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Editorial

Wayne Hugo

'Implicit' and 'Explicit' do not exist as a pedagogic binary where one exists to the exclusion of the other. Nor do Implicit and Explicit exist as a cline where more of the one necessarily means less of the other. If I know this, why do I seem to keep landing up on the more explicit side? Calling for more explicit and visible forms of curriculum design and pedagogic process ensures that learners and teachers are clear about what they have to do, especially in South Africa, where most of our learners are struggling with basic foundations, not specialised heights. Making explicit what needs to be learnt, how it should be learnt, and what and how it should be assessed is a key 'improver' because it improves efficiency, cuts down on wasted time and poor sequences, enables clarity of sight and straightforwardness of movement. The problem with the above is that it sounds like a traditional 'back to basics' call and raises the hackles of all the discovery oriented, facilitative, progressive educators out there who have a moral mission to care for children, nurture children, make sure they explore, create, innovate and grow. Very quickly, there are suddenly two groups shouting at each other over a boundary wall built up with the wasted minds and bodies of our learners, both blaming the rising body count on each other as the wall grows higher and higher.

I felt this tendency rise up in me with some of the papers in this edition and would like to analyse why it happened and what to do about it. My strongest reaction came with what is happening in Namibian education. Although the Namibian education system partly inherited the same Apartheid curse, its post independence trajectory has increasingly taken a different path to South Africa. Namibia has a far smaller system, with around 600 thousand learners and 1500 schools. South Africa has around twelve and a half million learners in close to 50 thousand schools. Post independence Namibian educational reform was strongly influenced by the Swedish International Development Agency and a radical exile philosophy of critical and transformative learner centred pedagogy that emphasised integration of knowledge and reflective practice. Partly because Namibian education is so small, the influence of this 'radical' Swedish pedagogic philosophy has been pervasive. There has been no influential critique of this critical social constructivist position, whereas in South Africa, based on powerful critiques by academics such as Joe Muller, Jonathan Jansen and Linda Chisholm, there has been an increasing shift

towards a plainly defined, content-based curriculum, with explicit sequences and basic assessment tasks that test for clearly defined content. Nyambe and Wilmot show, very clearly, that teacher education in a specific Namibian college suffers from a 'forked tongue' syndrome, where teacher educators espouse a learner centred, constructivist pedagogy but actually teach in a traditional, teacher centred way that is antithetical to the radical pedagogy. It's important for us to understand this dynamic and Nyambe and Wilmot tell the story well, but what rises up in me is puzzlement around why there is no critique of this critical social constructivist transformative learner centred pedagogy in Namibia. For Nyambe and Wilmot the issue is around failure of implementation and the need to change broader structural arrangements so as to improve the possibility of a more genuine form of learner centred pedagogy, both in the colleges and in schools. What is not even on the horizon is the question of whether critical social constructivist learner centred pedagogy is the problem in Namibia, not the cure. Maybe it's the attempt to take something that occasionally works in richly equipped and staffed schools of the freezing north and apply it to the poorly equipped and staffed schools of the hot south that is the problem. And so I find myself on one side of the wall, ranting.

I stayed there when thinking about Petro du Preez, Shan Simmonds and Cornelia Roux's interesting meditation on how to improve the way we teach and learn human rights education. Education cannot just be about knowledge and specialisation of consciousness. We are in a hard fought for democratic country balanced on a knife-edge that needs deep entrenchment of civic, moral and ethical standards. Human rights education is a response to this need, and the paper provides a nuanced discussion of how to take the project forward. Their research on teacher and learner understandings of human rights education revealed a combination of superficial practices that treated human rights education as something to be learnt at a specific time in specific subjects (like life orientation) along with confusion around how to negotiate differences of opinion when these arose. One teacher paradoxically noted that 'maintaining a culture of human rights means to agree to disagree – but in silence'. Some learners tended to show an individualist orientation to human rights ('I have the right to swim because it is fun'). I can imagine Petro, Shan and Cornelia sifting through the data in some despair, as teacher after teacher showed lack of insight and learner after learner revealed the consequences of this lack. Their recommendations basically involve a full scale assault. Get human rights education into everything, do it explicitly and implicitly, covertly and overtly. How? Firstly shift away from an epistemologically

oriented teacher praxis where the issue is specialising consciousness towards an ethics of care position where feeling and affection towards others drives us. Secondly, allow for intuitive dialogue about complex, shambolic moral issues where hands get dirty, emotions get challenged, and horizons get shifted within an ethical community that holds it together in a loving way. Thirdly, push for teachers to become extended professionals who take ownership of their own development and emancipate themselves as well as their learners. How could I be on one side of the wall against such a well meaning, cogently put, and passionately argued for set of proposals?

It started with one of the teachers comments:

> Economic and Managerial Sciences was a very abstract learning area for learners . . . adding 'funny' strategies such as dialogue and contents such as human rights might just confuse learners more. (T: comment 3)

The summary comment on this is

> Comment three is an example of a teacher's attempts to justify her failure to infuse human rights in the curriculum and teaching-learning practices in a balanced manner.

Maybe, maybe not. It could be a professional teacher defending her (his and her) subject discipline and intuitively recognising what much research points towards – a focus on the subject as subject without distractions, add ons, extra themes, embellishments, warm up activities, asides, etc. tends to improve performance in the subject. Nothing spectacular or counter intuitive here in terms of breakthrough research – centering on the subject improves performance in the subject. But is this not fiddling whilst South Africa burns? Surely what is needed is a stronger emphasis on human rights to avoid all the current abuse going on? It depends on what foundation human rights are built up from, and this takes us back to Durkheim's distinction between mechanical or organic forms of solidarity, where either solidarity is built up on the principle of everyone being the same and doing the same; or everyone differentiating themselves based on specialisation of function. The beauty of organic solidarity is that it is in the differentiation of function that solidarity comes. You rely on others to do what they have specialised in whilst they rely on you to do what you have specialised in. Do unto others as you wish they would do to you. At the heart of organic solidarity lies specialisation, and this is the import of what the teacher above is pushing for. The consequence of this position is not necessarily a failure of human rights, but a strengthening of the base on which human rights can flourish. This is not to deny the need for schools to be places where human rights are embedded and flourish in the warp and weft of school life; it is to dispute that teachers who fight for the

purity of their subjects are somehow failing human rights education when, at a deeper level, they could be laying the foundation for its organic flourishing. Again I find myself on one side of the wall, this time arguing for a clear maintenance of subject boundaries against the attempt to infuse them with other themes and issues like human rights education. The word 'infuse' sounds more like 'contaminate' to me.

I don't want to be on one side of a wall arguing with my colleagues, I want to be in a place where we understand the generating principles of education that produce both traditional and progressive types of education, where the very idea that there are two types of education antithetical to each other is seen to be but a surface drama of much deeper rules at play, where instead of throwing foam at each other we ride the wave. The lead article of this edition, Fataar and Du Plooy's *Spatialised assemblages and suppressions* gets under the surface through a fine-grained reading of how children negotiate the lived domains of home, environmental location and school. As the lives of four children unfold in the paper, we find each of them assembling specific learning positions based on subjective engagements with their lived reality. It's a tale of how each of these children work with what they have and come to be particular kinds of learners based on the affordances of their environments. In the second half of the paper we read about how the school these children go to suppresses their rich learning dispositions. "The dynamics of the school reworked the children's positioning in such a way that they assumed one-dimensional learning subjectivities emptied of productive and enriching possibilities." This is due, in part, to the tough context of the school and its teachers, where social pathologies result in teachers being distracted from the pedagogic tasks and taking on "one dimensional professional personas" to cope. The school struggles to keep basic functions going. Generative and creative pedagogic strategies are absent with chalk and talk to the textbook ruling the day. The four distinctly individual children find themselves in a school environment that struggles to differentiate, that cannot work with heterogeneity, and forces a homogenous and crude pedagogy on them. The last third of the paper tracks how the four children negotiate this suppressive set of classroom practices with different results. Each uses their own set of resources and networks within the homogenous pedagogic environment and this results in different trajectories. Sadly, the trajectories do not result in positive learning paths for most of them.

It's a tough paper to muse over, but in comparison to much of the research pouring out on the dysfunctional nature of most of our schools, it gives some

hope. It might be that the teacher suppresses the individual learning dispositions of her students, but at least she (she/he) is teaching lessons on time and on task. It's a glass half full or half empty syndrome. Fataar and Du Plooy use the possibility of a more complex and differentiated pedagogy to show how empty a simple and basic pedagogy is, but the simple pedagogy does manage to half fill the glass. A school caught between complete dysfunctionality and full scale functionality is an interesting creature, both for what it does and does not do and what it can and cannot do. The term 'suppression' catches the tension. As a negative descriptor it is all about crushing, cracking down, and squashing; and this is the major sense suppression holds in the paper. But in psychology, suppression can refer to the conscious exclusion of unacceptable thoughts or desires, the educational variant of which is sublimation, where lower and more unacceptable energies are transformed into higher activities. As Nietzsche pointedly asks us is in *Human all to human* – what would we do if we found that the most magnificent results were attained with the basest and most despised ingredients? Reading Fataar and Du Plooy's paper with both senses of 'suppression' in mind helps us see the school as half full and half empty at the same time.

Intellectualisation is one form of sublimation, and we find an excellent account of parts of this process in Pholoho Morojele's paper *Childhood memories that matter.* Morojele tracks how his own experiences of growing up in Lesotho as a boy heir impacted on his doctoral research on gender in rural Lesotho schools. Pholoho grew up believing his purpose in life was to protect his sisters and family from the consequences of patriarchy. And on one level, this was exactly why Pholoho was conceived. The cattle of his father would have been inherited by other Morojele families had he not been born. Patriarchical rules of Basotho culture would have taken the cattle away from daughters as they have no rights of inheritance. Pholoho being born saved his sisters from increased poverty and dependence, hence his name meaning salvation. He exists as a result of patriarchy but, in being born, saved his elder sisters from poverty.

> The equation of simultaneously becoming a benefactor of patriarchy and a protector of my sisters and family against the ills of patriarchy brought so much pressure and darkness to my life. Yet this sense of insecurity brought about an enormous sense of liberation – a commitment to undertake a study of gender equality, which aimed to contribute knowledge on how to address gender inequality in rural Lesotho schools.

We need more accounts of the undercurrents driving us to do the research we do. How many of us show neurotic, psychotic, borderline and/or hysteric(al) traits. We act out, disassociate, regress, deny, project, and compartmentalize,

and that's just to get one article into JoE, never mind what happens if the paper is rejected.

We have to be careful where this takes us however. And here I am not just thinking how everyone's research and specialisation interests takes on a suspicious hue – 'so why exactly did you choose to specialise in gynaecology?' or 'so why do pharmaceutical drugs interest you so much?' or 'so tell me what the real reasons are behind your research question?' We also have to be careful of what this does for the objectivity of knowledge claims. Pholoho's self analysis results in a sense that he has a richer and more dynamic understanding of what drives him and his research area, but it does not improve the validity of his research, or subvert it for that matter. This depends on research protocols. We have double blind experiments that eliminate bias both in the participants and the researchers. We also have psycho-analytic techniques that track the unconscious with specialised tools and open it out to tracking. As Freud said 'Where id was there ego shall be', or to rephrase it in terms of the theme running through this editorial 'Where the implicit was, there the explicit shall be'. The explicit was not always there, somehow hiding behind the implicit, it needs to take its place, supplant it. The point is not that research is a personalised and value laden process, its how we deal with it. Knowledge production has complex human relationships and drives embedded within it – we can start off with this point, we do not have to end with it. The social constructivist and post modern project could do with some self analysis that pushes for *making it explicit*, to use the title of one of the two key recent works of analytical philosophy.[1] For Robert Brandom, formal logic is not implicitly standing behind our ordinary ways of thinking and acting, waiting to be uncovered. Formal logic is not some hidden ground from which everything springs. Rather it is a way of developing a logical self consciousness about meaning, of making explicit implications that push outwards from our normal reasoning. Don't look for a hidden foundation of formal logic inside the implicit, rather work from this implicit ground as it is and make it explicit. This is how I (psycho) analytically read Pholoho's paper – where social constructivism was, there objective inferences shall be.

This positive gloss on making the implicit 'explicit' faded a little as I read Nampota and Preece's dissection of how four African universities work with 'community service'. Sadly, but not unexpectedly, community commitments are made explicit in university strategic plans and mission statements but are then left hanging sweetly on the page, untroubled by practice. I suspect there is a direct inverse relation between how glossy the university brochure on

community service is and how much money and time is spent on actual community interventions. Being explicit is certainly not a cure all, and it can hide all sorts of pathologies, one of which is hollowness. Nampota and Preece provide four policy recommendations to prevent this from happening: community service must have a tangible organizational presence in the university structure; incentive and assessment procedures should encourage lecturer and student participation; needs analyses of the relevant stakeholders in the community should be done; and multidisciplinary and cross community networks should be encouraged to enable worthwhile responses to a complex problem space. It is so easy for universities to assume a big brother role when intervening in a community, especially when the community is poor, and not see that the intervention is insulting, out of touch, self serving, and condescending.

It's easier to make perceptible and measurable factors explicit, but this should not stop us tackling the project of bringing more subtle forces to light. If absolute poverty is defined as earning under a dollar a day, then poverty can be quantified and used as an indicator, but this ignores how poor people perceive poverty. These more implicit factors need to be brought out into the light. Dieltiens and Meny-Gilbert provide an illustration of how to do this in their paper discussing how poor communities experience poverty. The key insight is that, with school drop out rates, subjective experiences of inequality are as important as the absolute poverty a family is in. If you are all poor together, there are ways of coping at school; but if you are even poorer than your poor neighbour, there is cause for anger, jealousy, embarrassment and social exclusion. At school level the subjective experience of poverty in contexts of inequality increases the risk of poor learners dropping out of school. As one girl (Thembelihle) put it:

> . . .like when you are in a big family and the mother can't give everyone the attention they need. She only concentrates on the youngest ones and forgets about you, and if you ask her for something regarding your school she won't give it to you. . .When you get to school you see that other children have everything and you are the only one who does not have a thing so you end up dropping out of school because you feel like you are the odd one out. Then your mother starts calling you names because you dropped out (Social Surveys, 2007).

The final paper of this edition explores middle class parents' expectances of teachers to provide their children with the best education possible. Minaar and Heystek explore the implicit and explicit factors shaping parental expectations and show that this involves far more than being in class, on time and on task. It involves teachers ensuring that their children will be successful, both in school, after school, and beyond school, resulting in an intensification of

teacher workloads. It's not far off, I imagine, before teachers or the education department are sued for future damages based on present actions. Getting hold of some of my past teachers and charging them for my parlous current lack of income is an exquisite idea, if only they earned enough to be able to pay for it, and if only I could get hold of their past selves, not their current ones.

Standing back from the papers there is something troubling about the way I have structured the implicit/explicit relationship as an attempt to work with the principle 'where the implicit was, there the explicit shall be'. Much good teaching works the other way round – from the explicit to the implicit. Recent developments and research in Instructional Design have shown that one of the best ways to structure a learning program is to start with an explicit and simple version of the whole task and then increasingly make more and more of the activities both less explicit and more complex (Van Merrienboer and Kirschener, 2007). This avoids two pedagogic pathologies: starting off a new learning process in an implicit mode where the learner flounders and drowns because she does not know what to do; and information overload where too much explicit information is given and results in cognitive saturation. An explicit and simple whole task shifting to implicit and complex developments results in increased attention, grappling with issues, improved memory, more automated responses, and final mastery. We know that novices work better and learn more effectively with an explicit task, but we also know that experts prefer an implicit problem that is hard to see through (Van Merrienboer and Kirschener, 2007). So it is by making things explicit that the implicit grows as an expanding circle beyond it. As I stated at the beginning of the editorial, the implicit/explicit distinction does not exist as a binary. Making things explicit works outwards from an implicit base, and the process of making explicit ensures that *implications* spill out from it in abandon, forever beyond its laborious reach. Seeing the implicit/explicit as an intertwined process like this helps us avoid five pathologies: exclusionary binary, oversimplified cline, superficial hollowness, explicit saturation and drowning in implicitness. I hope it also makes clear that it is not from one side of the boundary that I rant, but from a desire for us to work with the processes of the implicit/explicit in its fullness.

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The other is Derek Parfit's *Reasons and persons* (1984). Parfit would point out to Morojele and Fataar/Duplooy that the personal identities of children are completely different to who they will be as adults; that time changes them from one person to another. If we take seriously that one person should not harm another, then we should also take seriously that the actions of an earlier self identity should not be allowed to harm its later self. This has interesting implications for both papers, and as we will see later in the editorial, for Minaar and Heystek. My rating of *Making it explicit* and *Reasons and persons* at the top of the 'recent analytical philosophy hit list' is idiosyncratic, but there is a strange pleasure in making these kinds of lists, especially for the analytics, who take themselves so seriously, but land up in the weirdest of places. Parfit, by the way, has just brought out his second book – the magnum opus, *On what matters* (2011) – twenty seven years after *Reasons and persons.* Imagine what his yearly performance management review must have looked like in between.

Wayne Hugo
School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal

hugow@ukzn.ac.za

Spatialised assemblages and suppressions: the learning 'positioning' of Grade 6 students in a township school

Aslam Fataar and Lucinda du Plooy

Abstract

Based on ethnographic approaches, this article discusses the learning positioning of four Grade six children who attend school in a township location.[1] By 'learning positioning' we refer to the ways in which they are positioned with regard to their approaches to their learning, the learning identities with which they enter their school and classroom, and how the dynamics of the classroom receive and position them as particular types of learners in the school. We observed these children in their lived domains over a period of 10 months, in their homes, environmental navigations and their school and classroom – based learning practices. The article is an attempt to develop fine-grained readings of these positioning practices as they encounter their lived domains. Based on what we label a 'spatialisation of learning' lens, we attempt to understand the complex pathways by which they assemble their learning positionings, coming to the conclusion that each embodies active and diverse learning agency within their everyday environments. The article uses mid-range theoretical tools such as 'discursive practices', 'positioning' and 'lamination' to provide a spatial reading of the complex ways learning is set up, managed, navigated and established. We go on to show how their learning positionings are received and mediated in their school classroom, suggesting that as a reductive pedagogical environment the school misrecognises their learning positions, failing to leverage a productive learning environment for these children. This article is meant to throw an analytical spotlight on the relationship between, on the one hand, the social relations of learning constituted across multiple spatial domains and, on the other, the four students' learning navigations in the space of the classroom, revealing some key dimensions of how children learn in compromised circumstances.

Introduction

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[1] In South Africa, the term township usually refers to the (often underdeveloped) urban living areas that, from the late 19th century until the end of Apartheid, were reserved for non-whites (black Africans, Coloureds and Indians), and were characterised by its predominant mix of working class inhabitants. Townships were usually built on the periphery of towns and cities.

This article is a discussion of the learning positioning practices of four children in a deprived township space. Lebo, Shafiek, Bongiwe and Tasneem (pseudonyms) are each engaged in complex social extensions across their various terrains. They live multidimensional lives within their families amidst religious, cultural and other social practices. They establish daily networks as they move across their impoverished township environment. They also find themselves in the same Grade 6 classroom at a primary school in this township. Each of these contexts has a myriad of constitutive dynamics that inform and situate their youthful identifications.

The article is interested in the complex ways in which these children engage with their learning, literacy and broader educational practices. It specifically aims to understand the type of learning identities they take up across their various social spaces, the formative linkages among them, and importantly, their learning identification positioning in their school and classroom. The article does not focus primarily on their actual cognitive learning processes in certain subject domains, although it alludes to some of these. The focus here is on the ways in which the four children's domestic environments and classroom engagements in the light of township living are the constitutive locations for their emergent learning identities. The focus is therefore on the spatial dynamics that co-constitute their learning dispositions and the consequent learning identities that they take up in these spaces, especially in their classroom.

The article is meant as a complement to, and an extension of, work on children's literacy practices at the intersection of school and domestic environments, and provides a bridge into the educational worlds of school children (Prinsloo and Stein, 2004; Ferreira and Janks, 2007; Stein and Slonimsky, 2001; Dixon, Place and Kholowa, 2008). It suggests that these literacy practices are contested activities, involving diverse social interactions. The purpose of this work is to understand the "processes and influences shaping young children's literacy learning in out-of school and school settings across multiple sites" (Prinsloo and Stein, 2004, p.68). The key analytical move here is the suggestion that the learning and literacy practices of school children are transacted across the various domains of their lives and that it is insight into these multi-sited practices that would allow a sharper appreciation of children's school learning and literacy acquisition. We are interested in this article in understanding how children's learning identifications are generated

and positioned in the school in relation to their mobilities across their social domains.

The intention is to present an analysis of how these relations of learning qualitatively position these students in their learning domains. The key argument presented is that their learning positioning practices are constituted in multiple and overlapping socio-spatial assemblages and learning suppressions across these domains. Spatial assemblages refer to the somewhat messy and incoherent 'putting together' processes of various discursive practices and materials in specific domains, and to the way that these practices intersect and overlap to produce the students' specific learning positioning identifications. These assemblages also involve suppressions, which refer to a situation where one type of spatial practice serves as a kind of constraint or suppressor of other positioning practices in the same domain. We refer to this dynamic as a 'lamination' that overlays or serves to suppress other practices. With regard to suppression, the key finding of the narrative analysis discussed below is that the school and specifically classroom laminating practices have come to suppress the four students' learning positioning practice, which is based on complex learning assemblages brought from their domestic environments. Taking on one-dimensional learning positions is a key outcome of these classroom suppressions.

This analysis is based on the qualitative work by both authors in a relatively new urban settlement in Cape Town. We were particularly interested in the social spatial dynamics that constitute school-going in what Fataar labelled a 'township on the move' (2007), a metaphor intended to capture the interaction among the township's everyday networks, discursive materials and human agency in a deeply impoverished terrain. This analysis is based on ethnographic work in and around one school site in the township. The 'unit of analysis' was the four children in their various spatial domains of learning. The investigation entailed participant observation and qualitative work to understand the four children's learning navigations in their domestic, neighbourhood and classroom domains. Inductively analysed, the key themes that emerged from the data across these domains were: 1) the spatial locations of the children; 2) the resources they marshalled for their learning; 3) parental and familial influences on their learning; 4) the networks and peer influences at work in their everyday learning practices; and 5) the link between language use and learning. We use these themes to develop a narrative account of the positioning practices of these children across their domains of learning. But we first provide a discussion of the theoretical approach we adopted to guide our analysis.

Theoretical considerations: the spatialisation of learning positioning

We proceed from the view that schools are not simply settings with clear boundaries and easily definable practices and intellectual content. Such a bounded view of schools, based on a stance that school-based learning should be understood primarily on the basis of an in-school focus, resonates with much of the literature on educational improvement and effectiveness (see Townsend, 2001; Scheerens, 2000), with its emphasis on functional dynamics in school sites. Although such a view provides explanatory purchase on intra-school life, our position is based on an awareness of the limitations of such a perspective of schools and school learning. Ours is an attempt to understand how political and socio-cultural dynamics shape school practices. We attempt to bring the impact of life outside of school into play in our consideration of life inside schools. Drawing on Nespor (1997, p.xii), our emphasis is on the spatial locations and conceptual entailments involved in viewing schools and student learning as

> . . .extensive in space and time, fluid in form and content; as intersections of multiple networks shaping cities, communities, schools, pedagogies, and teacher and student practices.

The focus here is on learning in schools as understood in relation to a myriad of co-constituting processes in the various sites of people's lives. The classroom is one key venue where such processes play out, affecting students' learning orientations and pedagogical practices. We suggest that the interactive and formative linkages between classroom learning and dynamics outside the school provide greater conceptual purchase on students' educational and learning navigations across space and time. We focus here on the nexus of spatial localisation in one physical environment involving complex learner mobilities in our attempt to understand the dynamics that make up students' learning dispositions across their various spatialities, specifically how such dispositions are positioned in schools and classrooms.

Our theoretical approach is meant to connect students learning relations and positioning to their subjective mobilisations in and across their various living domains. Emphasising the 'lived' dimension of space advocated by theories such as those of Lebfevre (1991/1971) and Massey (1994), we adopt a set of mid-range analytical tools that would enable an analysis of these children's

learning positioning modalities. The emphasis here is on understanding learning across multiple spaces, where complex subjectivities established in mobile extensions across diverse dynamics impact on the nature of such learning. This requires a fully relational perspective trained on how learning and mobility come into being out of a nexus of relations connected to the classroom. Leander, Phillips and Taylor argue that the "simultaneity of multiple locales, and the contact zones between them, become an expanded terrain of examination and evidence concerning learning" (2010, p.336). The particular mobilities of people moving through these intersections, and their affordances via resources, discourses and tools, become a key focus for analysis. Grasping the way that they mobilise, network and put together these learning resources across space in the course of their learning activities is crucial to developing an understanding of their learning trajectories.

With regard to children's experiences of their neighbourhoods and schools, we draw on Jan Nespor's (1997) crucial work for understanding what he calls 'children's bodies in school space'. Based on two years of ethnographic work in one school in Virginia, USA, he discusses how this school offers children very different experiences of schooling. Nespor's work shows that despite the ubiquity of popular cultural and outside influences on children's experiences of social space, schooling is involved in abstracting children from social space and from their own bodies. Through control and disciplining of the body in classroom and school practices – e.g. single-file lines, regulating bowels and bladders, forms of punishments – children undergo a transformation which enables schools to regulate their behaviour.

Nespor suggests that because of such regulation and abstraction, children's bodies become significant for teachers and children to interpret in racialised, classed and gendered ways. Leander, Phillips and Taylor, 2010 (p.338) comment that it is in contexts such as these that "exuberant classroom activities (e.g. chase games, mock fighting and other energetic behaviour) become all the more marked as 'unschooled' through regulation in the classroom". Nespor's work raises a number of promising issues for research about the schooled body and learning in space. Similarly, Dixon's (2011) work offers a novel space oriented reading of young children in a Johannesburg school context, focusing on how their bodies are 'disciplined' in the space of a literacy classroom. The discussion presented below is an attempt to consider how the abstraction of the body in schooled practices – what we refer to as suppression – while not uncontested by the children, takes place in the township school that we studied. We discuss the embodiment of

the selected students as they move across their various lived terrains, how they position specific comportments in the light of the subjective attributions of these spaces, and finally how their bodies are positioned in the classroom in the light of the suppressions that accompany their relations of learning.

The final move of this theoretical consideration involves examining the specific practices that constitute learning positioning in the classroom. Here we draw on positioning as a discursive practice to capture how dominant practices and relations of learning are overlaid onto less dominant ones. The metaphor of 'lamination' is applied to highlight the workings of such layering. The social positioning of persons is considered by theorists such as Davies and Hunt (1994), Davies and Harre (1990), Holland and Leander (2004), and Leander (2004) as a primary means by which subjects are produced and subjectivity formed. Persons are offered or afforded positions when regimes of power/knowledge 'call' on individuals, via authoritative bodies such as a government, sport council, school management team, or classroom situations, to occupy such a position. Given the nature of the power articulated in specific circumstances "the person can either accept the position in whole or part, or try to refuse it" (Holland and Leander, 2004, p.127).

An analysis of positioning in the learning context makes visible the ways in which ascendant and repressed "positionings are discursively achieved not only as 'normal' but as the way things are and should be" (Davies and Hunt 1994, p.389). Here the focus is on the relational dynamics of learning, for example, in the home among families, and in classrooms among the teacher and students. The spotlights falls on the nature of the classroom conversation and pedagogical transfer processes, the use and circulation of learning materials, the desk arrangements, the movements of the teacher and students, privileging of student behaviours, the nature of interaction among classroom participants, the students' bodily comportments and their divisions into higher- and lower-order groups, and the discipline practices of the teachers. These practices are analysed for the ways in which they discursively enact specific learning subjects, which, as Wortham (2006) suggests, has a decisive impact on how students access and utilise their opportunities to learn. These learning positioning practices thus co-constitute the nature and outcome of learning among students.

The metaphor of 'lamination' is presented as a way of describing the "social/psychological entities created by positioning" (Holland and Leander, 2004, p.131). Lamination refers to the layering of social practices over each

other. Each layer retains its distinctiveness, although, once layered, the emergent practice achieves a different configuration out of the many configurations of social practices that make up an activity. The new layered configuration achieves a kind of thickness over time in coming to define the nature of social practices and relations in a particular site such as a classroom. Episodes of layering produce what might be called a laminate. Holland and Leander explain that laminates create tangible artefacts, associations and behaviours that discursively produce certain associations with a particular social position. Over time these associations can thicken by acquiring more and more layers. They explain that the "person and the category plus the memories and artefacts of past episodes of positioning become virtually laminated onto one another and so come to constitute a hybrid unit in social and emotional life" (p.132). In this article we are concerned with the layering of specific social relations and practices associated with the learning positioning practices of the four selected students, specifically in their classroom. The concepts of positioning and lamination enable us to focus on the layering of such practices, specifically in interactions between the teachers and the students in the classroom space. As a metaphor, lamination provides a tool for understanding how particular learning relations are stabilised or strengthened in the learning positioning practices of the students. It is to an analysis of such positioning practices, what we refer to as learning assemblages, in their home and township spaces that we now turn.

Learning assemblages across the township

The discussion of these four children's discursive practices concentrates on their spatially transacted social practices, specifically how these practices make up their diverse educational, literacy and learning positioning practices in their domestic and broader township environment. This section provides some insight into the subjective and relational terms upon which they established and took on these positions. It is particularly interested in the impact of their movement inside and across their life spaces, the quality of the relations and networks they established, their mobilisation and interaction with learning and related resources, and their peer and family-based practices. Key to this section is the bodily disciplining they took on as they interacted with the affordances of their spatial navigations. A focus on the diversity of these bodily expressions allows for comprehending their relational and positional assemblages and how these situated them as particular types of learners. Nespor (1997) uses the notion of 'bodies in space' to emphasise the recursive

and interactive dynamics between the body and space. We consider how Lebo, Shafiek, Bongiwe and Tasneem engaged their spatialities, i.e. the physical environment and social practices and relations, on the assumption that "bodily dispositions are formed in the flows of human activity in and across specific spatial environments" (Fataar, 2010, p.4). This is then followed by a discussion of the bases on which they engaged with, and shaped, their learning practices and dispositions.

Inhabiting township space

According to Nespor (1997), space cannot be treated as static since it is constantly lived, experienced, reordered by those who move through it. Township spaces like the ones where these children live, cannot be viewed as empty or devoid of any creative and aspirant human activity. It is clearly an impoverished and fractured environment where informality, human flux, informalised flows and survival practices are emblematic. This township is characteristic of what Brenner and Theodore (2002) would describe as a neo-liberal space of deep constraint. These four children established their learning navigations amidst a context of domestic fragility and informalised livelihoods. They nonetheless live productive and viable lives, based on their particular personally productive trajectories.

