

Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Contexts:

Evaluating Education Interventions in South Africa

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



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Team members carried out extensive field research in South Africa and Rwanda and have produced a synthesis report on the entire project, two national country reports, and five policy briefs, as well as various journal articles.

Throughout the research project, team members have provided insights into how teachers are framed and supported in their roles as peacebuilders and promoters of social cohesion, how they experience this support, how their practices and attitudes are influenced, and the outcomes for learners therein.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This executive summary 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 key idea that permeates this executive summary is that the creation of a more just and cohesive society requires the dismantling of systemic inequality that drive and frame social injustice.

The report identifies and analyses the conditions under which education interventions focused on teachers lead to peace and social cohesion in classrooms in South Africa. Further, it analyses those factors that help mitigate and reduce different kinds of conflict and violence that hinder teaching and learning in South Africa. 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. A specific focus lies in understanding the role of teachers as potential agents of both peace and enduring conflict.

The goal of the main 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.

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 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.

1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REPORT

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).

1.3 CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

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).

Equality of access to good-quality education is a key contributor to peacebuilding and poverty reduction. 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. 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).

In this respect, the pursuit of social cohesion is bound in efforts to achieve social justice and equity.

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. At the same time, there exists 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 overwhelming resurgence of neo-liberal political solutions that prefer to utilise structural adjustment and financial austerity measures when addressing perceived education crises.

The 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 (2005; 1995) work on social justice with the peacebuilding and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1997; 1995), and others, as well as to the equity approach

of UNICEF, which places a strong emphasis on inclusion, relevance, and participation (see Epstein, 2010).

1.4 MAPPING THE CONCEPTUAL TERRAIN

This section lays out working definitions for the key research concepts in the report; namely social cohesion, violence, peacebuilding, race, governance, equity, agency, and gender.

1.4.1 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 (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.”
- The UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA) 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).

- The UNDP (2014) conceives of social cohesion in the context of arguing 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.

Chan *et al.* (2006:274) thus suggest a tighter conceptualisation that approaches the concept of social cohesion 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”.

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.

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).

1.4.2 Social cohesion and violence

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.

This report asserts that a better understanding of the relational dynamics of violence is needed if social cohesion is to lead to social transformation.

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.

The report argues 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 best facilitates social cohesion.

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.

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.

1.4.3 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.

1.4.4 Race and racism

In the context of schools and education in post-apartheid South Africa, it is vital that “race” be properly conceptualised.

“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 (Omi & Winant, 1993:3). “Race” continues to have significant traction in the 21st century. For education, the key challenge is to confront the “continuing significance and changing meaning of race” (Omi & Winant, 1993:3).

1.4.5 Governance in education

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.

1.4.6 Equity and inequality in 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.

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 seeking equity in education, an unequal distribution of resources might therefore be necessary to redress historical inequalities.

1.4.7 Agency in education

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).

1.4.8 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.
- Gender is a relational concept.
- Gender intersects with other social categorisations.
- Gender is linked to sexuality.

1.5 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 captured in the following table.

Table 1: Key messages in the literature

Key messages in the literature
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 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.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Teachers must be included as important stakeholders in policy planning.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Teachers must be positively supported to develop their peacebuilding agency as reflexive, engaged professionals.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• In recognition of the complex situation, a policy response requires responsive and reflexive solutions that take teachers' contexts into account.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• More credence should be given to the transformative capabilities of well trained, supported, motivated, and remunerated teachers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 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.

Source: Sayed et al. (2017)

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

2.1 INTRODUCTION

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. 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.

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.

After close to three centuries of colonial subjugation and the fragmentation of South African indigenous societies, 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.

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).

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.

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.

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 that the rich and poor and the majority and minority (still largely shaped by previous delineations) inhabit “*two different worlds*” with “*different narratives*” (Interview with Public Forum Representative 1, 2015). As such, they are presumably unable to build a coherent approach to living or developing a common identity.

2.3 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.

