER: If you have a problem, will you always talk to your teacher?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes, sometimes, because she can understand me.*

*INTERVIEWER: Okay if you must choose – you have a problem and you must choose to talk to your friend or to your teacher, who will you choose to talk to?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: The teacher.*

*INTERVIEWER: Why not your friend?*

*MALE SPEAKER: Because sometimes your friend will share it with others.*

*INTERVIEWER: And your teacher won't do that?*

*MALE SPEAKER: No, the teacher will advise you (Grade 9 learners, focus group, urban, no-fee paying school, Western Cape).*

*INTERVIEWER: Do you think there is a general respect among teachers towards the students at the school?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: It depends sometimes how the teachers treat the children, then the learners will respect them even more, but if they don't respect the learners, then we won't respect them. It goes both ways.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Some of the teachers make you feel like you can't do something and they make you feel like you can't do the work. Some teachers will build you up and stuff.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes. Some teachers disrespect us and we as kids, will then disrespect them back.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Respect goes both ways.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes, I wouldn't trust a teacher with my problems. I would rather go to a family member or one of my best friends.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Teachers always tell other teachers in the staff room.*

*INTERVIEWER: Is that the impression you get?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes, that is what they say. They say everybody knows. They spoke about one of the learners.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Teachers aren't supposed to be talking about students badly to other teachers and then go and tell them 'Oh, we were talking badly about you'.*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: I think all of us are better off going to a friend that you trust or a family member.*

*INTERVIEWER: Do you rather trust a friend?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes, way more than a teacher.*

*INTERVIEWER: Would you ask advice from a friend?*

*FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes (Grade 8 learners, focus group, urban, fee-paying school, Western Cape).*

*INTERVIEWER: Okay, so then will you trust your teachers?*

*INTERVIEWEE: Some of them.*

*INTERVIEWER: Again some of them. Which teachers do you trust?*

*INTERVIEWEE: Those who treat us with respect and dignity (Grade 9 learners, focus group, rural, no-fee paying school, Eastern Cape).*

The extracts from these learner focus groups show that learner trust in teachers depends markedly on the relationship between those teachers and learners. These relationships of trust are fragile, and easily broken in what is essentially an unequal set of power relations. A crucial aspect of this trust is the expressed degree of respect teachers show towards

learners. Crucially for building social cohesion, learners consistently express the idea that they reciprocate respect towards teachers if teachers show respect for their learners. Thus, teachers are reminded through these empirical studies that their modelling of desired behaviours, most crucially, respecting their learners, is highly desired by learners who often come from dysfunctional homes and communities in which adult behaviours are often deeply problematic.

Next, this chapter discusses the manner in which SACE disciplines the misconduct and misdemeanours of teachers.

## **6.7 SACE'S DISCIPLINARY MEASURES**

Decisions made by SACE involving cases of misconduct involved educators being taken off the roll permanently, indefinitely or for a period, whereas in the case of assault, educators were temporarily taken off the roll and given cautionary letters (SACE, 2012:8,11). Labour malpractice and other misconduct such as absenteeism and unprofessional conduct cases were referred to the PED (SACE, 2012:8). The types of complaints are interesting. The most frequent complaint is regarding the PED, followed by complaints about educators, which means that educators are highly likely to report and hold their colleagues accountable for unprofessional conduct (SACE 2012:8).

Consequences of teacher misconduct are illustrated in the following extract:

*"Then of course, teachers sometimes get struck off for definite periods or they get suspensions just to make sure they don't slip up again and that part of our work has been quite effective, because very often you find people in the departments would have difficulty in processing cases, and they send them over to SACE where we can process them, because the Department needs, you know, very hard evidence which SACE doesn't really need"* (Interview with 2 Professional Association 1, 2015).

SACE takes a developmental rather than punitive approach to discipline, and teachers may have to attend a classroom management course at their own expense as part of their punishment (SACE, 2012:15). SACE disciplines teachers through ensuring that there are good professional development programmes (SACE 2011:33). The SACE report stated that when the disciplinary measures are experienced as fair and effective, teachers would no longer feel the need to engage in poor conduct.



## 6.8 OUTCOMES

There is also the problem of underreporting misconduct of educators (SACE, 2012:15-16). This could be due to maladministration and inefficiency. Education stakeholders need to act on cases reported by SACE and exercise the discipline required to hold teachers accountable. It is unclear where the majority of cases are reported. For instance, it is unclear whether disciplinary patterns differ on the basis of quintile or province. It is further unclear how interventions have been directed at addressing common violations of the Code of Professional Ethics. Moreover, it is essential that attention is given to the underlying causes of violations in a bid to enhance support for victims and social cohesion.

The Code of Professional Ethics as a mechanism to enhance teacher accountability has potential. SACE, as a body aimed at enhancing teacher professionalism, is well positioned to identify and determine challenges across the education sector pertaining to teachers. Increased support is, however, needed to augment and enrich their reach. Strong SGBs are an additional accountability mechanism within the education sector that could heighten the impact of SACE.

## 6.9 SGBs

### 6.9.1 Rationale

SASA (1996) states that “the governance of the school is vested in the governing body”. Governance determines “structures, functions, processes, and organisational traditions”. Jobber (n.d.:1) stated that “the rationale of the South African government for the establishment of SGBs was to address the inequalities of a divided education system”. As summarised in the *Education White Paper 2*, the new organisation of schools, through their governing bodies, will advance redress through equitable use of public sources, improve educational quality, and provide for democratic school-based decision making (DoE, 1996b). This policy document led to SASA. Many political actors prior to SASA were in favour of SGBs and the decentralisation of governance for different reasons, including the freedom to decide how and where their children were to be educated and to encourage democratic participation in schools.

There are wide gaps and large socio-economic differences between schools and the parent communities who serve on these SGBs, which influence the extent to which the SGBs can ensure the quality of education and hold teachers accountable.

A significant number of teachers indicated that most parents are involved in electing SGB members. If there is no governing body at the school, the governance is vested in the DBE until the body is established. In addition, the principal has a number of responsibilities related to the governing body, including managing the overall school function (staff, curriculum, policy, etc.), attending and participating in school governing meetings, providing reports, assisting in disciplinary matters, informing the governing body about policy, and financial matters (DoE, 2000). The principal is responsible for the management of the school; that is, the day-to-day operations of the school.

An NGO representative views leadership in this way:

*“So [the NGO] sees the school as having a triangle of leadership within a school. But your principal, your school management team, your SGB, are the leadership centres within a school and are accountable to each [...] So our triangle of leadership has different responsibilities between each of the [bodies] [...] So the relationships between the SGB and SMT have different requirements or for leadership responsibilities as the SMT to the principal and vice versa. But those are definitely two-way relationships, they’re not singularly focused. I think too often we look to the principal as the leader of the school and [the NGO] doesn’t believe that”* (Interview with an NGO representative, 2015).

Table 28 indicates the percentage of parent involvement in electing SGB members:

**Table 28: The number of parents who participate in the election of the SGB**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Yes	44	43.1	43.1	43.1
No response	58	56.9	56.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)

Certain competencies, including knowledge of budgets, meeting procedures, and record keeping, are required to effectively fulfil a governing body role. Therefore, the Department requires (through SASA) provincial departments to provide training for these functions. Introductory training should be provided for newly elected members, followed by continuous training to carry out their roles successfully (Joubert, n.d.:3,14). SGBs allow

decentralisation and democratic participation for the governance and management of a school by including different stakeholders who have a vested interest in a particular school to create a better teaching and learning environment. It allows for the distribution of authority in decision making in financial matters, policy making, and the culture, values, and the ethos of the school (Joubert, n.d.:1). The SGB is therefore trusted by the school to carry out all its governance functions. In essence, provision for SGBs in SASA anticipates broad-based participation that affords all stakeholders representation in decision making. The SGB needs to adhere to a code of conduct that is developed by the MECs. SGB members are liable to suspension if they breach the code. The governing body is obliged to meet at least once a term; host meetings at least once a year with parents, teachers, and learners; keep minutes and make it available to the Department; and render a report to school stakeholders.

Once elected, the SGB needs to submit a constitution to the Department within 90 days after being elected. Representation requires related expertise, according to the respondents.

The NGO representative recommended individuals who have certain hard skills such as “accountants, lawyers, and human resources” and a “contractor or building expertise” as ideally being part of or co-opted onto an SGB for it to be most effective in its role. SGB members are able to receive training and capacity building, which are provided by the HoD in order to fulfil their role effectively. However, the SGB training provided has been disappointing, according to the respondents.

For example:

*“The handful of people I’ve spoken to who did go through some training, and these were generally people who served on the previous SGB and went to training a good few years ago, feel like training has diminished. They all said that the training was nice but it wasn’t really helpful. They said it was very busy and very intense and very generic. And then they went back into their school context and they really didn’t know how to apply it. Which also, I think, speaks to the fact that we’re expecting people, perhaps who’ve never had the benefit of an education, to do some rather high-level governance functionality: to balance a budget, to develop a policy, to engage with employment law. These are not easy things to do and some of our parents aren’t literate. But those are the ones who are standing for the school governing body because they have the time” (Interview with 1 NGO 3, 2015).*

An assumption made by the government is that more community and democratic participation means that a democratic culture would develop, inequality would be addressed, and disadvantaged communities would be heard/empowered (Joubert, n.d.:6). However, it is difficult to cultivate unity and solidarity within divided communities, let alone change or transform a school (Sayed & Carrim, 2002, cited in Joubert, n.d.:7). Relationships within the SGB can also be strained if members are not capacitated to fulfil their roles (Joubert, n.d.:7).

### 6.9.2 Function

The function of the SGB is to act in the best interest of the school, support staff in their positions, maintain property, determine extramural activities and subject choices, and a number of other responsibilities including developing a mission statement, a constitution, and a school code of conduct. If members of the governing body fail to fulfil their role, the HoD may appoint persons who are able to do so. Members of the SGB are not remunerated; it is a voluntary position. “The functions of governing bodies are divided between those that governing bodies ‘must’ fulfil (Section 20 of SASA) and those they can ‘apply for’ (Section 21 of SASA), the so-called Section 21 schools.”

The mandatory functions of SGBs can be demarcated as follows:

- Policy matters (adopting a constitution, mission statement, admissions language, religious observances, code of conduct for learners, financial policy, and recommendation of appointments).
- Day-to-day matters (determining the times of the school day, support for the principal, educators, and other staff members, and the administration and control of the school’s property, buildings, and grounds).
- Financial matters (establish a school fund, prepare a budget, collect and administer school fees, financial records, appoint an accountant, and supplementing resources) (DoE, 1996; Joubert, n.d.:2).

### 6.9.3 Outcomes

One of the challenges, as indicated by Roos (n.d.:3), is funding. SGBs have the power to set school fees and are responsible for supplementing finances and resources provided by the government. Schools have various, unequal capacities to do so, which is directly linked to the social capital available to the school. This therefore entrenches inequality rather than reducing it, as lesser skills mean that issues of oversight, management, and fiscal accountability are in lesser supply than in situations where parent representatives are relatively better educated and skilled in terms of the functions required to run effective SGBs.

The challenge is illustrated by the following quotations:

*“So how did we put structures in place already that there is some sustainability for the schools and that’s what we do. We firmly believe the school governing body is a key lever that has to be pulled if you want to address education in South Africa. And that at the moment, because of the legislative framework, the limitations around previously disadvantaged schools and the kinds of social capital they have access to through their parent body just means that inequality between now, historically Model C, and previously disadvantaged, is just going to keep growing wider and wider” (Interview with 1 NGO 14, 2015).*

*“I think this notion of being able to co-opt community members [...] people need to be made more aware of SGBs, they don’t really know how to go about it or why they would want to. The fact is ex-Model C schools have parent bodies that bring with them huge amounts of financial and social capital so I went to a school that had professionals in the parent body and those professionals had networks and businesses and access to things, they could mobilise money in a heartbeat. ‘Oh we need a new field. Oh, Fred knows the guy who works for whoever. I will call him up and see what he can do.’ Most of the schools in South Africa don’t have a parent body with that kind of social capital. So they receive very little financial support from government, they are not serving populations that can afford high fees, but the SGB is supposed to, is legally mandated, to subsidise school resources. It’s in the Schools Act, SGB is responsible to find extra money and if you are not pulling it from fees like ex-Model C schools do, and you are not pulling it from your buddies who have lots of money, where do you pull it from? You have to bring your community closer to your school. You have to recognise that fundraising is not about pancake days, it’s not about asking parents for an additional R5, R10 here and there, it’s about positioning your school as a community and I don’t mean community as a neighbourhood. I mean broadly speaking as a community structure we’re investing in and what does that mean for your school. And the SGBs, the legal structure, is supposed to do that. So until you build capacity with the SGBs and you have to co-op community members to serve on that SGB because you not going to find the skills and the networks within*

*your parent body, so you artificially create it for that school that doesn't have access to it in their parent body"* (Interview with 1 NGO 14, 2015).

Social capital is therefore a key resource, as discussed previously, in improving schools.

**Table 29: Teachers who agree/disagree that better relations between teachers and parents/guardians will promote social cohesion**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Disagree	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
Agree	44	43.1	43.1	44.1
Strongly agree	42	41.2	41.2	85.3
No response	15	14.7	14.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

*Source: CITE Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)*

The function of the SGB is to act at the management and governance structure level of the school. The HoD is the authority of professional management of the school, whereas the principal carries this duty as an employee of the HoD. The functions of the SGBs are outlined in SASA and they have the liberty to apply for additional functions by the HoD. One of the functions, which is the other challenge, includes appointing teachers and staff (DBE, 2016:37). SGBs have the freedom to appoint teachers and occupy SGB posts. This is then paid for by the school. For the appointment process, the SGB appoints an interview committee and could co-op members if needed. The interview committee should consist of a PED representative, a school principal of another school (unless they are an applicant), SGB members (excluding educators), learners or applicants, and one union representative (as observer of the process), and the chair should be part of the appointment process (DBE, 2016:31). The SGB has the power to create posts for teachers and non-teachers as well. The functions of the SGB thus have a direct bearing on teaching and learning, and thus on teachers' capacity to act in a given school context. Schools, through SGBs, may also top up teachers' state-paid salaries. In conditions where the SGB does not function optimally, this may have undue negative consequences on teachers, and consequently on learning.

"The basis for the current system is set out in paragraph 3 of the policy where it is stated that all teachers in public schools who are paid by the Provincial Education Departments should be appointed and employed by the departments on the recommendation of and in consultation with school governing bodies. The rationale behind this position was that parents should be involved and consulted on the

teachers who will educate their children. At the time when the White Paper was published, the position in respect of the appointment of educators was governed by the Educators Employment Act of 1994 and specifically section 4 of the Act. Educators were appointed in terms of this provision by the Head of Department without any recommendation by the governing body. The entire appointment process was dealt with by the education department” (DBE, 2016:29-30).

The problem with appointment arises when teachers who are appointed by the HoD are responsible and accountable to government structures, whereas teachers appointed by SGBs are not accountable to any of those structures (DBE, 2016: 21). The MMT, on the selling of posts by teacher unions, recommended that in order to remedy this problem, this function of SGBs be removed and SASA and the Educator Employment Act be amended in light of these changes (DBE, 2016:23). Table 30 shows the number of teachers surveyed who held an SGB post:

**Table 30: Employment status of teachers**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
State-paid: permanent	58	56.9	56.9	56.9
State-paid: contract	13	12.7	12.7	69.6
State school: SGB post	26	25.5	25.5	95.1
Other	2	2.0	2.0	97.1
No response	3	2.9	2.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)

Twenty-five percent (25%) of the teachers surveyed occupied an SGB post, which is a significant amount. The challenge with relinquishing SGBs’ power to appoint teachers is that SGBs have employed thousands of teachers to keep schools functioning. What is needed is to separate legally functioning SGBs from illegally functioning SGBs and then also providing the support and training for SGBs to function optimally and avoid capture.

*“There are two vulnerable points (in the education system), the one is the school governing body and the other is district officials. They’ve got a lot of power and both these entities, for lack of a better word, have been infiltrated by the unions. Another problem is that there are 26 000 schools with 26 000 SGBs, with 70% that are dysfunctional largely because of their skill sets – and not corruptness. It’s really got to do with their abilities to make decisions, for such things as appointments. It leaves SGB members open to other influences and manipulation, particularly by unions and by officials. It is very bad because there are people who are working only for*

*themselves; they're not worried about the quality of education in this country. I'm not saying unions are bad, I'd never say that, but there are some people that abuse their power and use that power to leverage privileges"* (Interview with 1 Public Forum Representative, 2015).

A study conducted by Mkentane (2003) in a rural area showed that SGB members were not structurally involved in the school and could not make a positive contribution. Principals do not follow the rules and regulations, and strong dominance by educators and principals undermine the voice of the parents, who are poor and illiterate. Community members and parents in disadvantaged communities are also reluctant to volunteer for SGBs because of the responsibility of making ends meet. They are therefore unable to influence decision making (Joubert, n.d.:17). However, the DoE encourages SGB processes in underperforming schools, and hopes to make the SGB more accountable for the quality of education at the schools. SGBs will then be granted more power to influence the professional activities in the school (Heystek, 2010:100).

*"As a structure, SGBs are supposed to have representatives from all stakeholder groups, and is responsible for building and maintaining those relationships. And if your SGB is dysfunctional, as it is in the case of 90% of our schools in South Africa – how can those relationships be working? They're not. Mutual accountability and respect just becomes about test scores. Test scores and money"* (Interview with 1 NGO 14, 2015).

According to Table 31, 90% of teachers strongly agreed that in order to enhance social cohesion at schools, they would need to have effective SGBs.

**Table 31: Teachers who agree that effective SGBs will enhance the environment to promote social cohesion**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Strongly disagree	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
Disagree	1	1.0	1.0	2.0
Agree	30	29.4	29.4	31.4
Strongly agree	54	52.9	52.9	84.3
No response	16	15.7	15.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)

Under the Education Law Amendment Act (ELAA) of 2007, Section 56B (1-5), the provincial HoD can hold the principal and educators, as well as the SGB, responsible for the quality of



education. They are to provide a report and school improvement plans to the HoD (Heystek, 2010:101). However, these actions may lead to infringement of teachers' professional rights (Heystek, 2010:102). Heystek (2010:103) argued that allowing the governing body more power to get involved in the school may assist them in promoting the quality of education. The governing body is permitted under the Employment Act of Educators, No. 76 of 1998, to address the following acts of misconducts:

- Continual late coming;
- Not being in class when required to be there;
- Lack of appropriate lesson preparation;
- Drunkenness;
- Abuse of authority; and
- Unacceptable disciplinary actions towards children, and parents or the broader community (Heystek, 2010:106).

Socio-economic disparities and education quality have an influence on school choice. In turn, this correlates with parents' capacity to engage the school via SGBs and consequently participate in teacher accountability. SGBs are an important mechanism within the post-apartheid legislative framework of education. As observed in Chapter 3, they serve to build the participatory capacity of citizens via engagement in school governance. SGBs' role in relation to teacher accountability was assessed in this section. As noted above, SGBs can increase the potential of other accountability mechanisms, such as IQMS and the Code of Professional Ethics, and presumably this was the intention of policymakers. At the same time, there is mounting evidence to suggest that those communities intended to have gained most from SGBs, according to policy articulation, are not experiencing this outcome. Fundamentally, as it recurs throughout this report, the mechanisms do not adequately address the context of maldistribution and misrecognition of education outcomes. This is evident from the recurring correlation of education outcomes with past patterns of maldistribution linked to past institutional structures. As a result, the intended outcome of SGB representation is compromised under conditions of continued maldistribution. In effect, the outcome is the converse – misrepresentation and concomitant injustice. A survey conducted among teachers in the Western Cape on teacher professionalism showed the level of importance teachers ascribe to different bodies to which they are accountable.

**Table 32: Bodies/Groups teachers are accountable to**

Bodies/Groups	No importance	Low importance	Moderate importance	High importance	Total
SACE	139	285	717	950	2091
%	6.6	13.6	34.3	45.4	100
DBE	87	207	789	968	2051
%	4.2	10.1	38.5	47.2	100
WCED	39	109	729	1235	2112
%	1.8	5.2	34.5	58.5	100
Parents and guardians	151	330	793	785	2059
%	7.3	16.0	38.5	38.1	100
SMT	60	193	917	913	2083
%	2.9	9.3	44.0	43.8	100
SGB	172	369	856	664	2061
%	8.3	17.9	41.5	32.2	100
School as a whole	113	234	820	883	2050
%	5.5	11.4	40.0	43.1	100
Community	205	479	805	552	2045
%	10.2	23.4	39.4	27.0	100
Learners	150	248	685	996	2080
%	7.2	11.9	33.0	47.9	100
Teacher organisations	220	529	836	458	2043
%	10.8	25.9	40.9	22.4	100

Source: CITE Teacher Professionalism Study Draft Report (2016)

The WCED is the most salient authoritative structure amongst teachers who completed this survey. An NGO representative said the following regarding accountability:

*“Unfortunately for teachers, they’re also accountable to departmental standards – which I understand; there needs to be some control but I worry that the emphasis on that skews the relationship so that that becomes the key accountability and the learner accountability falls down the road because there’s not as much pressure from learners and from families who perhaps haven’t understood that they have a right to demand certain things from the school, I guess. And teachers are accountable to their school, meaning their colleagues and their parents. I think that’s a very tricky balance to maintain”* (Interview with 1 NGO 14, 2015).

In a sense this respondent is correct; most teachers accorded high importance to the PED when asked to whom they are accountable. Many teachers, however, also reported being accountable to learners. Finally, Table 33 indicates teachers’ responses to whom they think they should be accountable.

**Table 33: To whom should teachers be accountable?**

Bodies/Groups	Number	%
SACE	358	16.7
DBE	235	11.0
WCED	540	25.2
Parents and guardians	140	6.5
SMT	122	5.7
SGB	50	2.3
School as a whole	223	10.4
Community	44	2.1
Learners	416	19.4
Teacher Organisations	17	0.8
Non-response	149	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2145</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: CITE Teacher Professionalism Study Draft Report (2016)

The provincial government features very strongly on the list of authorities to whom teachers believe they should be accountable. Teachers did not report a sense of accountability to SGBs (2.3%). SGBs were therefore not viewed as a strong accountability body among teachers who completed this survey.

One NGO representative had this to say about the importance of SGBs for social cohesion:

*“I do think that the SGB has a critical role to play in community cohesion recognising the school is a partnership between government and community and around school governing body elections. Our soap box speech was very clearly around you vote for your local ward councillor, you vote for your provincial and national politicians, but in terms of day-to-day impact, a school is where you are going to have the most impact and a school is where it is going to impact your daily life through your child. This is the election where democracy really matters. Schools are such microcosms for the communities that they serve and unless you are supporting the people involved and recognising that it is not just a department and staff relationship, that there are so many more stakeholders involved, a school is only going to be able to get so far. And in context, schools have lots of money. They can get around this because stuff just goes on and on in their minds but the schools that need the sort of, the schools that don’t have money and the schools that don’t have access to these kind of resources, need stakeholder support, need broad-based participative stakeholder support so they have to drive community cohesion through that, and there has to be a recognition of the context in which these schools are sitting” (Interview with 1 NGO 14, 2015).*

## 6.10 CONCLUSION

This section reviewed two education interventions that focus on matters of building trust and accountability within the teaching profession. These included interventions directed at teacher appointment, performance, development, and discipline. In a context of fragmentation, misrepresentation rather than representation prevails, with dire consequences for teacher trust and accountability – despite the presence of several bodies and levels of authority to enhance these. Evaluating the effectiveness of these interventions showed that there are negative perceptions of accountability, and it was viewed as a constraint rather than an enabler for effective teaching and trust building. The interventions in this section suggested that there is indeed a long road to achieving equality and that more needs to be done to build teacher trust. Several observations were made regarding teacher trust and accountability:

It is important to note that in the views of teachers (as obtained from the teacher professionalism survey) vertical accountability is viewed as most important, and downward accountability (departmental accountability towards teachers) has been neglected. The issue of teachers' trust in their employers is also often neglected and trust is only viewed from the top down or horizontally, but not from the teachers' perspective upwards. Teachers' participation in developing accountability mechanisms should be seriously considered, as teachers are most familiar with their teaching contexts, the demands on their daily teaching practices, school and community challenges, and learners. In this way, teacher buy-in is a given and accountability mechanisms may not be viewed negatively.

Social cohesion furthermore hinges on systems of monitoring and accountability to realise a convergence between stakeholders and implementation on the one hand, and redress and reconciliation on the other. Teachers should be part of the policy-making process as decisions made have major practical implications for teachers on the ground, as mentioned previously.

## 6.11 RECOMMENDATIONS

SACE should be provided with more support. Its reach and interaction with other government departments, for example the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, with regard to important matters of teacher misconduct, remains seriously deficient. Furthermore, SACE may be extending its mandate as it focuses on the registration of qualified teachers, enhancing teacher qualifications, professional discipline, and the management of CPTD programmes.

SACE's role is minimal with regard to the Code of Professional Ethics in developing structural trust and safeguarding the reputation of the teaching profession. Teachers' engagement with SACE beyond registration is also minimal. The general public is unaware of SACE's existence and/or its role. Therefore, trust in the teacher profession is left in the hands of schools and teachers' individual agency. Relational trust is therefore the only manner in which trust in teachers and the teaching profession can be built. The findings show that learners' perceptions of a trustworthy teacher differ from school to school and teacher to teacher because of relational trust. Teacher agency therefore lies in this unique relationship between teachers and learners where teachers can have an extensive positive and/or negative influence on their learners. SACE must strengthen its roles in all of these aspects if the teaching profession, teachers, communities, and the state are to harness their collective resources in the quest to build the public schooling system in terms of trust and accountability, and to see the system's potential for the provision of a high-quality education premised on the tenets of social justice.

The main recommendations for SACE are that it should play a more prominent role in championing trust and accountability in the teaching profession. As part of its main aims it should seek to uplift and encourage current teachers and attempt to make the profession more attractive and respected.

Regarding the discipline of teachers, to improve the impact and effectiveness of the disciplinary measures, SACE needs to work with and between the DBE and the Department of Constitutional Development and Justice in order to develop a tiered disciplinary system related to the seriousness of the offense in order to adequately and effectively address disciplinary issues within the legal framework and should include a developmental and

restorative approach. This is important as SACE and the DBE are the guardians of building structural trust in the teaching profession.

SGBs, despite their significant power and authority to fulfil a number of objectives, have not been instrumental in minimising inequality. In fact, it can be argued that SGBs have been used as instruments of *maintaining* and *exacerbating* inequalities by the use of exclusionary mechanisms (language, distance to school, etc.) with regard to children who are deemed undesirable at these institutions. The state must act decisively to end these practices. This demands a high level of political will and commitment, and centres around the decentralisation debate that has been foregrounded in previous chapters.

In those schools that did not have an ethos of democratic accountability during the apartheid era in terms of their intra-school communities, as well as relationships with their constituent communities, SGBs have been vital to democratic participation in school governance and community involvement. However, unless they are in possession of various types of capital and resources, SGBs have not been able to fulfil their roles effectively.

In order to promote social cohesion among unequally resourced schools, SGBs are therefore encouraged to build trust with SGBs from neighbouring schools in order to share social, intellectual, and cultural capital and extend their impact into surrounding communities as these communities affect the teaching and learning environment.

The sharing of financial and other forms of capital, on the other hand, depends on the nature and purpose of the relationship between SGBs. The sharing of various types of capital may strengthen the social fabric of schools, which can create an environment more conducive to learning. An intended outcome of social cohesion will hopefully be the strengthening of relationships within communities and learners from disparate backgrounds.

In the main, the role of SGBs is mainly focused on governance, rather than developing trust and accountability mechanisms for teachers. SGBs are able to gain access to capital (e.g. financial, social, cultural, linguistic, and moral) in order to strengthen the social fabric within the school so that learning may take place. Trust is vital in unlocking, gaining access to, and accumulating social capital. SGBs' success is determined by how much capital they can accrue for the schools to function. Much emphasis is placed on accumulating financial

capital in order to compensate for state funding deficits. SGBs are therefore mistakenly viewed in terms of fiscal accountability, rather than teacher accountability.

A key recommendation for SGBs is that more emphasis should be placed on the needs of teachers and ways in which teachers (and learners) can be held accountable, trusted, and supported. The governance of teachers, along with the input and participation of teachers in the school context, should be emphasised and regarded as vital.

Social cohesion depends on systems predicated on recognition that value participation and effect equal distribution. Partnerships with stakeholders in the interventions, alongside incentives, are therefore fundamental. When these come together, education interventions touch the lives of individuals and extend the benefit to communities. Taking a social justice-based approach to building trust and accountability is a fundamental prerequisite for and is key to the potential realisation of an equitable and high-quality system of schooling for South Africa's schoolgoers.

Chapter 7 examines the landscape of teacher professional development, both in terms of ITE and CPTD.

## Chapter 7 - Teacher Professional Development

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### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the vital arena of teacher development in the post-apartheid era. It does so, firstly, by examining ITE through case studies at three tertiary institutions in South Africa. Secondly, it examines the landscape of CPTD by focusing on four case studies of CPTD programmes that have explicit or implicit foci on social cohesion.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides an introduction to the process of professional development in South Africa. It also contextualises the ITE and CPTD content in terms of structure, study methodology, and rationale.

The second section of this chapter investigates how student teachers are developed and trained in their ITE programmes to become agents of social cohesion in their schooling environments. This section analyses ITE programmes offered at three South African universities, namely one BEd programme and two PGCE programmes.

The third section describes the landscape of CPTD in South Africa by incorporating the findings of three datasets, of which two were qualitative. The two qualitative datasets comprise of interviews with CPTD programme managers, conducted in 2015 and 2016. In addition, interviews were conducted with teachers in 2016 who participated in the four CPTD case-studies included for analysis in this chapter. Backdrop data was obtained from the nine schools case-studies conducted with teachers, principals, policymakers, school governing body members and learners in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape (see Chapter 9 of this report).

The fourth and final section of this chapter is the conclusion, in which the findings are discussed. The conclusion will also list some recommendations in relation to ITE and CPTD in South Africa, in the hopes of improving overall professional teacher development in South Africa.

The post-1994 education landscape yielded a surge of policies aimed at addressing quality education for all learners irrespective of racial affiliations. Among these were the *White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995), the *Policy Framework for Quality Assurance in South Africa* (DoE, 1998a), and *SASA* (DoE, 1996); followed by various versions of the



National Curriculum culminating in the current CAPS. The philosophy behind these developments was based on the notion that “educators were required to engage learners in meaningful learning activities suitable for a diverse learner population and implement and assess learner outcomes” (Du Plessis, Conley & Du Plessis, 2007:106).

Reconceptualising the role of the teacher in post-apartheid South Africa is an important step towards realising social justice for all who reside within its borders. Teachers have always been seen as extensions of a country’s political economy – advocating its values and personifying its philosophies. While there have been many competing ideas about how education systems can best respond to changing social needs, scholars have increasingly advocated investing in teacher quality as a reform approach (Darling-Hammond, 1999 cited in the Teaching and Learning International Survey [TALIS] Report, 2013). High-quality teaching is considered perhaps the single most important factor in student learning (Rhoton & Stiles, 2002). For this reason, recent transformation in the professional development discourse of teachers in South Africa (in policy and interventions) has been aimed at ensuring that teachers are committed to good-quality pedagogical approaches as well as the principles of democracy and social justice, which are inevitably displayed through their classroom practices.

The development cycle of teachers can be characterised in four stages: starting, newly qualified, developing, and proficient. The starting and newly qualified stages can be referred to as the initial teacher development phase and the developing and proficient stages can be referred to as the continuing teacher development phase. This chapter discusses teacher professional development by referring to the ITE process and the CPTD process.

**Table 34: Four stages of teacher professional development**

Teacher stages of professional development	
Stage 1	Starting
Stage 2	Newly qualified
Stage 3	Developing
Stage 4	Proficient

*Source: British Council (2014)*

ITE and CPTD are weighted as equally important on the teacher professional development continuum. However, these phases are distinct in terms of regulation, mode of delivery, policy, and structure, and will therefore be discussed as separate themes.

### 7.1.1 Professional development of teachers in South Africa

The NPFTED in South Africa (DoE, 2007:4) states that

“teachers are the largest single occupational group and profession in the country. Their role has strategic importance for the intellectual, moral, and cultural preparation of our young people. They work in extremely complex conditions, largely due to the pervasive legacies of apartheid, but also as a result of the new policies needed to bring about change in education”.

Recognising the cumbersome task of developing learners’ knowledge as well as developing their morality, is the first step in acknowledging the complexity of becoming a teacher. *The Norms and Standards for Educators* (2000) lists seven attributes teachers need to possess in order to be considered competent. A teacher needs to be:

- a specialist in a particular learning area, subject or phase;
- a specialist in teaching and learning;
- a specialist in assessment;
- a curriculum developer;
- a leader, administrator, and manager;
- a scholar and lifelong learner, and
- a professional who plays a community, citizenship, and pastoral role.

ITE programmes are offered at a number of HEIs in South Africa. Table 35 lists these institutions. *The Information Guide on ITE*, a document published by the DBE (2012), mentions that if students choose to attain their teaching qualification from a private college, it is their responsibility to check the accreditation status with that institution.

**Table 35: HEIs offering ITE programmes in South Africa**

Province	Higher Education Institution (HEI)
Eastern Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nelson Mandela University</li> <li>- Rhodes University</li> <li>- University of Fort Hare</li> <li>- Walter Sisulu University</li> </ul>
Free State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Central University of Technology</li> <li>- University of the Free State</li> </ul>
Gauteng	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tshwane University of Technology</li> <li>- University of Johannesburg</li> <li>- University of Pretoria</li> <li>- University of the Witwatersrand</li> </ul>
KwaZulu-Natal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Durban University of Technology</li> <li>- University of KwaZulu-Natal</li> <li>- University of Zululand</li> </ul>
Limpopo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- University of Limpopo</li> <li>- University of Venda</li> </ul>
Northern Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- National Institute for Higher Education</li> </ul>
North West	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- North West University</li> </ul>
Western Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cape Peninsula University of Technology</li> <li>- University of Cape Town</li> <li>- University of Stellenbosch</li> <li>- University of the Western Cape</li> </ul>
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- UNISA</li> </ul>

Source: DBE (2012)

**Table 36: Phase-specific specialisation fields**

Foundation Phase (Grade R-3)	Intermediate Phase (Grade 4-6)	Senior Phase (Grade 7-9)	FET Phase (Grade 10-12)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Foundation Phase specialisation fields: Literacy, Numeracy, and Life Skills</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Languages</li> <li>- Mathematics</li> <li>- Arts &amp; Culture</li> <li>- Life Orientation</li> <li>- Natural Sciences &amp; Technology</li> <li>- Social Sciences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Arts &amp; Culture</li> <li>- Economic &amp; Management Sciences</li> <li>- Languages</li> <li>- Life Orientation</li> <li>- Mathematics</li> <li>- Natural Sciences</li> <li>- Social Sciences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Accounting</li> <li>- Agricultural Management Practices</li> <li>- Agricultural Sciences</li> <li>- Agricultural Technology</li> <li>- Business Studies</li> <li>- Civil Technology</li> </ul>

Foundation Phase (Grade R-3)	Intermediate Phase (Grade 4-6)	Senior Phase (Grade 7-9)	FET Phase (Grade 10-12)
		- Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Computer Applications Technology</li> <li>- Consumer Studies</li> <li>- Dance Studies</li> <li>- Design Studies</li> <li>- Dramatic Arts</li> <li>- Economics</li> <li>- Electrical Technology</li> <li>- Engineering Graphics &amp; Design</li> <li>- Geography</li> <li>- History</li> <li>- Hospitality Studies</li> <li>- Information Technology</li> <li>- Languages</li> <li>- Life Orientation</li> <li>- Life Sciences</li> <li>- Mathematics</li> <li>- Mathematical Literacy</li> <li>- Mechanical Technology</li> <li>- Music</li> <li>- Physical Sciences</li> <li>- Religion Studies</li> <li>- Tourism</li> <li>- Visual Arts</li> </ul>

Source: DBE (2012)

Becoming a teacher in South Africa can be effected in two ways. Firstly, students can opt to complete a BEd that will allow him/her to specialise in Foundation Phase (Grade R-3), Intermediate Phase (Grade 4-6), Senior Phase (Grade 7-9), or FET (Grade 10-12). Secondly, students can also complete an initial Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, or Bachelor of Social Science, followed by a PGCE and specialise in the same learning phases as with the BEd. Table 36 lists the learning areas offered within each of the four phases.

Students who have completed either of these qualifications may register with SACE and commence their teaching career. Completion of these qualifications also culminates in a student having completed his/her ITE, or pre-service training.

Once newly qualified teachers have started teaching, they need to continually develop themselves to ensure they maintain themselves as effective and competent teachers. Therefore, in-service training or continuing professional development is a crucial aspect of teacher development, particularly in South Africa because

“most currently serving teachers received their professional education and entered teaching when education was an integral part of the apartheid project and organized in racially and ethnically sub-systems. The current generation of teachers is the first to experience the new non-racial, democratic transformation of the education system” (DoE, 2007).

In this way, CPTD is not only seen as educating teachers, but also re-educating them. On 26 April 2007, the Minister of Education at the time declared the NPFTED, which states:

“[T]he South African Council for Educators (SACE), as a statutory body for professional educators will have overall responsibility for the implementation, management and quality assurance of the CPTD system. SACE will be provided with the necessary resources and support to undertake that role” (Section 53 of the NPFTED).

SACE has therefore been commissioned to ensure that teachers are developed throughout their teaching career and that these interventions be monitored via a points system in order to develop a more structured approach to CPTD.

Although both ITE and CPTD aim to develop teachers to meet the requirements of a competent teacher as well as develop their pedagogical skills, they differ greatly in terms of regulation and structure. ITE is a highly regulated process whereby student teachers need to fulfil a range of requirements in order to be given the status of teacher. Although many developments have been made in attempt to regulate this discourse for CPTD, it is much less regulated and less structured than its ITE counterpart.

## 7.2 ITE IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section discusses ITE in South Africa in light of preparing teachers to be agents of social cohesion. It begins with a policy review of teacher education, followed by a discussion of the findings emanating from a case study of ITE programmes.

### 7.2.1 The policies framing ITE

#### 7.2.1.1 *Teacher education in South Africa: Setting the context*

Teacher education in South Africa under colonialism was differentially resourced and allocated for white and non-white systems, with the result that the apartheid government's formalisation of this segregation exacerbated and further entrenched educational inequalities. Despite teacher education being declared a "facet of HE", it was located within provincial control (Council on Higher Education [CHE], 2010:7). Thus, regionally and racially demarcated educational provisioning resulted in a fractured system of ITE, with providers scattered across colleges and universities, technikons, distance providers, religious organisations, and private institutions. The differences in ITE provisioning were further compounded by the limited access to university for black, coloured, and Indian students, which meant that they were relegated to the colleges to a large extent, where the disparities in quality between different colleges affected the quality of teachers and their teaching practices.

Apartheid policies thus also compounded the qualification imbalances associated with teacher education in the colonial period. Essentially, the supply and demand of teachers were based on "the need to maintain racial and ethnic segregation" (Sayed, 2002:382). Apartheid policies such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953 led to segregated education departments governing the schools and teacher education institutions designated for white, black, coloured, and Indian learners and teachers (CHE, 2010:8; Sayed, 2002:381). As such, the Department of Bantu Education and the Department of Coloured Affairs would, for example, administer teacher education colleges designated for each respective apartheid racial category. Bantustan policies further devolved teacher education along ethnic lines. Each "independent" African homeland took control of teacher education in its own area (Sayed, 2002:381). In other words, the governance of teacher education was deeply

fragmented during apartheid rule. Chisholm (2012) stated that, initially, teacher education was expanded for African teachers in the Bantustans, but that the quality deteriorated over time. The “difference between the offerings of the colleges and those of the universities was essentially the teacher’s qualifications” and the type of knowledge emphasised (CHE, 2010:8).

HE institutional governance, access, and offerings during apartheid had several inequities. Firstly, the quality of knowledge at different institutions was not recognised as equitable. Universities believed their qualifications equipped students to teach with a strong knowledge base. The colleges, on the other hand, were sceptical of the universities’ academic emphasis and insisted that induction into the profession depended on sustained practice (CHE, 2010:8). Secondly, entrance requirements were not uniform for all institutions. University access and admission were “functionally differentiated in order to serve the development and reproduction of the apartheid order” (Badat, 1994, cited in Naidoo, 1998:371). Schäfer and Wilmot (2012:42) claimed that white pre-service teacher education was far superior to the Indian, coloured, and black counterparts due to the relative ease with which white students could attain a university education. It is further reported that many black students were qualified as “teachers with Standard 8 leaving certificates” (CHE, 2010:8), as opposed to attending a college of teacher education or university. Thirdly, the content taught at different institutions did not necessarily include all subjects. Sayed (2002:382) claimed that “most of the graduates from black teacher training colleges were trained in subjects such as religious studies and history” and were underdeveloped in areas of mathematics, science, and technology. African teachers in teacher education colleges were expected to achieve the minimum levels of literacy and numeracy, with low-budget primary schooling provided by African women. On the other hand, white teachers with the advantage of secondary schooling were educated in post-secondary school colleges of education (Chisholm, 2012).

The effect of this, according to the CHE (2010:9), is that teachers in “African schools particular[ly], but also in coloured schools, were poor”. Inequitable qualification distribution or maldistribution, coupled with an absence of “quality assurance procedures and mechanisms” (Sayed 2002:382), is reported to have produced “generations of teachers, of all races, with distorted and deficient understanding of themselves, of each other, and of



what was expected of them in a divided society” (Essop, 2008 cited in DBE & DHET, 2011:19). In addition, teachers were placed in institutions with education quality challenges that exacerbated inequities in the system as a result of the system of deployment.

This complex terrain was inherited by the post-apartheid government, which envisioned major modifications to both the governance and curricula of teacher education in order to shift qualification structures and their requirements (CHE, 2010). The governance and curricula of teacher education were considered essential to bring about redress, equity, efficiency, and quality in terms of teacher education and preparing teachers to implement the new school curriculum (CHE, 2010:9). The landscape of teacher education was thus reviewed, through the National Teacher Education Audit of 1995 and later investigations, with the view to make the system more integrated, efficient, and transformative. At the institutional level, the review resulted in some colleges being absorbed into universities as teacher education was brought into the field of HE and incorporated into the tertiary sector (Kruss, 2009; CHE, 2010). Other colleges were closed or used as premises for FET colleges, teacher development institutes, and other provincial offices, with the result that South Africa lost 104 teacher education providers in the six years between 1994 and 2000. This has had a lasting effect on the issue of teacher shortages (CHE, 2010).

Several issues were identified as justification for the dismantling of the college system of teacher education. The differences between institutional and provider contexts impacted on the quality of qualifications, in addition to the different approaches to teacher education that were considered dated and problematic: “The dominant college approach to teacher training was authoritarian and content centred, with little integration of theory and practice” (CHE, 2010:10). Moreover, colleges of education were producing an excess of primary school teachers, and were considered inefficient due to their size, low staff-student ratios, and high resource wastage resulting from low outputs in terms of qualifying teachers.

In July 1999, former Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, announced the merging of HEIs in South Africa. Thereafter, a series of mergers occurred between 32 existing universities and technikons, leaving a total of 23 universities, comprehensive universities, and universities of technology. Of the 23 institutes, 21 offered ITE programmes (DBE & DHET, 2011:21) and are from this point referred to as “teacher education providers”. By 2007, institutional restructuring was not complete, with the clarification of administrative procedures,

communication channels, and alignment of institutional and faculty policies still in process (Gordon, 2009). Furthermore, despite the anticipated vision that the merging initiative was intended to achieve, a number of unintended outcomes resulted.

Merging and institutional reconfiguration resulted in challenges for many institutions. For instance, compromises had to be made with respect to differing institutional cultures, organisational structures, geographical location, and academic offerings, as well as pedagogical perspectives (Gordon, 2009). Moreover, the demographics and number of staff at merging institutions varied (Gordon, 2009). Approaches and attitudes to teacher education were particularly disparate when various teacher education colleges merged with universities and technikons (Gordon, 2009). As such, the reorientation of staff was a challenge within merged institutions (Samuel, 2001, cited in Sayed, 2002:385).

However, mergers did not take on identical forms. This means that not all HEIs merged. Some universities, like the University of Cape Town (UCT) and Rhodes University, did not merge with any other institution, while others had to contend with the merger of multiple institutions across different sites. Wits University, for example, merged with Johannesburg College of Education, while what is now the University of Johannesburg comprised two Vista distance learning campuses (Soweto and East Rand), Technikon Witwatersrand, and Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). Subsequent to the merger in 2005, the East Rand Campus was closed with staff and students having to relocate to other campuses. Various other merging permutations can be cited. It is unclear what these have implied for teacher education in all dimensions, and several respondents in this study suggested that the colleges had a specific role to play in the education system that was lost in their incorporation into HE and their absorption into universities.

*“We believe that a teacher, a good-quality teacher, comes from the college. I think the university is too abstract for us and too theoretical and exact. Some of the basic things [...] the context where these teachers will teach. So, we believe that the teacher training really should rest in the colleges, should be in the colleges because the colleges are where the schools are most of the time and they’re able to interpret the material conditions where the schools find themselves and really develop curriculum that speaks to some of those, obviously within the broader framework of the curriculum assessment and policy statement” (Interview with a Professional Association Representative, 2015).*

The above quotation is one example of how the restructuring of teacher education was viewed by stakeholders. Education interventions related to norms and standards for ITE programmes in this context were introduced in addition to those related to the governance of teacher education. The next section turns to two subsequent policy interventions related to standards for teacher education qualifications.

### **7.2.1.2 Contemporary policy frameworks for ITE**

Multiple regulatory and statutory bodies oversee the structuring and quality of ITE programmes. These include national and provincial education departments, the CHE, SAQA, SACE, the ELRC, and the Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA) (Kruss, 2009). The *Norms and Standards for Educators* (DoE, 2000) was the first major intervention providing the overarching framework for ITE programmes, as well as articulation for all education-related qualifications to doctoral or NQF 10 level.

The NSE lists three applied competencies – practical competence, foundational competence, and reflexive competence – that are to be developed during the ITE programmes. Seven roles for the educator are articulated in this policy, and competencies are assessed according to each role (DoE, 2000:10). Among these seven roles are “learning mediator” and “community, citizenship, and pastoral role” (DoE, 2000:65). In a teacher’s role as learning mediator, s/he would:

“mediate learning in a manner which is sensitive to the diverse needs of learners, including those with barriers to learning; construct learning environments that are appropriately contextualised and inspirational; communicate effectively, showing recognition of and respect for the differences of others. In addition, an educator will demonstrate sound knowledge of subject content and various principles, strategies, and resources appropriate to teaching in a South African context” (DoE, 2000:65).

In his/her community, a citizenship and pastoral role would encompass the following:

“The educator will practise and promote a critical, committed, and ethical attitude towards developing a sense of respect and responsibility towards others. The educator will uphold the Constitution and promote democratic values and practices in schools and society. Within the school, the educator will demonstrate an ability to develop a supportive and empowering environment for the learner and respond to the educational and other needs of learners and fellow educators. Furthermore, the educator will develop supportive relations with parents and other key persons and organisations based on a critical understanding of community and environmental development issues” (DoE, 2000:65).

These two roles encompass sufficient requirements for teachers to be agents of social cohesion in terms of the challenges sketched in the report thus far. At the same time, the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) (2000: 4) gave teacher education providers freedom to decide and design how to integrate the roles and competencies within modules and programmes they offered. The policy recognises that “these norms and standards, however, do not necessarily reflect or ensure the quality of the qualification or programme” (DoE, 2000:30). In other words, the conditions set by the policy have to be evaluated in conjunction with how teacher education providers incorporate these roles into respective programmes.

In 2007, the DoE released the NPFTED, aligning policy around the key message that what the system needed was “more teachers, better teachers”. However, Chisholm (2009) contended that the intention was limited by financing of teacher education, the low status of the profession, and poor working conditions and salaries.

In 2009, the DoE, which was responsible for basic education and HE, split (Bailey, 2014:6). The new DBE focused on primary and secondary school curricula, whereas the new DHET focused on HE, which included ITE. A senior civil servant (SCS) stated that, currently, the DHET “*must play the role of supporting universities to meet the [policy] requirements*” (Interview with SCS, 2015), as well as monitoring and evaluating the quality of teacher that is produced. These two main roles of DHET, especially the latter, is problematic because “*we are playing both referee and supporter role*” (Interview with SCS, 2015).

In 2011, the NSE (2000) was replaced with the MRTEQ policy (DHET, 2011), due to the need to “provide teacher education providers with clear guidelines with regard to the development of HEQF-aligned qualifications and teacher education programmes” (DHET, 2011:9). A number of qualifications in the NSE had to be phased out due to nonalignment with the HEQF (Interview with SCS, 2015). There was further a need for a shift away from “an overt outcomes-based approach” to a “balanced” approach (Interview with SCS, 2015). A critique of NSE had been its emphasis on standards and outcomes with minimal direction given on the inputs needed for achieving these (CHE, 2010). Providers were solely responsible for interpreting the policy into programme design (CHE, 2010). The approach that the updated policy indirectly promoted was to reflect a balance of “*inputs in terms of knowledge and practice*” (Interview with SCS, 2015). A third driver that necessitated

replacing the NSE was the multiple quality issues that the CHE review highlighted with regard to the nature, construction, and contents of the teacher education programmes (Interview with SCS, 2015).

