Educating for Democracy?

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Life Orientation: Lessons on Leadership Qualities and Voting in South African Comprehensive Schools

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Abstract

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	Life Orientation: Lessons on Leadership Qualities and Voting in South African Comprehensive Schools.
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This study takes as its starting point how teachers understand, interpret and teach social development aspects of Life Orientation in South African comprehensive schools. The specific focus is on lessons on leadership qualities and voting for third grade learners in four schools, each dominated by either Black, Coloured, White or mixed groups of learners.

Field work with an ethnographic approach and a qualitative strategy was used to gain access to empirical data. Policy and curriculum documents, guidelines and textbooks were used. Classroom observations in four classes and interviews with 14 third grade teachers were conducted.

Theoretical concepts of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction are applied. Ulf P Lundgren's Frame Factor Theory is used to study school organization. Basil Bernstein's Pedagogical Devices are considered when examining the different levels of pedagogical activities.

To be a teacher in South Africa one needs to attend at least two years of teacher education after completing high school. Teachers in the classes studied underwent their teacher education during apartheid years. Due to limited in-service training, they sometimes experience problems of understanding and interpreting the learning area, which they usually tackle by consulting documents, colleagues or school authorities. The learners' understanding varied based on their family background and type of school they attended. There were enormous differences in material, financial and organisational resources between classes and schools. The resources for teaching leadership qualities and voting were not, however, different between the classes.

The lessons were teacher dominated and direct transmission was used as a method. The way teachers facilitated the lesson on leadership qualities and voting varied but all showed some democratic shortcomings. Apart from answering questions, learners were neither invited nor encouraged to participate to further their understanding of the theme. Limited aspects of leadership qualities were discussed, individual leaders' roles were emphasised and the teachers picked candidates for class leaders in three of the classes. It was also evident that the class environments were not suitable for critical or creative thinking and democratic upbringing.

The schools reproduced norms, values, languages and cultures of the different groups. Officially, teachers emphasised the common national South African identity. This emphasis on national identity could disguise the injustice some groups experience in society.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

…Democracy has to be born anew every generation,
and education is its midwife…
(Dewey, 1889/1995, p. 139).

Initially, my interest and genuine wish to understand conflicts in their different forms encouraged me to attend courses on conflict resolution and conflict prevention. This led me to write an MSc thesis in Sociology. The thesis "Armed Conflict Prevention: Cases from Africa" was submitted to the Department of Sociology at the University of Gothenburg in 2004 (Abraham, 2004).

In that thesis I looked at major causes of armed conflicts in Africa and some possible measures for preventing them. In the recommendation for further studies I indicated the need to look into the role of education in preventing armed conflicts and promoting democracy. That thesis made me wonder further if there were subjects dealing with democracy in the school curricula of African countries. Were they teaching young children in schools about democracy? And what kind of schools did dictators who seized power in some African countries attend that made them act in such undemocratic ways?

Before tackling the specific questions related to democracy, I would like to explain why I considered education as an important area to deal with in this dissertation. Education is a major institution that shapes the individual and the young generation that takes responsibility for running the future society. The school is a "miniature community" where the child "learns through direct living" (Dewey, 1899/1990, p.18). It provides society with qualified citizens who take responsibility for material production and production and reproduction of the social and cultural life of society (Durkheim, 1938/1977; Dewey, 1916/2007).

Vital norms and values of a society are reproduced and transmitted to the next generation through education. While reproducing progressive, valuable and relevant norms and values, education should consider leaving out the harmful ones. Beyond reproduction and change, introduction of new ideas and thoughts suitable for tackling a society's problems and its future development should be among the major tasks of contemporary educational systems.

Modern education is emphasised in most of African countries. This emphasis revolves mainly around education's ability to bring these countries in line with international political, economic and social developments. As many of these countries basically rely on agricultural products as their source of income, they believe that by educating their citizens they can rationalise their agriculture to produce better quality and high quantity. They also believe educated citizens will help them in the process of industrialization, trade and in building a well-functioning service sector. Many countries' high investment on education confirms this belief in the opportunities education can provide.

I believe well educated citizens, if properly used, are the wealth of a nation. Education will help to develop the economy of a nation; it allows citizens to actively engage in both the social and political lives of their country. In addition to the well-educated citizens, if resources are fairly distributed and democratic rights of people are respected, it will be possible to expect a stable society. Education is one of the main components when creating such a society.

Even if I had many questions and thoughts about education, I wanted to focus on a single aspect in this study. In order to narrow my focus, I started looking for a country in Africa teaching a specific subject relating to democracy. After an intensive search of literature in libraries and on the Internet I found a subject I felt was important, it is called Life Orientation and was provided in post-apartheid South African schools.

Life Orientation education is one of eight learning areas in the South African comprehensive school curriculum, Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) of 2002. It is taught at all levels from Reception year (Grade R) to 9th grade. Life Orientation has four intended outcomes (goals), health promotion[1], social development, personal development, physical development and movement (in the Senior Phase, orientation to the life of work comes as a fifth outcome).

Among the four, I decided to choose as my focus of research the social development outcome of Life Orientation in Foundation Phase, specifically in grade 3 where the learners were between eight and ten years old. Studying this category of learners provides the knowledge of what kind of foundations for

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[1] The knowledge on HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases were supposed to be given to learners through this outcome.

democracy children were given early in life. It also helps to find out how they were prepared to exit the Foundation Phase and join the Intermediate Phase.

In grade 3, the social development aspect of Life Orientation has five different assessment standards (themes) dealing with: leadership qualities and voting; the national anthem; the role of acceptance, giving, forgiving and sharing; stories of female and male role models; and diet, clothing and decoration in a variety of religions in the country.

In this work, the specific focus is on the assessment standard leadership qualities and voting among learners in grade 3. Why did I prefer leadership qualities and voting?

In all democracies in the world there is one basic similarity; the people decide who leads them. The form may be different but the content is the same. The form could be direct democracy, representative democracy or another local form but in the end, the aim is to choose leaders who represent the people who voted for them.

One cannot claim that there are countries that have attained the perfect ideal of democracy but in many countries around the world, these principles of democracy work quite well. On the other hand, there are many countries that claim to adhere to these principles of democracy, such as respecting the will of the people. But in reality, they are violating them in one way or another. We can find such examples all over the world. Also in the African continent there are many countries known for violating the principle of respecting people's rights.

In many African countries, powerful groups such as the military or guerrilla movements seized power with the help of their guns. After taking power, the leaders of these groups usually remain in power for a very long time, sometimes for a lifetime. In recent years, one can even see in some countries, for instance, a situation where the fathers are preparing their sons to replace them as heads of state. Groups or individual leaders who protest about the power of these leaders are killed or imprisoned and in many cases their properties are either destroyed or confiscated.

Due to the struggle and demands from their people and international pressure, some African countries are currently holding or claiming to hold democratic elections and allowing multiparty systems. There are few countries doing this genuinely to the point where governments in power admit that they

have lost to their rivals. Some governments do admit defeat and hand over power to their rivals (e.g. Ghana in 2009).

On the other hand, there are African countries where in some cases only the dictator in power stands for election. When there are opposition candidates, they are at best denied any of the governmental resources available to the dictators in power, such as the right to demonstrate, a hall to meet with their members, mass media to broadcast their message, etc. At worst, as mentioned earlier, they can lose their property, be harassed, imprisoned or killed. Opposition supporters are also victims of harassment by government security forces. These are all mechanisms commonly used in many countries to ensure the victory of the dictator in power.

There are also many cases where one group wins and the opposition claims that there has been cheating. Some losers will continue to struggle in the democratic forum available to them while there are others who believe that is a hopeless way of gaining access to power. The latter group leaves cities for the bush to fight and win what they lost in an election by means of weapons. In other cases, for whatever reason, the army interferes and grabs power for itself from elected representatives of the people.

The above is my picture of the continent during the last half century. For me, it is without doubt reason enough to look at what schools are doing in grooming democratic citizens. It was interesting to investigate how schools are shaping conscious citizens who know their right to stand as a candidate and to vote. The right to vote for a leader who they consider represents their needs as voters and their country.

Before turning to the main study to find out about the teaching of the learning area, I will provide a general background of the development of the South African education system. This background section will deal with short general history of the country as well as the pre-apartheid, apartheid and post-apartheid education systems and the process that led to the introduction of Life Orientation.

Short Historical Review of South Africa and its Educational System

The reason for the settlement of some Europeans on the southern coast of Africa was to provide fresh water and vegetables for the Dutch East Indian

Company's ships transporting goods between Europe and India. Later, the settlers started moving from the coast to the interior. This was when they first encountered the Khoi, who were making their living as pastoral cattle owners, and the semi-nomadic hunting San. The European settlers from the beginning had some social interaction with the Khoi by bartering things with them and even through intermarriage. Later on they forced the Khoi and the San out and took over the grazing land to be used as farms for settlers (Collins, 1983).

The settlers also encountered the well-organised Bantu people. These groups did not easily submit to the newcomers, there was some organised social resistance and, in some cases, real wars. It was mainly the Xhosa and Zulu people who strongly resisted the occupation until they finally lost the war in the 1870s and 1880s (Thompson, 2000).

Gradually, when the local people lost their land, they were forced to be farm labourers to the white settlers. In addition to farm labourers, there were large number of slaves imported from Madagascar and Malaya. These slaves worked as unskilled labourers on the farms (ibid.). Also, Indian indentured labourers were brought to work on the sugar fields in South Africa in the 1860s.

Later, the discovery of diamonds and gold after the 1860s attracted the majority of the previous farm workers to these mining centres. They started to work as mining labourers. A large proportion of the white and the black population moved to these centres.

At the beginning of the 1900s, when industrial development started to take root in South Africa, Blacks began to be employed as industrial workers. Later, they were given the low status work in the expanding service sectors. In all the sectors, gradually developing while the Whites took the higher positions and the Blacks, Coloureds and Indians were given the lower jobs. The Blacks were given the lowest of all the positions.

As we can see, the society gradually developed from mainly farming to mining, industrial and service production. But what we need to keep in mind is that one system did not completely take over another. A movement from the farming to the mining industry did not completely leave the farming industry without any activity. The move was gradual and not so radical as to completely wipe out the predecessor. This is why we see farming, the mining industry, the manufacturing industry and the service sector side by side today in South Africa.

In societies where written language has not developed and formal education has not been introduced, socialisation of the young takes place through oral transmission of knowledge and practical training of skills. In these societies, as Dewey expressed it, "…Children reproduce the actions of grown-ups…" (Dewey, 1916/2007, 10). Norms, values and histories are passed down orally from generation to generation.

Skills deemed vital for the survival of a society were acquired from adults and elders by involving the young in practical activities, and showing them what to do and how to do it. The role of a person can vary from culture to culture based on gender and age. In most traditional societies, mothers train their daughters in skills such as housekeeping, preparing food and bringing up children. Fathers train their sons how to farm, herd cattle, hunt and other duties traditionally perceived to be a part of men's chores.

Before the arrival of the Dutch in 1652, there were different forms of traditional education among South Africa's different ethnic groups. This traditional education led by community elders targeted cultural transmission and was closely related to people's life experiences (Jansen, 1990). These ethnic groups passed to the coming generation their traditions and histories by means of different forms of art such as poetry, songs and oral tales. The practical activities necessary for survival, were gained "by experience from doing tasks." (Christie, 1986:30).

The beginning of modern formal education in South Africa can be traced back to the arrival of the Dutch settlers in 1652. First the settlers themselves, then the Dutch reformed Church and later missionaries from other churches were involved in running the education system. Jan Van Riebeck, the leader of the Dutch settlers, wrote in his diary in 1658 about starting a school for young slaves where the main focus would be to "stimulate the slaves attention while at school and to induce them to learn Christian prayer" (Jansen quoting Du Plessis, 1990).

In later years, the education of the local population by missionaries mainly focused on teaching them to read religious texts and finally converting them from their traditional beliefs to Christianity; it also focused on making them docile, disciplined and easily accessible manual labourers. The situation is presented as follows:

> There are further side effects of missionary schooling associated with moral training. In missionary schools, the Africans were taught to drop their "heathen" ways and to become the junior partner of White culture. They were also taught the value of such virtues as obedience, discipline, and industriousness. Physically, in attending schools many of them were drawn off their pastoral land to become gardeners or servants around the mission station (Collins, 1983: 368).

By citing Behr, Collins traces the beginning of segregation back to 1676. That year, the church expressed the "desirability of having separate schools for the slaves" but the politicians postponed the request. They informed the requesters that until the right time came to have a separate education for non-Europeans, the best among them should attend the same schools as the Europeans (ibid.).