Despite living in the same locality, their experiences in, and interactions with, their neighbourhood differ. Lebo, for example, could be considered a mobile student since, while she lives in the township, she criss-crosses the city landscape over weekends and holidays to spend time in a more affluent area of the city. Her subjectivity could be regarded as one based on 'spatial dislocation' because of her frequent movement out of the township when she accompanies her grandmother to her place of employment as a domestic worker in an affluent part of Cape Town. Lebo lives with her grandmother in a small one-bedroomed house in the township with ten other children. Her periodic immersion over weekends and holidays in an upper-middle class white home, her exposure to the 'readerly' culture and semiotics of this environment, and her new friends there led to her developing an apparent detachment from and disaffection with her 'place' of living in the township. Lebo's ambivalence can be understood in terms of her adopting a middle-class type of aspirant persona, which shows in her disaffection from her culture. Lebo's exposure to a middle-class environment, its attitudes, beliefs and ways of doing things influence the way her learning practices are informed in this

space, as I show below.

In contrast, Shafiek appears to be physically embedded in the township, since his movement is fairly restricted, i.e. he routinely moves between home and school, and home and madrassah (semi-formal afternoon Muslim school). From observations it is clear that his restricted mobility belies what we would describe as his conceptual mobility, which could be attributed to his active engagement with information technology (e.g. cell phone, computer and video games, and educational software). Such conceptual mobility is facilitated by his interaction with ICT-related popular culture, which provides him with a range of rich and adaptive literacy assets, which is similar to Lebo's, who constructs her engagements on the basis of her access to educational toys and reading material acquired via her cross-city mobility. Nespor (1997, p.169) suggests that these learning practices can be described as "kids-based funds of knowledge", which they mobilise in their contexts and use to establish viable literacy and learning practices. Shafiek's proficiency in ICT-based popular culture shapes how his learning practices are negotiated in this constraining environment, while Lebo finds stimulation in the light of her aspirant middle-class interactions on the other side of the city.

Bongiwe can be described as a 'displaced' student, with reference to the disposition she assumes in this township. Having moved with her family early on from rural to urban living, and then from one urban location to the family's current quarters in this township, the impact of her dislocation appears to have a profound influence on how her learning practices are shaped in her township environment and family. Difficulty in establishing spatial routines, making friends and failure to address her feelings of isolation in this township characterise her displacement. Dyers (2009, p.5) captures the relationship between township living and feelings of detachment when she notes that "township life frequently poses severe challenges to aspects such as family cohesion, parental control and the exercise of traditional practices and values". The difficulties associated with urban living make the rural heartland an idealised place with which students like Bongiwe identify strongly. This enduring link to place of birth ensures the vitality of a child's mother tongue, which is a key marker of group and individual identity. As a mainly isiXhosa speaker, Bongiwe experiences the township as a disabling environment, especially since she seems unable to interact productively with the township's linguistic and cultural make up, dominated is it is by Afrikaans in the neighbourhood and school playground, and English in the classroom.

Tasneem's strategic readings of her social context catapult her towards upward mobility. She is aware of what constitutes acceptable behaviour and acts accordingly. She can be regarded as a mobile student who moved between schools and neighbourhoods in Johannesburg and Cape Town until she settled with her mom and an abusive stepfather in this township. She did not show any real attachment to her current place of living. She uses her 'inner resources' to enhance her functioning in this space, with her domestic disaffection a strong motivator. This showed in her tenacious commitment to education. She displayed resiliency in her mobilisation of what Yosso (2005) calls 'aspirational capital' in reference to children's ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. She is forward-looking and purpose-driven, despite suffering from physical and mental abuse amid familial constraints.

The above discussion shows that these students inhabit their social spaces very differently, which has implications for the ways they assemble their learning practices. In the next section we discuss how they went about navigating their lives by establishing various social networks, connections, interactions and practices in the township, all of which result in particular types of learning positioning practices.

Spatialised learning positioning

Following Massey's view that "lived space is constructed through social relations and material practices in light of the material textures of the environment" (Massey, 1994, p.112), we now go on to highlight the multiple networks and processes enacted by the four children out of which they co-constructed their learning iterations. Lebo uses her friendships with Emma on the other side of the city and Jade, in England, with whom she is in email correspondence and who sends her books and other resources, for cultural and educational gain. Lebo is part insider and part outsider of multiple worlds operating at multiple scales (see Helfenbein 2005). It is apparent that these friendships and periodic exposure to middle-class living provide her with wider social networks and contacts, which benefit her economically (access to money/use of a credit card) and culturally (access to literature and educational products). Devine (2009, p.526) notes that "friendships have their own rules of governance, predicated on forms of recognition that are mediated by gender, social class, ability and ethnic identity". In order to be affirmed and recognised within her friendship circles, both with those at a distance and those in the

township, I suggest that Lebo more or less succeeded in keeping her township and mobile urban identities distinct and functioning in tandem. In other words, she displayed a strategic sense of the need to adapt her identifications to the expectations of each space, adopting specific types relative to her readings of the modes of acceptability operating in the spaces that she finds herself. This is clearly shown by her taking on so-called 'coloured ways of being' (mainly through speaking Afrikaans) as a coping strategy in what appears to be the racially unsympathetic environment of her school. Devine terms this strategically adapting sense of self as 'ethnic self-monitoring', based on the subject's attempts to regulate embodied aspects of cultural differences related to things such as accent, dress and body language (p.530). Lebo's exposure to middle-class urban cultural forms plays a key role in how she assembles her learning positioning in and across her various spaces.

Shafiek is embedded in the township with fairly restricted mobility. It is, however, through his engagement with his popular culture (use of computer and playing video games) that he forms lasting networks that are crucial to his learning and literacy practices. Three networks converges to inform his learning practices: the first is his family-based network (his mother is instrumental in obtaining the video games and providing the space for him to indulge in his popular culture, as is his brother, whose computer skills he emulates); the second is his peer networks (cousins and classmates with whom he shares his computer skills, and knowledge about things like insects and medieval travellers); and the third is his trading networks used to acquire games and computer software. His active engagement within these related networked activities enables him to practice daily his ability to interact and manipulate the sophisticated literacy forms associated with ICTs. It also provides him with opportunities to learn specialised ICT languages as he, for example, masters sophisticated computer games. Shafiek routinely accessed knowledge about school and non-school educational themes via encyclopaedia software programs and website searches, which are unbeknown to his teachers. His is an example of children's involvement in beneficial interaction with inanimate or non-human elements that are of increasing importance in their young lives (Nespor, 1997). It is a combination of these non-formal, out-of-school literacy networks and practices that constitute the main driver of Shafiek's learning accomplishments.

Consistent with her categorisation as a marginal and displaced child, Bongiwe lives a fairly secluded life, which causes her to struggle to form the types of social connections that Lebo and Shafiek managed to accumulate. Her social

connections mostly revolve around her family, especially her mother who helps her with school work, and her friendship with Lebo (both in and out of school). Her friendship with Lebo is vital. Bongiwe holds Lebo in high esteem. Being from similar cultural and racial backgrounds, Lebo offers her respite from isolation, which in turn helps her cope in school. They also share activities such as compiling scrapbooks from reading materials in order to structure their interactions with each other and give meaning to these encounters (Nespor, 1997). What seems to be central to Bongiwe's learning subjectivity is her positioning as a 'struggling' student, both in her domestic environment and the classroom, mainly because of her speaking isiXhosa in her various domains. This counts against her in this multilingual township. She struggled to gain the necessary linguistic exposure required for functioning in her new township. Unlike Lebo, she struggles with both Afrikaans and English, which places her at a disadvantage on the school playground, where children mostly speak Afrikaans, and in the classroom, where English is the language of instruction. Her lack of linguistic facility works against her ability to establish herself as a flourishing learner in spite of her mother's arduous attempts at facilitating an amenable domestic environment to address her educational shortcomings.

Like Bongiwe, Tasneem has limited social connections. She is private and purpose-driven. Her resilience and tenacious commitment to education, and her constant movement in and out of the township, prevent her from forming enduring connections in the environmental context. The teachers recognised her commitment to her school work and aid her in her quest for upward mobility, which she pursues with diligence. Her forward-looking disposition and bodily discipline are crucial parts of her young life, since they enable her to gain access to, and engage in, culturally self-improving activities and social practices, which would ensure her upward mobility. As a loner, Tasneem finds escapism in her school work, reading novels and other books well above her age level. Whereas Bongiwe struggles to be assimilated into the normative expectations of the school, where her lack of linguistic proficiency plays a crucial role, Tasneem is an example of smooth integration into the functioning of the school. Speaking English in each of her three domains (home, playground and classroom) and maintaining commitment to a schooled bodily decorum, her learning positioning is congruent with the requirements of normative school behaviour and what is regarded as successful classroom

learning.[2]

Embodied literacy and learning assemblages

We now move on to discuss the multiple learning practices of the four students in their domestic spaces and beyond. Lebo's interaction with her various networks and connections enabled her to engage in a variety of practices that she used productively to enhance her learning in the classroom. By criss-crossing the cityscape she was actively engaged in new spatial terrains that presented her with a rich, interactive and stimulating text. She used her linguistic and communication skills (she speaks isiXhosa, English and colloquial Afrikaans) to navigate her township environment. Her desire to assimilate into a middle-class culture, involving her ability to mobilise cultural and educational resources, appeared to have a positive effect on her aspirations for mobility, but also offered her a broader perspective on life. Lebo is primarily positioned as a multilingual, conceptually mobile and literate student, whose love of reading allows her to feed her desire for a mobile middle-class lifestyle.

Shafiek's interaction with various networks related to his popular culture, his ability to learn through trial and error, and his observational skills inform his learning practices in his domestic environment. He engages conceptually and strategically with a variety of learning resources, which enhances his learning. Drawing on Nespor (1997, p.169), we suggest that his learning disposition is

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[2]   One common dimension, fundamental to the way that these students transcend their spatial positioning, and to the way that their learning practices are informed in the environmental space, is the issue of parental involvement. This warrants discussion since "parents from low socio-economic families are looked down upon and therefore their voices are not heard" (Kralovec and Buell, 2000:79). The research reported on here provides evidence to the contrary. Lebo's grandmother and the parents of Shafiek, Bongiwe and Tasneem, especially their mothers, play crucial roles in their educational practices. They provide learning opportunities in their homes that benefit their children's learning. They 'stay on' their children by monitoring their homework, provide material resources (computer software, games, educational books and toys), engage in their children's school-based activities (taking them to the library, reading with them and helping with tasks and homework assignments) and constantly motivate and encourage them. We observed the intensity of these parents' care about their children's success in learning, providing support and resources in an attempt to cultivate their aspirational capital. The involvement of these parents is seldom recognised, valued or acknowledged by teachers in the institutional space, as is the case with the lack of recognition by the school of role of these parents in their children's education.

made up of "webs of associations beginning and ending far beyond the boundaries of formal schooling". Engagement in popular youth cultural activities, primarily through ICT use, enhances his knowledgeability and translates into hybrid social practices. Shafiek is an active, proficient and intelligent engager in his daily ICT-informed literacy activities.

Bongiwe's involvement in real-world literacy events (religious and economic activities) enables her to live productively in what for her is a culturally alienating environment. She accompanies her mother on missionary religious activities, when she often converses with potential converts in her limited Afrikaans. Despite the fact that she is involved in literacy events in her home, she lacks the agency that Lebo displays. This can be attributed to her detached positioning in this space and the fact that she lacks the social capital (peer and other social contacts) that can provide both instrumental and emotional support to successfully navigate social networks and practices (Yosso, 2005). Her learning subjectivity can be characterised as 'struggling', stymied by the lack of multilingual facility, marked as a struggling learner, who is supported by a caring mother who tries to augment her learning deficits.

In contrast, Tasneem's subjectivity is informed by her linguistic facility in English, which provides her with a congruent home-school navigational capacity and learning persona. She is able to make strategic readings of her social space, and navigates her environment on the basis of these readings. She is raised as a 'resistor' through verbal and non-verbal lessons from her mother, apparently in silent retaliation at her abusive domestic environment. This response is described in Yosso (2005, p.81), who notes that some "mothers teach their daughters to assert themselves as intelligent, beautiful, strong and worthy of respect, thus resisting societal messages that belittle and devalue women in society". It is Tasneem's forward-looking and aspirational disposition that affords her opportunities to facilitate her desire for upward mobility. Based on her strategic readings of her social context, she engages mostly in school-orientated learning practices in her home, which provides her with the necessary social skills, more or less in line with the normative discourses of her school.

The analysis of these four students' 'lived realities' in their environmental space shows how they individually inhabit space and draw on various networks, interactions and connections with people and processes to establish their subjective positioning. We provided a consideration of how they transcend their spatial positioning through their engagement with the multiple

literacies and educational affordances of their spatial domains. We have shown how their physical locations and mobilities made up the urban itinerant texts for their educational becoming. We also showed how each of them went about assembling their learning positioning in the light of their subjective engagements in their homes, in their human and non-human relations, and through their access to, and use of, educational and linguistic resources. Finally, we suggested that each of the four children developed specific learning practices in their environments which positioned them as specific types of learners on entry into their school and classroom. It is to an analysis of such positioning in the latter environments that this analysis now turns.

Learning suppression in the school and classroom

Whereas the preceding section offered an analysis of the learning positioning of the four children in their domestic and environmental spaces, indicating a range of diverse assemblages, we now present an analysis of their positioning in the school. While this involves equally complex and contesting assemblages, the argument we present here is that the discursive positioning of the children's learning is trumped by institutionally based discourses at the site of the school that amount to a suppression of their rich learning dispositions. The dynamics at the school reworked the children's positioning in such a way that they assumed one-dimensional learning subjectivities emptied of productive and enriching possibilities. These processes position them as particular types of learners to the detriment of their educational success. It is only Tasneem who was able to establish a relatively successful, if one-dimensional, learning position in the classroom. This section draws on two elements of the theoretical framework provided earlier: the first is the notion of 'positioning as a discursive practice', and the second is 'lamination' with reference to discursive layering, both of which are deployed to explain how the children's learning practices are positioned in the school. Being allocated specific bodily positions on an axis of schooled to unruly that confer on them either a 'high' (Tasneem) or 'low' learning status position (Lebo, Shafiek and Bongiwe) is the key outcome of the reductive discursive practices in the classroom.

The school as a homogenising pedagogical site

The school is commonly projected as the normative site for the enactment of all educational reform initiatives authorised on a national scale. It is, however,

in our view, not the normative intent of policy reform that gains traction in schools or is even primary in the way that schools establish their functional identities. Our ethnographic work in this township uncovered the primary driver of schooling as being the interplay between the township's socialities, captured in the notion of a 'township on the move' (see Fataar, 2007), on the one hand, and school's institutional processes, on the other. Deprived materiality converges in the four children's township with incessant survivalist human flows to confer on its schools tough and complex social platforms from whence they proceed to establish viable educational processes. This is the world of the school that Lebo, Shafiek, Bongiwe and Tasneem encounter daily. This type of school is described, in the South African context, as 'dysfunctional' (Fataar and Paterson, 2002) or as an 'exposed' site (see Christie 2008). Such schools' institutional identities are framed by having to respond to the myriad social pathologies that accompany their students' school going. Teachers are distracted from their pedagogical tasks by having to respond to challenges associated with the pastoral care or social welfare requirements of their students. In a context where teachers are overwhelmed by students' struggle to survive, they take on one-dimensional professional personas, which can be regarded as strategic responses in tough educational circumstances.

In this particular school the performative persona of the principal plays a crucial role in domesticating the school's functional environment. He succeeded in enacting a range of leadership practices in his engagement with the desperate and often illicit social practices in his neighbourhood, which often seemed intent on destabilising the school, and a myriad of outside services and agencies that converge on his school to play supportive roles. He also transacted a set of management discourses at his school through a combination of flamboyance and verbal posturing. Of primary importance is his command of the foyer and hall space of his school building, whose classrooms are all on the main foyer. He managed to establish a form of surveillance and authority by patrolling this space on a regular basis, giving instructions and advice through a megaphone. This principal's performances, however, stop at the classroom door. He seldom enters the teachers' classrooms or engages in the instructional leadership dimension of his work. Drawing from our observations, we suggest that he is not aware of the corporal punishment meted out to students in some classes, nor is he exposed to the poor quality of teaching in the classrooms. Based on interviews with some teachers, we suggest that the principal's performative articulations are successful only to the extent that he manages to keep his school afloat in

difficult circumstances without any open rebellion, in spite of general distrust by the teachers, But they fail to provide a generative platform for educational improvement at his school.

We observed that there is little productive agency in the teachers' pedagogical encounters with the children inside their classrooms and this in turn has an impact on how these children are positioned as learners in the classroom. The teachers by and large use didactic, 'chalk and talk' pedagogical styles. They rely almost exclusively on the textbook as a teaching resource. Very little happens by way of diverse teaching strategies and experimental methodologies. Fataar (2007) provides a discussion of the qualifications of the teachers at this school. He found that many of them were not trained in the subject areas that they teach, which explains their low level of subject knowledge. Non-teaching activities incessantly interrupt teaching contact time. The four students' learning positioning practices are expressed in a school where their teachers' pedagogies are one-dimensional, discipline is severe and teaching time drastically reduced.

Drawing on our observations we suggest that their learning positioning practices play out primarily in the classroom domain. Davies and Hunt (1994) use the concept of 'marking' to discuss how students who are marginal in such classrooms are portrayed and positioned. Teachers are aware of the differences between the students. While it appears that the teachers don't read their students as homogeneous, what is apparent is that they enact their pedagogical practices in the classroom in a homogenising manner, failing to make distinctions among them. They adopted what can be described as a homogenising pedagogy, in reference to an undifferentiated teaching approach to their students. Where they did differentiate they did so on the basis of crude categories such as 'lazy', 'dumb', 'clever', or 'struggling'. They adopted blunt and unmediated pedagogical styles that largely failed to provide a productive learning platform in their classroom. The homogenising pedagogies of the teachers played a crucial role in how the four students in this study were discursively positioned and how they mediated their learning practices in the classroom.

Students' school and classroom navigations

We now turn to the students' learning navigations in the school and classroom. The constrained spatiality of their classroom positions each of them in a

specific way. They in turn navigate their learning relations in the classroom based on their own resources, networks and interactions which they use to work out their trajectories in light of the extant suppressing classroom practices, leading to diverse learning positioning among them. Lebo is positioned as a 'ghost student' (our term) in the classroom. But she challenges this positioning in the school context through her determination to speak colloquial Afrikaans on the playground and English in the classroom. Lebo does periodic translation of the teachers' instructions and explanations, for the other two Xhosa speaking students in the classroom. She possesses what Yosso (2005, p.78) refers to as 'linguistic capital' in reference to her linguistic ability and social skills. She is able to navigate the apparent racialised hostility of the school by assimilating into the dominant culture with relative ease. Blommaert, Collins and Slembronck (2005) notes that multilingualism is not what people have, or don't have, but what their environment enables or disables them from using, which points to a deeper understanding of the use of languages in living contexts such as Lebo's. Armed with linguistic capital, Lebo is able to gain affirmation, by using it to aid her learning. Soudien, (2007) explains that students such as Lebo simply want to blend in, which often leads to alienation from, and ambivalence about, their culture. Lebo also gains affirmation via peer relations practices through conversing with friends and sharing scrapbook ideas. By speaking like the coloured children and playing their games, Lebo was able to signify her willingness to be the same. Her agency lies in her ability to make nuanced readings of her spatial positioning, illustrated by her commitment to Afrikaans and her need to blend in. In the absence of quality teaching in the bounded space of the classroom, Lebo is able to counter her negative positioning in the classroom through her linguistic ability which provides her with a particular form of cultural capital to survive her negative positioning in the classroom, albeit in parallel to her 'lowly positioned' classroom status.

Like Lebo, Shafiek does not allow the institutional space to define him. Because of his recalcitrant behaviour, he is positioned as an 'uncivilized' or 'unruly' body, which impacts on his experiences in the classroom which he appears to experience as a disabling space. Davies and Hunt (1994) note that disruptive students are often marked as problem students, where the problem is seen to lie in them and is read in terms of their differences from others. These students make the authority relations of the classroom much more visible. Shafiek is disaffected by teacher – led classroom activities. He is continually rebuked by his teachers for his negative behaviour. He seems bored by the learning activities of the classroom, often finishing work quickly

and without much care or application. He often finds the Math and Language work boring. Failure to stimulate his learning in the classroom leads him to adopting negative and unruly behaviour. Shafiek manages to transcend this negative positioning in places like the computer room and playground, out of sight of his teachers, where he draws on his ICT proficiency to display to his peers wider interests by sharing inter-religious stories with them, marketing his drawings, and sharing information and computerised skills with his classmates. However, regarded as an unruly student, he is positioned as a low achieving student with disciplinary problems, despite his proficiency in alternative modes of learning via his ICT engagement.

For Bongiwe, the classroom space appears to be a disabling space. She is positioned both as a 'ghost student' and as a 'low-status' learner, which mark her as a marginal member in the classroom. It appears that she lacks enough confidence and individual agency to transcend her classroom positioning. According to Davies and Hunt (1994, p.389), "being positioned as one who belongs in or is defined in terms of the negative or dependent term, can lock people in repeated patterns of powerlessness". This feeling of powerlessness is compounded by the way she is treated or viewed by teachers. Rist (2000, in Panofsky, 2003) found that low status students' lived experiences of schooling differ substantially from that of high status students, especially with regard to their treatment by teachers. Bongiwe never gets called on to participate in activities that could lead to intellectual stimulation. This form of differential treatment is confirmed by one teacher's reaction, who regarded her as a "'second language' student, whose poor academic performance is to be expected" (p.423). Panofsky notes that differential treatment, which translates into differential classroom instruction, is of crucial importance in the development of a student's identity and agency. It appears from observations, that Bongiwe accepts and lives a positioning as a marginal and low achieving student in the classroom, without the type of parallel learning agency that Lebo and Shafiek display in the non teacher – led domains of school. While the latter two inhabit learning positions that are not wholly defined by their classroom encounters, establishing alternative learning personas out of sight by which they get by, Bongiwe seems to be defined entirely as a low status and marginal learner in the school and classroom.

Tasneem embodies all the qualities of what is regarded as a high-status student in this environment. According to Wilcox (1988, cited in Panofsky, 2003), high-status students are given more opportunities to develop 'self-presentation' skills, such as speaking and presenting before a group, and they

receive considerable guidance and praise when doing so (2003). Tasneem reads this space strategically. Her performances in school translate into opportunities that would ensure her upward mobility and may enable her to break free from poverty. Yosso (2005) refers to this type of resilience as based on the exercise of 'aspirational capital'. Most of the developmental opportunities that she receives are as a result of being noticed by her teachers, which is mainly due to the fact that she acts in ways that fit her role as a 'co-operative' student. She is never at the receiving end of the type of dismissive treatment meted out to the other three students in this study. Tasneem is an upwardly mobile student, whose learning practices are marked by her involvement in reading teenage and adult books, writing stories and being involved in school-based organisations. Her diligent attitude to her school work, based on commitment and discipline, allows her to position herself as a successful learner. What is clear is that she is positioned as a competent, high-status student, possessing a 'civilized' or 'schooled' body (Nespor), which informs her learning accomplishments in the classroom.

Conclusion: suppressing laminations in the classroom

This final section is a consideration of the main thread of the argument in this article; i.e. that in viewing learning as an articulated 'moment in space,' as arising out of the dissonant spatialities of these four children's lives, we can better discern how their learning positioning is constituted, the nature of their learning engagements, and the complex ways in which they assemble their learning practices across their lived domains. This better enables an explanation of their learning engagements in their schools and classrooms, which we argue involve institutional and pedagogical practices that serve to suppress their learning capacities, in effect denying or rendering invisible their rich and complex environmental learning navigations. The discursive gap between their learning practices in the home and environment, on the one hand, and the school's educational processes, on the other, seems to be exacerbated as a result of the school's institutional inability to connect with and leverage these students' environmentally generated 'funds of knowledge' (Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez, 1992). This refers to their out-of-school educational affordances arising from their interactions with literacy and learning events in their everyday lives. These affordances are suppressed in the school and classroom.

As explained above, the institutional dynamics at this school failed to establish

a generative pedagogical platform where teachers are productively involved in complex and responsive teaching and learning processes. The teachers are at the spearhead of a range of anxious, one-dimensional pedagogical processes which impact on the way their students access and mobilise their learning navigations. However, while the school's institutional dynamics provide the overarching spatial location for these reductive pedagogical processes it is, in the case of these four students, the learning dynamics in one classroom where they spend most of their learning time with *one teacher* that reveals how the suppression of their learning subjectivities occurs.

The lamination metaphor captures the workings and effects of these teacher-dominated processes. It was clear from observations how this teacher's repeated and routinised classroom behaviour over-determined the learning assemblages and navigations of her students. The teacher positioned herself constantly at the table in the front of the class. She shouted instructions and wrote notes on the board for the students to copy. The students were left unmonitored during the reading period provided at the beginning of the school day ostensibly to improve their literacy levels. Some of them read, while others doodled or pretended to read. At the end of these reading periods the students were simply required to list the books they have completed. There was no active monitoring or engagement with the reading content, nor was such reading factored into the teacher's pedagogical orientations, in effect disconnecting such attempts at reading improvement from the rest of her teaching activities.

She seldom moved between her students to engage them in affirming conversation, choosing to focus only on those students who seemed to be hard-working and diligent learners. For example, she constantly called on Tasneem to run errands and conferred on her and other similarly diligent learners some positive learning reinforcement. Tasneem thrived in this environment as it corresponded with her aspiration to succeed educationally and her ambition to transcend the limitations of this township. Shafiek was at the receiving end of a barrage of negative disciplining comments, which made him utter private comments of disdain for the teacher. Shafiek's classroom spatiality was fundamentally dissimilar to his richer, domestic literacy navigations, the former creating an unacknowledged and frustrated persona that prevented him from making stronger investments in his classroom learning.

Similarly, Lebo went unacknowledged and unappreciated in the classroom,

despite her vital role as a translator of instruction and content. As a ghost student, she was basically left to navigate her own way in this complex, racialised environment. She drew on her conceptually mobile persona, acquired through her cross-spatial networks, to make strategic decisions that facilitated her assimilation into this school's cultural environment, in which her multilingual competence played a major leveraging role in substantiating her learning endeavours in this space. While positioned as a low-status learner in the classroom, unlike Shafiek, she seemed to seriously engage in her school work, despite very little encouragement and support from the teacher. Bongiwe, however, was positioned as a struggling and weak student, mainly because of her lack of linguistic proficiency. Being unable to speak English as the language of instruction in the classroom resulted in her being completely ignored. The teacher never interacted with her. She was left to struggle to understand the teacher's instructions and explanations, which meant that she had to depend on Lebo's translations. Her learning positioning in the classroom was essentially congruent with her environmental learning practices. Like Tasneem, there is a correspondence between her literacy and learning practices in both her home and school. In Bongiwe's case her struggles with her learning in her domestic environment corresponds with her diminished position in the classroom, while for Tasneem her narrow focus on school learning processes takes place in both her home and classroom.

What then seems to be clear is that the teacher-led classroom learning processes were firmly laminated or layered onto the rich, diverse and individualised learning practices of these four children. The resultant laminated configuration approximated a suppressed learning environment, especially as it thickened over time, for the majority of the students in this classroom. This had devastating consequences for their learning navigations and success. But it never managed to entirely suppress the learning subjectivities of the four children whom we studied. Lebo and Shafiek specifically show in their establishment of navigations parallel to their suppression by the teacher that they managed to get by in spite of the teacher's misrecognition of their learning practices. In Bongiwe's case, however, the suppression meant that she was positioned as a struggling – and possibly failing – student in the context of the learning positioning practices of this classroom.

While the pedagogical practices of teachers such as the one in this classroom requires much more careful analysis, the analysis we provide in this article has highlighted the complex pathways by which children such as Lebo, Shafiek,

Bongiwe and Tasneem establish their learning navigations across the socialities of their lives. We have shown how the dissonant spatailities of their various lived domains co-constituted their learning practices and position them as particular types of learners. And finally, we discussed how their learning positions are mediated in the reductive environments of their school and classroom, in which the teachers played a decisive role. This article has hopefully thrown an analytical spotlight on the relationship between, on the one hand, the social relations of learning constituted across multiple spatial domains and, on the other, the four students' learning navigations in the space of the classroom, revealing some key dimensions of how children learn in compromised circumstances.

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Aslam Fataar
Department of Education Policy Studies
Stellenbosch University

afataar@sun.ac.za

Lucinda du Plooy
Faculty of Education,
University of the Western Cape

lduplooy@uwc.ac.za

Childhood memories that matter: a reflexive analysis of a gender study in Lesotho

Pholoho Morojele

Abstract

This article gives prominence to the resourcefulness of childhood memories in shaping a doctoral study of gender in Lesotho schools. Recent feminist scholarship foregrounds memory as a subject of research, thus duly placing research as a personalised and value laden process. This scholarship represents a vital stride in acknowledging the complex relationships between human experience and knowledge production. The article provides insights into how the paradoxes of masculinities, as part of the researcher's childhood memories, were useful in conceptualising a study aimed at addressing gender inequalities. The usefulness of memory (and positionality) was evident in articulating an epistemological stance of the study. Some nostalgic dynamics related to undertaking research in rural contexts that mirrored the researcher's childhood memories are also discussed. The paper contributes to ongoing feminist debates on how productive remembering could be a useful pedagogical and research strategy.

Introducing memory and childhood experiences

Using past memories positively, what Moletsane (2011, p.2004) calls, "productive nostalgia", is part of a feminist social constructionist (Gergen, 2001) approach that tries to break down the barriers between the subject and object of research (Onyx and Small, 2001). Although memory work could be a very useful pedagogical and epistemological strategy (Pithouse, Mitchell and Moletsane, 2009), we need to differentiate between remembering that is unproductive and that which is productive. In this regard, Moletsane (2011, pp.194–195) cautions against the silencing and hegemonic impact of the "getting back to our roots" – "a longing for life that no longer exists" sometimes referred to as 'restorative nostalgia' (Boym, 2001). Instead she calls for 'reflexive nostalgia', focusing on productive remembering of the past. Moorosi (2011) has illustrated how productive remembering was such a liberating practice for women principals in her study.

With memory work being potentially such a useful pedagogical and research

strategy (Mitchell, Strong-Wilson, Pithouse, K. and Allnutt, 2011), questions remain as to how exactly the concept of 'productive nostalgia' could be employed in real life educational and research contexts. What are the benefits of 'reflexive nostalgia' in research? In trying to address these questions, the excerpt below illustrates my childhood memories which foreground the focus of this paper.