- The South African Constitution: A system of concurrent functions
- The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)
- The National Development Plan (NDP)

2.4 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.

2.5 UNPACKING POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

2.5.1 Structure of the education system

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. Table 2 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 2: 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)	Senior	Secondary (high school)	12	National Certificate	4
			11	Intermediate Certificate	3
			10	Elementary Certificate	2
			9	General Certificate	1
			8		
	Intermediate	Primary	7		
			6		
			5		
			4		
			3		
			2		
			1		
	Foundation		R (0)		
			(00)		
			(000)		
		ECD centre			

Source: Department of Basic Education (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.

2.5.2 Budget

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 salaries and 20% on non-teaching inputs).

2.5.3 School education

Table 3 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 3: South Africa's basic school data in 2013

School type	Level	Institutions	Learners	Educators
Public schools¹	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
	Total (Public)	24 136	11 975 844	391 829
Independent schools	Primary	530	121 708	6 735
	Secondary	260	67 103	4 853
	Combined	385	98 641	5 981
	Intermediate	409	226 352	15 625

¹ 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).

School type	Level	Institutions	Learners	Educators
Total (Independent)		1 584	513 804	33 194
Total (Public and independent)		25 720	12 489 648	425 023
Other Education sectors	ECD	3 859	277 736	11 874
	SNE ²	448	116 504	10 252
	Total (Other)	4 307	392 240	22 126
Grand total		30 027	12 883 888	447 149

Source: DBE (2015a:21)

2.5.4 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.

2.5.5 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 Special needs education, including stand-alone special needs schools and those attached to ordinary public and independent schools.

2.5.6 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.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 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.

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 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?**

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?

3.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

3.2.1 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. 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”.

While there is fairly limited research on the relationship between the outbreak of armed conflict and education and inequality, 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.

The research highlights the idea 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.

As an analytical tool in the education sector, the framework is able to engage with cross-sectorial programming focused on conflict transformation, as outlined in Table 4.

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

Novelli et al. (2017)

3.2.2 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.

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).

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.

3.2.3 Teacher agency framework

Figure 1 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 1. 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 1.