The British officially established a Department of Education in their Cape colony in 1839 (Behr, 1984 & 1988). They also helped missionary schools providing schooling mainly for the local population. Jansen, in his article on Black South African education, divides the curricula in the country until the apartheid years into different periods. The focus from the beginning was on evangelisation and an attempt to introduce academic education by missionaries from 1795 to 1806. The curriculum with a focus on industrial training came after the 1850s, the differential curriculum was introduced in the 1920s for Black South Africans to learn their language and practical skills, and the apartheid ("separateness") curriculum based on racial grounds was introduced in 1948 (Jansen, 1990).

In addition to the above divisions it is important to not forget the farm schools. These schools were used from the beginning by some farm owners, who employed instructors to teach their children. Langham Dale, a Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape between 1859 and 1892 gave these schools another form. Behr explains the situation as follows:

> Dale also introduced the system of one-teacher farm schools for children in the remote rural areas. These schools partly state and partly private became a feature of educational provision for the whole of South Africa until well into the 20th century. These schools were established in areas where no school existed within a radius of five miles and where five children could be assembled… (Bher, 1984:7).

During apartheid, similar schools were established on farms owned by White farmers to accommodate the children of their workers. They were administered by farm owners and the state. Even if the state paid part of the expenses, the

farmers decided how these schools were run. Christie and Gaganakis explained the situation in an article on this subject as follows:

> …While their own children enjoyed free and compulsory schooling, White farmers have the power to decide on providing or withholding schools for the children of their Black workers. On their own farms it is their right to decide whether or not to open or close a school; and if they themselves do not run school, they have the power to decide whether the children on their farms will be allowed to attend school on a neighbouring farm… (Christie and Gaganakis, 1989: 84).

There are still some previous farm schools administered by provincial departments of education. Most of them have very poor facilities, with a shortage of both material and manpower resources. They accommodate more than one grade in one classroom (during my fieldwork, I visited three previous farm schools outside Port Elisabeth).

Compared to the schools where I conducted my study, these schools are located far from the city and the services it offers. They had few learners, few teachers and in general very poor facilities, including materials for teaching. One of the three schools was located in a well preserved and clean building while the other two were housed in buildings far inferior to the first school and the four schools I visited in the city.

If we go back to our historical discussion, as economic developments shifted from rural-based agriculture to more urban-based mining, the migration trend and working situations gradually started to change. The beginning of diamond and gold mining after the 1860s resulted in a large flow of both White and Black people to the mining centres. Later the cheap Black labour used in these mining industries moved to other industries in the 1930s (Collins, 1983).

The move from traditional agrarian industry to a mining and industrial society brought some problems with it. While some proponents of education, mainly some missionaries, started to emphasis on the values of education of the Black population, the majority of White settlers were sceptical. Those who were positive to the education of the Blacks emphasised that education results in efficient and productive manpower, while those who were opposed to the idea of educating the Black people gave as one of the reasons that educating them would produce "cheeky Kaffirs" (a derogatory term) who were disobedient and reluctant to work. But the main reason for opposing education of the Blacks was

the fear that they would compete with poor Whites for work (Appel, 1989; Collins, 1983).

Jansen summarized the Afrikaners' situation at that time as follows:

> Afrikaners felt their status threatened on two fronts. On one hand they feared that they would be forced into subservience by the more sophisticated British settlers. Secondly, they feared that Blacks would compete with them for employment. Rapid industrialization accompanied by a devastating drought in the 1880s intensified the need among Afrikaners for an educational system that could afford them improved economic and political status over the Blacks… (Jansen, 1990: 198).

The fear of a competitive Black population was in many ways raised also in later years. This was justified by considering the situation of the White poor. Even if the ruling White elite was well educated with a stable basis for continuing to rule, the White uneducated poor moving from the agriculture sector to the cities were in need of employment. To stop competition with the unemployed White, Blacks were restricted from getting an advanced education.

According to Appel, this idea of keeping back the Blacks from competitive positions was one of the main reasons for eugenic studies in the 1920s in South Africa which looked for a biological justification of White superiority and Black inferiority. When the focus on eugenic was minimized in the 1930s, the focus on the cultural inferiority of the Blacks took over. Instead of the eugenic intellectuals' demand for "strategies of segregation and selective sterilization" of the "inferior" or the "unfit", the Afrikaner nationalists demanded apartheid or segregation. This segregation included the education sector (Appel, 1989).

During apartheid, between 1948 and 1994, education for different groups of people was officially separated. As the population was divided by race as Asians, Black, Coloured and White (see page 27 on categorization by race), so was their education system separated. The education policy of the ruling party, which was based on Christian National Education (CNE) strictly emphasised separate education for the different groups. Cross explains arguments given by CNE proponents:

> Essentially, CNE proclaimed that education must be adjusted to the life and world view of the Afrikaners: all school activities must reveal the Christian philosophy of life, Calvinistic belief, and the principle of nationalism in education, i.e. the national ideal traditions, religion, language or culture of each social group.

From the 1920s onwards, these ideas were associated with the need for Afrikaner pre-eminence in the sphere of the state and the restructuring of the relations between White and Black people in the light of the CNE doctrine, in contrast to previous concern for the survival of Afrikanerdom (Cross, 1986: 186).

In general most Christian Nationalist writers advocated complete segregation of Africans, instruction in the vernacular, restoration of the "Bantu culture" and Christianisation with a minimum degree of "westernisation". Assimilations and egalitarian policies held by liberals were categorically rejected. For blacks would lose their culture and Afrikaners would sink to the level of the kaffirs and would ultimately be dominated by them [13]… (ibid. 187).

Based on this policy of separating the population in groups, different education policies were introduced during apartheid (Rose, 1970). The Bantu Education Act (1953), Coloured Persons Education Act (1963), Indian Education act (1965), and the National Education Act (for the education of the White) (1967) were introduced (Ashley, 1989).

The White population group was provided with a superior education while the other groups, mainly the Black population were doomed to education that allowed them to take only unqualified work in society. The high investment in the education of White learners, the highly qualified teachers assigned to them, the ratio of teacher to learners and the necessary facilities they were given meant that their results were far higher than those of children from the other groups (W. Fedderke, De Kadt & M. Luiz, 2000). According to Christie, in 1989/1990 the expenditure by group was R656 per Black child, R1221 per Coloured, R2077 per Indian and R2882 per White learner (Christie, 1991).

In the 1980s, acceding to local and international pressure, the apartheid government enacted a law to give some autonomy for the Coloureds and Asians by introducing a tri-chamber parliament. The House of Assembly (White), the House of Representatives (Coloured) and the House of Delegates (Asians) were introduced. The education for these groups was made the responsibility of these different houses. Bantu Education was the responsibility of homelands[2] and other local authorities with close supervision by the national state (Behr, 1988).

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[2] Homelands were locations where Black South Africans were forced to settle. They were supposed to have their own local administration and voting system. Some of the homelands were considered to be "independent" while others were administered by the South African government. The ten homelands created by apartheid regime were: Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Qwaqwa, Transkei and Venda.

After the fall of apartheid, new education reforms began to be introduced. These reforms abolished the policy of dividing education on the basis of race. The system that divided education in the country among 19 different departments was reorganised to one ministry and one department of education. Based on geographical location, the new system of education established nine provincial[3] departments of education (Harber, 2001).

In 1997, the first outcome-based education curriculum, C2005, was introduced and its implementation started in 1998. C2005 was revised in 2002. The implementation of the Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2002 was addressed in a report by a panel of experts appointed by the current Minister of Basic Education. The panel of experts mainly addressed questions related to policy and guidelines, transitions to grades and phases, assessments, learning and teaching support materials and the necessary support and training of teachers (Dada, et.al, 2009).

Based on the above panel of experts' report, a draft action plan for up until 2014 with some parts to be gradually introduced up until 2025 was prepared and released by the Minister of Basic Education for public comment[4]. The document has 27 goals and under each goal it has sub-titles, describing what the problem was, what the government had done so far, what the other partners in education should do and how to know when things were improving. The goals include improving learners' performances in language, numeracy or mathematics. It contains increasing access to Early Childhood Development, enrolment and keeping school learners at school until they turn 15. The action plan comprises improving grade promotion and access to further education. It also focuses on access to textbooks, workbooks and other media such as computers. The covering of designated topics and skills for the school year were also emphasised (Department of Basic Education, 2010).

According to this document every year 10, 000 teachers leave their work in public sector, while only 5, 000 join the teaching profession. Consequently the

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[3] South Africa is divided in to nine provinces (Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West and Western Cape) and 53 districts. Six of them are Metropolitan districts. The school system is organized by province and under the provincial departments of education; there are also district departments of education.

[4] The document "Action Plan to 2014, Towards the realisation of Schooling 2025" was released for public comments on 2 August, 2010 and the deadline for comments was 29 October, 2010.

need for attracting young people to the field was emphasised. Salaries that match other professions and an attractive working environment are noted as being important. Increasing teachers' teaching skills, subject knowledge and computer literacy are emphasised (ibid.)[5].

Improving school management, creating a fair funding system, frequent visits and better quality of monitoring and support to schools were mentioned. Improving parent and community participation, promoting access to public health and poverty reduction interventions by means of schools for learners were mentioned in the action plan. Effective implementation of inclusive education was another area of focus (ibid.).

The need for a better physical infrastructure and environment was mentioned in different parts of the action plan. The action plan has some recent vital statistics, which can give an overall view of some of the shortcomings in the school system regarding different facilities. In Part B of the action plan, the following statistics were provided:

> …Currently 1 700 schools are without a water supply and 700 do not have any toilets. More over, 400 schools are still built entirely of mud. However, the estimated shortfall of 63,000 classrooms and the fact that 15,000 schools still have no library call for action that goes beyond the medium term… (ibid. 20)

According to the action plan, there are around 26,000 schools in South Africa. The above figures show a significant shortage of some facilities. In addition to what was mentioned above, the document states that "…Around half of South Africa's public school learners sit in classes with over 40 learners, and around 15% in classes with over 50 learners…" (ibid. 22). Huge resources and more time will be needed to reduce these shortcomings. Some of the challenges were planned to be addressed up to 2014.

The action plan is based on different findings and has the potential to address some of the problems teachers are facing in the process of implementing the present curriculum. But its overemphasis on national and international tests and student results makes me believe that this issue occupies more space than it

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[5] In 2009, a Teachers Development Summit (TDS, 2009) was held, the summit focused on among other issues, on quality of teacher education and professional development of teachers. In relation to development of teachers' skills, there was an initiative for teacher laptops (Educational Labour Relations Council, 2010). Based on seniority of rank, teachers were qualified to get a government subsidy to buy a laptop (DOE, 2009).

deserves in the document. The action plan also focused very much on mathematics, language and natural sciences.

My concern here is not the envisaged curriculum, it is rather the current curriculum and how a part of it was implemented. Life Orientation was introduced as the learning area in C2005 in 1997. This learning area was also a part of the Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2002. This study used the revised version of the Life Orientation curriculum.

Objectives of the Study

The specific objective of this study is to investigate how teachers of young learners in South Africa understood, interpreted and taught social development outcomes of Life Orientation education. The general objectives are to gain knowledge of teachers' teaching experiences of Life Orientation and indicate some problems and possibilities from a critical perspective.

However, it was obvious from the start that teaching and learning in the classroom does not take place in a societal vacuum. The country's past and present situations were considered, the development of the country's educational system and introduction of a new policy and new curricula in the post-apartheid years, which create the outer frame for the functioning of schools, were investigated. The types of schools and resources available to run them set boundaries for teachers' work in the classrooms.

In the Foundation Phase (Grade R-3) in South African Schools, teaching and learning are organised around three major programmes: Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills. In the Life Skills programme, the main learning area provided is Life Orientation. The Life Orientation learning area in the Foundation Phase has four expected learning outcomes, one of which is Social Development. The Social Development outcome has five Assessment Standards; the first one is "leadership qualities in the school context and participating in school voting", which is the focus of this study (See Appendix 3 for an overview of levels from Foundation Phase to Assessment Standards).

The learners in the grade 3 classrooms I observed were between 8 and 10 years old. I choose these cohorts of learners to know what democratic bases were laid for the future generation. Specifically, I wanted to gain an insight into what themes were recommended for discussion by the curriculum and how teachers presented it to their learners in these age groups.