> The first wife of my father died after they had six daughters. Due to the minority cultural status of females in Basotho communities there were worries that all the cattle, sheep and fields that belonged to my family would be inherited by other Morojele families who had boys who were entitled by law to own property. Consequently, my father married (albeit, as I was informed, with much contempt from extended family members) a second wife (my mother) at the age of 60, with whom they were blessed with a first born (an heir) boy (myself). I was named (Pholoho) (which means salvation/redemption) denoting that my birth rescued my family from losing all its property to extended family members upon the death of my father. From a very early age I was socialised to be protective of my sisters against the social ills to which the patriarchal Basotho society relegated girls and women. To grow up quickly so I could protect my sisters (girls and women) was part of my earliest consciousness of being (Morojele, 2011a, pp.690–691).

Drawing on dynamics of masculinities (Kimmel, 2006) in Basotho communities, this article discusses how reflexive nostalgia (Moletsane, 2011) related to the above childhood memories played a role in my doctoral study of gender equality. The paper provides a reflexive analysis of how my childhood memories featured in the conceptualisation (of the study focus and methodology) and in the practical processes of carrying out my doctoral research (Morojele, 2011b, for details about the study). It denotes how, as a man (and the researcher), I was intricately entangled in undertaking a sensitive study of gender, involving young girls and boys in three rural Lesotho schools ravaged by gender inequalities, poverty, and HIV and AIDS. Indeed, my childhood (and often nostalgic) memories, as a child who was also schooled in rural Lesotho schools heavily inflected the processes of undertaking this research study.

Childhood memories: in the conceptualisation of a research of gender equality

In African societies men (and boys) are expected to take leadership of the household financially and to make decisions (Morrell, 2001). As highlighted

in my childhood memory excerpt above, what it meant for me as a boy

growing up in a family headed by an old father, was to take on leadership responsibilities, albeit at a much younger age, in place of an aging father who could no longer provide subsistence and protection to the family. Thus, I was socialised to perform forms of masculinities that were thought to prepare me to undertake these responsibilities. These included being tough, displaying emotional and physical endurance (Anderson, 2008), as they say in Sesotho '*monna ke nku ha a lle'*, meaning 'a man is a sheep, doesn't cry'. From a very early age, I used oxen to plough huge hectors of fields, looking after cattle (poorly clad) in very cold or stormy weathers, harvesting cattle fodder, maize, sorghum and so forth. These activities were part of the Basotho way of socialising boys to be warriors and conquerors of the hardships of survival in these rural communities.

I vividly remember the inspiring popular utterance that we used to bet with as young herd boys, *'ngoana moshemane ke kabeloa manong, kabeloa bo mohakajoane thoteng'* (literally meaning – a boy child is ordained for the vultures of distant valleys). The local meaning for this saying is that a boy child is born for hardships, normally endured outside the home, out there in distant valleys, where if he dies no one would see until his body gets eaten by vultures. Indeed, this utterance is reflective of my childhood experiences. In a sense, it also represents what my present day life has become – living far away from the mountain valleys of Lesotho (home) in the coastal valleys of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. This could likely be an indirect consequence of the pressure that I was perpetually put under to display courage, which included venturing in unknown (and sometimes dangerous territories) as a sign of real manhood. As the Basotho say, *'lebitla la ngoana moshemane le ka thoko ho tsela'* – a boy child's grave is on the side of a road. During my childhood years, these utterances were popular and they inculcated the spirit of perseverance and hardship endurance, in conformity to the Basotho proverb that '*monna ke tšepe e ntšo'* – literally meaning that a (first) boy child is a black iron, physically strong, and able to endure suffering without breaking or complaining (Machobane, 1996). However, the sheer anguish of being trapped in a snow storm out there in a distant valley as a herd boy, slowly freezing by the moment, prepared me to conclude that these utterances are sometimes very regrettable.

The values of toughness and pain enduring are closely related to what Connell (2000) calls hegemonic masculinities – that which is 'culturally exalted' or 'idealised'. Hegemonic masculinities present an idealised version of how real men should behave, and boys who uphold this dominant version of masculinity enjoy power and privilege. Morojele (2011a) has indicated how

boys' investment in hegemonic masculinities is the source of power and social approval. However, some researchers (for instance, Field, 2001) have found that the exaltation of hegemonic masculinities and pressuring boys to attain these is a functional source of many social ills in society. For example, Morrell (2002), Prinsloo (2006) and De Wet (2007) have related cases of gender-based violence to the hegemonic masculinities encouraged and upheld in schools.

As a boy heir child, I was constantly pressured to attain hegemonic masculinities in order to demonstrate my readiness to assume my aging fathers' responsibilities. But my age was such a deterrent to this. On the contrary, I felt that I needed an older brother or not too old a father to protect me against some of the hardships. The absolute pressure and desperation from my family for me to attain hegemonic masculinities were probably a source of liberation on my part. Somewhat ironically, this imbued a negative conception in my mind regarding patriarchy and gender inequality. Especially so given the stigma and embarrassment that was associated with my inability to perform some of these masculinities (Field, 2001). Here goes the paradox: Clearly had there been no patriarchy in Basotho society, I would probably not be so much pressured to grow up quickly so I could protect my sisters. Yet I might not have been born if there was no patriarchy in Basotho society, since my father would probably not marry at such a late age in order to have a son who would protect his cattle from being inherited by other Morojele families. Undeniably, my childhood memories are caught in such complex paradoxes.

These paradoxes culminated in my commitment to gender equality. I focused my doctoral research on how to address gender inequality, in part to continue what I was socialised to believe as my purpose in life – to protect my sisters (and women) from patriarchy in Lesotho communities. As my childhood memories testify, boys (and men) too are equally compromised by the scourge of gender inequalities. Therefore, teachers (female and male) and girls and boys were included in this study as the main participants. The study drew on social constructionism (Gergen, 2001), to examine how teachers and children in three Lesotho rural primary schools made meaning of gender. It foregrounded my childhood memories, as the researcher, as crucial in the development of methodological strategies and data collection processes (Morojele, 2011b). In line with some feminist scholars (Mitchell *et al.,* 2011) and critical men's studies (Gibson and Hardon, 2005), social constructionism construes embracing reflexive capacity, what Moletsane (2011, pp.204–206) calls "productive nostalgia" and plurality of gender identities as a basis for social change.

Social constructionism does not deny socially constructed categories allocated to males (boys and men) and females (girls and women) and the concomitant gender inequalities that arise from this categorisation. Yet it challenges the taken-for-granted meanings attached to these socially constructed realities as if they were fact, static and inevitable (Gergen, 1999). It does not prohibit taking a political standpoint or position, but entails recognition that this is a position and that there are other positions. Since positions are mobile, social constructionism anticipates greater potential for change:

> For many people this supposition is deeply threatening, for it suggests there is nothing we can hold onto, nothing solid on which we can rest our beliefs, nothing secure. Yet, for others this dark night of insecurity gives way to an enormous sense of liberation. In daily life, so many of our categories of understanding – of age, gender, race, intelligence, emotion, reason and the like – seem to create untold suffering. And in the world more generally, so many common understandings – religion, nationality, ethnicity, economics and the like – seem to generate conflict, alienation, injustice, and even genocide. From social constructionism standpoint we are not locked within any convention of understanding (Gergen, 1999, pp.47–48).

Linking this analysis to my childhood memories, it could be noted how the patriarchal imperative to rigidly identify myself as a man (a boy heir), brought about much suffering and pressure to have to grow up quickly and take on my father's responsibilities. Another paradox related to my childhood memories is that as a young boy I was socialised to benefit from a patriarchal system (for example, inheriting my family's property). In some cases, men uphold hegemonic masculinities because they give them access to resources and privileges that women and men who perform alternative masculinities do not enjoy (Coetzee, 2001). Conversely, the pressure of having to uphold the mostly idealised (and impossible) hegemonic masculinities that went with being a privileged boy heir was unbearable, particularly due to my age. The equation of simultaneously becoming a benefactor of patriarchy and a protector of my sisters and family against the ills of patriarchy brought so much pressure and darkness to my life. Yet this sense of insecurity brought about an enormous sense of liberation – a commitment to undertake a study of gender equality, which aimed to contribute knowledge on how to address gender inequality in rural Lesotho schools.

Memory and researcher's identities: in the articulation of an epistemological stance

Feminist theories (Griffiths, 1998, pp.130–134) have advanced arguments that

the "politics of the researcher" are a central issue in the production of knowledge. With such power, it was important to examine how my childhood memories and identities (as the researcher) have inflected the methodological processes of this research project. My identity in this study was an 'outsider' and 'insider'. I was an 'outsider' in that I was studying gender equality in Lesotho rural primary schools as a research student from the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. To some degree this positioned me within the tradition of 19th century Anglo-American researchers studying distant, exotic and developing communities (Banks, 2001). As a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, I was exposed to various concepts and theories that explained the role of macro and structural dynamics in gender relationships. This exposure bolstered to some degree my critical consciousness and thinking about the gendering processes and concomitant social and gender inequalities in our society. For instance, the theoretical insights I gained as a student enabled me to relate how the currency of male supremacy cut across most Basotho communities – the home, school, church and in societal norms and rituals in ways that are pervasive and endemic.

But I was also an 'insider' in that I am a Lesotho citizen, a man who was born, grew up and schooled in Lesotho rural primary schools – studying gender in Lesotho rural primary schools. This perspective of examining one's own society has currency in post-modern ethnography where the familiar is made strange (Marcus, 1998). The situatedness of my insider experiences inculcated the relevance of understanding the local meanings that individual (especially young) people make about their lives as a valid means of knowledge production. My childhood memories were more personal, nuanced and localised. I could not easily relate them to broader dynamics of gender within Basotho communities. I grew up believing that the adult world is void of the nuanced memories of childhood (Renold, 2005) and that this might compromise their knowledge of society. This insider identity enabled me to gain access to the cultural nuances of Basotho language and its discourse and to mediate this with my own experiences, in ways that enhanced the depth and overall quality of my engagement with this study.

By and large, my identity in this study involved a hybrid of insider-outsider position. This position conjoined the outsider's critical theoretical perspective and insider's knowledge of the politics and dynamics of gender inequalities in Lesotho primary schooling. My hybrid position in this research situated me beyond the "binary of insider/outsider polarity and familiarity and strangeness" (Atkinson and Hamersley, 1998, pp.110–111). Consequently, my

critical stance to education and gender was bolstered, and this (together with my childhood experiences, as discussed earlier) culminated in a political conviction to promote gender equality in Lesotho primary schooling. This had significant implications for my study. I believed that focusing overly on the wider theoretical and structural dynamics of gender inequalities has a danger of reproducing micro/macro binaries and producing notions of ordinary people as powerless. Social constructionism also resists this view of the inevitability of given forms of power:

> One of the explicit aims of much social constructionism research is to analyse the [gendered] power relations within which people live their lives and thus within which their [gender] experience is framed, and to offer an analysis which allows the person to facilitate change [in gender relations] (Burr, 1995, p.111).

The above excerpt affirms my childhood memories which purport exploring the local meanings that individual people make about their lives as a valid means of knowledge production. Only when we could genuinely unveil how individual people experience and make meaning of their lives, could we devise effective strategies of facilitating change in localised communities. This orientation has currency in poststructuralist ethnographies (Brewer, 2000) which emphasise understanding the cultural architecture through which local people make meanings of their lives as a valid means of knowledge production. However, poststructuralism could also paralyse change:

> [Poststructuralist] approaches have increasingly become riven by a contradiction: the social referents in the post colonial world call for urgent and clear solutions, but because speaking positions in a poststructural world are thought to be always immanently contaminated by being part of a compromised world, poststructuralism often resort to a sophisticated form of rhetoric whose main aim seem to be to revert attention permanently on the warps and loops of discourse (Quayson, 1999, p.8).

This means that in order to be responsive to the post colonial world which requires urgent and clear solutions to social ills, such as the scourge of gender inequalities, poverty and HIV and AIDS, poststructuralism must both deconstruct or 'look awry' at the phenomenon under analysis and at the same time integrate the analysis into larger affirmative projects. Epistemologically therefore, I constructed my research to be situated and located, to explore the complex power dynamics in children's relationships – with each other, with teachers and with me – and to interpret these within broader social networks in Basotho communities. I considered how these networks position children in particular ways, and at the same time how children engage and resist that positioning. I employed social constructionism which explores how gender meanings are constructed in multiple and diverse

ways, and how these are connected to broader social relations of gender. I adopted a reflexive stance to research (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000), and used ethnographic methodologies (observations and informal conversations) (Christensen and James, 2000) to learn about the everyday schooling experiences of children and teachers. Conventional research methodologies (Mouton, 2001) (questionnaire and semi-structured interviews) were used to understand structural patterns of gender relations and the broader social context of my research. Paradigmatically, this approach positioned my study in the borderlands between structuralism and poststructuralism with a critical predisposition to improve gender relations. The study was conducted for a period of nine months (three months in each schooling site) in three rural primary schools with Grade 7 boys and girls and teachers (see Morojele, 2011b, for details).

Researching contexts mirroring my childhood memories: a nostalgic undertaking

The data collection processes in these rural schools gave me a second chance to relive some of my childhood memories, albeit, somewhat in a different persona and for different purposes. My childhood memories gave me a vantage of insight, particularly in engaging and understanding children's constructions and experiences of gender. A nostalgic dimension was indicated when I named the schools under study in the chronology of my childhood memories related to the mountains that surrounded a small village where I was born. As a child, a mountain called Tsuoe-Tsuoe, situated right in front of my home constituted my first sight of an object of wonder in my life's journey of discovery. Then on the far right was a beautiful mountain called Molalana (also a nickname for my small village), followed by another one on the left called Maloaleng. To my original consciousness of being, as a small child, the ability to climb each of these mountains was a symbol of growth and passage into knowledge (and of course manhood). I spent my first childhood years longing and fantasising, impatiently waiting to grow up so I could climb these mountains. I was told that once on top, one could see far places and have a better view of the world. I named the schools in my study Tsuoe-Tsuoe, Molalana and Maloaleng, exactly in the same chronology of how I learnt to climb these mountains as a child. The data collection processes followed the same order. This memory symbolism related to a sense of apprehension and euphoria that I had regarding these schools. Some degree of longing and fantasising had ensued in my life before I commenced data collection. Just like

my village mountains, I earnestly believed that after discovering what dynamics of gender played out in these schools, I would have a better perspective of life and write a PhD thesis.

At Molalana primary school, during lunch time children who sang for the school choir normally gathered in one classroom with all teachers to rehearse as there was going to be a competition in Maseru (capital city of Lesotho) in October that year. The principal, who was the conductor, was responsible for training and preparing the school choir. Below is an illustration of one song that the school choir rehearsed. I became so nostalgic with the song; we also sang the same song in my primary school when I was young. It was interesting how after almost twenty years since I left primary schooling things have remained the same.

> *Jesu seli laka u nthuse ka lihlomo tsa moea.*
> *Ketle ke tsebe ho loana ntoa e thata ea lefatše.*
> *Oho Jesu ke tšepile uena, ho ntoanela*
> *Hore u nthuse ka lihlomo tsa moea*
> *Ha sera se nteka, se nteka ha bohloko-hloko*
> *Oho Jesu ke tšepile uena*
> *Hore u mphe matla. U nthuse ka lihlomo tsa moea*

The English translation reads thus;

> God my lord and my light, please assist me with spiritual amours
> So I could win a hard battle of the earth, when the enemy troubles me
> When the enemy troubles me so much. Oh lord I look on to you
> Oh lord I trust onto you, to give me strength
> To fight for me, to help me with spiritual amours. . .
> (Fieldnotes: Molalana primary school)

The spiritual inspiration of this song was felt around the school as mostly girls sang and chanted the song and quietly danced to its rhythmic tunes in small groups during lunch, break and playtime. I could easily imagine what the 'hard battle of the earth' was for these girls – it was the plight of abject poverty and HIV and AIDS in the context of capitalism (Epprecht, 2000) and alienation from the mainstream economy of these rural communities (Balfour, Mitchell and Moletsane, 2008), the plague of gender inequalities which inflicted forms of gender-based violence particularly on girls (De Wet, 2007), and the school policies that advocated expulsion from school of pregnant girls, as illustrated below. Girls endured so many gender-based hardships in these

schools; it was no wonder how much of an inspiration (and consolation) this song was for them.

The song was really fascinating and sometimes I found myself devotedly humming the song as I drove home from this school. I still remembered that in my school days I sang this song with the same fervor, earnestly asking God to sanctify me with spiritual amours to conquer dominant discourses of gender that pressured boys to perform narrowly defined forms of masculinities (Kimmel, 2006), which predisposed boys to danger and even death. Then I sang it for the blessing to become triumphant over the brutal acts that we (boys) were pressured to commit (such as sexual harassment, teasing, insults, malicious jilting of girlfriends etc.) just to prove real manhood (Morojele, 2011a) and to avoid humiliation associated with being seen as effeminate (Skelton, 2001). But this time, as I dedicatedly hum the song, I also had in mind another request, asking God to bless me with spiritual and intellectual amours so I could conquer 'the hard battle' for a PhD.

All the three schools did not have electricity. The following data illustrate some dynamics related to the absence of electricity in one school:

> When I arrived I was met by the Grade 7 teacher (72 years old Mrs Mantoa) – the oldest teacher in the school. She wanted clarity on the questionnaire. She asked me to explain what I meant by the 'source of power in the school'. As I explained she laughed at me and dramatically murmured, "Hey your question is so difficult, you know. We don't have any source of power in this school. When the weather is cloudy or the storm is coming, the classrooms get dark and we just sit down, fold our arms and ask children to narrate fairy tales.
>
> (Fieldnotes: Tsuoe-Tsuoe primary school)

At first, I found this statement a bit paradoxical. From my childhood memories I knew that fairy tales are part of the Basotho culture. They are normally narrated by elderly people to children in the evening (or at night) when they gathered around a glowing fire in a traditional Basotho hut. Children are also asked to narrate these stories in return. This is meant to train and practice their remembering (memory) ability. Such stories are usually based on fictions and imaginary stories of animals impersonated as human beings (like *mutlanyane le tau moholo*, a small rabbit and elderly lion). I also remembered that there was a superstition that if one tells fairy tales during the day she/he would grow horns on the head. This served to discourage narration of these stories at day time (when people are supposed to be busy working

etc.). During cloudy weather the classrooms at Tsuoe-Tsuoe primary school became so dark that it really looked like it was at night. I realised that narrating fairy tales during cloudy weather was, indeed, not ironic, as the irony is to expect formal learning to take place in a dark classroom.

This was one specific example of how lack of basic resources affected the quality of education that rural children receive. Chisholm (2004) in her study conducted in South Africa found that education in the rural areas remains beset with problems and challenges simply not considered within policy, theoretical, and pragmatic initiatives. In three months time all Grade 7 children in the country were going to write future determining National School Leaving Certificate examinations, where their performance would decide their progression into secondary schools. The time that these rural children spent discussing aspects of the school curriculum (not narrating fairy tales) would definitely bolster their performance in these examinations.

During data collection some principals seemed to be skeptical about my presence in the schools, especially my insistence on talking with the children in the absence of teachers. I had emphasised to the children that whatever we were discussing should not be told to anyone and promised that I would not divulge our stories to their teachers. I used the expression, 'what we are discussing here is a top secret'. This was in part observing the ethical guarantees that I promised all the participants in the beginning of data collection (see Morojele, 2011b), and to encourage children to share their stories freely without fear. One day three girls came to tell me that a day after I had left, the principal called all Grade 7 children into the classroom and asked them to say what they had been telling me.

I got a bit nervous and asked the girls.

PM (Author)	:	And then what did you say?
Pulane (girl aged 12)	:	Yes sir, we didn't know what to say for a moment until. . .until that girl [pointing to another girl who was playing some distance away from us] Lerato stood up and said, 'No madam, sir said it's a top secret what we were talking about', and the whole class laughed, and she left.

I learnt later that the phrase, 'no madam, it's a top secret' became some new discourse through which girls secured their private spaces. In this school (Maloaleng primary) in particular, in the previous year, five girls became pregnant and were thus expelled from the school. Consequently, the school adopted the practice of gathering all girls aged 10 upwards to ask them in front of all the teachers questions like 'who goes out with who after school' (meaning who is in love with who?). Girls only (not boys) who were found to be involved in heterosexual love affairs (locally referred to as *ho tsoa*, to 'go out') were publicly ridiculed during a one hour girls' parade which was held every Friday.

This was a strategy to discourage girls from having sexual relationships with boys and falling pregnant in these rural contexts where the prevalence of HIV and AIDS was high. Since the construction of the discourse 'no madam, it's a top secret', some girls reverted to this discourse to avoid telling stories about their relationships with boys. This strained my relationship with the principal and teachers as they struggled to have girls tell their stories in the Friday parade. Perhaps they regretted why they allowed a 'stranger' man to talk secrets with their little girls. In this context, the principal and teachers were justified to question my secrets with the young school girls. Although this had given girls an alternative narrative to subvert a gender biased school practice, it is against Basotho culture to allow men to have undisclosed secrets with young girls.

However, I knew from my childhood memories that it was grossly unfair to punish girls only for their heterosexual relationships with boys. This was based on false assumptions about children's relationships. Usually boys are the ones who propose or even extort girls into these relationships.

> During my school days there was an older brother (Nkosi) who bullied us (about six younger boys) to repeatedly harass one elder sister (Ntsoaki). He instructed us to surround her, shout, dance and clap hands loudly uttering, 'hey you *Mmofu* (big breasted), hey *Mamolomo* (you big mouthed), hey you *Matlhare* (ugly one)', pulling her by the school uniform every morning and afternoon on our long journey to and from school. As a child I thought brother Nkosi really hated sister Ntsoaki. She used to cry chasing after us, as we dispersed, laughed and regrouped around her. I was surprised later to realise that sister Ntsoaki was in love (going out) with brother Nkosi as they went together almost every day after school, holding each other around the waists – sometimes observing time-honoured moments of privacy behind a big rock.

(Author's childhood memory)

Similar dynamics were observed in this study where even younger boys attempted to coerce girls to behave in particular ways by means of intimidating them, and calling them derogatory names. With these memories in mind, I was very devastated to witness how girls in this school were inequitably subjected to utter disgrace for 'going out' with boys. Not to mention that when pregnancy did occur only girls would be expelled from school. Putting girls under strict surveillance and control was common across the three schools. I was glad that girls took advantage of my small research project to try to secure their private space with the aim to subvert a gender regime (Bhana, 2005) which undermined girls. I was aware of the potentially damaging consequences that might have ensued after I had left, and unfortunately, I did not have any strategies of handling these situations. This was, perhaps one of the limitations of this study. As it is clear that without immediate interventions that protect girls from disgraceful school-based practices, girls' agency in mitigating the harmful experiences of gender inequalities might not last.

Notwithstanding, this denotes young girls' readiness to take advantage of the school-based initiatives meant to address gender inequalities. This generates optimism that, for interventions aimed at addressing gender inequalities in the schools to be effective, they must respect childhood and children's experiences and build on the existing ways in which children actively perceive and engage with the world. With this in mind, schools need to develop formal and coherent strategies to conceive and support gender discourses and performances that promote equitable gender relations.

Conclusion

The article has discussed how my childhood memories regarding the dominant discourses of what it meant to be a boy heir, and the concomitant contradictory (and often painful) experiences informed my decision to undertake a study of gender equality. It denotes how memory work enabled a trans-generational analysis of gender in Lesotho rural schools. Childhood memories illuminated the need for gender equality initiatives and school reforms to work closely with children, respecting and building on their existing ways of engaging with gender issues. This contributes to the ongoing feminists' debates around the resourcefulness of memory in pedagogy and research as a means to effective social action and change ((Pithouse, Mitchell

and Moletsane, 2009). This study has illustrated how memory work brings human experience at the heart of knowledge production endeavours, thereby evoking notions of research as a personalised and value laden process. Affirming the significance of human experience and the co-existence of multiple social identities has the potential to bolster intellectual transformation in tandem with the principles of social justice, human dignity and equality.

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Phoholo Morojele
School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal

morojele@ukzn.ac.za

New pedagogy, old pedagogic structures: a fork-tongued discourse in Namibian teacher education reform

John Nyambe and Di Wilmot

Abstract

This paper reports on a component of a broader study that investigated how teacher educators in a Namibian college of education interpret and practice learner-centred pedagogy that underpins the Basic Education Teachers Diploma programme. It focuses specifically on the section of the study that illuminated the fork-tongued discourse in the Namibian teacher education reform. Located in the qualitative-interpretive paradigm, and adopting the case study approach, the broader study used semi-structured interviews, naturalistic non-participant observation and document analysis to understand teacher educators' interpretation and practice of learner-centred pedagogy. The study revealed contradictions not only between teacher educators' ideas of learner-centred pedagogy and their practice of it but also within official pedagogic texts. Underpinning the contradictions is the observed official transmission to the classroom of two but conflicting messages where, on the one hand, teacher educators are told to change their classroom practice and adopt learner-centred pedagogy as the new approach in post-apartheid Namibian classrooms while at the same time there is still official clinging to traditional pedagogic structures and arrangements that are antithetical to the new pedagogy. The fork-tongued discourse manifests a narrow reduction of learner-centred pedagogy to a technical rationality concerned only with changing teacher educators' pedagogical skills while ignoring broader structural changes that frame their uptake of the new pedagogy.

Background

The shift from apartheid to a new political dispensation in 1990 saw many changes on the Namibian education landscape. One such change was the adoption of a learner-centred pedagogy. Learner-centred pedagogy in post-apartheid Namibia traces its historical roots to the education activities of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in exile, in education centres such as the refugee school in *Kwanza-Sul*, Angola. Many Namibians who acted as teachers in *Kwanza-Sul* were not trained, and manifested pedagogic practices that were antithetical to the political values and aspirations of the SWAPO liberation movement. It was in the context of

contradictions between the pedagogic practices of teachers in *Kwanza-Sul*, which largely reflected the prevailing classroom situation back home in apartheid Namibia (Dahlström, 1999), and SWAPO's ideological vision of a transformed society built on democracy and social justice, that the search for alternative pedagogic practices based on learner-centred education first started.

With the financial and professional support by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) SWAPO's search for alternative pedagogic practice culminated in a three-year pre-service teacher education programme for primary school teachers, the Integrated Teacher Training Programme (ITTP) (Dahlström, 2002). The ITTP programme offered opportunities in terms of empowering exiled teachers with the knowledge and skills to implement a new pedagogy. The new pedagogy, learner-centred pedagogy, centred on the learner and "was guided by principles of social constructivism: critical and transformative pedagogy, democratic education, conceptual learning, integration of knowledge, and meaning making and reflective practice" (Dahlström, 1999, p.7).

Not only were the education activities in exile seen as "the starting point for undoing apartheid in education and training" in Namibia (Angula, 1999, p.15), but they also provided the 'model or basis' upon which post-apartheid education reform would be based (Cohen 1994; Swarts 1999). Consequently, learner-centred pedagogy, whose practice was started in exile schools, was adopted at independence as the official pedagogy in post-apartheid Namibian classrooms. In its *Toward Education for All: A Development Brief for Education, Culture and Training*, the Ministry of Education and Culture (1993, p.10) declared: "as we make a transition from educating an elite to education for all we are also making another shift, from teacher-centred to learner-centred education. . .teacher centred education is inefficient and frustrating to most learners, and certainly is not consistent with education for all". Thus, despite an implementation terrain moderated by a policy of National Reconciliation, post-apartheid education reform in Namibia has been modelled, to a large extent, on the philosophical and ideological principles of the education programmes in exile.

According to Storeng (2001, p.209) learner-centred education is "a world-model of teaching" that has been adopted in many parts of the world. The work of Tabulawa (2003) in Botswana, Altinyelken (2010) and Raselimo (2011) shed light on the contradictions and tensions associated with the imposition of learner-centred pedagogy particularly by international donor

agencies in developing countries. Chisholm and Leyendecker's (2008) analysis of curriculum reform in different contexts in sub-Sahara Africa reveals a significant disjuncture between policy intentions and practice. This paper forms part of a broader study which investigated how teacher educators in a Namibian college of education interpret and practice learner-centred pedagogy that underpins the Basic Education Teachers Diploma (BETD) programme. The research took the form of a case study and drew upon interviews, naturalistic non-participant observation and document analysis to understand teacher educators' interpretation and practice of learner-centred pedagogy. Drawing on Bernstein's theories of pedagogy and recontextualisation, the broader study revealed a disjuncture between teacher educators' ideas of learner-centred pedagogy and their practice of it. Central to this disjuncture was the preponderance of structural, personal-professional and psychological factors that conditioned how teacher educators enacted this new pedagogy.

This paper focuses particularly on one aspect of the findings that illuminated a 'fork-tongued discourse' in the Namibian teacher education reform which, on the one hand, exhorts teachers to transform their practice to learner-centred pedagogy while at the same time still clinging to traditional structures and practices.

Theoretical framework

In this paper, Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing are used to make sense of how teacher educators interpreted and practiced learner-centred pedagogy. According to Bernstein (1971) classification refers to power relations and is concerned with the strength of boundaries or the degree of boundary maintenance (demarcation, insulation) between the various actors, agents, categories and discourses. Thus, depending on the degree of insulation, classification can either be strong (C^+) or weak (C^-). Where classification is strong (C^+), insulation between the various agents, discourses and practices is strong, with highly specialised identities and voices coupled with little interchange between the various categories, agents or discourses. Where classification is weak (C^-), insulation between the various categories, agents and discourses is weak, with less specialised identities and a high level of interaction between the various categories.
The concept of framing, on the other hand, refers to control relations between the teacher educator and the student teacher. It is about the 'locus of control'

over the selection, sequencing and pacing and evaluation aspects of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2000). Thus depending on the locus of control, framing can either be strong (F^+) or weak (F^-). Where framing is strong (F^+), the teacher educator or external authority (policy or curriculum) has explicit control over the selection, sequencing and pacing of the instructional and regulative discourse. Where framing is weak (F^-), the student teacher has more apparent control over the instructional and regulative discourse. Framing values are, therefore, regulated by the locus of control in the pedagogic relation between the teacher educator and the student teacher.

Framing can either be external (^eF) or internal (^iF). External framing (^eF) refers to pedagogic contexts where external control factors such as the curriculum, policy, authorities and other macro-level structural forces constitute the locus of control over the instructional and the regulative aspects of pedagogic discourse. Internal framing (^iF), on the other hand, refers to pedagogic contexts where internal forces, such as the teacher educator, the scheme of work, etc. constitute the locus of control over the instructional and regulative discourse. Both external and internal framing can either be weak ($^eF^-$, $^iF^-$) or strong ($^eF^+$, $^iF^+$). Bernstein refers to the regulative discourse as the discourse for order, character and manner in a pedagogic relation while the instructional discourse is the discourse that defines the knowledge and skills transmitted or acquired in a pedagogic relationship. The two discourses constitute pedagogic discourse with the regulative discourse being the dominant discourse.