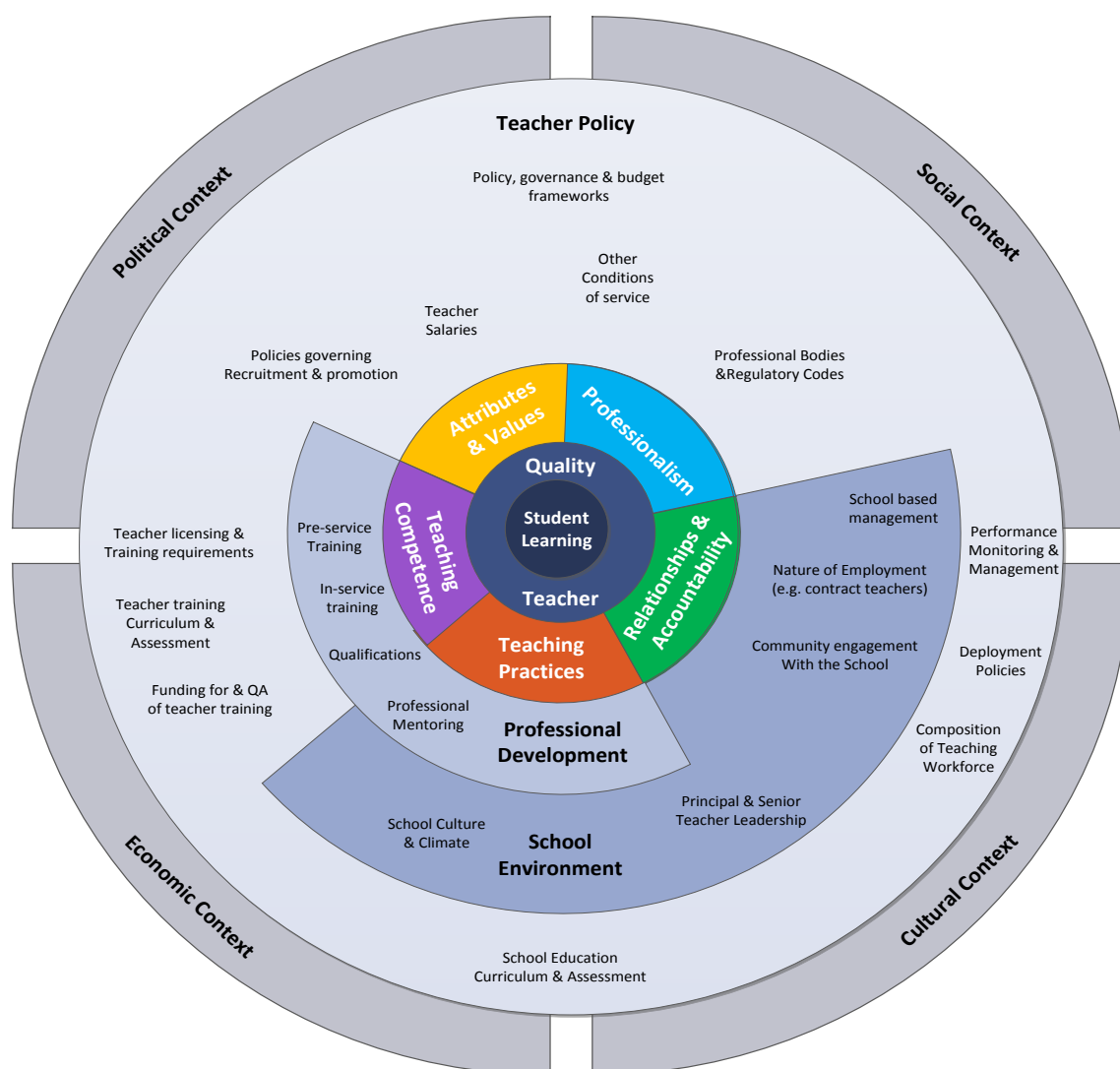


Figure 1: Framework for researching teacher agency in post conflict contexts

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

3.2.4 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.

Data Collection: The research adopted a primarily 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.

Data Analysis: 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 contribute to the better application and promotion of education as a contribution to sustainable peacebuilding.

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

4.1 INTRODUCTION

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.

4.2 THE POLICY RESEARCH PROCESS

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.

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 2. Figure 2 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.