The updated policy envisioned “addressing the critical challenges facing education in South Africa [...] especially the poor content and conceptual knowledge found amongst teachers, as well as the legacies of apartheid” (DHET, 2011:10). MRTEQ emphasises the development of student teachers’ academic skills and knowledge within particular qualification-specific knowledge mixes. The knowledge mix consists of five types of knowledge; four pertain to the development of academic skills and academic knowledge in student teachers (disciplinary learning, pedagogical learning, practical learning, and fundamental learning); and one knowledge type (situational learning) focuses on educating student teachers for “varied learning situations, contexts, and environments” (DHET, 2011:12). Situational learning is described as developing an understanding about the complex and differentiated nature of the South African society, and being competent in dealing with the lingering effects of apartheid, diversity, and promoting inclusion (DHET, 2011:12). MRTEQ thus acknowledges that the legacies of apartheid persist in post-apartheid South Africa, and that student teachers need to be educated to bring about transformation (DHET, 2011:9-10).

MRTEQ does not provide teacher education providers with details, pedagogies, theories, and structures to be used during implementation. MRTEQ purposefully did not “prescribe” teacher education providers with a specific or fixed curriculum “as a result of consideration” (Interview with SCS, 2015). According to the SCS (Interview 2015),

*“[u]niversities have the right to make choices about the curriculum in terms of protocols [...] [and] it wouldn’t be right to specify curriculum”.*

The policy does, however, provide a “*framework within which you can get universities to collaborate*” (Interview with SCS, 2015). Moreover, it is the DHET’s intention to establish a basis for a common, accepted curriculum that a programme would cover in terms of knowledge and practice in the future. The DHET strongly believes that “*collaboration and the process of sharing*” (Interview with SCS, 2015) will lead to quality teacher education rather than “imposing standards”.

An identifiable challenge to the landscape of ITE is thus the piecemeal approach to re-circulation post-1994. The drive to update the basic education curriculum and bring it in

line with constitutional values, alongside addressing structural issues of access and funding, was not accompanied by a concurrent and complementary process in ITE (Kruss, 2008; CHE, 2010). The complexity of institutional reconfiguration is such that some institutions have had to update programmes internally due to mergers with colleges or other HEIs, while others have simply repackaged existing programmes under the guidelines of new policy (Kruss, 2009; CHE, 2010). In this manner, institutional-level processes have an effect on the process of curriculum review and renewal, which, when met with the multiple competencies and standards outlined in the NSE, results in the policy being interpreted in different ways. It remains to be seen how MRTEQ (DHET, 2011) deals with this challenge because it was updated in 2015 to bring it in line with the 2013 HEQSF (DHET, 2013). Thus, some institutions have only just implemented their MRTEQ-aligned programmes in the year of this report (2016).

The changes to the updated MRTEQ (DHET, 2015) were mainly technical in nature and thus did not shift the substantive framework related to particular knowledge mixes. Moreover, the emphasis on content knowledge did not shift from 2011 to 2015. In addition, the roles of the NSE, learning mediator and community, citizen, and pastoral roles, are present and defined in exactly the same way in both (DHET, 2011:52-53; DHET, 2015:60-61). The policy further describes basic competencies teacher education providers should instil in student teachers during the programme (DHET, 2011; 2015). With respect to social cohesion, these include the following:

- Newly qualified teachers must understand diversity in the South African context in order to teach in a manner that includes all learners. They must also be able to identify learning or social problems and work in partnership with professional service providers to address these.
- Newly qualified teachers must be able to manage classrooms effectively across diverse contexts in order to ensure a conducive learning environment.
- Newly qualified teachers must have a positive work ethic, display appropriate values, and conduct themselves in a manner that befits, enhances, and develops the teaching profession.

- Newly qualified teachers must be able to reflect critically on their own practice, in theoretically informed ways, and in conjunction with their professional community of colleagues in order to constantly improve and adapt to evolving circumstances (DHET, 2015:64).

Teacher education providers have thus been given guidelines to develop student teachers as agents of social cohesion. An interviewee suggested that selection criteria ensuring that students entering teacher education programmes possess the kind of dispositions and attitudes envisioned by the policy are advisable (Interview with SCS, 2015). A teacher educator (TE) at a teacher education provider in the Western Cape (Interview, 2015), however, shared that the only entry requirement applied to entrants into ITE is academic achievement. Moreover, the quota for new entrants is seldom generated from this requirement and the academic requirement is often lowered to fill all spaces in the programme (Interview with TE, 2015). Hence, dispositions and attitudes are not included as part of the selection criteria and process. It is further unclear how many programmes include these in their evaluation in the selection process for ITE programmes. The onus is therefore on ITE programmes to develop dispositions and attitudes in line with preparing student teachers for learning mediator and community, citizen, and pastoral roles. Concerns were expressed in an interview *“about whether the teacher education programmes are leading to the desired results”* (Interview with SCS, 2015).

MRTEQ (DHET 2015) is specific about the role of professional bodies with respect to setting standards and additional documents to be used during implementation (DHET, 2015:8). In addition, it promised that a “process will be put in place to support the development of these standards for teacher education” (DHET, 2015:8). The sentiments of those who implement policy, however, is that a *“professional council that can take responsibility for the oversights of teacher education programmes is a missing link in the teacher education sector”* (Interview with SCS, 2015). Currently, the Teacher Education Programme Evaluation Committee (TEPEC), comprising the DHET, in partnership with three role players, namely DBE, SACE, and SETA, assists in aligning teacher education programmes with policy requirements for teacher education qualifications (Interview with SCS, 2015). This process is, however, limited by the fact that there is contestation over which professional body should oversee/monitor/evaluate the quality, standardisation, and practice of teacher

education (CHE currently drives the process of accreditation) (Interview with SCS, 2015). To this end it was proposed that:

*“SACE needs to be strengthened to play this role of ensuring a professional oversight on the profession [...] and [...] SACE hasn’t played that role strongly enough in the past. SACE does not do anything in addition to the accreditation or approval processes, it only registers graduates as professional teachers”* (Interview with Government Official 12, 2015).

Having set the policy context, the report now presents detailed case studies of selected ITE programmes.

### 7.3 ITE CASE STUDIES

The case studies examine the final-year cohorts of three ITE programmes, specialising in English, Life Orientation, and History. One is a study of a BEd Intermediate and Senior Phase (ISP) programme, and two are studies of PGCE programmes. Student experiences of social cohesion in these programmes across these institutional types offer a relational view of inequality and how it is addressed in institutions shaped by apartheid institutional contours. It is important to state that the case studies focused on student experiences and were *not* an evaluation of institutions and their programmes.

In general, HEI ITE programmes represent crucial education interventions for determining teacher agency. Included is their capacity to develop agency commensurate with promoting social cohesion in the post-apartheid South African context, as envisioned in policy frameworks such as NSE (DoE, 2000) and MRTEQ (DHET, 2011; 2015). For example, based on the current LER of 32:1, one class of graduates at one institution has the potential to reach between 25 600 (20 graduates) to 384 000 (100 graduates) learners over 40 years of the teachers’ careers.

Findings related to the historical governance of teacher education demonstrated the lasting effect that qualification distribution patterns have on the education system. The resolution of these inequalities is critical to the establishment of social cohesion through education: newly qualified teachers need to both be prepared to teach subject knowledge, and to participate as citizens who are able to engage critically with learners and other stakeholders. In so doing, teachers are agents in promoting social cohesion through education institutions, and the manner in which teachers foster relations and interaction across various spaces



related to schooling and learning underpin their capacity as agents in fostering socially cohesive societies.

The study methodology is briefly outlined below. Following this, the presentation of the three case studies will include a description, discussion, and analyses of the course content, pedagogies, teaching practicum, and assessments in relation to how they enable teacher agency in promoting social cohesion. In addition, TEs' dispositions and knowledge about social cohesion are explored in terms of how they shape student teachers' development and experience of the programmes.

### **7.3.1 ITE case studies methodology**

As noted in the section above, the three case studies are not an evaluation of programmes as such. Rather, they interrogate whether, and how, teachers are trained for social cohesion (as the main research question), including working in difficult contexts and dealing with inclusivity, barriers to learning, and learner diversity.

Sub-questions probed the ITE programme in specific detail:

- 1.1 What is the course design and delivery mode?
- 1.2 What is the role of the teacher practicum in the course model? What are the challenges and successes of the practicum component?
- 1.3 How do student teachers view their role as agents of social cohesion, in relation to their course knowledge and experiences?

These questions attempted to drill down into the case study programmes in order to understand how they captured social cohesion within prescribed courses, modules and practicals, and how the programme's orientation towards social cohesion affected student teachers' experiences, attitudes, and dispositions. Moreover, the pedagogies and philosophies underpinning the case study programmes were both enabled and constrained by local and institutional contexts, providing potential insights into how teacher agency is shaped and developed.

The research questions also align with the broader methodology of this research project in that they follow Pawson's (2004) realist evaluation approach in their structure, focusing on programme logic, mechanisms, and outcomes respectively. This approach is useful in

mapping the progression from the programme's ontology to how this shapes its specific approaches to social cohesion, and how these are taken up and operationalised by student teachers. Responding to the research questions necessitated the use of mixed research methods, as well as a documentary analysis of institutional releases and programme modules and resources.

These methods are outlined further below, with their corresponding instrument location in the appendix indicated in brackets.

<b>Data-collection method</b>	<b>Sample (total no. of participants)</b>
Lecturer interview (A)	15
Student teacher focus group (B)	24
Documentary analysis (E)	N/A

Research took place in two phases: in 2015 in the two Western Cape institutions University A (BEd) and University B (PGCE), and in 2016 in the Eastern Cape at University C (PGCE). This complemented and informed the concurrent data-collection process undertaken for Chapter 8 in that the insights from the first round of ITE data collection contributed points for interrogation in the school case study instruments. Some findings of the school case studies thus refer back to issues within ITE, despite not being representative of the participants in the ITE case study. These findings are reflected on alongside the programmes, perspectives, and experiences discussed in the next section.

### **7.3.2 What is the course design and delivery mode?**

The discussion of teacher education policies noted that the realigning of MRTEQ (DHET, 2011) with the HEQSF (DHET, 2013) created an imperative for teacher education providers to modify their programmes in line with the updated version (DHET, 2015). This section will reflect on the requirements, course design and delivery, and promoted pedagogies of the case study programmes, engaging with the broader programmatic context in which student teachers found themselves.

The participant providers realigned their programmes at different times. University B introduced its updated PGCE in 2014, while University C had already begun the process of curriculum renewal in late 2011 as part of a broader institutional renewal movement, incorporating the changes in national policy frameworks as these arose. It was still in the

process of finalising the curricula for the different programmes in the faculty at the time of conducting research in 2016, but it was argued by a member of senior management that:

*“[i]t was [an] exciting journey that we were on and I really tried to protect us all from having to meet the deadlines of the Department in this regard, because at first they wanted [...] for us to have our new curriculum in place [in 2015]. I said it’s just not going to happen. Not if you’re going to do this deep work”* (Interview with University Management, 2015).

University A was also due to introduce its new programme in 2016, after research there was completed.

Table 37 demonstrates different approaches to managing the knowledge mix required for the two qualifications. Because MRTEQ is not prescriptive about the content of these programmes, the broadly identified knowledge mixes allow for teacher education providers to orient them within particular philosophies or pedagogical approaches, while also tailoring them to the general educational level of student teachers entering the programmes. In this way, particular approaches to dealing with issues of social cohesion are embedded within the content selected by each provider. These are also shaped by broader institutional currents, imperatives, and philosophies discussed hereafter. It must be noted that at University B, the core course, “Education”, is comprised of 13 modules which deal with similar concerns as the core courses at University A and University C.

**Table 37: Different approaches to the knowledge mix for the BEd and PGCE**

University A		University B		University C	
B.Ed		PGCE		PGCE	
CORE COURSES	Education	CORE COURSES	Education	CORE COURSES	Citizenship Education
					Educational Thought, Teaching & Learning
	Inclusive Education		School Experience		
	Professional Studies		Xhosa Communication for Educators		Curriculum Design & Development
	Teaching Practice		LoLT (usu. English)		Inclusive Education
	Curriculum Studies				Issues & Challenges in Education
2 SUBJECT SPECIALISATIONS		2 SUBJECT SPECIALISATIONS		2 SUBJECT SPECIALISATIONS	
1 LOLT OTHER THAN HOME LANGUAGE				1 SPORT CODE	
				1 LOLT OTHER THAN HOME LANGUAGE	

Source: CITE (2016)

University A's teacher education programme had been significantly affected by the multiple processes of reform the institution had undergone since its establishment, both in response to and outside of national policy developments and changes. This affected the cohesiveness of the programme design in that particular elements were seen to be "tacked on" as national teacher education directives were released, rather than drawn into and integrated within the existing structure. Furthermore, the incorporation of several teacher training colleges into the university resulted in the teacher education faculty possessing different professional, academic, and pedagogical orientations toward their work (CHE, 2010). While this did contribute to some tension between staff, there was largely consensus about the need for sustained immersion in school contexts as part of the teacher education process; what TEs considered to be a form of "reflective practice" that fused practical learning with course content focused on creating an ability to appreciate and manage different kinds of diversity. Within the BEd programme, sustained practice is achieved through observation and practice periods in schools from the first year onwards. For fourth-year students this is divided into two four-week practicum periods (one per semester).

The core subjects in University A's programme are largely taught in lecture settings with PowerPoint presentations. Student teachers are encouraged to actively engage in these classes; developing theoretical and experiential knowledge concurrently using their existing knowledge as a foundation. *"Student teachers are knowledgeable entities and it is important to put myself on that level of my students [...] not to elevate myself"* (Interview with TE, University A, 2015). Some TEs structure classes as guided discussions or use debates to present and develop understanding of theories, strategies, and approaches, which are then linked to practical assignments. However, student teachers expressed that they did not receive regular feedback on these assignments and that not all lecturers were consistent in how they assessed work. This was seen as a negative element of the course delivery that affected the ability of student teachers to improve in particular areas and build on what was learned in lectures and practica.

University B's programme design also foregrounds reflective practice, although within a different institutional and programme setting. The shorter duration of the PGCE programme makes integrating reflection and reflexivity especially challenging (CHE, 2010), while broader institutional dynamics have highlighted the disparities in education in different South

African schools, largely patterned along historical racial and spatial lines. TEs in the PGCE programme expressed that the programme was designed to be in line with locally relevant teaching and learning strategies and to allow for more equitable and sensitive approaches to dealing with inequality, privilege, and advantage in learning contexts. Three teaching blocks are interspersed with teacher practice to allow for ongoing engagement with student teachers' experiences in schools, grounding this in a spiral curriculum design so that theoretical and experiential knowledge is deepened and consolidated in the course of the programme. Knowledge is a central focus of the PGCE programme's orientation. Being older and in possession of an initial tertiary qualification, student teachers are expected to work critically and independently, although with mutual respect and support for peers, while also developing an established (and usually specialised) knowledge base.

Delivery is predominantly in the form of lectures for the education core modules, and tutorials for the methods courses. Lectures are often based on a presentation and discussion in which individual student teachers are encouraged to reflect on their experiences through their own schooling and their teaching practice experience. Many lectures took the form of an ongoing dialogue with lecturers deploying questioning techniques to prompt student teachers. For example, lecturers would tell student teachers to direct responses to questions towards the back of the lecture hall rather than to them at the front. In some lectures, a more explicit technique was used of asking student teachers to do quick think-pair-share activities in order to prepare their answers to questions.

As another merged institution, University C faced a similar challenge than University A in terms of differential qualifications and dispositions of teaching staff, while also grappling with the complexity of skills and knowledge that needed to be developed within a one-year qualification like University B. During the process of institutional renewal that began in 2009, capacity building among staff was actively promoted and encouraged through conferences, workshops, research projects, and collaboration across programmes, specialisations, and schools. An important element of this (ongoing) capacity building is sustained community service and engagement, which generate deep knowledge about the contexts that student teachers practice in. TEs are encouraged to use this knowledge to conceive new, innovative and pragmatic approaches to teaching in unequal contexts, with a specific focus on schools in rural and low-income urban areas. A community focus is also

embedded in the design of all programmes in the faculty – in the BEd programme, for example, all first-year students must complete a certain number of community service hours as part of their practice.

The PGCE programme at University C is structured around a 16-week teacher practice period in the second and third terms of the academic year. In this time, student teachers also have classes on Mondays and Fridays, and on certain evenings, with the result that they are able to meet regularly with peers and lecturers and discuss their progress where possible. Classes are usually either in lecture form or in seminar-type classes in some modules, with small group sessions for subjects like music and dance. In this sense, the delivery mode across the three programmes is quite similar, with large class settings and smaller ones more conducive to discussion and shared enquiry. Student teachers at University C are also encouraged to be active in and take control of their learning, and are exposed to several spaces in which they are able to reflect on and contribute to elements of the programme. Despite this, focus group participants felt that particular courses or modules, such as professional conduct, merited more extensive focus in the programme design, and highlighted an important critique of the faculty's pedagogical philosophy, which will be discussed in-depth below.

### **7.3.2.1 *Promoted pedagogies***

Course design and delivery are cast within particular pedagogical orientations in the three case study programmes. These pedagogies, discussed below, are largely faculty-wide rather than programmatic, in that while particular phases and specialisations may necessitate specific teaching strategies and approaches, they are still embedded within a guiding pedagogy that underpins the broad vision and mission of the faculty itself.

The Professional Studies component (as both a standalone course and embedded within other courses or modules) of the BEd programme at University A is an important site for student teachers to engage with issues of diversity and their own positionalities. The guiding pedagogies underpinning Professional Studies are the pedagogy of discomfort (also used in other modules) and Philosophy for Children (P4C), and thus can be considered to be the primary pedagogies advocated for teacher practice in the programme. The pedagogy of discomfort used by TEs uses particular spaces and activities to disrupt student teachers' own

biases and understanding, forcing them to confront difficult issues (such as racism or Islamophobia) in lectures and group settings in order to be able to sensitively handle and engage with these in their teaching practice: *“It is kind of creating a sort of shock value but in order to actually foster growth”* (Interview with TE, University A). The lecturer went on to say that he introduced contentious topics into the literature syllabus through, for example, inviting new interpretations of classic texts. He gave the example of how the dynamics in Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* could be played out similarly on the basis of racial or class difference between the protagonists, encouraging student teachers to reflect on their own attitudes and experiences in their responses.

It was a generally shared view that space existed in most modules for student teachers to engage with and reflect on issues affecting their practice, including challenges to social cohesion such as inequality, racial/ethnic/social divisions, and barriers to learning. This is a key focus of the Education Theory course. *“There’s a lot of space for discussing issues and we do discuss issues, all the topics that I teach, I try to make it as reflective as possible”* (Interview with TE, University A, 2015). These discussions allow student teachers to engage with one another’s experiences as forms of knowledge, linking this to pedagogic, philosophical, and systemic theories and perspectives on education. Furthermore, modules exist in the programme that utilise visual methodologies, with a particular project focused on student teachers and their experiences and realities. This project was seen as a highlight by student teachers, who argued that it should have formed part of their first- or second-year courses and not be left to the final year. They also suggested that being exposed to the stories told by peers in their projects fostered a sense of collegiality, understanding, and respect for difference, something that would positively influence their ability to deal sensitively with the diverse experiences of the learners they would encounter in their careers:

*“Like I use it now with teaching [...] I’m like wow, maybe they also have their own digital story, or story why they are like they are. That’s always running through my head”* (Student Teacher Focus Group, University A, 2015).

It is also interesting to note the programme’s dual focus on developing strong teacher identities alongside its use of the pedagogy of discomfort across courses. Both staff and student respondents suggested that the teacher is a key determinant of the success of the learning project, and further that teachers should be equipped to teach in challenging

contexts. Moreover, because the programme design was informed by the NSE (DoE, 2000), TEs related their expectations of student teachers to these as well – particularly the roles identified in this report as requiring teachers to act as agents of social cohesion. *“We expect them to take the pastoral role and community role very seriously. We have designed community-based assignments”* (Interview with TE, University A, 2015). Thus, the model of sustained practice lends itself to the *training* of teachers as professionals through ongoing exposure to schools. Coupled with this, the guiding pedagogy of the programme orients student teachers to the critical, affective, and contextual nature of their work, and how to manage their own and learners’ knowledge and experiences in order to maximise learning and create positive, critical learning environments. While this is an explicit intention of the programme, student teachers expressed that they were not always able to implement the strategies and pedagogies they were exposed to in practice, especially in poorer schools affected by resource shortages, large classes, and social and economic deprivation and violence.

University B was not found to advocate a specific pedagogy. The key pedagogies embedded within the programme overall are principally socio-constructivist approaches, suggesting that students operationalise this in their teaching practice. Core modules in education focus on developing an awareness of deficit thinking and, particularly within the module on social positioning, the social construction of reality and of ways of reading the world. Students in methods courses such as History were taught to use cooperative and constructivist learning strategies within the subject area. A strong emphasis in the programme was on imparting powerful knowledge and disciplinary knowledge to students as a form of redistribution to overcome barriers to learning.

Some TEs pointed to a similar difficulty of putting into practice an approach towards social cohesion within a broadly socio-constructivist approach in township schools and poorer contexts where more traditional, transmissional modes of teaching are common. One of the difficulties pointed out in particular was a prevalent deficit discourse about learning in these contexts, which may provide learners with content knowledge but denies them “powerful knowledge” and access to the skills to become self-learners:

*“You can’t do that kind of work with our learners because the classes are too big, the language is too poor, the only way to work with learners in the township schools or in*



*poorer context [...] is in a very, what I would call, very authoritarian, very teacher-driven, and very much a kind of old-fashioned drilling of content knowledge and for me that doesn't, in any shape or form, deliver powerful knowledge"* (Interview with TE, University B, 2015).

However, TEs pointed out that in order to support socio-constructivist and learner-centred instruction with a focus on specific content areas such as History, it was necessary to provide students with very specific strategies that were much less easily "washed out" by school context. One module in the Education course introduces specific pedagogies for the purposes of building teacher agency in order to cope in different contexts. These include pedagogies of reconnection, in which teachers use learners' cultures as a vehicle for learning through connecting with the everyday culture that is relevant for students, and pedagogies of discomfort, based on approaches to uncomfortable teaching, which was described as foregrounding inequality and teaching for social justice. TEs noted that some student teachers were able to successfully implement the strategies and pedagogies they picked up in classes in the practicum, but expressed concerns that this room for growth would be undone when student teachers were fully introduced to the everyday pressures of teaching, class management, and administration.

Similar to University B, the PGCE at University C incorporates elements of socio-constructivism in its PGCE programme, although the faculty also has a broad and quite firm orientation to a humanising pedagogy, which conceives of teaching as a moral, ethical, and existential practice. It was noted in an earlier quotation by a member of senior staff that the implementation of the pedagogy within programmes across the faculty took time, effort, and "deep work", to ensure that particular values, dispositions, and knowledge were encouraged and given space within programme curricula. A humanising pedagogy asks: *"How does one teach and facilitate learning in such a way that you are able and enable to bring out the full humanity, and the full human potential of both the learner and the teacher?"* (Interview with University Management, 2015). The "humanising" of learner and teacher can only take place based on recognition of existing structural, socio-economic, and symbolic dynamics and inequalities, and the use of effective teaching strategies to negotiate and incorporate learner knowledge. Crucially, this entails ongoing engagement with and recognition of positionalities and power dynamics embedded within learner experiences, teacher practices, and subject content knowledge.

Key theorists identified by lecturers include Paulo Freire, Antonio Gramsci, and Lilia Bartolome, while South African academic texts, such as Jonathan Jansen's *Knowledge in the Blood*, are seminal reading for staff and students, and introduce locally relevant concepts that address issues of humanising pedagogy in practice. Although the implementation of the pedagogy was intended to involve all members of the faculty (including student teachers) in different capacities, resistance to it is evident among some staff members, and the deliberate definitional vagueness of the term "humanising pedagogy" lends itself to different interpretations by staff members. Thus, while many took to the pedagogy and began to cast their own work within its terms, others covered it superficially, focusing principally on fostering positive relationships and less on dealing with structural manifestations of dehumanisation. This directly affects the experiences of student teachers, who suggested that the positive elements of the embedded pedagogy were often lost when they found themselves in difficult schooling contexts. Moreover, student teachers argued that the emphasis on dialogue and engagement in the promoted pedagogy did not extend sufficiently to the course structure, in that it merited a module on thinking through solutions to the concrete problems they encountered in their practicum. It was evident that student teachers wanted a guided space in which to workshop new teaching strategies and contribute to building knowledge within the faculty, and felt that the open-ended nature of the promoted pedagogy acted against the possibility of concretising teaching strategies that would enable them to effectively carry over the principles of the pedagogy in the classroom.

### **7.3.2.2    *Dealing with sensitive issues***

It is interesting to note the similarities between the case study programmes, particularly evident in the comments made by student teachers and TEs about dealing with the past and facing challenges to theoretical knowledge in student teacher practices. This is especially pertinent in relation to the demographics of each programme: students in the BEd programme at University A were mostly black African and coloured, while in the PGCE at University B students were mostly white. Students in the PGCE programme at University C were more demographically diverse, although in the context of what one TE referred to as a historically "*Broederbond institution*". This affected student teacher practices in the sense that their own education, which student teacher participants across programmes related,

were mostly reflective of historical racial education patterns, influenced their orientation to the programmes and the schools in which they conducted their practice. This will be discussed in further detail in the next section, but it suffices to note that the teaching experience of students in each programme was shaped and constrained by an identifiable link between the schools student teachers attended and those in which they conducted their practice (with the implication being that these would be the kinds of schools they would most likely end up teaching in). A significant finding of the Chapter 8 data collection was that racial difference between teachers permeates the schooling system, with Quintile 1 teachers being mostly black African (65.2%) or coloured (21.7%), and Quintile 5 teachers being mostly white (51.8%) or coloured (19.6%). Despite (and perhaps because of) existing knowledge of these contexts, student teachers did not always express confidence in being able to implement their knowledge in practice, and generally felt that new spaces needed to be created within programme structures for them to grapple effectively with the nature of educational inequalities in different schooling contexts.

Further, while all three programmes advocated for “facing issues” and dealing with educational challenges in practice, a distinction needs to be made between talk and action. Space existed within different modules to deal with issues of inequality, the legacy of racial segregation, and attitudes to nation-building, but a significant challenge TEs faced was getting student teachers to disrupt the most urgent and essential aspects of their teacher identities, i.e. where they chose to teach and why. Despite the attempts made to engage student teachers on difficult issues, this was not seen to have a direct relationship with the choices made about teaching practice, and a disjuncture between abstract knowledge and concrete experience became evident. For example, a student teacher in the BEd programme noted that, in a linguistically diverse classroom, he/she established English as the only language of communication in order to facilitate engagement, while one of his/her peers disagreed and said that in his/her own practice he/she allowed learners to communicate with one another in the languages they were comfortable with, even when he/she was unable to understand some of them. These different orientations to issues of linguistic inequality had not been uniformly engaged with by the fourth year of the programme. The extent to which “talk” about contentious issues equipped student teachers to successfully teach in difficult learning contexts is a crucial question for the section on teacher practice.

### **7.3.3 What is the role of the teacher practicum in the course model? What are the challenges and successes of the practicum component?**

The section above presented the programme structures for the three case study programmes, drawing these into a discussion of how they functioned in practice within different faculty and institutional contexts. A critical component of ITE programmes is teacher observation and practicum, where student teachers are able to operationalise their pedagogical, methodological, and content knowledge in different schooling contexts. This section will briefly outline the practicum structure for each programme, before discussing two key issues: the challenges regarding “cross-over” or diverse school experiences, and how student teachers attempt to implement their knowledge in these settings.

An important finding from the case study of the BEd programme is the continuity between the teacher college history of University A and its current orientation towards teaching practice. By the time student teachers graduate, they are expected to have taught about 220 lessons over four years in different subjects, focusing on their chosen specialisations in the fourth year. This emphasis on sustained practice that characterised teacher education colleges suggests that strong links need to be made between knowledge and practice, and furthermore that ongoing practice allows for knowledge to be applied, consolidated, and transformed in order to become part of the student teacher’s professional disposition. This is not the same for all BEd programmes; while a case study of the BEd at University C was not conducted, an interesting point about its practicum structure is that the institution only sends student teachers out for actual practice in the third year when they are considered more knowledgeable and mature, and able to conduct themselves effectively as professionals. Prior to the third year, they spend much of teacher “practicum” – what the faculty calls “school-based learning” (SBL) – observing lessons in schools.

The PGCE programmes at both Universities B and C attempt to resolve the constraints of limited time in different ways. University B embeds two periods of practicum (and an initial observation period) within three teaching blocks, while University C allocates its SBL over two school terms, running classes for student teachers simultaneously. Student teachers across the three programmes must produce portfolios for their practicum period, and these contribute to their final marks for this component. Portfolios are especially emphasised in

the PGCE programmes, where student teachers need to demonstrate effective engagement with course knowledge and continued growth over the duration of the course.

### **7.3.3.1    *The cross-over practicum***

The three case study programmes all advocate for a form of “cross-over” practicum, in which student teachers are exposed to different, often polarising, schooling contexts. In the BEd programme, student teachers are expected to teach in a special needs school and an unfamiliar school in their third year. In the first, second, and fourth years, they generally teach in “familiar schools”, whether those they attended personally or in their residential areas. At University B, students also have an input on which two schools to choose. They are to provide a list of five potential schools from a selection provided by the programme. The reason given for this is to ensure that they are exposed to a variety of schools and to experience diversity in classrooms. The requirement described in the programme information booklet is that students do teaching practicum in “two different schools with different levels of resourcing and different average class sizes”. This is similar to University C, where student teachers are also expected to undertake different schooling experiences in their SBL component.

It is further evident across the three programmes that building sustained institutional relationships with schools is seen as a crucial guarantor of success and consistency in teacher practicum. Two important interventions at University C affecting this are its community schooling project and its engagement with teachers from rural and township contexts through a teacher capacity development programme that also exposes student teachers to the experiences of teachers in these schools. At Universities A and B, relationships with schools are also used to control the direction of teaching practice, seen most evidently in University B’s designation of approved schools with which it has longstanding relationships. Even though student teachers could appeal to go to certain schools, it was expressed in the focus group for University B that these requests could be denied when schools were “not functional”.

A significant challenge to the teacher practice component identified by TEs is the lack of formalisation of the element of cross-over practice across the three programmes. University C is currently in the process of researching new models of teacher practice that would make

cross-over a requirement for all student teachers, while the ISP coordinator at University A said that

*“[The] cross-over policy is not even in writing, and that is the problem [....] There is no management tool to ensure that student teachers adhere to the [ad hoc] plan”* (Interview with TE, University A, 2015).

Student teachers in the BEd programme complained that they were treated like guinea pigs because the practicum policy was not set and subject to change based on unexplained criteria. Moreover, while the cross-over practicum is compulsory for the programme at University B, in practice TEs noted that student teachers found ways to avoid going to particular schools.

By not being an enforceable requirement of the three programmes, the value of the cross-over practicum is undermined by the resistance of student teachers to teaching in difficult contexts, particularly in racially, economically, and geographically different contexts from their own. TEs identified white students as being particularly reticent to teach in schools in townships and rural areas, citing issues of safety and sometimes bringing parents to meet with lecturers in order to get out of practising in these schools. Concurrently, black and coloured student teachers who have not attended former Model C schools also encounter challenges when required to teach there. A TE at University C suggested that a major struggle faced in the faculty was securing buy-in from stakeholders, especially student teachers, that cross-over practice is necessary and educational:

*“So, 70% of our students, they come from disadvantaged areas, they will go back there. If they come from privileged areas, they go back to privileged schools. They go to schools they actually come from. ‘I went to matric there, so I’m going there, the teachers know me’, it’s all about comfort and being comfortable. Because engaging in this new teaching experience is huge for them. It’s a very scary experience, so they need their comfort zones. But again, the comfort zones run counterproductive to the whole social cohesion project as such”* (Interview with TE, University C, 2015).

Student teachers expressed different perspectives on the issue. Across the case study programmes, many felt that it was necessary to be exposed to the unequal nature of South African schooling and society, and further to work in different schools:

*“If you’re to be a teacher, you might as well experience the worst of the schooling in South Africa, then decide whether this is something that you want to do or not. I don’t think you should really have room to [...] go to a middle-class school, or a private school, where your job comes easy there, and you end up at the end of the*

*day, not having purpose [...] Education is in crisis in South Africa; go to the worst of the schools and experience it” (Student Teacher Focus Group, University B, 2015).*

*“But I think by choice, I’m going to be honest and say by choice I have always chosen a white school, I have never by choice chosen a black school in a township area” (Student Teacher Focus Group, University A, 2015).*

*“For our school-based learning, we came from certain schools and then when we do SBL, we go to the same schools. So that means we are not being exposed enough” (Student Teacher Focus Group, University C, 2015).*

The comments from the students at Universities B and C draw the link between a lack of diversity in practicum experiences and the effect this has on student teachers’ skills and capacity. TEs felt that the cross-over practice would introduce student teachers to realities they often only engaged with abstractly through their courses, or distantly in social contexts. At University B, for example, both TEs and student teachers identified the cross-over as an important learning experience that exposed student teachers to the everyday realities of life in less-privileged schooling and community contexts. Student teachers recognised that the material conditions learners came from affected their education, and felt that they had a responsibility to develop teaching strategies that were cognisant of this. Prior to making the comment below, a student teacher distinguished between a learner whose parents *“read Shakespeare to them from the age of six”* and one who learned by watching *Takalani Sesame*, a popular children’s edutainment show offered by the national broadcaster. Elements of deficit thinking were apparent in the student teacher’s perspective, particularly in the sense that the educational experience of the latter child is seen as lacking.

*“So it is the dichotomy of how do you treat everyone equally when they are not equal in your class [...] [and] make them to understand that, yes, okay, you come from a social background that is slightly different, that is not going to be a disadvantage in my class, that is going to be an advantage, because you are going to be facilitated in a way that brings you up to everyone else’s level” (Student Teacher Focus Group, University B, 2015).*

The application of the pedagogies and strategies learned in the three programmes was an important criterion for assessment of teacher practicum, but it was recognised by TEs that student teachers battled to reconcile these new ways of thinking and doing with their own educational experiences.

*“What I hear from the students is that mediation and scaffolding and developmental teaching is just ‘the bomb’. What do I see? In general, I see didactic teaching, they teach the way they were taught”* (Interview with TE, University B, 2015).

He/she further questioned why it was the case that student teachers reverted to the teaching methods they were exposed to, arguing that this created a disjuncture between the abstract knowledge of the programme, which they were quite enthusiastic about, and its application in real terms. This view was shared by other TEs, with one at University C noting that despite the progressive intentions of the humanising pedagogy, it was difficult for student teachers to implement its principles in schools due to their established pedagogical philosophies and cultures of teaching and learning. Mentor teachers played a significant role in this regard; while they were not given dedicated focus in the programme at University A. At University B, student teachers had to sign a contract with mentor teachers. In the main, the nature of relationships with mentor teachers was seen as a critical influence on student teachers’ confidence in the practicum, but it is evident that more attention needs to be paid to the formalisation of the mentor teacher’s role and the relationship of mutual capacity building established between mentor and student teacher.

#### **7.3.3.2 Violence and social challenges to teacher practice**

This issue was further raised in relation to the social or local challenges faced by student teachers in their practicum, most notably regarding the issue of corporal punishment and violence more generally. Dealing with corporal punishment is accommodated within each programme due to the recognition that, despite being banned, it is still a common practice in South African schools and new teachers need to be trained in alternative methods of behaviour management. Student teachers at University A reported witnessing learners being hit and publically humiliated as disciplining mechanisms, and also expressed that they struggled to control fights, especially female teachers trying to ease conflicts between male learners. One described a mentor teacher who forced Somali learners to clean the classroom during the interval (Student Teacher Focus Group, University A, 2015). It was suggested by focus group participants at University B that corporal punishment was seen as a necessary strategy by teachers in these schooling contexts, and that their attempts to use different disciplining strategies were largely dismissed or laughed off. Student teachers at University C shared similar experiences, but also rejected the notion that corporal



punishment was useful by saying that its normalisation in particular schools rendered it ineffective. It is evident that appropriate and effective alternatives to corporal punishment are necessary in this context. An inability to deal with violence in the face of its prevalence in schools limits teacher agency to mitigate conflict and promote social cohesion. Teachers who are empowered to engage with the root causes of learner misbehaviour and violence, and transform these into positive interactions in the classroom, could be a valuable asset to fostering social cohesion in education. This issue is not confined to novice teachers, however; the school case study data provided interesting insights into the extent to which practising teachers are equipped to deal with discipline-related issues in classrooms.

**Table 38: Teachers who feel equipped to discipline learners**

Context	Percentage of teachers who feel equipped to discipline learners
<b>Province</b>	
Western Cape	53.3
Eastern Cape	48.1
<b>Geography</b>	
Urban	48.6
Rural	59.4
<b>Wealth</b>	
Quintile 1	69.6
Quintile 5	37.5

*Source: CITE (2016)*

As evidenced in Table 38, there is not much consensus regarding managing discipline across schools, quintiles, and regions. The fact that Quintile 1 teachers feel most confident disciplining learners is problematised by the statements of student teachers, who indicated that it was largely in schools in the lower quintiles where they witnessed corporal punishment.

Student teachers at University C suggested that schools in lower quintiles required services that were often not available to them due to resource constraints, such as social workers, dedicated counsellors, and peer counselling. One student teacher said that absenteeism among girl learners was common, and that when he/she probed this it became apparent that this was a result of these learners being raped by members of the community. There was minimal support that he/she could offer to learners in this regard. This was echoed by student teachers at University A, who felt ill-equipped to deal with fights and violence in

schools. Student teachers were demoralised by the prevalence of corporal punishment and violence in these schooling contexts, and felt unable to report instances of corporal punishment because it would impact their ability to work in certain schools and build relationships with mentor teachers. It is necessary to question how much post-practicum support and debriefing are provided to student teachers to enable them to work through issues and challenges that may affect their investment in the profession. These issues are further reflected on in the next section.

#### **7.3.4 How do student teachers view their roles as agents of social cohesion, in relation to their course knowledge and experiences?**

The discussion thus far has developed insights into the course design of the case study programmes and how these are experienced by student teachers. It has also focused on the teacher practice component as a crucial site in which student teachers build capacity, apply knowledge, and develop new understanding about the contexts in which they teach. An important finding in respect of this is the reality that many student teachers go back into the educational contexts that they came from once qualified. While this can be problematised due to the persistent racialisation of South African schools (especially in low-income contexts), it is more interesting to question whether, even when returning to familiar environments, student teachers can effectively deal with issues of social cohesion, especially when they possess a deep personal knowledge of how these issues play out within particular schools.

##### **7.3.4.1 Social cohesion and ITE curricula**

The three participant programmes deal with issues of social cohesion as part of their core curricula; recognising that doing so is crucial to ensure that student teachers are adequately prepared for diverse schooling contexts. Students at University A felt that there was an oversaturation of value-laden content and on fostering teacher identity. Fostering bonds and empathy between student teachers is a key way in which social cohesion is developed in the programme, as it is hoped this initial grappling with diversity in their own education will influence positive responses in their teaching. At University B, social cohesion is also accommodated within a module on social justice situated in the third teaching block, which

allows student teachers to engage on issues of inequality, reproduction, and hidden curricula after completing their second practicum. Social cohesion is an implicit element of the humanising pedagogy at University C, and different spaces have been made available in the courses for these issues to be dealt with. A challenge identified in the programme was that lecturers approach, interpret, and implement the humanising pedagogy from different perspectives, both superficially and progressively. One TE suggested that this needed to be dealt with more critically in order to better benefit the programme:

*“[What] we need to explore further is what kind of pedagogies can we identify and construct, co-construct that will enable us to deal with the kind of disjunctures that arise with the tensions between students who come from different backgrounds, between lecturers who come from different backgrounds, with all the kinds of racial categories, and the kind of knowledge that comes in and reinforces these kinds of things”* (Interview with TE, University C, 2015).

The issue of positionality was evident across the programmes, particularly because of the demographic composition at the three institutions outlined earlier and how these affected dynamics in the programme and in schools. It was suggested by a TE at University C that the attachment of student teachers to identity markers such as race, religion, and even schooling background cannot be understated, as this informs their uptake of particular modules or courses that attempt to disrupt these identities and challenge the power dynamics underpinning them. Student teachers at University B were exposed to deep theory on the issues noted above in their social justice module, including a section on critical race theory that directly confronts these issues in the South African context.

*“One of the outstanding characteristics of the ‘new’ South Africa has been the lack of generosity in according moments and spaces for people to deal with complexities of mourning and healing [...] Post-apartheid South Africa has tended to conjoin and simplify the individual body and the body-politic as similar in their experiences of social violence and ways of recovering from its impact”* (Lecture observation, University B, 2015).

This perspective was affirmed by a TE at University C:

*“We didn’t interrogate these issues post-1994. We glossed over it, and it’s starting to explode [...] We need to start unpacking these issues. Marginalisation still manifests in society, especially in the bifurcated education system which reproduces inequality. This is where the focus needs to be”* (Interview with TE, University C, 2015).

Dealing with issues of race and class is thus both salient and difficult in that it is as much personal (“the individual body”) as it is systemic (“the body politic”). This creates a challenge for TEs who have to negotiate disparate orientations to the past and a reticence among student teachers to engage with it. One TE at University C noted that disrupting identities was made difficult because student teachers across social groups were attached to, and often developed pride in, particular identities, even racial ones. For him/her, this necessitated a process of “deconstructing and reconstructing” established knowledge about different identities and social groups, about knowledge, and about the role of the teacher.

Another challenge identified by student teachers at University A was the implicit assumptions made in the programme that negated the possibility of engaging with issues of identity and knowledge practically.

*“They are focusing everything on us, seeing no race or no religion. Everything, all the children, or the people that we are going to be associating with, are seen as white [by the programme]”* (Student Teacher Focus Group, University A, 2015).

Racial inequalities underlay many of the practicalities of the process of teacher education. For example, when (mostly white) more privileged student teachers at University C protested against the cross-over on the grounds that travelling to schools in townships would be expensive, black student teachers from underprivileged contexts responded that the high cost of travelling was something they had borne throughout their schooling and university careers. The implications of these are discussed further in the section on challenges to social cohesion in the programmes.

Student teachers at University A expressed a variety of mixed feelings and different experiences regarding the programme. Inasmuch as they did not appreciate the repetition of particular aspects, such as the strong emphasis on values and teacher identity, they recognised that this benefitted them in their teaching practice; recommending pedagogies, activities, and values that they hoped to employ once qualified. In other words, they recognised that they would be able to exert agency over their classrooms as teachers and had thought about how they could do so. Student teachers did not necessarily agree on where to place the emphasis in the strategies. Some explained that building learners’ self-esteem is a means to promote socially cohesive societies, whereas others placed emphasis on teaching values, including *“lots of interactive group activities”* and materials such as

DVDs where sensitive topics can surface through narratives and discussion about the issues can occur. Despite valuing spaces where they could devise and implement their own strategies, student teachers were also divided on the issue of the CAPS curriculum, with a general sense being that it was too rigid in some respects and too flexible in others. One student teacher argued that because curriculum knowledge is often contextual, the prescribed CAPS textbooks represent inherent biases that negate the experiences of learners with little to no experience of these contextual factors – such as, for example, being part of a nuclear family, living in a particular type of house, having space at home to play or work, and having access to resources like books and newspapers.

#### **7.3.4.2    *Inequality and challenges to social cohesion***

This pointed to a larger issue that surfaced in different iterations across the three programmes, in expressions by both TEs and student teachers. Despite policy interventions geared towards undoing and transforming the inherited apartheid system, it continues to manifest in differing and complex ways. Moreover, while policies attempt to capture and address these manifestations, it is in practical application that their shortcomings become apparent. It was evident that the manifestations of troubled attitudes to difference often intersected in ways that made resolving them challenging and multidimensional.

Broadly, the challenges to social cohesion in the case study programmes related to 1) untransformed schooling contexts as input and output, 2) issues relating to curriculum and programme renewal, and 3) persistent inequalities as a challenge to socially cohesive practices. These are additional to the issues of governance and administration that the student teachers and TEs identified; furthermore, they are interconnected and therefore influence one another, enabling and constraining the realisation of social cohesion through ITE.

The effect that schools have on the uptake and success of ITE programmes is intricate due to the fact that schools are both the input and output of these programmes. What this means is that student teachers come from schooling contexts, which, aside from Quintile 5, remain largely racially homogenous (Fataar, 2015). This homogeneity is accompanied by differential experiences of teaching quality, resources, infrastructure, and school culture,

which affect the willingness or confidence of student teachers from different groups to enter schooling contexts they are not familiar with.

*“[Regarding] school culture [...] a school operates in a certain way, often it is used to the way it operates [and] it’s quite resistant to change”* (Student Teacher Focus Group, University B, 2015).

The reality that their experiences of teaching (and schooling) shaped their attitudes to the profession was touched on by student teachers across the case study programmes. This was also identified by TEs, such as the TE at University B, who said that student teachers *“teach the way they were taught”*, despite being exposed to new and at times more progressive teaching strategies in their ITE programmes. As an input, schools influence the experiences of student teachers and their impressions of what constitutes effective (or ineffective) teacher practices. The extent to which these impressions and experiences are grappled with problematised and used as knowledge in the training of novice teachers influences the school as an output. It was identified by participants that many student teachers not only reverted back to familiar teaching methods, but opted to do their practice, and often sought initial placement, in familiar schools – either the same or similar to those they attended. While the cross-over practicum has the potential to ameliorate the effects of this, the discussion showed that this potential is undermined by either lack of formalisation at the programme level or actual buy-in from student teachers themselves.

A further effect of schooling as an input is with regards to antagonisms between student teachers themselves, as noted earlier in this discussion. This was reported particularly at Universities A and C, which both had to engage with dealing with difference as an upfront issue due to their histories of institutional reconfiguration. Antagonisms between some black and coloured, and black and white, student teachers at the different institutions were described as deeply rooted in stereotypes, and also reflective of the inequalities that persist between different former racial groups. One student teacher at University C said that

*“currently our education system [is] the one that actually perpetuates the cycle of this race issues”* (Student Teacher Focus Group, University C, 2015).

Her peer at University B agreed, saying:

*“So you still have the schools that struggle the most are schools that black learners go to, right [...] I think it is also an issue of governance post-'94 because you have*

*politicians making policies and legislation and sending their kids to private schools and the schools that need upliftment and improvement do not get the attention, because it is not like they are a direct concern” (Student Teacher Focus Group, University B, 2015).*

Due to the differential provisioning of the apartheid state, historical inequalities between and within the former racial groups remain visible in communities, and contribute to the tensions student teachers described. Moreover, student teachers felt that their respective programmes managed these tensions with differing degrees of success, especially in recognition of how these were also undercut by issues of language, class, faith, and location. Student teachers at University A largely agreed that their parents and schools had been the primary influences on their attitudes to the South African context, and that they had had to confront these attitudes in both formal and informal spaces on the programme. One module in particular, which required student teachers to use visual storytelling, was identified for its success in exposing them to their peers’ experiences and realities, and cultivating empathy and a sense of awareness of how difference affected people’s lives. They noted that this had a positive effect on their own teaching practices.

At University C, conflicts between members of different groups were more apparent because of incidents prior to the research period, and were identified by both student teachers and TEs. A conflict had developed between some black and white students over a political issue, and the faculty intervened after it resulted in a student laying a complaint. There was disagreement over how issues were resolved; a TE and senior faculty member captured this, saying:

*“We had a session with students to try and reflect on what happened, and to debrief. Some felt that it wasn’t a big deal, while others felt that this was relativism [that we were only doing this because white students complained]” (Interview with TE and Senior Faculty Member, University C, 2015).*

A student teacher in the focus group echoed the above:

*“But ja, they were furious and [...] we had to have a meeting [...] The post sort of made fun of the DA. I don’t know how many times [they] made fun of the ANC, and it’s not something that blows up as this has” (Student Teacher Focus Group, University C, 2015).*

There was contestation between staff and students about how to deal with these issues, which fed into experiences of the programme itself. Staff and students differed on how to

interpret the humanising pedagogy, both within the programme and as a form of everyday praxis in the faculty, and this contributed to the complexity of contestations over meaning, belonging, and social cohesion. It was evident that the diversity of experiences that student teachers brought to the programme continued to impact on their daily interactions and their learning, but it was expressed by TEs that the faculty was adopting an open approach to resolving these issues and encouraging students to identify problems and challenges.

One of the challenges that student teachers across the programmes highlighted in their reflections was the influence of the programme curricula on their teaching practices and engagements with school learning materials. Curriculum and programme renewal processes influence social cohesion in the ways that they respond to and grapple with the schooling and learning contexts in which student teachers operate. The research showed that many student teachers were aware of the depth of inequalities that exist and took seriously their role in providing learners with positive, effective, and agential role models. At University C, for example, student teachers were critical of the structure of the programme and recognised the need to develop their own strategies and practices suited to the contexts in which they worked. An important concern, a TE agreed, was the need for the programme to be relevant to current educational needs:

*“What was the context into which those teachers needed to go and how do we look at that realistically, given our context in South Africa; in other words, start looking at what is it the majority needs, not what is it that the Model C schools need, or the schools that were set up as models of what good teaching and learning spaces are, or good teaching and learning was for that matter. How do we shift that?”* (Interview with TE, University C, 2015).

The criticisms that student teachers at University C had were also shared by their peers in the other two programmes. In the main, these were related to the friction between the ITE curriculum and the established knowledge, attitudes, and practices of schools and individual teachers. While TEs recognised that the programmes needed to cater to the majority of schools, this was difficult to realise in practice. The CAPS curriculum was noted as a further constraint in some instances because its structure provided impetus for student teachers to revert to traditional methods in order to cover the syllabus.