Research Questions

In the planning stage of this work, my research question was, "How is Life Orientation understood, interpreted and presented and what are the possibilities and the limits of teaching Life Orientation?" But having gradually understood the wide span of the learning area, I limited my focus to one of the outcomes and one assessment standard. This is why social development outcome and its assessment standard leadership qualities and voting became the focus of my research question.

The main question of this study is: How do teachers understand and interpret or interpret and understand[6] the social development aspects of Life Orientation and how do teachers facilitate the teaching of leadership qualities and voting?

To be able to answer the main question, I will ask some additional questions. These include: What are the qualifications required to teach Life Orientation? How do teachers understand and interpret or interpret and understand the social development aspects of Life Orientation? How do teachers facilitate the teaching process? What resources are available to teach the social development aspects of Life Orientation? What are the differences in teaching activities in different school contexts and how do learners understand the theme leadership qualities and voting?

Limitations of the Study

An international arena is too broad for this study and because of this I restricted myself to the African continent. Since the mass independence of the 1960s, the continent has been controlled by many brutal dictators and suffered many devastating wars. In Southern Africa, apartheid played the role of dehumanising the majority of the population. It is no exaggeration to talk about a democratic deficit in the past and present of the continent. However, there are struggles by many groups in different countries aiming to change this situation.

After identifying a school subject in South Africa, I decided to do research on it. Then, as a result of visits to the provinces of Eastern and Western Cape, I considered undertaking the fieldwork in Eastern Cape Province, in Nelson

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[6] Understand and interpret or interpret and understand are considered interchangeable, because it is difficult to determine which is primary and which is secondary.

Mandela Bay. Gradually, I focused on four schools representing different population groups.

The apartheid categorization of people is still in use for purposes of documentation and statistics. As the track of the past is highly visible in all sectors including education, I will use the categories Black, Coloured, Asian/Indian and White in the text. Black is a label given to the people with ancestors of African origin and White for people with European origin. Concerning the people classified as Coloured and Indians or Asians, Collins writes, "The Coloured are an amalgam of White, African, Khoi and Malay ancestry whereas the "Asian" peoples (in terms of South Africa's race classification) are Hindu and Moslem Indians imported into Natal as indentured sugar plantation workers in the latter half of the 19th century. …" (Collins, 1983:362). As the Indian/Asian population group is concentrated in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, the study focused on learners from the other three population groups in Eastern Cape Province.

As there was a focus on certain population groups, there was also a focus on a certain outcome. Life Orientation has four outcomes and I chose social development out of the four. Social development has five assessment standards and I decided to consider the first one of them, leadership qualities and voting. This theme, the teachers who were teaching it and the learners attending the lessons were the focus of the study.

Life Orientation education can be classified as being part of citizenship education. In another situation, it might also be considered as part of multicultural education. Beyond understanding it as a learning area, I did not make any special effort to find a home for it.

In order to understand the general reality of South Africa, the Life Orientation curriculum and the actual teaching of leadership qualities and voting in classrooms, different theories will be used. The concepts construction, deconstruction and reconstruction will be used to understand the reality of South Africa. Lundgren's frame factor theory will help when looking at the education and school reality. Employing Bernstein's pedagogical device, I will analyse the macro level of policy formulation and micro level of its implementation.

Chapter Overview

This current chapter provides background, objectives and limitations of the study, as well as the research questions. The second chapter of the dissertation, the literature review of post apartheid education reform and its implementation, will concentrate on implementation of the education reform and curriculum. It gradually moves to the implementation of the curriculum in the Foundation Phase and ends with the implementation in the classroom.

Chapter three deals with the theoretical framework. It first presents the concepts of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction. The construction of the apartheid system and its deconstruction and reconstruction of a new system are discussed. The frame factor theory by Ulf P. Lundgren and Basil Bernstein's pedagogical devices are used.

Chapter four addresses the methodology used when undertaking the research. The ethnographic approach for field study conducted in South Africa will be focused on. The major instruments used to acquire data are the collection of policy texts, observations and interviews.

Chapter five examines the goal system and three relevant texts will be considered. The first is the curriculum for Life Orientation in the Foundation Phase. It includes both the outcomes and assessment standards from Reception year (Grade R) to Grade 3. The second is guidelines for teachers. Here, teaching and assessment guidelines are considered. The third is learning and teaching resources. These include textbooks for integrated teaching of Life Skills. When teaching an assessment standard from Life Skills, it is possible to integrate relevant facts from Life Skills, Literacy and Numeracy.

Chapter six deals with the frame system. The four schools, and both their physical facilities and the services they were providing are included. In addition the number of both learners and teachers will be given in this part.

Chapter seven presents the formal rule system. Here, teachers' qualifications and expected codes of conduct will be considered. For this purpose, different acts and policy documents will be used. Chapter eight is based on the results of interviews with 14 third grade teachers from four schools. Their views on their qualifications, their understanding and interpreting (interpreting and understanding) of the learning area, the teaching process, their relations with different actors and their view on learners' participation will be presented.

Chapter nine deals with lessons on leadership qualities and voting in the classrooms. It includes results from discussions of the theme as well as the voting to elect leaders for the class.

Chapter ten presents some handpicked episodes from classrooms. The curriculum expectations as well as its application will be reviewed. Chapter eleven, the final chapter, contains results, a general discussion, conclusion, implications and comments for further studies.

CHAPTER 2
POST APARTHEID CURRICULUM REFORM AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

This literature review aims to give a general overview of a curriculum reform and the processes of its implementation in particular. The reform touched all levels of education and a lot of research was also done on its implementation at different levels, but my final focus will be the Foundation Phase. Even if it was my wish to obtain materials on the implementation of Life Orientation learning area in this phase, it was difficult to obtain literature specifically dealing with this. Accordingly, I will come as close as the literature allows me.

During my fieldwork at the beginning of 2009, I was registered as a short-time guest student at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). This official registration gave me the opportunity to use the university database. By using the database, I was able to access accredited local and international journals and obtain valuable materials for this study.

In addition to the materials from the database, staff at the NMMU shared with me valuable documents in their possession. Books, handbooks and other publications available to me from the library of the University of Gothenburg were also used. For the review, I mainly targeted policy documents and literature published after 1994, which dealt with the curriculum reform and its implementation.

Curriculum Reform

At the end of apartheid, when all sectors required restructuring or reform of society's delivery of services, the educational sector also went through a reform. Linda Chisholm, in her discussion of the curriculum review, mentioned that the reform took place in three different stages. The first stage was removing the racist language from the existing curriculum just after apartheid; the second stage was the introduction of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in 1997. The implementation of C2005, marked the move from teacher-centred and content-based education to the learner centred and outcomes-based education philosophy; and the third stage was the review of C2005 (Chisholm, 2005).

In addition to removing the use of racist language, the new reform aimed at bringing together the separated school system based on racial division. During apartheid, the focus was on dividing groups and deciding which groups were allowed which privileges. Other groups were not allowed to attend any institutions meant for Whites, including educational institutions.

Today, government policy is to treat all groups equally. The emphasis of the new government was commonalities, reconciliation and inclusion (Christie, 2006). This means that instead of the previous focus on various groups' separate success or failure, strengths or weaknesses, the focus was on the common heritage of different groups as South Africans. One strong indication of this is a national holiday called the "Heritage day (24 September)".

Government policy was not to provoke conflicts between groups. Through the national reconciliation process, people were given the chance to face each other, the abuser and the abused. In many of the cases, the abusers accepted that they had done wrong and the abused excused. Even if all sides were not satisfied with the process, the government promoted reconciliation rather than conflict.

When Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) was introduced, there was a major change in the philosophy of education in the country. Before its launch in South Africa, OBE was widely used in Australia and the US. The introduction of OBE in South Africa was influenced by the work of the American educationalist Bill Spady. In his version of OBE, the focus was on outcomes, integrated learning, learner-centeredness and formative assessment as opposed to rote learning, subject division, content based teaching and summative assessment (Curriculum 2005 Review Committee, 2000).

OBE was challenged by different groups, among them groups emphasising the idea of "back to basics". These were groups that were not convinced that introduction of OBE improved or would improve the teaching-learning process. They wanted to go back to the time "where all could read, write and do mathematics" (ibid. p. 21). In turn, back-to-basics groups were challenged by others who were sceptical about the statement of "all" and about going "back". The challengers of the back-to-basics groups pointed out that "all" were not reading and writing under apartheid and they would not want to go "back" to the apartheid years of inequalities.

The main challengers of OBE were the proponents of Fundamental Pedagogics[7]. They argued that pedagogics should be based only on scientific grounds and should be free of other elements, such as ideology. This emphasis on only scientific grounds, was not supposed to give any space for critical views either (Le Grange, 2008).

Learners, parents and non-academic members of society were not allowed to participate either in educational activities or present any critical view (ibid.). It was persons trained in Fundamental Pedagogics who had the right to say what should be said. This indicates the authoritative position given to teachers in Fundamental Pedagogics.

Le Grange establishes the relationship between the rigid view of Fundamental Pedagogics and its relation to the authoritarian Christian National Education (CNE). To illustrate this relationship, he quotes from a book written in 1986 by C.G. De Vries one of the Fundamental Pedagogues. De Vries writes in his book Orientation in Fundamental Educational theory (1986:211):

> The Christian educator acknowledges that the child is conceived and born in sin and consequently is inclined to evil. He also knows that the child cannot be educated without authority, but acknowledges that God is the absolute authority and that all human authority is therefore only delegated authority (De Vries in Le Grange, 2008: 403).

De Vries gives an archaic view of the conception of a child and its pre-conceived characteristics. He even goes further in declaring that a child cannot learn without authority and the teacher is delegated a divine authority to exercise over the child. In contrast to this view, today in most societies children are viewed as the fruits of love between partners who wish to have them and they are not judged as evil. When it comes to their education, helping them to understand their environment and taking into consideration their own views and experiences when they can express them are preferred rather than imposing on them what they should or should not learn.

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[7] The thinking of "Fundamental Pedagogics" had its roots in the University Of Pretoria Faculty Of Education. Its development started in the 1930s, but the term was used for the first time by Prof. W. A. Landman in 1968 and since then for some years there was department within the faculty with this name (Roos, 1980).

To return to the new curriculum, after the introduction of OBE and starting its implementation in 1998, the need for reviewing it arose. This need was clearly presented in a ministerial review committee report in 2000. The results of the work of the review committee ended with the introduction of a comprehensive, Revised National Curriculum Statement in 2002.

Life Orientation education was the result of the curriculum first introduced in 1997. When C2005 was revised, Life Orientation reappeared refined and restructured as one of the eight learning areas. According to Chisholm (2005), during the review process, groups on the Christian right heavily criticised some aspects of Life Orientation.

The two major groups on the Christian right that were highly critical were the Pestalozzi Trust of South Africa and the United Christian Action from Cape Town. They criticised common values proposed, the provision of general knowledge about the different religions, the proposed banning of religious devotion from schools, providing of sexual education in schools, etc. (Chisholm, 2005).

In addition to the groups on the Christian right, different academics criticised Outcomes Based Education (OBE) for being behaviourist and positivist in that its focus was only on overt learning behaviours (Skinner, 1999; Carrim & Keet, 2005; Steyn & Wilkinson, 1998). But Styen and Wilkinson, in their discussion of this theme, indicate that the OBE vision that was introduced in South Africa was more a combination of different theoretical orientations (Steyn & Wilkinson, 1998). According to them, OBE consists of behaviourism, social reconstructivism, critical theory and pragmatism (Steyn & Wilkinson, 1998).

Steyn and Wilkinson identify the emphasis of behaviourism as being relative to external human behaviour as regards learning compared to internal motives. Citing Brennan, they argue that for behaviourists, human behaviour is "…overt, observable and measurable behaviour…". They indicate that OBE's setting outcomes for individual learners represent a behaviourist path.

They try to make their point more clearly as follows:

The activity verb relates to facets of observable behaviour such as *collect, identify, analyse, demonstrate*, etc. The documents use very few concepts such as *wonder, aspire, visualise, reflect, meditate, imagine*, etc., because such concepts indicate invisible and

inherent learning behaviour, which behaviourism does not provide for (Steyn & Wilkinson, 1998; 204).

Social reconstructivism was described as a social transformation oriented theory. Its two sub-perspectives were presented as knowledge constructivism, which considers knowledge as socially constructed and ethical constructivism, which emphasises "moral relativism" and states that values are not universal. The authors mention various documents dealing with OBE that emphasise social transformation goals, empowering learners to construct their own meaning and knowledge, teachers as facilitators not authoritarian, "to work towards the reconstruction of South African society", etc.