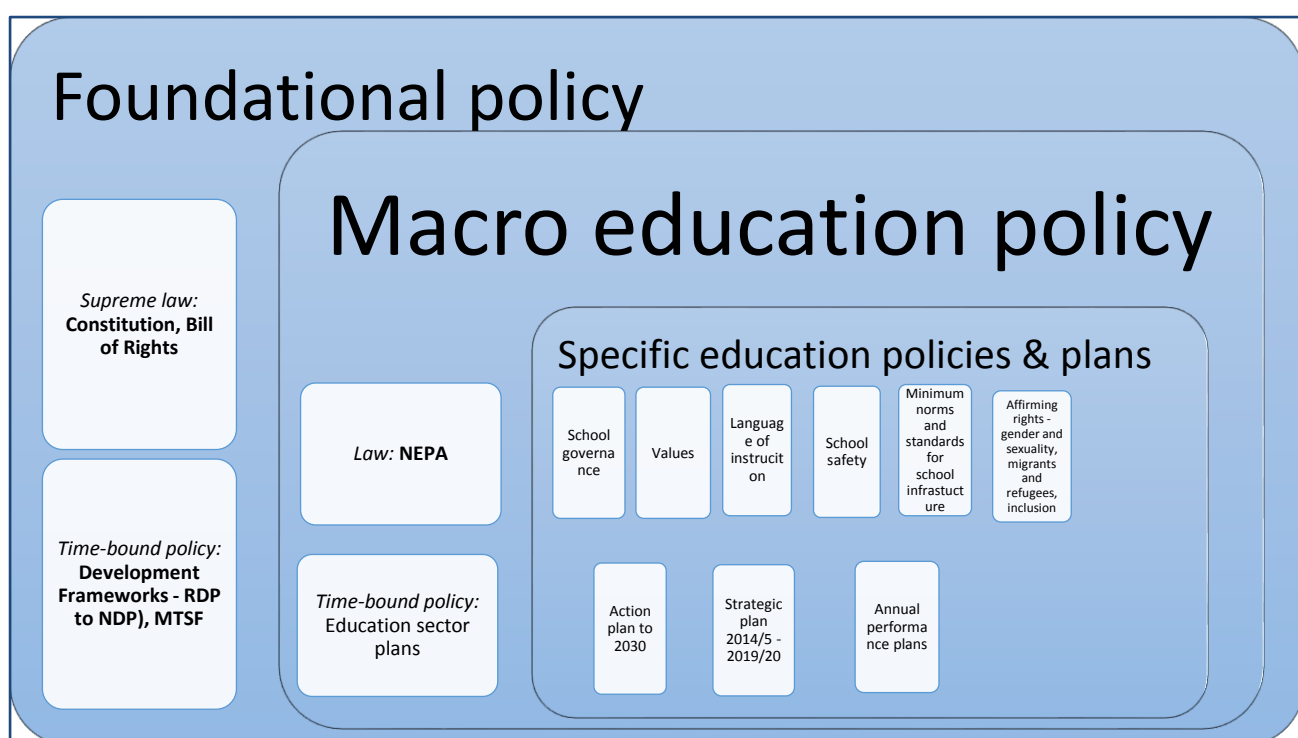


Figure 2: Policy architecture in South Africa

Source: CITE (2016)

The policies reviewed in the report are tabulated in Table 5.

Table 5: South African policies reviewed for this report

Policy focus	Year	Policy
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>

Policy focus	Year	Policy
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
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)

Policy focus	Year	Policy
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)
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)

Policy focus	Year	Policy
Specific education – Initial teacher 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 – Continuing professional teacher Development (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 CURRENT EDUCATION SECTOR PLANS

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.

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).

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).

4.4 MINIMUM UNIFORM NORMS AND STANDARDS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURE

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 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.

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.

Chapter 5 - Teacher Recruitment and Deployment

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The governance and management of teachers can either support or erode social cohesion.

Governance is fundamental to constituting a social 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.

5.2 DEPLOYMENT, RECRUITMENT, AND SUPPLY AND DEMAND

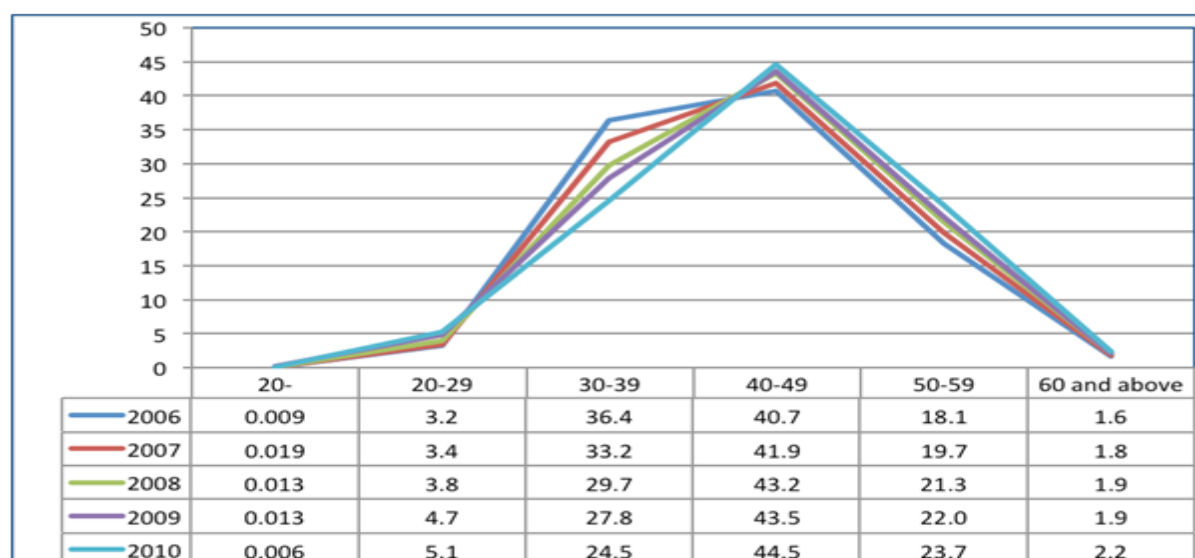
Teacher deployment and recruitment are framed by the availability and capacity of teachers on the one hand and the demand for teachers on the other. The National Teacher Audit of 1996 highlighted a mismatch between teacher supply and demand (on the basis of race and ethnicity), with high numbers of unqualified teachers in the system (Hofmeyr & Hall, 1996).