The inequalities faced in different schools were further evidenced by challenges affecting the success of ITE. Language was highlighted as a challenge, particularly in linguistically



diverse classrooms or where student teachers did not speak the language spoken by the majority of learners. This influenced the extent to which student teachers could manage the classroom itself and instil a culture of learning where learners had different linguistic competencies and thus different learning needs. Student teachers who worked in poor schools also noted that this affected the levels of achievement they could attain and expect. At University C, student teachers related this to pressure to get their learners to perform at similar standards to their peers in wealthier schools, and the accompanying difficulties this placed on utilising the teaching strategies they were exposed to in the programme. A further concern was how school management enabled or constrained student teacher agency, with particular reference to uncooperative mentor teachers; teachers who used violence to discipline learners; teachers with conservative attitudes to race, class, gender, sexuality, and/or religion; and a lack of support available to assist learners with learning, behavioural, or social challenges.

### **7.3.5 Discussion**

The recommendations for the ITE sector appear at the end of this chapter as part of an integrated set of recommendations for teacher professional development as a single concept. Here we discuss the salient points that emerged from the three case studies of ITE programmes at three tertiary institutions, before moving on to the next section, which discusses continuing professional teacher development (CPTD).

ITE programmes are crucial for understanding the conditions in which education interventions focus on teachers to promote peace. Particularly in the context of South Africa, they enable a synoptic view on the past and present education landscape, together with providing indications for future possibilities. The historical reflection on ITE in South Africa affords a concrete sense of the layered fragmentations constructed during colonial and apartheid rule in the South African education system. Evaluations of interventions post-1994 illustrate that enduring patterns of inequity, associated with the historical legacy, have not been adequately addressed. At the same time, much progress has been made as all teacher education providers follow a national policy framework encapsulated in the NSE (DoE, 2000) and MRTEQ (DHET, 2011; 2015). As such, all teacher education providers frame their programmes in accordance with the seven roles and 11 competencies specified for

graduates in the policy. However, as analysed, there is a lack of policy specification about social cohesion goals for teachers in policy. Existing policy frameworks for teachers do not use the term “social cohesion”, notwithstanding the fact that it is a key outcome of the government (Outcome 14). As such, teacher education providers are able to develop offerings broadly aligned to the policy framework, with autonomy to incorporate how the roles and competencies are realised at programmatic levels.

Demonstrating respect for a diverse learner population, addressing their needs, and identifying social problems in a context where the drivers of conflict are fragmented, with splintered social identities that have been grossly misrecognised over generations of colonial and apartheid rule, is a formidable challenge. It was thus imperative that this report evaluate case studies of ITE programmes in order to determine how teacher education providers mediate and engage with the policies in this regard; focusing on teachers as agents of social cohesion. In line with policy guidelines, the evaluation focused on student teachers’ experiences of managing diverse learner populations, and addressing their learning and social needs.

The case studies illustrated that ITE programmes, as experienced, provide pedagogical approaches and tools to prompt student teachers to reflect on and manage difference. In so doing, student teachers are provided with opportunities to develop respect for diversity, including a diverse learner population, as well as tools to address their needs and identify social problems. Through the specification of graduate roles and competencies, policy has, albeit differently, at the programme level, sought an active engagement with diversity in the context of teaching and learning.

The data further expressed how the specific institutional histories and characteristics shape student teachers’ experiences of content and practice regarding social cohesion. These institutional contexts, cultures, and histories intersect with the diverse racial, class, and gendered identities and social locations student teachers bring to their learning experiences. The discussion showed how this unravels in lecture spaces, the social milieu of the institution, as well as teaching practicum or school spaces. In a fundamental sense, this was anticipated by policy interventions related to teacher education but cannot be prescribed or subscribed. This diversity of the student teachers results in complex, dynamic, and ambiguous outcomes.

The nature and character of the diversity – inequality and fragmentation – of course lends itself to conflict and violence inasmuch as it may also present possibilities for innovation.

The research suggested that instances of conflict on the basis of racial, economic, gender, political, or spatial identities were not uncommon. It also showed that student teachers fostered collegiality despite this, largely through learning spaces that required them to engage with peers different from themselves. Moreover, student teachers were found to be committed to social cohesion, despite their different backgrounds, although their interpretations of what this meant varied.

The case studies further found that the experiences, expertise, and understanding of TEs played a crucial role in shaping student teachers' experiences. Their role is to support and challenge, provide content knowledge, as well as empower student teachers to seek knowledge, and expose students to diverse pedagogies and contexts. The understanding of TEs of social cohesion is as important as that of the student teachers. They too, like the students, need to be supported yet remain invisible in policy frameworks and specifications. It was evident from the research that TEs themselves brought a range of experiences, qualifications, and attitudes to their practices, and further had different interpretations of the meaning of social cohesion. Attempts made by faculties – such as at University C – to inculcate a particular guiding pedagogy can be viewed as a recognition of this reality and an attempt to ameliorate it by introducing new approaches, strategies, and philosophies that are more cognisant of the challenges presented by inequality and social stratification. Indeed, TEs recognised that less progressive peers were as much of a barrier to teaching for social cohesion as the troubled knowledge of student teachers themselves. The case studies suggested that additional support can be given to student teachers as they confront diversity in its fragmented forms during their learning experiences. In particular, empowering student teachers with approaches and tools to engage everyday diverse manifestations of racial and linguistic practices would empower them as agents of social cohesion and peace. However, while they are provided with opportunities to engage with diversity, it needs to be recognised that such programmes can never fully prepare student teachers for the ongoing, dynamic, and context-specific nature of teaching, and, as such, ongoing professional, on-site support is needed, as the next section discusses. As Robinson (2015) noted, efforts must be made to strengthen school and university partnerships.

She found that “insufficient communication seems to exist across the different sectors on roles, responsibilities, and expectations with regard to supporting student teachers during teaching practice” (Robinson, 2015:48).

The next section discusses the training teachers receive once they are qualified as teaching practitioners. CPTD is one way to ensure that teachers are constantly being reflexive about their pedagogical techniques and classroom practices. It is through these interactions and the advocating of these dispositions that they become instrumental in the promotion of social cohesion.

## **7.4 CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL TEACHER DEVELOPMENT (CPTD)**

### **7.4.1 Introduction**

The historical context of teacher training discussed in the previous section noted that teacher training during the apartheid era had been racialised and differentially resourced. The result of this inequality in teacher education was a subsequent disparity in the quality of education offered to different “race” groups, alongside further inequalities in resourcing, infrastructure, and governance. It also contributed to an under-trained teaching force, with serious implications for the learners they taught. It is this that makes CPTD a critical priority – the reality that South Africa’s teachers have an integral role to play in promoting social cohesion in the classroom and in society in general.

This section discusses the historical trajectory of CPTD in South Africa, before moving on to a discussion of the policies relating to continuing professional development in general, and then with specific focus on policies aimed at developing teachers as agents of social cohesion. Lastly, to contextualise CPTD in South Africa, this section will discuss the research and findings of four case studies based on CPTD interventions offered by various providers in South Africa.

### **7.4.2 Policy provisions relating to continuing professional development in South Africa**

The most recent policy on teacher development is the ISPFTED in South Africa (2011-2025), published in 2011 (DBE & DHET, 2011). The ISPFTED was developed as a result of

recommendations put forward by various stakeholders<sup>23</sup> at the Teacher Development Summit in 2009. The ISPFTED advocates that teacher education and development in South Africa should be understood “as part of an ongoing, dynamic process, which will continue to rely on the input of all teacher education and development stakeholders, and through which the quality of teacher education and development will be improved over time” (DBE & DHET 2011). This 15-year strategic framework aims to “improve the quality of teacher education and development in order to improve the quality of teaching” and is aligned with national policies, such as the DBE Action Plan 2014 and the DHET’s Revised Strategic Plan (2010/11-2014/15). The ISPFTED has stated four intended outputs for different stakeholders, such as the DBE, DHET, and/or PEDs. The outputs are stated in Table 39.

**Table 39: Intended outputs of ISPFTED**

Output No.	Outputs	Led by
Output 1	Individual and systematic teacher development needs are identified and addressed.	DBE
Output 2	Increased numbers of high-achieving school leavers are attracted to teaching.	DBE
Output 3	Teacher support is enhanced at the local level.	PEDs
Output 4	An expanded and accessible formal teacher education system is established.	DHET

*Source: DBE & DHET (2011)*

The ISPFTED focuses on the careers of teachers in different phases; from the recruitment of potential teachers through their career-long continuing professional development. Output 1 aims to develop content frameworks that describe the content and pedagogical knowledge teachers should possess in order to teach the curriculum effectively and to inform the development of diagnostic self-assessments and quality short courses for teachers (DBE & DHET, 2011:5). These CPTD courses will be endorsed by SACE and are “pedagogically sound, content rich, and quality assured” (DBE & DHET, 2011:5). An Information and Communications Technology (ICT) platform will be developed and linked to the self-assessments and the SACE CPTD Management System, which allows teachers to choose

<sup>23</sup> Stakeholders at the Teacher Development Summit included teacher unions, SACE, the Education, Training and Development Practices Sector Education and Training Authority (ETDP SETA), the ELRC, the national DoE, and the Higher Education South Africa –Education Deans’ Forum (HESA-EDF).

from SACE-approved (online) providers and select courses that address their needs (DBE & DHET, 2011:7).

Output 2 focuses on attracting and encouraging school leavers to become teachers by implementing and strengthening teacher recruitment campaigns and funding schemes for ITE students (DBE & DHET, 2011:11,12). Output 3 aims to support teachers at the local level through the establishment of Professional Learning Communities (PLCs) and to provide support at the provincial and district levels. Lastly, Output 4 focuses on expanding and developing training for teacher education.

Bertram (2014:92) critiques the ISPFTED by stating that the documents which have been used to inform the ISPFTED are conceptual, rather than strategic. Although the policy does place great emphasis on improving the quality of teaching, it fails to mention how the contextual circumstances of the schooling environments might impact these outcomes.

#### **7.4.3 Continuing professional development for social cohesion**

Policies promoting teachers as agents of social cohesion are not lacking in the teacher professional development policy landscape in South Africa. Some of these policies include the NDP, which expresses dedication to the improvement of education, training, and innovation. The NDP states that teachers are central to education and teaching should be a highly valued profession (NPC, 2012:264). Another policy is the MTSF, which advocates improving the quality of education and ensuring that teachers are in class on time and that they are teaching (DPME, 2014:9). The Action Plan 2019 has prioritised Goal 16, which focuses on the improvement of teachers' professionalism, teaching skills, subject knowledge, and computer literacy (DBE, 2015a).

The DBE's *Five-year Strategic Plan* (2015b) mentions the need to assess teachers' content knowledge and that "more effective" teacher development programmes will be implemented to improve teachers' competencies. Although the strategic plan does not give specific implementation guidelines, it recognises the need to develop teachers' skills and competencies more rigorously. In addition, the plan explicitly states the need to effectively respond to diversity and implement inclusive education practices (DBE, 2015:15). It acknowledges the importance of professional development interventions for responding to

diversity and inclusive education (DBE, 2015:15), but it still does not mention how these interventions will be operationalised and successfully realised.

As previously mentioned, the policy landscape in terms of professional development (aimed at social cohesion) is not lacking in South Africa. The previously mentioned policies acknowledge the need for programmes to focus on assisting teachers to deal with diversity in the schooling context. A lack of implementation strategies seems to be the main stumbling block to developing these competencies in teachers.

#### **7.4.4 CPTD case studies methodology**

The study methodology for this section relied on various datasets. The first dataset came from data collected in 2015 whereby eight stakeholders were interviewed. The second dataset incorporated the views of teachers from the Eastern Cape and Western Cape when they were surveyed on their perceptions of CPTD programmes. The third dataset came from interviews conducted with teachers who have attended and facilitators who have taught CPTD programmes related to social cohesion. The third dataset investigated teachers' impressions of the value of the CPTD programme and whether the content of the CPTD programme assisted them in being able to think and act in a more socially cohesive manner in their classrooms. The rationale for using these datasets and for analysing these case studies is to understand how teachers have been supported through CPTD interventions to act as agents of social cohesion. The data will be used to address the following question: *How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are trained for social cohesion?*

**Table 40: Datasets used in this section**

Dataset	Description
Dataset 1	Semi-structured interviews with eight stakeholders <sup>24</sup> as part of the research project on “The role of teachers and youth in peacebuilding and social cohesion” by CITE. <i>This research was conducted in 2015.</i>
Dataset 2	Quantitative (102) and qualitative (41) interview data from nine selected urban and rural schools of different quintiles in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape were used as part of this research project. <i>This research was conducted in 2016.</i>
Dataset 3	Semi-structured interviews with 11 teachers of selected interventions and with three facilitators were used as a case study approach. Ten teachers taught at urban schools and one teacher taught at a rural school in the Western Cape. Participating teachers taught at both public and private secondary schools. <i>This research was conducted in 2016.</i>

Source: CITE (2016)

Four interventions have been examined and analysed as case studies of CPTD interventions intended for developing teacher agency for social cohesion:

1. Discipline for Peace programme (National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa [NAPTOSA]).
2. Facing the Past (Shikaya).
3. Teaching Respect for All (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation [IJR]).
4. The Educator Training Programme (South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation [SAHGF]).

Semi-structured interviews with teachers and stakeholders, such as programme managers and government officials, were conducted. Participants were selected based on attendance at previously conducted interventions provided by one of the four case study programmes.

After identifying programme participants' schools in Cape Town, contact was made with the school principals, and thereafter the teachers were interviewed.

It was important that the sample of teachers reflected different school types as it is a well-established fact that teachers in South Africa face different challenges based on the schools

<sup>24</sup> Government officials (2) and programme managers (5).



in which they teach (Jansen, 2009; Spaull, 2013). The research aimed to investigate how these four providers assisted in developing teachers' skills as agents of social cohesion. However, this is an unrepresentative sample and teachers' understanding and experiences may vary based on factors such as the years of teaching experience, gender, socio-economic status, and racial background. It is therefore possible that a more diverse sample of teachers may result in a different outcome.

#### **7.4.5 Patterns of CPTD proficiency**

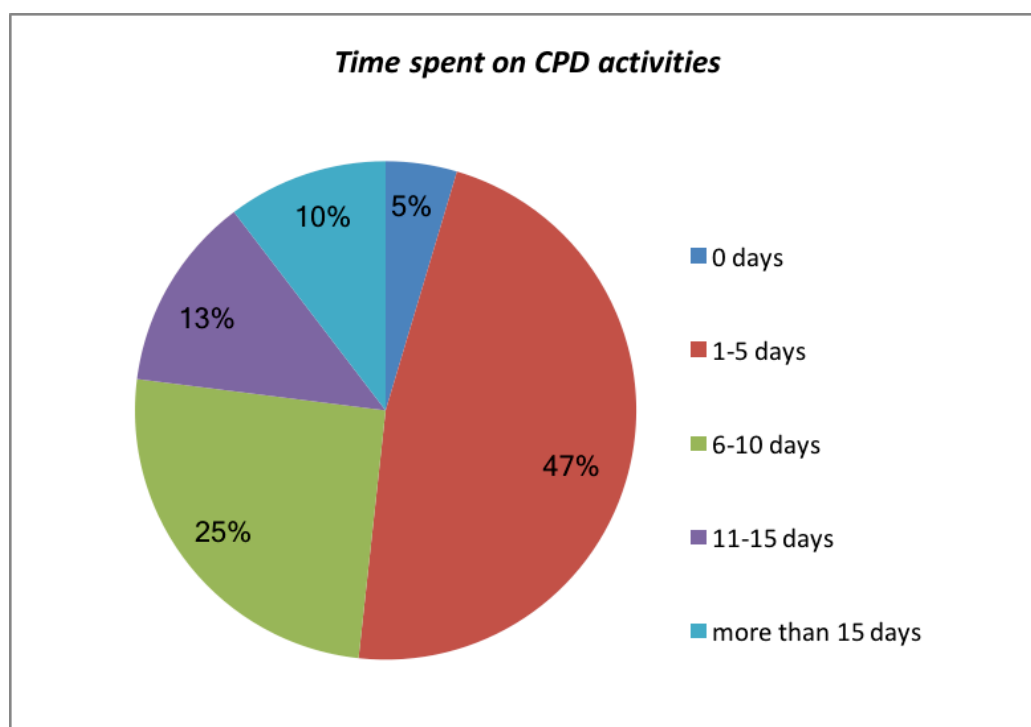
In 2011, the DBE commissioned a School Monitoring Survey (DBE, 2013) to monitor the progress of the goals and indicators set out in *Action Plan 2014: Towards the Realisation of Schooling 2025* (DBE, 2015). One of the indicators related to the average hours per year spent by educators on professional development activities. At the time the survey was conducted with the teachers, they should have spent an average of 60 hours per annum on professional development activities.<sup>25</sup> However, the average hours spent on professional activities as reported by the teachers were 38.1 hours (DBE, 2013). The survey also showed, specifically, that teachers in the Western Cape indicated spending 60 hours on professional development activities, whereas teachers in the Eastern Cape reported spending 31 hours in 2011 (DBE, 2013).

In response to these findings, teachers from Dataset 2 were asked how many hours they spent on CPTD activities for the year 2015 and, more specifically, how many hours they spent on CPTD activities that related to social cohesion; the following results were recorded (see Figures 5 and 6).

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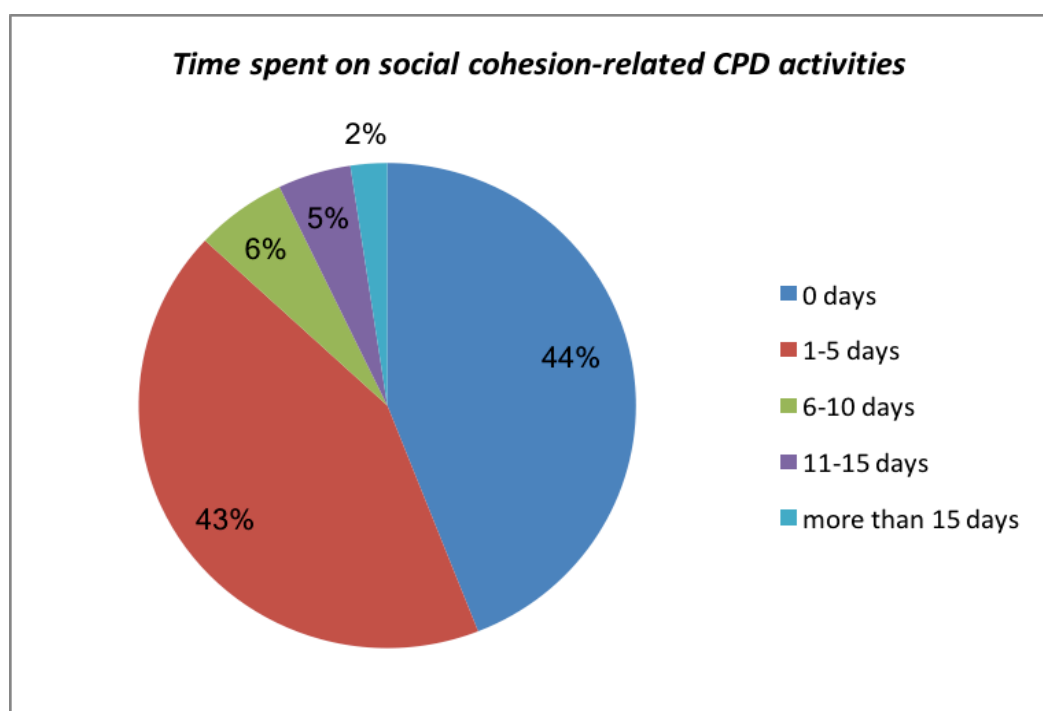
<sup>25</sup> As calculated by ELRC Resolution No. 7 of 1998 on the Workload of Educators. Teachers need to complete 80 hours of CPTD per annum.

**Figure 5: Time spent on CPTD programmes**



*Source: Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)*

**Figure 6: Time spent per year on social cohesion-related CPTD programmes**

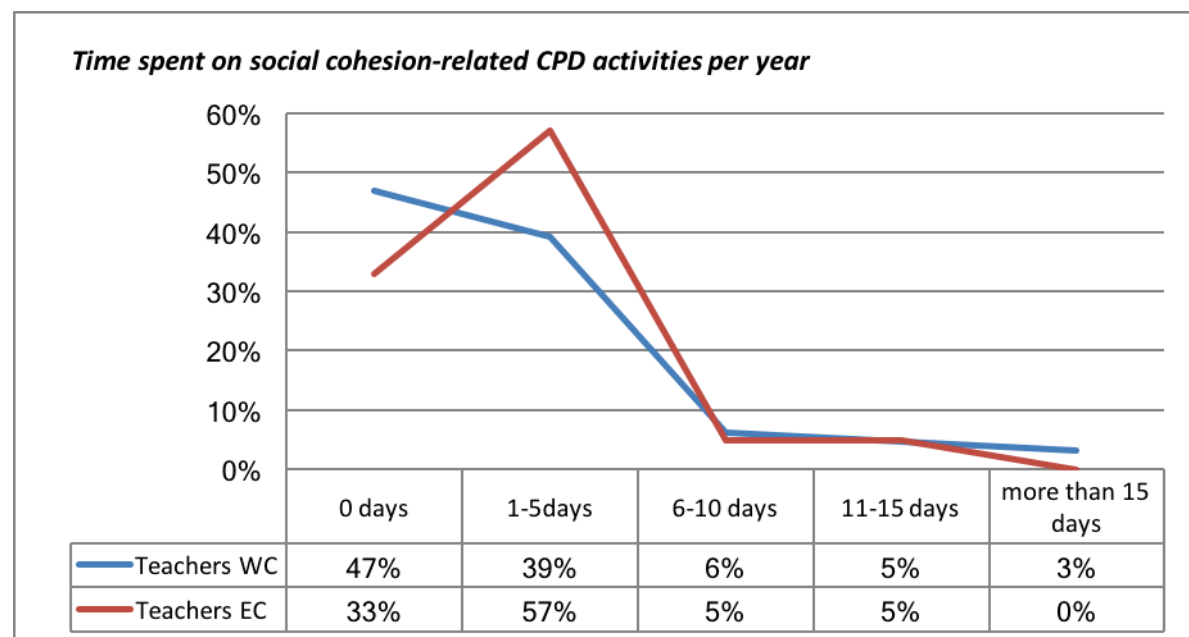


*Source: Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)*

The data of Figures 7 and 8 show that the majority of teachers in both the Western and Eastern Cape indicated spending one to five days (eight to 40 hours) on CPTD activities per year. This translates into most of the CPTD being spent on short-term courses, once-off seminars, or interventions. However, studies have shown that in order for CPTD to be successful and effective, CPTD activities should be repeated or spread out over a longer period of time in order for teachers to internalise new practices about beliefs or new ways of dealing with new practices (Cordingley *et al.*, 2015; Timperley *et al.*, 2007; Van Driel, Beijaard & Verloop, 2001).

The following figure shows the number of days teachers spent on CPTD activities by province per year.

**Figure 7: Time (in days) spent on social cohesion-related CPTD programmes per year**



*Source: Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)*

Figure 7 indicates the difference between the time spent on CPTD in the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. However, on a whole, the maximum days spent on CPTD activities are between 1 to 5 days. This indicates that most social cohesion-related CPTD activities are once-off workshops and are rarely spread over a long period of time.

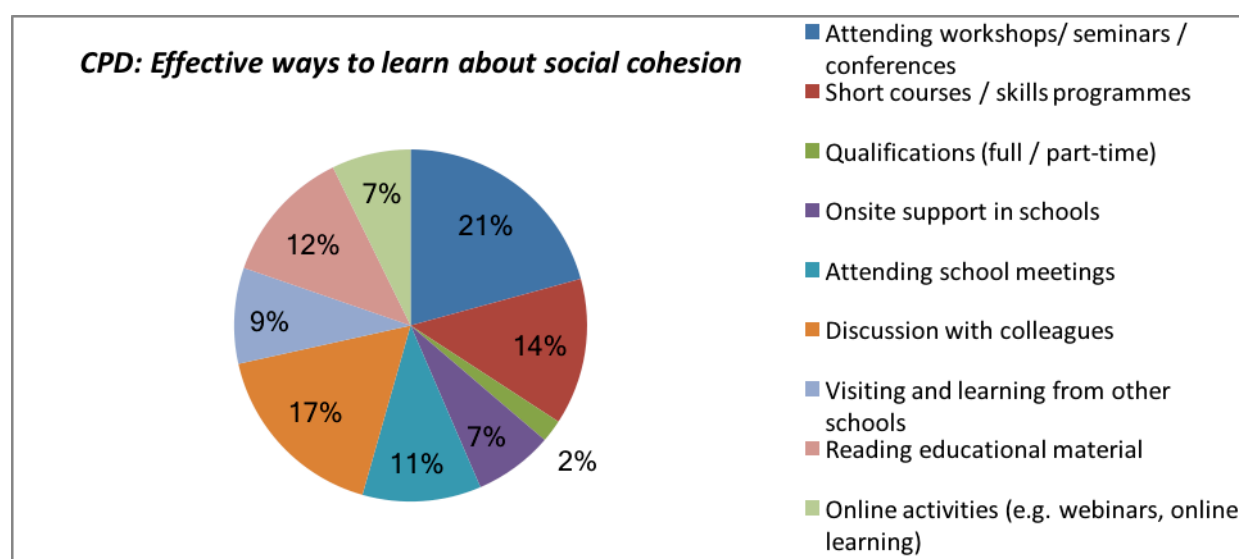
The previous section on ITE programmes stated that ITE programmes are regulated by multiple statutory bodies. However, this is not the case with CPTD. SACE has instituted a

points system that mirrors global trends in CPTD. Providers must be approved by SACE, and CPTD activities must be endorsed in order to receive accreditation for the interventions.

SACE identified three types of CPTD activities: 1) teacher-initiated, 2) school-initiated, or 3) externally initiated activities, which can further be divided into different types of activities. For the first two types of activities, professional development activities are predetermined and allocated by the teacher, in line with the SACE points system. For externally initiated activities, a set amount of points will be allocated, based on SACE-approved points of the provider or endorsement of the activity (SACE, 2015). Teachers have to earn PD points based on the three types of activities, and are currently expected to accumulate 150 points in each three-year cycle. Professional development points are accredited to teachers per course attended, with course points ranging from 15 to 30 points per course (PD Pointer, 2013). Teachers who receive 150 or more points at the end of their three-year cycle will receive a Certificate of Achievement from SACE (SACE, 2015).

Research participants from Dataset 2 were asked various questions relating to their subjective practices in the classroom but also about how CPTD activities could improve their teaching in relation to social cohesion. Figure 8 shows that the largest group of participants (44%) felt that on-site and peer support would be important for them to learn about social cohesion. This includes ways of interacting with colleagues, exchanging knowledge on social cohesion learning and practices, as well as visiting and learning from other schools. The figure further shows that 38% of the participants felt that support from professionals or experts, such as workshops/seminars or conferences, short courses, or qualification programmes, are important to improve teaching and learning practices regarding social cohesion. The data indicated that teachers felt that learning about social cohesion through these types of short or once-off CPTD activities was helpful. Self-learning activities, such as reading educational material or online learning activities, were also viewed as important ways to improve teaching and learning practice by 18% of the participants.

**Figure 8: Teachers' perspectives on most effective CPTD forms to learn about social cohesion**



Source: *Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)*

Figure 8 indicates that teachers felt it was important to interact with peers about topics relating to social cohesion. Interactions can include attending meetings or discussions, which can be facilitated as part of on-site support or as part of workshops, short courses, or qualifications. The teachers felt that self-learning activities were less important ways to learn socially cohesive teaching and practices.

## 7.5 CPTD INTERVENTIONS FOR SOCIAL COHESION

The four CPTD case studies each consisted of an intervention that attempted to develop teachers as agents of social cohesion. These four interventions were facilitated by NAPTOSA, Shikaya, the IJR, and the SAHGF. We now discuss each of these interventions in turn, using Pawson's framework to elaborate upon and assess key aspects of each programme.

### 7.5.1 Discipline for Peace programme by the National Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA)

Intervention 1	Discipline for Peace
<b>Provider</b>	NAPTOSA
<b>Type</b>	Teachers' union
<b>SACE endorsed</b>	Yes
<b>Duration</b>	Two hours per week over five weeks
<b>National/ Provincial</b>	Provincial, Western Cape
<b>For whom?</b>	Parents and teachers
<b>Aims of intervention</b>	<p>Equipping teachers, parents, and caregivers with a toolkit to develop and instil discipline without resorting to physical violence.</p> <p>The long-term goal of Discipline for Peace is to bring about social cohesion in a society devoid of violence by developing learners and children who have been exposed to a form of discipline other than corporal punishment.</p>
<b>Mechanisms</b>	<p>A toolkit will be provided with alternative ways of dealing with disruptive behaviour of children. Teachers are provided with different options for bringing about "peace" in the classroom and school; parents and caregivers are given options in dealing with child problems in the home.</p> <p>The sessions are "largely didactic", with much of the content being presented in the form of scenarios, and various options of addressing each problem being presented. Since each child is different, the teacher, parent, or caregiver has to decide which option is most suited to obtaining the desired outcome. This demands that the teacher, parent, or caregiver needs to be "attuned" to the child in order to choose the most appropriate approach to addressing the child's behaviour.</p>
<b>Outcomes</b>	Equipping teachers and parents with various alternative strategies for discipline and improving the understanding and connections with children

Source: NAPTOSA (2014)

NAPTOSA was registered as a trade union in 2006 (NAPTOSA, 2014), and is the second largest union in the education sector (Wills, 2015). The Discipline for Peace intervention was developed in 2004 by a qualified teacher with an honours degree in Psychology, who designed the intervention in response to the abolishment of corporal punishment as a form of discipline (Interview with 1 NGO 18, 2016). The intervention is also run for NAPTOSA members since its 2012 audit indicated that maintaining discipline was continuously identified as a challenge facing teachers (Interview with 2 Professional Association 3, 2015).

Each workshop participant receives a printed document titled “Discipline Toolkit”. The toolkit includes a set of 21 strategies of positive discipline options, which are:

- Listening;
- Keeping track;
- Adjustment of freedom;
- Asking effectively;
- Preparation;
- Structure;
- Space and schedule management;
- Ritual;
- Remedial stories;
- Distraction;
- Acknowledgement and appreciation;
- Incentives;
- Assertive repetition;
- Time-out;
- Time apart;
- Cool down;
- Sensory break;
- Making it up;
- Introducing a cost;
- Meetings and problem solving; and
- Other restorative options.

The toolkit also provides a list of books that attendees may consult to assist them in dealing with difficult situations without resorting to violence. The format of the workshops depends on the size of the group. Since there are no limits on participant numbers, the format is flexible. Smaller participant numbers would encourage an intimate group work setup, whereas larger groups would incorporate a more lecture-style approach.

### **Outcomes**

One of the teachers interviewed said that after having attended the programme, teachers could take the information and apply it at home as the presenter would refer to both the school and home environments. However, he/she felt that there were times that the options were not applicable to his/her context, for example giving a child “time out” at school, where this was a more appropriate strategy in the home.

He/she indicated being better equipped to deal with his/her own children – more so than at school, where discipline is not that much of a problem:

*“I have more discipline strategies [...] I now look at a situation differently [...] and also what has happened is [...] especially the boys [...] they appreciate the fact that I’m not just gunning them [...] I will ask them, hey, and they appreciate it, someone is asking, someone cares”* (Interview with T<sup>26</sup>, F, DFP 1, 2016).

Regarding their own children, another teacher mirrored this view by saying:

*“[W]e as parents need to look at our children in a different way – our own children, not our learners. Now that was also very motivating to take punishment out of the equation”* (Interview with T, M, DFP 2, 2016).

Although not directly linked to CAPS – the programme deals with behaviour rather than curriculum content – attendees mentioned that the workshop had impacted their teaching practices and they would be able to incorporate these skills in the classroom.

*“I think it made me more aware of my own weaknesses and to search for different methods, other than incriminating or punitive methods. We don’t really incriminate but you know it is so easy sometimes to insult a child, so the whole course was geared to looking at alternatives [...] But that course tried to teach us that [...] insulting behaviour, aggressive behaviour is not going to bring you anywhere [...] definitely the mind shift, it worked for me to approach learners differently and to realise that there’s different methods”* (Interview with T, M, DFP 2, 2016).

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<sup>26</sup> T: Teacher; M: Male; F: Female; DFP: Discipline for Peace.



Generally, teachers felt better equipped after having attended the Discipline for Peace programme as they were given a range of discipline skills they could apply at school. However, common views of the teachers were that these tools were not always conducive to their teaching environments and could be more successfully incorporated in their home environment.

## 7.5.2 Facing the Past – Transforming Our Future, by Shikaya

Intervention 2	Facing the Past
<b>Provider</b>	Shikaya
<b>Type</b>	NGO
<b>SACE endorsed</b>	No
<b>Duration</b>	Variable
<b>National/ Provincial</b>	Provincial, Western Cape
<b>For whom?</b>	All teachers, but highly relevant for History, Life Orientation, and English teachers (Shikaya, 2016).
<b>Aims</b>	Supporting teachers and learners in education for human rights and democracy through history, using Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa as case studies (Weldon, 2005). Offering ways to explore moral issues in classrooms, helping young people to develop an awareness of their responsibilities in a democracy and their consequences of choices they make as well as developing in young people a respect for human rights and diversity (Tibbitts, 2004, in Tibbitts, 2006:300).
<b>Mechanisms</b>	The programme mirrors Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO's) approach by creating teaching resources linked with the history curriculum and by providing sustained training, workshops, and ongoing classroom support (Tibbitts, 2006).
<b>Outcomes</b>	Equipping History teachers with pedagogical techniques and critical thinking skills in order to teach historical events in a manner that allows teachers and students to be conscious about their actions and how intolerance and prejudices can affect others.

The Facing the Past – Transforming our Future intervention was collaboratively designed to help support history teachers in the Western Cape to overcome the challenges of implementing the new curriculum (FHAO, 2016; Weldon, 2010). The programme started as a six-month pilot project in 2003 in the Western Cape, with a minimum of four follow-up workshops in the same year (Weldon, 2010). The intervention is currently adapted and tailored to the participants of the workshops.

## ***Aims***

In addition to what is stated in the table above, the programme would also contribute to other goals, such as offering ways to explore moral issues in classrooms, instilling a sense of responsibility in learners as democratic citizens, an awareness of the consequences of their choices, as well as developing respect for human rights and diversity (Tibbitts, 2004 in Tibbitts, 2006: 300). The programme aims to cultivate students' awareness of the ways that society is shaped by choices of individuals, and the role that they can play in creating a culture that values human rights, diversity, and peace (Shikaya, 2016).

The Facing the Past – Transforming our Future intervention has been selected as a case study because it has been the WCED's core project for implementing anti-racism and integration in schools. These are attributes that are crucial to developing social cohesion. The approaches used by this intervention are highly relevant for History, Life Orientation, and English classes (Shikaya, 2016). Thus, the content of the intervention can be seen as an appropriate tool for fostering social cohesion in the classroom and broader schooling context.

## ***Mechanisms***

Shikaya incorporates a methodology that allows one to connect history by asking morally focused questions essential to encouraging discussions that engage with social cohesion.

The programme allows teachers from various schooling contexts to engage with one another by discussing personal histories and experiences, and making the solutions relevant to the context. Examining case studies from Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa is used as a way for students to be exposed to questions of identity, diversity versus exclusion, apathy versus activism, and to be empowered to contribute towards building a more compassionate South Africa (Shikaya, 2016).

The usefulness of looking at ideologies and attitudes in a different context, prior to looking at South African history, was expressed by one of the teachers in the following way:

*"[I]t just creates new vitiates of other people's patterns of behaviour and they recognise that there is actually a commonality here"* (Interview with T, F, FTP<sup>27</sup> 1, 2016).

The programme has two other key aspects as it aims to support teachers in introducing the methodological changes required by the RNCS and focuses on exploring online support for teaching and learning (Weldon, 2005). The programme introduced three relatively innovative elements into teaching history in South Africa, as 1) it uses interactive, participatory methods for learning history; 2) has a focus on human behaviour; and 3) combines the innovations within the case studies of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust and apartheid (Tibbitts, 2006).

Interactive, participatory methods for learning history include downloadable resources on the Shikaya and FHAO websites. Resources include identity charts; primary resources, such as the Nuremberg trials, apartheid legislation, and TRC reports; short stories; poems; videotapes; or links to other websites (Tibbitts, 2006).

The programme has a focus on human behaviour and attitudes, in ways that include engaging with personal and group identity. Human behaviour and ethical decision making were linked to the case studies of Nazi Germany and apartheid, and skills to encourage young people to take on individual responsibility in school and community were taught (Weldon, 2010).

After the pilot workshops in 2003, the facilitators of Shikaya noticed the need to support teachers who were directly impacted by apartheid (Weldon, 2016:102). One of the aspects of the training includes "silent conversation", whereby participants have the chance to talk about their personal experiences of apartheid. Weldon (2016) states that when teachers engage with identity-based conflict, it would provide a context for personal change, as well as to engage in difficult conversations with learners (Weldon, 2016). One teacher described the importance of the variety of activities during the training, including ways of interactions with other teachers such as during the "silent conversation".

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<sup>27</sup> FTP: Facing the Past.

He/she described the usefulness of this activity in the following way:

*“[T]hat was one of the upstanding characteristics of our training [...] the interaction between us as participants. I mean, in terms of the programme itself, remember it is also about changing and developing the teacher. And the teacher needs to become this agent of change, the teacher certainly needs to change first if change is required, and one of the brilliant things that’s always done inasmuch genuine and deep interactions that’s placed between the participants” (Interview with T, F, FTP 2, 2016).*

## **Outcomes**

The participants had found the training relevant to learn about social cohesion as it had taught the teachers about issues such as racism and stereotypes, tolerance and respect, and strategies for managing these issues in the classroom.

*“It taught me to be tolerant of other people’s cultures and then to be tolerant to other people’s views, so that makes people not to be, to fight conflicts, it’s tolerance, so now we are able to tolerate each other because we were coming from diverse backgrounds” (Interview with T, M, FTP 3, 2016).*

*“Many of the things that we do in the Facing the Past programme and the things that we were trained in, I mean, it looks at issues such as racism. It looks at issues such as stereotypes and how to break down stereotypes, so that is part of the Facing the Past content, and bringing it into the classroom, then most definitely it was absolutely relevant and I cannot think of anything in the Facing the Past programme that’s not relevant in the classroom” (Interview with T, M, FTP 2, 2016).*

One of the participants noted that the interventions equipped him/her not only with knowledge, but also with relevant teaching methods to foster respect in the classroom.

*“I’ve learned the methodology, let’s take something like sign of discussion or using poetry or using role playing; you can use it extensively in the jigsaw methods, into expert groups. There are just so many things, you can just use it so it’s not only the context but it’s also been with the methodology that you practise that you were exposed, to trying out new ideas that stimulating but it also means that your classes are exposed to different kinds of [approaches]” (Interview with T, F, FTP 1, 2016).*

As the participating teachers come from a variety schools, they indicated different levels of success at the school level. This relates to differences in opportunities to share experiences with peers after the training (Interview with T, F, FTP 2, 2016), or logistically, how to incorporate online activities or activities with projectors, if school logistics are limited (Interview with T, F, FTP 3, 2016).

*“[I]f you are trying to create a classroom of respect and critical thinking and questioning, but your school environment and the rest of your school is not like that, then it becomes difficult, because your classroom would then be the only little enclave where there are those kinds of values, but if the overall ethos of the school is not in line with that, then it becomes very difficult for you to instil these kinds of values in the learners” (Interview with T, F, FTP 2, 2016).*

The participants came from schools in different socio-economic and geographic locations. Participants have been involved with Shikaya since their first workshop in 2003 and became involved with the programme over the years as they believed in the objectives of the programme and wished to develop themselves on an ongoing basis. One of the aspects of the initial workshops was the interactive approach of teaching and learning. Current policy interventions promote the role of ICT for better education and how teachers can use and have access to digital resources (DBE, 2015). This sometimes poses challenges for less-resourced schools, where access to the Internet or equipment like projectors may be minimal. However, during the workshops, a variety of tools that do not require online sources are taught to use in classrooms. Shikaya and FHAO have numerous sources of documents and tools that the participating teachers indicated they have used in their classrooms.

### 7.5.3 Teaching Respect for All by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR)

<b>Intervention 3</b>	<b>Teaching Respect for All</b>
<b>Provider</b>	IJR
<b>Type</b>	NGO
<b>SACE endorsed</b>	No
<b>Duration</b>	Three to four hours, held on one day and follow-up workshops of five to six hours per session
<b>National/ Provincial</b>	National
<b>For whom?</b>	All teachers
<b>Aims</b>	To create a platform for teachers to share and learn how their colleagues are dealing with discrimination, violence, and intolerances at their schools. For the IJR to share how perceptions of people and groups can lead to conflict. Discrimination can be caused by one’s beliefs, assumptions, and thoughts. Share the Teaching Respect for All concepts with teachers.
<b>Mechanisms</b>	Through didactic and interactive activities, the intervention endeavours to create safe spaces for dialogue and provides a space for teachers to engage with people who are different from them.

Intervention 3	Teaching Respect for All
	Tools such as “Action Learning Cycle”, “ABC of Behaviour”, and the stages of behaviour change are taught to help teachers understand this process. In order to identify and address this, the IJR believes that it is possible to change the thoughts and behaviours towards other groups and become more respectful. Sharing Teaching Respect for All concepts with teachers.
<b>Outcomes</b>	Creating awareness of teachers’ prejudice, values, and beliefs and how these influence the way teachers choose to interact in classrooms and intervene in difficult situations. Understanding the need of a reflexive processes.

Teaching Respect for All was launched in 2012 as a joint project from UNESCO between the United States of America (USA) and Brazil. The project aims to design a curricular framework to fight racism and promote tolerance (UNESCO, 2014). The project is founded on “the universal values and core principles of human rights” and it acknowledges that “each country has its own history and mechanism for addressing the issues of discrimination in education” (UNESCO, 2014:6).

The IJR has held workshops in every province in South Africa in order to determine what forms of discrimination and disrespect educators experience at schools and which methods teachers use to address these (IJR, 2012:4).

*“The workshops were twofold: We wanted to gather information, but also disseminate information. We wanted to get the manual out there but also giving them [teachers] skills” (Interview with 2 NGO 1, 2015).*

The UNESCO Teaching Respect for All toolkit<sup>28</sup> was shared with participants and a resource with South African case studies on how teachers are dealing with discrimination and inclusion has been developed (IJR, 2014:4). The case studies of these workshops have been documented in the resource guide “Classrooms of Hope: Case Studies of South African Teachers Nurturing Respect for All” (IJR, 2015), which is currently also given to every participant during the Teaching Respect for All intervention. The outcomes of these workshops and post-workshops have been developed into a policy brief, aiming to advise policymakers, education officials, management, SGBs, principals, educators, and community leaders (Robertson, Arendse & Henkeman, 2015:2).

<sup>28</sup> The UNESCO Teaching Respect for All principles used by the IJR are found on pages 50-53 in the Classrooms of Hope resource book. These principles are: teachers identifying their own biases, creating safe spaces for dialogue, creating an environment of equality and fairness, and creating opportunities for learners to engage with people who are different from themselves.

During the interventions, teachers are encouraged to reflect on their own identities, attitudes, and prejudices and the “Ladder of Inference” is explained. This tool describes the process of how one 1) observes data from the world, 2) selects data, 3) makes assumptions, 4) draws conclusions, 5) adopts beliefs, and 6) takes actions based on one’s beliefs (IJR, 2012:49). The tool is one of the ways to let teachers reflect on their beliefs in order to be an agent of change, as one representative of the NGO stated:

*“So we talk a lot about the teacher. We talk about the teacher being an agent of change. That YOU make the difference. That you [teacher] begin to understand your learner and why they act in a certain way. Why do they do things in a certain way? You then begin to understand the child and where they come from. And the way how you deal with the situation can then be more effective”* (Interview with 3 NGO 1, 2016).

One of the teachers indicated that after the training, he/she started to understand his/her context more intimately and was able to react to situations in a more constructive manner. He/she describes this as follows:

*“I’ve learned there that we, it’s so easy for us to judge a learner based on where he’s coming from and all that, but at the end of the day, it’s all about respect. It’s almost like the tennis ball effect. If you throw it against the wall, it comes back to you. So if you send out the respect, respect also comes back to you”* (Interview with T, M, IJR<sup>29</sup> 2, 2016).

## **Outcomes**

Psychologists are present at a few of the workshops as a support mechanism for teachers. It was indicated that, when present, this was a useful intervention within the programme:

*“As teachers, we think we are always right and that the rights can be right, sometimes. Then the psychologists helped us on that one to see that they are not always wrong, that the learners are [not] always wrong all the time. We, maybe sometimes the learner, come to school, there was a fight before, then when he come to class now, we don’t know what happened, but we must think”* (Interview with T, F, IJR 3, 2016).

The teachers indicated that they have adjusted their classroom practices as a result of participating in the Teaching Respect for All intervention:

*“I had to change after attending this workshop, I changed my management style, it was difficult, but at the end of the day, now I can see the fruit, and if I have to use an*

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<sup>29</sup> IJR: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

*example, I never used to listen to the learners. I'm right and I'm right"* (Interview with T, M, IJR 2, 2016).

According to the IJR, the Teaching Respect for All intervention is aimed at all teachers and it is not just for the classroom. As one of the representatives indicated:

*"It is for the soccer field, for the library, whatever you are doing. So teaching respect for all can be implemented and should be implemented and all teachers should be mindful of"* (Interview with 3 NGO 1, 2016).

By piloting the intervention in all nine provinces, the case studies are intended to be diverse and sensitive to the context of teachers' challenges in South Africa.

#### 7.5.4 The Educator Training Programme by the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation (SAHGF)

Intervention 4	Educator Training Programme
Provider	SAHGF
Type	NGO
SACE endorsed	Yes
Duration	One day
National/ Provincial	National
For whom?	Most relevant for educators who teach Grade 9 and/or Grade 11 learners.
Aims	To increase content knowledge, enhancing teaching skills, and introduce teachers to the resource material in order to support teaching Holocaust history (SAHFG, 2012).
Mechanisms	The use of the DVD for teaching, encouraging discussions, group work. Working with different resources (primary, secondary, written, oral). Developing and communicating an argument. Teaching techniques: Journaling, bus stop, ABC glossary/word bank, mind maps, timelines, identity flower and butterfly, and expert group.
Outcomes	Instil critical thinking in learners, better equipped to teach history and make connection with other historical pasts, such as apartheid.

The SAHGF currently offers educator training programmes, which are nationally available and endorsed by SACE. The SAHGF is part of the Holocaust Centre, which was first established in Cape Town in 1999. The SAHGF was established in 2007 in response to the incorporation of the study of the Holocaust in the national curriculum and has centres in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg. Freedman (2014:135) states that the centres are uniquely positioned to respond to the challenge of creating a space for dialogue around



social cohesion in a multicultural society, especially how this plays out in the formal education environment in the country. The centre in Cape Town offers educator training programmes, diversity training programmes for adult groups, and has developed a school programme that incorporates an exhibition as a teaching tool for learners (SAHGF, 2011; Freedman, 2014).

### **Aims**

The SAHGF aims to promote social activism and to help address the issues of racism, anti-Semitism, bigotry, and marginalisation, which are still issues in post-apartheid South Africa (SAHGF, 2011). The SAHGF's approach to Holocaust education and teacher training is based on the belief that "while content knowledge of the Holocaust is extremely important, providing educators and learners with content alone is not enough" (Nates, 2010:19). The SAHGF's approach is to strengthen content knowledge and methodology by using Holocaust history to illustrate dangers of prejudice and discrimination, to make clear and moral imperatives for individuals to make responsible choices, and to defend human rights (Petersen, 2010:28).

When asked about reasons for participating in the intervention, one of the teachers indicated the following:

*"I just felt that there are some questions that kids ask you, things you don't expect and you don't always have maybe the answer for that. I also thought that if it would be a good thing just to maybe know more about the Holocaust and what happened and at the time and why, you know, so that I can have a bit of more information"* (Interview with T,F, Hol<sup>30</sup> 3, 2016).

### **Mechanisms**

The Holocaust Centre has developed extensive classroom support materials, such as an Educator Resource Manual, Learner's interactive Resource Book, and a DVD with testimonials of Holocaust survivors. During the workshop, the classroom support materials are disseminated and examples from the manual are used and discussed. Two types of educator interventions have been designed in order to support teaching the Grade 9 and 11 History curriculum (CAPS).

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<sup>30</sup> Hol: South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation.

One intervention focuses on Grade 9 teachers, whereby the topics “World War II” and “Turning points in modern South African History since 1948” are taught in the first and third terms. The second intervention programme aims to support Grade 11 teachers. As in Term 2 of the Grade 11 CAPS History curriculum, the topic “Ideas in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries” are taught to learners. Theories such as Darwinism, race theory, and eugenics are central in this term and case studies of Australia and the indigenous Australians, and Nazi Germany and the Holocaust are used.

In collaboration with provincial and district education officials, the SAGHF has been providing workshops to teachers in urban and rural areas in all nine provinces (Interview with an NGO, 2016). The language of instruction is English, which is not the first language of all teachers. Where possible, the SAHFG makes use of mother-tongue speakers (Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu, SeSotho, etc.) to augment discussions in teachers’ mother tongue (Nates, 2010).

Using Holocaust history as a case study provides learners with an understanding of how racial states, such as the apartheid state, developed. Petersen (2010) states that Holocaust education also deepens the students’ understanding ultimately of the development of the South African Constitution, which drew on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (in UNESCO, 2014). The SAHGF’s educator programme examines why people choose to act out of prejudices, the conditions that encourage such behaviour, and the consequences of such choices. According to Petersen (2010: 28), it is essential to explore these questions in order to help teachers see themselves as agents and shapers of their world, capable of making a difference.