According to Steyn & Wilkinson (ibid.), critical theory focuses on change, emancipation of the individual and society. OBE promotes the idea of the learner acquiring "critical attitudes and skills". They quote from an OBE document where critical thinking about "social inequalities, particularly concerning race, gender and class" is emphasised.

Pragmatism is described by them as emphasising usefulness and practicality. Its origin is traced to a reaction against, "…ideals and idealism, which cannot be implemented practically". Steyn and Wilkinson show that the OBE documents indicate through outcomes what learners are expected to "do". Showing through activities' relation to nature and using "scientific knowledge and skills" for decision-making purposes are, according to Steyn and Wilkinson, among the pragmatic instances stated in the OBE documents.

The different views reflected above indicate varied opinions about the characteristics of OBE. Some emphasised only that it is behaviourist and positivist. On the other hand, Steyn and Wilkinson, instead of giving a narrow picture of it, tried to show the broad theoretical foundation of OBE.

Implementation

In South Africa, if we look at implementation of OBE in general, there are difficulties at the policy maker and policy implementer level. Many researchers indicate that the sources of the problems are the ones holding political power. There is quite a consensus that the intention of post apartheid South Africa's education policies was to bring about equality and provide opportunities for all categories of learners. But the implementation process instead created a gap

between the policy intentions and practice when working with different groups in society.

Soudien (2007) indicates that the problems concerning implementing education policies are primarily a result of a compromise between the apartheid government and liberation movements, which ended up with those who took power accepting reform instead of dismantling major social institutions. He states as a second point the difficulty of keeping the political and administrative state apparatus from the apartheid regime. He says that new heads of different institutions have been assigned but the state's apparatus remained as it was.

According to him, the old institutions continue functioning as before. Solely a change of government will not make institutions function in a new way. Some bureaucratic state apparatuses continued to work as they used to do during apartheid.

By referring to another writer, (Harbert) Soudien indicates that there is a contradiction between policy and implementation. He says, "…the state's difficulties emanate from its social democratic political orientation and its commitment to a market-driven competition economic philosophy" (Soudien, 2007; 184).

Pam Christie concurs with the idea that inequalities still persist. According to her, the ANC betrayed its original idea of redistributive justice. In 1994, the ANC, SACP (South African Communist Party) and COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) came up with what they called "The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)" based on the principles of, "growth through redistribution," but two years later that had "faded way". Later on, to not offend private investors, to foster a market economy and to be a part of the global market, a neo liberal macro economic strategy was introduced. Instead of the earlier strategy, a "Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)" strategy was introduced (Christie, 2006). Christie further explains the situation,

> In place of RDP, the ANC introduced its Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy, an unabashedly neo liberal macroeconomic programme of deregulation, privatisation and fiscal restraint. Distancing itself from Marxist ideology, socialism and nationalisation, the government did all it could to court domestic and international capital, riding any tensions this caused within alliance partners… (Christie 2006, 378).

When the new curriculum was implemented, it faced a number of different challenges. Among other things, the desegregation of schools did not run smoothly. Learners from poor townships were attracted by former White, Indian and Coloured schools. This provoked resistance and repulsions from these schools. As pressure from Black learners from townships increased, mainly previous "White only" schools initiated systematic gate-keeping. Some of the reasons given to stop Black learners from joining these schools were that they did not belong to the school's feeder zone, their lack of language proficiency, not passing admission tests, etc. (Vandeyar, 2008; Johnson, 2007). Although there are policies for providing directions and laws to enforce integration, these schools were trying to evade it and the government did not have sufficient resources to enforce the whole implementation process.

Learners from other ethnic groups who were admitted to previously "White only" schools were in most cases absorbed into the schools (Vandeyar, 2008). Johnson gives an overview of the integration process based on four cases in four White Afrikaans-speaking schools in Limpopo province. For this purpose, he uses four models he developed; assimilation, accommodation, positive diversity and productive diversity. He says two of the schools assimilated the learners from other groups, one accommodated them, and the last one was working for positive diversity (Johnson, 2007).

Johnson indicates that these schools admitted learners with other backgrounds for the sake of respecting the government's anti-discriminatory policy. The schools taught Black learners in English and White learners in Afrikaans. While there was high number of Black learners, the majority of the teachers were still White. There was a total lack of or marginal participation of Black parents in the decision-making body. For him, none of these schools attained the level of productive diversity, "…in which integration is accomplished through a genuine amalgamation of linguistic and cultural viewpoints and the search for new cultural resources through which to find meaning to the challenges of living in the 21st century …" (Ibid., 312).

If we consider the situation for teachers, most teachers from marginalised groups were highly involved in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and that contributed to their being well respected within their communities and society (Wieder, 2004). Hammett, based on his study of two coloured communities in Cape Town, asserts that there was a decline in respect for the

teaching profession in the years after the fall of apartheid (Hammett, 2008). Having a professional employment during the restricted apartheid years, their subject knowledge, using schools as a field for anti-apartheid struggle, politically orienting their learners in anti-apartheid ideology and their role as community leaders, were the main reasons for enjoying respect. After 1994, most of the roles they played were gone. Instead of the social capital they gained during the anti-apartheid years, in the post-apartheid years economic capital became highly valued. As teachers did not own this economic capital, the respect they enjoyed earlier declined (ibid.).

Major challenges related to implementing the new curriculum also concerned the school context in which teachers worked (Smit, 2001). In the first place, teachers were not directly consulted about the process of curriculum reform. Secondly, they were expected to begin using the newly introduced outcome-based, learner-centred and formative assessment process proposed (Vandeyar & Killen, 2007; Malcolm, 2000). The learner-centred education philosophy diminished the teacher's authority from being the source of knowledge to facilitator and this was not appreciated or liked by teachers. There were teachers who did not appreciate the end of corporal punishment in schools (Morrell, 2001). Thirdly, teachers were trained in the apartheid education system and philosophy, which contributed to their lack of knowledge in some of the new learning areas as well as of teaching philosophies such as collaborative learning which is actualized through group work (Taylor, 2008; Skinner, 2006). Fourthly, in some previously White, Coloured and Indian schools, the mass influx of Black learners exposed teachers to learners with different cultures and languages (Vandeyar & Killen, 2006). These exposed them to challenging working conditions. Fifthly, many schools in poor areas continued to lack material and financial resources, which made it difficult to implement the new curriculum.

In classrooms, teachers were not only challenged by having new groups of learners and how to deal with them. As Blignaut indicates in his article on policy and practice (Blignaut, 2007), one of the three teachers whose narrative he used for his article told him that she was aware of group work as one of the working methods but seldom used it. When it comes to assessment, because of the amount of the time it consumes, the new assessment strategy was considered to

be a problem by teachers (Malcolm, 2000) and in some cases teachers resisted implementing it (Vandeyar & Killen, 2007).

In general, policy documents show a way for an improved school situation and equal opportunities for all. But in the realization context, due to variations in realities of the schools and inequalities, constraints to implementation exist. Policies are "reinterpreted in the local context" (Fataar, 2007).

If we turn to Life Orientation as it was mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was somewhat controversial as a learning area (Chisholm, 2005). Many however consider it as very important, for its possible role in orienting learners about diversity, respect for each other's values and norms, etc. The importance of teachers understanding diversity in their classrooms, developing trust between themselves and their learners, presenting the learning area in an interesting and engaging way, and training teachers and school personnel in ways of creating cohesion among learners of diverse backgrounds were recommended (Prinsloo, 2007). According to Ferguson and Roux, school circumstances, background and training of teachers, quality of in-service training and teachers' attitudes towards diversity will contribute to the success or failure of teaching Life Orientation (Ferguson & Roux, 2003). Edna Rooth emphasises that in addition to trained teachers, there is a need for the proper use of time allocated to the learning area. She further explains the other obstacles such as large class size, overuse of the transmission method of teaching, unfamiliarity with assessment procedures and scarcity of resources should be addressed to improve teaching Life Orientation (Rooth, 2005).

Conclusion

The change in the political system in South Africa needed a reform of the education system to match the new ideology of equality and social justice. In 1998, Outcome Based Education (OBE) was introduced in South African schools and within a few years a review process started and resulted in the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) of 2002. The reform and its implementation were challenged in different ways.

Resistance from different interest groups and criticism by academicians were among the challenges confronting the reform. The implementation process of Life Orientation as well as other learning areas faced both internal and external problems. Both the shortage of resources and knowledge of the new

learning areas and how they should be implemented exposed teachers to new challenges. As some researchers indicate, limited engagement of teachers in the reform process was one of the major causes for resistance towards the new curriculum. The training of teachers during apartheid was based on values that conflicted with the new working process. The apartheid education system was based on a teacher-centred approach with a focus on summative assessment, and the new reform changed this to a learner-centred approach and a focus on formative assessment. New terminologies such as outcome based, assessment, assessment standards, learner, learning areas, etc. were not easy for teachers to get used to overnight. The movement of learners mainly from townships brought in diverse cultures and languages to some previously monocultural and monolanguage schools. This was one of the new challenges facing teachers in these schools.

The introduction of new ideology, new concepts and new working methods could influence teachers' understanding and interpretation of the contents of the curriculum. Those teachers who did not have their teacher education in post apartheid years could obviously be exposed to difficulties. Orienting themselves to the new curriculum, new guidelines, new textbooks, etc. and following up the rapid change in society with no or a very limited help could constrain their work.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will consider theoretical frameworks that will be used to look into the South African school system in general and the classroom reality in particular. The concepts of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction will be used to analyse the apartheid and post-apartheid education systems. The frame system with its components goal, frame and formal rule systems (Ulf P Lundgren, 1979) will be used when studying school organisation. With the help of the theory of pedagogic devices, I will reflect generally on curriculum production, contextualising and reproduction (Basil Bernstein, 1996/2000). Bernstein's distribution, contextualising and evaluation concepts will also be used. His concepts of frame and classification as well as regulative and instructional discourses will be used in the classroom context.

Construction, Deconstruction and Reconstruction

According to some academicians (e.g. Christie, 2006) the post-apartheid education system was mainly a product of reforming and restructuring the apartheid education system. The system constructed under apartheid was not radically deconstructed. One could agree with this idea as far as structure and organisation are concerned. To just take one example from schools I visited, the schools were referred to as primary schools as they were under apartheid. Today, they are supposed to have Foundation Phase (Grades R-3) and Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6). According to the new curriculum, they should have been referred to as Foundation Phase and Intermediate Phase schools. But in addition to still being referred to as primary schools, they also still keep grade 7, which according to the new curriculum should belong to a Senior Phase (Grades 7-9) of compulsory school.

The situation in South Africa can be explained in construction, deconstruction and reconstruction terms (Garrison, 2003). During apartheid, an isolationist, racist and undemocratic ideology was constructed. The new system, decon-

structed the old dogmatic race-based principles and constructed/reconstructed a democratic and inclusive ideology.

Paula Rothenberg, in an article on race and gender construction in the United States writes, "The construction of differences is central to racism, sexism and other forms of oppression…" (Rothenberg, 1990: 42). In South Africa, the apartheid system developed from the construction of differences; differences that were mainly based on race but also on culture and religion.

Long before the legalisation of apartheid, by different means the ideology of "We" and the "Others" was promoted. The Dutch settlers categorized of themselves and the other inhabitants. This categorization stated that "We" are human beings while the "others" are sub-human; "We" are civilized while the "Others" are barbaric; "We" are Christians while the "others" are heathen; and so on.

They also believed that because of all our differences "We" are better in every aspect and that "We" are the superior race. So as a superior and civilized race, "We" deserve all the privileges first-class citizens deserve. The "others" should be treated as inferior and should be kept away from these benefits. These justifications even extended to legitimizing their right to use the labour of the "others" for their benefit.

All the societal organisations, the economic, political and social sectors were organised around these principles of allowing and denying benefits to people based on racial categorization. In the economic sector, the Whites were the "bass" (Afrikaans term for a boss) who led the work, while the "others" were given inferior positions such as doing manual or unskilled work. In the political arena, it was believed that the "others" were incapable of taking responsibility for themselves and because of this, they were administered by White rulers. In the social sector the "others" were restricted from both mixing with the Whites and using the same facilities.

The apartheid ideology was constructed based on the belief that dividing people on the basis of the colour of their skin and providing more benefits for one group and less for others. The Whites, the Coloureds, the Asians and Blacks were provided privileges according to the given order. The change of regime as a result of the first democratic and inclusive election in 1994 forced the new South African government to confront the problems created by this ideology and its resulting divided organisations.