Closely related to the classificatory and framing values is Bernstein's corpus of rules, namely: recognition, realisation and evaluative rules. These rules are also essential to the present study as they illuminate teacher educators' interpretation and practice of learner-centred pedagogy. The recognition rule operates at the level of the acquirer and serves as a means by which the acquirer is able to recognise the specificity of the context in which he or she is in. It orientates one to the speciality of the context; it helps one to determine what the context demands. Unless one possesses this rule, one will not be able to read the context and will remain silent or ask inappropriate questions (Bernstein, 1996, p.31).

The classificatory principle regulates recognition rules (reading of the context), and the recognition rule refers to power relations. Strong classification (C^+) gives rise to clear contextual specialties and identities. The context is clearly spelt out, and the acquirer can thus recognise the context or read the context. Weak classification (C^-), on the other hand, gives rise to

ambiguities in contextual recognition. The acquirer is given more room to infer what the context might be, instead of having it clearly spelt out to him or her.

Bernstein further argues that while the recognition rule enables the acquirer to distinguish the specificity of the context, the realisation rule, on the other hand, enables the acquirer to speak, act or write in appropriate ways. Realisation rules determine how one puts meanings together and how one makes these meanings public, that is, how one produces the legitimate pedagogic discourse (Bernstein 1996). Realisation rules can either be 'passive or active' (Alves and Morais 2008). Alves and Morais (2008) argue that passive realisation rule enables one to say what a particular discourse means, while active realisation enables one to produce a legitimate text in a given pedagogic context. Where framing is strong (F^+), realisation rules are explicit. Where framing is weak (F^-), realisation rules are implicit or tacit.
The third rule, the evaluation rule, determines the standards that must be reached, and the criteria for attaining these standards at the micro-level of pedagogic practice where the legitimate text is transmitted or taught. The evaluation rule entails actualising the official pedagogic discourse in practice and being able to provide evidence of this.

The foregoing discussion has outlined the theoretical framework for the study. The following section presents the research methodology that was followed by the study.

Research Methodology

The case study focused on Education Theory and Practice (ETP) described in the BETD Broad Curriculum as occupying "a central role. . .cementing together all the other elements of the curriculum" in the BETD programme (Namibia. Ministry of Basic Education, Sports and Culture [MBESC] 2001, p.1). Five teacher educators in the ETP Department participated in the study. As part of the ethical commitment, the teacher educators were assigned

fictitious names: Peter, Mary, Loide, Bob and Patrick. In addition, ethical considerations were further met by seeking permission or authorisation from relevant authorities to enter the research site for the purposes of the study.
The case study comprised three interrelated phases. Phase one consisted of a literature review on learner-centred pedagogy. This initial review of policy and other related literature was essential as it helped clarify the objectives of

the study. The second phase consisted of an engagement with the research site and the research participants in the form of semi-structured interviews and naturalistic, non-participant observation. During this phase, the goal was to generate data so as to understand:

1.   how teacher educators interpret learner-centred pedagogy at the level of description, and

2.   how teacher educators practice learner-centred pedagogy at the micro-level of pedagogic practice or implementation.

Interviews and lesson observations were conducted with the participants during three site visits that spanned a period of 14 months. Five pre-observation interview sessions, lasting about ninety minutes each, were held with each of the participants while a total of fifteen lessons taught by the same participants were observed. Lesson observations were followed by several follow-up interviews probing further the observed practices of the new pedagogy by teacher educators. Narratives generated through interviews and field-notes are italicised in the paper for easy identification.

While phase two of the study comprised mainly field-work, phase three was characterised by a withdrawal from the research site, focusing on analysing and interpreting the data. The literature review continued throughout this phase to illuminate the findings emerging from the data gathered in the field. Drawing on Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing a data analysis model was constructed. The construction of the model drew on antecedent studies such as Morais and Neves (2001) that extended the classification and framing concepts into four point scales in order to mitigate the dichotomisation within the Bernsteinian theory. Consequently, a model was constructed based on decreasing or weakening scales of classification and framing, ranging from very strong to very weak power relations ($C^{++}, C^{+}, C^{-}, C^{--}$), and very strong to very weak control or framing relations ($F^{++}, F^{+}, F^{-}, F^{--}$). The four point scale was necessary in order to avoid giving the impression that pedagogic reality can be neatly packaged into unproblematic, dichotomous categories of strong classification (C^{+}) versus weak classification (C^{-}) or strong framing (F^{+}) versus weak framing (F^{-}). The extended scale increased chances of appropriately addressing the messiness of pedagogic reality. The four point scale data analysis model also served to highlight the potential mixed nature of pedagogy in any pedagogic context. In order to ensure research quality, various protocols for maintaining the validity and trustworthiness of the data were followed. These included:

methodological triangulation, meaning the use of multiple data generating tools within a single study so as to enrich the data (Stake, 1995); member checking which entails taking raw data such as transcripts to the research participants in order for them to read through the transcribed data, comment on its accuracy and make any corrections or additions (Bassey, 1999); use of critical friends, peer examinations (Merriam, 1998) or peer-debriefing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In the following section, the findings are presented and discussed.

Analysis and presentation of data

In order to understand how teacher educators interpret and practice learner-centred pedagogy in relation to the classification and framing concepts, their views and practices of the pedagogy were explored both at the level of description and the level of implementation. This entailed analysing and interpreting interview narratives and lesson observation data by using the decreasing or weakening four point scale of classification and a weakening and decreasing four point scale of framing with descriptors constructed for each of the classification and framing values.

Learner-centred pedagogy as adoption of new pedagogic identities for the teacher educator and the student teacher

One of the key findings of the study was the interpretation of learner centred pedagogy as a pedagogic practice that entailed adoption of new pedagogic identities for teacher educators and student teachers. The pedagogy was seen as one where the teacher educator becomes a facilitator while the student teacher becomes an active pedagogic agent. This was evident as follows:

Patrick: According to my new role I am a facilitator. I am supposed to plan tasks for students and various activities and then facilitate these in class.

Loide: Me, I am a facilitator. I am facilitating learning and at the same time I have to guide. Guide and direct the learning. . .and at the same time I am also a co-learner. I also need to learn from them. Ok, here

and there, I am also, as you know, a kind of, but not really a dictator or a so-called boss. There is somewhere where I can say: here you were supposed to do A, B, C or D. Like a leader.

Mary:The teacher educator should be able to facilitate the learning process instead of preaching throughout the lesson. So, it requires the teacher educator to prepare more than just sitting at the back of the classroom.

The pedagogy was further interpreted to mean student teachers becoming active pedagogic agents:

Bob: Learner-centred pedagogy is an approach that gives us the opportunity to empower our students so that they can be actively involved in class and do things for themselves instead of getting it from the teacher educator all the time.

Loide: When we talk about learner-centred pedagogy, we think in terms of making students to be involved in the whole teaching and learning process. Especially during the classroom situation, we really do not want to see the students seated, listening to the teacher educator and at the same time taking notes, and sometimes they do not even understand those notes. We would like to see students reacting in class. There should be some kind of movement, talking and working.

The interpretations of learner-centred pedagogy in the foregoing presentation of narratives suggest not only a repositioning in the relationship between teacher educators and student teachers but also a power shift. The new pedagogic identity of *'facilitator'* suggests a much softer position and relocation of the teacher educator to the backstage of the classroom. In addition, it also suggests the waning of the teacher educators' pedagogic power and authority. Seen in the Namibian context, it can be argued that this repositioning or relocation to the backstage of the classroom as a '*facilitator*' is a radical departure from what is largely described as an authoritarian position of the teacher characteristic of the classroom under apartheid Namibia.

Equally, the pedagogic identity of the student teacher as an active agent suggested not only a relocation of the student teacher from the margins to the centre of the classroom but also a power shift towards the student teacher. This repositioning to the centre of the classroom as an active participant was

coupled with a simultaneous weakening or diminishing of the pedagogic power and authority of the teacher educator as seen in the narratives above. Seen within the context of the data analysis model, learner-centred pedagogy was being interpreted at the level of description as a pedagogic practice based on weak power relations or weak rules of the regulative discourse in pedagogic relations between teacher educators and student teachers. Insulation in terms of power was weak with less specialised power identities.

The teacher educators' interpretations of learner-centred pedagogy at the level of description were consistent with official interpretations in official policy texts that were examined. For instance, in the National Curriculum for Basic Education, it is stated that "learners learn best when they are actively involved in the learning process through a high degree of participation, contribution and production" (National Institute for Educational Development (NIED), 2008, p.31). Similarly, the pedagogic image of the teacher educator as '*facilitator*' with less power than in the past was also evident in the BETD course material which states: "in learner-centred pedagogy, the teacher is seen as facilitator and guide, motivating students to learn, and creating a conducive learning environment" (NIED, 1998, p.23). While the consistency between teacher educators' interpretations and that of the policy documents might possibly be construed as the mere reproduction of official discourse, the examples teacher educators gave of how they might implement learner-centred pedagogy in their own classrooms indicated possession of both recognition and passive realisation rules.

Lesson observation data were further examined in order to understand teacher educators' practice in relation to their interpretations at the descriptive level. While teacher educators claimed during the interviews that learner-centred pedagogy is based on weak power relations (as seen in the pedagogic identities of facilitator and student teacher as active pedagogic agent), observation of their actual practice depicted an approach characterised by strong power relations at the micro-level of pedagogic practice. For, instance, Patrick's practice of learner-centred pedagogy during the observed lessons was characterised by explicit and hierarchical power relations in defining his preferred order, character, manner and social conduct during his lessons. In one of his lessons, Patrick made very clear what he expected in terms of punctuality, attendance and preparation for examinations:

Patrick: Please, always remember to come to class on time. Don't forget that examinations are around the corner. I don't like people who come late to class. I don't like disturbances when classes have started.

Later on in the study, several observations of Patrick's lessons revealed strong power relations. For instance, in one lesson, an exchange with his third year students exemplified a strong control scenario centred on the teacher educator as the authority:

Patrick: My friend, I don't want late comers. If you don't want to come to my class, please stay away.

Student
Teacher: [student teacher tries to explain something] Please sir. . .

Patrick: Just sit down; you have already spoiled our mood.

Patrick: [continues to explain the activity. Two students arrive late at the door, trying to knock at the door]

Patrick: Guys, just go away. You are disturbing my class.

In this scenario, the two late comers were literally turned away by Patrick and excluded from the lesson. Patrick's power over his students was thus demonstrated: from his position of authority he exercised the privilege of selecting and transmitting rules of social order which students were simply made to accept and obey. This understanding of learner-centred pedagogy as a practice based on strong power relations was also evident in Mary's practice:

Mary: Yesterday other people were taking chances. There are those students who were misbehaving yesterday during the test. Those students need to come and see me at the office after class and explain to me why they were behaving like that.

The power held by Mary over her students in the pedagogic relation was clearly manifested in her labelling certain students as 'misbehaving' and summoning them to her office for reprimand.

In one of Loide's lessons, strong power relations were exhibited as follows:

Loide: Hey [calls out name of student], listen to me…a teacher should never chew something in front of learners. It is not professional.

The data generated through lesson observation revealed that, despite the interpretation expressed in the interviews – of learner-centred pedagogy as a

pedagogic practice based on less power of the teacher educator – the actual enactment of learner-centred pedagogy in the classrooms by teacher educators reflected a pedagogic practice based on strong power relations. Thus, contrary to the purported role of being 'soft-hearted' facilitators, as framed by weak power relations, in the observed lessons, the teacher educator still exercised a prominent and visible position of power and authority. As will be seen in the subsequent paragraphs, this contradiction could be interpreted in the context of the fact that teacher educators were operating in a pedagogic environment that was strongly framed externally. In addition, narratives in the broader study also indicated self-doubt among teacher educators regarding their own professional abilities to enact the new pedagogy. While cognisance is taken of these inhibiting factors it could be argued that the disjunction between teacher educators' ideas of learner-centred pedagogy in relation to the regulative discourse and their practice of it is a possible indication of their lack of the appropriate recognition and realisation rules needed to become creative practitioners of learner-centred pedagogy at the micro-level of implementation.

Control relations in instruction

Teacher educators' interpretation and practice of learner-centred pedagogy were further explored in terms of the control relations in instruction. This entailed examining the control relations between teacher educators and student teachers in terms of the selection, sequencing, pacing and evaluation aspects of instruction. Interview narratives were analysed using a weakening four point scale of framing with descriptors constructed for each of the framing values. The findings are presented as follows:

Strong external and internal control relations over the selection of the instructional content

The data were examined in terms of the degree of control or participation either by teacher educators, external authorities and student teachers in the selection of the instructional content. The selection is strongly framed externally when external authorities are the locus of control while the selection is strongly framed internally when the teacher educator constitutes the locus of control. The selection is weakly framed when there is active student participation and involvement in the selection of the instructional content. Data generated at the level of description revealed an interpretation of learner-centred pedagogy as a pedagogic practice based on strong external framing in

terms of selecting content for inclusion in the syllabus and final transmission to students. The content selection process was described as externally controlled and facilitated by the NIED, with some teacher educators working alongside NIED in the official recontextualising field, for example:

Bob: NIED is the leading institution. They are the people upfront because they direct everything. So, even if people are being invited to curriculum meetings, it is the NIED people who are in the final position to take decisions on whether or not our contributions to syllabus development are acceptable. NIED is taking the lead.

Alongside the strong external control over the selection of discourses data also revealed the exclusion of students from the content selection process.

Peter: I like the idea of students taking responsibility of their own learning. I like that notion. One thing I am not sure about is the standard of our students in the BETD. In as much as you would have loved to involve them in syllabus development or selection of content areas, and take charge of their own learning, they can't. They are unable to do so. You will just end up spoon feeding them.

Bob: My personal concern here is that perhaps the person who came up with the notion of letting students decide on what to learn was so excited that he did not look at the other side of the coin. Yet these students who are joining the BETD have not gone far academically. They don't have much knowledge and experience to decide on what they should be taught. They are coming here to learn.

Students were thus seen as incapable of deciding on what to learn. There was no evidence to suggest a collaborative approach that would involve students or community organisations in the selection of instructional content. This could reflect contradictions in the Namibian official policy documents. For instance, while official pedagogic texts advocate active student involvement in decision making pertaining to what to learn (Ministry of Education and Culture [MEC] 1993; Ministry of Education [MoE] 2007), procedural rules and guidelines for curriculum panels make no provision for student involvement.

Teacher educators' enactments of learner-centred pedagogy were observed in order to understand how learner-centred pedagogy was being practised in relation to control over the content selection aspect of the instruction. Analysis of the data revealed strong internal control by the teacher educator over the selection aspect through lesson planning, which determined the content areas

to be covered in a given lesson. This was often announced to student teachers:

Bob: [introduces the day's topic] Today's topic is motivation. [Writes the word motivation on the chalkboard];

Bob: Who can define the word motivation for me?

Student: Motivation is anything that guides a person in order to achieve what he wants to achieve.

Bob: [receives a number of definitions from students and acknowledges that all definitions are correct]. . .

In Mary's lessons, control over the selection of content for transmission was centred on her as the teacher educator:

Mary: Yesterday we looked at lifelong learning and what can be done to cure the diploma disease.

Mary: I have decided that for today you work in groups and look at the issue of education for all.

Mary: I will give you these questions, I have them typed out.

Mary: [reads out and explains the questions]. This is your time to engage in discussions.

While at the level of description, learner-centred pedagogy was described as a pedagogic practice in which the selection of content for inclusion in the syllabus and final transmission to the students was externally controlled, the lesson observation data revealed that at the micro-level of implementation, content selection was more teacher-centred, with the teacher educator retaining full control over which topics to cover and when to cover them. These findings were also confirmed through an examination of teacher educators' daily lesson plans which reflected that they selected topics for the day and prepared accordingly. Of course, from the teacher educators' point of view, the selection of topics may well be perceived and experienced as externally controlled by the demands of the syllabus. However, the non-involvement of student teachers in the selection of discourses was in contradiction of official policy. For instance, the policy document: *Toward education for all* (MEC, 1993, p.11) states:

> Much more than has been our experience previously, learners will be involved in setting objectives and organising their work [. . .] learners and teachers will share responsibility for the learning process.

In almost all the lessons observed, the content to be transmitted was initially known only to the teacher educator, who announced it to the student teachers at the beginning of the lesson. It can be argued, in this case, that the macro-level strong framing over the selection of discourses (who selects content to be taught) was translated at the micro-level of pedagogic practice into a strong internal framing over the selection of discourses in a manner that centred on the teacher educator.

Strong external and internal control relations over the sequencing of the instruction

The data were further examined in terms of the control relations over the organisation, ordering or sequencing of the instruction. At the descriptive level, in the interviews, learner-centred pedagogy was interpreted as a pedagogic practice informed by strong external control relations underpinning the sequencing of the instruction. The sequencing aspects were underpinned by strong external framing arising from curriculum requirements, that is, what is regarded as the logical order in which the curriculum content should be presented. For example:

Loide: Teacher educators normally look at which topics come when, but also taking into account the precedence or order of topics because there are some topics that should be covered before students can go for school-based studies, for instance. We want them to go for school-based studies with relevant knowledge that they can use when they are teaching during practice teaching.

Thus, the professional requirements of teaching practice rather than student learning interests constituted the locus of control over the sequencing or ordering of the transmission of discourses. In addition, student teachers were perceived as mere recipients of the sequencing schemes drawn up for them by their teacher educators rather than active participants in their construction:

Bob: Actually, what we normally do before students report in the new academic year is that we meet as teacher educators and look into what we are going to offer that academic year. And when we have

agreed on all the areas, and have arranged these areas chronologically according to how we want to present them to students, then we task one of us to prepare the document [scheme of work].

Bob: When the students report in February, the scheme of work will already be in place, indicating the assignments and due dates on which topics are to be covered, even though to some extent there are always some difficulties in meeting those deadlines.

Loide: We are supposed to give this [scheme of work] to student teachers right from the beginning of the year so that everybody has a copy, the lecturers as well as the students.

By adopting an approach that excluded students from participating in the sequencing of discourses, teacher educators contradicted their own perceptions of learner-centred pedagogy as a pedagogic approach that is not only centred on the student teacher but assigns him or her an active pedagogic role. This particular finding was further accentuated by data obtained at the implementation level where the sequencing process was further de-centred from the student teachers. Findings demonstrated that at the micro-level of pedagogic practice, the sequencing of discourses was strongly controlled internally by teacher educators who exercised control over the chronological order or progression of topics which were themselves mandated by external framing factors.

Thus, despite teacher educators' description of learner-centred pedagogy as a pedagogic practice based on student involvement and participation in the pedagogic process, the data revealed that students were not involved in the sequencing of discourses and were relegated to a subservient position of mere recipients of sequencing schemes drawn up by either external authorities or by their teacher educators. While it can be said that teacher educators did not demonstrate possession of recognition and realisation rules to meaningfully recontextualise learner-centred pedagogy, the demonstrated lack of these rules should be seen in terms of a pedagogic context conditioned by various factors as cited in this paper.

Strong external and internal control relations over the pacing of instruction

Pacing defines the amount of time spent to cover a given content area, and who has control over this amount of time in a pedagogic relation. Strong external framing over the pacing of instruction denotes a pedagogic situation where the locus of control over the pacing aspect resides with external authorities. Strong internal framing denotes a pedagogic context where the teacher educator constitutes the locus of control over the pacing aspects. Weak framing over the pacing aspects happens when student teachers, particularly their learning needs, constitute the locus of control.

Teacher educators' interpretation of learner-centred pedagogy was further examined in relation to the locus of control over pacing aspects in the pedagogic relations with their students. The findings revealed a learner-centred pedagogy interpreted as an approach based on strong external control of the pacing of discourses. Key external pacing factors cited during interviews included the scheme of work, syllabus coverage, the college composite timetable, college authorities and the NIED moderation exercise. This particular finding was evinced as follows:

Peter: We don't have much liberty because we are time-tabled in the college composite timetable. After thirty minutes another class starts and you must vacate the classroom for the other teacher educator or you must proceed to your next class where other students are waiting for you. So, you can't do much, unless you have double periods. We don't have any liberty within the college timetable. You are given thirty-five minutes and after those thirty-five minutes another teacher educator is waiting for the students. So, not much time is available.

Peter: The time is not enough. If you have to be learner-centred you need a lot of time. From the college point of view we do not have enough time to really inculcate the philosophies and principles of learner-centred pedagogy into our students. We have very little time. Today, with all the learner-centred talk and the lesson is still thirty-five minutes. Now, if we have changed the thinking and we want the teacher educators to become facilitators of learning and students to be involved in the teaching and learning process, I think we need to rethink how much time is needed for a period. Thirty-five minutes, I think was for the era where the teacher educator did the talking and students did the listening.

Aside from the time table, another external control factor identified was that of the college authority:

Bob: The aim of the authority who manages the colleges is that we should cover the syllabus. The syllabus should be covered as a whole. . . .even if they are driven by that intention they do not know what is on the ground in the classroom. It is only me, the teacher educator who knows what is here and who knows what the students are demanding from me. So, I must know how to play the game so that I can satisfy both parties. While I should make sure that the syllabus is covered I should at the same time make sure that my students are learning. Teaching should be focused on students' learning rather than coverage of the syllabus or scheme of work. Otherwise when the NIED people come for moderation they will start blaming you as a teacher educator that you haven't done anything.

Another identified external frame factor shaping pacing is that of the scheme of work:

Peter: Another issue is the scheme of work. You are given a scheme of work saying this is what and this is how much we are going to cover in this time period. You have to cover that and seem to have completed the work and show that things are covered. . .there is not much room for a teacher educator's own initiative. Because you have, as it were, a schedule to follow and work has to be covered. That is how it is supposed to be.

While some teacher educators interpreted learner-centred pedagogy as a pedagogic practice based on flexible and responsive pacing that takes into account the tempo of student teacher's knowledge acquisition, it is evident that in most cases the narratives reflect that this was constrained by a strongly structured pedagogic environment. This environment negated the progressivist and constructivist assumptions of learner-centred pedagogy:

> In learner-centred pedagogy, [. . .] the "time-table" is less of a regimen than it once was. There are fewer scheduled "class" hours; students use the institution's learning centres at any time of the day and any time of the week. Similarly, traditional semester dates take less importance. A student completing a specific learning outcome can work ahead, concentrating on weaknesses, or pursue other priorities. Within the year, traditional subject sequences become less a function of programme organization and more a function of learner-needs and priorities (Van Aswegen and Dreyer 2004, p.296).

While alluding to the costs involved in terms of time, Morais (2002, p.560) also argued for a weakly framed context for pacing:

> [. . .] successful learning depends to a great extent on the weak framing of pacing – that is, on conditions where children have some control over the time of their acquisition. This has generally been politically unacceptable, since it raises the cost of education.

Constrained by the college composite timetable and the scheme of work, data sourced at the implementation level revealed that at the micro-level of pedagogic practice, in their own classrooms, teacher educators controlled the rate of pacing, thus suggesting strong internal control of pacing. In all the lessons observed, the teacher educator prescribed the deadlines for submission of assignments and specified when specific tasks had to be completed, expecting all student teachers to progress at the same pace regardless of their individual interests and abilities. During presentations by student teachers or groups of students, the teacher educator not only decided who spoke when but also for how long one could speak. Teacher-centred pacing of the instructional discourse was manifested in the data as follows:

Bob: [checks each group] Are you done? Please finish quickly. We are waiting for that group to finish. There are a few minutes only for you to finish.

Mary: [giving instructions to her student teachers] I am giving you 10 to 12 minutes to do the task because you have been reading already about this task. One should be the secretary while another group member should be prepared to report. . . [Mary walks around helping groups. Later on she announces]: a minute, one minute remaining then you will be reporting.

Loide: I am going to give each of you fifteen minutes to present your lesson. After your presentation we will take five minutes to look at the strong and weak points of your lesson.

It is evident from these excerpts that pacing of the instructional discourse was centred on the teacher educator rather than the student teacher. Absent from the data was evidence of an approach to pacing that was flexible and accommodative of the student teacher's tempo of learning. Thus, no weak framing relations over the pacing aspects of the instructional discourse were observed, despite the teacher educators' views that learner-centred pedagogy

is a practice in which pacing is controlled by the student teachers' pace of acquisition of the pedagogic discourse. The teacher educator seemed to teach in order to cover the syllabus or scheme of work, and as if all the students were progressing at the same tempo, presumably under the pressure of external expectations. Once again, it is possible to conclude that teacher educators did not meaningfully and creatively recontextualise learner-centred pedagogy, suggesting that they lacked recognition and realisation rules. Again, the observed practice could equally be the result of numerous factors such as the strong external frame factors.

Aside from external frame factors cited in the narratives above, note should be taken of other factors that might possibly constrain educators' meaningful uptake of learner-centred pedagogy. For instance, O'Sullivan (2004) and Altinyelken (2010) identify factors such as the deep-seated cultural beliefs educators have about learner-teacher relationships that are based on authority, and about the purpose of education which is to impart knowledge, especially in an examination driven system. The broader study on which this paper is based also identified, among others, personal-psychological factors such as teacher educators' own self-doubt and lack of professional confidence in implementing the new pedagogy as some of the factors that constrained their meaningful interpretation and practice of learner-centred pedagogy in addition to structural external frame factors.

Strong internal control relations over the evaluation aspect

Assessment in the BETD programme is supposed to be learner-centred, emphasising positive achievement as opposed to focusing on weaknesses (Namibia. Ministry of Basic Education, Sports and Culture [MBESC] and Ministry of Higher Education, Training and Employment Creation [MHETEC], 1998). It is intended to be implicit and various, involving multiple and diffuse approaches, and always accommodative of the student teacher's contributions.

Teacher educators' interpretations of learner-centred pedagogy in relation to evaluation aspects were examined. The following views emerged:

Peter: Assessment in the BETD, I think, theoretically speaking is good, but seriously speaking it does not motivate serious learning. You will find that even those who are committed to serious work at the beginning of their studies, after some time they will get de-

motivated. We don't want to go back to the old system where everything was about tests and examinations but we are really struggling with the current approach. Assessment in the BETD is a problem. We are struggling.

Loide: In order to promote learner-centred education, assessment in the BETD needs to be revised. Like the way we are trying to assess our students, okay, students write assignments and then fail. We give them again a second chance, a third chance, and a fourth. It is really too disturbing because now what will happen is like teacher educators will not mark or assess for the correct information or really to assess students based on the information they want. They will only mark to make them pass. Why, because I cannot again set up a third paper, and a fourth paper.

Mary: The college should change and try to use the same system that the University of Namibia is using whereby students write tests and accumulate marks which allow them to enter and write an examination. Even though we do not want to emphasise examinations I think it is now time to do so, we have had enough.

While official pedagogic texts advocate evaluation rules that are more implicit, multiple, diffuse and inclusive of student teachers' contributions, teacher educators interpreted learner-centred pedagogy as a pedagogic practice based on explicit and specific evaluation rules that are strongly framed. The narratives emphasised the gradable performance of the student as attained in an examination or test. Teacher educators advocated a more visible, explicit and specific form of assessment arguing that the blurred and implicit type of assessment currently in practice does not promote serious learning. They advocated strongly framed evaluation criteria as opposed to weakly framed evaluation criteria advocated by the official pedagogic texts. This contradiction could result from teacher educators' own educational backgrounds based on strongly framed evaluation criteria, and perhaps a lack of professional competence to implement the new assessment approaches. In the broader study, teacher educators expressed their own self-doubt and lack of professional confidence in implementing the new pedagogy. Further to this, teacher educators' preference for strongly framed evaluation criteria could be seen in the context of studies that suggest that strongly framed evaluation criteria are supportive of learning (Morais, 2002; Hattie and Timperley, 2007). Weakly framed evaluation criteria do not necessarily lead to effective learning. Teacher educators' interpretation and practice of learner-centred

pedagogy as a pedagogic practice based on strongly framed evaluation criteria could be seen as good pedagogy, suggesting their possession of recognition and realisation rules needed for interpreting and practicing the new pedagogy.

The lesson observation data were examined in order to understand how teacher educators implemented learner-centred pedagogy in relation to the framing of evaluation aspects. Their practice was consistent with their views that insisted on strongly framed assessment practices. Contrary to the weak framing advocated by the official pedagogic texts, the observational data revealed a strong internal framing of assessment practices that are explicit and specific, for example, Loide reacted as follows to one of the student teacher's practice teaching lesson:

> The word "pest" was incorrectly written. The "P" was not written in capital. The heading should also be written on the chalkboard. Chalkboard writing was not good. You need to come back in the afternoon and practice chalkboard writing skills. You should avoid putting hands in your pockets when teaching because that shows a bad image. Boys, remember that. When you explained some concepts you were too fast. . .

In another lesson, Loide dismissed a lesson offered by one of her student teachers in no uncertain terms, and instructed her to re-plan and re-teach the lesson:

Loide: Eva, please, improve on that. You also ignored when learners said they did not understand. Please, Eva, attend to students. You have to be attentive. It was a good topic but the way you presented it, I think Eva you did not prepare. Eva, please, always prepare for your lessons. I think you just did the preparation this morning. . . Eva, we really need to be serious. I want you to re-teach this lesson. I will allocate you time. You need to go to the hospital and get more material on the subject of your lesson.

In many instances, teacher educators opted systematically to point out what was incorrect in the student teacher's text and indicated in clear and detailed ways how to correct it; a practice consistent with research that indicates that clear feedback and explicit assessment criteria support good learning (Hattie and Timperley, 2007). Thus, while the official pedagogic texts advocated weakly framed assessment practices, teacher educators preferred practices based on strong internal framing. Weakly framed assessment practices such as allowing students several resubmissions of failed assignments, reliance of assignments and de-emphasis of examinations and tests, using multiple and diffuse assessment approaches, etc. were perceived to generate problems,

inhibiting teacher educators' meaningful recontextualisation of learner-centred pedagogy.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted contradictions in teacher educators' interpretation and practice of learner-centred pedagogy, and within official pedagogic texts. Underpinning the contradictions is an official double-speak or fork-tongued discourse that transmits simultaneously to the classroom two contradictory messages, which on the one hand, tells teacher educators to change their classroom practice and adopt learner-centred pedagogy as the new approach in post-apartheid Namibian classrooms, while at the same time clinging to traditional pedagogic structures and arrangements that are antithetical to the new pedagogy. Despite exhortations of teacher educators to teach in a learner-centred manner, college authorities mandate the duration of lessons (thirty-five minutes), and impose rigid and strongly framed schemes of work and time-tabling and authoritarian expectations in terms of syllabus coverage in a manner that turns a blind eye to the student teachers' tempo of learning. Strong, macro-level external framing over aspects of the instructional discourse such as the selection, sequencing and pacing of discourses dominated the data. This in turn dictated strong internal framing by teacher educators over aspects of the instructional discourse at the micro-level of their classrooms. The call to transform to a learner-centred pedagogy has not included changes in the broader systemic factors. What seems to matter is the policy to change teacher educators' pedagogic skills from teacher-centredness to learner-centredness while fundamental pedagogic frame factors such as the external controls on selection of discourses, time-tabling, scheduling as manifested by the scheme of work remain unchanged. The dominant discourse has thus tended to reflect a narrow reduction of learner-centred pedagogy to a technical rationality concerned only with simple tricks of the trade while ignoring changes in the broader structural sphere – structural changes that condition or frame teacher educators' interpretation and practice of the new pedagogy.