### **Outcomes**

In terms of the teachers’ understanding of promoting social cohesion in classrooms, one teacher indicated how the training enabled him/her to teach the Grade 9 History curriculum in a manner that merges the Holocaust context with the local context:

*“The way you get the idea of not discriminating or boxing people in or identifying them based on preconceived ideas. It’s those kind of conceptions that you learn and you relate it from the curriculum that we obviously try to achieve for myself and teaching the curriculum to the students to identify and understand those concepts which will then hopefully have an effect on their immediate environments and engagements” (Interview with T,F, Hol 3, 2016)*

The participants have found the training very relevant to teach the CAPS History curriculum for Grade 9 and 11 learners, despite being limited by its structure, which allows teachers 15 contact hours per term on the topics. However, the resources provided by the SAHFG are extensive. All participating teachers indicated having used the resource manual to extract examples to use in exams or in other classes.

Two out of the three teachers explicitly indicated the connections they made between teaching the Holocaust and apartheid history. One of these teachers described the importance of letting their learners engage extensively with ideas in order to understand why these historical events occurred:

*“Give them enough information so they are able also to think outside of the box. It is all about learning lessons, so what happen in the Holocaust? We’ve learned from that, so that you [it] never ever happens again, but also understand why and what if it didn’t happen so these are the types of questions [that] you [teacher] must align learners to the think about it and for them to be able to, like, individually make their own decisions about [ways to] look at South Africa, and apartheid and what happened amongst our people here and also the Rwanda issue as well, because in Grade 8 History it is mentioned, but also not in detail” (Interview with T, F, Hol 3, 2016).*

The aims of the educator programme are to provide accurate historical content knowledge about the Holocaust and understanding the past and to make connections with apartheid. It must be noted that teachers might use different textbooks, which cover the Holocaust history in various ways. However, the participating teachers indicated having used the classroom support material during exams or for different activities. Teachers have been able to use practical examples shown during interventions and tools that support critical thinking.

## **7.6 ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR CPTD INTERVENTIONS**

The four CPTD interventions will be analysed using Pawson’s (2014) realist approach. As such, the following sections are divided by aims, mechanisms, and outcomes.

Teachers were asked to describe the challenges to social cohesion that they faced at their schools in order to contextualise their settings. It can be noted that even though the overall research has different datasets, the 11 teachers for the case study indicated that they have

experienced the same social cohesion challenges at their school and environment as those described in the other datasets.

One teacher, who teaches at a private school with a predominantly white learner population, described challenges leading to racism and discrimination towards other learners:

*“We have got to try to get the two groups of children to interacting more. They are very far apart, the majority of them, so there is very little interaction between them beyond school”* (Interview with T, F, FTP 1, 2016).

Significantly, teachers at historically white schools indicated that issues of race, social mixing, and teacher representation were pertinent issues in their contexts, while teachers working in poorer contexts noted challenges such as xenophobia, violence, and substance abuse.

Various teachers at the fee-paying and non-fee-paying public schools noted having feeding schemes at their school, and indicated that learners travel far to get to school and come from different socio-economic backgrounds compared to the teaching staff. Challenges arising in relation to this are described by one teacher in the following way:

*“We do focus on like the backgrounds of our kids and how to respond and how you learn a set of rules at home and how you learn different rules at school and [also] how we expect kids who live in, like, gang areas to follow, like get detention when they don’t have the right shoes on, but then at home they’re trying to, like, survive gunfights and stuff. So we try to understand that, but I think a lot of teachers, especially, have, like, impersonal ideas and then that gets reflected onto kids”* (Interview with T, F, Hol 2, 2016).

Class sizes vary greatly between teachers and language barriers are also seen as a challenge by the teachers of rural and urban schools. This emerged in various ways, such as 1) how to include learners with language difficulties, 2) how to engage on a personal level with learners who have a different home language than the teacher, and/or 3) discrimination or exclusion based on learners’ home language.

One of the factors affecting the impact of CPTD in less-developed contexts is that CPTD should be tailored to meet the contextual needs of the teachers who attend the intervention (Wheeler, 2001, in Lessing & De Witt, 2007:56). It is therefore vital to

understand the contextual needs and motivations of the teachers who attended the four selected interventions to become better agents of social cohesion.

### **7.6.1 Aims**

All four interventions are broadly aligned with the concept of social cohesion, as they all deal with the affective dimensions of teaching. The interventions are aimed at non-cognitive dimensions of teaching, such as teaching discipline, historical pasts, or promoting respect. However, even though all four interventions deal with non-cognitive elements of education, the interventions do not have a theoretically developed and consensually agreed-upon understanding of the term “social cohesion”. The interventions do not sufficiently emphasise issues of respect and the past in relation to structural inequality, which is critical to theorising social cohesion. The four interventions are available to government officials, principals, and teachers. Shikaya provides the Facing the Past programme to TEs and learners, and the Discipline for Peace programme is also available to parents.

### **7.6.2 Mechanisms**

The selected interventions share common mechanisms. Three forms of mechanisms are identified, such as that all interventions were provided in the form of a workshop, had at least one facilitator from an NGO, and had resource manuals or guides which were shared with the participants. However, all four interventions used off-site CPTD models, and more research needs to be undertaken to ascertain whether CPTD models focusing on off-site contact are likely to be less effective compared to longitudinal-driven CPTD interventions that include a combination of on-site and off-site models. The interventions use a cascade approach, where teachers can disseminate the new knowledge to their peers. This approach enables providers to reach greater numbers of teachers. The limitations of this approach might be that the responsibility to cascade the knowledge now lies with the teachers instead of the provider, where complex knowledge can get lost. The four selected interventions have created a space for teachers to interact and critically reflect on personal behaviour. The schooling contexts in which teachers operate enable or constrain their ability to implement knowledge and methods from the interventions in practice.

The interventions touch on teachers' assumptions, identity, and beliefs, but only one (Teaching Respect for All) recognises the importance of a whole-school approach. None of the interventions explicitly deal with the investment of teachers and their experiences within the education system. Also, the interventions do not include an interrogation of the facilitators' positionality, investment, and experiences, and how these shape the discourses and spaces created within each intervention for deep work to take place.

The interventions served as a platform where teachers who teach at schools in various quintiles and geographic locations were able to interact with one another. The teachers indicated the usefulness of the interactive intervention as follows:

*"We could exchange ideas, the fact that we were exposed not only to teachers [but] in many cases [teachers] also represent the type of learners whom they teach. So we could really experience different cultures and that different value systems that teachers have, and also that the schools have where they come from"* (Interview with T, F, FTP 2, 2016).

A teacher recalls one incident where teachers argued during the intervention and reflected on the situation in the following way:

*"I remember leaving, thinking that was, like, I didn't expect that. But maybe it's good, because that can happen in your classroom, I guess. With, like, so many different groups of people here"* (Interview with T, F, Hol 2, 2016).

The research of Dataset 2 with teachers in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape supports the above findings, as more than half of the teachers (52%) indicated that the three most effective forms to learn about social cohesion were to attend workshops or seminars (21%), to discuss with colleagues (17%), and to attend short courses / skills programmes (14%). Studies have indicated the effectiveness of collaborative CPTD whereby "access to some form of collegial support to solve important problems was essential, along with input from expert leaders". In this way, common goals and new approaches could be established, which include the focus on learning of students with similar needs (Cordingley *et al.*, 2015:7).

### **7.6.3 Outcomes**

The outcomes of the four interventions have been analysed on three different levels. The outcomes regarding teachers' understanding, classroom practices, and outcomes at the school level will be discussed in the next sections.

### 7.6.3.1 Teachers' understanding

Teachers who participated in the four interventions indicated to have significantly changed their understanding after attending the interventions. Teachers who attended the SAHGF's educators' programme indicated being able to make sense of what happened in Nazi Germany and feel more equipped to teach this subject as well as apartheid history. The biggest shift indicated by teachers is from the Facing the Past, Teaching Respect for All, and Discipline for Peace interventions. They mentioned that it made meaningful changes in ways to understand children's behaviour.

One participant described how his/her learners still feel that he/she is privileged because of his/her skin colour, as he/she indicated:

*"[T]hey still say to me, like, but you live in a rich white area [...] So when I'm the only white person in a classroom, talking about the bad white apartheid government, I feel responsible, even though I'm not"* (Interview with T, F, Hol 2, 2016).

By equipping the teacher to teach the history of World War II more comfortably, this teacher felt better prepared and understood the commonalities between World War II and apartheid history:

*"I thought that this generation was the 'colourless generation', that didn't see any colour, but the more I go deeper with students, the more I realise that they do, that it is still a problem. So I think personally, when we teach Holocaust, we need to emphasise even more [on] when we start it, the effects regarding apartheid"* (Interview with T, F, Hol 2, 2016).

Teachers express their greater confidence in teaching about apartheid through the analogical device of the Holocaust, which enables teachers to relate this crime against humanity with apartheid, also designated by the UN as a crime against humanity. Significantly, for social cohesion, the (pleasantly surprised) expression by an attending teacher that his/her learners were deeply engaged in learning about injustices augurs well for curricula and programmes that seek to engender human empathy beyond boundaries of imposed race, gender, nationality, religious, class, and other social markers.

### 7.6.3.2 Teachers' classroom practices

All four interventions share practical examples, tools, material, and/or theories which can be used in classrooms. The Holocaust Centre provides a resource manual for teachers, an

interactive resource book for learners, and a DVD with practical examples that can be used whilst teaching about Nazi Germany, Darwinism, race theory, and eugenics. Shikaya provides teachers with extensive online resources, the IJR provides the UNESCO toolkit and the resource guide with practical activities, and the Discipline for Peace intervention shares a toolkit with tips.

During the SAHGF's educator programme, practical classroom activities were shared, such as the "ABC wall", the "bus stop", and the useful laminated timelines, which can be used for teaching other subjects or history topics. One of the participants described the usefulness of the timelines:

*"She [facilitator] did like this really extensive timeline, so I typed things out and laminated them and then as we spoke about it, I built on the timeline. Kids do timelines in their books. It was really, really good, so now I do timelines in all parts of history, so that they can plot when everything happened"* (Interview with T, F, Hol 2, 2016).

The other three interventions that focus on behaviour have been found very useful for teachers to bring about change. One teacher described the change in his/her classroom management where a safe space was fostered for learners. The teacher referred to him-/herself as a teacher *"who never used to listen to the learners"*. He/she described the change in his/her classroom management and the effect this had on the learners:

*"What happened now is [that] anyone is a class teacher, anyone is a Life Orientation teacher, but none of us know our learners. I mean with this programme, I've learnt to learn my learners, and now that I understand my learners, I have such a good relationship that the learners come to me and they talk about things that they don't talk to others about, you see?"* (Interview with T, M, IJR 2, 2016).

The facilitators use philosophical approaches in their interventions. Shikaya and the IJR both incorporate Gibson's theory of reconciliation (2004), which includes interracial understanding, respect, and the rejection of stereotypes (Gibson, 2004:204). In order to embed this process of reconciliation, Shikaya uses Lederach's concept of "moral imagination" (2004) for teachers to understand the past in order to comprehend cycles of violent conflict (Lederach, 2005, in Weldon, 2016:102). The IJR uses the concept of "personal and institutional woundedness", which was caused by the denial of quality education during apartheid. The first step to uncover these wounds is to address and acknowledge these wounds on an institutional level (Nyoka, Du Plooy & Henkeman, 2004).



In order to respect and reject stereotypes, the Teaching Respect for All workshops elaborate on the “Ladder of Interference”, which is used as a tool to reflect on the process of one’s assumptions and beliefs. The Discipline for Peace toolkit has a set of 21 positive discipline options which are a combination of theories and practices of behavioural management. The SAHFG uses history as a transformation tool for learners to develop critical thinking (Petersen, 2010).

The interventions provide strategies for human behaviour, or how to teach history effectively. However, pedagogies are theoretically limited and not emphasised as such. A variety of pedagogies are needed, which need to be applicable to different classroom realities in urban and rural settings. While this is an ideal, it is imperative that significant progress must be achieved within specific timeframes. In the absence of these pedagogies, teachers currently incorporate different strategies to teach the CAPS curriculum and retain emphasis on building social cohesion. One teacher described how he/she incorporated contemporary issues in his/her teaching:

*“We talk about modern and immediate circumstances of American elections and such things as that, and how that has affected society, black lives must fall, black lives matter, so as a campaign we get heated debate and emotional in my classrooms over these issues, because kids are affected by this, and they often come up”* (Interview with T, M, Hol 1, 2016).

The key challenge, however, is that the CAPS curriculum provides limited freedom for teachers to be flexible with the manner in which they structure, teach, and assess content, and CPTD programme designers need to foreground this reality as they set about designing CPTD programmes for these constrained contexts.

#### **7.6.3.3 School level**

Ten out of the 11 teachers indicated to have shared their knowledge with peers after the interventions. These teachers would share resources from the interventions during cluster hours with subject teachers or during staff meetings with all peers. The ten teachers indicated that their colleagues are normally open to new ideas and approaches. It is important to foster an atmosphere whereby teachers are able to negotiate their knowledge and understanding over a period of time, in order to make the change long lasting (Timperley *et al.*, 2007).

However, one teacher was unable to share the ideas with his/her peers because his/her peers did not share the same views about being an agent for social cohesion:

*“Many of my colleagues don’t even believe that they should care about issues such as discrimination and the other big thing at school [which] is bullying. They don’t even believe that they should be bothered about it, that the problem should simply go away, and that they should simply get on with their teaching” (Interview with T, F, FTP 2, 2016).*

The teacher indicated that most of his/her peers did not believe in taking their time to teach respect, which made it difficult for him/her to share ideas.

### **Evaluation**

All four providers requested that teachers complete a feedback or evaluation form in order to improve their interventions and/or to research the effectiveness of their interventions for funding purposes. The outcomes of these evaluations were all very positive, but did not explicitly focus on social cohesion. The IJR’s feedback from participants in Kimberley showed that 85% of the participants felt more equipped to teach learners about respect. A total of 80% indicated that they felt better prepared to teach respect in every subject, and 80% indicated that they received sufficient information to share the concept with their colleagues. NAPTOSA’s feedback from 2013 showed that almost all teachers were very satisfied with the knowledge and new ideas, the quality of their new understanding, and the overall value of the intervention (Discipline for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2013). Almost all the participants of the SAHGF’s educator programme indicated having used the teaching strategies taught at the intervention, with 61.8% indicating that they have also used these styles in different classes (SAHGF, 2012). However, as most of this feedback was acquired soon after completing the intervention, the providers did not take into account what the effects of their training were after months of completion. The SAHGF hired an independent research team to investigate the usefulness of their educator training programme, where teachers were approached to provide follow-up feedback by telephone or in focus groups (SAHGF, 2012). One teacher who was involved in the Facing the Past intervention since 2005 said he/she was requested at one stage to be observed by the organisation. He/she initially did not associate the observation as a form of assessment or evaluation. However, he/she claimed that the observation had been very useful to improve his/her classroom practices.

## 7.7 CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

Four themes emerged from the cross-case analysis: 1) policy, 2) accreditation, 3) sustainability, and 4) promoting social cohesion.

### 7.7.1 Policy

Policies on the macro level, as described in Section 7.4.2, indicate the importance of social cohesion in South Africa's development agenda. Further, a directorate within the DBE is specifically appointed to deal with issues of social cohesion (Directorate: Social Cohesion and Equity in Education). However, there are no explicit (whether endorsed or not) government-led CPTD programmes for social cohesion to articulate the national vision at a constructive level for teachers to operationalise in their practices. Therefore, teachers have to rely on initiatives from other providers, such as NGOs, intergovernmental organisations, universities, or teacher unions in order to learn about social cohesion. The four selected interventions have been offered or designed by NGOs, with two of the four programmes endorsed by SACE. There is currently no overarching body that regulates social cohesion-related CPTD, so organisations such as NGOs, intergovernmental organisations, universities, and teacher unions are able to design CPTD programmes based on their interpretations of social cohesion. Thus, as CPTD programmes are not closely regulated, a discrepancy might occur between the interpretations of social cohesion endorsed by programmes and the official interpretation advocated by the government.

One government official indicated the following during the Teacher and Social Cohesion Roundtable<sup>31</sup>:

*"Given the information and evidence provided by this roundtable, perhaps we need to revisit the non-explicitness of the social cohesion issues in this [educational policies]. It is just that if you indicate something to be done, but you don't state how and you don't make it a point of emphasis, there is less of a chance to be addressed. And as a lot of research in this country is showing, we don't do well on the social cohesion issues"* (Interview with Government Official 18, 2016).

However, in order to promote social cohesion, focusing on CPTD interventions alone might not be sufficient. Based on the Teaching Respect for All intervention, the IJR developed a

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<sup>31</sup> Teacher and Social Cohesion Roundtable, 24 May, Pretoria. <http://www.gov.za/speeches/deputy-minister-enver-surty-addresses-teacher-and-social-cohesion-roundtable-24-may-23-may>

policy brief with recommendations for stakeholders which include that community programmes or events should be used as a collaborative platform to promote shared values of respect. School policies, principles, and documents that promote a culture of inclusion and respect for all can cultivate these in schools. Education professionals should also actively and consciously take steps to promote social cohesion by seeking out progressive social cohesion-related CPTD programmes such as those detailed in this chapter (Robertson *et al.*, 2015).

The ISPFTED initiated the use of PLCs where teachers can engage with course content, engage in independent or online studies, participate in (in)formal programmes, or learn collaboratively with peers in provincial or district teacher development centres (DBE & DHET, 2011). Such initiatives would be useful for long-term, collaborative engagement for teachers on issues of social cohesion and appropriate pedagogies (Fataar, 2016, Feldman, 2016).

### 7.7.2 Accreditation

In March 2015, SACE approved 113 CPTD providers and endorsed 463 programmes (SACE, 2015). *The Annual Report of 2014-2015* states that SACE “is paying special attention to inclusivity, languages, history, mathematics, and science teaching”. The report further states that “it emphasises the promotion of attitudes and values consistent with the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights and the holistic development of learners” (SACE, 2015). Current SACE-endorsed CPTD activities run by the provincial governments merely focus on CAPS-related content, whereas CPTD training on inclusivity, languages, and history does not seem to be readily available.

CPTD activities related to inclusivity, languages, or those that emphasise promoting the attitudes and values of the Constitution are currently provided by facilitators such as NGOs, intergovernmental organisations, and universities. However, not all providers are approved and not all activities are endorsed by national or provincial government. In order to include a wider range of social cohesion-related CPTD programmes, the DBE argued that SACE endorsement criteria for CPTD programmes “*should include an explicit focus on social cohesion*” (Interview with Government Official 18, 2016). Obtaining SACE approval of the provider or endorsement of the intervention can have a positive effect as it can indicate an

attempt to assure quality of and greater exposure for the intervention, through the CPTD management system (SACE, 2013). This could result in a wider accessibility of the interventions and their resulting knowledge bases.

Motivations for attending endorsed interventions have been expressed in different ways during the interviews with teachers as part of Dataset 2. One teacher indicated that peers might attend endorsed CPTD programmes solely for the CPTD points. However, other teachers indicated that the content of the intervention would be their motivation for undertaking endorsed CPTD programmes.

In order to act as agents of social cohesion, teachers need to make deliberate and conscious acts to promote social cohesion. However, endorsement of interventions alone might not always be a sufficient factor in order to train teachers in social cohesion.

### **7.7.3 Sustainability**

#### ***Funding***

Three out of the four interventions are free of charge. Teachers indicated that funding was a deterrent; some indicated that they were externally funded (sponsored) or paid for by their schools. If funding is not made available for teachers to attend, the most impoverished and under-resourced schools would not be able to benefit from these interventions. Moreover, developments in knowledge and policy would not reach these schools as effectively, exacerbating existing challenges to teacher practices and resources.

Participating teachers heard about the opportunity to attend the selected CPTD interventions through their colleagues, received an email from the provincial education department, or were contacted directly by the CPTD facilitator. The teachers had limited knowledge about the availability of other interventions that are intended to develop teacher agency for social cohesion. It is important that social cohesion CPTD programmes are more actively promoted if the current teaching corps is to take on these new strategies, approaches, and attitudes.

The DBE's Directorate for Social Cohesion and Equity in Education is mandated to deal with issues of social cohesion. However, programme designers of the selected interventions stated the difficulties of finding the correct contact persons to reach out to at the provincial

level, as some of the selected interventions are neither aimed at teachers from specific disciplines nor related to the CAPS content.

The interventions studied are designed for both novice and experienced teachers. As shown in the ITE section, the various universities have different approaches regarding social cohesion. A “washing-out effect”, where innovative practices taught at the universities are lost in the realities of the classroom (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981), can be diminished as CPTD interventions enable novice teachers to incorporate their education with their classroom experiences and practices and relevant in-service training. Although most of the selected interventions are once-off, the interventions aim to equip teachers with long-term strategies to deal with behaviour.

#### **7.7.4 Teachers as agents of social cohesion**

The selected interventions have incorporated tools and activities to equip teachers to be more confident in teaching the curriculum, dealing with personal understanding, as well as classroom management.

##### ***Teacher change***

Fullan (2007) believes that teacher change is induced when teachers gather new experiences that inform their pedagogical practices and thinking, as well as when new policies are introduced as part of broader processes of educational change. Fullan (2007) believes that teachers need to be motivated in order to adopt new practices or beliefs. The teachers who attended the interventions expressed strong motivation to develop themselves further or to feel more adequate in teaching a specific subject. In other words, the data on which this section of the chapter draws show a strong correlation between teachers’ desire for upskilling across content areas as well as in areas that are crucial to social cohesion, and their exposure to progressive CPTD offerings. This is a key finding, and needs to be proactively engaged with by teacher unions, teacher professional associations, education district officials, national education department officials, CPTD programme service providers, and policymakers in order to drive home the point that teachers, while overworked, are not reluctant to invest time and energy in their own professional and personal development, as it impacts positively on their teaching and ultimately benefits their learners in post-apartheid South Africa.

## **Reflection**

According to Mezirow (1997:7), “transformations in frames of reference take place through critical reflection and transformation of a habit of mind, or they may result from an accretion of transformations in points of view”. He describes this process through “critical reflection of assumptions, validating contested beliefs through discourse, taking action on one’s reflective insights, and critically assessing it” (Mezirow, 1997:11). However, changing attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions is a long process, which many professional development programmes cannot accommodate (Guskey, 2002:382). In the case of South Africa, many teachers have been affected by apartheid and the racially segregated education system in various ways. In order to act as agents of social justice, teachers need to be able to critically reflect on their practices as well as continuously negotiate and construct their understanding of social cohesion and their role as teachers in achieving this (Bogotch, 2000).

## **Duration**

Timperley *et al.* (2007) state the importance of active participation in order to internalise new content. One of the participants of the Discipline for Peace intervention indicated that one’s mind does not change during one CPTD workshop, but that it involves a process of change. He/she described that attending subsequent CPTD activities enabled him/her to make a “*mind shift*”.

It is important to internalise new teaching practices in order to feel comfortable using the new strategies over a longer period of time (Earl & Katz, 2005). Sustained support at the school and classroom levels is therefore important in order to maintain lasting outcomes. Personal changes have been reported by participants who attended programmes focused on behaviour, as seven of the participating teachers had attended follow-up workshops, where teachers were able to reflect and internalise new practices.

The programme developers of the four interventions acknowledge the importance of ongoing professional development. Due to limited resources or the availability of teachers, it is not always possible to implement such CPTD interventions. Therefore, interventions aim to equip teachers with skills such as how to deal with personal understanding in order to achieve long-term teacher change. However, human actions are often a result of deep-rooted beliefs (Richardson, 1994) and changing beliefs is an ongoing process. In order to

exceed the effects of a once-off intervention, teachers must be able to continue the process of guided reflection. In the context of South African school realities, it is unclear to what extent teachers have the opportunity to enact this (Jancic, Mogliacci, Raanhuis & Howell, 2016).

Stronger governmental support would be desirable in order to further promote the use of PLCs for teachers to develop their agency of social cohesion.

## **7.8 CONCLUSION**

This chapter discussed case studies relating to teacher professional development at both the pre-service and in-service phases. Although teacher quality is one of the most crucial elements of a learner's ultimate success, by examining the specific social cohesion dimensions of the seven case studies in the chapter, it was apparent that teacher professional programmes are lacking in this respect.

In the instance of the ITE case studies, evaluations of interventions post-1994 illustrate that enduring patterns of inequity, associated with the historical legacy, have not been adequately addressed. At the same time, much progress has been made as all teacher education providers follow the national policy framework encapsulated in the NSE and MRTEQ. As such, all teacher education providers frame their programmes in accordance with the seven roles and 11 competencies specified for graduates in the policy. However, there is a lack of specification about social cohesion goals for teachers in policy.

The findings from this section showed that institutional contexts greatly influenced the content and delivery of ITE curricula. Even where progressive curricula and materials were in use, the experiences of student teachers and TEs contributed to the knowledge exchanged in the programmes. Student teachers encountered challenges relating to lack of institutional support, difficult schooling contexts, and limited skills for dealing with these.

ITE programmes at HEIs are often quite different given that each is given the authority to deliver their teacher education programmes in accordance with their institutional cultures of teaching and learning. This is notwithstanding each programme being tightly framed according to national policies on teaching qualifications and standards. Furthermore, although most programmes inevitably display elements of social cohesion, in most cases the



emphasis on social cohesion is often not sufficient to impact the pedagogical practices of student teachers.

Key insights from the various case studies show that there is often a tension between what student teachers are taught about social cohesion in ITE programmes and their experiences in the classroom, leading to student teachers reverting to what schools desire from them: often traditional and non-democratic classroom practices.

Secondly, strong teacher professional programmes with respect to social cohesion are those that move beyond limited discussions on social cohesion and instead demonstrate its principles in the way it is orientated and delivered. In addition, professional development programmes that have a strong social cohesion orientation invariably create environments where dominant discourses and traditionally unjust institutional cultures are better challenged, discussed, and engaged.

The case studies showed that very few CPTD programmes focus specifically on social cohesion. Instead, their focus is on assessment and governance. This preoccupation needs to change and, where they exist, CPTD programmes that focus on social cohesion must especially be made accessible to teachers who operate in challenging contexts where poverty and violence impact teacher performance and development.

## **7.9 RECOMMENDATIONS**

Key recommendations for ITE are identified below. Broadly, they deal with issues of programme coherence and improvement, streamlining the practicum experience, and managing relationships between stakeholders in the education landscape.

First, more opportunities need to be created for student teachers to deal with the challenges presented in the practicum. Generally, the programmes do not offer a prolonged opportunity (such as a module or short course) for them to think through, and to workshop and develop ideas, approaches, and strategies of their own with their peers as a way of combining experiential and theoretical knowledge.

At the school level, it would be important to consider formalising the role of mentor teachers as tethered to CPTD performance, and offering experienced teachers the possibility of increased CPTD points or opportunities to enrol in short courses at institutions

with which they have longstanding relationships. In this way, mentoring can be viewed as a necessary aspect of good teacher practice – possibly contributing to more positive relationships between student teachers and mentor teachers.

Relationships with schools cannot be confined to the practicum. Programmes need to partner more definitively and constructively with schools and districts in order to build sustained communities of practice.

Programmes need conceptual coherence and this should take into account issues of social cohesion. The structure and design of programmes can assist teachers to construct agency in different ways and find strategies for change that may work in different contexts. Furthermore, a firm foundation in theory may be as important as practical strategies for future teaching.

More research needs to be conducted *vis-à-vis* ways in which ITE can deal with the legacy of racial supremacy and linguistic division to generate forms of understanding and practice so that future teachers can be agents of social cohesion.

In terms of CPTD, it is recommended that student teachers be given greater preparation in terms of dealing with their own knowledge, prejudices, and assumptions prior to entering the classroom.

It is clear that the differences in teacher qualifications and competencies create an imperative for the government to formalise CPTD at the policy level, and create minimum requirements for teachers to improve their skills in different areas of their work.

CPTD programmes for social cohesion are available from different providers with varying approaches and interpretations. Often these are once-off and off-site, which affect their effectiveness. These interventions do not offer theoretically grounded understanding of social cohesion, or sufficiently articulated pedagogies that deploy such understanding. It is imperative that government-driven CPTD programmes for social cohesion be designed and implemented. The *de facto* lack of effective state regulation of CPTD programmes means that teachers may encounter notions of social cohesion that do not align with that of the government, with serious implications for coherence.

Finally, CPTD training for social cohesion must be made a compulsory component of the points system. It must be noted, however, that CPTD cannot deal with social cohesion in

isolation. Intersectoral engagements are crucial, in that state dimensions of economy, culture, housing, sanitation, roads, etc. must be harnessed in tandem with an education-driven social cohesion programme if wide-ranging transformation of inhuman living conditions and progressive human relations are to be successfully promoted and actualised.

Chapter 8 discusses the structure of the South African curriculum, and the ways in which the ideals underpinning social justice and social cohesion are embedded within it. It looks at ways in which the curriculum is translated into textbook content, and the attendant values, assumptions, and ideals that are communicated to learners (and teachers) via textbooks.

## Chapter 8 - National Curriculum and Textbook Analysis

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### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the ways in which the ideals underpinning social justice and social cohesion are embedded within the structure of the South African curriculum. In particular, it is interested in understanding how decisions relating to the curriculum are translated into textbook content, and the values, assumptions, and ideals that are communicated to students through government-accredited learning materials. It does so in order to explore the ways in which the curriculum and textbooks facilitate or hinder the role of teachers as agents of social cohesion and social justice within their classrooms.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: Part 1 discusses the role of textbooks in promoting and legitimising the dominant culture and values of the time, but also the limitations of textbooks in South Africa to have ideological influence. Part 2 presents an overview of the history of curriculum development in South Africa, beginning during the apartheid era and ending with the present-day curriculum. It focuses on the changing approaches to social cohesion and justice, and the role of the teacher in their promotion. Part 3 offers a detailed overview of the current CAPS curriculum, attempting to understand its approach to social cohesion and justice, and the changing role it envisions for the teacher. Part 4 discusses the ways in which textbooks are written. The main body of the chapter is in Part 5, with an analysis of nine chapters from three CAPS-based textbooks; focusing on issues of pedagogy, representation, and structural implications.

### 8.2 THE ROLE OF TEXTBOOKS

The national curriculum and textbooks play a number of important roles relating to social justice and social cohesion. This section discusses the significance of textbooks in the formation of social norms and attitudes, particularly in relation to newly formed nation states or nations undergoing periods of transition such as South Africa.

The construction of a common national identity, a common national set of norms and values, and a common national historical narrative often falls into the ambit of education, or more specifically the national curriculum. From this perspective, it can be discerned that education is not a neutral act. Those who formulate education policies always have certain

goals which can be political, social, or cultural in nature (Msila, 2007). As Carr (1998) argued, the curriculum becomes an integral part of the general process through which a society reproduces or creates itself and its own definition of “the good society”. By their nature, curricula tend to control knowledge as well as transmit it, reinforcing desired cultural values in learners. They act as an officially sanctioned version of knowledge and culture and, consequently, have the power to foster judgemental perspectives (Engelbrecht, 2006; Marsden, 2001); establish norms, values, and identity; and legitimise culture. Many researchers argue that curricula pertaining to history, geography, language, and religious instruction, in particular, reflect the social construction of knowledge in a society (Higgs, 1995; Marsden, 2001; Webb, 1992).

Perhaps for this reason the development of the curriculum is often contested. Inglis (1985:23) described the process of curriculum contestation as “the battleground for an intellectual civil war and the battle for cultural authority”. To characterise the process of curriculum contestation as an “ideological battle” is to recognise that conflicting and contending views about the curriculum do not simply reflect the opinions of individuals but also political ideologies. These are the socially structured and historically sedimented forms of consciousness through which individuals acquire their understanding of social life in general and their beliefs about the relationship between education and society in particular (Carr, 1998). In most contemporary curriculum discussions, the general ideological perspectives underlying contending curriculum views remain unarticulated and undisclosed and therefore serve to conceal the larger ideological assumptions that influence curriculum thinking and make specific ideological views seem unproblematic and self-evidently true. As Chisholm (2007) argued, the curriculum always represents a “selection from culture”, or, more precisely, a representation of the dominant culture. Its content is as much about “legitimizing what counts as cultural norms and officially sanctioned values as knowledge” (Chisholm, 2007), as it is the socialisation of children. For those interested in using education as a tool for social justice and social cohesion, it is important to establish whether the larger ideological assumptions that underpin the curriculum are in line with this broader purpose.

In this contested ideological battlefield of social reproduction and identity, textbooks play an important role. Textbooks are the most public and accessible aspects of the written

curriculum, described as the “interface between the curriculum and the classroom” (Halil, 2006:21), connecting teachers with their learners, and operating as “mirrors and motors of social change” (Halil, 2006:21). They are the first officially government-sanctioned material that most citizens will access, and thus have the power to define in a deep and intuitive sense what counts as official and valid knowledge for a generation and a nation.

The recognition of the historically and politically situated nature of textbooks (Goodson, 2005) has given rise to massive interest globally in textbooks as primary sources of analysis. According to Dean *et al.* (1983:37), early work on textbook analysis can be traced to the period following the First World War, “when attempts were made to identify and eliminate bias in German and other European textbooks”. Using Apple’s contributions to critical pedagogy (Apple, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991), most studies understand textbooks as cultural artefacts that reveal the social, economic, and political battles of real people, and as instruments of perpetrating exclusive ideologies and particular social and political status quos. They are therefore a prime locus within which to investigate the underlying ideological perspectives of the curriculum and, indeed, national decision makers. In countries facing processes of nation-(re)building or intense social clashes due to extensive migration, critical pedagogy has influenced many studies denouncing how regimes use particular representation to reproduce restricted and sometimes racist notions of belongingness and otherness through textbooks.

Within the South African context, the analysis of history textbooks has long been implicated in “imaginings of the nation”, and have reflected the “heavy freighting” of this imagining with “the burden of race” (Bundy, 1993). Auerbach’s (1993) early study of apartheid textbooks developed an assessment scale of bias and applied this to three topics in history textbooks. From this concern with prejudice in the 1960s, the emphasis shifted in the 1970s to analysis of how history textbooks operated ideologically, and in the 1980s to master narratives and symbols in textbooks. More recent studies, albeit not of history textbooks, have examined representations of diversity and whether representations should represent ideal or real worlds (Chisholm, 2007). This chapter aims to further this discussion through its analysis of textbooks in 2016. It is interested in understanding how textbooks promote social cohesion and empower teachers do to the same.

The analysis of textbooks is of particular significance in South Africa, which has undergone profound ideological shifts over the past 30 years. 1948 ushered in the era of apartheid, a system of racial segregation enforced through the legislation of the National Party. Under apartheid, the rights, associations, and movements of the majority black inhabitants and other ethnic groups were curtailed, and white minority rule was maintained. As will be discussed later in the chapter, the education curriculum at this time served to ideologically maintain the distinction between the races, and justify the dominance of the white race. Apartheid ended only 23 years ago with the birth of democracy, and indeed the birth of a struggle to create a socially cohesive national identity. This struggle is reflected in the somewhat tentative revision of the national curriculum and textbooks.

While textbooks are important indicators of dominant cultural attitudes and identity formation, they also face some serious limitations in the South African context in regards to their influence on students. As Chisholm (2007) wrote, “the problem with approaches that focus on ideology, discourses, symbols, or representations along, is that they are not an examination of what is in use and what is in practice being transmitted, conveyed, understood, assimilated, contested, or rejected”. As late as 2003, almost ten years after the democratic election in 1994, Bekker (2003) found in their survey of history textbooks and learning support materials at South African state secondary schools that: 1) “old era texts, in all three (secondary) grades, continue to be used more often in more history classes than new era texts”, 2) that this is more so the case in rural, former homeland schools than in urban schools, and 3) that the institutional culture within which many teachers operate “is not only backward looking but also devalues the subject itself”. Chisholm (2007) further argued that when teaching in the majority of South African schools is limited to an average of 3.2 hours a day, and rarely occurs on Fridays, not to mention the frequently cited non-delivery of textbooks to schools, the overall impact of textbook constructions may be limited.

When thinking about the ways in which textbooks are used within schools, the legacy of apartheid is a reminder of two important considerations. The first is the severe inequality, particularly within education and along racial lines, that still haunts South Africa. This inequality manifests itself in the lack of quality teachers and resources available to historically black schools compared to historically white schools. It suggests that the

textbooks, the pedagogies, and the ways the textbooks are used, are also likely to be different. The second point concerns the teachers, many of whom taught under the apartheid curriculum, and almost all of whom studied under the apartheid curriculum. The curriculum and governments are easier to change than the hearts and minds of a national population, and many teachers are being asked to teach a curriculum underpinned by an ideology that they do not support or understand.

What both of these considerations imply is that the content of the textbooks is not necessarily enough to determine what students will understand or value. Rather, we must also be cognisant of the contextual factors through which the textbooks are refracted, and judge the effectiveness of the textbooks in their light. The levels of inequality in South Africa are a serious affront to the creation of social cohesion and social justice, and unless textbooks help to bridge these socio-economic gaps through quality education, they will have limited effect. Furthermore, it is important to consider that the environments in which these textbooks are used may be actively hostile to the ideals of social justice and social cohesion. Textbooks need to communicate strongly and clearly the values which they wish to impart to students, and develop within students the skills necessary to independently investigate reality. Without such clear and coherent messaging, textbooks in the South African context will be ill-placed to contribute to a South African identity founded on social justice and social cohesion.

### **8.3 THE HISTORY OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The profound ideological shifts that South Africa has undergone over the past 30 years have been reflected in the norms and values underpinning the national curriculum.

This section traces the various ways in which social cohesion and social justice are presented and implied within the South African curriculum, from the apartheid era to the present day, and in particular seeks to understand the role of the teacher *vis-à-vis* the curriculum.

This section proposes three ways in which a curriculum can facilitate or hinder the promotion of social justice and cohesion within classrooms and among students.

The first is through the content of the textbooks: the norms and values that are presented or implied by the textbook, particularly in the representation of people, events, and social



issues. In this regard, textbook content that promotes social cohesion and justice would undermine racist and sexist norms and stereotypes around sexualities and families; provide historically accurate narratives which help to explain current social realities; give equal representation to the voices, perspectives, agency, and needs of various demographics; and emphasise the common humanity and shared destiny of all people.

The second is through the pedagogy implied by the curriculum, and in particular the role that the teacher is expected to play. A pedagogy which promotes social cohesion and justice would eschew dictatorial teaching styles in favour of more “democratic” approaches. Democratic approaches give students the opportunity to express their own opinions, allow teachers to adapt the materials to the specific contexts and requirements of their students, provide room for discussion, and respect the teachers’ and students’ capacity to think and construct meaning for themselves.

The third is through the skills and attitudes that the curriculum develops within students and, in particular, their ability to develop respect for themselves and others. A curriculum that promotes in students the skills necessary for social cohesion and justice would pay special attention to developing students’ ability to work in diverse groups, form and articulate their own opinions, listen carefully to the opinions of others, research and impartially analyse a range of sources, change their mind in light of new evidence, develop an appreciation for their own positionality, develop a curiosity to understand beliefs and cultures that are different to their own, develop the ability to reach consensus among divergent perspectives, and develop the ability to recognise and stand up for injustice.

As will be demonstrated throughout this section, the curriculum in South Africa has at various points embodied textbook content, pedagogy, and skills that have promoted social cohesion and social justice; however, not at the same time.

### **8.3.1 Curriculum under apartheid**

Apartheid education as articulated by the National Party was both Christian and nationalistic. While Christian National Education (CNE) was ostensibly a policy for white Afrikaans-speaking children based on Calvinist Christianity and Afrikaner nationalism, it also spelled out the features of education for black South Africans that clearly articulated the dominant racist ideology (Weldon, 2009). The policy of CNE included the belief of the “Boer

nation” that they were the senior “white trustees of the native”, who was in a state of “cultural infancy”, and that it was “the sacred obligation” of the Afrikaner to base black education on CNE principles (Weldon, 2009).

CNE was supported by a South African version of Fundamental Pedagogics developed in the 1950s. Fundamental Pedagogics viewed education as a science with claims of being able to establish universally valid knowledge about education (Weldon, 2009). A distinction was made between theory and practice; values were accepted as a given and not to be questioned. In fact, it was not the task of educational theory, regarded as the Science of Pedagogies, to engage with values at all. There was no culture of problem solving, free enquiry, or active learning – Fundamental Pedagogics was technicist, rigid, authoritarian, and conservative (Ashley, 1989; Enslin, 1984). History was considered to be a science, with verifiable, indisputable, objective “facts”. The curriculum handed down to teachers for implementation was very prescriptive, content heavy, detailed, and authoritarian; with little opportunity for teacher initiative (Jansen, 1999; Weber, 2006). Classroom practice abounded with learner passivity, rote learning, and chalk-and-talk teacher presentations (Christie, 1993).

By 1983, the content of history textbooks in South Africa were consistent with the racist and separatist ideology of apartheid: “The South African history in the textbooks is predominantly a history of the white groups in South Africa; very little is offered on the history of South African blacks before the arrival of the whites” (Dean *et al.*, 1983:51). According to this study, history textbooks not only glorified the Afrikaner nation, introducing its past as a model for South African’s present and future, but also present what is “historically contingent” (Dean *et al.*, 1983:103) as natural and eternal. Counter-perspective, such as communism and black history, was fully discredited.

It was under apartheid that the government first brought schooling for black children under state control. This schooling was believed to be an essential means to achieving success in bringing about apartheid. The Eiselen Commission Report stressed that a planned, centrally controlled schooling system for blacks should be an important element in the overall development of South Africa, and, in particular, in ensuring its labour needs. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act formalised the system of unequal education for black South Africans. One of its aims was to facilitate the reproduction of the relations of production in a docile

form, so that these relations would appear natural and based on common sense. Stressing cultural difference between white and black, and in the development of a separate black community, in which black aspirations could be realised, the Bantu Education system would prepare black students to accept differences as part of the unchallenged order.

In this regard, it may be argued that education under the apartheid state did attempt to create a form of social cohesion, albeit not a socially just one. The CNE principles for the Africans were declared as a way of maintaining the black South Africans in a permanent state of political and economic subordination. Education was an obvious instrument of control to protect the power and privilege of white South Africans. The curriculum articulated, and through its inequalities produced, the desired forms of social interaction that existed between different racial groups.

### **8.3.2 Curriculum post-apartheid**

In the wake of South Africa's first non-racial elections in 1994, the new Minister of Education launched a national process which would purge the apartheid curriculum of its most offensive racial content and outdated, inaccurate subject matter. The committees that were appointed to make changes to the curriculum were to address "the factual incorrectness of subject matter" resulting from socio-political changes and new developments in the field of study, content which did not reflect sensitivity to the perspectives on different groups in South Africa, and "the possible consolidation of syllabuses" – given that different racial departments inherited different syllabuses for the same school subjects (Jansen, 1999). Paraphrased, the committees interpreted this brief to mean the removal of outdated, inaccurate, and insensitive content from school syllabuses. While the original stimulus for this revision was the history syllabus, this brief was to be applied to all school subjects (Jansen, 1999).

The haste with which the state pursued a superficial cleansing of the inherited curriculum is explained in terms of the political constraints, conflicts, and compromises which accompanied the South African transition from apartheid (Jansen, 1999). According to Jansen (1999), these syllabus alternations had little to do with changing the school curriculum and much more to do with a precarious crisis of legitimacy facing the state and education in the months following the national elections. There was a need to be seen to do

something to change the racist and didactic curriculum of apartheid, although it was a superficial and temporary change.

### **8.3.3 Curriculum 2005 and outcomes-based education (OBE)**

The national Department of Education marked a true break from the apartheid curriculum with the introduction of an ambitious innovation that promised comprehensive curriculum change (DoE, 1997). Curriculum 2005 (C2005), so called because it was envisaged that it would be completely implemented and practised by all compulsory school grades by the year 2005, was built around the philosophical principles of OBE. The new emphasis on “outcomes” instead of input, on learner-centredness instead of teacher-centredness, and on active instead of passive learning, signalled a revolutionary new way of teaching and learning in South African classrooms (Stoffels, 2008). Teachers were expected to take a more facilitative role, and to employ a variety of teaching and assessment strategies based on learners’ experiences and needs. In the minds of the policymakers, this would afford teachers greater autonomy, responsibility, and flexibility to plan and facilitate lessons. It drew from curriculum models being used in some highly developed countries, and sought to place the South African curriculum among the most progressive internationally.

In two important ways, OBE was a reaction to the apartheid curriculum. On the one hand, the demise of the apartheid government necessitated the introduction of an education system that was based on the foundations of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, and justice. OBE was not only an attempt to improve on the poor learning outcomes of the apartheid education system, but also to create an education system that had at its heart the purpose of social transformation. Conversely, the sudden introduction of OBE in South Africa was primarily a response to a long period of non-substantive intervention (1994-1997) in the apartheid curriculum. It reflected the critical need, with or without resources, to deliver a radically different curriculum into post-apartheid schools to signal a definitive break with the past system. Whether or not this break actually materialised at the classroom interface is less important than the broader symbolic significance of curriculum change after apartheid (Jansen, 1999).

OBE was based on three main premises, which, compared to the apartheid curriculum, were highly progressive. The first was that all students can learn and succeed but not on the same

day or in the same way. The second was that learning promotes even more successful learning, and the third was that the schools should control the conditions that directly affect successful school learning (Naicker, 2000). OBE was structured around a range of outcomes, which referred to anything in which an individual can demonstrate knowledge or skill. The NQF operated on units of learning to which were ascribed a number of SAQA credits within specific levels and fields of the NQF. Units of learning were described through performative statements of “outcomes” that indicated what learners could do when they exited the programme, as described in the unit (Deacon & Parker, 1999). Outcomes were usually presented in the form of a short statement containing a performative verb. It did not matter how you achieved a certain unit of learning or set of knowledge, skills, and values – as long as a student could perform a specified task competently, they could be judged competent. In this regard, it allowed the teacher a great deal of flexibility to determine how those competencies would be developed.

However, some notable challenges were faced in regards to OBE that undermined its democratic approach and posed a challenge to social cohesion and social justice. The first was the lack of curriculum content, which left OBE in a weak position to communicate a shared history and set of values that were necessary for the creation of a new South African identity. As Jansen (1999) argued in his famous critique of OBE,

“a fixation with outcomes could easily lead to serious losses with respect to building a multicultural curriculum which both moves beyond ethnicity while simultaneously engaging with the historicity of such concepts and ideals in the context of apartheid South Africa”.

Rather, the structure of OBE was such that teachers could present their own historical narratives so long as students met the competency requirements. For example, an outcome such as “appreciating the richness of national and cultural heritages” (Learning Area Committee [LAC]: Human and Social Sciences) could be based on content which glorified a narrow Afrikaner nationalism but could also valorise, in another context, a militant ethnic Africanism (Jansen, 1999b). Essentially, it left the job of navigating a complex national transition to the choices of teachers, at least some of whom were hostile to the ideological changes.

A further critique of OBE was in relation to the social inequalities which it reproduced, and which therefore undermined social justice and cohesion. While learner-centredness may

have been a necessary tool to break down decades of learning habits formed to create uncritical and unthinking persons, the OBE curriculum expected more from teachers and learners than they were arguably capable of giving. Since many educators remained under the influence of the old paradigm and its discourses, they did not understand the implications of the old paradigm and what was required to make the shift to the demands of a more emancipatory discourse (Naicker, 2000). By not structuring the content knowledge that teachers were expected to deliver, critics of OBE claimed that its non-prescription of content was hostile to the poor, insofar as it deprived the poor of high-level conceptual knowledge which was routinely (albeit problematically) taught in schools. Well-resourced teachers and schools were more likely to implement the curriculum as intended than teachers in poor schools. OBE would therefore result in an exacerbation of existing learning inequalities in terms of access to high-level conceptual knowledge.

Finally, despite the progressive and democratic style of pedagogy that was proposed by OBE, there was a concerning lack of specific values relating to social justice and social cohesion. As Jansen (1999) noted, there is little evidence in the report of the LAC for Human and Social Sciences that this question of values has been directly addressed. For example, there was not a single commitment to combatting racism and sexism in society, or developing the pan-African citizen, or the role of dissent in a democracy. Of the 17 learning area outcomes identified, the closest approximation of a value statement was the phrase “participate actively in promoting a sustainable, just and equitable society” – a statement so broad as to become meaningless, especially when this is unpacked in specific objectives such as “display constructive attitudes” or “participate in debate and decision making” (Jansen, 1999). Jansen’s criticism centres on the argument that these statements could have been written for Hawaii or Buenos Aires or Western Nigeria. They are bland and decontextualised global statements which would make very little difference in a society emerging from apartheid and colonialism, and desperately in need of strong direction in regards to a cohesive national identity.

To summarise, OBE and C2005 were in some regards a valiant attempt at a curriculum that challenged the didactic chalk-and-talk pedagogies of apartheid curricula. Unlike the curriculum under apartheid, which set limits on the potential of non-white children before they even entered school, C2005 was premised on highly optimistic beliefs regarding the

abilities of students and teachers. The belief that the majority of South Africa's teachers could develop curriculum content that would both develop student competencies and be imbued with socially progressive values seems in hindsight to be too optimistic.

OBE failed to assist teachers in becoming agents of social cohesion and social justice in two ways: firstly, it lacked strong direction regarding clear norms and values, and secondly, it disproportionately disadvantaged underprivileged students who were taught by poor-quality teachers. It is worth noting that while the pedagogy was socially progressive, teachers' lack of training on how to work with the OBE curriculum meant that they were actually disempowered as agents of social cohesion. The merits of the curriculum must be judged in relation to the capacity and training of those who work within it.

#### **8.3.4 Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS)**

The second Minister of Education recognised the deficiencies in C2005's design and content, and called for a review of the curriculum using a panel of distinguished academics, bureaucrats, and teachers. The Curriculum Review Committee (2000) more or less recounted the problems anticipated in earlier writings but added several additional findings (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). In order to address these issues, the Review Committee proposed the introduction of a revised curriculum structure supported by 1) changes in teacher orientation and training, 2) learning support materials, and 3) the organisation, resourcing, and staffing of curriculum structures and functions in national and provisional education departments. Specifically, it recommended a smaller number of learning areas, including the reintroduction of history, and the development of an RNCS which would promote conceptual coherence, have a clear structure, be written in clear language, and be designed to promote "the values of a society striving towards social justice, equality and development through the development of creative, critical, and problem-solving individuals" (Chisholm, 2003).