One of the new regime's major tasks was to deconstruct what had been constructed on the basis of racist ideology. This deconstruction focused on economic, political, social and other sectors of society.

The ideological basis of apartheid was confirmed through laws and other legal decisions. In addition to these texts, various elements in the state apparatus were established to reinforce them. Accordingly, the deconstruction focused both on texts and institutions that were used to enforce them.

Those who deconstruct a text have the ethical responsibility of reconstructing them (Janks, 2005). It was not enough in post-apartheid South Africa to only remove the old racist laws. The new government took responsibility for re/constructing a new constitution and polices instead of the previous ones in an attempt to build a nation with equal rights for all its population, including previously excluded groups.

Apartheid education policies and the curriculum were also deconstructed and reconstructed in a way that suited the new democratic system. Its racist and isolationist contents were replaced by contents that reflected respect for the rights of all citizens and integration of different groups. Its organisational form was also improved, from divided and split weak entities to one national system with provincial and local branches.

The re/construction of a new system took place both at the policy and implementation stages. The policy level was quite successfully re/constructed by enacting laws and providing a curriculum that emphasised democratic values[8]. But the practical implementation in the last decade and half did not lead to equality among different groups. There are inequalities when it comes to material resources, manpower and other facilities needed for implementing the curriculum.

The Frame Factors Theory

Instead of starting direct with the frame system, I would like to mention the major functions of education and teaching as presented by Lundgren. The two

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[8] In 2001, the Department of Education published a document entitled "Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy". The document discussed in detail the ten values of the constitution and their significance for education. The values given in the document were democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, Ubuntu (human dignity), an open society, accountability (responsibility), the rule of law, respect, and reconciliation (DoE, 2001).

functions of education are qualification of labour and social reproduction. The two functions of teaching are given as qualification of learners and social reproduction. In the case of the social reproduction functions of education, Lundgren mentions increased self control and learning of social values (Lundgren, 1977; 1983).

Concerning curriculum development, he discusses two arenas, the formulation arena and the realization arena (Lundgren, 1983; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). Between the two arenas there is the transforming and mediating arena (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). These are similar to Bernstein's concepts production, contextualization and reproduction (Bernstein, 1996/2000; Singh, 2002), with some differences between the transforming and mediating arena and recontextualisation.

In relation to curriculum, Lundgren discusses production, reproduction and pedagogy. He states that in general, production includes both mental and manual work. He further discuses reproduction as follows,

> Social reproduction consists of processes through which the existing material base and existing culture are reproduced, the reproduction of knowledge, skills and values, and the reproduction of labour power in a broad sense. Upbringing and instruction are transmission process by means of which culture is reproduced and transmitted to the next generation. The way in which pedagogic transmission forms a gestalt is of course connected with the economic, social and cultural structure…The reproduction of knowledge and skills for production is intimately and inextricably interwoven with the re-creation of the cultural values and ideas which are essential for moral upbringing (Lundgren, 1983, 11).

In a society where there are common values respected by the majority of its citizens, the education system plays a major role in preserving these values and reproducing them. As apartheid's values were despised by most of the population, there was no interest in reproducing these values. Instead, the new education system, emphasised equality, inclusivity and respect for the right of all citizens. Through the education system, these new principles will hopefully be targets for future reproduction.

But on the other hand, at present there is reproduction of aspects of the old system. The elites are sending their children to the elite schools and the poor, who cannot afford to pay, send their children to schools with poor facilities and less well-trained manpower. Even if apartheid is not reproducing itself as such,

the reproduction of differences at the family, group and socioeconomic class level persists.

The society is being transformed from skin colour-based segregation to economic, social and cultural segregation. Those with economic, social and cultural capital/resources reproduce themselves (Bernstein, 1996/2000; Bourdieu and Passeran, 2000). These inequalities are observable in schools.

Generally speaking, the steering of the education system takes different forms. It is possible to explain it in terms of Lundgren's legal, economic, ideological and evaluation systems (Lundgren, 1990). The government legislates school laws and supports schools economically based on the criteria it developed to determine their needs. The constitution of the country, different policies and curricula established the educational ideology of the country. The school authorities are involved in evaluation via school supervision. In addition to the supervision in Outcomes Based Education (OBE), achievements of the learners are evaluated using different assessment standards (Taylor, 2008). An evaluation system is built into both the pedagogical and the administrative systems.

The implementation of the change in educational systems can be explained in terms of Lundgren's goal, frame and formal rule systems (Lundgren, 1979). These systems are summarized as follows:

> The goal system includes the concrete consequences of a specific curriculum i.e. the syllabus, recommendations for teaching, teaching materials, textbooks, etc.
>
> The frame system includes everything that constrains the teaching process that is determined outside teaching. This would include physical equipment such as rooms, organisational arrangements such as size of school and class, ability grouping, time available for teaching, etc.
>
> The formal rule system includes regulations of a legislative nature concerning the duties of the teacher such as marking systems and rules concerning the employment of teachers, such as the required number of lessons per week, and demands on competency (ibid. 40-41).

Below, we can see how Lundgren links the three systems with three "main concepts" relevant in the implementation of education policy (ibid).

Curriculum ──────────► goal system
Administrative apparatus ────► frame system
Judicial apparatus ──────► formal rule system
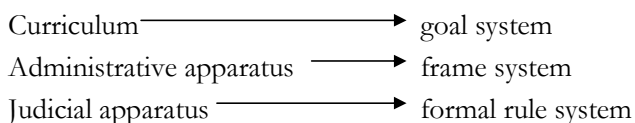
If we start with the goal system, in South African schools there are assessment standards, guidelines for teaching and teaching materials. Among these materials, there were textbooks for teaching leadership qualities and voting. As an explanation of the frame system there are different types of physical appearances of schools, and the qualities and sizes of their classrooms varied considerably. Time allocations for different programmes were stated in the recent policy documents (RNCS, 2002) but the actual time used varied from school to school. The demands for formal qualifications and a code of conduct for teachers can be a part of the formal rule system in the implementation process. The determination of working hours and the guidelines provided for assessment could be considered as part of this system.

The reality of South African and Swedish schools where this theory was developed is in many ways different. But by using the frame factor theory it is possible to investigate the organisation of the South African schools I studied. In the following section I will discuss Bernstein's theory of pedagogic devices.

The Pedagogic Devices

To understand the education system and classroom reality, I will use Basil Bernstein's theory on pedagogic devices. Bernstein refers to what he calls the distributive and evaluative rules. He then also discusses production and reproduction fields. In both rules and fields, recontextualisation is used between the policy and the implementation levels (Bernstein, 1996/2000).

According to him, the rules have the following functions:

> First, the function of the distributive rules is to regulate the relationships between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice. Distributive rules specialise forms of knowledge, forms of consciousness and forms of practice to social groups. Distributive rules distribute forms of consciousness through distributing different forms of knowledge.

> Second, recontextualising rules regulate the formation of specific pedagogic discourse.

> Third, evaluative rules constitute any pedagogic practice. Any specific pedagogic practice is there for one purpose: to transmit *criteria*. Pedagogic practice is, in fact, the level which produces a ruler for consciousness… (Bernstein, 1996/2000, 28).

He says about *fields* as follows:

> …Originally I distinguish between three fields, each with their own rules of access, regulation, privilege and specialised interests: a field of *production* where new knowledge was constructed; a field of *reproduction* where pedagogic practice in school occurred; a field, in between, called the *recontextualising* field. Activity in this field consisted of appropriating discourses from the field of production and transforming them into pedagogic discourse… (ibid.113).

In an article on this subject, Parlo Sing (2002) states that the rules and fields are hierarchically related. He explains that recontextualisation rules are derived from distributive rules and evaluative rules are derived from recontextualisation rules. He further clarifies that the field of recontextualisation is derived from the field of production and the field of reproduction is derived from the field of recontextualisation (Sing, 2002, 573-574).

In the recontextualising field there is official recontextualising (OR) and pedagogical recontextualising (PR). The state will try to control recontextualisation by means of an Official Recontextualising Field (ORF), which is "…created and dominated by the state for the construction and surveillance of state pedagogic discourse." (Bernstein, 1996/2000, 115). But those involved in the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF) resist it and struggle for autonomy in their field of work. This also hinders the state's monopoly on curriculum production (Apple, 2000). The evaluative rules mainly focus on acquisition of the pedagogical practices. The evaluative rules are concerned with what counts as valid regulative and instructional discourses, which I will discuss below.

Bernstein discusses rules of social order, which he calls regulative discourse. He says that it "…refers to the forms that hierarchical relations take in the pedagogic relations and to expectations about conduct, character and manner…". The other order he mentions is discursive order, which he calls an instructional discourse. He says it "…refers to selection, sequence, pacing and criteria of the knowledge…". According to him, among the two discourses, regulative discourse is the dominant one (Bernstein 1996/2000, 13). Morais explains it further as follows:

> Bernstein's theory establishes that pedagogic discourse is made up of two discourses: regulative discourse (RD), and instructional discourse (ID). RD is a discourse of order which translates the dominant values of society and regulates

the form of how knowledge is transmitted. ID is a discourse of competence that refers to what is transmitted. The two discourses are incorporated in such a way that RD always dominates ID (Morais, 2002, 560).

The South African education system could be discussed by using these concepts. If we, for example, look at the hierarchies, the producers of the curriculum are positioned above the reproducers. The experts working on drafting the curriculum and the parliament deciding on laws are positioned at a higher level. Those working in the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF), such as the ministry and department of education with the responsibility for facilitating the execution of policies, because of their strategic position in the middle, and because of their power, they are also positioned above the reproducers, the teachers in schools.

The reproducers on the other hand are not completely powerless. The reproducers in the school systems, the teachers, control the acquirers (learners). In the classrooms it is clear there are different rules and regulations to be followed to facilitate the teaching programme and also teachers determine the content and sequence of knowledge to be transmitted. More emphasis is placed on the rules and regulations to be followed; it is the regulative discourse (RD) that dominates the instructional discourse (ID).

Various problems are related to the strict regulative discourses. The teaching and learning process needs a relaxed environment. Morais in the above article notes that "Bernstein repeatedly argued that 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…" (ibid). In addition to allowing control over a part of their time, successful learning also requires the interest and motivation of learners.

In general terms, to explain how subjects are handled by teachers and the relationship between teachers and learners, Bernstein has developed pedagogic codes. These codes are divided into Classification and Framing. Classification, which represents power is divided into collection code and integrated code. Framing, which expresses level of control, is divided into strong and weak forms (Bernstein, 1971, 1990, 1996/2000). As indicated earlier, weak classification, integrated learning codes and weak framing contribute to better learning (ibid., 1996/2000).

Conclusion

In this chapter, different concepts are introduced to look into the education system in general and the classroom reality in particular. The concepts construction, deconstruction and reconstruction are used to clarify what happened to the education system in the transition from the apartheid to the post-apartheid period. As indicated earlier, the construction of differences is what leads to different discriminative situations. A system constructed on the basis of isolating of different groups from each other was deconstructed and a new democratic and inclusive system was re/constructed. Even if there are different prerequisites for learners with different socio-economic backgrounds, the new education system promises to treat each and every learner equally.

Education is not only about acquiring academic or theoretical knowledge. It is also about knowledge for production, reproduction and for giving qualifications to learners. The South African school system considers both material and non-material production. Learners are prepared to join the future labour force and they are also oriented towards acquiring new norms and values based on the idea of the post-apartheid curriculum.

Norms and values of apartheid, which legitimised inequalities, are transformed into class-based inequalities. Schools reproduce the socio-economic classes of the society. This reproduction could include both the culture and language of the different population groups of the society.

In this chapter, a foundation is laid for further discussion and understanding of the school organisation by means of the frame factor theory. The goal, frame and formal rule systems will give a glimpse of the school context. This will be helpful in further discussion of the classroom where leadership qualities and voting was taught as a theme.

Pedagogic device and other related concepts will be used to get an idea of different pedagogical processes. They help in understanding different levels of curriculum development as well as interrelations between them. They will also help us to understand the relationships between production, contextualisation and reproduction as well as between distribution, contextualisation and evaluation.

The concept of classification will be helpful to determine whether the curriculum for South African schools, specifically for Life Orientation, is based on collection or integrated code. The collection code strictly confines itself to

using content from the given learning area alone. Integrated code, on the other hand, can take relevant and proper content from other learning areas.

The concept of frame will help in investigating whether the lessons follow strong or weak framing. When lessons follow strong framing, the teacher is the authority learners listen to in order to gain knowledge. When the frame is weak, learners are given space to come up with their own ideas, comments and questions. Weak framing facilitates a basis for better learning.