We argue that the fork-tongued discourse, anchored in a technicist approach, constitutes one of the key factors that constrain and stifle teacher educators' meaningful uptake of learner-centred pedagogy in the Namibian teacher education reform. We further argue that the fork-tongued discourse, with its attendant structural frame factors largely inhibit teacher educators' acquisition

of recognition and realisation rules needed to meaningfully interpret and practice the new pedagogy. While some teacher educators demonstrated possession of the recognition and realisation rules for interpreting learner-centred pedagogy at the level of description, at the level of practice, most of them did not. In order for meaningful transformation of pedagogy to take place, there is a need for a broader perspective that will take into account not only changes in teacher educators' pedagogic skills but also changes in the broader structural arrangements such as time-tabling, sequencing, pacing and authoritarian views regarding syllabus coverage. When the selection or sequencing of discourses is strongly framed externally, there is little possibility of the teacher educator executing his or her facilitative role or engaging in weakly framed pedagogy that involves students in discourse selection. Instead, chances are high that the teacher educator will simply become a transmitter of externally prescribed knowledge. Such a pedagogic context is antithetical to the teacher educator's professional empowerment.

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John Nyambe
Continuing Professional Development (CPD) Unit
University of Namibia
Windhoek

jnyambe@unam.na

Di Wilmot
Faculty of Education
Rhodes University

d.wilmot@ru.ac.za

Teaching-learning and curriculum development for human rights education: two sides of the same coin

Petro du Preez, Shan Simmonds and Cornelia Roux

Abstract

The diverse nature of South African classrooms presents a number of challenges. One of these is creating a culture of human rights. Although South African school curricula promote the infusion of human rights, teachers are still uncertain about how to apply human rights and learners are, at best, equivocal about human rights. The purpose of this research was to investigate teachers' and the learners' perspectives on human rights, to explore concomitant challenges, and to present proposals for human rights teaching-learning and curriculum development. To achieve this, two qualitative studies were conducted and the following research questions were posed: What challenges arise for human rights education in teaching-learning and curriculum development? What are the implications of these challenges for both teachers and learners? The findings suggest ways of addressing human rights more optimally in curriculum development and teaching-learning practice to the advantage of teachers and learners in diverse contexts.

Introduction

The ongoing worldwide search for ways to rectify injustices has foregrounded human rights discourses in various spheres of societal life. Carrim and Keet (2005, p.107) contend that human rights are used in education to orientate previously deprived (socially, historically and politically) learners towards competing in the global economic market and as such "human rights is thus propelled by the contradictory 'pulls' and 'pushes' of human rights and democracy, and capitalist development simultaneously". In addition, global economic forces suggest human rights as a foundation for a just political and social context in developing countries. The liberal ideals underpinning the rights-based approach to development are clearly reflected in Article 7(1) of the South African Bill of Rights (just as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948) which "… enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom". This not only demonstrates liberal natural rights influences, but

points to South Africa's adoption of a universalist human rights language as part of a global moral evolution (cf. Dunne and Wheeler, 1999, p.7).

In this article we explore the challenges regarding creating a human rights culture in teaching-learning and curriculum development and its implications for both teachers and learners. An exploration of this nature necessitates that concepts (such as citizenship, human rights, ethicists of care, ethical community) pertinent to our arguments be clarified to emphasise the links that these concepts have with human rights education. The argumentation is informed by a moral perspective rather than a legal perspective on human rights education. The following questions were put: What challenges arise from creating a human rights culture in teaching-learning and curriculum development; and what implications do these challenges have for both teachers and learners? We conclude with several theoretically-grounded proposals for meeting these challenges. Although we acknowledge that more should/could be done on an education policy level, the proposals made elicit what this article refers to as the 'two sides of the same coin', namely teachers and learners and the challenges they experience in creating a human rights culture in teaching-learning and curriculum development.

Human rights in the South African context

In pre-democratic South Africa (before 1994) no reference was made to human rights in education, because human rights discourses in education embrace principles of justice, truth and freedom that were robustly opposed by the pre-democratic South African state (Asmal and James, 2002; Botha, 2002; Steyn, 2003). South Africa currently constitutes a secular society "with a democratic constitution and a Bill of Rights" that protects "the rights of all people in South Africa" (Constitution, 1996; Steyn, 2003, p.114). The inclusion of human rights content into the South African outcomes-based curriculum – specifically in the Life Orientation learning area under the pretext of 'education for citizenship' and through other learning areas – seems to be the riposte to attain social and political restructuring, and economic prosperity (Carrim and Keet, 2005). Human rights-related content is presented as a means of contributing to the establishment of global and cultural education for citizenship (cf. Department of Education, 2001; Chidester, 2003). 'Global citizenship' refers to the universal rights and responsibilities with which learners should become familiar to prepare themselves for the challenges presented by globalisation (Chidester, 2003). 'Cultural citizenship'

emphasises the distinct cultural identity of citizens and suggests ways of recognising and protecting citizens' cultural identity (Chidester, 2003).

In the *South African National Curriculum Statement* (Department of Education, 2002) and the *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement* (Department of Basic Education, 2011) global and cultural education for citizenship is promoted so that learners will participate as responsible citizens in the life of local, national and global communities. Several official documents and reports, support the inclusion of human rights in the curriculum, as a component of education for citizenship, and as a means of infusing the classroom with a culture of human rights.

Human rights as a moral construct

Although human rights discourses in education in South Africa were intended to transpire epistemologically (as part of education for citizenship) and morally (as the infusion of a human rights culture), it appears that the moral part does not always receive ample attention. McCowan (2010: pp.510–511) reiterates this point when he argues that "[u]niversal rights are primarily moral rather than legal rights, although they have official status through non-binding declarations such as the UDHR, and in some cases (such as in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC]) they are turned into legally binding treaties". On an epistemological level, human rights could be described as part of education for citizenship that is concerned mostly with the political community that emanates from the political nature of the individual (cf. Kiwan, 2005). However, human rights are not only intended to be addressed as contents, but also to be promoted as a value system and/or moral code to be cherished. Hence the Department of Education (henceforth DoE) initiated the notion of the 'infusion of a culture of human rights' as well as a set of negotiable rights-based values (Department of Education, 2001). A culture of human rights could be described as an ideal or way of life that could operate on both local and global levels. This normative ideal promoted through such a culture is founded in the moral demands posed by human rights values and principles. It evolves as circumstances change and presupposes that human rights values, as values derived from human rights principles, should be constantly identified, negotiated and reassessed.

Three critical arguments will be posed against the way that human rights as a moral construct with ethical implications are dealt within the South African

education context and to orient the reader to some of the background debates of human rights education.

● Firstly, we are concerned about how human rights are 'commodified' in some instances in education. Hastrup (2003, p.26) states that "human rights have become the means of exchange par excellence in an international community". Rights in some discourses thus become a mere 'article of trade'; for example, if you want this or that right, just behave in this or that way and the right will be rewarded. The commodification of rights could lead to behaviourism.

● Secondly, the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* [henceforth *Manifesto*] (Department of Education, 2001) suggests that infusing the classroom with a culture of human rights is one strategy to bring back values in education. This approach could lead to the reification of human rights values and promote an instrumentalist approach to the infusion of a human rights culture. The DoE's endeavour to promote the infusion of a culture of human rights in the classroom is an example of what Habermas (1984) refers to as "strategic action". Habermas (1984, p.289) argues that interlocutors use language in their speech acts either to attain understanding of meanings, or to create certain effects on the hearer. He calls the former means of language use "communicative action", while the latter is referred to as "strategic action" (Habermas, 1984, p.289–290). We argue for the infusion of a culture of human rights that is based on communicative action, to promote processes of meaning-making and understanding. In short, considering a culture of human rights as a normative ideal which could not be attained through some form of strategic action, but only through continuous communicative action.

● Thirdly, the liberal natural rights underpinning of human rights discourses in South Africa does not provide sufficient foundation for the development of a culture of human rights (cf. Du Preez, 2008). This underpinning is largely due to international influences. On the one hand, this underpinning is too egotistical to justify the notion of an ethical

community;[1] and, on the other hand, it is mired by an over-emphasis on fixed knowledge about human rights underpinned on a moral level (Brown, 1999). Our hypothesis is that a culture of human rights is somewhat allegorical: it represents a way of life which requires the support of an ethical community. The denunciation of an ethical community, or an over-emphasis on self-directed individuals with no obligation towards other individuals, could threaten the supporting network needed for a culture of human rights. Within the context of an ethical community, fixed knowledge about moral issues such as human rights is not desirable; it could undermine the vibrancy and intellectual sobriety needed to sustain a vigorous ethical community able to deal sensibly with ethical dilemmas not necessarily based on fixed knowledge constructs. This is because fixed knowledge erodes the ethical community's need for infinite dialogue and questioning of what moral knowledge might be and how ethical dilemmas could be addressed (Brown, 1999; Du Preez, 2008; Josephides, 2003).

These critiques are framed in an approach to morality in education that is based on the feminist theorists, the ethicists of care. Ethicists of care argue that the people make moral decisions based on their affective and intellectual understanding of an ethical dilemma, respond to their caring self and prioritise the other when making decisions (Noddings and Slote, 2005). They also argue that moral education should allow learners to experience moral interdependence and avoid self-righteousness when encountering ethical dilemmas (Noddings and Slote, 2005). Human rights in education is not only an epistemological notion but a profound moral notion that requires an education context in which human rights are not reified, but dealt with as a complex ethical process that depends on a community of interlocutors that are willing to engage in communicative action.

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[1]   Du Preez (2008, p.29) describes an ethical community as follows: ". . . any group of individuals or a social network that enters into dialogue to talk about good, right, duty, obligation, virtue, freedom, rationality and choice. Such a group could manifest at various levels of society, for instance at governmental level. . ., business or organisational level. . ., and at the level of civil society. . . An ethical community, as a non-static entity, represents an assemblage of individuals with diverse lifeworlds, who strive to comply with the moral demands placed upon them to regulate their dialogic activities."

Human rights in the curriculum and in teaching-learning contexts

Carrim and Keet (2005) describe infusion as a process aiming at integrated curriculum design and development, albeit not equalling complete integration. They argue that the NCS, for the most part, promotes minimum infusion of human rights in the curriculum (Carrim and Keet, 2005). *Minimum infusion* refers to a situation where curriculum content addresses human rights issues indirectly, and *maximum infusion* to the explicit reference to human rights contents (Carrim and Keet, 2005). For example, the curriculum documents for the learning areas Life Orientation and Social Sciences deal with maximum infusion because the documents are directly concerned with contents regarding human rights, whilst Mathematics and Natural Sciences generally refer to human rights indirectly, hence a minimum infusion of human rights. Carrim and Keet (2005) argue for the maximum infusion of human rights that include not only knowledge, but also skills, values and attitudes related to human rights in all learning areas. In their view (Carrim and Keet, 2005), the instrumental and behavioural premises upon which outcomes-based education[1] (OBE) is constructed do not facilitate the maximum infusion of human rights. Earlier OBE documents and subsequently the NCS support human rights on a "rationalist and cognitive" level, but not on an "emotional and personal" level (Carrim and Keet, 2005, p.105). For this reason, teachers tend to focus on the epistemological dimension of human rights more than on the moral dimension, which is in contrast to an ethicist of care position. We firmly reject the binary view that OBE necessarily prevents the infusion of a culture of human rights. OBE provides for a variety of learner-centred methodologies (Jacobs, 2004), such as dialogue, which could provide more space for the development of human rights on an emotional and personal level, thus endorsing the moral dimension of human rights and providing a space for learners to deal with ethical dilemmas related to human rights. The problem is that these activities towards the infusion of a human rights culture are often trivialised because of the excessive focus placed on epistemology. We suspect that the failure to address the moral dimension of human rights in schools might largely result

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[1]   Outcomes-Based Education [OBE] refers to a philosophical and/or theoretical approach to education in which all activities are organised and focused to assist learners to end their learning experiences successfully. This entails organising curriculum, instruction and assessment to meet certain formerly defined outcomes. The belief that all learners can learn and succeed at their own time; that success breeds success; and that schools control the conditions of success, forms the foundations of OBE (Du Preez, 2005, p.61).

from teachers' personal beliefs about human rights values and education in general, their fixation with dealing with epistemology in specific time-frames as proof of what learners have mastered, and the lack of professional development of teachers vis-à-vis the methodologies for infusing a culture of human rights (Du Preez and Roux, 2008).

We argue for a balanced infusion of a culture of human rights in the curriculum and teaching-learning contexts. We extend Carrim and Keet's (2005) idea of minimum and maximum infusion of human rights to a more comprehensive understanding that includes moments in which human rights are implicitly and/or explicitly addressed, and when they are addressed as part of the curriculum or incidentally (see Table 1).

Table 1:   A theoretical representation of the balanced infusion of a culture of human rights

		Mode	
		Implicit	**Explicit**
	Part of curriculum	**Minimum infusion** When teachers respond to relevant situations that arise in the class by implicitly referring to a specific principle or value that could be linked to human rights *Morally orientated*	**Maximum infusion** Learning about human rights *Epistemologically orientated*
	Incidental	**Covert infusion** Curriculum contents usually only provide a space for the implicit addressing of human rights *Epistemologically orientated*	**Overt infusion** Transform a practical situation – whether it is linked to the curriculum or not – into an explicit learning opportunity in human rights *Morally orientated*
Context			

With regard to teaching-learning, a communicative, dialogically-orientated approach that promotes human rights on all four dimensions of infusion (Table 1) could lead to the infusion of a culture of human rights. Dialogue implies that learners are active agents and that teachers set the scene for learning (Du Preez, 2008). This learning scene, which presupposes an ethical community, should be one characterised by pedagogically responsible disruptions which transcend comfort zones in order to prepare learners for ever-changing situations (Cook and Young, 2004; Levinas, 2006). Infusing the

classroom with a culture of human rights is an evolving process towards a learning environment, epistemological base and methodology where transformation can be accommodated. This would also have the capacity to enhance the moral infusion of a culture of human rights, while simultaneously evading stagnation on an epistemological level. Dealing with disruptions supposes that both teachers and learners who engage in dialogue and strive toward infusing a culture of human rights should adopt an infinitising disposition (Cook and Young, 2004; Levinas, 2006). This disposition will enable interlocutors to transcend their comfort zones and, in a caring manner, embrace the constant process of approaching the inaccessible otherness of co-interlocutors and their beliefs about, for example, human rights and its related ethical dilemmas. In attempting to understand others and the meanings they attach to human rights, a collaborative effort is made to create a culture of human rights. The idea of dialogue as an affective, deconstructive teaching-learning methodology relates to what Du Preez (2008, p.76) describes as intuitive argumentation: ". . .a situation where interlocutors draw on their life worlds and related experiences to confront (dis)similar situations. The value of intuitive argumentation . . . lies in its nature that necessitates the use of familiar situations to respond to dissimilar situations in order to explore a different topic."

Research process

The data presented here emanate from two separate case studies focusing on human rights in education. Although these studies were different in terms of their general aims, design and methodology, some of the findings intersect and concur. The studies focused on comparing, contrasting and aggregating the teachers' and learners' perspectives regarding human rights. The context and methodologies of each of these cases are presented (Table 2) to provide a context for the data gathered and analysed. The findings will be problematised and suggestions to deal with the challenges will be proposed.

Table 2:   A representation of the context, methodologies and analysis found in each case study

	Case Study One	Case Study Two
Data collection date	September 2006 to March 2007	April to May 2009
Site selection	Mafikeng/Mmabatho region, North West Province, South Africa	**Potchefstroom region, North West Province, South Africa**
Participant selection	Nine teachers in grades 4 to 7 (learners aged 10-13)	Ninety-two learners in grade 7 (aged 12–13)
Sample	Purposeful	Purposeful
Type of schools	Rural socio-economically diverse, multicultural and multi religious schools	Metropolitan socio-economically diverse, multicultural and multi religious schools
Amount of schools used	3	2
Research design	Participatory intervention research	Exploratory research
Research methods	Open-ended questionnaires and semi-structured focus group interviews	Narrative writing
Data analysis	Discourse analysis	Discourse analysis

Main findings and synthesised interpretation

The data was analysed to determine how teachers interpret and learners understand human rights in the curriculum and how these two notions translate into the teaching-learning practices. Specific consideration was given to the relevance of these findings for human rights in teaching-learning and for curriculum development. Four clusters were derived from the data, these include:

- the superficial understanding of human rights;
- who is responsible for human rights education;
- how human rights is dealt with as a moral construct; and
- the ethical dilemmas that emerged when addressing human rights.

There was a clear indication in both studies that teachers and learners had a superficial understanding of human rights. Such a limited understanding could inhibit the realisation of human rights and human rights values – leading to a shallow understanding of the complexity of the issues underpinning these principles. This superficiality might be ascribed to the trend towards dealing with human rights in an epistemological way and the frequent overemphasis on a fixed view of knowledge about morality which undermines complexity. Fixed knowledge undermines moral knowledge and how ethical dilemmas could be addressed (Brown, 1999; Josephides, 2003).

The teachers' superficial understanding also stems from their inability to deal with ethical contradictions that might arise during their teaching of explicit curriculum content. The difficulty does not arise from the teachers' ability to deal with the surface features of the curriculum. Rather the difficulty arises when teachers are faced with situations that require in-depth knowledge and this challenges their 'communicative action' (Habermas, 1984). One teacher participant made the following comment:

> It is easy to read contents and teach them, but some things crop up which shows violation of other people's rights. How exactly do we do the practical part of addressing human rights?
>
> (T: Comment 1)

This issue is related to the critical argument posited earlier relating to the technical approach taken up by teachers which could lead to the instrumentalisation of human rights matters. This respondent's comment reinforces the fact that teachers are often unable to deal with the complex ethical dilemmas in the context of human rights. This complexity is what Kibble (1998, p.54) refers to as "morally clouded" situations.

The teacher participants revealed that human rights are addressed only during prescribed and pre-determined teaching-learning situations. This is an example of maximum infusion (see the first quote below). By limiting human rights to particular milieus, the teacher could promote the idea that human rights are being negligent towards the values and morals underpinning human rights (Du Preez, 2005). An unwillingness to reflect and experiment with teaching-learning strategies could lead to a reliance on a chalk-and-talk approach as opposed to an integrated approach to human rights in the curriculum. Some of the teachers stated that:

> When and how human rights are addressed is determined by the outcome and theme [of the particular learning area].
>
> (T: Comment 2)

> Economic and Managerial Sciences was a very abstract learning area for learners . . . adding 'funny' strategies such as dialogue and contents such as human rights might just confuse learners more.
>
> (T: Comment 3)

Comment two is an example of how the standardisation of education in South Africa dictates an epistemological approach to human rights, relying solely on the rational, intellectual mind of teachers and learners. Teaching-learning of human rights has been conditioned to use 'strategic action' because of the ambition to share predominantly human rights knowledge (Habermas, 1984). It could be argued that 'strategic action' also limits the teaching-learning options since it might eliminate teaching-learning methodologies that rely not only on the rational dimension, but also on the affective dimension. Comment three is an example of a teacher's attempts to justify her failure to infuse human rights in the curriculum and teaching-learning practices in a balanced manner (see Table 1).

Many of the learners also contextualised their understanding of human rights only in terms of the learning area Life Orientation. This was illustrated in the learners' narrow decontextualised perceptions of human rights with remarks as follows:

> Children learn about human rights at school and you can only learn about it in LO.
>
> (L: Comment 1)

A mindset which is solely epistemologically orientated could be the reason that some learners hold a 'power related' perception, seeing human rights as about them alone (cf. Simmonds, 2010). Such a stance is also linked to the liberal natural rights notion of human rights, which centres on narcissism, and contrasts with a perspective of education that values a community of interlocutors who engage in dialogue (Du Preez, 2008). One learner participant illustrates this point by reasoning that:

> I have the right to swim because it is fun. . . .I have the right to money because I want to buy things.
>
> (L: Comment 2)

The above-comment provides a good example in which human rights are commoditised and in the process reduced to a mere instrument to attain a particular purpose.

This superficial understanding expressed by the teachers and learners gave rise to some pertinent questions. These questions include identifying who is

responsible for human rights education; are they directly related to the implicit understanding teachers have of human rights; and what is the concomitant effect on teaching-learning and curriculum development. These are reflected in the following comments of teachers:

> It has become clear that in practice schools in particularly have taken the human rights culture lightly.
>
> (T: Comment 4)

> I saw the Manifesto for the first time – although have heard about it.
>
> (T: Comment 5)

> Learners should know that 'everything is not only about *me* and my RIGHTS'.
>
> (T: Comment 6)

In line with this discussion a learner participant stated the following on children and parents' rights:

> Kids have the right to education, safety, be disciplined, to obey and a family. Parents are not allowed to drink in public, abuse kids, whip kids very hard and harass children.
>
> (L: Comment 3)

These comments reveal that human rights education is not always prioritised by teachers and they do not attempt to acquire the necessary skills needed to engage meaningfully with human rights contents or documents and to develop professionally. These comments also reveal a lack of professionalism and being 'uninformed' that could affect negatively on teaching-learning as well as curriculum development.

One reason for the teachers' attitude could stem from the standardised nature of OBE, which could suggest that teachers do not need to conduct research beyond what is prescribed (Simmonds, 2010). Another facet of these remarks relates to the value that teachers place on human rights education. The extent to which teachers are willing to reflect and explore with teaching-learning strategies as well as their ability to infuse human rights across the curriculum will determine the degree to which they are prepared to promote human rights learners will not develop skewed perceptions of human rights (Simmonds, 2010).

Teachers could become dismayed by the manner in which they think learners understand human rights. On the other hand if teachers consider that learners understand human rights only as a power device they could become apathetic towards promoting human rights because it could undermine their teaching-learning strategies. Learners' remarks that 'everything is about them' can

reinforce a narrow, egotistical way of interpreting human rights. This is further illustrated by the response given by the learner participant above (comment 3). This argument suggests that learners' rights are prioritised over those of adults' and might impose negative connotations while learners' rights should have positive connotations.

These comments open the discussion on the moral underpinning of human rights in education and the dilemmas associated with addressing human rights.

From the data of these studies and the comments given it became clear that teachers are at times aware of human rights content that needs to form part of their teaching-learning strategies. However, they lack confidence (cf. Du Preez, 2008; Simmonds, 2010) dealing with content on moral and ethical aspects of human rights. One teacher participant stated: "*I still feel unsure as to how it will be applied in the class*." (T: Comment 7). This signifies that the challenge is not situated in the content of human rights; it originates from a lack of insight to apply informed moral elements underpinning human rights.

In the study, when learners were given the chance to present their understanding of human rights, many of them simply listed them one below the other. These included their rights to education, shelter, food and love. It was clear that learners did not recognise the complex moral implications and legalities of human rights. Learners were aware of the facts comprising their rights however they were unable to acknowledge the multifarious implications thereof. This could be related to the one-dimensional perspective often held by people when dealing with moral issues (Kibble, 1998). Dealing with moral issues requires one to rely on a multiplicity of perspectives before judgment of validity claims are made (cf. Ruiz, 2004). Moreover, the curriculum and teaching-learning often portray moral issues in 'clean and simple' contexts, which do not necessarily represent the complexity embedded in moral issues in real life situations (Kibble, 1998). This could limit learners' ability to deal with moral issues when confronted with them in real life.

Ethical dilemmas are also a challenge for human rights teaching-learning and curriculum development. Teachers referred to ethical dilemmas when dealing with diversity in the classroom and the ethical position they choose to adopt. One of the teacher participants disclosed that cultural differences amongst learners in that school create challenges for equality because some cultural groups feel inferior to the other cultural groups. She expressed the 'fear' that this situation might hamper human rights teaching-learning strategies. She explained that some cultural groups are more boisterous in their way of

interaction while others are more placid (T: Comment 8). She indicated that this might cause one culture to dominate during a dialogue session and could lead to disruption in the classroom. This remark can indicate that diversity is seen as a pedagogical challenge with inherent ethical dilemmas in human rights teaching-learning. This is further illustrated by another teacher's remark that *". . .maintaining a culture of human rights means to agree to disagree – but in silence."* (T: Comment 9) One could argue that teachers' inability to view moral issues from more than one perspective means they feel vulnerable and are cautious to deal with diversity that inevitably leads to multiple perspectives of a moral issue. The 'silence' used in order for teachers to escape the complexity embedded in dealing with moral situations, is obvious and sometimes a way to deal with diversity. However, one should pose the question: How far should a teacher employ her/his facilitation when ethical dilemmas arise? Another important question is: To what extent is it possible to explore a moral issue from a variety of perspectives to which one is not an insider? We argue that silence is not the best option when these topics are under discussion. It may not be possible to answer these questions satisfactorily, but it is important that teachers should embrace these challenges. The reasoning of the following two teachers outlined in the comments signifies the arguments discussed.

> It is easy to read contents and teach them, but some things crop up which shows violation of other people's rights. How exactly do we do the practical part of addressing human rights?
>
> (T: Comment 10)

> Many years of teaching different cultures and religious groups bring along wisdom, knowledge and the insight of how to deal with it.
>
> (T: Comment 11)

What is evident of these comments is that while one of the teachers uses experience to inform their practices, the other relies on educational knowledge. We argue that educational knowledge can only assist the teacher to a point and thereafter intuitive argumentation is also needed. Returning to the comment made by the teacher participant referring (T: Comment 9) to 'silence' when ethical dilemmas surface, this teacher might not have sufficient experience or have developed the insight of how to deal with ethical issues.

The learner participants used more concrete examples to explain how they understood ethical dilemmas. Their attention was drawn to human rights values and the associated ethical implications.

> Human rights are good because we are all equal. . . .I know that sometimes people don't receive the right treatment in connection with human rights the reason being their

circumstances. For example, if a person is a hobo (homeless) and they get a donation of money and they enter a shop trying to buy food they are immediately mistreated and I think that it's good that all the different colours (including albinos) all have the same rights. . . .It's a pity that some of the people from different colours actually think that they are better than other people from other colours.

(L: Comment 4)

I think that a women or a girl has the right to wear anything she want to wear. There was a woman who walked at the taxis rank with a short dress and the taxi drivers raped her, spit on her and swear at her. So some people need to be learned human rights

(L: Comment 5)

These responses might be derived from the learner participants' experiences or intuitive arguments regarding matters pertaining to human rights values. In their explanations, these learners do acknowledge morals and values underpinning human rights when their explanations refer to equity, dignity, respect, *ubuntu* and reconciliation in regard to concrete situations. This might be seen as similar to the situation in which teacher participants (T: Comment 10 and 11) are aware of human rights content but experience perplexity in applying this knowledge.

Challenges and Proposals

We draw attention to five prominent challenges regarding creating a human rights culture in teaching-learning and curriculum development and the implication thereof on both teachers and learners. Although the challenges discussed below emanate from the two case studies, the exploration might have wider application. It could assist teachers to:

i)   not only integrate human rights epistemology as explicit curriculum, but also to infuse it with a moral perspective in all teaching-learning situations so as to broaden learners' perspectives of human rights;

ii)   reassess the philosophy attached to human rights in South Africa in terms of a more cosmopolitan and communitarian stance so as to avoid excessive individualism among learners and even teachers;

iii) create space for them and their learners to deal with the complex moral issues from a variety of perspectives using intuitive argumentation and not only a one-dimensional and/or rational perspective;

iv)   create a dialogical teaching-learning disposition that is in line with Habermas's (1984) notion of communicative action that embrace

processes of meaning-making and understanding;

v)   establish a disposition in which they take responsibility for their own professional development.

Our proposals of ways to meet these challenges are three-fold. Firstly, we propose that an ethicist of care disposition be infused in teachers praxis. This might give human rights the moral underpinning, based on an affective acknowledgement. Ruiz (2004, p.283), a care theorist, stresses that the "origin of this morality is not reason, as in idealist morality, but feeling, 'pathos', solidarity with other human beings who deserve happiness and recognition. It is not the faculty of reason which moves us to act without duty, but neither is it a mere irrational feeling. Rather, it is an *affection* . . .". On such a foundation, an ethical community could develop and thrive (cf. Du Preez, 2008).

Secondly, we propose that dialogue be encouraged as a teaching-learning methodology that creates a space for individuals to respond to their caring and affective selves and prioritise the other in the context of an ethical community. Dialogue that necessitates adopting a heedfulness of values and virtues, rather than solely focusing on knowledge and experience, also suggests intuitive argumentation at times. Simultaneously, intuitive argumentation about doing the right thing underpins an anti-foundational understanding of a culture of human rights. In this sense dialogue is sufficiently supple to include various modes of reasoning such as intuitive argumentation. Dialogue thus creates a space for people to explore complex, shambolic moral issues from a variety of perspectives. In this regard, Kibble (1998, p.54) argues that teachers and learners should get their "hands dirty when looking at moral issues". He suggests further that when teachers work with younger learners they should not be 'silent' regarding complex moral dilemmas, but work with less complex scenarios at first and then steadily increase the complexity (Kibble, 1998).

Lastly, we argue that the prescriptive undertone of OBE might mean that teachers do not take responsibility for their own professional development. We propose that the professionalism of teachers be questioned in terms of Evans's (2002) notions of restricted and extended professionals. A restricted professional is a teacher who responds only intuitively to education practice, whereas an extended professional will rely on rationality just as much as on their intuition (Evans, 2002) when dealing with curriculum development and teaching-learning. In the context of this article, we propose that teachers

become extended professionals who take ownership of their own development to emancipate themselves (Du Preez and Roux, 2008) and their learners in a rationally and intuitively balanced manner.

Conclusion

Teaching-learning and curriculum development for human rights education is a complex matter. This research aimed at exploring this complexity in the light of teachers' and learners' perspectives. Several challenges were identified and proposals were put forward to address these. The research highlights the importance of not viewing teaching-learning and curriculum development for human rights education from the perspectives of teachers only: taking into account learners' understanding of human rights is essential. For this reason, we refer to this phenomenon as two sides of the same coin.