The minister then introduced a streamlined curriculum (or thin version of C2005), removing some of the burdensome language architecture and establishing a much simpler and more accessible curriculum framework. Released in 2002, the streamlined curriculum was accompanied by a push for introducing an explicit statement of values into this new reform, a strategy that generated strong political resistance, especially from fundamentalist

churches (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). The core values included equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability, and social honour. In this regard, NCS was more explicit regarding its agenda for social cohesion.

### 8.3.5 Current curriculum in South Africa: Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS)

In order to review the present CAPS, an understanding of this global and national context is necessary. CAPS is not an entirely new curriculum; it is intended as an update of the RNCS to make the curriculum more understandable and accessible for teachers' use. Umalusi compared the CAPS and RNCS documents in 2014 (Grussendorf, Booyse & Burroughs, 2014). These comparisons will be incorporated into the discussion of the different syllabi.

The NCS for Grades R to 12 "gives expression to the knowledge, skills, and values *worth learning* in SA schools" (DoE, 2003). To a great extent, CAPS guides what must be planned and taught against what must be assessed. It is highly structured; it covers study areas, topics and sub-topics, examples, plans, annual teaching plans, assessment activities, and resources to guide teachers. Teachers are guided to use appropriate forms of assessment, while time tabling provides clear guidelines on the number of periods to be allocated for each subject. Teachers have little say in what they teach and when, which poses a challenge for creative teachers or more progressive schools. Moreover, implementation and provision of textbooks remain a challenge.

CAPS intends to promote knowledge in *local contexts, sensitive to global imperatives* (own emphasis). Its purposes are to:

- equip learners, irrespective of circumstance, with the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for self-fulfilment and meaningful participation in society;
- provide access to HE;
- facilitate the transition from school to the workplace; and
- provide employers with a sufficient profile of a learner's competencies.



The principles of the NCS include:

- social transformation: redressing imbalances and providing equal opportunities;
- active, critical learning;
- high knowledge and high skills;
- progression of knowledge gained from simple to complex;
- human rights, inclusivity, and environmental and social justice;
- valuing indigenous knowledge systems, history, and heritage; and
- credibility, quality, and efficiency.

The curriculum has a role to play in realising several constitutional aims, as outlined by Basic Education Minister Angie Motshekga in the CAPS of 2011:

- Healing divisions of the past, and establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights.
- Improving the quality of life and free the potential of all persons.
- Laying foundations for a democratic, open society where the government is based on the will of the people and equal exercise of law.
- Building a united, democratic South Africa.

Explaining the logic of the curriculum, one policymaker suggested that social cohesion should be addressed across subjects and should not only be included in a single subject:

*“One part of the curriculum is based on – this is where the four values come in and the way in which you teach it, is role models, legends, and hero stories, and narratives, etc., right, and then we do that in the social sciences, we do that in the language, etc., but then another important part is the cognitive part”* (Interview with Government Official 3, 2016).

*“How to make choices, how to make decisions, and it should not just be in Life Orientation because when you are doing literature, you use that as also a way of teaching that”* (Interview with Government Official 3, 2015).

There are a number of subtle yet significant differences between NCS and CAPS, which help to indicate the direction of the ideological shifts effecting education in South Africa. As will be discussed in this section, many of these differences relate to envisioned roles and positionalities of teachers and students *vis-à-vis* the curriculum.

The essential rationale provided in the respective curricula is similar in both the NCS and the CAPS documents in terms of situating the curriculum within the aims of the South African Constitution. In addition, the NCS includes OBE as the selected educational approach, which seeks to “enable all learners to reach their maximum learning potential by setting the Learning Outcomes to be achieved by the end of the education process” and to “encourage a learner-centred and activity-based approach to education” (DoE, 2003:7). By way of contrast, CAPS documents encourage “an active and critical approach to learning, rather than rote and uncritical learning of given truths” (CAPS Subject Statements, 2011:4). In this regard, while positioning itself in contrast to the apartheid pedagogical approach, the pedagogy of CAPS is not as “democratic” as that of NCS or C2005. CAPS does not aspire to put the learner at the heart of learning, or to give the teacher or learner too much agency to determine what will be taught.

In line with a shift away from OBE, the CAPS documents generally offer a much more detailed level of specification of content than the NCS documents. A consequence of this increased level of specification is that there has been a shift in the level at which the curriculum is pitched: the NCS focuses mainly on providing broad description of attainment levels and leaves the construction of the actual educational programme to the teacher. The CAPS, in contrast, is structured as an instructional programme, with a detailed description of content, sequencing, and pacing. In some regards this may be seen as a positive step for the promotion of social justice and social cohesion. Unlike OBE, the detailed specification of content in CAPS means that it has the potential to set forth a strong proposition regarding the norms and values that should shape South Africa’s national identity, as well as a coherent national historical narrative that would help students to interpret current social reality. It also helps to increase the likelihood that students, of whatever race or class demographic, will learn the same content, thereby reducing learning inequalities and teacher subjectivities. In effect, what the differences between OBE and CAPS represent is a tension between a centralised curriculum content that allows for the promotion of specific values, versus a more democratic pedagogy which gives voice to multiple actors, contexts, and positionalities. In the context of South Africa in transition, with the mandate of uniting an incredibly diverse population, this tension is sorely felt.

The move from OBE and towards a more instructional programme has also resulted in a pedagogical change from discovery-based learning to a content-driven learning approach. This has implications for the positionality of the learner. Under OBE, learners were conceptualised as participants in the learning process and negotiators in the process of meaning-making. However, under CAPS they have become recipients of a body of predetermined knowledge. Significantly, there has also been a loss of the intention to develop critical thinking about knowledge validity and bias, which is captured in some of the learning outcomes of the NCS. Furthermore, there is a change in regards to who the learner should become. The NCS contains a list of ideals that the curriculum aims to develop in learners, such as “one who will be imbued with the values and act in the interests of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, and social justice as promoted in the Constitution”, “have access to, and succeed in, lifelong education and training of good quality”, and to develop learners who “demonstrate an ability to think logically and analytically, as well as holistically and laterally” and are “able to transfer skills from familiar to unfamiliar situations” (DoE, 2003:17). Although some of these are touched on in the values of CAPS, they are not mentioned in the descriptions of the type of learner that is envisaged. What this suggests is that CAPS places less emphasis on the values that education should promote.

The role of the teacher has also been deemphasised within the CAPS curriculum. The NCS provides a clear description of the kind of teacher that is envisaged (DoE, 2003:18), namely that they be key contributors to the transformation of education in South Africa, qualified, competent, dedicated, and caring. Furthermore, they should be able to fulfil the various roles outlined in the Norms and Standards for Educators; these include being mediators of learning, interpreters and designers of learning programmes and materials, leaders, administrators and managers, scholars, researchers and lifelong learners, community members, citizens and pastors, assessors, and learning area or phase specialists. By contrast, CAPS provides no description of the kind of teacher that is envisaged. This is a notable omission for such an important role in the educational process.

Indeed, while CAPS may not make explicit the kind of teacher that is envisioned, the overt assumption is that teachers cannot, or should not have to, develop their own teaching plans. Where the NCS explicitly states the teacher’s role as being, among other roles, the

interpreter and designer of learning programmes and associated classroom activities, CAPS is itself a predesigned learning programme, with prescriptive classroom activities. This, together with the silence in the introductory pages of CAPS regarding the teacher, suggests that the significance of the teacher's role has become greatly diminished in CAPS. The implication is that teachers operate more at the level of implementers of a predetermined learning programme, rather than having flexibility in the design and adaptation of this learning programme to the varying needs of their learners. It is likely that the reduced expectations of South African teachers within the CAPS curriculum is in response to the failure of the OBE curriculum on account of many teachers not having the skills or content knowledge to design or adapt learning programmes. In this regard, CAPS attempts to enhance social cohesion and social justice by limiting the arenas in which poorer students with poorer-quality teachers are likely to face disadvantage.

This reduction in the emphasis placed on values that both teachers and students should embody and develop is reflected in a general reduction of values and desired social impact across the CAPS curriculum. While both CAPS and NCS documents contain a similar list of values – which include social justice, human rights, inclusivity, environmental awareness, and respect for people from diverse cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds – the NCS goes further. Through its discussion of recent South African history, the NCS seeks to redress the specific imbalances caused by apartheid education, and goes into more detail than the CAPS document with regard to both the importance of redressing the historical imbalances in education, and to promoting a democratic South Africa. The DoE report (DoE, 2009:12) describes the NCS as follows: “The key and clear messaging [in the NCS] included a positive new beginning, the move away from Christian National Education and its attendant philosophy of Fundamental Pedagogics, to a new emphasis on rights-based education and the notion of learner centredness”. This is removed from the CAPS document, which does not position itself so directly in relation to political discourses or agendas. Indeed, some of the NCS objectives related to socio-political and ethical awareness, and sensitivity to cultural beliefs, prejudice, and practices in society, have been excluded from the CAPS. Taken together, these observations suggest a shift in the curriculum towards a technical instruction with academic performance as the single most important indicator of educational achievement. The curriculum appears to take little or no account of the current

historical realities for children, their parents and their teachers, the state of language and culture, or the challenges posed by the economy locally and globally.

In summary, CAPS differs from OBE in a number of significant ways. It has shifted the South African curriculum from a pedagogy founded on principles of learner-centredness and flexible content knowledge, to one with highly structured content and a “critical” approach to learning. It has changed the role of the student from that of meaning-maker to recipient of knowledge, and the role of the teacher from one who contributes to the transformation of education to an implementer of the curriculum. Finally, CAPS has reduced a discourse on values, both in regards to the purpose of education in promoting social cohesion and justice, and in regards to the values which it expects to nurture in students.

The contribution of CAPS to social justice and social cohesion and to the empowerment of teachers as agents of social cohesion is therefore mixed. On the one hand, the CAPS curriculum seeks to prevent many of the inequalities experienced under OBE. Its structured and scripted lesson plans make it easier for poorly qualified or inexperienced teachers to promote learning among their students. One would expect, under these circumstances, that this style of curriculum might reduce the disparity between learners in high- and low-quality schools, and in doing so improve social cohesion and justice.

Similarly, CAPS’s emphasis on content knowledge means that it has the potential to communicate in a clear and structured way the norms, values, and attitudes that underpin an emerging non-racial, non-sexist South African identity. This overcomes a problem faced by OBE, which left values education in the hands of potentially subjective teachers. By centralising the decisions regarding norms, values, and attitudes, CAPS ensures more control and consistency regarding values education, leaving it in a powerful position to counter the narratives and prejudices that were developed during the apartheid era. It can ensure that the values of social justice and social cohesion are an aspect of children’s learning experience, regardless of the teachers’ beliefs.

However, the CAPS curriculum undermines the promotion of social justice and social cohesion in the classroom in significant ways. In the first instance, the move away from student-centred learning towards a “critical” approach to learning with fixed content knowledge delegitimises the voices of students and teachers, their individual perspectives, opinions, and indigenous knowledge. It instead favours a hegemonic positivist

understanding of knowledge that is fixed, transferable, and consistent across all contexts. Within the CAPS curriculum there is a danger of marginalising certain perspectives or approaches to living, which is both unjust and runs the risk of alienating certain demographics from the learning process. This is problematic in a country as diverse as South Africa, and with such a recent history of using certain forms of knowledge to dominate and control.

With regards to values, it is concerning to note the removal of much of the values discourse that accompanied the NCS, and which has been replaced by a narrow focus on academic achievement. Unlike the NCS, the CAPS curriculum no longer situates itself in relation to the history of apartheid, nor conceptualises its aims as strongly relating to social justice or social cohesion. While it does note the importance of rights, it is unclear whether such an approach speaks sufficiently to the specific context underpinning South African social reality. As Christie (2006) noted, “It is necessary to go beyond a discourse of rights to achieve social change. Modernist discourses of rights and citizenship have an apparent universalism and certainty which belie their historically contingent forms.” In other words, unless CAPS engages with the specific ways in which rights are currently and historically being abused in South Africa, a discourse on rights seems ill-equipped to create social justice and social cohesion across racial lines.

Finally, the question of the teacher as an agent of social cohesion and social justice is addressed. As was described above, the role of the teacher has been largely diminished within the CAPS curriculum and replaced by structured lesson plans and content issued from central government. In this regard, CAPS has done much to disempower the teacher as an agent of social cohesion. Rather, it would appear that the CAPS curriculum would prefer that values education come from the provided learning materials, rather than being left to individual teacher discernment. While understandable in the national context of poorly skilled teachers, and teachers who may not hold socially progressive values, it is problematic for two related reasons. The first is that it is unclear to which extent students can imbue values, challenge prejudices, and learn to advocate for social justice from a textbook which is decontextualised from students’ lived reality. Rather, there is a need for a teacher to facilitate conversations and help students navigate through the complexities of questions concerning equality and justice. Second, there is a serious concern that teachers will be ill-

equipped to facilitate conversations related to norms, values, and social identity if this is not an aspect of their training. However, a curriculum that effectively diminishes their role in this regard is unlikely to prioritise teacher training that focuses on social cohesion and justice.

#### **8.4 TEXTBOOK DESIGN AND CHOICES**

The choices surrounding the publication of textbooks are an important consideration in understanding the ways in which teachers and the education system more broadly encourage and inspire social cohesion and social justice. While it is often difficult to find published material detailing the ways in which textbooks are designed, interviews with expert informants who were involved in writing textbooks provide insight into the process.

According to a textbook author, few credentials were needed to write textbooks, and certainly textbook writers were not vetted for their political or ideological positions. Most textbook authors were teachers who happened to teach in the same school and who wrote textbooks to supplement their income. The author in question was involved in writing three rounds of textbooks, both under the OBE and the CAPS curriculum. He/she was approached for the job by a fellow teacher who had recommended him/her for the position. Interestingly, the author noted that there were no apartheid-era textbook writers who wrote post-apartheid-era textbooks. The textbooks used before 1994 were old editions whose authors had retired before the end of apartheid.

The author noted that the textbooks were often of mixed quality; they were at times historically inaccurate, lacked coherence, and offered mixed messages. He/she suggested that this was due to the way in which textbooks were written. Authors often worked under extreme time pressure, in one instance writing three textbooks a month while also working as full-time teachers. The author noted that high school teachers were writing primary school textbooks, which meant that the pedagogy was often not appropriate. The diversity of quality was also related to the ways in which different publishers commissioned the textbooks. While in some authorship teams the work of researching the content, writing the content, and writing the activities was divided, in his/her authorship team each author took responsibility for a different chapter. The way in which chapters were divided was arbitrary; authors chose to write the chapters they felt most knowledgeable about. Furthermore, the

editors were not subject specialists and therefore lacked the ability to correct mistakes. There was also no feedback to the authors regarding the content that was written.

The author described the differences between writing an OBE textbook and a CAPS textbook. He/she found the OBE curriculum to be extremely vague and with very little context for what was taught. This in itself was not a problem; however, the lack of time in which to design the textbooks meant that the textbooks were not of a high quality. Had OBE had the resources and the budget, he/she felt that the textbooks could have been written well. When writing for the CAPS curriculum, the instructions were very rigid and the authors wrote in bullet points. He/she felt that CAPS represented a vertical knowledge system, in which the textbook attempted to replace the teacher.

#### **8.4.1 Textbook analysis**

In an attempt to further understand the ways in which the South African education system facilitates social cohesion and social justice, an analysis was conducted of three textbooks based on the CAPS curriculum that are currently in use in South Africa.

##### **8.4.1.1 Methodology**

The methodological approach to this study centres on an analysis of nine chapters taken from three textbooks which follow the CAPS curriculum and which are currently in use in South Africa. The three textbooks that were chosen for analysis were Grade 9 Life Orientation, Grade 9 English, and Grade 9 Social Sciences. These textbooks were chosen as they are the textbooks most commonly in use in South Africa. Textbook subjects and chapters were selected due to their concern with topics closely related to social justice and social cohesion, e.g. race, equality, apartheid, diversity, poverty, nationalism, identity, language, etc. The chapters selected from the textbooks for analysis were similarly chosen for the same reason. The specific chapters that were selected are shown in the table that follows.



**Table 41: Chapters chosen for analysis by subject**

<b>Textbook title</b>	<b>Chapter title</b>
<b>Life Orientation</b>	Development of the self in society: Goal-setting skills
	Development of the self in society: Sexual behaviour and sexual health
	Constitutional rights and responsibilities: Citizens' rights and responsibilities
<b>English</b>	Chapter 13: Identity
	Chapter 15: Different types of English
	Chapter 17: In praise of Africa
<b>Social Studies</b>	Topic 2: Development Issues
	Topic 3: Turning points in modern South African history since 1948
	Topic 4: Turning Points in South African History 1960, 1976, and 1990

*Source: CITE (2016)*

The methodology for the analysis of the chapters drew strongly from the theories of social cohesion that underpin this study and which are outlined in Chapter 3 of this report. This section gives a brief overview of those theories and how they shaped the analysis.

The concept of social cohesion is contested and open to multiple interpretations; however, a number of core features seem central to its definition. In its essence, social cohesion concerns the relationships between different members of a society, while recognising that broader structural factors influence those interpersonal relationships. Those broader structural factors include the relative equalities of social mobility, social capital, and social inclusion, as well as attitudinal factors such as a sense of trust, belonging, and willingness to participate in society.

This report in particular draws on the work of Nancy Fraser, whose conception of social cohesion is very closely associated to that of social justice, and which therefore is of particular relevance to the South African context. Fraser's approach to social cohesion encompasses the politics of redistribution, recognition, representation, and also reconciliation (Novelli *et al.*, 2015). For Fraser (1995; 2005), injustice emanates from structural inequalities engendered by maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation. Social and transformative justice need to be underpinned by

redistribution, recognition, and representation (Fraser, 1995; 2005). Fraser argues for the promotion of social cohesion where patterns of inequality associated with injustice are disrupted. Fraser's approach provides a lens for thinking about some of the ways in which different dimensions of injustice are currently hindering human rights in educational settings (Keddie, 2012:15).

In this regard, a textbook which promotes social cohesion would promote redistribution of resources to a point where members of a society could interact as equals and would recognise the diversity existing within a society and the shared history which has shaped contemporary social reality. It is also one which helps students to interpret their social reality in light of social justice factors.

The analysis of the textbooks was conducted as follows:

- Details regarding the production of the textbook were identified, e.g. location of textbook publication, date of textbook publication, language of instruction, along with the ethnic and gender identities of the authors.
- The outcomes of the textbook were identified, as well as the textbooks' alignment to CAPS.
- The readability of the selected chapters was analysed, which included the length of the section, the average sentence length, and the percentage of "academic" words.
- The various representations within the textbook were analysed, along the lines of race, age, gender, sexuality, class, religion, family status, and disability within both the text and pictures. These categories were further analysed in relation to roles, e.g. the number of white/black/coloured people represented as farmers, politicians, parents, etc.
- The broader sense in which these various identities were represented were then analysed; for example, whether certain identities were stereotypically represented, represented in positive or negative ways, were decontextualised or normalised, etc.
- The pedagogy was analysed, in regards to the ways in which students are expected to learn, and the suggested activities.
- Finally, the structural content of the textbook was analysed; for example, the causal relationships that are drawn, the explanations that are given, the responsibilities that are established, and those that are absent.

#### **8.4.1.2 Textbook analysis**

The structure of the analysis for each textbook occur in four parts; in the first part, the general subjects and topics covered in the analysis are outlined, along with an explanation of why they were chosen. In the second part, the pedagogy of the textbook chapters are analysed, in specific reference to the skills that are being developed and the activities that are suggested. In the third part, the way in which the textbook represents various demographic groups is discussed, drawing attention to the broader sense in which these identities are presented. In the final part, the broader structural content of the textbook is discussed, specifically concerning the way in which casual relationships are drawn, the explanations that are given, the responsibilities that are identified, and those that are absent.

#### **8.4.1.3 Platinum Social Sciences Learner's Book**

##### ***Content of textbook chapters and justification for inclusion***

Chapter 2: "Development Issue" focuses on socio-economic development, which includes discussions of wealth, health, happiness, and the state of the environment. Students learn about common definitions of development and ways of measuring it, including the Human Development Index (HDI). The chapter asks students to be critical of common definitions of development, and to think of other indicators that might be included. This leads into a conversation about the various factors which affect development indicators, including historical reasons such as colonialism, international trading relationships, and government provision of services such as education and healthcare, as well as technological development. The cyclical effects of poor health and education on the economy and the ability of the government to provide better services are discussed; students are asked to consider what effect a lack of government services has on people's lives. A number of country-level case studies are presented, including South Korea and Tanzania, and their different development trajectories are explained. Portugal's colonisation of Brazil and Mozambique, and Mozambique's subsequent underdevelopment are presented as a further case study. The chapter ends with a discussion of alternative forms of development which are more environmentally sustainable and which create livelihoods for the poorest people rather than large companies. Cooperatives and fair trade are proposed as development

strategies, along with explanations of how they differ from traditional forms of development.

This chapter was included in the analysis as it seeks to enhance students' understanding of why some countries or people are poor and others are rich. The inequality of wealth and poverty is a key concern of social justice, and explanations of why poverty exists help to shape students' understanding of privilege and fairness. It is important for students to understand both the historical reasons why some countries are poor, as well as the impact that their everyday lives and consumption choices have on people around the world. Furthermore, students' understanding of why other people are more or less wealthy, and the consequences of one's material conditions, shapes the way in which those students will engage with people different from themselves. In a country with such extreme wealth differentials as South Africa, a chapter on socio-economic development has the potential to help students understand more about their fellow citizens.

Chapter 3: "Turning points in modern South African history since 1948" discusses some of the key turning points in South African history, including the dawn of apartheid in 1948, and non-violent resistance to apartheid in the 1950s. The chapter provides a useful backdrop to the history of apartheid by discussing both the Declaration of Human Rights and how it is applied to South Africa, as well as information on the definition of "racism" and the ways in which race has been socially constructed in the South African context. It presents racial segregation before apartheid, including the Natives Land Act of 1913, before discussing how this segregation became apartheid. It details some of the laws under apartheid, presenting a case study of the Group Areas Act and the destruction of Sophiatown, as well as a case study on the Bantustans. The last section of the chapter focuses on non-violent resistance to apartheid, with a particular focus on the ANC Programme of Action, the Freedom Charter, the Treason Trial, and the Women's March.

The history discussed in this chapter covers a controversial time in South African history, and touches upon a number of important subjects such as human rights, racism, and legal discrimination. Without an understanding of this period of South African history, it is impossible to have a full understanding of the current socio-political situation, and many of the decisions that the current government makes. It is also essential for understanding social injustices in South Africa; how the current social inequalities and injustices were a

result of specific historical factors, and not therefore “natural”. By teaching students the ways in which social injustice was systematically perpetrated, they can begin to understand what needs to happen for social justice to occur.

Chapter 4: “Turning Points in South African History 1960, 1976, and 1990” explores some of the turning points in the history of apartheid, in particular the Sharpeville massacre, the Langa march, the Soweto uprising, and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. The chapter emphasises the causes and consequences of historical moments and movements. For example, it suggests that the causes of the Soweto uprising included the Black Consciousness Movement, Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools, Bantu education, Radio Freedom, the independence of Angola and Mozambique, and the underground presence of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in Soweto. The chapter also makes note of leaders involved in the apartheid resistance and the role of the media in drawing attention to the abuses of apartheid.

This chapter helps students to understand not only the human rights abuses committed by the apartheid regime, but also the nature of the resistance to that regime, which after a long struggle, and global political and economic factors, led to a negotiated settlement and the advent of a democratic system of government in South Africa.

#### **8.4.1.4 Textbook pedagogy**

The three chapters are characterised both by commonalities and differences in pedagogy. All the chapters are divided into units, with questions and activities at the end of each unit. New or difficult words in the text are presented in a text box on each page, along with their definition, which helps students to understand the text and increase their vocabulary. There are also text boxes titled “About Our World”, which offer “fun facts” relating to the content being studied. There is a heavy use of images, and diagrams are also used in the chapter on development. This is not only visually engaging but also helps students to better connect with concepts, cultures, and history outside of their experience.

The pedagogy of the chapter on development differs somewhat from the history chapters. The chapter on development has little content but rather presents a number of concepts which it asks students to discuss. For example, the HDI is briefly described, and students are asked to discuss why the HDI is a helpful indicator of development, and to suggest other

indicators that could be included to improve the HDI. Similarly, the notion of political stability is briefly outlined, and a map showing the political stability of various countries is provided, which students are asked to analyse. Case studies, for example of alternative development projects, are presented and students are asked to apply the concepts they have learned to the case studies.

The history chapters, by comparison, are content heavy, with long descriptions, broken up by pictures and graphs that illustrate the points made in the text, as well as sources that offer a variety of perspectives on the events described. The questions at the end of each unit focus heavily on analysing the historical sources. This analysis achieves a number of important purposes, including testing whether students have understood the content of the chapter, developing skills of comparing and contrasting, understanding that historical events were perceived differently by different actors, and encouraging students to empathise with different voices. These questions also ask students to emotionally engage with the history, asking them to use their own knowledge to better understand and analyse what happened, e.g. “What long-term impact do you think the torture described in Source H had on the person being tortured and the torturer?” A research project introduces some activity-based learning and develops research skills such as data collection, literature review, interview skills, analysis, and writing up. The research project helps students to understand how apartheid affects their lives and the lives of those around them; in this sense it helps students to apply their historical understanding and to make history seem relevant.

#### **8.4.1.5 Textbook representations**

There is a heavy overrepresentation of men, particularly in the history chapters. While men are disproportionately represented in political leadership positions, women are disproportionately represented as wives, parents, poor agricultural labourers, or victims of apartheid laws. There is notably no representation of men as parents, and mothers but not fathers are depicted as grieving those who were killed during the apartheid regime. However, there is a concerted effort to show the role that women played in opposition to apartheid, including pictures of black women using “whites only” train carriages and women being arrested by police during the Defiance Campaign. Most notably, a section on the women’s march shows a photo of thousands of women marching to the Union Buildings in

Pretoria, as well as biographies of two women, Helen Joseph and Lillian Ngoyi, who played leadership roles in the resistance to apartheid, and who therefore challenged normative gender roles. One of these biographies mentions Helen Joseph's marriage to Billie Joseph, which seems somewhat irrelevant to her role in the apartheid struggle and positions her in relationship to a man. It is problematic that women are given their own section in the chapter; women engage in women's marches, but men never engage in men's marches. Men therefore remain the monolith.

There is a relatively equal presentation of black and white people in the chapters analysed, although the way in which they are represented differs between the geography and history chapters. In the chapter of development, almost all non-white people (Asian, South-East Asian, Latin American, and African) are presented as poor, and all white people are presented as wealthy. For example, a graphic titled "People become more skilled" depicts an old white man in a lab coat looking down a microscope; in a cartoon depicting a tea co-operative, the tea pickers are Asian, while the tea consumers are white; and a case study on fair trade is illustrated with a photograph of four white women buying coffee and crepes. In three images, poor women of colour are depicted with babies, while none of the white women are depicted as having children. In a flow diagram illustrating how trade can hold back development, all of the people portrayed are black, whereas in the following diagram illustrating how trade can lead to development, two out of four of the people portrayed are white. The overwhelming racial narrative in this chapter is that black people are poor labourers, and white people are wealthy consumers of what black people produce.

The history chapters present black people as forming a strong and capable resistance to the apartheid regime. Notably, however, the suffering or resistance of coloured people under apartheid is almost completely absent, and there are no visual depictions of coloured people. Black people are presented as being professional, well dressed, intelligent, and strong leaders. Almost all the black men who are portrayed in this chapter are wearing a suit and tie, and Anton Lembede is described as "one of the most brilliant students that South Africa had produced". Other adjectives used to describe black people are "dynamic", "defiant", "warm", "thoughtful", "stalwart", having "strength", and being a "great leader". White people, particularly white men, are overwhelmingly portrayed as supporters of apartheid, often in the form of politicians or policemen. However, there is a clear effort to

draw attention to white people who were involved in the resistance movement, for example by including photographs of Ruth First and Denis Goldberg, and a biography of Helen Joseph. It is interesting to note that very little biographical information is given about the white people who supported apartheid. This may be read as an attempt to depersonalise them.

There are no examples of homosexual people or couples, while there are a number of examples of heterosexual couples, most notably Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Children are almost always depicted as being with their mothers, reinforcing traditional family norms. There is no representation of disabled people.

#### **8.4.1.6    *Structural content***

The chapter on development makes a number of problematic implications, assumptions, and omissions regarding poverty and wealth. In the first instance, it depicts a map in which all the northern countries (populated with mostly white people) are presented as “more economically developed countries”, while all the southern countries (populated with mostly non-white people) are presented as “less economically developed countries”. There is little nuance offered in this unit on the types of people or populations within countries who are more likely to be disadvantaged. Rather, a single narrative is presented of non-white people being poor.

There is little critical engagement with the term “development”, which is defined solely in terms of the economic ability to provide health, education, and living standards. Within this framework, “white” countries are presented on one end of the development spectrum with “non-white” countries trying to catch up.

Colonialism is identified as a reason for differences in development. Portugal and Mozambique are offered as a case study of colonialism; notably, British colonialism in South Africa is not mentioned. Colonialism is presented as occurring between countries and not people, motivated by economic gain, and having only economic consequences. The chapter therefore does not require students to engage with the personal dimension of colonialism, for example the ways in which colonialism was motivated by a sense of white supremacy, or the loss of human life and human dignity that colonised populations faced, and how it may be another reason for differences in development. The chapter furthermore does not direct



students to reflect on the ways in which their own lives have been affected by processes of colonialism, and therefore misses an opportunity to help students link current reality with the historical past.

The history chapters are equally problematic in this regard, most notably for the way in which white people's responsibility for apartheid is largely ignored. Racism and the "myth of 'race'" are discussed as being a primary factor in the creation of the apartheid state. It is implied that the Nationalist Party introduced apartheid; however, this is never explicitly discussed. There is also very little emphasis on the individual people who introduced racial segregation. While those who resisted apartheid are discussed in detail, only Verwoerd, Botha, and Vorster are presented as supporters of the apartheid regime. This gives the impression that the apartheid state was constructed and upheld by a "few bad eggs", and thus exonerates everyone else of responsibility for the human rights abuses that occurred. In this sense, sadly, the individualisation of a systemic crime against humanity is perpetuated. Crucially, from a social cohesion perspective, it is noted that the TRC (as explicated in detail in Chapter 2) took this same individualist approach to "victims of apartheid". For social cohesion, this conceptual blunder is of severe import, as the systemic nature of the laws, associated bureaucracies, and military, police, and judicial culpability, is replaced in teachers' and students' (and all South Africans and the world's) minds, by a conceptualisation of "good versus bad" white people, and, critically, "not-white victims and not-white not-victims". If this approach is to be undermined, a different reading of history must be privileged, and textbooks (and other learning and teaching materials) will need to be (re-)written in order to properly conceptualise the nature of apartheid as a systemic "crime against humanity", and to properly conceptualise the restoration of a just post-colonial and post-apartheid era.

Similarly, the pedagogical approach in these chapters encourages young people to empathise with black people and the struggles they faced under apartheid, but not with white people. For example, students are asked to analyse sources detailing what it was like to live as a black person under apartheid, and to list the reasons why people were prepared to go to such violent extremes against apartheid. While the development of empathy, particularly across racial divides, is something to be celebrated in this textbook, there is little attempt to engage with the thoughts and feelings of white people. Indeed, there is a

complete absence in the textbook of what ordinary white people thought about apartheid. This is problematic, since once again it detracts attention and responsibility away from the perpetrators of injustice. This leaves students in a weak position a) to understand the social, cultural, and political factors that led to apartheid, and b) in the case of white students to understand one's own historical culpability and responsibility for systems of injustice.

Finally, the history chapters which discuss apartheid end with the democratic and "historic" election of 1994. While undoubtedly an achievement worth celebrating, the implication in the textbook is that when apartheid ended in 1994, so too did the poverty, racism, discrimination, and violence that were aspects of the apartheid regime. There is no discussion of the lasting impacts of apartheid, or link between South Africa's current problems and its recent past. Once again, this leaves students in a weak position to understand how the social reality they experience is connected to apartheid, and in particular the reasons for the high levels of social injustice still present in the structure of South African society.

## **8.4.2 English**

### **8.4.2.1 Content of textbook chapters and justification for inclusion**

Chapter 15 of *Different Types of English* discusses the different dialects of English that are spoken in South Africa. It describes the different types of English as being equal; however, it states that students need to know which type of English to speak in which contexts. The chapter is broken into four parts: listening and speaking, reading and viewing, writing and presenting, and language structures and conventions. In Part 1, students listen to information about meetings and answer questions, before doing a role play of a meeting. In Part 2, students read a novel extract and a poem and answer questions on these pieces of literature. In Part 3, students write a formal letter of application using the writing process. In Part 4, students learn a variety of language skills, including phrasal verbs, active and passive voice, spelling, and vocabulary. Throughout the chapter a variety of different types of English are used within the literature extracts, and questions are asked about the English vocabulary used.

South Africa has many different dialects of English, and these dialects are at times used as a justification for discrimination, often along class or racial lines. How different types of English are discussed therefore has implications for social equality and inclusion. Including this chapter in this study is particularly important considering that it is an English textbook, and thus implicitly posits a “correct” form of English; how this chapter negotiates language hegemonies has an important bearing on how the textbook legitimises or undermines certain groups of people and certain ways of being in South Africa.

Chapter 13 addresses the issue of identity and helps students to think through how they identify themselves. In particular, it addresses the complicated issue of South African identity, and of youth identity. The chapter is broken into four parts. In Part 1, students listen to a speech by President Mbeki about South African identity, answer questions about the speech, and then write their own speech. In Part 2, students read and study a comprehension extract about a girl from a poor village who goes to a wealthy boarding school, a poem about living harmoniously in South Africa, and an article about youth trends. In Part 3, students design and write an invitation card and an acceptance letter using the writing process. In Part 4, students learn language structures and conventions.

This chapter discusses the notion of identity and why South African identity can be complicated. This is an important chapter to include since social cohesion effectively concerns the relationship between different identities. Inequalities and social injustices are perpetrated as a result of who we think we are *vis-à-vis* other identities. The arbitrary politicisation of certain identities was the foundation of apartheid ideology. How students are taught to think about the nature of identity and how students learn to think about themselves in relation to others is therefore key to social cohesion.

Chapter 17 concerns the aspects of Africa that are worthy of praise or admiration. The chapter is broken into four parts. In the first part, students are asked to read a poem about an African drum, to answer questions, and to analyse the poem. In Part 2, students are asked to read and summarise an article on buying South African products. In Part 3, students are asked to read an extract from a story about kindness, and discuss African values. In the last part, students complete a variety of activities, including a conversation, a role play on a town meeting, and a written diary entry.

This chapter concerns what Africa is, and what is good about Africa. Understanding how this textbook presents the concept and identity of “Africa” is important, as what “Africa” and “African” have meant in the past has had a strong influence on apartheid and colonial ideology; historically “African” has been a very politicised and derogatory term. For today's South African students, what constitutes “African” identity has implications for what social justice and inclusion looks like in a multiracial, multicultural society. Furthermore, the way in which pride in one’s country or continent is discussed has implications for the types of nationalism or patriotism that students imbue, as well as understanding of what culture means and the influence that it has on our lives. Once again, this shapes how one understands inclusion and relationships with those who are different or who do not fit into one’s understanding of “African”.

#### **8.4.2.2 Textbook pedagogy**

The chapters in this textbook use an interactive teaching style that aims to build a number of communication skills, including discussing in a group, listening carefully, and communicating formally, as well as technical skills such as punctuation and spelling. The chapters are very activity heavy, with little formal academic content. Literature or dialogue extracts are presented to spark discussion on the topic, after which students complete comprehension questions and analyse texts. These extracts are presented in a way that guides the students’ reading, giving those tasks and information before, during, and after the reading. The activities help to structure their reflection and analysis of the extract, while also developing skills such as empathy, group work, and values, as well as technical skills such as using relative pronouns and conjunctions in complex sentences.

Most of the activities require students to facilitate discussions, write letters, present role plays, etc. Questions draw the students’ attention to important aspects of the literature which they should learn to identify and understand, e.g. “Why does the tense change from the past to the present in the last two lines?” There is a strong emphasis on students introducing their own thoughts and opinions when answering questions or during discussion and helping the students to relate what they are learning to their own lives. There are also a number of opportunities for the students’ creative expression, in the form of role plays. There is therefore a strong emphasis on the students being active in the classroom, and on

creative expression. At a number of points, students are invited to reflect on their own opinions, think about why they hold these opinions, and present them to a group or the class.

Furthermore, there is a strong emphasis on learning how to have conversations that include everyone, and the dangers of one person dominating a conversation; “Have you ever noticed that some conversations are dominated (controlled) by one speaker? When this happens, the views of other participants are not fully heard.” Students are asked to do a role play and place special emphasis on having the views of everyone heard. On page 205, there is emphasis on encouraging other people to participate during a discussion and to be polite during discussions.

#### **8.4.2.3**    *Textbook representations*

Overall, there is an equal amount of representation of men and women in these chapters; however, the ways in which men and women are represented differ significantly. For example, men are much more likely to be presented as professionals – artists, teachers, or sports people – whereas women are more likely to be presented as very old or very young, and without a clear profession.

Furthermore, several concerning normative gender positions are portrayed. For example, in the extract from “Jesse’s story”, girls are presented as being spiteful, while boys are presented as heroes and jocks. In the surfing competition, it is only mentioned that “guys” took part, and as a result they were considered “heroes”. There is a heavy emphasis on the appearance of women; “heavily mascara-ed”, “pouffy-haired”, “Hair Girls”. The main character in the story refers to girls as “chicks” and there is no discussion on this being a disparaging term. Similarly, on page 221 the question is posed, “Should (members of the fairer sex) take part in sports like soccer and rugby?” It is problematic that women are referred to as “the fairer sex” and their participation in traditionally male sports is called into question. However, it should also be noted that on page 205, a role play is presented in which men and women are discussing and solving problems as equals, thus offering an example of gender equality.

Racially, there is a relatively equal representation of black and white people, but little representation of coloured people or other ethnic minorities. It is encouraging to note that

in the chapter on identity, both black and white people are flying South African flags, implying that South Africa is a diverse, multiracial community. It is also a positive feature of these chapters that black people are presented in a range of professions: president, dancer, graduate, teacher, student, and farmer. The names that are used in comprehension extracts are predominantly black names, thus further reducing racial stereotyping. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that many of the grammar and vocabulary questions use examples of problems of particular relevance to black students: “If everything turns out as I am hoping, my parents will allow me to have my hair braided like the other girls”, “At long last my teacher learned how to pronounce my name”, and “The principal said he would consider the introduction of African Studies into the curriculum”.

However, while black people enjoy diverse representation, it is problematic that white people are only ever presented as middle class; there are no representations of poor white people. Furthermore, the skewed representation of black and white people between the chapters is problematic. In the chapter of different types of English, white people are represented in a 2:1 ratio with black people; however, in the chapter on Africa, no white or coloured people are represented at all. This would seem to imply that the English language is primarily for white people, and that Africa is only for black people. These racialised identities may prove a barrier for social cohesion. Indeed, it is difficult to create an inclusive South African national identity when “Africaness” is exclusive of white and coloured people.

This textbook deals with the issue of class in a number of interesting ways. For example, an extract from “Black Stone” tells the story of a girl from a rural area attending a wealthy boarding school. In the story, the rural areas are presented as extremely impoverished, and as something to be ashamed of. Interestingly, the grandmother, who lives in the impoverished rural area, wears a “Vote ANC” T-shirt, implying a connection between political affiliation and poverty or age. Similarly, township life is presented as undesirable, in which young people “come from poor families and are at school or unemployed”. Many young people in the township are represented as wasteful, irresponsible criminals; in order that they can engage in burning their possessions “they are either nagging their parents to provide them with designer clothes, or they are getting money some other way – most likely from crime”. Finally, the textbook presents two images of wealth; the first being a wedding celebration and the second a matric ball. In both these images people are well dressed, and

in one image they are drinking alcohol. Interestingly, both images depict a large number of white and non-black people, implying that multicultural environments are also elitist.

Disability is only represented once in the form of an old person who is described as “so frail that her whole body swayed”, “her hands [were] knobbled with age”, and “the ends of two bony stick legs peeped out”. She is presented as an impoverished and somewhat comical character; “the tattered edges of several petticoats”, “she wore each shoe on the wrong foot”, “old ladies have no more shame left, they are like children”. This is a demeaning and problematic portrayal of old people and the disabled, particularly since it is the only example of disability that is offered.

There are multiple examples of heterosexual relationships in these textbooks, but no examples of homosexuality. Family representations are normative; however, there is one comprehension exercise in which a township father is particularly supportive of his son’s dancing career.

#### **8.4.2.4    *Structural content***

The chapter on different types of English tackles the difficult and important topic of diverse literacies. While admirable in its approach, it fails to help students to explicitly tackle the prejudice that often surrounds different dialects. Instead, it might serve to reinforce stereotypes. On page 214, a girl writes a letter to the Magistrate’s Office offering to translate the gang slang of young people caught for petty crimes. A number of assumptions are made: a) those who are petty criminals or who are in gangs speak this slang, b) those who are petty criminals or who are in gangs cannot speak standard English, c) the English that the magistrates speak is not defined as “slang”, and d) the magistrates do not speak gang slang. Slang words are contrasted with “English” words, implying a normative definition of English. There is also an overrepresentation of “white” forms of dialect, such as formal letter writing and Muizenberg surfer’s slang, compared to only one example of a coloured dialect and no examples of black African dialects.

Furthermore, different types of English are claimed to be equal, but the textbook is written in standardised English and it is not addressed why this is the case. In this sense, the textbook seems to undermine the central message of the chapter. For example, on page 215 it says, “to make your writing easy to understand, you need to remove any confusing words

and structures”; however, “easy to understand” and “confusing” are value statements that are not problematised – easy to understand for *whom*? Confusing for *whom*? In this regard, the chapter appears tokenistic.

The difficulties of racial integration are noted in a number of places throughout the chapters. On page 182 the poem “Where the rainbow ends” addresses the difficulty but also the desirability of racial integration. It notes the challenges of “singing together” but also that “there is no such tune as a black tune / there’s no such tune as a white tune / there’s only music, brother”. In this section students are asked to reflect on “why the process of coming together will not be an easy one”, giving them the opportunity to discuss racism and cultural difference. Similarly, on page 213, a student writes a letter to a court offering her translation services in order that gang members and judges can understand each other, again underlining the difficulties of cross-cultural communication. The extract from “Black Stone” emphasises the difficulties of rural “black” youth integrating into wealthy “white” boarding schools, and the prejudice that rural communities face. It is unclear whether this is a desirable approach to take; discussing the difficulties of racial integration may emphasise differences to students who previously didn’t see difference. However, more promisingly, on page 205, people with names of different ethnic origins (Mr Ngubane, Ms Williams, Mrs Green, and Mr Khan) are able to consult as equal members of an SGB to make positive decisions about their school, thus implying the positive impact of interracial engagement.

The chapter titled “In Praise of Africa” presents a very positive depiction of Africa, and one which may help build students’ pride in their continent and country, rather than looking towards the USA or Europe as examples to emulate. However, the chapter also risks essentialising Africa. It presents an Africa that is full of tradition, for example drums, chiefs, traditional dress, and singing. It does not include much reflection on modern African culture. The only story that is presented in this chapter depicts an old and poor African woman, who is helped by Bessie Head, a mixed-race woman, when the old woman is too hungry to stand. In return for the kindness, the old woman’s family sends Bessie Head a pail of water, the only thing they can afford to give. The story fails to challenge the narrative of Africa as being poor and in need of assistance. At the end of this story, students are asked to reflect on whether people in Africa are kind to one another. This seems like an impossible question to answer, considering the size and diversity of Africa. It encourages students to reduce Africa



to a few narrow experiences. Particularly considering the diversity of South Africa, it is notable that in this chapter there is a lack of emphasis on the diversity within Africa, or of celebrating how many different kinds of identities can be included within one identity.

Finally, throughout the textbook there is a problematic distinction posed between “traditional African” and “modern Western”. This is most notably present on page 181 where students are asked to place words and phrases under the appropriate headings of “traditional African experiences” and “modern Western experiences”. The words “grass hut”, “villagers”, and “course black hair” fall under the “traditional African” category, whereas “dieting”, “mansions”, and “English” are considered “modern Western”. This is hugely worrying, as it implies that Western culture is the future and that African culture is backwards and in the past. It therefore serves to delegitimise the culture of most of the people in South Africa, which may severely undermine social cohesion.

### **8.4.3 Life Orientation**

#### **8.4.3.1 *Content of textbook chapters and justification for inclusion***

The chapter titled “Development of the self in society: Goal-setting skills” focuses on the goals that students set for themselves, and how those goals are affected by lifestyle choices. It discusses the factors that influence students’ lifestyle choices, such as family, the media, the environment, friends and peers, culture, religion, and community. It addresses each of these influences in turn, asking students to reflect on how they are personally affected, particularly with regards to attitudes towards success. There is a strong emphasis placed on not following the crowd, or repeating the mistakes of one’s family or peers. Students are given guidance on good ways of responding to these influences, for example by being assertive of one’s own direction yet respectful of other people’s opinions. In this regard, the chapter aims to help students make well-informed decisions with confidence. The kind of lifestyle choices that are discussed include what kind of job one wants, the kinds of significant relationships one would like to have, and which religion to follow.

This chapter was selected for analysis due to its implications for social cohesion and social justice. It deals broadly with issues of ambition, success, the future, and one’s relationship with family, community, and friends. It therefore has implications for how students see their

role in the world in relation to other people, and how young people's lives are shaped by their social reality. It also has implications for how students evaluate success or failure, and the extent to which they take responsibility for the trajectory of their lives. This understanding is important for social cohesion as it shapes the ways in which students interpret their social surroundings and judge the decisions of others, which in turn influence the extent to which young people feel part of common culture or identity.

The chapter titled "Development of the self in society: Sexual behaviour and sexual health" addresses healthy approaches to sex, sexuality, and relationships more generally. In particular, it focuses on the risk factors leading to unhealthy sexual behaviour, including peer pressure, substance abuse, low self-esteem, prostitution, and gang culture. It discusses the unwanted results of unhealthy sexual behaviour, including teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and emotional scars. Following from this is a section on factors that influence personal behaviour, including family, friends, peers and community norms. Finally, the chapter presents strategies to deal with unhealthy sexual behaviour, and where to find help and support. It suggests specific organisations that students can contact if they require help relating to sex, pregnancy, STIs, etc.

This chapter was selected for analysis as it deals with some of the common problems facing South African society, such as unwanted pregnancy, STIs, rape, violence, and poverty. The ways in which these topics are discussed have implications for social cohesion and social justice. The understanding that students imbue regarding these topics not only impact their sexual behaviour and decision making, but also their attitudes towards women, prostitutes, people with STIs, rape survivors, gangs, violence, and the consequences of their own and others' behaviour, as well as their feelings of safety in society. It will thus influence their interactions with other people, and the way they think about society as a whole.

The chapter titled "Constitutional rights and responsibilities: Citizens' rights and responsibilities" addresses some of the constitutional rights and responsibilities that South African citizens have, and gives special focus to the rights of disabled and HIV-positive people. It furthermore asks students to think about social integration and what we can do to help disabled people feel more socially integrated. The second half of the chapter addresses celebrations of national and international holidays, detailing why each day is celebrated and in doing so providing some background of the struggle against apartheid. For example, the

Sharpeville massacre is discussed in relation to Human Rights Day, and the Soweto riots are discussed in relation to Youth Day. Students are taught that they must become actively involved in nation-building, which is one of the purposes of national holidays. The end of the chapter reminds students of all the people who suffered and gave their lives for our freedom.

This chapter is very important to include in discussions of social cohesion and justice as it aims to educate students about the constitutional equality of all South African citizens and explores some of the issues surrounding the protection of that equality. It also explicitly talks about social integration and nation-building.

### ***Textbook pedagogy***

The pedagogy of these chapters is rather basic. Each chapter is divided into sections. The sections consist of approximately one page of text, interspersed with photographs and pictures, and followed by questions that ask students to reflect on their own opinions and experiences considering what they have read. This helps the student to apply what they are learning to their own lives – to make the content relevant. It also encourages group work within the class as students are asked to discuss the questions with their classmates. It therefore gives students an opportunity to learn about the lives and opinions of their classmates. Invariably these questions direct students towards a certain way of thinking and help to shape their opinions. For example, the question “What do you think would happen to someone who has made negative lifestyle choices in a culture?” prompts students to think about the consequences of their actions, and the question “What would happen to your plans for the future if you became a parent now?” prompts students to think about the ways in which an unplanned pregnancy would disrupt their lives.

The chapter gives examples of different opinions that people hold regarding sex and sexuality, and often presents these opinions in the form of speech bubbles or dialogue between youths. Students’ vocabulary is expanded by boxes at the side of the page, which give the definitions of new words, and “fun facts” relating to the content of the chapter are also presented in separate boxes at the side of the page. Interestingly, the textbook content often refers to research and statistics; for example, “50% of sexually active 15- to 19-year-olds used a condom the last time they had sex”. Statistics such as these are most often used

to demonstrate to students that there is a problem in common attitudes and behaviours surrounding this topic.

### ***Textbook representation***

Overall, there is almost equal representation of black African, white, and coloured people. Indian people are shown less frequently but are still represented. Black people are represented in several roles, including comedians, sportspeople, and clergy. In depictions of “culture”, it is promising to note that both black and white cultures are represented, as well as soccer, which can be culturally important among both black and white communities. While most of the images portray groups of friends from a single race, on a few occasions a mixed-race group is shown socialising together. Black people are represented in a range of socio-economic classes; for example, a black family is shown in a beautiful home using a laptop, and black people are shown to be loving and supportive parents. In the chapter on constitutional rights, several well-dressed black men are credited for their work in ending apartheid. However, black people are also described as single parents who live off social grants.