CHAPTER 4

METHOD

As was indicated in the introduction chapter, this study focuses on understanding, interpreting and teaching the social development outcome of Life Orientation in four South African classrooms. In the social development outcome, the focus was on assessment standard, leadership qualities and voting. The preconditions for implementation and the implementation process in different school environments will be targeted. The data will provide information on how Life Orientation was taught in the schools studied. The study further looks at possibilities and constraints in the implementation process.

In this chapter, the methods I used to conduct my empirical study and how I gained access to the field are highlighted. The chapter also briefly discusses limitations and ethical issues. The implications of my presence in the context for the results of the study and experiences gained will also be presented.

Methodology

In this study, an ethnographic approach was used. The study used participant observations; digital audio recordings of lessons; photographing of classrooms, schools and the surrounding area and interviews. In addition to the methods mentioned, documents related to the topic of the study were copied and collected from different sources. Informal conversations were recorded in the form of reflective field notes completed after leaving the schools.

A qualitative strategy was employed in order to closely follow the practice of teachers and learners. Through participant observation I was able to follow-up the regular routines of lessons given. Audio recording helped me to capture the information I might miss while crossing observation schemes and taking field notes. In addition to recording, crossing scheme and writing field notes, I also took pictures.

The photographs were taken to visually record teaching materials on classroom walls, furniture in the classroom, and the classroom and school environment. The pictures were used in the process of analysing classroom and

school settings. They were also used for comparison of the material resources available in different classrooms and schools.

More teachers were interviewed than the four observed. All third grade teachers who were teaching Life Orientation in these four schools were considered. Including more participants contributed to variation in both experiences and opinions.

To investigate historical developments, rules and regulations and educational views, various documents were consulted. The policy, the guidelines for teachers and teaching materials were widely referred to and included in the dissertation. In general, the use of these documents and different research instruments mentioned earlier to approach the same phenomena from various angles was important. It is possible to argue that triangulation provides better information than the use of a single method (Bryman, 2004; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

Before undertaking the study, the number of schools and classrooms were needed to be decided on. After my visits to South Africa and discussions with persons in the field of education, I realised that there existed very different social environments that categorise the society and its schools. This made it necessary to include at least four schools.

Despite the efforts to alleviate poverty and integrate different groups, most people still live in poverty and in the same area as before. It is common that people still reside in areas segregated by colour as well as sending their children to schools where most of learners have the same skin colour. In addition, the old apartheid division of race was still being used for the purpose of keeping statistics 16 years after the end of apartheid.

My study took into consideration the three major population groupings, the Black, the White and the Coloured. One more category, South Africans with an Asian background could have been included but this group was not as large as the others. According to an estimate by Statistics South Africa, the Africans (Black) accounted for 79.3%, Coloured 9.0%, Indian/Asian 2.6% and Whites 9.1% of the total population (Statistics South Africa, 2009). Further, the Indian/Asian group was less visible in the province where I conducted the study. However, there were learners with Asian backgrounds in the schools covered by the study.

The classes I observed consisted of the three race groupings and one mixed class. Even if one cannot in a statistical sense generalise findings from this minor sample, it is possible to see similar realities and similar schools in other parts of the country. Because of the heritage of apartheid, there are several schools dominated by Black, White, Coloured or Indian/Asian learners. At present, there are some schools with mixed groups of learners. Mixed group of learners in a school or classrooms is an urban phenomenon, in Black population dominated rural areas it is unrealistic to look for this pattern. In the urban centres of the country, the general patterns of school organisation are very similar to the schools covered in this study.

Access to the Schools

I was in South Africa between September and October 2007, mid-October to December 2008 and January to the end of April 2009. The purpose of the visits was to collect policy documents, interview teachers and observe lessons in classrooms.

In 2007, I undertook a preliminary survey in the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape provinces of South Africa. I called this a preliminary survey, because it was the first assessment trip to get a general impression. After my preliminary survey, I decided to conduct my pilot study and fieldwork in the Eastern Cape Province.

In 2008, I conducted a pilot study in three schools in the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan area. The pilot study was planned to first of all let me get used to school environments in the area and establish contact with teachers and learners. It was also used to test my research instruments, mainly observation schemes and interview guides.

In 2009, I conducted my fieldwork, observed lessons, completed observation guides, took field notes and interviewed teachers. Two of the four schools were new for me while two had also been visited during the pilot study. At the start of my fieldwork, I had already established contact with teachers in the two schools I had visited during the pilot study. I also gradually built up a good working relationship with the teachers of the two other schools.

During the pilot study and main fieldwork in Nelson Mandela Metropolitan, I was given much support by the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). As one of the Professors at the Faculty of Education had

got to know about my project during his visit to the Faculty of Education at the University of Gothenburg earlier, he was supportive of my work.

For the pilot study, after discussing potential schools to visit, I decided on three schools for two full day visits at each school. A covering letter from the faculty of education, to which was attached my explanation of what I wanted to do (Appendix 4), was sent to these schools. They responded positively to the request and this led to visiting them as planned.

When I had decided to continue my main study in these three schools, I sent another letter (Appendix 5) to the principals of the schools I had visited earlier to request their cooperation and to one more school in order to have different social contexts. One of the three schools I visited during my pilot study in 2008 declined to accommodate me in 2009. The reason given was a busy work schedule for the term to come. In addition to the two schools from the pilot studies who agreed to accommodate me, I asked two more schools and they responded positively to the request. Accordingly, four schools agreed to help me for the coming term.

Permission was needed from the District Department of Education to conduct studies in schools. I asked for permission to visit the four schools at the end of 2008 and soon afterwards I received their positive reply. The letter of permission included instructions for me to observe the standard ethical rules and regulations and requested school principals to co-operate in facilitating my work.

In the meantime, I needed to have ethics clearance from the Faculty of Education at NMMU. The Faculty of Education reviewed my plans, interview guides and observation scheme. After the documents had been reviewed, the faculty issued me with ethical clearance.

The contact with schools was well handled and the ethical clearance and permit papers for visiting schools were issued in good time. Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University's professional and administrative staff helped to facilitate the procedures. The district department of education issued the permit to visit schools.

The Interview and Observation Processes

In this section, I will present the major empirical data collection methods, interviews and participant observation. In addition to the major data collection methods, picture taking, field notes and document gathering will be included.

Participant observation: The focus of the study was on four classrooms in four different schools (one classroom per school). Observations of lessons designed and taught by teachers were recorded in different forms. The focus was on Foundation Phase in the grade three Life Orientation learning area in the Life Skills programme.

A minimum of four lessons and a maximum of seven lessons were observed in all the four participating classrooms. The number of observations per classroom was determined by the themes for the lessons and accessible times for visits. All the lessons were on Life Orientation, but in one class, one or two lessons were not specifically devoted to Social Development outcomes.

To be able to keep records of what I observed, I used an observation scheme developed for this study. The observation scheme was divided into four major themes: content, pedagogy, the role of educators and of learners. I also made notes of some events in the class to later on elaborate them better and write them down. As most of the observation occasions were in the earlier part of the day, afternoons were reserved for writing down the notes on the day's observations.

Interviewing: In the four schools visited, 14 teachers of grade three were interviewed. In two of the schools, there were four grade three teachers, in another school three, and in the fourth only two. To keep the numbers in balance, I added one second grade teacher in the last school. This last teacher had the same qualifications as her other colleagues.

Due to technical problems one of the interviews was recorded only for the first few minutes and the rest was missing. When I discovered this, I went back to the teacher and apologised for what had happened and requested another interview. She agreed and I interviewed her again.

In four cases, interviews were conducted in a corner of a classroom while teachers were watching their learners who had been given assignments. The other interviews were conducted in a separate room on a one-to-one basis. The interview questions were similar in all the interviews and took between 15 to 30 minutes. The interview questions were divided into five major parts dealing with general questions, contents of the Social Development outcomes, the teaching methods, and the assessment procedures and working relations between different actors.

In the interview process, when an interviewee did not respond directly to the question asked, further explanations were given. When they gave some new information, further probes for clarification were made.

After I had completed my interviews, I transcribed the recorded material and gave it back to the teachers to look at. They were told to feel free to delete or add to the text before they approved it for my use. I got back materials relating to 12 of the interviews. One teacher read it and approved what was written there, but lost the material. Another teacher was sick and was not at school to give me feedback.

I tried to get in touch with the sick teacher, but as her situation was serious, it was not easy to talk to her. Her colleagues thought it would be all right for me to use her material and they were sure she would have confirmed it if she had been there. Not because of their encouragement, but because of my knowledge that there were no controversial issues in her interview material, I used it along with the other interviews that were approved by the interviewees.

One of the teachers completely edited the language. Other teachers made some grammatical corrections and deleted words that are usually used in speech rather than in writing (Such as "you know", "you understand", etc.).

Recording: I decided to record the whole lessons using a digital voice recorder. After the first recording, I was doubtful whether I wanted to proceed with it because of the unsatisfactory recording quality but as there was no disadvantage, I decided to continue recording.

In one of the schools, the teacher used the learners' mother tongue, IsiXhosa. She explained to me what the topic of the day was about before she started. At the end of every lesson, she also gave me a short summary in English of the day's lesson. After the end of my visits to this school, an IsiXhosa speaking person at the university translated the recorded lessons from this class for me. This translation of the material into English helped me to get the details of the discussions in the class.

Photography: To be able to recall the school environment and some specific activities of learners and teachers, I took pictures both in the school compound and in the classrooms. The chairs, tables and other facilities in the classrooms were photographed. The walls had a lot of information about the lessons, so they were also photographed.

Textbooks and other documents: During my fieldwork I closely examined textbooks used by different teachers to instruct 3rd grade learners. After finding out what textbooks were used, I often read them to find out more about their contents. School laws, policy documents, curriculum materials, guidelines, and other diverse materials were collected from different officials as well as from homepages on the Internet.

Ethical Considerations

As mentioned earlier, to undertake this study, I requested ethics clearance which was provided by the Faculty of Education at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). I commenced my work with an understanding of my responsibility to protect participants and respect their right to "privacy", "respect" and "self-determination" (Murphy & Dingwall, 2001). In addition to this, I was aware in the later stage of my work that a researcher assumes an "interpretative authority" (ibid.), which can limit the authority of participants.

The research was not undertaken for the purpose of merely describing the teaching and learning events and environments. The researcher describes, interprets and analyses. In the process, the researcher takes responsibility for her/his own description, interpretation and analysis.

To ensure the anonymity of the schools, I used acronyms and later on numbers. I subsequently ended up giving them pseudonyms. These are given below in alphabetic order:

Hills Water

Magnificent Campus

St. Mary

Whales Bay

Initially, each teacher's first name was written on some notes and I soon started to use acronyms. In the later stages, they were represented by numbers and finally by letters of the alphabet. In chapter 8, they are presented by using the letters A, B, C and D under the pseudonym of their schools. To be able to remember who was who, specially coded files with keys were created and kept separate from the other documents.

When giving interview materials back to teachers to look at, I delivered transcripts by hand to each one of them. In the absence of one teacher, another teacher offered to give it to her colleague. I asked for an empty envelope, put the

paper in and sealed it before I gave it to her. In another school, when a teacher offered to help by handing the written interview materials to her colleagues, I told her that I preferred to do it myself and she took me to the three classrooms where they were teaching and I handed the transcripts to them in person.

During my stay in the schools, I had a meeting with the principals to get general information about their school from them. Here, also I tried not to comment on any information from teachers or vice-versa. On one occasion a teacher knew I was going to see the principal and she wondered if I would tell him her opinion on some matters and I promised that any discussion between us would remain between us. I assured her that in my text, the information would be used anonymously. In general during the fieldwork, when processing the data gathered and presenting the results, I attempted to adhere to the required ethical standards.

My Presence in Schools and in Classrooms

In the classrooms, it was possible that my presence could be regarded as a disruption. Some teachers were stressed by the presence of a stranger watching what they were doing. Other teachers made efforts to demonstrate their skill as a teacher.

On one occasion, a teacher in Hills Water told a colleague that she was helping "an overseas guest". In Magnificent Campus, the principal gave reasons for why his staff should help me. He told to the staff, "we must help this African brother".

Being "an overseas guest" and being received as "an African brother" were both to my advantage. I interpreted the first remark as the teacher's willingness to help someone who came from far away to learn about their practice. The second remark could be interpreted, as the principal telling his staff that I am one of them and that they could let me into their workplace, cooperate with me and help me with what I wanted to know.