Adopting an ethicist of care disposition and fostering an environment conducive to deep dialogue about ethical dilemmas underpinning human rights might make it possible to overcome some of the difficulties identified in this article. This would mean that teachers would have to take ownership of the human rights education process in an educated and responsible manner (cf. Roux, 2010). In conclusion, we agree with Booth (1999, p.65) that "[t]he development of a human rights culture is crucial, because it is one of the ways by which physical humans can try and invent social humans in ways appropriate for our dislocated, statist, industrialised and globalising age. . . .The truly emancipatory moment will be when the universal 'I' totally embraces the universal 'an other'."

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Petro du Preez
Curriculum Studies
Faculty of Education Sciences
North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus)

petro.dupreez@nwu.ac.za

Shan Simmonds
Curriculum Studies
Faculty of Education Sciences
North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus)

shan.simmonds@nwu.ac.za

Cornelia Roux
Research Focus Area
Faculty of Education Sciences
North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus)

cornelia.roux@nwu.ac.za

University community service and its contribution to the Millennium Development Goals: a pan-African research project

Dorothy Nampota and Julia Preece

Abstract

This paper provides a comparative analysis of how four African universities applied their community service mission to address the internationally agreed Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This was a one-year action research project funded by the Association of African Universities called *Implementing the Third Mission of Universities in Africa* (ITMUA). The study compared the practices and outcomes of university relations with their communities at the National University of Lesotho and the universities of Malawi, Botswana and Calabar in Nigeria. It used a case study approach to examine how the university engagement or service activities addressed the MDGs, particularly MDG1 (reduction of poverty), the nature of their engagement, and the challenges or policy implications for enhancing the way universities contributed to national development needs. The paper concludes that there is a need for an institutional strategy for community engagement that links more closely with the notion of service learning in order to realise its potential.

Introduction

Although the concepts of community engagement, community service and service learning are firmly enshrined in South African policy (Department of Education and Training, 1997; Department of Education, 2001), in other African countries this is not the case. The term 'community service' – as one of the university's three core functions – is often explicit in university strategic plans and/or mission statements but its application is often undeveloped.

However, on a global scale there is growing interest in the way universities address regional, as well as national and international development needs. This is reflected in higher education policy recommendations (World Bank, 2009), academic literature (Waghid, 1999; Fourie, 2003; Inman and Schuetze, 2010)

and international initiatives to stimulate 'engagement' (Pascal Universities and Regional Engagement (PURE), 2010). Relevant projects range from an integrated regional approach in Belgium (Joris, 2010), to the Gaborone learning city initiative in Botswana (Ntseane, 2010) and a range of service learning projects across South African universities (Nduna, 2007).

In the African context the Association of African Universities (AAU) received money from the UK Department for International Development (DfiD) to stimulate capacity building in higher education. The AAU included, in its areas of support, research into the university's third mission. The concept of the third mission is evolving; definitions are changing and so are the purposes. A primary focus of debate is the extent to which community service represents a philanthropic exercise by the university towards its disadvantaged neighbours and the extent to which the university engages with its communities and regions as a mutual learning project. This paper briefly reflects on that debate before introducing the ITMUA project which analysed the processes and impact of different practices among the partner universities.

Community, service, and engagement

Before addressing the notion of community service it is pertinent to reflect that the concept of community itself is open to interpretation. The adjectival connotation of 'community work' for instance implies some form of public good, while the noun can refer to any form of social, geographical or collective entity (Hall, 2010). Muller (2010, p.69) suggests that for universities, "communities are in practice, more or less anything that is in the university's external environment".

The university's mission of community service, therefore, suggests a uni-directional act of social purpose by the university to a geographical or collective group outside of its campus. In some sectors this simply entails organised courses for an external audience, and is known as 'outreach' (Oyewole 2010). Perold (1998) suggests there is an additional dimension of civic responsibility on the part of those performing community service, which is done voluntarily. Although Perold (1998) concludes that there can be two types of community service programmes (one that is humanitarian in focus and another which aims for radical change or empowerment of the community in need) there is a sense that these are still university, rather than community, led activities, often undertaken by individual members of staff.

The introduction of a 'service learning' dimension, specifically to nurture a sense of civic responsibility in students, is an attempt to encourage a more mutual relationship between provider and community. Service learning has become a feature, particularly in South African universities, whereby students are assessed on their own documented learning as a result of addressing community needs (Perold, 1998). However, service learning has been criticised for its focus on student, rather than community needs (Van Shalkwyk and Erasmus, 2011). This has led writers to suggest that we should move away from simply viewing the university as a provider, and think of ways in which the university can be a partner in development (see also Fourie, 2003).

In order to capture this wider vision for universities, the concept of community engagement is gathering currency. It is suggested that engagement implies a greater sense of partnership with agencies that also work in or with communities (Schuetze, 2010).

Engagement is fast becoming the preferred term for universities, as exemplified by Oyewole's (2010) recent presentation to a conference in Botswana on learning cities and learning regions. Here he described community engagement as consisting of "mutually beneficial activities and not philanthropy . . .[but instead]. . . focused and organized partnership" (powerpoint slides).

This shift in perspective about the university's third mission opens up possibilities in African contexts for privileging indigenous local knowledge and the functional role of education. Oyewole (2010a, p.20) terms this process of "better understanding of local knowledge for knowledge production that is relevant to African contexts" as "enabling knowledge". Oyewole (2010) points out that such interactions may stretch beyond mere outreach programmes, and involve a wide range of partners to stimulate understanding, economic growth, health improvement and improved citizenship responsibility.

The literature on community engagement stipulates that context will influence the specific nature of engagement, according to the "unique history, assets, and needs of the institution and the community it serves" (Brukardt, Holland, Percy and Zimpher, 2006, p.246). Mulroy (2004) suggests, however, that there are essentially two models of involvement – a dispersed model (where individual staff members work as individuals on self-initiated projects and which follows a community service approach) or a coordinated model (where

staff and students work together as teams across and within departments, reflecting the engagement approach).

In order to develop a coordinated model, Wade and Demb (2009) suggest the need for some institutional infrastructures which facilitate community engagement. They identify aspects such as mission and leadership, promotion and reward systems, policy and budget allocations, a faculty approach and enabling organisational structure.

The second part of this paper compares how far such baseline conditions were in place for the research partners. Since, however, the focus of the project was on the ability of community engagement to address one or more MDGs, in particular MDG 1 – poverty reduction, it will be useful to outline the research team's interpretation of poverty. Other related goals included MDG 2 – increasing participation in primary education and MDG 6 – reducing the spread of HIV and AIDS, amongst other diseases.

Poverty

It is now widely accepted that poverty is multi dimensional. This is reflected in the latest Human Development Report (UNDP, 2010). This shows there are variations in the nature and intensity of poverty across a range of dimensions which include literacy rates, HIV prevalence, and income levels.

It is also acknowledged that there are degrees of poverty intensity. Sachs (2005, p.20) provided three categories – relative, moderate and absolute or extreme poverty. Those in extreme poverty are:

> Chronically hungry, unable to access health care, lack the amenities of safe drinking water and sanitation, cannot afford education for some or all of the children and perhaps lack rudimentary shelter.

The moderately poor may lack basic amenities such as safe drinking water and ventilated latrines or poor clothing, while those in relative poverty have limited access to quality health care and education and have a lower than average portion of household income level or access to cultural and recreation activities compared with the average person in their country.

Sen (1999) extends our understanding of poverty in terms of its social aspects, or 'freedoms'. Deprivation of freedom includes lack of resources to act

independently for personal welfare or productivity. Lack of freedom is exacerbated by poor education or knowledge of how to challenge the systems that contribute to exclusion or deprivation.

Shaffer (2002) shows that there is some synergy between pressure from negative poverty stressors and the number of positive pressures or opportunities that can buffer the interlocking dynamics of poverty. So access to public services, employment, new technologies or skills for conflict resolution and other coping strategies can offset the poverty stresses especially those caused by shocks such as war or drought. Some positive pressures can be learned, others have to be provided.

The extent to which the research projects were able to assist in developing positive pressures varied, particularly since all case studies were time-limited. But these multi dimensional aspects of poverty and community service/ engagement provided an analytical framework for the comparative study.

The ITMUA project's research methodology

For the purpose of this study, the following definition of action research, cited in Stringer (2004, p. 4) was used:

> A participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes . . . in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people.

Action research inquiry entails a "cyclical process of design, collecting data, analysing data, communicating outcomes and taking action" (Stringer 2004, p.11). Action research, therefore, is a communicative process of capturing stakeholder views and taking action in response to those views and experiences in order to improve the topic of investigation. The ITMUA process involved four phases in each partner university: an internal audit of existing community service or engagement activities; discussions with stakeholders from the university, political, student and NGO communities; identification, and participatory needs analysis, of two small-scale case studies that could be monitored over a period of approximately six months; the completion of policy briefing papers followed by further discussion with the stakeholders about how to develop the university's third mission.

The focus of the evaluation process in this paper is the case studies themselves though reference is also made to the institutional audits. Part time researchers were employed to record monitoring visits, evaluation interviews and focus group discussions. The qualitative data from the case studies were often collected in the local language, then translated and transcribed by the researchers, from which each country team looked for patterns and themes which could be analysed with reference to particular socio-cultural and economic contexts.

The overall questions were:

- What processes were involved in conducting the community service activity?
- What were the perceived benefits to community, university, other providers?
- What were the main challenges in terms of organisation, addressing the community problems etc?
- What were the recommendations for improving and sustaining the university's role in terms of engagement?

Although action research is not designed to provide generalisable findings, the comparative nature of this study provided opportunities to make context specific and cross-country analysis. For this purpose five criteria were taken from Schweisfurth (2001) to ensure a rigorous process. These were: *selection*, *verification*, *cumulation*, *generalisation* and *application*.

The basis for *selection* of the case studies was their potential for multi disciplinarity – therefore encouraging cross department cooperation – and involvement of a variety of stakeholders. Some cases were new initiatives resulting from initial stakeholder discussions, others were follow-ups or developments of existing projects.

Verification requires "comparison to other examples of related research, and theories generated by them" (Schweisfurth 2001, p.217) and *cumulation* is concerned with ensuring that the case studies are subject to wider discussion in the public research domain. A team meeting and conference presentations at an international conference created opportunities for comparative discussions and the theoretical framework presented in this paper assisted in the verification process.

Generalisation in this context would mean that our comparisons would generate insights and understandings of general issues that might influence the implementation of community service in African universities.

Application is concerned with explaining "what is happening rather than what ought to be happening" (Schweisfurth 2001, p.221). The teams were able to identify patterns that might be applicable in similar contexts across the case studies and that could inform policy recommendations for improvement in the way the university's third mission is addressed.

For reasons of word limitations the case study activities and their outcomes are summarised as a table before proceeding to the comparative analysis and recommendations.

		Summary of case studies and findings, taken from chapters in the published technical report (xxxxxx 2011)						
Projects	**Interventions**	**Student involvement**	**Staff involvement**	**Partner agencies**	**MDG focus** 1 Poverty reduction 2 Access to basic education 4 Child health 6 Prevention of HIV 7 Environmental sustainability 8 Partnerships for development	**Community identified benefits (examples)**	**University identified benefits (examples)**	**Articulated challenges (examples)**
BOTSWANA 15–20 members of remote rural community in D'kar	Leadership, advocacy, business skills for self sustainability		Ba Isago University Development Department	Kellogg Foundation Letloa Trust	1 7	Valued university consultation with the community; learnt how to sustain my business, how to work with people. . . .to sustain ourselves	Understood need for persistence, understand-ing and patience. Widened my knowledge on how communities differ	Expected to be given farm equipment. Need to continue to monitor and support the community. Need to link with more organizations
BOTSWANA 23 women Oodi Weavers community owned cooperative	Marketing, entrepreneurial and management skills	University of Botswana Business Clinic volunteers	UB Adult Education Department		1	Grateful for opportunity to discuss our problems freely; . . .want to develop the skills we have learned	Improved our teaching, research and social engagement skills (staff); helped us understand the concepts we had learned (students)	Our course requirements impact on the volunteer time we can spend on the project

CALABAR 12 female sex workers, in Atakpar	Tailoring skills to move out of sex work; HIV awareness	Adult Education, Nursing, Vocational Education Departments	Police	1 6	Happy people like you will help us; have learnt a lot about how to protect ourselves against HIV/AIDS and other diseases. University deserves commendation for this work	Community service should be a collaborative engagement between university and community; it has opened my eyes to the need to review our curricula to be more relevant.	When you come you should always give us something because we are hungry (community); University should provide a minimal budget for community service work (staff)
CALABAR 15 female farmers in Uwanse	Production of organic fertilisers, improved planting, bookkeeping, marketing skills	Adult Education, Animal Science, Crop Science Departments		1 7	You have helped us improve our indigenous practices.	We have learnt how much we can help our local people; happy to build on indigenous African technology. This is a joint solution-searching endeavour	How can we measure the significance of our work if we cannot continue (staff).

Country / Project	Activities	Department / Programme	Partner Departments	Partners		Outcome (beneficiaries)	Outcome (students/staff)	Challenges / Comments
MALAWI Muula community Based Childcare Centre project (CBCC) 80 children	Training in child care curriculum. Building a borehole	Curriculum and Teaching,	Curriculum and Teaching, Home Economics Departments (but initiated by one staff member).	Saanich Municipality (Canada)	2 4 8	I now can handle the children's reading better; children are cleaner now and educate the parents.	The project has helped us to network and learn how to liaise with partners.	Community members are very dependent … expect things should be provided for them (staff); please work with us for longer (community)
MALAWI Nyana Group Village Headman community project (GVH) 18 villages	Irrigation farming, cropping, drug & alcohol abuse, water safety, HIV/Aids prevention	Theatre for Development (service learning) 80 students	Fine & Performing Arts, Curriculum & Teaching, Sociology departments	Farming NGO, AIDS Support group	1 2 6	Activities helped us understand & solve our own problems … We can now challenge our leaders	Improved on how to plan for teaching (students); Learnt how to make our curriculum more relevant (staff) Activities of the different disciplines built on each other	Staff involvement was not consistent; community service is not recognized in promotion criteria (staff)
LESOTHO Mohoma Temeng women's self help group 20-40 members, 17 villages	HIV/AIDS care & prevention. Income generation, business & marketing skills. Building ventilated pit latrines.	Science Education and University of British Columbia volunteers	Environmental, Nursing, Non-Formal Education, Adult Education, Science Education Departments (but initiated by one staff member)	Government clinic; University of British Columbia (Canada)	1 4 6	Now we sell vegetables, and can calculate profits, have learnt to market and maintain hygiene, people disclosed their HIV status and more got tested.	Learnt how to link theory with practice…. learnt a lot about culture; learnt strategies for teaching adults; community service should start with community needs	University should get more organisations involved; make refresher visits; we expected to receive more assistance like materials.

LESOTHO Roma Pensioner project 50-200 pensioners	Health checks Income generation/ savings. Gardening Avocacy & support against abuse	Counselling & Nursing volunteers	Nursing, Nutrition, Agriculture, Theology, Business Management, Adult Education Departments	Police Bank Post office	1 7	Learnt that we should unite with other institutions like the university because the police cannot combat crime in isolation; are now aware of small businesses we can start . . . know what is a balanced diet	Learned that whether one is young or old, s/he is still a person; gained experience of putting theory into practice; there is a spirit of oneness, division of labour within the departments; pensioners were afforded a platform to talk about problems (students); university has to work in collaboration with the community, not decide what they need (staff)	Will the university make follow up on what has been taught; university should assist us with funds (community); university should involve all faculties; community service should be included in our curriculum unlike now when we are volunteering and sometimes have to skip lessons (students)

Findings

The remainder of this paper summarises a comparative analysis of the institutional approaches to the case studies, followed by some observations on the way the case studies functioned across each institution, particularly in relation to the MDGs. These findings draw on the full technical report edited by the project coordinator, summarised in the table above.

Institutional infrastructure

As discussed earlier, Wade and Demb (2009) had recommended that an institutional infrastructure is necessary for successful implementation of community service activities. The initial audit revealed that community service was identified in the strategic plans of all the partner institutions but there were no institutional offices for community engagement activities and all the stakeholders said the university should work more collaboratively with them.

The evidence showed that there was no dedicated budget allocation for community service work beyond the AAU research funds. This meant that many projects operated on a volunteer basis with limitations for continuity.

Community service approaches

The various ITMUA case studies revealed differing levels of involvement, perhaps reflecting the aforementioned varied definitions that can be presented on a continuum from 'outreach' activities, to community service, then to community engagement alone – or engagement with service learning as follows:

Outreach – community service – community engagement – community engagement with service learning

Two projects which had been initiated by an individual university member started out as outreach or community service activities, but most of the projects evolved to a greater or lesser extent into community engagement because of their collaborative, multi disciplinary approach and emphasis on

tracking mutual learning outcomes. The extent to which projects reached the far end of the continuum varied.

The D'Kar project in Bostwana was initiated by a university department but involved extensive consultation with community members though no students were involved. This project is placed between the continuum categories of community service and community engagement. The Calabar projects leaned more towards the notion of community engagement because more than one department initiated the activities, but no students were involved, thereby falling short of the service learning element of community engagement.

The Oodi Weavers project (also in Botswana), on the other hand, leaned more towards the community engagement end of the continuum because the cooperative was an existing project which students engaged with in order to discuss how to improve their business. The implementation of this project, however, fell short of 'service learning' due to lack of assessment procedures for the students' learning.

Other case studies that inclined more towards community engagement were the two Lesotho projects – Mohoma Temeng and Roma Pensioners – where there was multi disciplinary collaboration and external agents were involved. Students were involved on a voluntary basis but were not assessed on their learning.

In Malawi, the Muula CBCC project incorporated student assessment of the learning that took place, thereby reflecting the 'service learning' concept. Similarly, one of the activities conducted at Nyanya GVH community, Theatre for Development, included student self assessment on the learning experienced. The other activities in the latter case study were conducted by students on a voluntary basis but, by the nature of their design, enabled students to learn about becoming good citizens.

It can also be argued that many of the projects offered opportunities for what Oyewole (2010) described as 'enabling knowledge'. Theoretical knowledge was being applied in different contexts, but in the process new, locally useful knowledge was developed by both students and staff.

The collaborative nature of community engagement

All the projects entailed a needs analysis discussion with the community groups to determine the focus of the university participation.
In most cases the partner institutions did not conduct their activities in isolation. Collaboration was at two levels – at one level it involved one or more departments. At another level, it involved participation of members outside the University and target community (Nampota, 2011).

The department level collaboration reflected Mulroy's (2004) two models of involvement. Dispersed models, for example, were observed in the Calabar projects where individual staff members, rather than teams, were involved. Also, although the original Muula CBCC case study in Malawi involved staff and students of a whole department, only one member of the department was actively taking part at the time of ITMUA's intervention. Examples of the coordinated model were the two new projects of Nyanya GVH in Malawi and the Roma Valley pensioners in Lesotho.

The second level of collaboration involved participation of other stakeholders outside the university and target community. Only two case studies involved university collaboration only and these were the Female Farmers in Calabar and the Oodi Weavers in Botswana.

In the rest of the case studies, local and international stakeholders played a part. For the Calabar Female Sex Workers, for example, the police were involved because of the sex workers' concern about how they are treated by law enforcers. Similarly, local police provided educational input for Lesotho's Roma Pensioners, where local Bank personnel were also involved. The Malawi Nyanya GVH involved collaboration with local NGOs.

Three projects involved international partners, mostly as funders, although they participated in other activities as well. These included Mohoma Temeng in Lesotho which collaborated with the Canadian University of British Columbia. The Botswana D'Kar project involved the American Kellogg Foundation. Similarly, the Malawi Muula CBCC implementation involved Saanich Municipality from Canada.

In general, multi disciplinary collaborations were regarded as necessary in the implementation of all the projects. Whilst some of the collaborations increased

funding opportunities, others enhanced the process of addressing varied but interconnected needs faced by the communities.

However, two issues were highlighted that impacted on the sustainability of this collaboration. First, staff and students often complained that they received no recognition or reward for their work in assessment procedures. Secondly there was evidence that the short term nature of the projects (linked to lack of university frameworks for this work) created sustainability and dependency challenges amongst community members – as evidenced in summaries highlighted in the table above.

The community service outcomes

MDG focus

All projects contained activities that contributed to areas of need highlighted in one or more MDGs – particularly in relation to efforts at poverty alleviation (MDG1), reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS (MDG6) and increasing opportunities to access basic or primary education (MDG2). However, additional MDGs were also reflected.

In Malawi, for instance, while the Muula CBCC project initially targeted MDG 1 and 2, the needs of the community necessitated addressing MDG 4 on child health and access to potable water. Similarly, due to the assistance offered by Saanich Municipality, MDG 8 featured, relating to international partnerships.

The Calabar initiative with Female Farmers responded to MDG7, which is concerned with environmental sustainability, through making and using organic fertiliser. The D'Kar community project in Bostwana, due to involvement of the Kellogg Foundation, addressed MDG 8.

For Mohoma Temeng MDG 4, relating to child health and sanitation through construction of latrines, was included with MDGs 1 and 6. The Roma Pensioners' activities in the same country included health checks of the participants, and counseling on different problems, which both contributed to health of the pensioners. However, MDG 1 was the main focus through encouragement of pension savings, income generation and skills for sustainable gardening – which served as one way of reducing hunger.

All projects addressed MDG number 1 (poverty reduction) which is now discussed in relation to its multi dimensional nature.

Levels of poverty

As described earlier, poverty in this study was interpreted in its wider sense. While at one level poverty was linked to the human development indicators (UNDP, 2010), at another level, poverty was linked to absence of freedom or capability (Sen, 2002) for productivity or personal welfare. Sach's (2005) categorisation of 'relative', 'moderate' and 'absolute' poverty also enhanced our understanding of the poverty reduction implications for the different target communities of the ITMUA study.

The two communities in Malawi could be categorised as communities in 'absolute' poverty. The Muula community, for example, was perpetually hungry, lacked safe drinking water and sanitation, lacked shelter, and children – especially those under the age of five – lacked education and good nutrition. Although some people in the Nyanya GVH community had safe drinking water, others were drinking from the rivers, children were dropping out of school due to lack of money to support small school projects and were hungry. The poverty reduction gains for the Muula community were largely in terms of enhancing resources such as increased food supplies, borehole construction, and an early childhood learning centre. For the Nyanya GVH community, resources for poverty reduction were reflected in terms of knowledge and skills which they used to improve their lives.

The two Calabar communities were also in 'absolute' poverty with the female sex workers risking their lives in order to get money and the female farmers striving to get basic resources including food and income. The resources acquired to address poverty reduction for both groups were again knowledge and skills to enhance their lives and to some extent generate income. For example, while the female farmers learnt better cropping systems and making of organic fertilisers to enhance the environment for continued agricultural productivity, the female sex workers learnt new tailoring skills and strategies to prevent HIV/AIDS infection.

The Lesotho and Botswana case study communities were living in 'relative' to 'moderate' poverty. Most of the Roma Pensioners had access to basic necessities. Their poverty reduction was in the form of knowledge and skills such as savings, income generation, gardening and nutrition that enabled them to lead better lives. The rest of the communities were in 'moderate poverty' – Mohoma Temeng, Oodi Weavers and D'Kar beneficiaries. These communities gained largely in terms of knowledge and skills for self reliance and income generation.

Knowledge and skills leading to new freedoms and capabilities

The new knowledge and skills of community members led to changed behaviour amongst the community members in most projects. For example, the Muula CBCC enabled parents to prepare better food for their children which led to improved nutrition for under-five children. In addition, it was noted that the behaviour of children in relation to hygiene had improved. The Nyanya GVH gained courage to speak out against the evils of their community leaders and extension workers thereby challenging inequitable systems that perpetuate exclusion and isolation in their community. Mohoma Temeng and Female Sex Workers projects resulted in more people going for HIV tests and ensuring that they live positively with the virus. The Roma pensioners were encouraged to go for regular health checks, while the D'Kar members and Oodi weavers became better business managers and the female farmers in Calabar observed better cropping systems.

Staff and students also gained new knowledge and skills. This was manifested through the adaptation of textbook knowledge into usable knowledge at local levels. Potential development of 'enabling knowledge' was evident in the projects of Mohoma Temeng and Calabar's female farmers where participants highlighted mutual learning about indigenous practices. The same was true for the two Malawi projects with Muula CBCC developing improved understanding and approaches to the theories of Early Childhood Education and Development and Nutrition. The Nyanya GVH project resulted in improved use of Theatre For Development for awareness raising of local issues. The students enhanced their understanding of education theories and how they may be applied in different contexts.

Finally, two case studies – the Nyanya GVH and Roma pensioners – highlighted a further benefit for community members. Both provided evidence that the interventions gave the target groups an enhanced sense of voice. In the Nyanya GVH project, community members voiced their concerns through drama about the way they were being treated by leaders. The Roma pensioners were able to articulate their personal concerns to the student counsellors in a way they had previously been denied, particularly regarding issues of abuse. This sense of voice links to Sen's (1999) perspectives on poverty reduction.

Policy implications

The analysis of the eight case studies leads to a number of observations. These relate both to the processes and outcomes of community service (Nampota, 2011). The first is that recognition of community service in the policy statement or strategic plan of the university is not enough to ensure that this is implemented across the whole institution. Rather, the concept should be recognised in the organisational structure of the university in terms of policy guidelines, perhaps involving a coordinating office and linked to student and staff assessment procedures.

Related to this issue is that community engagement requires long term university commitment. In the absence of sustained collaboration, community members do not have time to move from a state of dependency to self reliance – as reflected in their ongoing requests for resources from the university. This is a major issue in relation to sustainable development (Fourie, 2003).

Thirdly, effective, community-led collaboration enables all stakeholders, staff, students and the community, to gain knowledge, skills and understanding from each other. Where this happens, new knowledge suitable for local contexts can be enhanced for all partners.

Almost all the projects entailed multi disciplinary involvement, an aspect which was commented on by different participants and which reflects the multi dimensional nature of development needs.

Following these observations, four policy recommendations are proposed in this paper. The first is that community service should be represented in the university structure – for example with a coordinating office similar to that for research and teaching. This is likely to ensure that an appropriate budget is allocated for the activities and would help maximise resources and benefits to community development work. A second related recommendation is that university policy should recognise and encourage staff and student community engagement through staff promotional incentives and student assessment

procedures thereby ensuring recognition of service learning and community engagement as mutually supportive activities.

Thirdly, all community engagement activities should be preceded by a needs analysis involving relevant stakeholders in the community. Evidence from these case studies indicates that this helps enhance community responsiveness to university involvement.

Fourthly a wide range of linkages external to the university should be taken into consideration for effective community engagement. This includes linkages across departments to ensure multi disciplinarity as well as consideration of the additional benefits of involving external partners.

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Dorothy Nampota
Centre for Educational Research and Training
University of Malawi

dnampota@cc.ac.mw

Julia Preece
School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal

preecej@ukzn.ac.za

In class? Poverty, social exclusion and school access in South Africa

Veerle Dieltiens and Sarah Meny-Gibert

Abstract

The commonly used explanation for school-drop out – that high costs in an environment of absolute poverty drives learners from school – is unsatisfactory in the South African context. An expanded understanding of poverty as a barrier to school access is proposed in which the absolute notion of poverty is complemented with the concept of relative poverty to better explain enrolment and drop out patterns in the country. We argue that it is learners' subjective experience of poverty in contexts of inequality that elevate the risk of drop-out. This should turn policy attention to the terms of inclusion into schools.

Introduction

Poverty is often used in international documents to explain limited access to schools (UNESCO, 2010) and there have been global campaigns to bring down the cost of schooling and increase social spending with some meaningful results. In Kenya, for example, the introduction of fee-free schooling had a dramatic increase in enrolments (Kattan, 2006).

Poverty is also often given as an important reason for why learners drop out of school in South Africa. (APF, 2003; ERP, n.d.; Wilson, 2004; Fleisch and Woolman, 2004; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). It is often taken for granted that inability to pay school fees (Roithmayr, 2002), the costs of uniform, shoes, transport, stationery, added to the opportunity costs of what children might be contributing to household labour, eat away at meagre resources and push children from school (Fleisch and Woolman, 2004). The South African Department of Education[1] has implemented a number of indigent policies in an attempt to surmount the inhibiting costs of accessing schools, most notably that of declaring approximately 60% of schools fee-

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[1] In 2009 the national Department of Education was split into two separate departments, each with its own Ministry: the Department of Basic Education, responsible for primary and secondary education, and the Department of Higher Education and Training, responsible for tertiary education.

free.[2] For children attending fee paying schools, households whose monthly income is between 10 and 30 times the school fee qualify for a full or partial fees exemption. In addition, pro-poor financing policies redistribute government expenditure in favour of the poorest schools.

In this paper we present data from a study on access to school education in South Africa undertaken in 2007 by Social Surveys Africa and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (the Barriers to Education Study). The Study provided an independent estimate of school enrolment, and identified the range of barriers to entering and remaining in school for children and youths aged seven to 18. While the data shows that poverty remains a driver of school drop-out in the South African case, it provides new insight into the *manner* in which poverty sees children and youths leaving school before completion. The data suggests that school fees are less of a culprit than previously suggested in the literature, possibly as a result of the introduction of pro-poor policies by the Department of Education. Data also shows that the barriers to remaining in school caused by other access costs are varyingly felt by poor households across the country. Lastly, based on a close analysis of the processes through which poor children and youths left school, we suggest that in theorising the impact of poverty on school attendance the concept of absolute poverty needs to be complemented by notions of relative poverty and social exclusion for explanatory depth.

Research on the Barriers to Education Study began with focus group discussions with caregivers, youths and teachers in four rural and urban sites in the provinces of Limpopo and Gauteng respectively. This was followed by a nationally representative survey of households in South Africa in which the primary caregivers of children aged seven to 18 were interviewed in each household. Data collected was weighted up to the national population. Youths in the sampled households aged 16 to 18 were also interviewed, in what is referred to in this paper as the Youth Survey.

School enrolment in South Africa

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2   All Public Ordinary Schools in South Africa are classed into one of five quintiles, determined by analysing socio-economic indicators of the communities surrounding the school. In 2007, schools in quintiles 1 to 2 were declared no-fees schools. This was extended to quintile 3 schools in 2010. As of 2012, schools will be categorized as either fee paying, or non-fee paying.

In 2007, approximately 96 per cent of children and youths aged seven to 18 were in school (Meny-Gibert and Russell, 2010). Dropping out of school during the compulsory school going age (seven to 15) is a relatively small problem. Data from the Barriers to Education Study shows that 98.8% of children of this age group are in school (Meny-Gibert and Russell, 2010).[3] Participation in the Basic Education Phase[4] is high, as shown by high Gross Enrolment Ratios (GERs) in Grades 1 to 9 (recording GERs of 100% or more) (Department of Education, 2009).