The diversity of socio-economic statuses is not problematic; however, it is problematic that no white people are represented as poor or working class. Instead, in one instance an image of white people explicitly refers to them as wealthy.

There is also an unequal intersection between race and violence. In discussing unhealthy sexual behaviour, images of black men are represented as being gang members who rape women, or as men who believe that pregnancy is the woman’s fault. Black women are represented as being rape victims or as not remembering sexual interactions due to alcohol abuse. White people are also represented as engaging in unhealthy sexual behaviours; however, their behaviours are never as violent or extreme as rape. Instead, white people are presented as succumbing to peer pressure, or as having unwanted pregnancies.

There is a nearly equal distribution of men and woman in the textbook. Women are presented as being equally as strong and capable as their male counterparts. An image on page 15, for example, shows a strong black woman, albeit in an apron. However, although the textbook mentions that men can also be raped, women are overwhelming presented as the victims of rape and in that regard as vulnerable. Men are more likely to be represented

as promiscuous or as having affairs; in an image on page 23, all the men have multiple sexual partners; however, only two of the women have multiple sexual partners. Notably husbands, but not wives, have multiple sexual partners.

Importantly, there is no representation of homosexuality in this textbook, even in the chapter on sexual behaviour. This is an important omission which leaves homosexual young people ill-informed both about how to protect themselves from STIs, and about how to navigate sexual identity and exploration. In discussions of rape, it furthermore omits any suggestion that rape can happen between men, and thus ignores an important aspect of sexual abuse in South Africa.

Representations of class differ between the chapters. In the chapter on setting life goals, the category of unemployed or vulnerable people is interestingly not mentioned or represented. Rather, words and phrases such as “job that pays well”, “continuing studies after school”, “actors”, “models”, “movie stars”, “successful”, “celebrities”, “sports stars”, “performers”, “earn a good income”, “wealthy people”, “university degree”, and “president” are frequently used. In the chapter on sexual behaviour, however, most people in this unit appear to be working class. Words and phrases such as “poor communities”, “having sex for money”, “therapist”, “receiving baby grant”, “prostitute”, “working long hours”, “healthcare professionals”, “doctors”, “nurses”, “volunteer peer educators”, “part-time job”, “selling hotdogs”, “could not find a job”, and “do not have money” are used.

There is a strong representation of disability and HIV-positive people in the chapter on constitutional rights and responsibilities. The chapter encourages students to challenge stereotypes around those with HIV and to think about ways in which disabled people could be more integrated into mainstream society. It is a pity that disability is not more integrated into the textbook; for example, there are no images of disabled people doing “normal” things in contexts where they are not defined by their disability. While the lack of any images of disability de-personalises the representation, it is promising that disability is given such prominence in this chapter.

### ***Structural content***

The structural content of the chapters has several implications for social cohesion and social justice, some of which are highly problematic. There appears to be a tension in these

chapters between individual agency and structural limitations or empowerment. A strong undertone of the chapters is the ability to make one's own decisions despite one's environment or community, and to respectfully disagree with those who encourage poor lifestyle choices. For example, Chapter 1 states:

"Some people believe that their personal lifestyle choices are determined completely by their environment, but this is not true. For example, if you live in a community in which there are many alcoholics, you do not have to become an alcoholic too. You can make better lifestyle choices for yourself."

It furthermore says:

"You can be happy and fulfil your potential in life by making good lifestyle choices, regardless of your family's socio-economic position."

In another part of the chapter it reads, "Do not believe people who say, 'This is the way we have always done this, and you should not try to do things differently'." In this regard, individuals are encouraged to be assertive, to change their culture, and to do things differently to the ways in which they were done in the past. This is a very empowering message for young people, and it certainly is a good thing that young people are encouraged to aspire to their highest potential, and to overcome the difficulties in their lives.

However, this message can be problematic for three reasons. Firstly, there is an implication in this message that the choices and lifestyle of one's parents and community are not desirable, and therefore they should be changed. Secondly, by emphasising individual agency, it places responsibility on the individual for their successes and failures in life. If through good decision making and assertiveness one can be successful, then the implication is that failure is a result of poor choices and weakness. Thirdly, the chapter does not address the structural reasons why some students are much more likely to fail than others. These structural reasons might have included extreme wealth inequality in South Africa, which means that many students live in situations of deprivation and violence. The chapter does touch upon some of these factors when it says:

"Discerning [...] means that you realise that very few people are lucky enough to be as successful as the people in the media and that it is not realistic to think that you can have the same lifestyle as your heroes in the media. Even if you are very talented, you might never be given the opportunities that your heroes have had."

The use of the word “lucky” in this statement is problematic, since luck implies a success or achievement brought on by chance. It is more likely, however, that those who are successful are those who have come from systems of privilege that are structurally maintained. That some live in extreme wealth while others live in extreme poverty, and that the life chances of many are dependent on their socio-economic situation, is not a matter of chance but rather design. To omit this from a chapter on life chances and goals limits students’ ability to see the injustice at play in their society, and thus to address that injustice. The result of this omission is, as the chapter suggests, a meek and disempowered acknowledgement that even if you are talented, you may not be successful. This is a counternarrative to that of overcoming one’s environment.

Rather than explicitly addressing the issue of how one’s socio-economic status influences one’s life chances, the chapter instead focuses on how one’s socio-economic status influences one’s life ambitions:

“Our socio-economic environment affects the income and social status that we consider appropriate and that we try to reach for ourselves.”

The implication of this is that poor people do not aspire to do as much with their life, or to be as successful, as rich people. The use of the word “appropriate” may even imply that it is appropriate that poor people aspire for low income and social status; indeed, there is nothing to counter this implication. The chapter then goes on to state that “[m]any wealthy people are not happy”, which is accompanied by a photograph of mostly white people. While this is of course true, this statement ignores the physical and psychological harm caused by not having enough wealth, as well as the structural inequalities relating to the way in which wealth is currently distributed. It seems to imply that since wealth does not necessarily make you happy, it is acceptable that wealth is so unequally distributed.

Although the textbook encourages young people to define success for themselves and to eschew family or peer pressure when making important life decisions, it also presents a very normative and middle-class understanding of what success means. For example, it says “even if nobody in your family has a university degree, you might be able to get a bursary to study and be successful”, and implicitly discourages young parenthood. Once again, these suggestions are not implicitly problematic; however, it is problematic that success markers such as university degrees are much more available to white students than they are to black

students. There is a risk of establishing a hierarchy, in which what white people do becomes a marker of success.

The structure of the way the content is presented, particularly around sexual behaviour, provides a weak narrative regarding desired behaviour. For example, on page 19, several young people express problematic views regarding sexuality. Chad says that in his gang they rape women; Dale thinks that sex is the way women show a man they love him; and Mandy can't remember the first time she had sex because she was too drunk. The chapter goes on to explain why these decisions are being made; for example, "Chad is engaging in unhealthy sexual activities because it is part of the gang culture". That this is a criminal offence is not made very explicit. Rather, this behaviour is presented as common and understandable. For example, in the section on rape, it is described as a "shocking violation"; however, the textbook also says that

"[i]t is a way that teenage boys can show off to their peers. Gangs record the rape on their cell phones so that they can show their friends and earn their respect".

It is highly problematic that the textbook, through a failure to explicitly challenge these norms, appears to validate them.

Discussions around violence, particularly sexual violence, emphasise the situation of the female survivor and less of the male perpetrator, giving the impression that rape is a female problem with little consequences for the man. For example, the effects of rape on physical and emotional wellbeing are described, and female survivors are encouraged to seek help and to not think of it as their fault. However, the textbook omits to encourage survivors to report the rape to the police, and it fails to mention that perpetrators of rape should go to prison. In this way, the textbook gives the impression that rape is an environmental hazard in South Africa, rather than a heinous crime that an individual chooses to commit. There is furthermore a danger that the heavy use of statistics documenting the frequency of unhealthy sexual behaviour in South Africa serves to emphasise that this behaviour is normal.

An image on page 23 shows the different sexual relationships that a group of people have with one another, to illustrate how STIs spread. Two of the men in this image are having sex with multiple partners, including a prostitute, despite having wives. None of the married women are having sex with other men. The infidelity is not discussed in this chapter as being



problematic, and thus the image implies that men's infidelity is normal. This serves to reinforce gender normativity around promiscuity.

The chapter on constitutional rights and responsibilities explicitly addresses the need to show respect for other South Africans, which can be achieved by obeying laws, being kind and fair, and standing up for the rights of others. The rights that are mentioned include the right to life and dignity, and to not be treated in an inhumane way. The inclusion of these rights and responsibilities is important for social cohesion; however, the chapter fails to adequately address what they mean. For example, the right to dignity may or may not include the right to live in a brick building rather than one made from corrugated iron. By not addressing human rights in any detail, students do not learn how human rights in South Africa are, or are not, upheld. Furthermore, there is emphasis on showing respect for *South Africans*. Considering recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, it might have been helpful to make explicit the universal nature of these rights. In this sense, the chapter sacrifices a broader conception of humanity for the purposes of nation-building.

The inclusion of the Marikana massacre and its comparison to the Sharpeville massacre is an exciting aspect of this chapter which encourages students to think about some of the problems that South Africa faces in regards to human rights, and how those problems in some ways relate to the apartheid era. The follow-up question that asks students to think about human rights now compared to 1960 encourages students to think about human rights from a historical perspective, which is important in fully contextualising issues of social justice in South Africa today.

## **8.5 CONCLUSION**

The analysis of nine chapters from three textbooks raises both interesting and problematic issues regarding social justice and social cohesion in South Africa.

With regard to pedagogy, the textbooks are highly structured, but they do offer space for discussion, group work, and research activities. In this regard, they are not equal, with the English textbook encouraging more creativity and reflection than Life Orientation. Furthermore, many of the questions, particularly in the History textbook, require that students imagine themselves in the shoes of others. The ability to empathise, particularly with those different from oneself, as well as the direction to work in groups respectful of the

diversity of opinion, are important skills for the promotion of social cohesion. It equips students with the social etiquette and disposition to get on well with others.

The extent of the representation of black people and women is furthermore admirable, and contributes to the idea of a “Rainbow Nation”. For the most part, black people and women are represented in a variety of roles, thus accustoming students to think outside of narrow racial or gender stereotypes. The History and English textbooks have made efforts in this regard, giving special attention to stories and biographies about black men and women. It is unfortunate that “coloured” and “Indian” people are so absent from the textbooks, most notably in the History textbook. It is also deeply concerning that there is no representation of homosexuality in any of the textbook chapters.

However, perhaps the most concerning aspect of the textbooks is the lack of direct discussion regarding social justice, despite it being a feature of many of the topics touched upon in the textbooks. This can perhaps most clearly be observed in discussions of white people, colonialism, inequality of opportunity, and crime. For example, although black people and women are presented in a diversity of ways, white people and white men in particular are always presented as powerful, wealthy, and childless. In none of the nine chapters are white people represented as poor. Furthermore, the support of ordinary white South Africans for the apartheid regime is never discussed. Students are never required to consider how the majority of white people only a generation older than they could allow such violation of human dignity. This is a problem for social cohesion; the textbooks imply that it is the natural order of things for white people to be wealthy, and that ordinary white South Africans have no responsibility for apartheid.

Similarly, issues of social justice are not explicitly discussed in the topics of colonialism, opportunity, or crime. For example, colonialism is discussed in purely economic terms, with no reference to human suffering, loss of dignity, or lasting social and cultural damage. In a section detailing students’ future opportunities, some people are referred to as “lucky”, with no reference to the structural inequalities that mean that white people have better life chances than black people; instead the discussion on opportunity is neo-liberal and individualised.

Finally, crimes, and in particular rape, are spoken about as though they were an environmental hazard. There is no discussion of why the crime rate in South Africa is among

the highest in the world, the relationship of crime to poverty, or the sexism that underlies specific forms of violence. Neither is there any discussion of justice for the victims of violence; rape survivors, rather than report the crime to the police, are advised to seek help from friends and go for therapy. The legal consequences of rape are omitted.

The analysis of the textbooks would suggest that they are relatively good at encouraging students to develop friendships, learn about other cultures, to think of racism as wrong, and to empathise with those different from themselves. This, on a superficial level, is important for social cohesion. However, the textbooks fail to address the deeper issues of social justice; the lasting effects of colonialism, the lasting effects of apartheid, why some people are so poor and others are so rich, the effects of poverty, why some people are more likely to be victims of crime, or contemporary racial/gender discrimination – to name but a few. This leaves students insufficiently enabled to understand the society they live in, and to take responsibility for changing it. The lack of content regarding social justice and structural injustices is likely to contribute to a generation of young people who believe that their position in South African society is a result of their personal successes or failures.

## **8.6 RECOMMENDATIONS**

Social cohesion is deemed to exist in the curriculum via progressive course content and materials, the promotion of critical and democratic pedagogies that maximise learning and attainment, and the offering of materials that give teachers and learners dignity in the classroom, and encourage skills, values, and behaviours conducive to a socially just society. This must be strengthened, made explicit, and promoted as central to the notion of delivering high-quality education that can prepare learners for engaging with the deep complexities of a post-conflict yet still violent (structurally and objectively) post-apartheid society.

The national curriculum must reflect the highly unequal contexts in which learning takes place. This means that the national curriculum needs to operate with legitimacy in different spaces at all times, while not being averse to presenting learning content to students that may be contentious, but vital if the next generation of adults are to encounter the complexity of the knowledge they will require in order to function as progressives in a structurally and systemically unequal world.

Textbooks must be rewritten to undo the (perhaps unintended) uncritical, normative portrayal of stereotypes and assumptions about different historical “race” groups, genders, socio-economic classes, cultures, sexual orientations, and faiths.

Textbooks must be urgently (re-)written so that learners are presented with the conceptual and practical tools with which to tackle the prevalence of the social, economic, and symbolic inequalities that persist in contemporary South Africa.

Processes must be established for large numbers of teachers to be involved in social cohesion content choices. This is especially crucial for teachers in impoverished areas (urban townships and poor rural schools), as their context-sensitive content choices have very rarely been represented in textbooks.

Textbooks must actively disrupt assumptions about race, class, gender, religion, language, culture, and geography in South Africa, and invite learners to question their own experiences and positionalities.

Finally, and most critically, a targeted textbook review process must be established immediately, tasked to deal with the vast range of challenges outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 9 addresses the following question: “What is the pedagogy of teachers in the classrooms and the strategies they use in developing peacebuilding skills, and attitudes for reducing conflict, both between boys and between girls and boys?” The chapter investigates teacher agency in terms of their classroom pedagogical approaches, as well as their engagements with a series of complex iterations of self, including their professional, gendered, spatial, and class notions of selfhood. The interplay of these subjectivities, as well as teachers’ engagements with teacher colleagues, school leadership, SGB relationships, and interactions with the curriculum, textbooks, education district officials, and national education policies, are analysed. The chapter draws on extensive fieldwork conducted in urban and rural schools in two provinces in South Africa: firstly, the Western Cape, acknowledged to be relatively well developed; and secondly, the Eastern Cape, which is the province in South Africa with the largest school infrastructure backlog in the country, and critical challenges of vast distances between towns and deep rural villages.

## Chapter 9 - Teacher Agency and Social Cohesion in Schools

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### 9.1 INTRODUCTION

The main research question of the overall study is: “To what extent does education peacebuilding interventions in post-conflict countries promote teacher agency and capacity to build peace and reduce inequalities?” To respond to this question, this chapter focuses on Research Question 6, which asks: “What are the pedagogies of teachers in the classrooms and the strategies they use in developing peacebuilding skills, and attitudes for reducing conflict, both between boys and between girls and boys?” It asserts that as teachers are key determinants of education quality (Mourshed *et al.*, 2010; Sayed, Tate, Alhawaswi & Mwale, 2012) and play a key role in nation-building, identity construction, and peace and reconciliation (Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Smith *et al.*, 2011), greater attention needs to be given to what they do, and with what learning resources, that shape what children and young people learn. These influence student identities in crucial ways, as well as providing them with skills for employment and peacebuilding (Barrett, 2007). Teacher agency “in developing values of mutual respect and tolerance” is especially important in “a postwar context characterised by persisting division and mistrust” (Davies, 2011:47), such as is seen in South Africa.

The chapter focuses on the role of teachers (in non-binary ways) as both potential agents of social cohesion in post-conflict societies, and as potential agents of enduring conflict; providing an analysis of how curricula, syllabi, textbooks, and other learning resources are used in the classroom to promote social cohesion.

Given that meaning is not fixed but produced by the interaction between the way text is used by teachers and how students mediate with it (De Castell, Luke & Luke, 1989; Apple, 1993), the chapter further examines whether or not materials developed for social cohesion are finding their way into the classroom, and how they are being used. For this, it centres on data collected in surveys completed by teachers; asking questions which include teachers’ views on teaching strategies that promote social cohesion, questions around student-student/student-teacher interactions, how textbooks are used to promote social cohesion, and questions around gender equity as a key indicator of social cohesion. This enables an examination of how social cohesion practices are enacted by teachers in their classrooms

and schools. The survey data are complemented by in-depth individual interviews with teachers. These interviews explored teachers' perceptions and experience of the ways they exercise agency as agents of social cohesion within their classrooms and communities, and mitigate gender, ethnic, and social inequalities and exclusions.

Additionally, the factors that constrain teachers in exercising this agency are also explored. The chapter explores teachers' understanding and implementation of social cohesion education lessons learned during their ITE phase, and how attitudes and skills developed in their initial teacher training are transferred into schools. Focus group discussions with selected groups of students were used to examine their experiences of teacher pedagogy and textbooks, and the extent to which teacher practices have influenced their attitudes towards social conflict and enduring conflict.

## **9.2 KEY CONCEPTS AND THEORIES USED IN THE CHAPTER**

### **9.2.1 Concepts**

Three key concepts are operationalised in this chapter. Firstly, the report defines teachers as those individuals in schools or learning sites who "are responsible for the education of children or young people in primary, lower-secondary, and upper-secondary education" (UNESCO/ILO, 2008).

Secondly, teacher "agency" is understood as when teachers act as agents of change in the classroom by promoting harmony between pupils (which includes respect, justice, and inclusiveness), or as agents of conflict in the way they use pedagogy and curricula to perpetuate inequity and conflict between opposing ethnic, religious, or socio-economic groups. One teacher can of course play out both roles simultaneously in different moments and contexts, given that they do not exercise their peacebuilding agency in isolation from their surroundings – their agency both influences their surroundings and is influenced by it (O'Sullivan, 2002; Vongalis-Macrow, 2007; Weldon, 2010; Welmond, 2002; Lopes Cardozo, 2011; Lopes Cardozo & May, 2009).

Thirdly, social cohesion is approached as a societal rather than individual property and is focused on the promotion of positive relationships, trust, solidarity, inclusion, collectivity, and common purpose. Social cohesion refers not only to individual or communal attitudes

and relations (horizontal dimensions), but also involves structural aspects of governance (vertical dimensions) that affect connections between communities or civil society and the state (Colletta & Cullen, 2000; Friedkin, 2004). For the chapter, the working definition of social cohesion is derived from the South African DAC, which defines social cohesion as:

“the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities. In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability, or any other distinctions which engender divisions, distrust, and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner – this with community members and citizens as active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all” (DAC, n.d.).

This definition of social cohesion is problematic; it is addressed again in Chapter 10, where it is argued that there is a need for a more focused, education-centred definition of social cohesion.

### **9.2.2 Analytical approach**

The framework used in this study develops an analytical and normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education, and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (see Novelli, Lopes Cardozo & Smith, 2015). The framework combines four dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation; linking Fraser’s (1995; 2005) work on social justice with the peacebuilding and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995), and others to explore what sustainable peace and development might look like in post-conflict environments. This approach has many parallels with UNICEF’s equity approach (see Epstein, 2010), which emphasises inclusion, relevance, and participation – concepts that overlap with redistribution, recognition, and representation respectively, whilst adding reconciliation, which is vital in conflict-affected contexts. The framework serves as a useful analytical tool to analyse the extent to which education can support cross-sectorial programming for conflict transformation in terms of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation, as well as in the education sector.

### 9.3 A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY APPROACH TO SOCIAL COHESION

This chapter takes as its point of departure the coming into being of the post-apartheid state in 1994. The democratic state moved rapidly to dismantle elements of the apartheid symbolic order, with education receiving prioritised attention in that regard. Sayed (2008:3) indicates that this post-1994 period saw the democratic state “dismantling the previous segregated education racial order as well as comprehensively revising the entire education policy environment at all levels”. This slew of legislation was aimed at providing for “the redress of past inequalities and the provision of equitable, high quality and relevant education” in the post-apartheid era (Mestry & Ndhlovu, 2014:1).

Social cohesion was framed as a key element through which legacy and existing inequalities could be reduced. The *NDP 2030* (NPC, 2013) locates social cohesion within the ambit of “key supporting mechanisms” (Sayed, Badroodien, Salmon & McDonald, 2016:55) in relation to economic growth. Alongside the NDP, the *MTSF of 2014-2019* (DPME, 2014) is the more current macro-framing mechanism that attempts to harness the potential role of social cohesion in reshaping the contours of inequality in post-apartheid South Africa:

“The NDP’s vision for 2030 is that South Africans should have access to training and education of the highest quality, characterised by significantly improved learning outcomes. Education then becomes an important instrument in equalising individuals’ life chances, ensuring economic mobility and success and advancing our key goals of economic growth, employment creation, poverty eradication and the reduction in inequality” (DPME, 2014:16).

Sayed, Badroodien, Salmon and McDonald (2016:56) point out that the DBE has been historically tasked with “enacting this approach to social cohesion”, playing “a key role in debates about social cohesion [...] in the Directorate for Race and Values within [the] DBE”, which was “re-established in 2011 as the Directorate for Social Cohesion and Equity in Education with a much broader position on the intersections between race, class, and gender, with the aim to overcome social exclusion” (Sayed *et al.*, 2016:56).

The DBE’s primary role in giving effect to the social cohesion mandate of the post-apartheid state places education at the centre of engaging inequality. Furthermore, education, and by extension, teachers, are tasked with engaging the legacy inequalities that persist in the new democratic order. Teachers, in the post-apartheid South African classrooms and schools,



therefore, are tasked with ensuring “that notions of diversity are tied together within a single narrative of unity and togetherness [...] and how they teach is a crucial part of the promotion of social cohesion in the classroom” (Sayed *et al.*, 2016: 57).

Notably, however, within the range of ministries in South Africa it is the DAC’s definition of social cohesion that is mainly followed. This raises a number of challenges for how social cohesion initiatives are best embedded within systems in South Africa.

## **9.4 METHODOLOGY**

### **9.4.1 Research sites and school selection criteria**

In South Africa, we selected schools in two provinces which fitted the three types of sites in which we located our research project, namely (i) the capital city, which is a melting pot of all ethnic, socio-political, and economic groups; (ii) a rural; and (iii) an urban location. The Western Cape was selected as the site-selection criteria were present in this province, and it provided relatively easy access to these sites, as the principal research centre (CITE, housed at the CPUT Mowbray Campus) is located in the Western Cape. The Eastern Cape was selected because it is the second poorest province of the nine South African provinces. While it is the second poorest province, there is a wealthy white and Indian community; thus, patterns of wealth and poverty co-exist in this province. In the Eastern Cape, the schools were selected from two contrasting local municipalities. The three research sites offer useful comparison as inequalities in the provision of resources, including access to education, between country capitals and the regions, and between rural and urban conurbations are closely identified with conflict. This allows for in-case and cross-case evaluation of the different dimensions of the school sites in South Africa. The final selection of the sites was submitted to and authorised by the two PEDs in which the identified schools are located, namely the WCED and the ECDOE.

Table 42 shows that nine schools were selected, within four key research differentials, namely (i) province; (ii) rural-urban; (iii) relative wealth and poverty (Q1 = poorest area, and Q5 = wealthiest area); and (iv) gender (both sexes had to be equitably represented across all the chosen sites). Table 42 shows that six schools were chosen in the Western Cape, with two schools located in rural areas, and two schools situated in areas designated as the

“poorest” (Q1). In the Eastern Cape, three schools were chosen, with two schools located in remote rural areas designated and characterised by extreme poverty (Q1), and one urban school, which fulfilled the criteria of a school located in a “wealthiest” (Q5) area. The choices of the Eastern Cape rural schools were further nuanced by selecting one rural school that had previously operated under the auspices of the former Ciskei Bantustan, and one rural school that had been established in the era of the post-apartheid state. This allowed a further level of analysis between what could otherwise be deemed to be homogenous sites in terms of their rurality and provincial location. It is worth noting that initial contact with all schools in the Western Cape was easily facilitated via email and telephone. Initial contact with the two rural Eastern Cape schools proved to be extremely challenging, with no telephone, fax, or email access possible, as no infrastructure for these facilities existed at either site. Our two-person Eastern Cape research team drove to the two chosen sites, and made physical contact with the sites, during which access was negotiated and agreed upon. The urban (Q5) school was easily contactable via modern communication means, in keeping with the general experience in the Western Cape.

**Table 42: The purposive sampling criteria for the nine schools chosen for the school case studies**

THE RESEARCH SITES									
WESTERN CAPE					EASTERN CAPE				
<i>Number of schools</i>	<i>No. of Quintile 5 schools</i>	<i>No. of Quintile 1 schools</i>	<i>No. of Urban schools</i>	<i>No. of Rural schools</i>	<i>Number of schools</i>	<i>No. of Quintile 5 schools</i>	<i>No. of Quintile 1 schools</i>	<i>No. of Urban schools</i>	<i>No. of Rural schools</i>
<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

Source: CITE (2016)

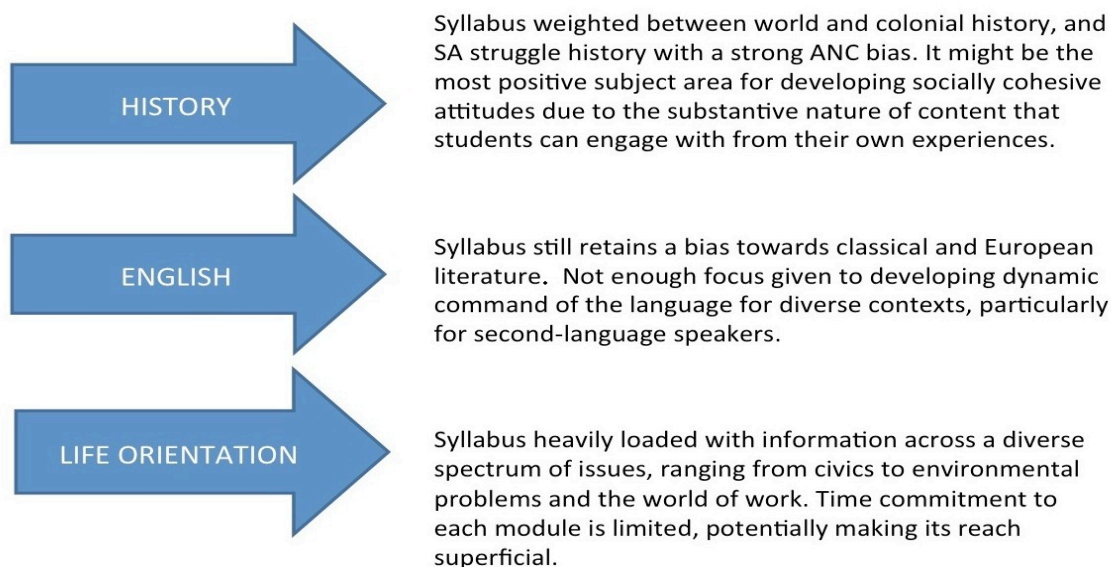
#### 9.4.2 Data used in the study

The study utilised both quantitative and qualitative data, drawing on a range of sources. Table 42 shows the range and extent of the data collected for the South African school case studies. A total of 102 teachers in Grades 8 and 9 at the nine schools completed and returned questionnaires. The Grade 8 and 9 teachers taught one or more of the following three learning areas: Life Orientation, History (one part of the Social Sciences learning area), and English Home Language. The three learning areas were chosen because these learning

areas hold the explicit potential as “carriers” of social cohesion content. Of these three learning areas, Life Orientation is regarded as the “carrier” of social cohesion content (See Figure 9).

**Figure 9: The three learning-area choices**

## THE THREE LEARNING-AREA CHOICES



*Source: CITE (2016)*

Thirty-six (36) semi-structured interviews were conducted with Grade 8 and 9 teachers of the three selected learning areas. In addition, the principal-teachers at each of the nine schools were interviewed, as were six senior executive parent members of the SGBs at the nine schools. Due to logistical issues at the two rural schools in the Eastern Cape, the interviews with the SGB members could not be completed, although the research team had informal contacts with parents at both of these rural schools.

Given that the overall aim of the study is to better understand teachers’ views of their social cohesion-related ITE, their social cohesion-based classroom practices, and their ideas around social cohesion-related continuing professional development programmes, it is important to note that learners were also surveyed and interviewed with regard to their experiences of teacher pedagogical practices, as well as their ideas around critical issues such as forms of violence, particularly gender-inflected experiences of violence, and their experiences of related social cohesion issues playing out in their broader communities, their schools, and their classrooms. A total of 2016 Grade 8 and 9 learners at the nine schools

returned completed questionnaires. Focus group interviews were conducted with Grade 8 and 9 learners at the nine schools, with focus groups consisting of between six and ten persons per focus group.

**Table 43: The scope of data collected for the South African schools case study**

INSTRUMENT	WESTERN CAPE SCHOOLS						EASTERN CAPE SCHOOLS			EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS		TOTAL INSTRUMENTS COLLECTED
	SCHOOL 1	SCHOOL 2	SCHOOL 3	SCHOOL 4	SCHOOL 5	SCHOOL 6	SCHOOL 7	SCHOOL 8	SCHOOL 9	WCED	ECDOE	
Learner Questionnaire	338	614	151	233	229	235	12	79	125			2016
Teacher Questionnaire	14	12	14	14	13	8	7	5	15			102
Teacher SSI	3	5	6	4	4	2	3	4	5			36
Principal SSI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			9
SGB SSI	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1			6
Policy SSI										0	1	1
Learner Focus Group	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2			18

Source: CITE (2016)

#### 9.4.3 Teacher, learner, and school demographics drawn from the quantitative data

The tables that follow provide an overview of the data collected in the nine schools. Tables 44 and 45 show the spread of teachers per school site, as well as the rural-urban and quintile status of the sites. Schools 1 to 6 are located in the Western Cape, and Schools 7 to 9 are in the Eastern Cape.

**Table 44: Number of teachers per school who returned completed teacher questionnaires**

School No.	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
001	14	13.7	13.7	13.7
002	12	11.8	11.8	25.5
003	14	13.7	13.7	39.2
004	14	13.7	13.7	52.9
005	13	12.7	12.7	65.7
006	8	7.8	7.8	73.5
007	7	6.9	6.9	80.4
008	5	4.9	4.9	85.3
009	15	14.7	14.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	102	100.0	100.0	-

Source: CITE (2016)

**Table 45: School characteristics, based on schools' selection criteria**

School number	Province	Urban/Rural	Quintile
001	Western Cape	Urban	5
002	Western Cape	Urban	1
003	Western Cape	Urban	1
004	Western Cape	Urban	5
005	Western Cape	Rural	5
006	Western Cape	Rural	1
007	Eastern Cape	Rural	1
008	Eastern Cape	Rural	1
009	Eastern Cape	Urban	5

Source: CITE (2016)

The provincial teacher numbers shown in Table 46 indicate that just under 75% of the teacher cohort in the study are based in Western Cape schools (75 out of 102 teachers), while slightly more than 25% of the teachers are based in Eastern Cape schools.

**Table 46: Number of teachers per province**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
WC	75	73.5	73.5	73.5
EC	27	26.5	26.5	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)

Teachers in the study were located in urban and rural areas (see Table 47) in roughly a 70:30 urban-rural ratio, with 70 teachers in urban schools across the Western and Eastern Cape, and 32 teachers in rural schools across the Western and Eastern Cape.

**Table 47: Number of teachers in urban and rural schools**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Urban school	70	68.6	68.6	68.6
Rural school	32	31.4	31.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)

Table 48 indicates that 45% of teachers in the study taught in Q1 schools across the Western Cape and Eastern Cape, with 55% teaching in Q5 schools across the two provinces in which the study was located.

**Table 48: Number of teachers in Q1 (poor community) and Q5 (wealthy community) schools**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Q1	46	45.1	45.1	45.1
Q5	56	54.9	54.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)

Table 49 is a composite table, showing the sex and identified race of teachers across three categories, namely (i) province; (ii) urban/rural sites; and (iii) quintile.

**Table 49: Sex and identified race of teachers across province, urban-rural, and quintile school sites**

Item		Province		Urban/Rural		Quintile	
		WC	EC	Urban school	Rural school	Q1	Q5
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Sex	Male	23	6	22	7	15	14
	Female	50	20	48	22	28	42
Race	Black African	21	12	22	11	30	3
	Coloured	20	1	14	7	10	11
	Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0
	White	21	9	21	9	1	29
	I choose not to say	6	3	8	1	1	8
	No response	5	1	3	3	3	3

Source: CITE (2016)

Across the nine schools in this study, female teachers significantly outnumbered their male counterparts in every dimension of analytic differentiation brought to the study; i.e. province, urban/rural, and quintile. Female teachers made up the following percentages of

the total teacher cohort in the analytic categories used in this study: Western Cape: 68%; Eastern Cape: 77%; urban schools: 69%; rural schools: 76%; Q1 schools: 65%; and Q5 schools: 75%.

Learner numbers across the nine schools were as follows (as indicated in Table 50): 1 800 learners, or 89% of the total number of learners surveyed in the study, were at schools in the Western Cape, while 11% of the learners surveyed were in the three Eastern Cape schools. Of the surveyed learners, 1 461, or 72%, were in urban schools across the two provinces, with 28% of the learners in rural schools across the Western Cape and Eastern Cape. Fifty-four percent (54%) of the learners surveyed for the study were in Q1 schools across the Western Cape and Eastern Cape, with 46% of the learner cohort in Q5 schools across the two provinces.

**Table 50: Learner numbers across province, urban/rural, and quintile categories**

Variable		Count
Province	WC	1800
	EC	216
Urban/Rural	Urban school	1461
	Rural school	555
Quintile	Q1	1091
	Q5	925

*Source: CITE (2016)*

Table 51 displays the numbers of learners in relation to (i) sex and (ii) race at the nine schools in the study. The figures for the two rural Eastern Cape schools are of particular significance with regard to learner numbers. School 007, for example, was listed on the Eastern Cape Education Management Information System (EMIS) as a secondary school. As indicated earlier, no telephone or other contact with the two rural schools in the Eastern Cape was possible from Cape Town, and our research team found on arrival at the school that the school had lost its FET learner cohort, and was now a “combined” school, offering classes from Grade 1 to Grade 9. School 007 had been established as a post-1994 school. In other words, the school had not been part of the Ciskei homeland/Bantustan during the apartheid era, yet it was hemorrhaging learners to such an extent that we subsequently learned that the school was to lose its Grade 8 and 9 classes from 2017, and would be reclassified as a primary school. The low learner enrolments in both Grades 8 and 9 at

School 007 speak to an ongoing trend in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape in which schools are closed and learners and teachers are moved to schools which are relatively close by.

**Table 51: Sex and identified race of learners**

Answers		School number								
		001	002	003	004	005	006	007	008	009
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Sex	Male	136	229	72	99	92	106	6	55	0
	Female	200	373	76	131	136	127	6	23	125
Race	Black	47	564	141	45	14	1	12	73	63
	Coloured	242	16	1	49	97	192	0	1	23
	Indian	12	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0
	White	6	6	2	106	92	16	0	1	10
	I choose not to say	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	1	18
	No response	31	27	7	31	23	12	0	3	11

Source: CITE (2016)

Table 52 shows that 48% of learners chose to self-identify as black, 31% as coloured, 12% as white, less than 1% as Indian; and close to 2% of the learner cohort choosing not to indicate their race or not responding.

**Table 52: Learners' self-identified race categories**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Black	960	47.6	47.6	47.6
Coloured	621	30.8	30.8	78.4
Indian	18	0.9	0.9	79.3
White	239	11.9	11.9	91.2
I choose not to say	33	1.6	1.6	92.8
No response	145	7.2	7.2	100.0
Total	<b>2016</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)



#### **9.4.4 Data analysis**

##### **9.4.4.1 Quantitative data**

Quantitative data were collected at the six schools in the Western Cape during the period February 2016 to August 2016, while the quantitative data were collected at the three Eastern Cape schools between May 2016 and June 2016. Surveyed data were entered onto IBM-SPSS computer-based software, by which the various datasets (tables and graphs) used in this chapter were generated.

##### **9.4.4.2 Qualitative data**

Interview data were transcribed, and initial analysis was facilitated with the use of the computer-based software package QSR NVivo. Initial codes were constructed directly from the semi-structured interview schedules, with additional codes emerging *in vivo* as the need for different categories arose. These coded data segments were further analysed in order to further refine and reduce the vast qualitative dataset. This two-stage computer-based analysis provided the opportunity for an initial understanding of the issues raised by the various categories of respondents of the study, and these are now taken forward in the extensive Findings section of this chapter.

### **9.5 FINDINGS**

#### **9.5.1 Teachers' understanding of social cohesion**

The concept "social cohesion" was understood in non-uniform ways across the nine schools that made up the sample in this chapter. Nearly all participants spoke with a measure of uncertainty about their understanding of social cohesion. In general, teachers' responses could be characterised as common-sense understanding, rather than focused, education-centred understanding. In Schools 002 and 003, one teacher each indicated that they were unable to define social cohesion. The first teacher attempted the definition in the following way: "[L]et's say, we need to try to strengthen the education, as well as the way in which our

*education can be improved, and so forth*” (Interview with SC\_002\_T\_SSI\_2, 2016)<sup>32</sup>. It was followed immediately by *“I’m not sure whether I’m saying the right thing”* (Interview with SC\_002\_T\_SSI\_2, 2016). At School 003, a teacher indicated the term “social cohesion” had never been clear to her/him: *“I’ve never had such a clear definition of it”* (Interview with SC\_003\_T\_SSI\_2, 2016).

In contrast to this non-clarity on the part of certain teachers interviewed, other requests for definitions of social cohesion generated detailed lists of concepts that teachers included in their definitions, for example:

*“What it means to me? Promoting equality for people of all walks of life: racially; gender; sexuality; people with mental [...] [and/or] physical disabilities; providing an environment that enables all kinds of people to access things on an equal level. I suppose that is what I understand by it [social cohesion]”* (Interview with SC\_004\_T\_SSI\_1, 2016).

Even this teacher, with her/his broad conceptual range of items that could constitute a definition of social cohesion, followed up this list with *“Is that right?”*, as if seeking assurance that his/her definition was accurate and/or acceptable. This is problematic from an autonomy perspective, as it indicates uncertainty regarding the core concept of social cohesion, and suggests that this conceptual uncertainty may be carried over to an uncertainty around pedagogical approaches that underpin a social cohesion teaching perspective. Aside from definitions that integrated a series of different concepts, other definitions proffered by teachers focused on specific dimensions of social cohesion as they saw it relating to their schools and classrooms:

*“The schools are incredibly... Look. We have a fund for children who really are needy, and they can access funds out of that kitty if their parents come and talk to us. Then we’ll help them with school books and uniforms. This is a very private arrangement and few people even know about it. Here in town... wow... here it’s... it’s not going well. There are so many little kids who really suffer and who don’t have money, or their parents can’t afford everything... our fund isn’t exactly the way out... absolute equality is what’s really needed, and it’s so frustrating because it’s parents, you know, can afford everything who don’t pay. That’s the other side”* (Interview with SC\_005\_T\_SSI\_1, 2016: translated from Afrikaans).

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<sup>32</sup> The citation explanation is as follows: SC = school; 002 = school number; T = Teacher; SSI = semi-structured interview; 1 = number of the interview. This convention is carried through this chapter, with L = Learner; FG = Focus Group; P = Principal, and SGB = School Governing Body member.

The extract above was a teacher’s direct response to “What do you understand by the term ‘social cohesion’?” It is noteworthy that this teacher focused on an extended reference to the context of poverty in relation to his/her definition of social cohesion, speaking directly to the community context in which the school is situated. This situationally inflected definition of social cohesion is markedly different from those definitions that were conceptually broader, and alerts us to the importance of context in this report. Further, this definition exemplifies a key issue: teachers are wholly disparate in their attempts at defining social cohesion, and the implications for their implementing a repertoire of social cohesion pedagogies must therefore be approached with caution (both in this chapter, as will be shown, and by policymakers).

The quantitative data illuminate aspects of teachers’ understanding of social cohesion. Table 53 indicates that across the nine schools, the majority of the teachers ranked as most important the idea that “reducing poverty and inequality” was the major component in an array of measures needed to build social cohesion in their schools and communities. It is useful to sharpen the analysis here by investigating how teachers across the four main project differentiators (province, urban/rural, quintile, and gender) ranked “reducing poverty and inequality”. The four graphs that follow after Table 53 represent each of these four markers.

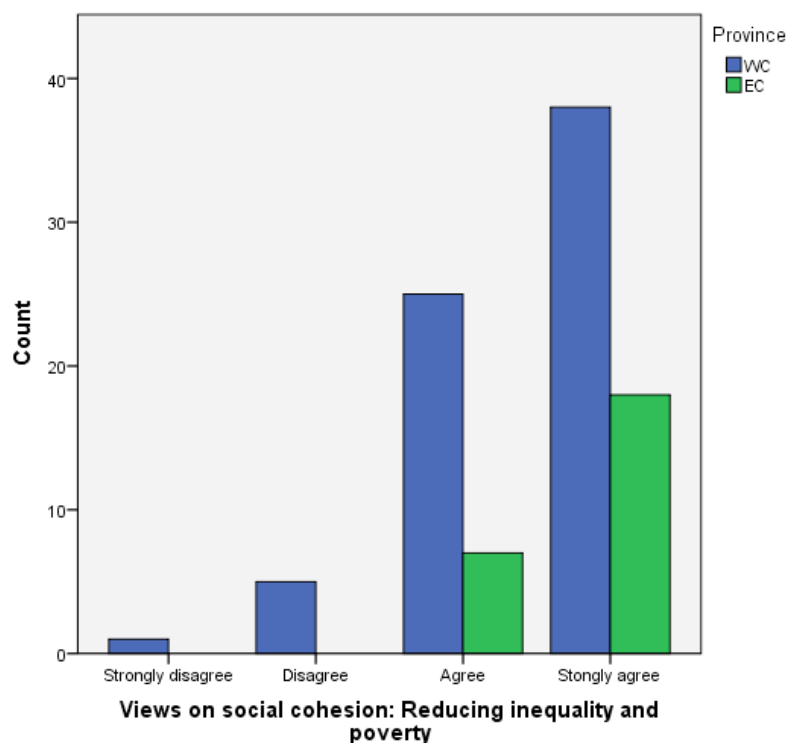
**Table 53: Teachers’ views of the most important understanding of social cohesion needed to build a classroom and school centred around social cohesion principles**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Mutual solidarity amongst individuals and communities	3	2.9	2.9	11.8
Listening to and understanding people’s ideas even if one disagrees	9	8.8	8.8	20.6
Accepting people who are from a different background	5	4.9	4.9	25.5
Learning about what happened in the past and how it affects how we live in South Africa today	2	2.0	2.0	27.5
Reducing inequality and poverty	20	19.6	19.6	47.1
Securing decent work for all	6	5.9	5.9	52.9

Answers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Reducing crime and violence	9	8.8	8.8	61.8
Tolerance for diversity	6	5.9	5.9	67.6
Eradicating all forms of discrimination based on race, gender, class, religion, nationality, and sexual orientation	7	6.9	6.9	74.5
Being a good citizen	3	2.9	2.9	77.5

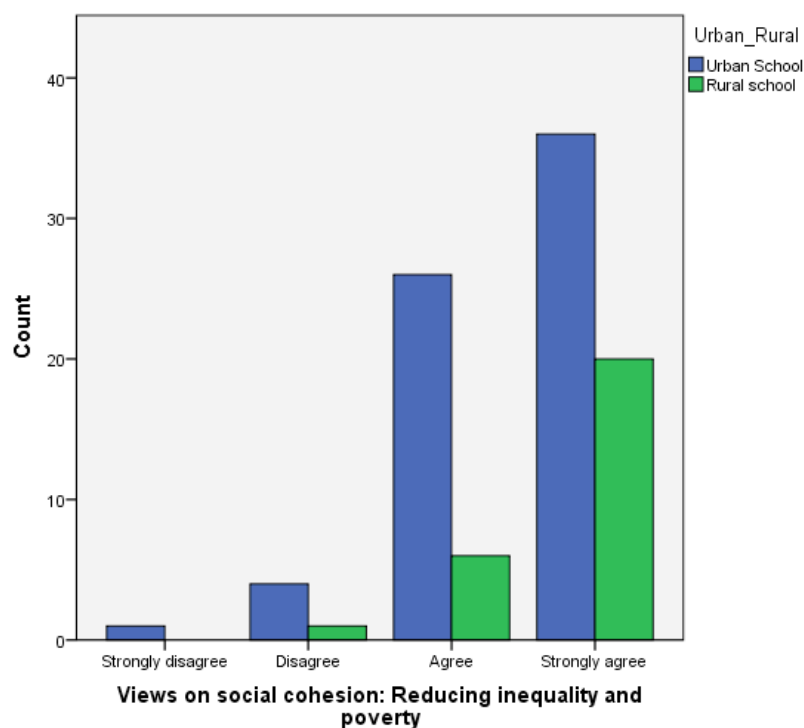
Source: CITE (2016)

**Figure 10: “Reducing inequality and poverty” as a key marker of social cohesion – Teachers' views in the Western and Eastern Cape**



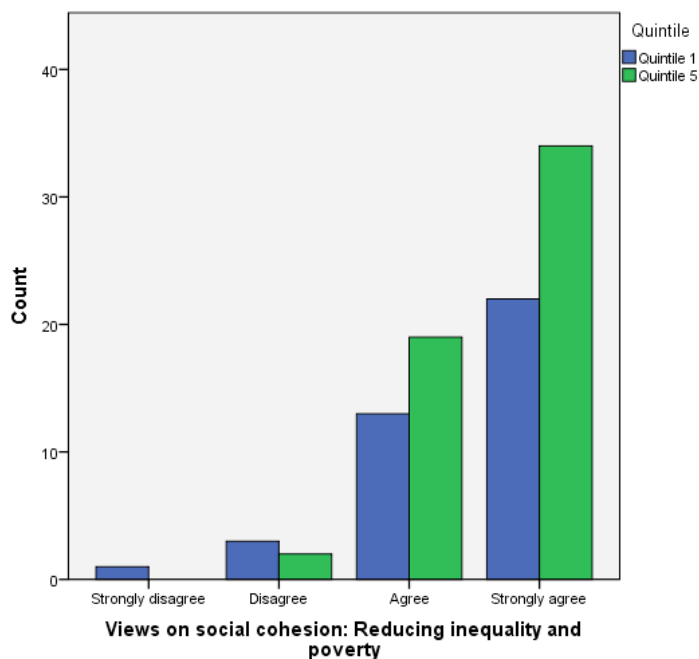
Source: CITE (2016)

**Figure 11: “Reducing inequality and poverty” as a key marker of social cohesion – Teachers' views in urban and rural schools**



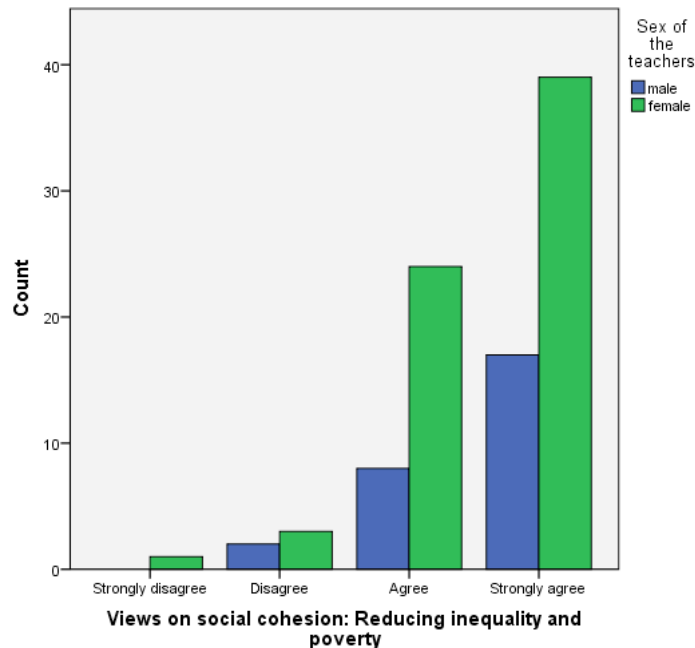
Source: CITE (2016)

**Figure 12: “Reducing inequality and poverty” as a key marker of social cohesion – Teachers' views in Q1 and Q5 schools**



Source: CITE (2016)

**Figure 13: “Reducing inequality and poverty” as a key marker of social cohesion – Teachers' views by sex**



Source: CITE (2016)

Table 53, and Figures 10 to 13 inclusive, show that across the nine schools in the study, teachers across all four research markers (province, urban/rural, quintile, and sex) recorded a strong belief that social cohesion can best be effected by “reducing inequality and poverty”. While this strong recorded response may in common-sense ways be expected in poor schools (Q1), and poor rural schools in particular, the consistency of responses across province, the urban/rural spectrum of schools, both Q1 and Q5 schools, and both sexes, is, at the very least, interesting. The following extract from an interview with a teacher is noted:

*“I think it’s involving the economy, the community in the learning of the learners, involved in everything at school. Community and stakeholders of the community, like parents and all, involve them in any activity that involves the learners here at school... since we’ve got the foreigners here with different situations, they came here to our country because of their situations or problems. I think if they are here legally, we’re supposed to accommodate all of them also, and also the learners. And since the others are even born here, we must note that also, because they are also like the South African children, you know. So we have to accommodate them at least, because we know that things are happening in our countries, that we are all Africans at the end of the day” (Interview with SC\_007\_T\_SSI\_3, 2016).*

The teacher, who teaches at a deep rural school in the Eastern Cape, linked “economy”, “community”, and “stakeholders” in his/her definition of social cohesion. Throughout the interview with this teacher, he/she drew attention to the idea that social cohesion was fundamentally linked to the absence of resources, and that evidence of social cohesion in communities was a function of need. At the conclusion of this interview, conducted in the tiny staffroom at the school, the interviewer walked into the foyer of the school, where a number of elderly women from the community were standing. The teacher indicated that the school was crucial to these women, as the school possessed the only working photocopier within a radius of at least 18 km, and they needed to make copies of their identity cards to qualify for the monthly state grants. The photocopier was not working, and the teacher indicated that the children from the area *“would go hungry tonight”*.