Although all the staff had been informed by the principals about the reason for my presence in each school, there were misunderstandings. For instance, in Magnificent Campus, I heard some administrative staff referring to me as the "Professor". In the same school, another administrative staff called me "the international consultant".

In Whales Bay, one of the children came up to me and asked: "What are you doing with the pictures you are taking?" I explained to him that I was taking pictures to remind myself of how things looked in the school. I told him that after I had been away for some time, I might forget some important details that would be preserved in the pictures. The boy sounded satisfied with the reply and walked away without any further questions.

When a teacher in a class I was observing suddenly needed to leave the class to answer a phone, for a short meeting or to greet a learner's parent who had just dropped in for a short visit, I was asked to take responsibility for the class for a while. In most cases it was all right. But as the learners became aware that I did not have the authority of their teacher, some got up and started going around talking to friends, to sing and to dance, which they would not have done in the presence of the regular teacher. On such occasions I usually asked them to go back to their seats and continue their work. Some of them would listen and go back to their work, while others ignored my request.

I answered spontaneous questions from both teachers and learners. In St. Mary and Whales Bay, I was given time to talk to learners. Learners from 3rd grade in Whales Bay asked me to teach about parts of the body because they had been given assignments to work on it and I gave an amateur lesson. These learners and the class from St. Mary also asked me about my origin. In both classes I explained about my birth place and where I was living as well as what I was working with at the time.

There were times when teachers asked me to help them distribute texts to learners. I agreed to their request and helped them. During an election exercise in the classrooms, I participated in distributing voting papers, and in some classes I helped teachers and learners in counting the results of elections.

Participating in different activities enabled me to learn more about teachers and learners. Through their curiosity both learners and teachers also got the chance to get to know me. I believe participation in activities and knowing each other basically contributed positively to the study, creating a more open environment for discussions.

Experiences in the Process

When I was in South Africa at the end of 2008, I received consent from the four schools that agreed to accommodate me. My expectations were to start my work

as soon as the school term began in 2009. I had been to schools and talked to principals, teachers and children on many occasions, but my schedule could not start as planned. Later, I learned that at the beginning of the year, schools needed a lot of time to warm up before beginning their regular programmes.

At two schools, the principals promised to call me back to tell me when to come; at another school, a teacher promised to phone me as soon as programmes were ready; in the fourth school, I was given a later appointment. As there was not any response, after some weeks I phoned all the principals to remind them that I was waiting. For a short while, I doubted that the research was going to be possible at all.

Through the principals, I finally started getting connected to the responsible teachers in grade three. I then started to feel things were moving. Let me mention some of the situations I encountered.

At Hills Water, I was told that because the Social Development aspect of Life Skills would be taught in the next term, it was difficult for them to help me. But if I wanted to observe other aspects of Life Skills to be taught during the term, I was welcome to attend.

I accepted the offer to be in the class and observed other aspects of Life Skills during the term, while also negotiating with the teacher to help me with the two or three sessions at the beginning of next term. The second term started on 15 April and I had the opportunity to observe three lessons on social development outcome before I left on the 29th of April.

At Magnificent Campus, after my meeting with the principal and after having been introduced to the whole staff, we agreed with the teacher responsible for the class I was going to study that I would come for the first time on a certain day. On the morning of the appointed day, the principal phoned me and told me to postpone my visit. The reason was a taxi[9] strike and many of the learners were not there. He estimated that no more than 30 to 40% of the learners were at school.

At St. Mary, the principal welcomed me from the very beginning. But the teacher responsible wanted to negotiate a shorter time and less coverage of topics. We agreed to leave out the topic on Flag and National Anthem.

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[9] Here, minibuses with about 10 seats are referred to as taxis.

One of the days when I appeared at the gate of the classroom for my observations, the above-mentioned teacher told me that she had looked for my mobile number to tell me she was going to a meeting, but she could not find it. She asked me if I could come on another day instead of that day. I agreed and left and returned on the day she preferred to meet me.

In Whales Bay, both the deputy principal and the teachers wanted me to make my observations in grade five. The possible reason could have been that some grade five teachers were more willing to accommodate me. As I had sent many papers and explained my plans, I thought that what I wanted and which class was the target for observation was clear. After some discussion, I was given an appointment to come back.

During this later visit, it was agreed that I would observe one 3rd grade class. In my discussion with 3rd grade teachers, teachers responsible for four 3rd grade classes thought it was unfair that I was planning to go to only one class (instead of moving around). I pointed out that if it was going to be a problem for them to accommodate me, I was prepared to leave to find another school instead. After a discussion among themselves, they agreed that I could work with the assigned teacher.

On the occasion of my second scheduled observation in this school, the teacher was not present. Without notifying the principal or me (who had an appointment with her) she had gone on a private errand. On the next occasion when we met, she told me the day's lesson would be given by another teacher in another 3rd grade class. I protested and told her that, in line with our agreement, I wanted to observe the lesson given to her class. After an explanation of my insistence and some renegotiating, I observed the day's lesson as she had arranged it. So, that day I observed another class during a lesson related to the Flag and National Anthem. But for the remaining sessions, I stayed in her class.

I imagine that this school (Whales Bay) with Black learners and teachers might have had some protest culture against injustice during apartheid. Protests could be against anything that was considered unfair. 3rd grade teachers in the school first protested my refusal to observe a 5th grade lesson. When the deputy principal agreed to let me attend one 3rd grade class, the teachers strongly protested that it was unfair that I would be in only one class and that one teacher would take care of me. Instead, they wanted me to go to four different classes.

Experiences from these schools had both negative and positive effects on the study. Time spent, resources wasted and worry caused by cancelled meetings had a negative influence on the study. On the other hand, reaching an agreement through discussions, rearrangement of meetings and accomplishing the work became both an educative and a positive effect on the work.

Methods of Analysis

At the beginning of the fieldwork, electronic folders containing text files were opened for each school with temporarily names assigned. Folder for each school contained files on general information, recorded interviews, transcribed interviews, observation notes and pictures. The maps included categories of files of written materials, voice recordings and pictures.

The general information part contained the basic data on schools visited which were obtained from principals and school administrations. The recorded interviews were transcribed and approved by respondents. While observation notes were filed in the computer, observation schemes were filled in on paper during every lesson and kept in paper files.

The first step in the analysis process was to go through the basic data of each school. The next step was looking at the pictures from each classroom to make an inventory of the material resources of the classrooms observed. This was followed by reading observation notes and listening to recorded lessons from each classroom. Interviews with teachers observed were also listened to and the transcribed version was read. All the interviews with the 14 teachers were treated separately.

After sorting out the facts about each school, they were combined in tables for presentation. The data from the classrooms were used when presenting the setting of each classroom and teachers' and learners' communications. These data were supportive as they provided a frame or background for teachers' understanding of the assessment standard leadership qualities and voting and how it was taught to learners.

Based on the data, each classroom was described separately. In a second step, they were compared to each other on the basis of the educational activities in the classrooms and the material resources available to them. Based on these data, comparisons for similarities and differences were constructed.

The interviews with 14 teachers were first treated individually after which the 3rd grade teachers from the same school were treated as one group. Three steps were considered when analysing these teachers' replies, the individual, third grade teachers from the same school and third grade teachers from the four schools included in the study.

In order to compare the policy and implementation process different documents were reviewed. For further understanding and clarity, materials referring to the history of education in the country, the curricula, guidelines and textbooks were analysed. The analysis considered what happened in the country's education system and in schools.

The materials used in some of the lessons observed for this study were discussed. In some cases, the relationship between choices of textbooks and the choosing teacher's norms and values were analysed. The facts and figures presented in the dissertation followed the above-mentioned logics of analysis.

Conclusion

During the planning stage of this study, I considered video filming the lessons. This would have given me the opportunity to follow-up and analyse expressions, movements and communications. I realised, however, that this was not a common method used for classroom study in South Africa and changed my data collection instrument. Additionally, the processing of ethical clearances and getting permission from each child's parents would have required a longer time.

On the other hand, as my focus was on teachers' understanding, interpretation and teaching of Life Orientation, I would not have gained much more from video filming. Even if all the methods are not equally effective, my document review, participant observations and interviews provided a wealth of information for analysis. The data I gathered through these methods made it possible to answer the research questions posed.

In the schools where I undertook my studies, I went to classes after meeting the principals. In my first visit to a class, I introduced myself and explained what I was going to do in the next few weeks. During breaks, I walked in the school compound and talked to some of the learners. In my next visit to the class, most of the learners usually recognised me and exchanged some words with me.

Teachers' reactions to having an adult observer in their class varied. Some were initially a bit careful about what they said and did. But after some visits they started getting more relaxed and paid less attention to my presence in the classroom. On two occasions, at the end of the lesson, teachers asked me if the tape recorder had been turned off and when they knew it was turned off they started talking. This to some extent shows that teachers appreciate talking "off the record".

At St. Mary, the staff room was open and teachers were welcoming compared to the other schools. Magnificent Campus had also an open staff room to spend time in whether staff members were there or not. At Hills Water, I was invited to the staff room during my last visit. At Whales Bay, teachers usually meet in small groups, for example, 3rd grade teachers used to take their coffee in one of their classrooms. At St. Mary, because of the open staff room and the presence of teachers from all grades at the same time, I had good conversations and exchanges of ideas with the teachers from different grades. In other schools, I usually had conversations with teachers and learners in corridors and outside the classrooms. In general, I conclude that I communicated well with learners, teachers and other school staff in all the schools I visited.

In the following chapter, I will present documents relevant for the school system and implementation of learning areas. These documents include the curriculum, guidelines and teaching support materials. The chapter discusses the goal system.

CHAPTER 5
THE GOAL SYSTEM

What Lundgren classifies as goal systems in his frame factor theory will be the focus of this chapter. Texts concerning the curriculum, guidelines for teachers, textbooks for teaching as well as guidelines for assessment will be considered. I regard the curriculum as a major document with details of the goals to be achieved and teacher's guidelines and the textbooks as instruments to help teachers implement the curriculum. An assessment guideline helps to evaluate the progress of learners in acquiring the approved and transmitted knowledge.

In order to handle these texts stage by stage I would like to consider what Lundgren mentions as three message systems. He presents them by means of a quotation from Bernstein as follows:

> Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught (Bernstein in Lundgren, 1977: 90).

Bernstein in his later works used the term pedagogic device (Bernstein, 2000) when dealing with the curriculum and its implementation at different levels. Here, I will look at them one by one, the curriculum, guidelines for teaching, textbooks and guidelines for assessment.

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS, 2002)

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS, 2002) is divided into eight learning areas. Life Orientation is one of the eight learning areas. It is taught in all the three phases of compulsory school, the Foundation Phase (Grades R-3), Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6) and Senior Phase (Grades 7-9).

Bernstein discusses two types of curriculum, the collection and the integrated (ibid.). Where collection emphasises the isolation of contents of different subjects from each other, integration allows moving over the boundaries of subjects to make use of accessible knowledge. RNCS 2002 in general encourages integration. In the Foundation Phase, each of the three major

programmes – Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills – are primarily formed by the integration of different learning areas. In addition to this, when dealing with a specific theme teachers are encouraged to integrate knowledge available at all levels of the three programmes.

I am interested in lessons on democratic values and citizenship rights given to young learners. These lessons are taught to learners via the Life Skills programme in social development outcomes of Life Orientation. Below, I will look more closely at social development outcome and its assessment standards.

Social Development Learning Outcome (Grade R-3)

The learner will be able to demonstrate an understanding of and commitment to constitutional rights and responsibilities and to show an understanding of diverse cultures and religions.

The Foundation Phase learner should know and exercise rights and responsibilities as guaranteed in the South African Constitution. The learner should be encouraged to recognise and oppose unfair discrimination. Socialisation should include forming strong and healthy relationships with family, friends, school and local communities. Knowledge of diverse religions will contribute to non-discriminatory attitudes to counter and prevent prejudices." (RNCS, Life Orientation, 2002: 9).

The first paragraph (in bold print) uses different verbs and terms. The verb "an understanding" is used on two occasions. In addition, "will be able to demonstrate", "commitment to" and "to show" are also used. The targeted knowledge objects are "constitutional rights" and "diverse cultures and religions".

The next paragraph is detailed and includes greater use of the verb "should" instead of "will" in the first paragraph. Here the verbs used are "should know and exercise", "should be encouraged to recognise and oppose", "should include", "will contribute to" and "to counter and prevent". While the first paragraph assumes showing direction, the second paragraph gives directions about what "should" be done.