Enrolment rates remained very high up to age 15, dropping progressively from age 16 (Meny-Gibert and Russell, 2009). A substantial proportion of youths remain in school well beyond the age of 18 (the age that youths will be when completing school if they enter school at the correct age and do not repeat or miss schooling). Despite this, levels of completion of a Matric education (the final school leaving certificate) are low, with the Department of Basic Education estimating achieved completion rate of only 44% for Grade 12 (Department of Education, 2009).[5] South Africa shows high levels of school enrolment for long into the population age, and yet low levels of completion, primarily because repetition rates are high. By the final phase of schooling, 9% of learners will have repeated a grade three times or more (Meny-Gibert and Russell, 2010).

Theorising poverty

[3]   Statistics South Africa's General Household Survey 2007 puts attendance for this age group at 98% and Statistics South Africa's Community Survey: 95.4%

[4]   The Basic Education phase comprises Grades 1 to 9. Grades 10 to 12 are known as the Further Education and Training Phase. School attendance is compulsory for children from the age of seven to the age of 15, or until the completion of Grade 9, whichever comes first.

[5]   The Department of Education's Trends in Education Macro-Indicators (2009) presents the level of school completion by calculating the 'achieved completion rates' for various grades. This is done by calculating the proportion of people in a particular age range who have completed a specific grade. The highest completion rate for a single age is taken as the completion rate for the grade in question.

'Absolute poverty' refers to households living below a minimum standard necessary to sustain subsistence. People falling under some fixed absolute threshold – such as the Millennium Development Declaration of 'a dollar a day' – can be defined as 'poor', living under economic stress as they struggle to buy basic necessities. Absolute poverty is a powerful and popular indicator of poverty and is particularly useful in tallying up how many people are poor, enabling comparisons across geographies and time.

The concept of absolute poverty has its limitations, however. As an aggregated and objective measure, it "ignores other relevant information on the depth and distribution of poverty" (Foster, 1998, p.336) and it does not gauge indexes of inequality. Neither does it reflect on poor peoples' perceptions of relative deprivation (Ravallion, 2008).

Unlike the basic survival unit of analysis of absolute poverty, relative poverty (or relative deprivation) focuses on inequalities within society. Noble, Wright and Cluver explain that poverty must be understood in relation to "the general living standards of the society as a whole or in terms of the resources that are required to participate fully in that society" (Noble *et al.*, 2007, p.55).

Relative poverty is therefore a subjective reference on what is minimally required to live as a citizen within a context. Raviallion writes: "The issue of how much relative deprivation matters to poor people is of utmost importance to policy discussions about how to fight poverty." (2008, p.4). Relinquishing an objective measure of poverty opens up space for an engagement on a subjective evaluation of poverty and well-being. A phenomenological approach allows for the admission of the psycho-social experience of poverty. Poverty is not simply about material deprivation: it has effects on how people see themselves in relation to others in society and whether they are able to participate fully in society. Wright, Nobel and Magasela (2007) report that participants in focus groups for the Indicators of Poverty and Social Exclusion Project pointed to the importance of " 'social' goods for the home" and "appropriate and dignified clothing" as essential needs. "When asked why they considered a given item as essential, participants often referred to social themes such as respect or respectability, dignity and decency" (Wright *et al.*, 2007, p.6).

Relevant to an expanded and relative definition of poverty, is the literature on social exclusion. The concept of social exclusion is concerned with the experiences of poverty, its inequitable outcomes and the processes that lead to

exclusion (see for example Hickey and Du Toit, 2007 and SPII, 2008). For social exclusion theorists, poverty is by definition, a relative concept. "People are judged to be poor if they are poor *in comparison* to those around them" (SPII, 2008, p.22). The value of the social exclusion research for understanding how poverty impacts on school attendance and drop-out is that it shifts policy attention from a sole focus on the economic to the social and psychological. We return to this literature later in the paper in presenting new research on the manner in which poor learners are excluded from schooling in South Africa.

Absolute poverty and school access

If absolute poverty is a direct cause for school drop-out, this is not immediately clear in the South African case given that enrolment rates are high despite extreme levels of poverty. On a conservative estimate of absolute poverty (using the bottom 20th percentile in terms of household income as the poverty line) 31.3% of households in South Africa lived below the poverty line in 2007 (Oosthuizen, 2008). This figure jumps to 54.3% of households using the 40th percentile in terms of household income (approximately $65 per month) (Oosthuizen, 2008).[6] Children are disproportionately affected, with 64% of children living below this poverty line in 2008 (Hall, 2008).

There is evidence to suggest that poverty has an impact on school attendance patterns in South Africa. Studies undertaken in 2002 suggest that poverty may delay entry into school. Case, Hosegood and Lund (2005) assessed the impact of the Child Support Grant[7] in the Umkhanyakude district in the KwaZulu-Natal province, and found that the grant appeared to "overcome the impact of poverty on school enrolment" (2005, p.469). The study found that children who received the grant (in 2002) were significantly more likely to be enrolled in school for the first time in the years following receipt of the grant than equally poor children of the same age (Case, Hosegood and Lund, 2005). Because grant recipient households were poorer on average (measured in

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[6] The poverty line was R470 per month or $65 per month using an average US Dollar-ZAR exchange rate for 2007.

[7] The Child Support Grant is a non-conditional means-tested cash transfer given to single parents or multiple caregiver households whose monthly income is less than R2500 or R5000 respectively, now available for children up to the 18. The grant has steadily increased from R110 per eligible child per month in 2002 to R250 in 2010.

terms of household assets, parents' educational attainment and employment), the findings of the survey suggested that the Child Support Grant enabled households to cover the expenses of schooling or to improve the nutrition and health of learners, both of which contributed to their school readiness.

Poverty may not just delay school entry but also protract the journey through school. Hallman and Grant (2004), reporting on a longitudinal study in the Durban Metro and rural Mtunzini Magisterial District of KwaZulu-Natal, observed that most young people had attained at least primary education by age 20, but poor children are more likely to have had 'school delays'.[8] Of the approximately 3000 adolescents interviewed, more than half of the 14- to 15-year-olds in the lowest socio-economic quintiles had experienced a delay in schooling. By contrast, in the highest asset-rich quintile, only 27% of boys and 15% of girls had experienced delays.

Using 1995 October Household Survey data, Anderson, Case, and Lam (2001) found that African children who were lagging behind in their school grade had less money spent on school fees, school transport, and other school expenses. Learners who were behind six or more years for their grade had approximately half as much money spent on their schooling as children who were age-appropriate.

Poverty also affects daily school attendance. A study focusing on children in rural areas by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005) revealed domestic and agricultural chores and long distances travelled to schools often ate into the school day or resulted in absenteeism (also see Maarman, 2009). The lack of secondary schools close to home and the cost of transport was perceived to be a primary reason for learners dropping out of school. The study also revealed instances of learners missing periods of the school term when fees had not been paid.

Hunger and malnutrition affect learners' concentration on school work and impacts negatively on learning outcomes. However, the Department of Basic Education's Primary Schools Nutrition Programme (PSNP), which offers children a daily meal, may act as an incentive for learners living in poverty to attend school. Data from the Barriers to Education Survey shows that 84% of primary school learners had access to feeding schemes at school (either the

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[8]   A delay is defined as a year of non-advancement because of either not having enrolled at all during a particular year (but eventually returning to school), or withdrawal during the year, or repeating a grade because of poor performance the previous year.

PSNP or a feeding scheme provided by the community, school, charity or civil society organisation) (Strassburg, Meny-Gibert and Russell, 2010b). Whilst the provision of school feeding schemes varies across the country, research published by the Public Services Commission shows that where the PSNP was provided, it saw increased regular school attendance (PSC, 2008).

There is some debate in the literature on the impact of poverty on school completion. In 2002 paper written for the Education Rights Project, Roithmayr asserted that removing the school fees from the public school system would facilitate a realisation of the South African government's constitutional mandate of ensuring access to school for all learners (Roithmayr, 2002). Roithmayr's argument rests partially on assumption that school fees prevent a large number of children from accessing school education. Drawing on research undertaken by the Vuk'nyithate Research Consortium (Porteus *et al.*, 2000 cited in Fleisch and Woolman, 2004), Fleisch and Woolman respond to Roithmayr in arguing that school fees are not a significant barrier to access:

> The VRC [Vuk'nyithate Research Consortium] study of out-of-school children demonstrates that the reasons for a family's decision not to enrol children in school was not primarily related to fees, but was the result of a combination of factors including deep poverty, lack of family structure, stability and support, residential mobility, illness, learning barriers and temperament, and community violence. …the study notes that even when fees are discussed by interviewees, fees as a barrier to access are invariably mentioned in conjunction with school uniforms (Fleisch and Woolman, 2004, p.113).

Citing Porteus (2002), Fleisch and Woolman note that, "[W]hile the study supports the conclusion that poverty impedes some children's access to a basic education, it clearly does not support the conflation of poverty, failure to pay school fees and restricted educational access." (Fleisch and Woolman, 2004, p.114).

This assertion is supported for children aged seven to 18 by data from the Barriers to Education Study. In coding the survey data a complex of factors related to poverty were grouped together and once aggregated comprised the most common reason for leaving school, affecting just over 50% of children

and youths.[9] These factors included: lack of money for access costs or fees; general financial pressures at home (leading to a decision to leave school to seek work, for example); family responsibilities in the context of low household income (such as having to look after siblings); as well as the vulnerability of poor households to financial and other shocks, such as when family members die or become ill (Strassburg, Meny-Gibert and Russell, 2010a). Poverty was found to be a less prominent driver of school drop-out in the Youth Survey (youths aged 16 to 18), though after teenage pregnancy, factors related to household poverty was the most common set of responses.

The survey results showed that broader access costs such as school uniforms and transport can severely strain poverty-stricken households – uniforms remain a particularly heavy burden (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010b). However, the extent to which transport costs constitute a barrier to access varies across the country. Most learners walk to school (76%) (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010) and there is fairly widespread coverage of schools across the country. Where transport costs contribute to irregular attendance and school drop-out, this is primarily an issue for learners in rural communities especially those in commercial farming areas, where a historical lack of supply of schools, especially secondary schools, persists.[10] Whilst it takes 4.8% and 8.5% of learners in urban informal and formal settlements over half an hour to walk to school respectively, a journey of this length on foot affects 43.5% of children in commercial farming areas and 19.5% of children in rural traditional areas (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010b).

The Barriers Study shows that household poverty and the costs of education work in various ways to compel children and youths to leave school, yet school fees may be far less of a culprit than is often assumed. Since the introduction of the no-fees and fees exemption policies, school fees are now low for the majority of children in South Africa. According to the Barriers Study, 50% of learners aged seven to 18 paid less than R50 a year, and just

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[9]   It should be noted that results disaggregated by gender showed that pregnancy was the most common reason for young women leaving school. Other factors causing drop out included: feeling disengaged and unstimulated by their schooling, substance abuse, factors associated with being over-age and having repeated a number of times (experience of humiliation by teachers or learners, sense of frustration at having failed again). For a detailed list of the reasons provided for drop out by caregivers and youth, see Strassburg *et al.* (2010b).

[10]   Transport costs have significant implications for inequality of access to *good* education given that the large majority of well performing schools in South Africa are those located in middle class areas.

under 40% attended school without paying fees (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010b). Furthermore, less than 1% of caregivers in the Barriers Study reported that their children had been denied access to school because of a failure to pay fees (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010a). At first glance the survey results present a puzzle: given that only 1% of children and youths aged seven to 18 had been denied access to school due to non-payment of fees, why do school fees feature as a prominent catalyst for school drop-out – as shown by responses to open-ended questions on the reasons children and youths left school?

Social exclusion of poor learners in South African schools: preliminary evidence

Whilst the Barriers Study showed that less than 1% of children and youths aged seven to 18 had been denied registration or asked to leave the school due to non-payment of fees or other access costs (including not having the required uniform), data showed that punishment for non-payment of fees was common. A third of learners whose caregivers' had indicated struggling to pay, or not being able to pay fees at all, had had their report card or exam results withheld, and 4% had been prevented from writing exams (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010b). Examples of punishment for non-payment of fees were identified in three of the four communities who partook in the focus group discussion for the Study, and included withholding learners' report cards, refusing to issue learners with textbooks, forcing learners to stand in class, allocating the sometimes few desks in the classroom to those learners whose caregivers had paid fees, threatening learners with expulsion and making caregivers work for the school in lieu of fees (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010b).

In its *Review of the financing, resourcing and costs of education in public schools,* the Department of Education acknowledged that non-payment of fees sometimes resulted in schools acting contrary to human rights obligations:

> Poor learners whose parents could not pay school fees have been turned away from school, placed in separate rooms, away from other learners, forced to sit on the floor, named and shamed in school assembly, and so on (Department of Education, 2003, p.54).

Exemption policies or a school's no-fees status are not always made known to caregivers by schools. An officially designated no-fee school in the township of Phagameng in Limpopo, for example, misinformed caregivers that the fees exemption policy only applied to farm schools (Social Surveys, 2007).

Department of Education research also showed that even those learners whose families have been officially exempted from payment have on occasion experienced intimidation and humiliation through comments made by the principal or educators (Department of Education, 2003).

In the Department of Education's view exclusion because of non-payment of school fees affects only a minority of families (as the Social Surveys-CALS data shows): "What the statistics do indicate, however, is that the problem is mainly one of a majority of parents in each school marginalizing a minority" (2003, p.83).

Principals who act to exclude learners who are perceived to reduce the resources (and 'standard of education') available to the school may have the tacit support of caregivers in the surrounding community via the School Governing Body (SGB).[11] Caregivers from low income households in Phagameng and Thembelihle, areas in which focus group discussions were conducted for the Barriers Study, felt marginalised from actively engaging with the SGB. An educator in a school based in Phagameng for example, commented that SGB meetings and other educator-caregiver forums were conducted in English, which many of the Sipedi speaking caregivers (the large majority) did not sufficiently understand. This limited the active participation of caregivers who were more likely to be from less educated and poorer households (Social Surveys, 2007).

Rather than directly excluding children from attendance due to non payment of fees (survey results show instances of direct exclusion are low), pressure was applied to households and children which, in the context of a broad set of pressures created by household and community poverty, created disincentives to remaining in school.

Furthermore, some learners from poor and low-income households who participated in our focus group discussions felt acutely conscious of their poverty, with consequences for school attendance. Conforming is vital for many teenagers, and factors which make them feel different may cause stress and anxiety. Most youths in Thembelihle attend school in the higher-income area of Lenasia. Focus group participants spoke of their sense of inadequacy

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11   All government schools in South Africa are managed by the school's School Governing Body (SGB). This body comprises representatives of teachers and parents/caregivers, who are jointly responsible for school governance (with the exception of issues related to the professional management of staff).

because they could not afford the things their classmates could, or because they felt they lacked status in the eyes of their peers for coming from poorly resourced homes. A young woman from Thembelihle explained that, "You feel like you don't exist when your classmates start to talk about how their mothers cooked, using the microwave. You feel small because if we had electricity we wouldn't be using paraffin stoves or lamps or candles." (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010).

The following quote is from another young woman in Thembelihle who attended school in Lenasia before dropping out of school:

> . . .like when you are in a big family and the mother can't give everyone the attention they need. She only concentrates on the youngest ones and forgets about you, and if you ask her for something regarding your school she won't give it to you. . .When you get to school you see that other children have everything and you are the only one who does not have a thing so you end up dropping out of school because you feel like you are the odd one out. Then your mother starts calling you names because you dropped out (Social Surveys, 2007).

The quote points to the compounding effects of a complex set of reasons for the youths' decision to leave school. Significantly, it highlights that it was the youth's *experience* of poverty rather than objective economic constraints that saw her choosing to leave school.

Where might issues of social exclusion and the relative experience of poverty be most acute? We suggest that poverty may bite hardest in relation to others – in that where children are equally poor they may be less likely to drop out as a result of poverty than those where there is a greater socio-economic mix. We illustrate this with data from the qualitative component of the Barriers Study.

Doreen is a small village in Limpopo surrounded by commercial farmland. Most households subsist on social grants and the meager income brought in by farm labour. The supply of schools in the area is limited: children from Doreen and the surrounding area have to attend farm schools[12] or leave home to attend school in the nearest town of Musina. The two local farm schools do

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[12]   Farm schools are those schools based on privately owned commercial farmland, traditionally located in rural areas where no government schools were provided. According to legislation under the democratic government post 1994, while the farm owner owns the land, the Department of Education has authority over farm schools, and the schools are managed by the school's School Governing Body (SGB). While the supply of secondary schools which offer tuition up to the end of Grade 12 is generally widespread in South Africa, there are remaining deficiencies of supply in some farming areas (approximately 6% of the country) where farm schools have not historically offered a full secondary education – partly because, under apartheid, this ensured the supply of young labour to farms.

not offer education beyond Grades 7 and 9 respectively and few households can afford the cost of supporting a child's attendance at a school away from home. As a result, most children in Doreen do not receive more than a Grade 9 education.

The two farm schools were declared 'No-fees schools' in 2007. Children in Doreen were thus not charged for school fees, but were faced with a range of other access costs, from uniforms and stationery to demands for money for firewood and cleaning of the school. A few children had been temporarily turned away from school for not having the correct uniform. The significance of Doreen is that while all of the households were very poor, and struggled to pay for the access costs just mentioned, children in the Doreen schools had not dropped out of school permanently – remaining in school until Grade 9 (the highest level of tuition offered).

The communities of Phagameng and Thembelihle tell contrasting stories to Doreen. Phagameng is a township adjacent to the town of Modimolle in the Limpopo province. Local schools draw learners from the township and surrounding farming areas. Whilst almost all the children attending Phagameng township schools were from low income households, there was a greater socio-economic mix of learners than found in Doreen – and it is this difference, however small, that is key. Even small differences in household income or socio-economic status can leave learners open to being teased. Some learners living in the informal settlement in Phagameng were singled out by learners from low income households living in the formal township for being 'dirty' and 'poor'.

The majority of learners in Thembelihle, an informal settlement in the Gauteng province, attend schooling in the neighbouring formal settlement of Lenasia with somewhat larger socio-economic mix of learners. Thembelihle learners and caregivers spoke of an acute sense of inadequacy in relation to the wealthier learners and caregivers at the schools they attended in Lenasia, with a caregiver commenting that, "We are regarded as nothing [in the SGB meetings]." (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010).

It is the connection between poverty and agency, a recognition that being marked out as 'poor' leaves you disempowered and unable to participate, that gives the concept of social exclusion its resonance. Poor learners are marginalised particularly in contexts of inequality where institutional and social processes work in concert to pathologise poverty. The experience of shame at failing to live up to the social and economic norm, on being

dependent on those who are paying fees, may leave poor learners (in the 'least-poor' schools) less secure in making claims on educational access. Ironically, in a community or school where no caregivers can afford to pay fees or other access costs, access to education may be better protected.

The evidence at this stage on the effects of relative poverty and social exclusion on access are not conclusive and the extent of learners affected needs to be tested via survey research, but we suggest this is an interesting area for further investigation. Social exclusion helps extend our understanding of poverty from absolute deprivation as a reason for drop-out to include a focus on the terms of inclusion into schools and the way in which inequality functions as an exclusionary devise. This requires a far more considered exploration of the historical legacies and cultural make-up of the school as an institution and how it is implicated in perpetuating (rather than alleviating) socio-economic inequality. As the Nelson Mandela Foundation study points out

> Far from being safe havens, schools can be places of intolerance and violation of rights. Together, these [direct and indirect] costs make schools hard to access. Being hard to access, they also do not meet the vital and social needs that enable children to live their lives to the full (NMF, 2005, p.45).

The strength of the literature on relative poverty and social exclusion is that it places the child's and caregiver's lived experience of school at centre stage. It urges a focus on understanding the experience of poverty in relation to others (other learners, the surrounding community and so on) rather than simply the absolute costs of education. In the context of pro-poor policies which have reduced the cost of school attendance in South Africa, the concept of social exclusion may be key to understanding why the 'costs of education' continues to feature as a reason for drop-out in national surveys. In addition, the literature on relative poverty and social exclusion shifts our focus from poverty as a phenomenon located in the household to a barrier exacerbated, or in some cases even caused, by processes in the classroom, playground and staff room.

Conclusion

Poverty remains a factor in school drop-out despite pro-poor policies to address barriers to access. This is partly because poor learners continue to be faced with other access costs: uniforms in particular remain a burden for poor households and in some cases a barrier to access (Strassburg *et al.*, 2010a).

Survey results show that very few children and youths aged seven to 18 are now categorically denied access to schools due to non-payment of fees or other access costs, or not having the required uniform. Yet, both fees and access costs remain stated barriers to access for the small proportion of children and youths aged seven to 18 who are out of school. We suggest that a possible reason for this apparent puzzle is that rather than the objective cost of schooling preventing access, it is social exclusion of poor learners – via for example humiliation of poor learners by the school for non- or late payment of school costs, in addition to the youth's relative experience of being poor, that creates a catalyst for leaving, or adds to existing pressures on poor learners at the household level.

This paper has thus presented new evidence on the manner in which poverty creates barriers to access and school completion, and argued that an expanded definition of poverty is needed in exploring poverty as a barrier to school education in South Africa – that of social exclusion and relative poverty.

Unlike absolute poverty's concentration on inputs/resources, an expanded definition of poverty shows the importance of inequality and experience of difference in understanding how poverty impacts on children's access to schooling.

Ironically, South Africa's class-based schooling system may help keep learners in school, given that in schools where learners are equally poor, social exclusion of poor learners is less likely. Whilst these results need to be tested more extensively, the implications for policy are sobering. If, in schools and communities where all children are poor they may be more likely to stay in school, what implications does this have for breaking class and socio-economic boundaries? Are children most vulnerable to dropping out when households display upward mobility of even the smallest kind (in sending their children to schools outside of their immediate community) or where socio-economic difference exists?

What these questions point to, is that greater cognisance needs to be taken of the terms on which children are included in schools. Currently, the decentralised system of school governance gives power to SGBs to develop the mission and vision of the school and, in fee-paying schools, to set the level of fees. Poorer children entering schools face established economic and social power relations to which they have to adapt. Those that do not adjust, experience marginalisation and risk complete exclusion. If we are to take relative poverty seriously (rather than a growing pain that the vulnerable must acclimatise to), then we need to work much harder at inculcating a human rights culture in schools. We do not mean this as a glib and easy policy conclusion. Already some progress has been made in ridding the system of the institutional funding mechanisms that required fee payments (in the poorest three quintiles) and exemptions procedures in fee paying schools have been made more transparent – eliminating direct pressure on parents. But a simple concentration on fees and other access costs will still leave the social pressures of relative poverty, and there will be diminishing returns to the expansion of no-fees schools in South Africa. These are complex, long-term challenges. But they are centrally educational challenges, which is to build an equitable and human rights culture.

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Veerle Dieltiens
Education Policy Unit
University of the Witwatersrand

Veerle.dieltiens@wits.ac.za

Sarah Meny-Gibert
Public Affairs Research Institute
University of the Witwatersrand

sarahmg@pari.org.za

Factors that drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers

Lorinda Minnaar and Jan Heystek

Abstract

This article emanates from the findings of a study, which focused on middle-class parents' expectations of teachers and the effects that these expectations have on the workloads and the work-life of teachers. In the study's results and findings, evidence emerged, which suggests that middle-class parents hold increasingly high expectations of teachers. Increased parental expectations of teachers in middle-class contexts have precipitated intensification in teachers' workloads, particularly with regard to their core duties, namely teaching and learning activities such as lesson planning and preparation, assessment and remediation of learners' work, classroom management and discipline, extra-mural activities, pastoral and administrative duties and professional development. The review of the scholarship together with parents' responses to questions posed in an open-ended questionnaire, revealed that in terms of their children's education, middle-class parents appear to be driven by various factors, some explicit and others implicit, which directly influence the type of expectations they hold of teachers. The purpose of this article is to identify and define the salient factors that drive and shape middle-class parents' expectations of teachers.

Introduction

The authors are of the opinion that it would prove to be infinitely beneficial to all role-players in education and in particular, to schools and teachers, if the explicit and implicit factors that drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers, not only in middle-class but all settings and socio-economic contexts, could be identified, defined and understood. One of the salient motives for the acquisition of this type of knowledge is that it may guide and support education authorities and policy writers in their pursuit to satisfy one of the aims of the South African Schools Act, No.84 of 1996 (SASA), namely to provide sustainable quality education for all learners. Furthermore, knowledge and an understanding of the explicit and implicit factors that drive and shape parents' expectations may assist schools and teachers in responding to and delivering the type of knowledge, skills and values, which parents view as critical for the future of their children in this country. The core question that

this article poses and attempts to resolve, is what explicit and implicit factors drive and shape the expectations that middle-class parents hold of teachers?

Conceptual definitions

Expectations

Jacob and Wilder (2010, p.3) define expectations as "those things, which individuals think will happen" while Carpenter (2008, p.165) defines expectations as "belief in the child's likely future achievement." In other words, an expectation may be described as anticipation, assumption, prospect, optimism, vision, likelihood, insistence or demand that something should happen in a particular way, or that someone or something should have particular qualities or behaviour.

Class

The concept 'class' refers to style or sophistication. Class embraces the social, structural position groups hold relative to the economic, social, political and cultural resources of society. Class determines the access different people have to these resources and puts groups in different positions of privilege or disadvantage. Class standing determines how well social institutions serve the members of the class. Prominent indicators of class are income, wealth, education, occupation and place of residence (Andersen and Taylor, 2006).

Middle-class

According to Banerjee and Duflo (2008) middle-class parents have fewer children and spend more money on their children's education and health. They prefer to seek employment in sectors, which provide them with the security of a fixed monthly income. The perception of having a measure of control over the future allows them to focus on building their own careers and their children's prospective careers.

Middle-class in the post-1994 South African context

In the post-1994 South African context, people no longer define class in terms of race, as was the custom during the Apartheid era. Although the impression exists that a large percentage of South Africa's socio-economic middle-class consists predominantly of White communities, there is documented evidence of an emerging Black middle-class sector, referred to by Olivier (2007) as Black Diamonds. Olivier (2007) categorises Black Diamonds into four segments: 'Established' – people who are wealthy, educated, employed and stable, 'Young Family' – new, sometimes single parents, 'Start-me-ups' – youngsters starting out and on the way up and 'Mzansi Youth' – young, single students. Black Diamonds are largely optimistic, self-confident, aspiring and future-focused with a passion and drive for education (Olivier, 2007), which corroborates the Review of School Governance's (2004, p.55) claim that middle-class parents "place a great deal of store in the process of education".

Literature review of factors that drive and shape middle-class parents' expectations of teachers

There appears to be a proliferation in research recently undertaken by scholars such as Spera and Wentzel (2009), Urdan, Solek and Schoenfelder (2007) and Rubie-Davies, Peterson, Irving, Widdowson and Dixon (2006) among others, which focuses on the correlation between teachers' and parents' expectations and aspirations for their children and the effect these have on learner outcomes, specifically self-esteem and academic performance. In spite of this, our search and review of both international as well as South African literature revealed a paucity of studies, which focus exclusively on the factors that drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers in middle-class contexts. In the following sections, we review theories and literature, which may assist us in not only identifying but also deriving theoretical definitions and an understanding of the explicit and implicit factors that drive and shape middle-class parents' expectations of teachers.

A study conducted by Kirk, Lewis-Moss, Nilsen and Colvin (2011) reveals a strong correlation between parent expectations and variables such as the socio-economic status and educational levels attained by parents, both of which play a key role in shaping learners' educational aspirations and by implication, academic achievement. Kirk, *et al.* (2011) draw on studies conducted by Englund, Luckner, Whaley and Egeland (2004), which confirm that parent expectations are not only shaped by their own levels of education but more

importantly, the extent to which they are involved in school activities and their children's academic careers. Furthermore, Räty, Leinonen and Snellman (2002, p.130) draw on Bynner (1972) who reports that "the children of highly educated parents succeed better at school than others and the expectations of these parents for their children's education are aimed at an academic education." Similarly, Carpenter (2008) avers that parents' expectations may be defined in terms of the convictions they hold for their children's future level of achievement. This reasoning of these scholars also applies to the South African context, as evidenced by Roos' statement in the Review of School Governance (Soudien, Department of Education, 2004, p.55):

> Ex-HOA[1] (House of Assembly) school governing bodies are very different in as far as they have large numbers of middle-class and professional people represented on them. In the seven schools studied in this category, all the parents were educated. Most of the school governing bodies had business people and professionals, such as lawyers and accountants. Important about this phenomenon in these schools, is that not only do these schools have a capacitated layer of parents to draw upon, but these kinds of parents are actually running their school's governing bodies (Roos, 2004, p.55).

In the review of literature for the study from which this article emanates, Dinham and Scott (2000) conducted empirical investigations entitled the 'Teacher 2000 Project', which focused on teacher job satisfaction and dissatisfaction in Australia, England, New Zealand and the USA. The findings revealed an increase in the expectations placed by society on teachers to solve the problems that society seems either unwilling or unable to deal with. In other words, parents' expectations of teachers are shaped primarily by their incapacity to solve the increasing social and societal challenges and demands, with which they and their children are continually confronted.

Chan and Mok (2001) on the other hand, claim that managerialism and marketisation, which emerged from decentralisation and neo-liberal education reform initiatives, are related closely to a heightened concern for quality of services, which may potentially shape middle-class parents' expectations of teachers in terms of acceptable and improved quality service delivery. Similarly, Ball in Bowe, Ball and Gewirtz (1994, p.38) avers that education markets "can be exploited by the middle-classes as a strategy of reproduction in their search for relative advantage, social advancement and social mobility". In other words, parents' expectations may be shaped by their desire to prosper

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[1]   Ex-HOA (House of Assembly) refers to the department responsible for white schools in the pre-1994 period.

and advance both socially and financially within their respective community contexts. Ball's (1994) notions appear to manifest in South Africa's middle-class schools, which compete with each other in the same market and may need to develop sophisticated marketing strategies to attract parents and learners, who are the potential customers, particularly since provincial departments of education allocate teaching posts and educators to schools according to their learner enrolment figures. It follows that increased learner enrolment figures generate more funds for the school.

The following section focuses on specific types of motivation, which potentially drive and shape the expectations parents hold of teachers in terms of children's scholastic performance, parental expectations, which appear to demand more and more of teachers.

Theories of motivation that define and explain middle-class parents' expectations of teachers

Clark Hull (1943) and Kenneth Spence (1956) generally are considered the creators of **Drive Theory**, which postulates that behaviour is primarily determined by drive, habit and incentives or rewards. This postulation suggests that drivers motivate individuals to think, behave, respond to needs and envisage expectations in certain ways. For this reason, literature equates driving factors with theories of motivation.