Also important in this quoted extract is the teacher’s insistence on creating opportunities for learners and parents/caregivers to socialise at the school. He/she linked this to the presence of foreigners at the school and in the community, and articulated this presence strategically within her definition of social cohesion: *“So we have to accommodate them [foreigners] at least, because we know that things are happening in our countries, that we are all Africans at the end of the day.”* The area in which the school is located had been one of the areas in South Africa that had seen violence perpetrated against foreigners in the xenophobic/Afrophobic attacks that were most vividly recorded in 2008, and which continues outside of the media glare in many areas in South Africa.

During a learner focus group interview at the same school, learners were asked whether or not they encountered foreigners in their communities, and how they would describe their engagements with the foreign nationals. One learner stated: *“We don’t talk with them. We go to them and buy”* (SC\_007\_L\_FG\_002, 2016). This functional engagement, in which there is a marked absence of meaningful human communication expressed by the young learner, is at the heart of what the teacher referred to when he/she indicated that the school is a site that should create opportunities for learners and adult members of the communities to engage with one another in conversations and activities that can bridge the divides of poverty and “otherness”.

Two items were ranked joint second (see Table 53) by teachers as crucial elements of social cohesion, namely “listening to and understanding people’s ideas even if one disagrees” and “reducing crime and violence”. A learner posited the following:

*“I also think it’s about not judging people based on their race or religion, and to be united, even though those people come from a past that’s not the same as yours”* (SC\_005\_L\_FG\_1, 2016: translated from Afrikaans).

Among a number of important issues raised by this learner, three items may be used here to illustrate concepts that arose across the range of interviews conducted for the study. First is the idea that people should not “judge” others due to differences in background. In this instance, the learner qualified the non-judgmental attitude in terms of differences based on “race or religion”. During a focus group interview at a different school, a learner articulated her understanding of social cohesion in the following way:

*“To me, it means that we have to accept and treat people equally, because we have so many cultures in our country and we are all different, but it also means like to be grateful for what we have and how far our country has come, because in school we learn about what has happened in the past and it is a big leap from back then, so also, to try and even though our country has progressed a lot, we have to try and make it better; to try and make it even more equal for people, because some people are still discriminated against”* (SC\_001\_L\_FG\_1, 2016).

Here, the trope of “not judging” is expressed in terms of the acceptance and equal treatment of people who “have so many cultures”. The learner takes as a point of departure that “we are all different”. The understanding of social cohesion needs to be taken into account in terms of a focused social cohesion orientation in education. The chapter explores approaches to working with the understanding of social cohesion as expressed by the various actors at the nine schools in the study. From the same learner, it is crucial, too, that this young person expressed a keen desire: “We have to try and make it better; to try and make it even more equal for people, because some people are still discriminated against”. The learner demonstrated that she not only defined social cohesion in particular ways, but that she was aware of, and desired, that things had to be made “more equal”. Crucial here, too, is her use of the collective pronoun “we”, denoting that she saw herself as part of the movement to make society “more equal”. The learner linked her keenness to make a positive change in the country to her learning about South Africa’s past. She acknowledged



that the country she lives in *“is a big leap from back then”*, but she was aware of the social objective of a just and equitable society.

Part of the policy challenges in education of working in a country such as South Africa, with its extremes of wealth and poverty, is that these inequities are mirrored in the lived experiences of teachers and learners working in different settings:

*“I think it is basically based on the community cooperation, how to work with the community. As we are, we are these three legs of this pot. That is, the learners, students, and the parents. I think, working together is helpful, especially, for those learners because we are in the remote areas. We have, we are affected by lack of resources”* (Interview with SC\_008\_T\_SSI\_2a, 2016).

The teacher drew an analogy (the three-legged pot) to illustrate how he/she defined social cohesion. His/her definition encompassed the triad of *“learners, students, and the parents”* working in a regime of “community cooperation”. For this teacher, *“working together”* was *“helpful”*. He/she then clarified by referring to the rural conditions under which his/her teaching manifested. In her definition, social cohesion is inextricably tied to the fact that they are constrained; they are *“affected by lack of resources”*. Here, working together is an imperative, as the scarce resources available in this isolated school and community in the rural landscape of the Eastern Cape mean that people can slip into extreme impoverishment in a very short period. At the time that the interviews and surveys were conducted in the rural Eastern Cape (May-June 2016), the province was in its third year of a crippling drought. Subsistence livestock had been decimated across the rural areas of the Eastern Cape, and the small food gardens operated by poor households were severely impacted by a prolonged lack of water. Enacting social cohesion under such extreme conditions (physical, infrastructure backlogs, community impoverishment) again alerts this report to the differing ways in which social cohesion is understood, and crucially, experienced, by the body of teachers and learners across South Africa. The definitions of social cohesion are inflected by the living conditions of people, and the terms employed by teachers (and learners) under these varying conditions are critical pointers to a nuanced appreciation of the complexities of moving towards a post-apartheid society characterised by greater social cohesion.

At another rural school in the Eastern Cape, a teacher alluded to a reality of social cohesion complexities in South Africa’s rural areas by raising the issue of the disruption of social relations between teachers, learners, and parents in her definition of social cohesion.

*“I think inviting a learner to the, inviting a community or the parents to a school, knowing well, that is how they learn at school. I think that’s the best way to make them aware that the education is very important, and can bring people together... So sometimes, we used to have some activities that mostly involved parents to come, so that while we’re teaching their children, they must also understand what we expect from them and from their children, so that we can build a better society together”* (Interview with SC\_007\_T\_SSI\_2, 2016).

Competing notions of social cohesion offer the potential for conflict between schools, teachers, learners, and parent/guardian communities. Teachers in the Eastern Cape rural schools offered narratives showing their keen awareness of the disruptive force of the social cohesion-related lessons they were communicating to their students. Key among these potentially disruptive teachings were those centred on concepts such as masculinity, gender roles, and boy-on-girl violence. Another issue that emerged as a deep fracture between rural schools and the local communities they served is expressed in the following narrative:

*“I’m always telling them they must forget about those old stuff of the witchcraft, having those medicine by these people. We just insist that they have to pray. The only thing that they have to do is to pray. If their sickness is beyond them, they have to go to hospital. We do even buy some medicine for the school so that we give them. They believe those myths... Sometimes if you have leftovers, you give him or her, they won’t eat it. You know that he or she is hungry but because he or she is afraid that there may be something wrong with that food [they don’t eat it]. Yes. And here you are trying to help. We are trying to help. But others at least they understand. They understand. So we just tell them they have to believe in God, they have to pray... not to be using those old stuff, traditional stuff or muti and believing that. Because that builds enemies amongst themselves in schools because he will be told or hear from the family that family so-and-so is bewitching us. So we are destroying that because it is disturbing their studies”* (Interview with SC\_008\_T\_SSI\_002a, 2016).

In this extract, it is clear that teachers are under considerable community-derived pressure in the form of embedded social beliefs and practices encountered across rural communities in South Africa. The impact of these community-based belief systems pitches teachers (often from these very communities) who have experienced a modern education that is in conflict with entrenched belief systems that are underpinned by systems of tribal and clan power. It is telling that the teacher indicated how this system of traditional power is operationalised by individual households: *“[H]e will be told or hear from the family that family so-and-so is bewitching us.”* The implications for the schools are severe: *“Because that builds enemies amongst themselves in schools [...]”* Thus, in addition to the structural impediments to social cohesion narrated by teachers, the cultural and gendered dimensions

of communities impact directly on attempts to build social cohesion. Tribal and clan beliefs impact individual households, resulting in rivalries between boys that often manifest in clan clashes at schools.

In contrast to the dedicated focus on communities of parents and the clash of belief systems in her definition of social cohesion at an Eastern Cape rural school, a teacher at a Q5 urban school in the Eastern Cape provided a more detached definition of social cohesion than her teacher colleague at the rural school some 70 km away:

*“From what I understand, it’s the idea that you have a predominantly, kind of, heterogeneous mix of people who are either all working towards a common goal, or have identified shared kind of features, or maybe shared values that they find are the most important for them, and kind of work towards those, or promote those within their community or their environment. And so, for schools, we would be looking at children from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds and cultural backgrounds, language backgrounds, religious backgrounds. And we kind of go, we can’t say everyone must be like this, because the reality of South Africa is, not everyone is like this. And so we’ve had to, you kind of go, right, what is important; what are the absolutes that everyone must agree to” (Interview with SC\_009\_T\_SSI\_3, 2016).*

School 009 is situated in a prominent Eastern Cape town. It is modelled on English schools, with lush grounds and fascinating internal architectural features that afford its students a structure that is varied, interesting, and explorable. The school competes with high-fee private schools in close proximity.

The school principal explained how the school maintained a balance between excellent Grade 12 academic results and the desire to have the school reflect a greater demographic weighting of races from the area:

*“So at [our school], we never turn someone away because of money. We do turn people away because we want the best candidates. But I also absolutely recognise how wrong it is. Basically, we’re saying we’re a brilliant school, it’s like what the private schools do, and we berate them for that – you know, the splinter in our own eye or the beam in our own eye. You know, we’re kind of looking at schools around us and saying, if you’ve got some really good candidates, we’ll take them. Well, what about the school that they’re coming from? Surely they would benefit from being in that school? No, no, we’ll take the best of the best. And that means that we continue to keep our very good results” (Interview with SC\_009\_P\_SSI\_1, 2016).*

Thus the “children from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds and cultural backgrounds, language backgrounds, (and) religious backgrounds” referred to by a teacher at School 009 are specifically selected to fit, at the very least, the academic profile of the school.

## 9.5.2 Teacher pedagogies for social cohesion

### 9.5.2.1 *Teachers' preferred teaching styles for the promotion of social cohesion*

This section considers the ways teachers convey social cohesion-related messages in their classrooms and schools. Teacher pedagogy is seen as central to “reform efforts in post-conflict contexts” (Horner *et al.*, 2015:51). There is therefore a considerable onus on teachers to enact classroom practices that mitigate the effects of conflict and its enduring systemic remnants in the form of infrastructural and other deficits. In this context, Cole and Barsalou (2006:1) suggest that “approaches that emphasize students’ critical thinking skills and expose them to multiple historical narratives can reinforce democratic and peaceful tendencies in transitional societies emerging from violent conflict”.

A number of key components are fundamental in a “toolkit” of pedagogic concepts that need to be made explicit in a pedagogic regime that is intended to promote social cohesion among learners and communities emerging from conflict. These concepts include participatory pedagogies, critical pedagogy, collaborative teaching and learning practices, cooperative teaching and learning practices, the nature of knowledge, and language of instruction (Horner *et al.*, 2015:52-56). The Freirean notion of “problem-posing education” is an important pedagogic shift from more teacher-centred approaches, and offers the potential for a disruption of taken-for-granted issues such as the invisibility in classrooms of structural violence (Horner *et al.*, 2015:52). Brantmeier (2010:48) posits that this type of critical pedagogy approach facilitates a “focus on transforming relationships and structures that perpetuate differentials in power, access, and meaningful participation in decision making”. In this framework, Montessori’s observations (Duckworth, 2008) of power relations in war-torn Europe are telling. Montessori “opposed authoritarian pedagogies” based on the logic that “individuals who question authoritarian teachers will also question war-mongering tyrannical leaders” (Horner *et al.*, 2015:52). By extension, learners who are encouraged to challenge the knowledge brought into the classroom via the official curriculum and textbooks, and who have that contestation mediated by confident teachers, are able to reorient power relations from within their classrooms to power relations in communities, their homes, local power structures, and later, national and trans-national arenas. A general caution is issued by Burbules (2000), who alerts us to the idea that

“dialogic teaching methods should not be considered a panacea for all issues”, and argues for a recognition of “asymmetric [relations] of power and privilege” (Horner *et al.*, 2015:52) that delimit learners as agents who are able to speak, be heard, and who can otherwise challenge existing discursive spaces. Burbules (2000) states that “[d]ialogic methods need to be critical of silences and omissions that its format produces”.

In Table 54, a first level of engagement with the data shows that, of the four items able to be chosen by the full cohort of 102 teachers to indicate their frequency of using a particular teaching style, the option “Always” produced the following insights (note that the number equates almost exactly to its percentage, as the full cohort is 102):

- Whole-class teaching: 36
- Use drama and role play: 5
- Have learners work in pairs: 8
- Have learners work in groups: 11
- Use educational technology: 17
- Create opportunities for class discussion: 34

This first level of analysis of the survey data shows a preference for whole-class teaching and creating opportunities for class discussions. Both teaching styles are focused on the teacher as the dominant figure in the teaching and learning configuration in the classroom. Both preferred teaching styles minimise peer-to-peer learning. Teaching is “produced” by the teacher in terms of “whole-class teaching”, and all discussions in class are mediated by the teacher. In both instances, the classroom pedagogic narrative is teacher centred, with learners’ voices as single insertions facilitated by the teacher. Across provincial, urban/rural, and quintile levels, the percentages of teachers indicating whole-class teaching as a preferred “Always” option are as follows: Western Cape: 45%; Eastern Cape: 29%; urban schools: 37%; rural schools: 54%; Q1 schools: 44%; and Q5 schools: 40%.

**Table 54: Preferred teaching strategies employed across the Western Cape and Eastern Cape**

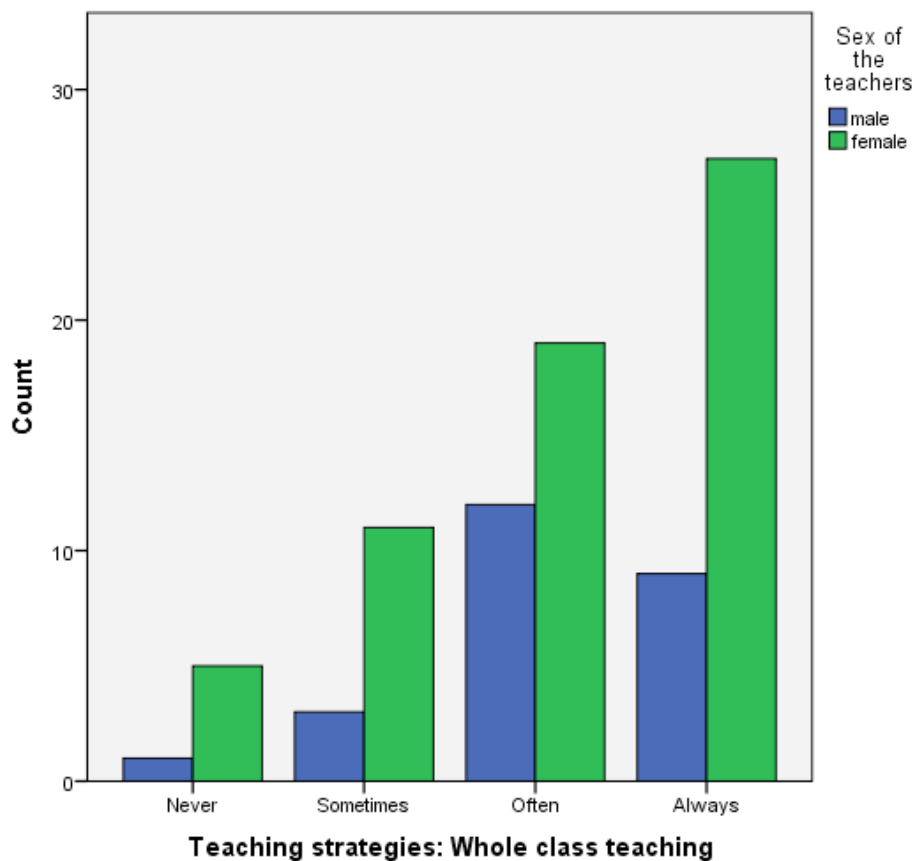
Answers		All	Province		Urban-Rural		Quintile	
			WC	EC	Urban school	Rural school	Q1	Q5
			Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Whole-class teaching	Never	6	3	3	2	4	4	2
	Sometimes	14	10	4	12	2	5	9
	Often	31	23	8	26	5	10	21
	<b>Always</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>21</b>
Use drama and role play	Never	21	19	2	15	6	9	12
	Sometimes	35	24	11	24	11	15	20
	Often	10	8	2	7	3	5	5
	<b>Always</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>
Have learners work in pairs	Never	4	3	1	3	1	0	4
	Sometimes	39	30	9	28	11	15	24
	Often	25	17	8	19	6	12	13
	<b>Always</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>
Have learners work in groups	Never	3	2	1	2	1	1	2
	Sometimes	35	30	5	27	8	12	23
	Often	31	20	11	21	10	16	15
	<b>Always</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>
Use educational technology	Never	8	6	2	6	2	4	4
	Sometimes	32	20	12	25	7	15	17
	Often	19	17	2	12	7	6	13
	<b>Always</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>
Create opportunities for class discussion	Never	2	2	0	1	1	1	1
	Sometimes	16	14	2	12	4	8	8
	Often	30	21	9	19	11	13	17
	<b>Always</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>23</b>

Source: CITE (2016)

At 29%, the Eastern Cape, consisting of one Q5, high fee-paying urban school, and two Q1 deep rural schools, is a marked exception, along with the urban schools (combined Western Cape and Eastern Cape) at 37%, from a generally high preference by teachers in terms of whole-class teaching.

In terms of gender, Figure 14 suggests that both male and female teachers privilege whole-class teaching as a preferred teaching strategy, with female teachers registering high counts in the “Often” and “Always” categories.

**Figure 14: Whole-class teaching as preferred teaching style: Gender analysis**



Source: CITE (2016)

There is a quite significant data item (“Use drama and role play”) that is also worth pointing out. Twenty-one (21) teachers indicated that they “never” used this teaching strategy in their array of teaching strategies to effect social cohesion in their classrooms. This number is high relative to the other recorded figures in the other three choices for this option: “Sometimes” (35); “Often” (10); and “Always” (5). If power structures are to be challenged, and learner agency is to be bolstered through empowering teaching styles, role play is arguably one of the most effective strategies to allow learners to subvert stable identities.

Teachers’ descriptions of their teaching styles under conditions of duress (racism, violence in the classroom) are revealing in that they often speak to a teacher-centred approach to resolving vexing issues that emerge during their lessons.

*“So I’m not a person that gets angry, or be sensitive or shy to speak about anything with learners. I am... I bonded with these things. I understand these things and then even in the future now. So you can’t keep on holding grudges [...] about the issue of being racist, so if the topic is to talk about racism, I’ll say what it is but. Now the problem is I don’t usually entertain [...] those who will try and talk [...] there are certain topics about racism, but they [...] will try to entertain the topic in the wrong*

*way. Ja. So I do not entertain those things. No, I do not entertain it. I just put up a fence around it and move on. I speak friendly. I do not just be harsh” (Interview with SC\_003\_T\_SSI\_002, 2016).*

This teacher presented a wide-ranging set of pedagogical insights. He/she teaches at a Western Cape, Q1, urban township school, with a very large learner population, and the school is plagued by gang activities that have often resulted in learners being the victims of or witness to violent crimes outside the school gates. This teacher indicated that he/she did not anger easily, s/he was not afraid of speaking about sensitive issues with learners, and was not afraid of dealing with issues of racism that confront him/her in the classroom. Yet, even in this broadly open pedagogic space, the teacher indicated that *“there are certain topics about racism”* to which s/he responded in the following way: *“I do not entertain those things. No, I do not entertain it. I just put up a fence around it and move on”*. He/she indicated that this shifting aside of a question, or framing of a question with which he/she disagrees, was shut down in a *“friendly”* manner: *“I do not just be harsh.”*

Within the pedagogical styles most preferred for promoting social cohesion, this teacher’s narrative ticks many boxes: he/she does not display anger in the classroom, he/she operates in a *“friendly”* manner, and he/she was confident and willing to listen to and talk about sensitive issues, like racism. However, s/he is a powerful mediator of which discourses are allowed in her/his classroom or not. While his/her shutting down of certain issues around racism is tempered by him/her not being *“harsh”*, the boundary between what is validated or not in the classroom is left solely to the teacher. His/her classroom is not described as an autocratic space, but the limits of learner-led insertions around the proffered *“certain topics of racism”* is left to the teacher’s discretion.

At a Q5 school in the Western Cape, characterised as a travelling/commuter school, as the learner body is traditionally drawn from communities who were removed from the area in which the school is located (under apartheid’s Group Areas Act), a teacher offered the following narrative:

*“Immediately I would address people. If there’s a racist remark, I would address it, and would actually address it very harshly. On the Cape Flats it is very prevalent amongst certain learners to be racist because they learn it at home, and it comes across in the class” (Interview with SC\_001\_T\_SSI\_002, 2016).*



Here, the “racist” remark uttered by a learner is ascribed to a group: *“On the Cape Flats it is very prevalent amongst certain learners to be racist [...]”*. The learning space generating these racist remarks is identified as *“at home”*, and the alienation of a racist discourse (not learned at school) facilitates a response by the teacher: *“[I] would actually address it very harshly.”* Two very different school contexts produce two different responses: one teacher shuts down certain issues around racism, but does not act “harshly”, while a second teacher acts “very harshly” to counteract overt racist utterances directed at learners or staff members. The question arises: Does this “harsh” response to a repulsive social phenomenon (racism) promote an engagement with the learned-at-home racism? The preferred dialogic pedagogical model, intended to promote social cohesion, would suggest that this approach is unwise, and potentially positions the carrier of the remark as “racist”.

At a rural school in the Eastern Cape (Q1), a school plagued by clan disputes that sporadically manifest in spear-and-knife clashes between boys from different clans, two teachers spoke about how they addressed these constructions of masculinity as fighting oriented, particularly after boys have come back from initiation rituals. One teacher indicated the following: *“We try and address it **by telling them**: ‘To be a man you don’t have to look the part, but you have to play the part.’”* (Interview with SC\_008\_T\_SSI\_001, 2016; author’s emphasis). A different teacher at the same school, who raised the same issue of boys behaving violently towards girls (like the adult men they were emulating, after their initiation rituals) in the school, indicated:

*“They want to be treated as ‘the man’. But **we told them**: ‘No, you are learners here who are equal.’ Especially, if you touch that topic of the bush, they stare at you. They look as if they are going to attack you”* (Interview with SC\_008\_T\_SSI\_002a<sup>33</sup>, 2016; author’s emphasis).

In both these extracts, the teachers made it clear that they were dealing with very dangerous situations, in which clan-elder-instigated armed learners have confronted other armed learners on the school premises, resulting in severe wounds, and even death. On the last morning of our data collection at this school, police (situated about 14 km away) and emergency medical personnel had to be summoned to the school to respectively take learners engaging in violence into custody and transport them to police holding cells, and very badly wounded learners to a hospital more than 25 km from the school. The situations

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<sup>33</sup> This is a two-part recording. The ‘a’ refers to the first recording.

are therefore severe. What the teachers display is a willingness to address the issues with the learner body. The teachers do not sanction the violent behaviour, and alternative readings of patterns of behaviour are offered to the learners. In both instances, the methods of addressing these long-standing issues of violence are (1) *“by telling them”*, and (2) *“we told them”*. Teachers’ willingness to mediate such overtly violent behaviours still produce an alternative voice that emanates from the teachers, and are not generated by the learners themselves. This demands knowledge of and exposure to demonstrated alternative pedagogic styles. The data in the previous section of this chapter spoke to teachers generally not being adequately prepared to deal with violence in their classrooms, and may be indicative of gaps in ITE training for social cohesion.

The following extract provides some insight into the ways in which serious social issues manifest in classrooms, and demand high levels of teacher engagement and courage:

*“[O]ne child even went so far as to reveal that her stepfather had raped her. During the oral! It’s a really emotional situation, because usually they cry. They start crying and the others are absolutely quiet. Then I’ll stand up and give her a hug and calm her down, and take her outside to talk. Then I’ll come back in and talk to the class, and tell them something like, if something is bothering them and they don’t know how to handle the situation, they don’t need to feel shy or afraid to take someone into their confidence and talk about it”* (Interview with SC\_006\_T\_SSI\_001, 2016: translated from Afrikaans).

This situation may play itself out in countless classrooms and schools in societies emerging from pasts characterised by conflict. The teacher’s affective response provides a safe space for the learner, and models a behavioural response to the other learner witnesses (also deeply affected) by the disclosure of the crime of rape. The affective dimension is extended by the teacher taking the traumatised learner to a space outside the classroom, where she (the learner was identified as female) can be in the presence of an adult comforter, but away from peers in front of whom she may feel increasingly inhibited. This teacher created a pedagogic space in which the learner can express her deepest pain, and the teacher indicated through his/her response that he/she was willing to carry through on his/her creation of that affective space. Furthermore, the teacher returned to the class to talk to the learner witnesses, also traumatised, about their classroom space being a safe space, in which their pain will not be dismissed, will not be treated with disdain, and can become a

first point of reference in the absence of other adult-occupied safe spaces in their communities.

Language issues surfaced in most of the schools at which the study was conducted. In the Eastern Cape, teachers at the two rural schools reported that their learners' use of isiXhosa was common to all the learners at their schools, and therefore did not present any problems for the teachers. A learner disagreed:

*"It's because they don't explain enough. If they explain just a little bit, I think they have to explain a bit more and they must understand it themselves. They can't say something that they don't understand. Most of them are talking English, but other learners are used to Xhosa, so they must translate"* (SC\_008\_L\_FG\_002, 2016).

Several points are raised here. This learner demands more extensive explanations about areas of the curriculum that are difficult to grasp, and places the onus on the teacher to make it easier for learners to understand the material. However, the learner perceives that the lack of some teachers' explanatory power lies in the teachers' own lack of understanding the materials. The accusation is that teachers teach by rote (*"They can't say something they don't understand"*). The language of instruction at the Senior Phase (Grades 8 and 9) in South Africa's post-1994 schools is English. Even though teachers at these schools did not regard language as a problem, because their learners all spoke isiXhosa, the problem of language of instruction was articulated by the learner as a barrier to learning.

A teacher at a Q5 school in Cape Town presented the following situation during an interview:

*"[T]hey would have come from a primary school where English was the medium of instruction. The way the workload is designed is that you won't really have time, if there were to be a learner who battles with language, it cannot be remedied in the classroom situation. At school there are a few isolated cases where learners may be battling, but as a teacher there's really nothing you can do in the classroom situation to remedy that. So these learners get lower marks"* (Interview with SC\_001\_T\_SSI\_002, 2016).

This is a telling set of data, in which a learner's learning deficit, here linguistic in nature, is diagnosed as *"cannot be remedied in the classroom situation"*. The teacher contextualised this inability to assist the learner by invoking *"the way the workload is designed"*. There is an air of inevitability about this narration that consigns learners in this predicament to a schooling experience in which *"these learners get lower marks"*. There is an absence here of

a discussion of, for example, a need for the adoption of learning styles that can mitigate this language deficit. It is also useful to note that the learners who presented this teacher with this phenomenon were “*a few isolated cases*”. The learners are not humanised by this type of characterisation.

An English teacher at a Q1 Western Cape school sketched the following learning and teaching scenario:

*“Like, as I said, the kinds of learners that I’m teaching are, let’s say, almost the same background. That is, they speak the same mother tongue, I suppose. So I’m teaching them English, and you’ll find that some of them don’t even know how to read in English. So now when I’m teaching them, for example, reading then first I will read and then say, ‘Just follow me, read after me, especially in terms of pronouncing some words, then you read after me.’ Then what I’ll do, let’s say, if we are doing a short story, I’ll first unpack the short stories with them: these are the elements and so on, but then I’ll ask, ‘Can you read this part for us?’ As that person is reading, I underline what they say... misinterpreting and pronouncing as well. Then at the end, after the class, I call the child and say, ‘Do you see this word and this word and this word, so can you pronounce this word for me?’ When all the other kids are gone, because, you know, like sometimes when you correct them in front of the whole class most of the time, they don’t want to pay attention because they don’t want to be perceived as though they don’t understand or whatsoever” (Interview with SC\_002\_T\_SSI\_002, 2016).*

Here, the learners all speak isiXhosa as home language, but the teacher was obliged to teach using the language of instruction, English. This teacher narrated a teacher-centred lesson (“*I’ll first unpack the short stories with them*”), in which he/she first reads a short story to the class, and then asks learners to “*read after me*”. This is effected in order to correct learners’ pronunciation of English words, as well as to offset any “*misinterpretation*” of meaning. During this interaction, the teacher identifies learners who are struggling, and, once the class has been dismissed, those learners who struggled are asked to remain behind. This strategy is designed to limit these learners being exposed in front of their peers as being less able to understand what is happening in the lesson. By taking these learners aside, and assisting them to get to grips with the lesson material, the teacher displays a different approach to the teacher at the Q5 school who indicated that the time demands of the curriculum made it impossible for him/her to intervene to assist learners who struggled with the language of instruction. However, it is also useful to note the absence of a narrative on the part of the isiXhosa-speaking teacher to code-switch in order to assist with meaning-

making. Whether this is a deliberate strategic manoeuvre, perhaps informed by pedagogical learning during ITE, was not established, but is useful to note here.

Teachers, whichever teaching strategies they adopt, are held accountable by learners (correctly or incorrectly) in terms of learner engagement in the lesson:

*“We can say also that a teacher needs to be like enthusiastic about certain subjects so that children don’t fall asleep in class and actually pay attention”* (SC\_001\_L\_FG\_001, 2016).

It may seem a common-sense thing to state, but if teaching strategies do not attempt to maximise learner engagement by way of interesting lesson presentations and innovative use of materials, learning is potentially undermined.

### **9.5.3 Teachers and violence: Classroom discipline for the promotion of social cohesion**

This section draws on data from the South African schools case studies which investigate how teachers attempt to reduce violence in their classrooms and schools in attempting to promote social cohesion. In particular, this section focuses on teachers’ encounters with student-on-student violence and gender-based violence, and their disciplinary strategies to reduce these instantiations of violence in the short and long term. This section takes as its point of departure that teachers also need to be considered as persons who have suffered, and, as such, their role as agents of social cohesion in post-conflict societies is complex and often contradictory. In their roles as agents of social cohesion, Horner *et al.* (2015:22) declare that teachers are

*“expected to model interpersonal relationships and teach/impart values which uphold peace including tolerance, recognition and respect and a range of skills such as critical thinking, compromise, mediation, and collaboration”.*

The exploration of the data in this section also focuses on “teaching practices [that] promote aggressive masculinities and compliant femininities” (Horner *et al.*, 2015:23). Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997), Miremba and Davis (2001), and Rojas Arangoitia (2011) (in Horner *et al.*, 2015:23) posit that “dictatorial punishment and discipline systems [...] and curricular biases promote racist or gendered biases and exclusions, and disadvantage certain groups of students”. Teachers often display their own gendered identities in enacting their roles as teachers, and particularly as agents of social cohesion in post-conflict

societies. Bhana (2014) found that female teachers in rural South African schools “approached their role as mothers”, while male teachers “often acted as providers”. These roles manifested in acts such as “buying their students books and school uniforms with their own money”. The important analytical point emerging from this is that “teachers negotiate care in school settings [...] linked to their socially constituted roles that [are] underpinned by gender inequalities” (in Horner *et al.*, 2015:25). It is worth bearing in mind here that “conflict affects female participation in schools much more [than it does] male students” (Bhana, 2014, in Horner *et al.*, 2015). Thus, if teachers are seen to have also been affected by the conflict arenas in which they now act as agents of social cohesion, it can be assumed that the gendered nature of that violence impacts more on female teachers than it does on their male colleagues.

Teachers in post-conflict roles as agents of social cohesion can utilise their own gendered experiences of violence as a tool to assist their learners to “think critically about and challenge the gender stereotypes” (Eurydice, 2010, cited in Plan, 2013). In this vein, “the same pedagogical approaches that are endorsed to critically interrogate normative discourses around ethnicity, religion, class, etc. can be applied to question and subvert dominant narratives that discriminate on the basis of gender” (Horner *et al.*, 2015:25).

“Violence” in this chapter encompasses at least two dimensions: physical and psychological. In this frame, “poisonous pedagogy” (Miller, 1987, cited in Harber, 2004) is antithetical to the promotion of social cohesion in schools. A regime of “poisonous pedagogy” includes teacher and parent-driven myths such as:

- Children are undeserving of respect because they are children.
- Obedience makes a child strong.
- A high degree of self-esteem is harmful.
- A low degree of self-esteem makes a person altruistic.
- Tenderness is harmful.
- Severity and coldness (including corporal punishment) are good preparation for life (Miller, 1987:59-60, cited in Harber, 2004).

The issue of the care of children by teachers situates teacher-on-learner violence at the top of any list of the types of violence enacted in schools. It should be borne in mind that

teachers “are also the recipients of violence [...] and teachers practice in environments where violence may be normative, even if they are not war zones” (Horner *et al.*, 2015:26). In this regard, the types of violence teachers may face include “verbal abuse, threats and intimidation [...] actual physical violence by students, and incidents of student on teacher attacks” (Horner *et al.*, 2015:26). The role of teachers as agents of social cohesion is therefore a nuanced arena, characterised by teachers’ responsibilities as mitigators of violence, whilst their own pedagogical and discipline styles and approaches can continue and reify the cycles of violence their learners experience in their local communities and as a result of systemic inequality. Teachers, too, are victims of this violence, and this further underscores the extremely complex worlds in which teachers are asked to act as agents of peacebuilding and social cohesion in contexts where they, too, are victims of the same, ongoing conflict.

The data for two methods of discipline, namely physical punishment and shouting at learners, are viewed in terms of the full teacher cohort in Table 55.

**Table 55: Frequency of physical discipline across nine South African schools**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Never	58	56.9	56.9	56.9
About once a month	4	3.9	3.9	60.8
About once a week	4	3.9	3.9	64.7
Every day	3	2.9	2.9	67.6
No response	33	32.4	32.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)

Table 55 shows that teachers overwhelmingly claimed that they did not administer physical punishment as a means of discipline. Two figures stand out starkly on Table 55, namely those teachers who claimed to “never” administer physical discipline (57%), and the figure for teachers who did not respond to the question as to whether or not they administered physical discipline (32%). Across the full teacher cohort, three combined categories of responses, i.e. “about once a month”, “about once a week”, and “every day” totalled 11% of the responses of 102 teachers.

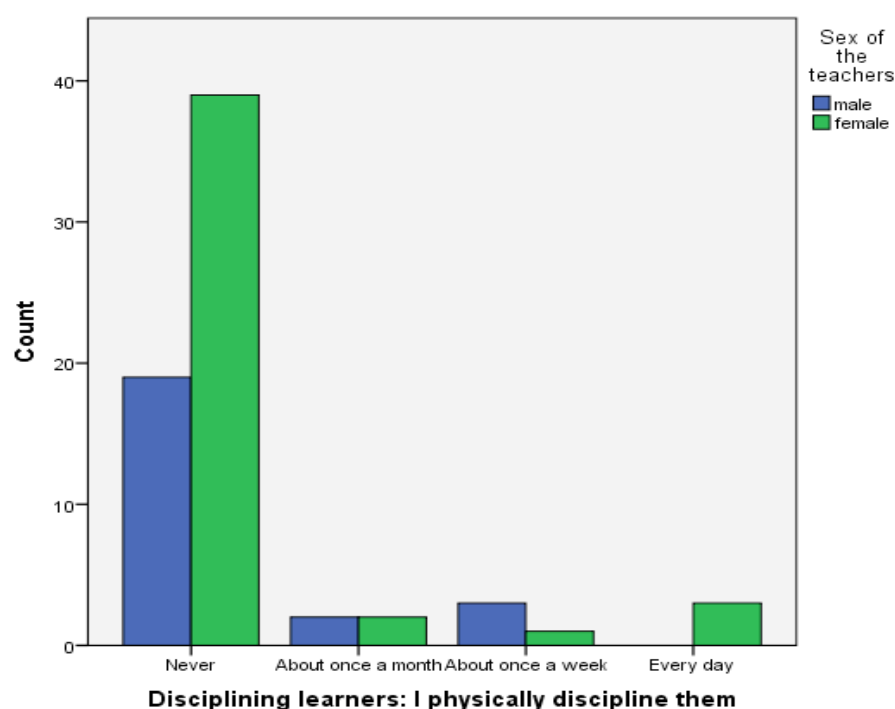
**Table 56: Frequency of “shouting at learners” across nine South African schools**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Unreadable response	2	2.0	1.96	1.96
Never	29	28.4	28.4	29.4
About once a month	21	20.6	20.6	50.0
About once a week	8	7.8	7.8	57.8
Every day	10	9.8	9.8	67.6
No response	32	31.4	31.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)

Teachers’ responses regarding their “shouting at learners” as part of their disciplinary regime in schools are more complex than the data for administering “physical discipline”. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of the teachers indicated that they “never” shouted at learners, while the aggregated percentage of teachers who indicated that they shouted at learners “about once a month”, “about once a week”, and “every day” was 38%. Ten percent (10%) of the full teacher cohort indicated that they shouted at learners every day. Figure 15 depicts the female and male teacher responses *vis-à-vis* their use of physical discipline in their schools and classrooms.

**Figure 15: Male and female teachers’ indicated use of physical discipline**



Source: CITE (2016)



The male and female teacher statistics show the consistency of the responses in line with the full cohort of teachers across the nine schools. Almost the full complement of female and male teachers indicated that they “never” physically punished learners in their classrooms. A learner in a focus group shared the following experience:

*“Here at school, they are hitting us, so we are not happy [with] the teachers here at school” (SC\_002\_L\_FG\_001, 2016).*

Another learner, at a rural, Q1 school in the Eastern Cape, volunteered the following information:

*STUDENT: They beat us always.*

*INTERVIEWER: When does that happen?*

*STUDENT: When you’re late.*

*INTERVIEWER: When you’re late?*

*STUDENT: Yes.*

*INTERVIEWER: Why are you late?*

*STUDENT: Because in my home, we don’t have electricity. We are working with a primus stove.*

*INTERVIEWER: Okay, so then it takes you longer to get done in the morning?*

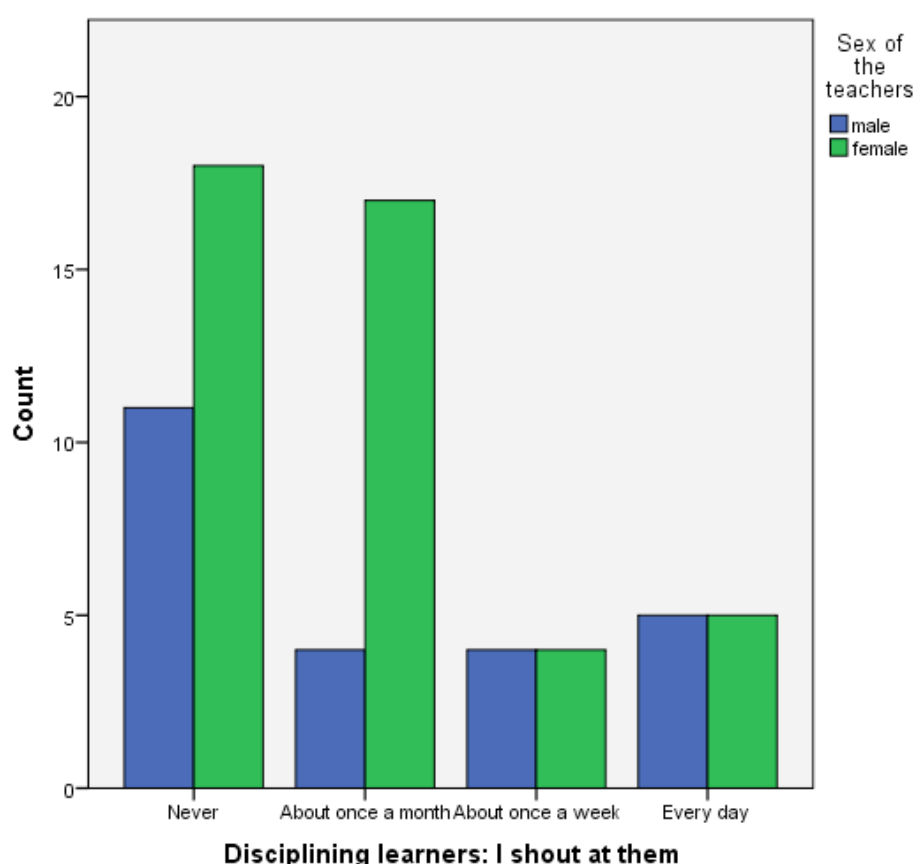
*STUDENT: Yes. (SC\_008\_L\_FG\_001, 2016).*

The resource-strangled community from which this learner comes contributes to the lateness of this learner. At the school, the teachers indicated in other interviews that learners routinely walked up to 15 km in rain and sun to get to school, and that this community was characterised by (1) the majority of learners who were orphans, and (2) the extreme impoverishment of the learners and the communities from which they came. The narrative is stark: we are beaten because we are late, but we are late because our lives are not easy. The research team witnessed learners walking long distances; up steep, lengthy hills to get to the school; in darkness, due to the absence of any lighting on the bad gravel roads that characterised the area.

Figure 16 displays the data for the male and female responses to the question of whether they shouted at their learners as a form of classroom discipline. As with the full cohort of teachers, the male and female teacher responses show a far more even spread of responses than was the case regarding physical discipline. Female responses in the “never” column are

almost 50% higher than the male teachers. There is an almost 100% match in terms of male and female teacher numbers who indicated that they shouted at learners “about once a week” or “every day”, and these numbers are relatively small in relation to the full cohort of teachers (four males and four females out of 102 – “about once a week”; five males and five females out of 102 – “every day”). While relatively small, these figures still constitute close to 20% of the full teacher cohort. The most interesting dataset in Figure 16 is in the item “about once a month”. Here, the number of female teachers who indicated that they shouted at learners was four times higher than that of male teachers.

**Figure 16: Male and female teachers’ indicated use – shouting at learners**



Source: CITE (2016)

Learners in focus group discussions addressed the issue of experiencing teachers shouting at them:

*“It’s just basically swearing all the time at school. The teachers don’t think that they can be calm and just talk to the children, because all they do is shout. It’s just shouting all the time. Most of the teachers swear at us, so we just don’t take them seriously any longer, for example our class teacher. But it’s also not necessary for them to stress like that and say rude words to us. We’re, like, we’re young and new*

*to the school, and that's all I can say*" (SC\_006\_L\_FG\_001a, 2016: translated from Afrikaans).

There is an important discursive shift from "shouting" to "swearing" in this learner's narrative. At this Western Cape rural school, other learners in different focus groups provided much of the same type of input regarding shouting and swearing. This learner provides a simple, yet telling insight to his/her teachers by stating that "[t]he teachers don't think they can be calm and just talk to the children [...]" The effects of these disciplinary styles on learners are profound, and offset intended pedagogies that attempt to foster greater social cohesion in schools. Teachers across the cohort were asked what they thought the effects of witnessing such violence and being victim to these types of violence may have on their learners. The following two tables (Tables 57 and 58) show teachers' responses to key questions, which are summarised as "how do learners' witnessing of violence and being exposed to violence in schools affect them?" The teachers' responses across the full cohort for "learners lose their ability to concentrate in class" and "learners see violence as the best way to solve problems" are demonstrated below.

**Table 57: Effects on learners' performance: Learners lose their ability to concentrate in class**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Rare	10	9.8	9.8	9.8
Common	50	49.0	49.0	58.8
Very common	27	26.5	26.5	85.3
No response	15	14.7	14.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)

In Table 57, 76% of the full teacher cohort indicated that they thought it was "common" and "very common" for learners to lose their ability to concentrate in class as a result of them witnessing violence. Only 10% of teachers thought it was "rare" that learners would not suffer this way. The majority of teachers thus indicated that their learners lost the ability to concentrate in class. It is therefore crucial that teachers are aware or are made aware of the nature of their own discipline styles as factors that unknowingly reinforce the violence experienced by their learners in the communities from which they come. Table 58 shows that 45% of teachers across the full cohort indicated that learners would adopt violent behaviours and responses as the "best way to solve problems" as a result of their exposure

to violence. Forty percent (40%) of the teacher cohort (the largest single data entry) did not think that learners exposed to violence would see violence as the best way to solve problems.

**Table 58: Effects on learners' performance: Learners see violence as the best way to solve problems**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Rare	40	39.2	39.2	39.2
Common	39	38.2	38.2	77.5
Very common	7	6.9	6.9	84.3
No response	16	15.7	15.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	-

Source: CITE (2016)

A teacher at a rural Q1 school in the Eastern Cape spoke about the influence of media on his/her learners' behaviour:

*"You know, one problem that we are having in terms of violence, in most cases, even when you watch TV, you are bombarded with gangster films from America. You know, there are a lot of gangsters there. And some of them want to emulate those who they watch on TV. So what you do know when you are in class, you try to show them the negativity of the violence. Violence begets violence. You cannot solve the problem by being violent. You must be sober at all times. Even if a girl provokes you, you must go and report that girl. That does not mean that you are a coward because you have reported that girl. So, you are also protecting her because sometimes you might hit her and kill her. Maybe, because of your physicality you are stronger than her"* (Interview with SC\_008\_T\_SSI\_001, 2016).

There is a realisation of here of the effects of role modelling on the behaviour of learners who watch *"gangster films from America"*. The teacher provided telling insights into the types of behavioural problems he/she encounters at his/her school, which, as was shown in previous sections, is a site of community-based clan conflicts inserting itself into the school by learners from these different clans. The teacher indicated several important aspects of his/her methods of attending to violent behaviour on the part of his/her students. Firstly, he/she frames the *"negativity of violence"* as his/her point of departure in his/her regime of disciplinary strategies. Secondly, he/she speaks directly to the survey question in that he/she frames his/her lesson to his/her learners as: *"You cannot solve the problem by being violent"*. Thirdly, he/she noted that sobriety on the part of both parties is crucial if any

attempt at intellectual work with regard to dealing with violence is to be attempted with any reasonable measure of success. He/she also engages the gendered aspect of the violence he/she and his/her colleagues at this rural school encounter as normative, namely boy-on-girl violence. It is noteworthy that he/she invoked the term “*coward*” as having to be contested with learners if there is to be boy-learner agency that will allow for an alternative concept of masculinity to take root; one that will see girl learners safe from violence by their male peers. The teacher indicated that he/she utilised the “*protector*” marker of most masculinities to redirect boy learners’ behaviours of violence into behaviours that are non-violent, yet simultaneously augment a more positive characteristic of masculinity, namely manliness as protective of persons physically weaker than you.

Table 59 displays the two methods of discipline used by teachers (physical discipline and shouting at learners), and the responses of teachers across the Western and Eastern Cape, urban and rural schools, and across Q1 and Q5 schools. Fifteen percent (15%) of the teachers in the Western Cape schools indicated that they physically disciplined learners, with the figure for teachers in the Eastern Cape schools at 18%. Sixteen percent (16%) of the teachers in the urban schools indicated that they physically disciplined learners, and 17% of the teachers in the rural schools said they physically disciplined their learners. Forty-two percent (42%) of the teachers in Q1 schools indicated that they physically disciplined their learners, with the figure for teachers in Q5 schools at 2%. The percentage breakdown of teachers who indicated that they shouted at learners as one of their primary means of effecting discipline in their classrooms and schools were as follows: Western Cape: 54%; Eastern Cape: 67%; urban schools: 60%; rural schools: 50%; Q1 schools: 61%; Q5 schools: 56%.

**Table 59: Teachers' preferred disciplinary styles – physical discipline and shouting at learners**

Answers		Province		Urban/Rural		Quintile	
		WC	EC	Urban school	Rural school	Q1	Q5
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Disciplining learners: I physically discipline them	Never	44	14	43	15	14	44
	About once a month	3	1	3	1	4	0
	About once a week	2	2	2	2	3	1
	Every day	3	0	3	0	3	0
Disciplining learners: I shout at them	Never	23	6	19	10	9	20
	About once a month	13	8	18	3	3	18
	About once a week	6	2	5	3	3	5
	Every day	8	2	6	4	8	2

Source: CITE (2016)

An interesting insight into one teacher's (at an urban, Western Cape, township, Q1 school) utilisation of linguistic and "background" similarity to his/her learners as part of his/her disciplinary style is provided in the interview extract below:

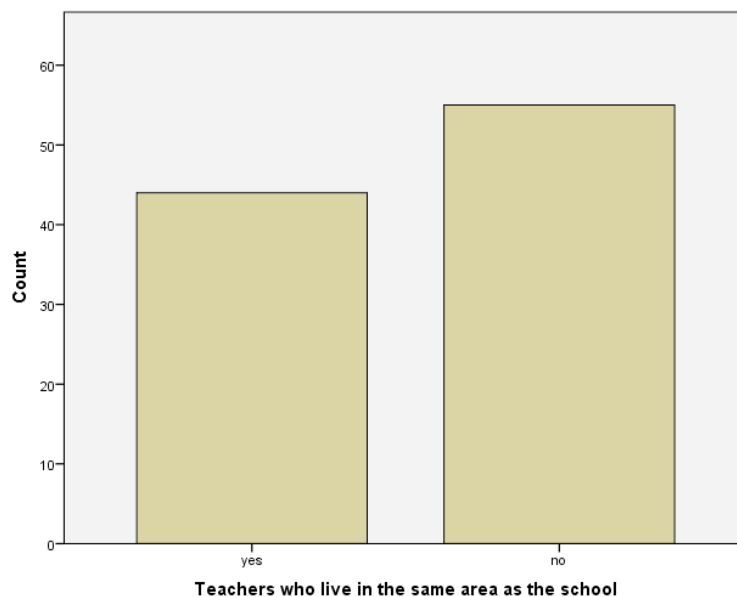
*"Let's say, things like discipline... I don't struggle that much because I also share the same background with them. So we are all... we speak the same language, which doesn't give them that room to say things that I won't understand, as, let's say, teaching learners of a different language whereby they can use their own language without [me] even understanding. So, there's that kind of understanding. So now I use that as an advantage to make sure that discipline... in African cultures, discipline is also one of the values that are taught, where they are coming from. That, you know, everyone who is older than you is your parent. So it doesn't matter whether you know or you don't know that person"* (Interview with SC\_002\_T\_SSI\_002, 2016).