5.2.1 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.

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



Source: Van Broekhuizen (2015)

Graph 1 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.

5.2.2 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.

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 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. The report details these interventions.

Chapter 6 - Teacher Trust and Accountability

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Teacher trust and accountability is conceptualised in the report 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.

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.

6.2 TRUST, ACCOUNTABILITY, AUTONOMY, AND CONTROL

“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” (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). 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.

Trust in relation to teachers is concerned with how the firm belief in the integrity, ability, and effectiveness of teachers is built (Levitt *et al.*, 2008); 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.

6.2.1 Trust and accountability interventions

The report presents two interventions: 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.

6.2.2 Insights and recommendations

The report makes the following recommendations with regard to SACE and SGBs.

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.

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.

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.

Despite their significant power and authority to fulfil a number of objectives, SGBs 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.

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.

In order to promote social cohesion among unequally resourced schools, SGBs are 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.

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 - Teacher Professional Development

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 and CPTD processes.

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 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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.

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.

Students who have completed either of these qualifications must register with SACE in order to commence their teaching career. Completion of these qualifications also culminates in a student having completed his/her ITE, or pre-service training.

7.2 CONTEMPORARY POLICY FRAMEWORKS FOR INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION (ITE)

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).

MRTEQ emphasises the development of student teachers’ academic skills and knowledge within particular qualification-specific knowledge mixes.

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”.

An identifiable challenge to the landscape of ITE is thus the piecemeal approach to re-curriculation 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 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.

7.3 SELECTED INSIGHTS FROM THE ITE CASE STUDIES

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.

7.3.1 Course design

Table 6 demonstrates different approaches to managing the knowledge mix required for the B.Ed and PGCE qualifications respectively.

Table 6: 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
	Inclusive Education		School Experience		Educational Thought, Teaching & Learning
	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: Sayed et al. (2017)

7.3.2 Promoted pedagogies

The guiding pedagogies underpinning Professional Studies at Institution A are the pedagogies 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 Teacher Educator, University A).

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.

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.

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).

7.3.3 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. 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.

7.4 INSIGHTS FROM THE CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL TEACHER DEVELOPMENT (CPTD) CASE STUDIES

7.4.1 Introduction

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.

7.4.2 Policy provisions relating to CPTD 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 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). The ISPFTED has stated four intended outputs for different stakeholders, such as the DBE, DHET, and/or PEDs. The outputs are stated in Table 7.

Table 7: 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)

7.4.3 Continuing professional teacher 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).

7.4.4 Insights from the CPTD case studies

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 in 2016. The third dataset came from interviews conducted in 2016 with teachers who attended, and facilitators who 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?*

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 (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]).

7.4.4.1 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.³ However, the average hours spent on professional activities as reported by the teachers were 38.1 hours (DBE, 2013). The survey also showed, specifically,

³ As calculated by ELRC Resolution No. 7 of 1998 on the Workload of Educators. Teachers need to complete 80 hours of CPTD per annum.

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 Figure 3).