In an elucidation of **Attribution-based Theories of Motivation**, Weiner (2010) acknowledges motivational psychologists, whose contributions have proved pivotal in the development of motivational theories. The aim of Atkinson (1930–1970), one of the earliest motivational psychologists, was to pursue a 'grand theory' of motivation, which would identify the determinants of human actions over time. Atkinson held that the need for achievement was the main motivation for human action. Weiner (2010) also acknowledges the contributors to competing theoretical approaches on motivation. Among these are Edward Tolman (1932), Julian Rotter (1954) and Kurt Lewin (1938) who

argued that human behaviour is directed by need, expectancy for success and the value of achievement.

Steel and König (2006) discuss **Temporal Motivation Theory** (TMT), which they claim integrates the tenets of four recognized motivation theories, namely

picoeconomics, expectancy theory, cumulative prospect theory and needs theory, which demonstrate consilience because they may be applied across disciplines. According to Steel and König (2006) **picoeconomics** is a theory first advocated by Ainslie and Haslam (1992), which accounts for choice of behaviour that individuals are inclined to favour from a variety of rewarding activities over time. When given two similar rewards, humans show a preference for the reward that arrives sooner rather than the one that arrives later. Humans have been found to discount the value of the later reward, by a factor that increases with the length of the delay.

Expectancy Theory also referred to as expectancy x value (E x V) theory, was first advanced by Victor Vroom in 1964. One of the core elements of expectancy theory is the perceived probability that for each expectancy, an outcome will occur of which the individual will perceive its value. The outcome that the individual is more likely to pursue is the one, which is perceived as holding the most value. Value represents the degree of satisfaction an individual may gain from a realised outcome and may differ from person to person (Steel and König).

Similarly, the key theoretical element of **Cumulative Prospect Theory**, as espoused by Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman (1992), advances patterns and regularities on the way in which individuals interpret expectancies and outcomes according to their utility value, particularly in terms of losses or gains (Steel and König, 2006). In other words, people tend to think of possible outcomes usually relative to a certain reference point, often the status quo, rather than to the final status, a phenomenon known as framing effect. Moreover, they have different risk attitudes towards gains, i.e. outcomes above the reference point and losses, i.e. outcomes below the reference point and generally care more about potential losses than potential gains, a phenomenon known as loss aversion.

Closely related to utility and value, is human need. **Needs Theory**, as demonstrated by Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, represents an internal energizing force, which directs and drives an individual towards

behaviour and actions that will satisfy perceived needs. In other words, the intensity of fundamental human needs drives people to act in certain ways and do certain things (Steel and König, 2006). Steel and König (2006) furthermore state that scholars, such as Abraham Maslow in his 1943 paper entitled 'A Theory of Human Motivation', have identified two categories of fundamental human needs. The first category comprises primary or viscerogenic needs,

which are related directly to human or fundamental physiological needs, e.g. the need for food and safety. The second category constitutes secondary or psychogenic needs, which are related directly to the human personality, e.g. the need for achievement and to overcome obstacles, the need for affiliation, socializing and sharing as well as the need for power, strength and prestige.

Another theory, which may apply to this study and explain the factors that drive parents' expectations of teachers, is Albert Bandura's **Social Cognitive Model of Motivation**. Bandura (1977) asserts that people possess an inherent cognitive ability to anticipate future consequences and outcomes of actions, which serves as a source of motivation for a specific behaviour. Bandura (1989) refers to this ability as '*forethought*'. Seen from this perspective, people set goals for themselves and plan courses of action, which have the greatest likelihood of producing desired outcomes. Once people have achieved the desired outcomes, expectations are created that "behaving in a certain way will produce anticipated benefits or avert future difficulties" (Bandura, 1977, p.193).

In the following section, we briefly explain the research methodology, specifically the sample selection and instrument used to elicit data from which this article emerged.

Research methodology

Sample selection, methodology and data collection

The *purpose* of the study from which this article emanates was to determine the expectations that the governing bodies of public primary schools situated in middle-class contexts hold of the work of educators, judged in the light of prevailing education labour law and other relevant law. It specifically examined school governing body expectations with respect to educator workloads and the degree of alignment between such expectations and prevailing labour law as it applies to educators. The primary *research question*, which underpinned the study from which this article emanates, was 'What do members of governing bodies of public primary schools situated in middle-class contexts expect of educators with respect to educator workloads?' The study was situated within the qualitative, interpretive paradigm. Its *purposive* sample comprised nineteen public primary schools situated in the middle-class contexts of Paarl, Wellington, Durbanville,

Bellville, Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Somerset-West in the Western Cape. The participants included nineteen parent members of school governing bodies who completed *open-ended questionnaires*, in which they articulated their expectations of teachers, particularly in respect of the core duties listed in the Personnel Administration Measures of the Employment of Educators Act, No.76 of 1998. The core duties included teaching time, planning and preparation of lessons, assessment and evaluation of learners' work, classroom management, discipline, extra-curricular, pastoral and administrative duties as well as professional development responsibilities.

Linking selected responses to questions posed in the open-ended questionnaire to the theoretical explication of factors that drive and shape parent expectations of teachers

For the purposes of this article, we link not all but only selected responses articulated by parent participants to questions posed in the open-ended questionnaire to the literature we reviewed as well as to achievement and temporal motivational theories, with the aim of identifying, defining and understanding the factors that drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers.

Linking selected responses to the reviewed literature

In this section, we link selected responses articulated by parent participants to questions posed in the open-ended questionnaire concerning their expectations of teachers in respect of the core duties, to the *literature* we reviewed.

Correlation between Parent Expectations and Socio-Economic Status – Kirk, Lewis-Moss, Nilsen and Colvin
Teachers must come across as professionals. They must be friendly, honest, sincere, hard-working and lead by example. Their classrooms must be cheerful and neat (GB7).[2]
Classroom management begins with the number of learners per class. The class must be painted neatly and learners' work must be displayed on pin boards and serve as a basis for information (GB6).
Teachers must make the classroom environment child friendly so that learners feel comfortable, which will make it easier for them to learn (GB10).
Parent Education Level and Involvement in School Activities – Englund
Teaching lessons must be understandable for children and such that I do not have to redo them at home (GB9).
Incapacity of Parents to Solve Social Challenges – Dinham and Scott
Teachers can be expected to contribute to the school's fundraising activities so that sufficient facilities can be provided for the learners (GB10).
Teachers are required to perform playground duty because the playground is the place where teachers will be able to notice unhappy and hungry children standing all alone and without a lunchbox (GB4).
Teachers can be expected to identify the social welfare cases in the school and to manage this according to policy (GB6).
Improved Quality Service Delivery – Chan and Mok
Thorough preparation contributes significantly to a 'high' standard of instruction (GB13).
Teachers, please do not come to class with your personal problems. Always be consistent, friendly, faithful and fair (GB5).
It is always nice to see teachers involved in school committees. This tells me one thing, 'Here is a teacher who is prepared to walk the extra mile.' (GB4).
All teachers must be good examples at all times concerning behaviour, conduct and that which is socially acceptable in the community. Teachers must keep abreast of the latest technological advances and be socially acceptable to the learners and their parents in the community. Teachers must improve their qualifications to fulfil their task at all times (GB6).

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[2]   In Minnaar's study, each questionnaire completed and submitted by a parent participant was given the code GB (Governing Body) and a number for purposes of anonymity and compliance with ethics requirements.

It is expected that there will at all times be a good relationship between the school governing body and the teachers in order to promote the good management of the school and to enable everything to run smoothly (GB10).
Teachers must attend courses and workshops if the learners will benefit from it. It also serves as enrichment to teachers as it broadens their knowledge (GB10).
Parents' Desire to Prosper and Advance Socially and Financially – Ball
Fundraising is very important for any school, which is managed like a business. Every school must have a PTA that works with the school on fundraising projects (GB5).
Finances are always important and everybody is expected to pay attention to the school's finances, including parents, teachers and learners (GB17).
Convictions Parents Hold for their Children's Future Level of Achievement – Carpenter and Expectations of Highly Educated Parents – Räty, Leinonen and Snellman
Teachers must prepare lessons thoroughly at all times to ensure the optimal utilisation of available instruction time (GB16).
Lesson teaching must be modern, perhaps by means of Information Technology and must be performed with passion. Instruction must be aimed at learners' special needs such as learners who have Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) (GB18).
Teachers must instil a thirst for knowledge in learners and motivate them (GB1).
Children of above average ability need to be stimulated. Teachers need to contact the parents so that the children can complete additional work at home (GB5).
Maintaining discipline is absolutely essential! Learners without discipline do not have the ability to learn (GB4).
As a parent, if my child were to encounter difficulties, I would expect the teacher to inform me immediately. I would also expect the teacher to show sympathy and empathy for the problem. The teacher could refer me to an expert who could assist me or show me ways in which I could assist my child (GB5).

Linking selected responses to temporal motivation theory

In this section, we link selected responses articulated by parent participants to questions posed in the open-ended questionnaire to Temporal Motivation Theory with the aim of identifying, defining and understanding the forces that drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers.

Need for Achievement – Atkinson
The teacher must complete lesson planning and preparation promptly. Preparation must be thorough and well thought about. Lessons must be prepared at a deeper level to accommodate gifted learners (GB7).
Every learner needs to be given an opportunity to achieve maximal academic success (GB6).   The teacher must always keep extra, challenging work and tasks on hand for bright learners.
The 'top' learners must be able to compete with one another (GB7).
Drive, Habit, Incentives, Rewards – Clark Hull and Kenneth Spence
I expect lesson instruction to be not only the reading of a book or piece of paper, but that it will be made as enjoyable as possible for the learners (GB4).
Interesting lesson presentation keeps the learner positive (GB13).
Need, Expectancy for Success and Value of Achievement – Tolman, Rotter and Lewin
The teacher's feedback to the learners is important to enable them to improve in their learning areas (GB10).
Teachers must serve on committees since they have experience in where the problem areas are and what the real needs are (GB6).

Linking selected responses to temporal motivation theory

In this section, we link selected responses articulated by parent participants to questions posed in the open-ended questionnaire to Temporal Motivation Theory with the aim of identifying, defining and understanding the factors that drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers.

Picoeconomics (Choice of Behaviour) – Ainslie and Haslan
Teachers must apply discipline consistently and all learners must know what they may and may not do. The code of conduct must be in place (GB19).
A teacher must set an example of a balanced lifestyle at all times. A teacher may be expected to be involved in some cultural activities such as land service, debating, choir, chess, dancing and religion (GB6).

Expectancy Theory – Victor Vroom
Lessons must be specific and realistic. The learner must benefit from them (GB10).
Teaching must be conducted with enthusiasm and all learners must benefit from lessons (GB15).
Cumulative Prospect Theory – Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman
Planning and preparation of lessons must be thorough and purposeful so that the outcomes can be achieved (GB10).
Marking learners' work determines the success of instruction and serves as the basis for the planning of remedial activities (GB6).
The teacher must update learners' assessment records and profiles regularly so that if any child leaves the school, the parents and new school must be informed of the child's progress and problem areas (GB5).
It is nice to see teachers roll up their sleeves to work for extra funds, which are in any event ploughed back into the school, making it pleasant for them to teach (GB4).
Teachers must hold the interests of the school in their hands and contribute to the management of the school (GB10).
Teachers must keep abreast with their learning areas and be informed of the most modern trends in instruction. In this way, they can determine whether it is useful and to the learners' benefit (GB6).
Psychogenic Needs – Abraham Maslow
Planning and preparation of lessons must be thorough. The teacher must consider the individual needs of learners and do more in-depth research than simply the textbook (GB18).
It is extremely essential to mark learners' work and to provide feedback. In this way, learners will be able to see where they made mistakes and can pay attention to them (GB4).
Teachers need to identify learners with learning problems in class and alter their methods of instruction accordingly (GB2).
Progress reports to parents are essential because it is the channel whereby parents can see whether their child is progressing or not. If the child does not progress, the problem can be solved in good time, either in co-operation with the teacher or alone with the child (GB4).
Parents, make friends with your child's teachers. They are doing their best. Do not criticise the teachers and the school (GB5).
There must always be place for sport in a school and teachers' involvement is always a plus point. It is another way of getting to know the learners and parents at a different level (GB4).

Teachers need to get to know their learners at a different level other than at only academic level. Teachers need to know the child's personality in all areas. Sport provides opportunities for learners who are not always successful (GB6).
The entire personnel must be involved in social activities such as team-building and other functions (GB5).
Teachers must be involved in social activities. They must get to know parents, associate and make friends with them. By knowing a parent you get to know the child (GB6).
To be involved in sport provides the learner with an opportunity to get to know the teacher in another area and not only in the classroom (GB10).
Viscerogenic Needs – Abraham Maslow
Pastoral duties are essential, especially in today's circumstances. Teachers must be on duty in strategic places to maintain school discipline and to see the ways in which learners keep themselves busy (GB6).
It is important that teachers move around between the learners to ensure that they are safe. In this way, teachers can also see how children communicate with and treat each other (GB10).
Teacher supervision is necessary, especially for learners who need to cross busy roads to get to school (GB10).
Social Cognitive Model – Albert Bandura
I expect teachers to be well prepared. It not only gives them self-confidence, it also enhances the learners' confidence (GB4).
Certain careers are a calling, not a job. Teaching is a calling. I expect teachers to put everything in, to prepare the country for the future efficiently (GB18).
Quality education cannot take place in an undisciplined, disorganised or unplanned environment. Self-discipline, class discipline, school discipline and parental discipline contribute to the good academic discipline of the school (GB6).

Although the theme of this article suggests a qualitative rather than quantitative inquiry, counting and graphically recording the links between parent responses and the reviewed theories and literature, provides an indication of the theories that most likely drive and shape the expectations that parents in our sample hold of teachers in regard to the core duties. Figure 1 below depicts the number of links.

Figure 1:   Linking parents' expectations of teachers as articulated in the open-ended questionnaire to reviewed theories and literature
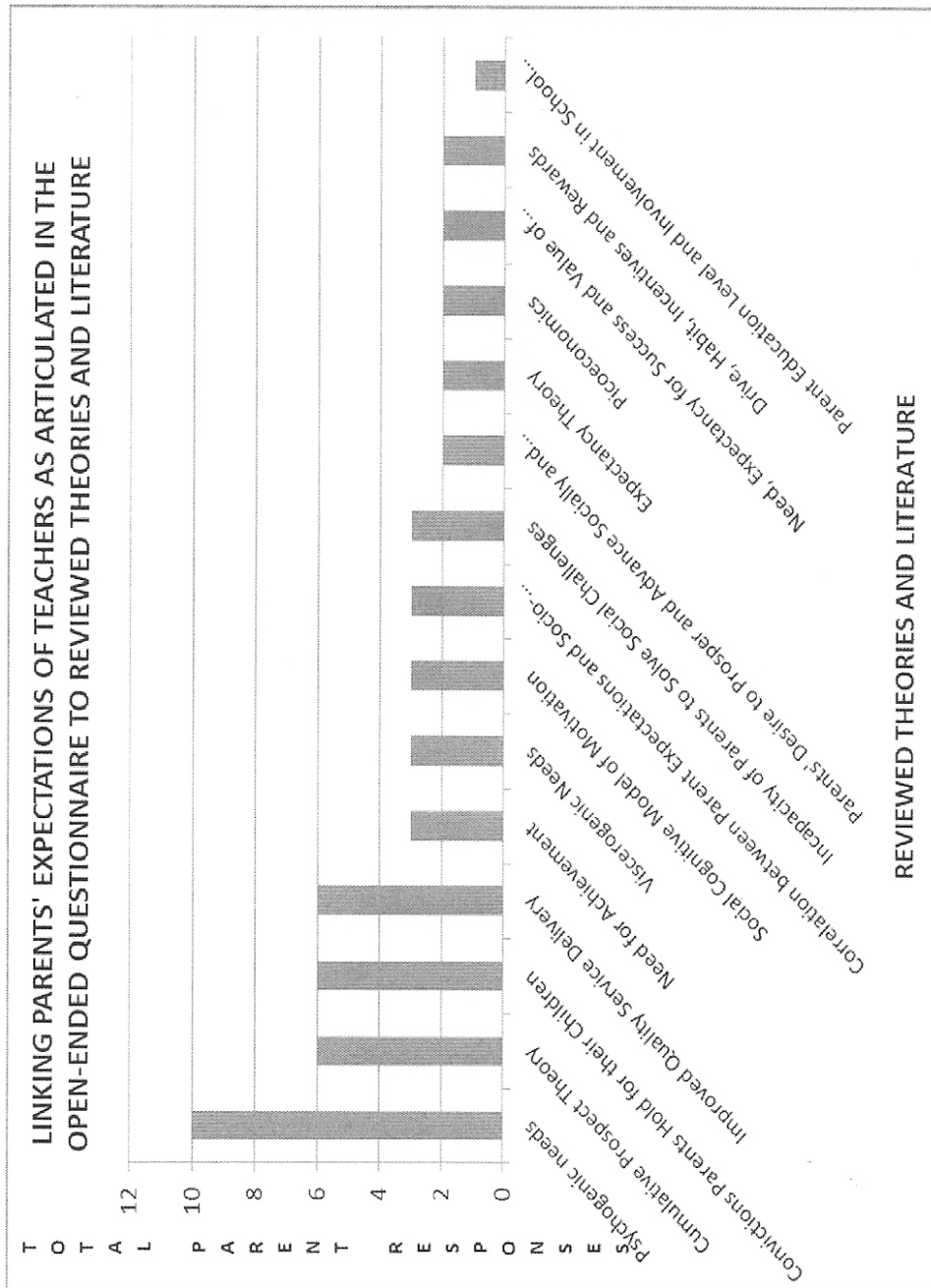
Discussion

Figure 1 above demonstrates that all the factors that were identified in the theories, collectively drive and shape the expectations that parents in our sample hold of teachers in regard to their core duties. The selected responses articulated by parent participants to questions posed in the open-ended questionnaire, however, indicate that *psychogenic* needs appear strongest and largely drive the expectations of most middle-class parents in this sample. This may mean that middle-class parents' expectations are driven by the need for their children to achieve at school, to such an extent that they will overcome or eliminate any obstacle, which they perceive as a hindrance to their children's scholastic progress and achievement. The hankering after achievement and prestige may also present as a psychogenic driving force of parent expectations of teachers.

It is of consequence that some schools that participated in the study upon which this article emanates, place a high premium, not only on academic excellence, but on sport too, as evidenced by GB4, GB6 and GB10's responses. Moreover, it has become common practice for some schools to reward what is known as the 'Top Ten' learners in each grade according to their academic performance each term. 'Top Ten' learners who have achieved the highest average percentages in the grade are rewarded with badges or cash prizes at a ceremony to which parents and the community are invited. Unbridled competition and rivalry between parents whose children regularly appear in the 'Top Ten' as well as those parents who aspire to having their children in the 'Top Ten' may also drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers in terms of quality of instruction, owing to the prestige this label engenders. As GB7 aptly states, "The 'top' learners must be able to compete with one another" (GB7).

GB6 further articulates middle-class parents' *psychogenic need* for affiliation, belonging and sharing thus: "Teachers must be involved in social activities. They must get to know parents, associate and make friends with them. By knowing a parent you get to know the child". This response suggests that parents are driven by the psychogenic need to socialise with the school community and experience a sense of belonging to the school community and for their children to feel accepted and liked by teachers.

It may prove meaningful to link these parental aspirations to Englund *et al.'s*

(2004) assertion that parents' expectations are shaped by *their level of education* and the extent to which they are involved in school activities. If one correctly assumes that middle-class parents generally appear to be professional people who are well educated, it follows that professional parents expect their children to be exposed to the same high standards of education to which they were exposed. This assumption also links with Räty, Leinonen and Snellman's (2002) claim that highly educated parents hold high expectations for their children's academic careers. Their claim is supported by parents' responses, such as GB1, who states "Teachers must instil a thirst for knowledge in learners and motivate them." This response indicates that the convictions and aspirations middle-class parents hold for their children's future level of achievement appear to play a pivotal role in shaping their expectations of teachers. Consequently, middle-class parents' expectations of teachers appear to be driven and shaped by their convictions that a teacher's fulfilment of the core duties, or neglect to do so, may directly or indirectly influence not only the quality of education children receive at school but also the academic, psychological, physical and social development and well-being of children. In other words, middle-class parents view their children's educational, emotional, moral and physical interests as paramount and expect teachers not only to instruct or teach but also to educate their children and furnish them with the prerequisite knowledge, skills and values they need, which will prepare them adequately for the future. This expectation is expressed explicitly by GB5 who states, "As a parent, if my child were to encounter difficulties, I would expect the teacher to inform me immediately. I would also expect the teacher to show sympathy and empathy for the problem. The teacher could refer me to an expert who could assist me or show me ways in which I could assist my child." In contrast, GB9's response, which reads "Teaching lessons must be understandable for children and such that I do not have to redo them at home" evokes a measure of concern for teachers if one deliberates on the number of middle-class parents who do not consider it their duty to assist their children with school-related activities at home.

A strong correlation exists between the expectations that middle-class parents hold of teachers and their *socio-economic* status as advocated by Kirk, Lewis-Moss, Nilsen and Colvin (2011). GB7, GB6 and GB10 emphasise the expectation for their children to be taught and educated in an aesthetically pleasing and educationally appealing classroom within a well-maintained teaching and learning environment in which children will feel excited to learn and motivated to achieve. Schools situated in high socio-economic and middle-class contexts are able to fulfil parents' expectations as they have the financial resources to maintain and improve their infrastructure and facilities.

In contrast to these schools in more affluent areas, schools situated in low socio-economic contexts or unsafe neighbourhoods do not have the financial resources for maintenance and repairs. These schools are often subjected to acts of vandalism such as graffiti, smashed windows, stolen light fittings and taps, which instils a sense of fear and insecurity in learners and teachers and negatively impacts on the teaching and learning process.

An analysis of parent participants' responses to questions posed in the open-ended questionnaire indicates that the expectations of teachers held by a number of parents in our sample appear to be driven by the tenets of Tversky and Kahneman's (1992) *Cumulative Prospect Theory*, which advocates that individuals interpret expectations and outcomes in terms of their *utility value*. A striking example is the response of GB6 who advances the expectation that, "Teachers must keep abreast with their learning areas and be informed of the most modern trends in instruction in order to determine whether it is useful and to the learners' benefit."

Responses also suggest that parent expectations of teachers may be shaped by a desire for heightened or *improved quality service* delivery as asserted by Chan and Mok (2001). GB18's response resonates with Chan and Mok's assertion: "Certain careers are a calling, not a job. Teaching is a *calling*. I expect teachers to put everything in, to prepare the country for the future efficiently." Similarly, Hakanen, Bakker and Schaufeli (2005) maintain that teaching is traditionally viewed as a profession with high commitment and can be viewed as a *calling*, but what precisely do people have in mind when they express a profession as a calling and what connotations do scholars attach to the concept 'calling'? Steger, Pickering, Shin and Dik (2010) posit that when viewed from a historical perspective, the concept 'calling' imparts **religious** nuances of one inspired by a Divine Power to fulfil specific purposes in the world. However, recent researchers prefer a more secular interpretation of one who accomplishes work in a quest for personal meaning and fulfilment while working for the greater good. Steger *et al*. (2010) furthermore report on established links and relationships between calling and optimistic work attitudes, enhanced enthusiasm, professional commitment and an acceptance of duties not typically included in job descriptions. Elangovan, Pinder and McLean (2010) concur that those who pursue a calling may be so devoted that they willingly engage in activities that exceed "assigned goals, expectations and rewards". Elangovan, Pinder and McLean (2010, p.437) cite Serow (1994) who found that teachers who were devoted to their professions were willing to 'go the extra mile', meaning they fulfilled their duties thoroughly, focused on excellence and paid extra attention to detail. Serow's (1994) findings

categorically encapsulate GB4's expectation, namely "Here is a teacher who is prepared to walk the extra mile" (GB4).

Bandura's (1977) *Social Cognitive Model of Motivation* anticipates the future consequences and outcomes of actions, which may appear to drive and shape parents' expectations of teachers. The upholding of effective discipline in schools, or failure thereof, may hold profound future consequences for educational outcomes. GB6 is of the opinion that, "Quality education cannot take place in an undisciplined, disorganised, or unplanned environment. Self-discipline, class discipline, school discipline and parental discipline contribute to the good academic discipline of the school." This parent's response implies that discipline is a prerequisite for the delivery of quality education. It also implies that discipline ought not to be the sole responsibility of schools and teachers. Ideally, parents need to accept prime responsibility for disciplining their children at home so they arrive at school as well-disciplined learners, eager to learn. This will enable teachers to not only optimally use the teaching and learning time at their disposal but also ensure a safe and secure learning environment. In doing so, teachers will subsequently fulfil parents' expectations in terms of the quality of education their children receive as well as concerns for their children's safety while at school, the outcomes of actions to which Bandura refers.

Viscerogenic needs, which include the fundamental needs for safety, physical security and health, are located within the second level of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943). Parents' concerns regarding their children's safety presumably emanate from widespread media reports of injuries and harm suffered by learners while at school. Joubert and Prinsloo (2009, p.138) assert, "Quality education is meaningless unless learners are able to pursue their educational rights in a safe and secure environment." According to law, teachers stand *in loco parentis*, a legal maxim that literally means that teachers exercise custody and control over learners as if they were the learners' parents. As a result, the common law principle of Duty of Care imposes an imperative command on teachers to care for learners under their supervision. Section 9 of the Children's Act, No.38 of 2005, underscores the Duty of Care principle by stating that in all matters concerning the care, protection and well-being of a child, the child's best interests are of paramount importance (Joubert and Prinsloo, 2009). In addition, Section 61 of the South African Schools Act, No.84 of 1996, specifically the Regulations for Safety Measures at Public Schools, address safety concerns at schools, and are binding on all South African schools and teachers. These safety measures deal with; violence and substance abuse, access to schools, the transportation of learners, physical

activities, emergency and fire procedures and the early release of learners from school (Joubert and Prinsloo, 2009).

Some parents' responses appear to illuminate Dinham and Scott's (2000) view that modern parents experience either an unwillingness or incapacity to solve *social challenges* and have subsequently shifted social responsibilities to schools and teachers. This tendency is evident in the response of GB6 who states, "Teachers can be expected to identify the social welfare cases in the school and to manage this according to policy." In the study from which this article emanates, teachers were asked to record their core duties and responsibilities in a time-use diary over two weeks. An entry in a participating teacher's diary reads as follows, "My pastoral duties in regard to the needy families at school include organising and collecting tinned food, grocery shopping and packing grocery hampers, collecting second-hand clothing and handing out clothing to the needy families. I do this one afternoon per month and it takes the entire afternoon." This response provides evidence that teachers' social responsibilities, even in middle-class contexts, have increased as asserted by Dinham and Scott. This finding begs the question: "Are school communities in middle-class contexts as socially and economically upwardly mobile as education authorities perceive them to be"?

In the following section, we draw our conclusions regarding the factors that drive and shape middle-class parents' expectations of schools and teachers.

Conclusions drawn on the factors that drive and shape middle-class parents' expectations of teachers

It is evident that middle-class parents' expectations of teachers are unquestionably driven and shaped by their children's best interests. According to Malherbe (2008), the 'best interests of the child' is a universally accepted common law principle, which guides the adjudication of all matters concerning the welfare of the child, in this case the educational interests of the child. Malherbe (2008) furthermore argues that parents expect schools to take special care of their children, for their education, and for their protection from harm during those hours that they are under the authority and care of the school. Not only does the 'best interests of the child' principle support the ideals for education, it also strengthens the commitment to realise the best possible education for learners.

In this study, a complex, interwoven array of factors drives and shapes the expectations that middle-class parents hold of teachers. The golden thread, which binds the parent participants' responses, is the desire to expose their children to the highest quality of education and teaching possible, so that their children will ultimately achieve success, not only at school, but also in their future vocational or professional careers.

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Lorinda Minnaar
Department of Education Policy Studies
University of Stellenbosch

lorinmin@gmail.com

Jan Heystek
Department of Education Policy Studies
Univesity of Stellenbosch

heystek@sun.ac.za

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As for works above but with the addition of the format in square brackets at the end of the reference, e.g. [Microfilm] or [Videotape] or [CD-ROM], etc.

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Correspondence should be addressed to:

The Editor
Journal of Education
School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Private Bag X01
Scottsville 3209

Telephone: +27 033 – 260 6091/6206
Fax: +27 033 – 260 5080
E-mail: JoE@ukzn.ac.za

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In terms of a recent policy decision, we aim to produce at least two 'normal' editions of the journal each year in addition to at least two special issues (one of which will be the Kenton Special Edition).

Most journals now have a per page fee which contributors are required to meet should their articles be accepted. Does the Journal of Education levy such charges?
Yes. This step was necessary to cover the costs of the increased number of issues each year. A levy of R100 per page will be applied to successful articles submitted to our office. The central research offices in most institutions of higher education routinely arrange for such payments to be made. We encourage individual authors who do not have such cover to contact us.

Are articles peer reviewed?
Yes. Our goal is for articles to be refereed by three experts in the field.

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Referees provide their crucially important service for no reward, and are sometimes unable to oblige on time but we endeavour to respond within three months.

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To what extent should an article being submitted be presented in 'the style' of the journal?
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Does the journal have a policy to encourage and support budding novice researchers?
Unfortunately not – this is simply beyond our capacity. While we welcome extended comment that referees may be able to offer, we cannot impose on their good services beyond the expectation of an overall judgement on the article, together with brief justification of that judgement.

What is the rate of acceptance/ rejection?
The following statistics for 2008 and 2009 provide an indication of the pattern of acceptance/ non acceptance:

Year	Accepted with no or minor revisions	Accepted after revisions	Not accepted
2010	0	14	42
2011	4	24	58

Even an increase in the number of issues each year will not keep pace with the ever-increasing number of submissions. We can do little to mitigate the competition engendered by state funding policy and the kinds of incentive schemes that have become a feature of the higher education landscape.

Is there an appeal mechanism should my article not be accepted?
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The journal describes itself as providing "a forum for scholarly understanding of the field of education". What does this really mean?
We understand this as implying that articles should represent a rigorous enquiry (conducted through argumentation or empirically) into the understanding of educational issues. Such inquiry originates in a problem rather than a solution, and it is rare for such enquiry to have no reference to, or engagement with, a broader literature and theory. Advocacy in the form of prescriptions or 'how to do it' recipe knowledge for practitioners seldom finds favour with referees. The question of audience is key. The assumed audience is the collective body of researchers rather than those more narrowly concerned with the effective implementation of specific policies.

Recent non-acceptances include a high proportion of undeveloped research reports, summaries of dissertations, and even sound but small-scale case studies that are purely context specific and unconnected with broader issues, literature or theory. Similarly, even a successful conference paper is usually in need of further development before it merits publication.