What is particularly interesting is that the teacher invoked "African" cultural sameness as a key element in his/her ability to maintain discipline in his/her classroom. S/he stated that *"in African cultures, discipline is also one of the values that are taught [...]"* It is worth noting here that in rural schools in the Eastern Cape, where learners and teachers were arguably more linguistically and "culturally" "homogenous", this similarity did not occur in any of the rural-based Eastern Cape teachers' narratives. This difference between the urban and rural experiences of teachers, even though from a limited cohort of teachers, is, at the very least, interesting, and may speak to issues of urban schooling experiences versus rural schooling experiences in ways that further research may illuminate.

One of the key issues around social cohesion, schools, and the communities in which these schools are located, is the daily engagements between teachers, learners, and parents/caregivers after school. A teacher at an urban, Western Cape, Q1 township school narrated the following:

*“You know, the school is trying by all means, you know, to stop the issue of violence. Because, as we know, that schools are not in isolation. They are some systems existing in a society and now what is happening when the society is doing all these things. And then the school, some will somehow be affected because the learners that we are teaching are from the society. So when they come in the school, because most of the people at the school don’t stay around in this community, they are from far areas which they experience different issues of violence where they come that might not be the same as what is happening in this community. So now the school is trying by all means, but it’s hard. I don’t want to lie. So we are trying even to get more people, like security to patrol, some people to, let’s say, guard at all times”* (Interview with SC\_002\_T\_SSI\_002, 2016).

**Figure 17: Teachers who live in the same area as the school**



Source: CITE (2016)

The teacher refers in the extract to the fact that problems in the community manifest in learners’ behaviours at the school. These learners, he/she attested, are from dwellings situated very close the school. Figure 17 shows that 55% of the teachers do not live in the communities in which their schools are located. There is, therefore, a limited set of engagements by the majority of the teachers in the study with the communities who live in the area of the schools these teachers work. A set of questions regarding the effect that this form of “outsider” presence has on stimulating degrees of social cohesion and mutual

understanding of the nuances of these communities by teachers can be posed. If teachers are removed from the lived experiences of their learners, parents, and other community stakeholders, the question can be posed: Is there a meaningful enough set of out-of-school encounters with these communities that enable these living-away-from-school teachers to meaningfully impact as agents of social cohesion in these schools?

This section concludes with two excerpts taken from learner focus group interviews. The first is an amusing anecdote, in which one school's attempt at recording learner misdemeanours is subverted.

*"At the moment, every class has a blue file in which we list the misdemeanours of each child. But, it's like, in the senior classes, like the Grade 12s... actually, even in Grade 8, the files have just disappeared. The children simply... they just took it. So I don't think that's working"* (Interview with SC\_006\_T\_SSI\_001, 2016: translated from Afrikaans).

The teacher, at a rural, Western Cape, Q1 school, indicated in other sections of his/her interview that his/her attempts at discipline were ineffective. The severity of this seemingly hopelessness in the face of considerable social challenges in the community in which the school is located, as well as the ironic theft of *"misdemeanours"* files by the apparently errant learners, is both amusing and an alert to the complexity of daily attempts by teachers to give effect to forms of discipline that will foster greater social cohesion. The negative reinforcement of *"errant"* behaviours, as in the misdemeanours learner files, suggests that discipline is seen as punitive rather than scaffolding and enhancing positive behaviours and attitudes of learners. At other schools, although in different contexts, there is evidence of attempts by teachers to challenge (particularly) violent masculinities with regard to their learners. At a Q1 urban school in the Western Cape, a learner volunteered the following during a focus group interview:

*"We have been taught about assertiveness where we are able to calmly get our point across without resorting to violence or being aggressive"* (SC\_001\_L\_FG\_001, 2016).

Rural and urban contexts, as well as the relative wealth and poverty of the schools and communities in which these schools are located, provide insights into the differential experiences of learners and teachers as these schools attempt to promote social cohesion in post-conflict South Africa.



## 9.5.4 Cross-cutting challenges for education and social cohesion

### 9.5.4.1 Gender

Across the nine schools in this study, female teachers significantly outnumbered their male counterparts in every dimension of analytic differentiation brought to the study; i.e. province, urban/rural, and quintile. This study notes that adult female teachers have also suffered the trauma of apartheid as well as the continued violence that characterises the post-apartheid (post-conflict) democratic state. Female teachers often bring these traumatic personal experiences to their schools and translate these experiences into empathetic treatment of girl learners who are victims of boy-on-girl violence. The evidence suggests that female teachers, particularly in poor rural schools in the Eastern Cape, foreground violence against girl learners as a key characteristic of the general schooling experience. Patriarchal power structures in poor rural areas in the Eastern Cape provide powerful incentives for boy learners to enact masculinities that centre around the subjugation of women and girls. Both female and male teachers in (primarily) poor rural areas in the Eastern Cape, but also across the urban and rural divide, spoke about the “clash” between “traditional tribal and clan” beliefs about normative social structures and Western-centred teaching and learning occurring in the schools and classrooms in their communities. Large segments of teachers across the full teacher cohort indicated that they felt inadequately prepared during ITE to deal with gender violence.

It is particularly significant that only teachers in rural areas listed learning about effective classroom discipline strategies as their priority in a list of three additional CPTD programmes they wished they could attend. Of particular concern is that Life Orientation, seen as *the* carrier subject of social cohesion in South African schools, is regarded as not dealing sufficiently with issues of gender and gender-based violence.

### 9.5.4.2 Violence

Teachers generally expressed beliefs about violence that suggest that violence is predominantly understood as constituted of physical violence. While this is not an exclusive belief, there appears to be a conflation between “the need to maintain discipline to create a calm learning environment” and “what I do to maintain a good learning atmosphere does

not constitute a form of violence”. Learners at most schools indicated in their survey responses and focus group interviews that teachers’ harsh tones and unkind words hurt them deeply. The word “harsh” surfaced often during learner focus group interviews, as it did during interviews with teachers. Paradoxically, two instances, both in urban Western Cape schools, in which teachers sought to teach alternatives to, respectively, racist utterances and violence towards girl learners, were effected, in the teachers’ words, “harshly”. This study argues for a more complex understanding of violence, positing that misrecognition of the agents of violence and their (often unintended) strategies lead to the perpetuation of the very cycles of violence they wish to disrupt. The failure to provide such teachers with adequate, ongoing support increases their sense of alienation (as two teachers in two rural schools in the Eastern Cape put it – “*abandoned*”), which runs counter to the task of building and consolidating social cohesion in these schools. It is not surprising, in this context, for the survey results and learner focus groups to indicate that in the poorest schools (Q1) in the country, learners indicated that physical discipline was widely used by teachers in their schools. The very complex nature of these schools sees parallel processes at work: teachers committed to social justice teach in resource-deprived schools that are antithetical to good teaching and learning, they are not provided with adequate curricular and affective support by (admittedly stretched) provincial education department officials, and they come under pressure to conform to patriarchal systems of life that are often in conflict with the curriculum materials they deliver. Under such conditions, the promotion of social cohesion is potentially undermined.

#### **9.5.4.3    *Urban and rural contexts***

There are several similarities of experience by teachers in urban and rural schools in the study. A key similarity is their recognition that learners marked as “black” and “female” enter urban and rural schools with a set of challenges that make the school itself a site of conflict for many learners. This recognition is focused on language exclusion, contested notions of sexuality, class antagonisms, and gendered relations of power, particularly expressed in male teachers and female learners not able to communicate effectively. These indicators are present in both urban and rural teachers’ assessments of the particular challenges faced by their learners “classified” as “black” and “female”. In the rural Eastern

Cape schools, the absence of male role models, specifically with regard to the lack of fathers, is acute. Young girls at these rural schools could be considered “lucky” to come from a single-parent family, as the majority of learners at these rural schools are orphans who head their own households, caring for younger siblings under conditions of abject poverty. In the wealthy urban schools in both provinces, teachers lamented the fact that they rarely saw the fathers of “black” learners. Interestingly, a number of teachers at a Q5 school in the Eastern Cape collapsed “Indian” and “Muslim” into “black” when they spoke of the absence of fathers at meetings and other school events. In the urban schools, a strong teacher narrative emerged of wanting to get the young, female, black learners to “look us in the eye”. Teachers advocated that learners be able to “hold on to” traditional beliefs that are appropriate, but they simultaneously, not unapologetically, indicated that there was a large measure of assimilation occurring, and deemed necessary, from school to learner. In the rural areas, the issue of assimilation was not framed in the same way as in the urban schools. In the rural schools, learners are viewed as homogenous in terms of language and “culture”, but ruptures along the lines of the “very poor” and “not so very poor” emerged in the poor rural schools, as did divisions along tribal or clan affiliations. Because of the dire poverty in these rural areas, teachers indicated that their learners were “condemned” to learning about the world, but the world remains “out there”. The principal at a rural school in the Eastern Cape indicated that the majority of his/her learners would be lucky to see “the town” at Christmas, due to a lack of money for transport across the vast distances from the village to the town. In that context, it is difficult to conceive of engaging young people about primary identities other than those they have been raised with, i.e. village, clan, tribe, denoted race, etc. Teachers in these rural schools face a huge task if they are to facilitate shifts towards the embracing of identities that are outside the immediate lived experiences of young people. It is pertinent to note here that the learners at the two Eastern Cape rural schools did not have access to mobile phones or other wireless technology. Their impoverishment made it impossible for them to afford these technologies, and they are therefore also deprived of engaging with the world in virtual terms. The resource gap between the urban schools and rural schools in the study is also illustrated in terms of their use of textbooks and other learning materials. In the very poor, remote rural schools, textbooks were a key teaching resource, and in terms of disciplining the teachers in terms of their attitudes to learners. In several cases, teachers in the poorer schools indicated that

they were “*behind*”, i.e. not managing to keep up with the formal, weekly teaching requirements of CAPS. In the wealthier urban schools, textbooks were not explicitly disregarded, but teachers at two schools reported that they “*produced [their] own textbooks*”. Furthermore, their ready access to electronic and print media meant an engagement with the curriculum that was far broader than for teachers in the poor rural schools. One teacher indicated that he/she could not set tasks about banking for his/her class, because the nearest bank was 85 km from the rural school at which he/she taught in the Eastern Cape. The trope of “isolation” ventured by teachers in these deep rural schools also describe the isolation from deep engagement with the curriculum that their learners endured due to geographical isolation and the lack of money to access distant urban resources.

#### **9.5.4.4    *Relative wealth and relative poverty***

The previous set of entries regarding the urban/rural schooling experience extends to this section about the differentiated teaching and learning experiences in relatively wealthy and relatively poor schools. A point of departure is that, in social cohesion terms, teachers working in wealthy and poor communities spoke in similar ways about the school as vital to bringing communities together. The physical site of the school is regarded as a focal point of social cohesion initiatives; bringing together diverse communities in a space that offered a shared identity, i.e. the school identity. In this study, there is evidence of a distinctive level of importance attached to the school as such a site. At two rural schools in the Eastern Cape, teachers spoke about the “*necessity*” of utilising the school as a meeting place for the community. Two reasons were proffered. First, the lack of resources and infrastructure in these village communities made it imperative for the community to meet at the school, in order for teachers to communicate to the community that the school was worthy of community support. This is particularly important in areas where community elders disagreed with alien notions such as non-binary sexual orientations and behaviours countenanced by the schools, as well as the problematising by teachers of patriarchal power in these communities. At meetings held elsewhere in the community, teachers’ power was subsumed into the larger domain of the traditional leadership in the area. At one school in the rural Eastern Cape, it was considered a “prize” to maintain and nurture a consistent

acknowledgement of support from the local traditional leadership. This stamp of approval meant that the school could secure what meagre extra funds they could from the community in order to underwrite the salary of a much-needed (unqualified) mathematics teacher. In the same province, the SGB of a Q5 school in an urban area was able to pay the salaries of a deputy principal, a number of teacher interns, and was embarking on the construction of additional facilities on their spacious grounds. Teachers at this school indicated that they could not think of anything they lacked in terms of infrastructure as they navigated the challenges they faced from their diverse learner group. One rural school in the Eastern Cape lost their portable toilets during our data-collection stint at the school. According to the principal, the contract for the portable toilets (supplied by a private vendor) had come to an end, and learners would again be forced to use the bushes around the school as a toilet. In this context, the principal of this school asked the research team how social cohesion could be promoted when the basic human dignity of teachers and learners were compromised in this way. In the rural context, the concept of social cohesion is configured by the material conditions that make living an ordeal. Social cohesion imperatives in these circumstances are decidedly less than optimal.

## **9.6 CONCLUSION**

The chapter revealed a range of complex relationships between the elements conjoined in the terms “social cohesion” and “teacher agency”. This is made more complex and nuanced across the four analytic dimensions used in the study, i.e. the dimensions of provincial contexts, rural and urban contexts, relative wealth and poverty dimensions (quintiles), and gender. What emerged from this complexity is a framework in which teachers’ roles as agents of social cohesion in selected South African schools are facilitated and constrained by a number of interrelated factors. Arising from the dialogic relationship between facilitation and constraint is the realisation that teachers can act, intentionally and unintentionally, as agents of both social cohesion and of enduring conflict in post-conflict South Africa. The four analytic dimensions show that context is crucial to an understanding of the different ways in which teachers conceptualise and manifest their roles as agents of social cohesion.

This chapter concludes by attempting to collate the research insights drawn from the data presented in the chapter, and then goes on to make recommendations for embedding a social cohesion philosophy and complementary pedagogies in post-apartheid schools.

Outside of a few selected teachers, mainly drawn from networks of influence in middle-class contexts, teachers are not a core component of curriculum design. If teachers are to be empowered as agents of social cohesion, it is obvious that the core element of what teachers work with, i.e. the curriculum, must be an integral part of what teachers engage with. Failure to engage teachers in this aspect of work facilitates alienation from the curriculum, with its attendant potential for a pedagogical regime that stands outside of a social cohesion paradigm.

If teachers are not central to curriculum design and content shaping, it is clear that learners and parent-communities are virtually completely marginalised in these processes. The implications, as with teachers, is a *de facto* alienation from the principles underpinning the curriculum, as well as a lack of insight into how to hold teachers accountable for what they teach. In terms of a social cohesion narrative, teachers, parents, and learners, in various degrees, stand outside of influencing what it is that should be taught in their schools and classrooms.

In this context, teachers' autonomy in terms of the social cohesion curriculum, and therefore their concept of being professionals, is potentially undermined in that they are not central to deciding what ought to be taught as they attempt to teach to a social justice ideal. In addition, the CAPS curriculum enforces a strict, weekly time adherence to specified content, which is a major constraint on teachers' full exploration of the affective dimensions of the curriculum. In remote rural schools, parents' actions suggest that they view representation in the school's affairs as facilitating their condonation and/or disapproval of selected national curriculum content items, and that teachers should defer to them in these matters.

A further insight from the chapter was the structural difficulty associated with an attempt to disrupt apartheid teacher demographics in schools with diverse learner populations. Teachers pointed to the fact that while learner diversity was now commonplace in many post-apartheid schools, the social cohesion programme envisaged by the DoE was undermined by the teacher demographics at most schools remaining largely what they were

under apartheid. Learners experienced their voices being mediated by teachers in discussions, and those voices being silenced if their teachers' sense of "what is allowed" was contested.

This chapter has shown that learners in the Eastern Cape, in rural schools, and in Q1 schools, are starved of resources that affirm basic human dignity. Redistribution does not hinge only on access that has hitherto been denied. It also means that the quality of the education received must be equitable across various dimensions such as the urban/rural divide. The absence of stable electricity supplies, for example, means that teachers and learners are denied access to taken-for-granted enabling technologies such as photocopiers, fax machines, overhead projectors, whiteboards, etc.

The chapter found that teachers who work in resource-deprived conditions describe themselves as feeling "*abandoned*". Playing a role as an agent of post-conflict social cohesion under these circumstances is difficult. Furthermore, the situation is rendered more complex under conditions in which teacher diversity is not facilitated across historically separated districts. Learner diversity is not mirrored at a surface level by diverse staff profiles. This denies learners access to role models from the communities they originate from, as well as compromising the opportunities of teachers to experience new environments, new pedagogies, and new sets of relationships within their overall drive to act as agents of social cohesion.

The chapter found that textbooks are a key element in terms of learners being able to identify with their immediate contexts, which, in the majority of schools in South Africa, means material and other forms of deprivation. It is noteworthy that representations of sites of struggle in South Africa are limited to, for example, iconic symbols such as Robben Island, where prisoners, including high-profile persons such as Nelson Mandela, were incarcerated. However, in an area like the Eastern Cape, rural schools in our case study sample were located on sites of historical anti-colonial battles, yet teachers relied on (had to rely on) analogical representations of the Nazi genocide of Jews and others deemed unfit to live, to teach their learners about apartheid. Teachers were intrigued by the suggestion that they should engage in curriculum-content writing that incorporated the geographical and historical realities of their own sites into learning areas such as History. The insertion of the Holocaust into the South African Grade 9 History curriculum came about as a result of the

power of representation by interest groups in South Africa. The absence of representations of local sites of struggle in the History curriculum speaks of unequal representation opportunities for local communities. The situation is rendered more complex, in that the power of representation of, for example, black girl learners in textbooks and curricula are undermined by virtue of their invisibility in curriculum-design and textbook-writing fields. They therefore continue to be represented and recognised as *subjects*, rather than as owners and generative vehicles of their *own* identities. Their interests in a post-conflict social cohesion regime are relegated to the margins in similar ways as under apartheid. The power to represent oneself, and be recognised by virtue of self-generated narratives, is key to embedding a powerful social cohesion ethos in schools.

Social cohesion, and pedagogies for social cohesion, are fundamental in terms of preventing the resumption of conflict in post-conflict contexts. In this sense, the chapter, and indeed the full report, argues that it is necessary to deal with the past and the pain-filled memories of the period of conflict.

This chapter has shown that teachers articulate sincere desires to promote social cohesion in their schools. Many teachers display strong nurturing roles (across stereotypical gender lines, where feminine qualities are associated with nurturing), and go beyond the official curriculum to mitigate the myriad social challenges faced by their learners. However, a singular focus on the affective dimensions of teaching cannot produce social justice.

Structural inequalities and cultural dissonance in the form of teacher non-representivity undermine efforts aimed at achieving social justice. Arguably, reconciliation cannot occur in the absence of contact with the very people with whom reconciliation is required.

For the overwhelming majority of teachers and learners in South Africa, apartheid's spatial patterns of separation remain extant in post-apartheid South Africa. Under these continued patterns of separation, discursive patterns run the risk of being perpetuated, and stereotypes can easily be reinforced, leading to a deep embeddedness of violence as a feature of social life. Teachers are thus tasked with engaging conceptually with an "absent other", and are tasked with nothing less than fostering and developing attitudes that run counter to the lived experiences of learners who suffer the same deprivations as their caregivers did under apartheid.



In these conditions, teachers report a lack of support in their attempts to counter the violence of perceptions still steeped in prejudice and mistrust. Under-trained teachers in this study suggested that their ITE has not prepared them sufficiently to handle learners from diverse backgrounds. To a large extent, the absence of CPTD programme opportunities for teachers in poor rural schools means that under-trained teachers operate in isolation at the precise moment that the country holds them responsible for nothing less than the “production” of a skilled, globally conscious learner who is steeped in discourses and practices of peacebuilding and social cohesion.

Yet, in spite of their isolation, these teachers seek pedagogical knowledge and strategies that will promote social cohesion in their schools, but report in the main that CPTD programmes directed at embedding social cohesion practices are rare and unequally distributed across the provinces and quintiles.

A large component (albeit unintended) of CPTD programme outcomes is that teachers report a sense of camaraderie with colleagues who come from diverse backgrounds. To teachers, these engagements with what constituted “the other” during apartheid are conceptually and practically enlightening. In the absence of consistent opportunities for CPTD programme attendance, contact with “the other” is not facilitated, and the specific modalities of contact that will promote an unconditional forgiveness becomes difficult to achieve. The project of social cohesion in a school classroom, isolated by virtue of poverty and distance, is damagingly undermined.

Central to the findings of this chapter are two core issues. First, teachers’ articulations of social cohesion are drawn from common-sense understanding of the concept and conceptualisations of social cohesion are disparate, and most often framed in ways that speak to their local relationship dynamics (in the classrooms, on the school grounds, relative poverty in the community, etc.).

Thus, a cohesive, collaborative, transparent, and public process is required in order for the broad social cohesion framework to be developed by teachers and other social actors. In addition, nuanced local social cohesion imperatives need to be inserted into this broader framework, and contextualised in appropriate ways. Underlying this process is a fundamental issue: the status of teachers remains locked in a national (and global) discourse of ridicule and punishment.

The complexity of the social cohesion imperative is underscored by the second major finding of the study, i.e. the disjuncture between social cohesion initiatives (crudely) framed in Western education paradigms, and the still powerful traditional beliefs and power structures which arguably characterise impoverished rural communities in South Africa. While concepts such as Ubuntu are important, the main finding (indicated earlier) is that social inequality and poverty remains the key driver of conflict in post-1994 South Africa.

The chapter, while showing the structural challenges that undergird a potentially just post-1994 South Africa, simultaneously provides key insights into the embodied realities of teachers and agents of social cohesion. It is in the very person of the teacher that the challenge exists at this concurrent level.

The chapter shows in stark terms the reality that schools in apartheid-zoned “race” categories are still overwhelmingly staffed by teachers who were (and still are) racially categorised as fitting those racialised areas. In other words, “black” teachers still largely teach in “black” schools in “black” areas, as do teachers who were categorised as “white” teach in “white” schools, etc.

It is worth repeating here that at poor, deep rural schools in the Eastern Cape, the research team was confronted with the starkness of young South African learners who were intrigued by our skin colour, having never encountered life outside of their remote villages due to the deep impoverishment of their communities.

The final section of Chapter 9 is a set of recommendations that flow from the data-driven analysis and discussion in the chapter.

## **9.7 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The state must cultivate a national discursive space that promotes teachers as national assets. This space must include the (public) commitment to raising teacher salaries, improving work conditions, providing equitable funding and resources, and including teachers in high-visibility public fora that offer their insights into the challenges we face in post-1994 South Africa.

The status of teaching needs to be raised and made central to efforts to building a just, equitable post-apartheid South Africa. This includes improving salaries and conditions of service, as well as material support for teachers.

This chapter makes a strong recommendation that teachers must be trained, and strongly incentivised, to venture into (school) zones of discomfort. This demographic shift is a crucial (but still only an initial) step in providing teachers, learners, and community members with focused, education-centred opportunities for engagement with what is still largely “the other”.

Learners, especially those locked into remote villages by poverty, must be provided with meaningful opportunities for engagement with their peers from other quintiles and locations.

Focused anti-racist and anti-sexist programmes should be devised in consultation with teachers, learners, university researchers, and local communities in order to produce thorough sets of materials with which to engage.

The History curriculum must utilise South African struggle narratives as its primary set of resources to address the injustices of apartheid. At present, teachers, learners, and communities experience the history of their country through the experiences of powerful European narratives of injustice. For example, the approach of the Rwandan genocide truth commission must be considered as an Afrocentric approach to injustice and the solution thereof. Similarly, the battles for liberation in South Africa’s nine provinces need to be written into the History curriculum, and CPTD programmes must help to teachers’ knowledge of these curricular elements, and reinforce progressive pedagogies for their enthusiastic uptake by learners. This will engender local, provincial, and national recognition and pride in one’s locale. Contending narratives, voices, and diverse experiences should be included in this curriculum.

A key recommendation arising from this chapter is that conflict-sensitive criteria should be used to guide the state’s and the provinces’ resource allocations to schools in terms of support and the identification of drivers of conflict in local communities. Conflict-sensitive criteria here include issues such as providing additional support to teachers, learners, and communities under conditions of school closures and mergers. Very often, little support is

provided, and distrust of the “new outsiders” can erupt into forms of violence that need to be proactively mitigated.

Resource allocations to schools must be explained clearly and transparently. Communication is crucial, especially if scarce resources are allocated to schools in exclusion of similar sites that require the same resources.

The final recommendation arising from this chapter is that, in addition to encouraging the movement of teachers across race and class lines to schools where they dramatically change the staffing make-up, the state and other stakeholders must develop focused interaction opportunities between teachers from diverse backgrounds.

It is clear that mistrust and tensions exist on several levels. These levels of mistrust were articulated during interviews with teachers in deep rural schools as manifesting, for example, in teachers from privileged, “white” backgrounds not making themselves available to attend CPTD programmes, or at moderation meetings.

Therefore, inasmuch as curricula need to invest in focused social cohesion content and strategies, so too should resources be allocated to facilitate deep, meaningful, critical, and purposeful engagements between teachers from diverse backgrounds. Without careful, detailed attention being paid to the quality of engagement between teachers from diverse backgrounds, the interpretations of social cohesion-focused curriculum content are left to teachers who are uncritical of their own biases, prejudices, and other social “blind spots”.

Racialised teacher identities and overwhelming preferences for conservative curriculum-selected content unsurprisingly actively militate against the promotion of social cohesion. Changes in teachers’ attitudes and beliefs are long-term processes, and this chapter therefore strongly recommends the adoption of clearly focused, well-resourced programmes that will drive the intellectual and social development of teachers as they act as key agents of social cohesion in our classrooms and schools.

The report now moves to its final chapter. Chapter 10 examines and analyses some of the key questions and discourses that have emerged from the nine chapters of the report, and conceptualises the potential implications thereof for teachers and social cohesion in South Africa.

## Chapter 10 – Conclusion and Recommendations

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### 10.1 INTRODUCTION

Since 1994, progressive education policies in South Africa have struggled to mediate the extent and level of structural inequity in the country. Indeed, the persistence of inequality and the extent of societal conflict have been so resilient that it has had a significant influence on the state of teacher agency in South African schools, and the extent to which teachers are able to play a positive role in how learners experience and embrace social cohesion. Even though social cohesion is a fundamental part of national policy discourse and education policy texts and interventions, it is clear that, by virtue of different actions, indicators, and targets for education sector plans, there has been an absence of a workable (educational) definition of social cohesion tailored to the particular challenges of teachers and their very different classrooms in South Africa. Teachers all too often simply draw on common-sense understanding of the concept of social cohesion, framed by the localised dynamics of their schools and regions, and embodied in their daily local school realities as well as within their individual persons.

As such, any renewed zest for “quality education for all” needs to know a lot more about *how* teachers are positioned and act as agents of social cohesion in South Africa. There is a need for a clearer idea of how to better shape what teachers do, and what culturally diverse learning resources and perspectives are needed in order to shape the identities of learners. This is particularly necessary if the goal is to address both historic and contemporary structural inequities, as well as to embed values of mutual respect and tolerance in socially cohesive South African classrooms. In that respect, “quality teaching” needs to focus both on structural and psychological transformation, as well as on interpersonal, institutional, and organisational change within schools.

Education programmes and education policies in South Africa need to prepare teachers, intellectually and socially, to act as agents of social cohesion in disparate classrooms, schools, and regions. By necessity, teachers need to be encouraged to venture into “zones of discomfort” in both pedagogical and spatial ways. This would assist them to confront the multiple levels of mistrust and tension in the current system by inserting dialogue and consultation as a key way of providing the “voice” and “actions” by which they, as teachers,

get to contribute to social cohesion and social transformation. The key challenge is to identify and drive a continuum of “incentives”, centred around values, that the non-homogenous South African teacher corps will embrace as central to their roles as teachers in their classrooms and schools. This is an admittedly complex task.

The key challenge is that much more needs to be known about what pedagogies of social cohesion (whether they be critical pedagogies, pedagogies of compassion, or pedagogies of disruption) mean in practice in diverse classrooms differently shaped by inequities of class, race, religion, gender, and location. Important questions include:

- What kinds of pedagogical processes could generate quality learning in schools to effect social solidarity, change, and transformation?
- How can key policy texts that reduce teacher agency to a variety of audit trails that underplay their ability to enact generative learning in classrooms with their students, be interrupted or expanded?
- How can a more robust, rigorous, and empirically grounded account be developed of what pedagogies of social cohesion may look like in a future South Africa?
- How can teachers be encouraged to enact these pedagogies in contexts where curricula frameworks delegitimise inequities of class, race, religion, gender, and location, or represent them very narrowly?
- If quality education provision is to have a stronger social justice orientation, how can provision and policy take more seriously, alongside the more traditional goals of education provision, the affective and softer dimensions of education practice?

This final chapter examines and analyses some of these key questions and insights that emerged from the different chapters of the report, and conceptualises what they may imply *vis-à-vis* social cohesion and teachers in South Africa. Starting with a conceptual discussion of social cohesion and how it is differently contested and challenged at multiple levels in South Africa, the chapter suggests that a transformative social cohesion agenda that pursues social justice needs to continually destabilise and reassemble difference and conflict within society. It argues that social cohesion is never complete or final, and, as an outcome, requires continuous renewal. This discussion of social cohesion is followed by an exploration of how different social cohesion initiatives take on different forms and formulations in

different contexts – shaped by issues of race, social inequity, and geographical location in South Africa, and firmly locked within the urban-rural divide. Finally, arising from the cumulative data and analysis in the full report, the chapter explores what a socially cohesive classroom might be in post-apartheid South Africa, as complex as this task might be across the multiple and complex contexts of schools in post-apartheid South Africa. Continuing along this empirically based, but still exploratory task, the chapter explores what a socially cohesive school might be, and concludes by outlining some key policy options to give effect to these concepts.

## **10.2 KEY CHALLENGES IN REALISING SOCIAL COHESION IN AND THROUGH EDUCATION**

If social cohesion is understood as the quality of social cooperation and togetherness within a society, expressed as the nature of the attitudes and behaviours of its members, then the success of social cohesion initiatives inevitably lies in the resilience of the social relations that are built in that society, and the emotional connectedness that is generated between members of that society. In that respect, connectedness is comprised of the “positive ties” that exist among members of different communities and the “sense of social belonging and common good” that are engendered in them. This includes demonstrations of solidarity, responsibility towards others, and tolerant engagements among members of that society as a whole – with strong social relations dependent on the extent to which different people accept diversity, and trust one another. Yet, as discussed below, there are significant societal challenges in realising social cohesion in and through education.

### **10.2.1 Historical constraints**

A key challenge for the South African case study in the above regard was how to assess the level of connectedness (social cohesion) among members of South African society post-1994, and how better to understand the ways in which key practitioners like teachers could be more persuasive in promoting the strong social relations necessary for social cohesion to grow in the contemporary period.

Notably, this task was made more complicated by the particular ways in which the historical legacies of colonisation and segregation, which later morphed into the formal system of apartheid, had fractured South African society in unambiguous and bleak ways over many

centuries into resilient race, social class, geographical, gender, sexuality, and ethnic divisions. This was particularly apparent in the project at the school level.

A further challenge lay in the ways in which South Africa went about developing its raft of progressive policies post-1994 to counteract a history where the majority of South Africans had been denied voice and agency. Two examples illustrate the difficulties attached to this. Firstly, while the focus of policies after 1994 was firmly on progressive transformation, most policies contained within them had multiple, contradictory, and contested understandings of equity and redress, as well as guidelines on how to implement them. This has frustrated efforts to bring about radical change. Secondly, given South Africa's history, the devolved nature of governance systems was at first welcomed post-1994, as it gave powers to multiple agents at different levels of the system (provinces and schools). However, it soon became apparent (after 1994) that glaring inequalities between actor-agents at the local level would condition how far equity within a social justice agenda could be realised, and that local governance structures could be used to reinforce those inequities.

Another challenge to the development of "greater social connectedness" after 1994 was the particular ways in which macro-development policies positioned education and social cohesion initiatives within a very narrow growth agenda, with economic growth seen as the engine that would drive overall social sector transformation.

These challenges and constraints informed the level of connectedness (social cohesion) among the different members of South African society post-1994, and continue to shape the extent to which teachers can promote social cohesion and build peace in their classrooms.

### **10.2.2 Socio-cultural constraints**

In the South African context, there are two contested conceptions of social cohesion that shape how policy and practice are conceived and generally rolled out. One conception (within policy) focuses on the awareness of "the other", and is manifested in celebrations of different religious days, and teaching that focuses on an understanding of different religions and groups, cross-racial camps, choral choirs, and sport events. For this conception, largely intact, stable, and cohesive group and individual identities are required, with changes focused on how different identities are made aware of how "the other" lives, thinks, and



practises. While the focus is on securing consensus around common goals, difference is applauded and is fundamental to a particular form of nation-building.

A second conception (within policy) seeks to build an egalitarian and communitarian society within which different identities and “senses of belonging” are continually destabilised and critiqued. It questions previously ascribed and prescribed markers of belonging, and argues that social cohesion is undermined when identities are taken for granted: accepted to be “real” and “true”. This set of policies advocates for a radical form of anti-racism, anti-sexism, and anti-classism.

These two conceptions are not inimical. Instead, they conceive of social cohesion as a continuum between a benign multiculturalism and a radical egalitarianism that provides a variety of variations that, in different circumstances, could help balance out differences with commonality; social class interest with cross-class solidarity; individual interest with societal imperatives; and loyalty and fidelity to the nation state with a more critical understanding of citizenship. They could also infuse a transformative social cohesion agenda that prompts social justice by consistently destabilising historically established differences, and reassembling identities in ways that traverse ascribed markers that previously engendered conflict and contestation. Viewing social cohesion as a process allows the two conceptions to operate at the individual level as psychological, and at the societal level as structural, within a process that is always ongoing, in a state of flux, and never final or complete.

The key challenge with this continuum in the South African case, however, has been that the multicultural conception of social cohesion, focused on difference and the retention of older identities, tends to resonate more with most social actors, with the result that social cohesion often takes on a very narrow and cursory shape and form within policy.

### **10.2.3 Policy constraints**

In terms of tackling inequality and inequity within South African society, it is laudable that, since 1994, there has been a consistent focus on literacy and numeracy infused into all education policies. Indeed, good-quality education, particularly for the poor, is a foundational element of creating solidarity, belonging, and critical citizenship that are necessary for social cohesion, and which are intimately connected to the promotion of social cohesion.

However, given the fragile nature of nation states in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and the spurt of physical and symbolic violence, xenophobia, and the “growing” denial of the rights of groups such as LGBTIQ, immigrants, and refugees, there has also been a dire need for an “affective turn” within education policies. As such, social cohesion in recent times has taken on a particular orientation within the education quality agenda, where the affective goals in education are not delegitimated in favour of a strategy that privileges “LitNum” (literacy and numeracy). This, however, has posed a number of challenges for education policy, since it invests within policy some quite challenging contradictions and dilemmas with regard to which approach (“LitNum” or affective) to privilege, and when.

#### **10.2.4 Socio-economic constraints**

In South Africa, inequality defines what it means to be a South African citizen, with a growing divide between the rich and poor, and the employed and unemployed/unemployable. This inequality is historical, structural, and largely racialised. Crucially, inequality is also relational, to the extent that the rich (mostly white population) will remain rich as long as the large black majority remains poor. This highly unequal societal context means that social cohesion as “meaningful belonging” and a form of social justice is quite inconceivable in the current context.

Notably, inequality is mainly preserved through education governance policies that ensure that a largely black poor group remain homogenous through their attendance at local schools in areas that mirror those built during apartheid for particular racial groups. While there has been some degree of racial integration amongst the rich and middle class since 1994, which has enabled some black learners to go to schools beyond their local geographic boundaries and to experience a small measure of racial desegregation, for the majority of the poor, racial integration in schooling is not an everyday educational experience. This has fostered the establishment of a two-tiered “bifurcated” education system that reflects widely differing and segmented experiences of belonging and interaction. Worryingly, the latter experiences are key preconditions for social cohesion to take root within South African society.

### 10.2.5 Structural constraints

A further constraint on greater social belonging is tied to the differentiated contexts that teachers and learners find themselves in, and that strongly condition their agency and ability to act. At one level, where teachers and learners live, where they attend school or teach, and whom they mix with, are largely determined by social class and wealth, overlaid by aspects of race, gender, and geographical histories. These determine much of their lived realities, and shape their senses of belonging and social solidarity.

At another level, the above determinism is fortified by the kinds of HEIs that different teachers of different social classes get to attend. This shapes how future teachers see themselves as future agents of social cohesion. Indeed, notwithstanding significant changes alongside the reconfiguration of HE since 1994, teacher education in South Africa continues to mirror old apartheid institutional configurations, with teacher education providers often reflecting historic turf battles and particular social class orientations. These differences have continued to inform how teachers are trained at these institutions, with a mediated understanding of teacher education policy aims and intentions resulting in very differentiated understandings of, and approaches to, social cohesion at different institutions.

The promotion of social cohesion is seriously challenged when social class determinations inhibit the agencies of teachers via the above-noted contingent, segmented, and unequal measures. These determinations ensure that as long as teachers and learners remain separated at the individual school, institutional, and personal level, determined by class, and with tools that are shaped by their local experiences and institutions, then integration and common belonging will continue to be reproduced in the most barren of ways.

Having provided a detailed set of insights drawn from the full report, this chapter draws to conclusion in two final sections. Firstly, the chapter briefly constructs a social cohesion imagery in the form of describing what a socially cohesive classroom and school might look like in post-apartheid South Africa. Of necessity, this is undertaken as an exercise that underscores the severe limitations of attempting such a construction – given the gross inequalities that have been carefully delineated throughout the report, from the broad policy frameworks, through conceptions of teacher trust and accountability, ITE, CPTD,

textbooks, and the framing of social justice, and, finally, the ways teachers engage with learners, school environments, school leadership, SGBs, and parent communities, the curriculum and policy regimes, as well as other social factors that impact on teachers' sense of professional and personal selves. Secondly, the chapter draws to its conclusion by outlining a series of policy options and recommendations based on the desktop research and empirical research that underpin this report.

### **10.3 IMAGINING THE SOCIALLY COHESIVE CLASSROOM AND SCHOOL IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA**

As a point of departure, it must be noted that schools and classrooms are not decontextualised spaces, and operate in a complex fashion with a range of spatial, structural, policy, human, and other dimensions. These dimensions were carefully explicated in the report, and are not repeated here.

The social cohesion-directed classroom in post-apartheid South Africa should be well resourced, in terms of learning and teaching materials, as well as by teachers who are optimally educated and supported by school leaders, members of their SGBs, and by stakeholders drawn from allied public sectors such as electricity, roads, sanitation, health and welfare, and social services. Such a classroom would need to operate within an understanding of the relational dimensions of the classroom to other social structures and actors, and is therefore never a space that is conceptually and materially separated from the local, provincial, national, continental, and global contexts in which education and schooling occur.

Teachers, as stated, need to be well educated, especially with respect to knowledge about key concepts such as racism, prejudice, gender-bias, and other forms of political and ideological forms of negative discrimination. As indicated in Chapter 7, this will require a reconfiguration of ITE programme design to incorporate these issues around a broad ITE programme centred on social justice tenets as pivotal to the delivery of quality education. When teachers are working in their respective schools after their ITE periods, they need active, ongoing support in terms of various indicators of potential social disruption in their classrooms; namely how to optimally facilitate quality education for learners from diverse language, class, geographical, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and race backgrounds.

Crucial here is the understanding that policy regimes in this regard need to maintain a fine balance on a continuum between an inclusive, generalised national identity, whilst facilitating a positive orientation to coherent self-identification by learners and teachers in terms of the social markers of difference listed earlier. In other words, a classroom that is focused on fostering optimal social cohesion has to be a space where taken-for-granted self-identifications are, firstly, respected, and simultaneously rendered unstable by teachers who are able to initiate and sustain a thoughtful, respectful, and theory-laden social cohesion “text” that is delivered via a progressive curriculum.

In the diverse South African context, where classrooms manifest enormous differences by virtue of economic and cultural factors, it is imperative that teachers, emergent from apartheid’s still pernicious social embrace, must be continually engaged with global, national, and local discourses about an inclusive conceptualisation of what constitutes the human subject. In concert with this, teachers need a wide repertoire of teaching strategies and skills to actualise their teaching regimens. As the report has shown, modelling desired positive behaviours requires of teachers that they are thoroughly conversant with progressive pedagogies and related didactic modes. All these pedagogies are centred on notions of respect. This deep respect needs to be theorised around the common humanity of teachers and their learners. Once again, a national orientation has to work with notions of respect that emanate from an understanding that “respect” is not external to the teaching self. Rather, we respect one another *because* our conceptualisation is that we respect all people, not despite of difference, but because of a common humanity. As the report has repeatedly emphasised, this requires a determined reconfiguration of an understanding of what constitutes a human being. This must be at the heart of a desired anti-racist, ant-sexist, and anti-prejudicial curriculum, and the focus of attendant CPTD programme design and provision.

Far from a place of constant, quiet solitude, the contemporary post-apartheid classroom must be energised by a deep commitment to work with the deep inequities that accompany South Africa’s school-going population as they enter their classrooms. Again, at the core of this desired space is the foundational financial prerequisites that will enable teachers to draw on identified resources with which to shape their lessons and classroom engagements. Thus, as the report has recommended, an alternative to a growth model of the economy will

need to be debated and put in place; one that will place people and a principled, urgent redistribution mindset at the heart of national and local education and related planning. And, this thinking has to be included in curricular offerings that bring learners' intelligences to bear on these vexing questions. It is highly desirable that South Africa's youth, especially female rural youth, be brought into the centre of national debates. Arguably, the post-apartheid South African classroom is the ideal space in which to initiate a structured, theory-laden, and solution-oriented conversation between the state and the learner, mediated by the agency of a skilled, educated, and progressive teacher who is well able to engage with language, clan, tribe, "race", gender, class, and other complexities, in order to direct the exuberance and dreams of our youth in the post-apartheid state. This means a deliberate set of multiple curricular foci, not solely related to the "market", as in the LitNum strategy, but a curriculum that speaks powerfully and simultaneously to local, national, and global issues that determine access to good-quality nutrition, access to high-quality health services, opportunities for the recognition and acquisition of local and global skills for engaging with large and local economies, and the resultant shaping of learners who are educated in local knowledge, as well as acquiring skills with which to navigate the increasingly complex global social arenas.

This penultimate section of the final chapter suggests that the report, in its totality, creates an expectation of the post-apartheid classroom as a key driver of what has been ironically deemed to be "the deferred dream" of the post-apartheid era, i.e. a determined, programmatic assault on the injustices of our colonial, apartheid, and contemporary social injustices. The chapters in this report, drawing from a rich pool of data drawn from primary research undertaken with teachers; learners; principals; SGB members; education officials at district, provincial, and national levels; ITE programme designers; TEs; CPTD programme designers; and CPTD programme participants. The data paint a clear picture of the severe inequities that constrain the post-apartheid desire to create a dynamic social fabric that is characterised by prosperity, justice, and the creation of an explicit peacebuilding social cohesion orientation that is not satisfied with a "peace" that is manifested only as the "absence of war or violence". Rather, the post-apartheid classroom, and the post-apartheid teacher, should work alongside learners and communities to work with complex instantiations of violence; particularly, but not exclusively, violence against women, to forge

new ways of social engagement based on the best adoptions of all knowledge systems that privilege our common humanity.

The final section of this chapter, and of the report, now moves on to a set of policy options and recommendations that augment the specific recommendations at the end of each chapter in this report.

## **10.4 SOME POLICY OPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The complexity of the above analyses suggests that policy conclusions and recommendations need to approach social cohesion as both a process and an outcome. Moreover, the end state is never permanent, as each moment of positive social cohesion carries within it the possibility of new forms of exclusion, with the inherent, contradictory potential to rupture the very cohesion that has been produced. This relational analysis reflects an understanding of various social cohesion interventions as not following a simple and linear logic from aim to outcome, but as engendering unintended outcomes, contradictory outcomes, and contested outcomes. Caution must therefore be exercised in replicating promising interventions in diverse contexts. Context matters for social cohesion strategies, and context is important to render a historicised and realistic account of inequality and its relationship to peace and reconciliation. With these caveats, policy options are suggested for consideration. The focus on policy options in the section that follows is to stimulate dialogue and debate, while more specific recommendations for policy and practice are found at the end of each chapter of this report.

### **10.4.1 Recasting the policy environment**

A vision of social cohesion as transformative and transforming requires a policy framework that, on the one hand, includes specific, measurable, and achievable targets and indicators that measure activities, programmes, and events. On the other hand, it must also be underpinned by a framework that challenges fixed and reified individual and group identities, as exemplified by versions of liberal multiculturalism. It needs to accommodate approaches such as anti-racism and radical cosmopolitan citizenship that locate belonging in contexts of social class and institutional determination.

#### 10.4.2 Moving beyond interaction and contact

A starting point for social cohesion policy and practice in South Africa recognises the salience of individual and group contact. Dialogue and mutual interaction are the *sine qua non* of social cohesion. A social justice approach to social cohesion, however, requires more than contact; it requires efforts to confront the past and redress social inequities.

At the individual level, strong forms of social cohesion involve destabilising identities and confronting the privilege and benefits that individuals accrued and accumulated from systems designed to benefit some at the expense of others. Moreover, intergroup contact must be founded on approaches that do not deny the past, and which do not practise “politics of avoidance” that preclude discussions of group and individual investments in systems of privilege. Thus, social cohesion beyond intergroup contact is psychological as much as it is structural. The TRC, as a model of social cohesion, highlighted the need for enacting social cohesion founded on truth. Similarly, the *Values in Manifesto* document in South Africa argued that facing the future required confronting the past.

At the societal level, this necessitates more proactive forms of redistribution within programmes of affirmative action. Such programmes should not simply be short-term strategic interventions; they must be founded on the principles of social justice to redress substantive rights that were denied to a majority-oppressed population. They must also do more than “level the playing field”, and rather, to extend the metaphor, should be about “changing the game and the rules of the game”. In essence, this may require an approach to social cohesion founded on alternative economic growth and development paths and visions.

#### 10.4.3 Developing a “joined-up” transformative social justice agenda

Education is necessary to engender a more radical conception of social cohesion. Education in and of itself, however, cannot remedy all forms of inequity, particularly when they are enduring, systemic, and structural in nature. Thus, joined up, cross-sectoral interventions are needed that are coupled with inclusive national economic development growth plans and trajectories. To this end, there is a need for programmes and interventions that promote social cohesion. This could be done, for example, by providing all prospective



teachers with defined courses with content focused on social cohesion, coupled with more egalitarian growth plans.

#### **10.4.4 Enabling and necessary conditions for social cohesion in and through education**

Realising the options stated above requires a number of important and necessary conditions for effective implementation, although the list provided below is not exhaustive.

##### **10.4.4.1 *Political will***

Political will, coupled with a progressive bureaucracy invested in change, needs to be linked to the affective turn in social cohesion in South Africa. Political will is demonstrated in leadership that places transformative social cohesion at the heart of system-wide reform focused on improving education quality. Such leadership needs to work across government, and in provincial and national departments of education, to develop proactive strategies of education redistribution in favour of the marginalised.

##### **10.4.4.2 *Shared consensus and participation***

For the sake of policy efficacy, key stakeholders need to be committed to and involved in policy efforts to promote social cohesion. This is particularly so when the strategy, as proposed in this report, seeks to redistribute, recognise, represent, and reconcile in favour of the most marginalised. To this end, it is necessary in the South African context to develop dialogue fora and consultative roundtables. These would inform the creation of a robust policy framework that includes a detailed and adequately funded plan for the implementation of a range of actions that address the issues that inhibit teacher agency. Such a framework should, whilst recognising context, consider a variety of promising social cohesion interventions. In this regard, the voice and agency of social movements and civil society organisations are crucial to holding government, institutions, companies, and actors to account.

#### **10.4.4.3 *Mutual trust and binding behaviours***

Policies, action plans, institutional reconfigurations, targets, and indicators are all important for promoting social cohesion. However, none of these will matter if individuals and groups do not trust each other or hold each other to account for agreed actions. Mutual trust and binding behaviours by groups and individuals are the basic building blocks of a transformative social justice agenda.

#### **10.4.4.4 *Capacity***

Realising laudable policy intentions relies on the aggregate capacity of the system to manage and monitor. Aggregate system capacity rests on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of actors, which include national, provincial, and district officials, school leaders and teachers, and SGB members. The propensity to act and to implement requires targeted and focused professional development programmes that empower these actors.

To conclude, realising social justice in societies emerging from the shadows of conflict and violence will necessitate a far more radical conception of social cohesion. This is evident across all the arguments in the various chapters and in the policy options suggested. It is timely, when contemplating a strategy of transformation, to be reminded that “between social reforms and (transformation) there exists an indissoluble tie. The struggle for reforms is the means, social (transformation) its aim” (Luxemburg, 1970:8). The analyses and proposals suggested here seek to animate and invigorate a social justice and a social cohesion transformation agenda that is premised on a framework that builds upon reforms already in motion.

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