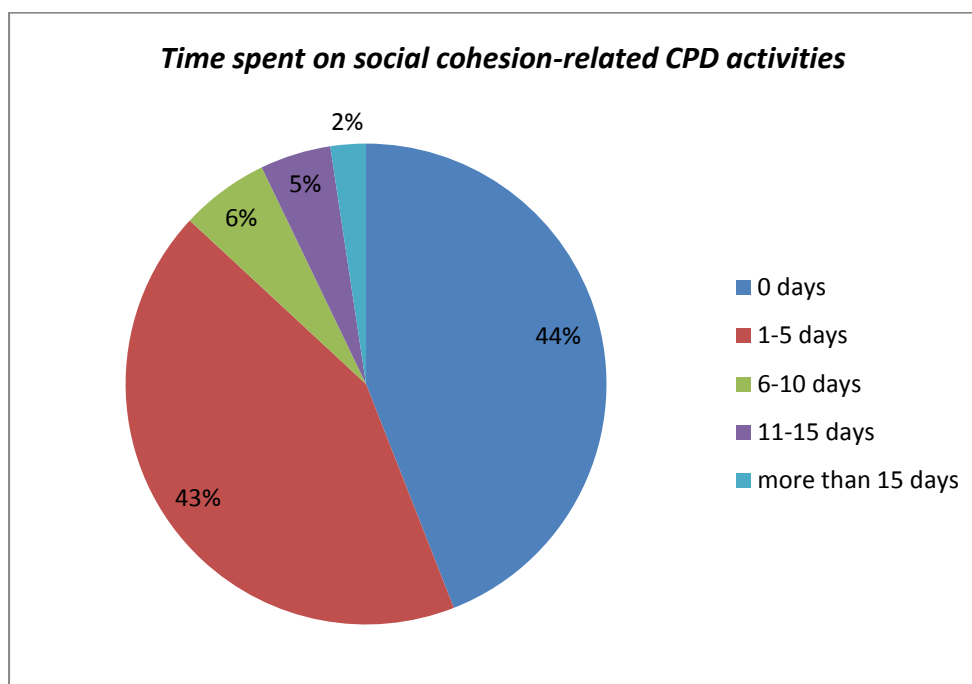


Figure 3: Time spent per year on social cohesion-related CPTD programmes

Source: Teachers and Social Cohesion Study (2016)

SACE identifies 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.

7.4.4.2 Recommendations from the four CPTD interventions

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 - National Curriculum and Textbook Analysis

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores 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.

8.2 THE ROLE OF TEXTBOOKS

The national curriculum and textbooks play a number of important roles relating to social justice and social cohesion.

The national curriculum acts as an officially sanctioned version of knowledge and culture and, consequently, has 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.

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 furthers 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.

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.

8.3 THE STATUS OF THE TEACHER IN THE CURRENT CURRICULUM IN SOUTH AFRICA: CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT POLICY STATEMENTS (CAPS)

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.

Subsequently, it can be stated that CAPS has done much to disempower the teacher as an agent of social cohesion.

Rather, it appears 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.

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.

The analysis centres on 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 8: Chapters chosen for analysis by subject

Textbook title	Chapter title
Life Orientation	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
English	Chapter 13: Identity
	Chapter 15: Different types of English
	Chapter 17: In praise of Africa
Social Studies	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: Sayed et al. (2017)

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 the main report (Sayed *et al.*, 2017). This section gives a brief overview of those theories and how they shaped the analysis.

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 INSIGHTS FROM THE ANALYSIS OF NINE CHAPTERS TEXTBOOKS FROM THREE TEXTBOOKS

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.

8.5 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 - Teacher Agency and Social Cohesion in Schools

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on Research Question 6 of the main report (Sayed *et al.*, 2017), 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?”

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;
- an analysis of how curricula, syllabi, textbooks, and other learning resources are used in the classroom to promote social cohesion;
- whether or not materials developed for social cohesion are finding their way into the classroom, and how they are being used;
- an exploration the factors that constrain teachers in exercising their agency in terms of social cohesion.

9.2 KEY CONCEPTS AND THEORIES USED IN THE CHAPTER

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.

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.

9.3 A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY APPROACH TO SOCIAL COHESION

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).

9.4 RESEARCH SITES AND SCHOOL SELECTION CRITERIA

Schools were in two provinces, the Western Cape and Eastern Cape. The schools met the site-criteria for the study, 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.

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).

9.5 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.

9.6 FINDINGS

9.6.1 Teachers' understanding of social cohesion

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.

9.6.2 Teacher pedagogies for social cohesion

The 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.

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%.

9.6.3 Teachers and violence: Classroom discipline for the promotion of social cohesion

“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 effects of 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 9 and 10) 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".

Table 9: 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
Total	102	100.0	100.0	-

Source: Sayed et al. (2017)

Table 10: 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
Total	102	100.0	100.0	-

Source: Sayed et al. (2017)

9.7 INSIGHTS

- Teachers' articulations of social cohesion are drawn from common-sense understanding of the concept and conceptualisations of social cohesion are disparate;
- There is a strong disjuncture between social cohesion initiatives framed in Western education paradigms, and the still powerful traditional beliefs and power structures which arguably characterise impoverished rural communities in South Africa;
- 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, with its attendant negative implications for social cohesion pedagogy;

- Structural inequalities and cultural dissonance in the form of teacher non-representivity undermine efforts aimed at achieving social justice; and
- 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.

9.8 RECOMMENDATIONS

- The state must cultivate a national discursive space that promotes teachers as national assets.
- This chapter makes a strong recommendation that teachers must be trained, and strongly incentivised, to venture into (school) zones of discomfort.
- 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.
- The report 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.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion and Recommendations

10.1 INTRODUCTION

A key challenge identified in the report 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.

Notwithstanding the raft of progressive education policies promulgated in South Africa since the advent of democracy in 1994, the country has struggled to mediate the extent and level of structural inequity in the country.

We need 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.

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.

Of necessity, teachers need to be encouraged to venture into “zones of discomfort” in both pedagogical and spatial ways. This would assist in confronting 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 chapter posits that a transformative social cohesion agenda that foregrounds 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.

10.2 KEY CHALLENGES IN REALISING SOCIAL COHESION IN AND THROUGH EDUCATION

There are significant societal challenges in realising social cohesion in and through education. A number of key insights are presented in the report, details of which can be sourced from the report. These societal challenges are:

- Historical constraints
- Socio-cultural constraints
- Policy constraints
- Socio-economic constraints
- Structural constraints

10.3 IMAGINING THE SOCIALLY COHESIVE SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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.

A number of indicators from the report can be assembled here to imagine the socially cohesive post-apartheid South African school and classroom:

- Schools and classrooms are not decontextualised spaces, and operate in a complex fashion with a range of spatial, structural, policy, human, and other dimensions.
- The social cohesion-directed classroom in post-apartheid South Africa should be well resourced, and is 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.
- 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.

- The contemporary post-apartheid classroom must be energised by a deep commitment by teachers to work with the deep inequities that accompany South Africa's school-going population as they enter their classrooms.
- 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.

10.4 SOME POLICY OPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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.

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

While the salience of individual and group contact for social cohesion is not contested, a social justice approach to social cohesion requires more than contact; it requires efforts to confront the past and redress social inequities.

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.

10.4.3 Developing a “joined-up” transformative social justice agenda

Education in and of itself cannot remedy all forms of inequity, particularly when they are enduring, systemic, and structural in nature. Cross-sectoral interventions are needed that are coupled with inclusive national economic development growth plans and trajectories to promote social cohesion.

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 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.

10.4.4.3 *Mutual trust and binding behaviours*

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*

It is evident across all chapters and in the policy options suggested that realising social justice in societies emerging from the shadows of conflict and violence will necessitate a far more radical conception of social cohesion that embraces very strong notions of redistribution.

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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