In the second paragraph, objects of knowledge are mentioned as "rights and responsibilities as guaranteed in the South African Constitution" and "unfair discriminations". Also mentioned are "socialisation", "healthy relationships",

"and knowledge of diverse religions", "non-discriminatory attitudes and prejudice".

We can see that the second paragraph is more detailed and includes more concepts. The concepts of "rights and responsibilities" are present in both paragraphs. In the first paragraph, understanding is emphasised and in the second one, the focus is on exercising responsibilities. While the first paragraph brings up both diverse cultures and religions, in the second one the concept culture is absent.

The idea of this development outcome was to enable learners to understand both their rights and responsibilities. It also encourages fighting against discrimination, which could be discrimination against oneself or other persons in one's surroundings. It also attaches importance to good relationships with one's own family and the world outside the family.

Special emphasis was placed on understanding diverse religions. As South Africa is a country with diverse religions such as African traditional religions, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Bahaullah and others, knowledge of these religions provides a good foundation for understanding differences based on faith. In two of the classes, issues related to clothing, food traditions, leading figures and important holidays in each religion were discussed. The outcome implies that knowledge leads to less prejudice, and less prejudice to less misunderstanding and unnecessary conflicts. Through knowledge gained from the lessons on this theme, learners are expected to be less prejudiced and more understanding of each others' religion.

Learning Outcome and Assessment Standards for Grade 3

Each learning outcome is assessed against its specific assessment standards. Here the focus is on social development learning outcome and assessment standards for grade 3. Grade 3 was preferred because the learners at this level had completed the earlier grades of this phase and are in the final year of the Foundation Phase. As they are usually between the ages of 8-10, they can comprehend lessons topics, ask questions and agree or disagree about ideas expressed by their peers and teacher. This does not mean they are able to gain all the knowledge they require for their future life. Rather, it is about laying the foundations for more knowledge and experiences. This learning area will

continue to be taught both in the intermediate and senior phases. Table 5.1 gives an overview of social development outcome and its assessment standards of Life Orientation in the Foundation Phase (Grades R-3).

Table 5.1 Social Development: Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards

Learning Outcomes	Assessment Standards			
	We know this when the learner:			
	Grade R	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
Social Development **The learner will be able to demonstrate an understanding of and commitment to constitutional rights and responsibilities, and to show an understanding of diverse cultures and religions.**	Identifies basic rights and responsibilities in the classroom.	Draws up classroom rules and explains school rules and why they should be followed.	Discusses children's rights and responsibilities and participates in classroom voting.	**Explains leadership qualities in the school context and participates in school voting.**
	Recognises the South African flag.	Identifies, draws and colours the South African flag.	Identifies national symbols and sings the National Anthem.	**Explains the meaning of and sings the South African national anthem.**
	Knows members of own family, peers and caregivers.	Explains relationships with members of the family, extended family, school and broader community.	Lists qualities of a good friend and gives reasons.	**Discusses the role of acceptance, giving, forgiving and sharing in healthy social relationships.**
	Listens to and retells a story with a moral value from own culture.	Sequences, pictures of stories with a moral value from a range of South African cultures, including own culture.	Identifies values and morals from diverse South African cultures.	**Tells stories about female and male role models from a variety of local cultures.**
	Identifies and names symbols linked to own religion.	Matches symbols associated with a range of religions in South Africa.	Describes important days from diverse religions.	**Discusses diet, clothing and decorations in a variety of religions in South Africa.**

From the table I constructed based on the curriculum, we can see the gradual move from Reception Year (Grade R) to Grade 3. If we consider the five assessment standards for each grade, as well as from grade to grade, we can understand a move from simpler themes to more complex ones. If we go

horizontally from Grade R to 3, in the first lines, rights, responsibilities, leadership qualities and voting are the themes for assessment. The second line shows the treatment of the South African flag, national symbols and the national anthem. The third line indicates the treatment of themes on relationships with family, friends, school and the community at large. In the 3rd grade, "healthy social relationships" are mentioned. The fourth line looks at stories, moral values, cultures and role models. The fifth line mainly considers different aspects of diverse religions.

When compared with the learning outcomes, where the concepts "unfair discrimination", "non-discrimination" and "prejudices" were mentioned, it is notable that they are not included in the assessment standards. Even if one could understand their relevance and relationship with the culture, "morals", "values" and "role models" are not mentioned in the learning outcomes. Additionally, the flag, national symbols and the national anthem, which are not mentioned in the learning outcome, are included in the assessment standards. As the learning outcome is possibly based on some concentrated concepts, it does not have detailed and action-oriented statements in assessment standards. But it would have been relevant to include themes on "unfair discrimination", "non-discrimination" and "prejudices" in the assessment standard.

Guidelines for Teachers

In this section, I will look at general guidelines for Foundation Phase and specific guidelines for teaching Life Orientation in this phase. The guidelines include both the way of developing programmes, organising lessons and assessment of learners' performance. As was indicated in the document, these guidelines were developed by the national Department of Education in close co-operation with the provincial departments of education (DoE, 2003: 1).

The guidelines are supposed to support teachers in the processes of implementing the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) of 2002. It is indicated in the document that familiarising teachers with the ways the different parts of the curriculum function was very important. The guidelines were also supposed to introduce teachers to new contents and new ways of working. This last point was emphasised by the then Director-General of Education, T.D. Mseleku, in a foreword for the "Teacher's Guide" for Life Orientation as follows:

These Guidelines are geared to assist teachers in accommodating Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards that are prescribed, yet create space and possibilities for the use of judgments and insight based on particular contexts and a diverse learner population. As insights that are informed by practice, research and refinement, emerge from the Guidelines, it is anticipated that over a period of time teachers will develop as curriculum leaders. The majority of teachers within the apartheid education system were not encouraged to be creative, imaginative and lead curriculum development and design. They were controlled followers and were forced to practice through prescription. As a consequence, many teachers were not participants in the exciting process of curriculum development (ibid.).

To more closely examine the guidelines, I used two documents on programme development and assessment. The documents used are:

- "Teacher's Guide for the Development of Learning Programmes, Life Orientation" for compulsory school (Grade R-9).
- "Teacher's Guide for the Development of Learning Programmes" for the Foundation Phase.

Based on these guidelines, I will present below how teachers are working to implement the teaching programmes in the Foundation Phase. The work process at different levels from phase to classroom will be discussed and the level of participation in the planning and its outcomes will be in focus.

Development of Learning Programmes

The two documents above have similar contents. While one of them is for the Foundation Phase, the other one is specifically for Life Orientation in compulsory school (Grade R-9). The first document focuses on how to develop the Learning Programme, the Work Schedule and Lesson Plan. The Learning Programme is to be planned by all teachers in the phase (e.g. Foundation Phase), the Work Schedule by grade teachers (e.g. all teachers for grade 3) and the Lesson Plan by an individual teacher (e.g. a teacher in class 3A). The number of teachers involved successively decreases from Programme to Lesson Plan and the Lesson Plan is designed by one teacher. The components of the programme, schedule and lesson plan can in principle have similarities but differ in the details. While the programme indicates the main areas to be covered, work schedules and lesson plans are more detailed. It is also indicated in the material that the lesson plan could be unique because of the reality in the specific

classroom. Production of a curriculum in the formulation arena is based on the assumption of the reality of the schools in the country but in the realization arena, the teacher needs to adopt the content and form to the reality of the classroom.

According to an example given in the Teacher's Guide for Life Orientation, a programme gives a summary of general information for a phase. It includes the name of the Learning Area, the weeks for different activities, the Learning Outcomes (LO), Assessment Standards and integration with other Learning Area/s.

The Work Schedule is prepared for one grade (e.g. 3rd grade) for a year; it includes information about what to cover each week, including Learning Outcomes, Assessment Standards, resources to be used as well as learning, teaching and assessment contexts and finally, forms of assessment.

The Lesson Plan which is prepared by the class teacher could cover from a single lesson to some weeks. It consists of detailed information about the grade, theme of the lesson and duration. The Learning Outcomes, the Assessment Standards, and the context are included. It also considers linking with the previous lesson and the next lesson. Core knowledge, learning activities, assessment, forms of assessment, resources, expanded opportunities are included in the form for lesson plan, and a column is left for teacher's reflection (Appendix 6).

The figure below shows teachers' involvement in planning and the level of detail of texts produced during this planning. In a school where there are 8 classes with 8 teachers, teaching the Life Skills programme in the Foundation Phase (Grades R-3), all the teachers participate in the planning of the programme. If 2 of the 8 teachers are teaching in grade 3, it is their responsibility to prepare the work schedule. Then each teacher prepares the lesson plan for her/his own class. While Programme and Work Schedule could be concentrated and general, the lesson plan consists of more detailed material to be used in the classroom.

Programme
Work Schedule
Lesson Plan
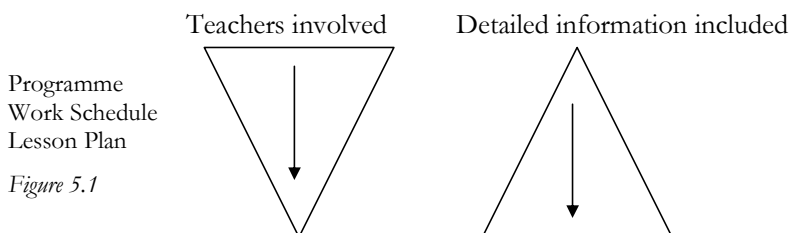
Figure 5.1

General divisions are based on phase, grade and class, the planning is divided into Programmes, Learning Areas, Outcomes and Assessment Standards. In the Foundation Phase, there are three programmes: Life Skills, Literacy and Numeracy. To implement the Life Skills Learning Programme in the Foundation Phase, it is planned at the Programme, Work Schedule and Lesson Plan levels. Life Skills uses Life Orientation as its main Area of Learning.

In the Teacher's Guide for Life Orientation (DoE, 2003), it is especially emphasised that human rights, social relationships and diverse cultures and religions are major issues to be addressed. In the document, the importance of holistic approaches and integration between programmes, learning areas, outcomes and assessment standards is emphasised.

The Guide for Life Orientation provides further information on how to deal with the teaching and learning:

> In Life Orientation it is useful for the teacher to use *experiential* learning and teaching methods. Learning and teaching activities must focus on the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values relevant to functioning effectively in society. The main thrust of Life Orientation is to enhance the *self-in-society*. Instilling Human Rights and promoting environmental and social justice issues will therefore always form the core.

> Lessons should be interactive and stimulate learner interest. It is important for the teacher to be flexible and to always take the needs and realities of learners into account. The learners' needs and experiences form the basis for learning and teaching. Teachers need to encourage reflection and allow for the application of the knowledge and skills learnt. Learners must be made aware of and be taught to respect cultural diversity (ibid, 24).

In the Guidelines, the teacher's role in socializing learners to be well functioning citizens is emphasised. The upbringing of the individual is vital, "enhance the *self-in-society* ". It was also recommended that the learners need and reality should steer the process of the transmission of knowledge, skills, attitude and values. "Instilling human rights and promoting environmental and social justice…" are recommended as contents. The Guidelines instructs teachers to be flexible and to encourage reflection and that the lessons ought to be interactive and stimulating. The correspondence between these guidelines and the actual teaching in the classroom will be studied in later chapters.

Learning and Teaching Support Materials (LTSMs) Review

When it comes to learning and teaching support materials, it is recommended that teachers produce their own materials and collect magazines, newspaper cuttings and other relevant materials from their own surroundings. Teachers are recommended to carefully choose between teaching support materials available in the market and that satisfy the criteria laid down by the provincial department of education (One of the main criteria is their connection with the curriculum). Teaching support materials that fulfil the criteria are included in catalogues and made available for schools. Schools can put in a request for teaching support material and the provincial department of education provides it.

In policy documents in South Africa, the term "Learning and Teaching Support Materials (LTSM)" was used as standard when discussing resources for learning and teaching. The idea behind this could be to indicate their use for both learning and teaching processes and to emphasise the wide range of materials covered for this process. Learning and Teaching Support Materials often include materials produced with the intention of being used in schools as well as other materials produced for general public (Lebru, et al., 2002). Classes visited for this study in addition to textbooks used the Bible, story books, newspapers, magazines and, when they could afford it, CDs and video films produced for the general public.

Even if there are varieties of teaching materials used in schools, this chapter will focus solely on textbooks. Textbooks cannot be regarded as value-neutral documents packed only with information and facts to be taught or transmitted. They contain norms, values and cultural elements. They reflect "…what is counted as legitimate knowledge…" (Apple, 1992:4).

Developing a broad and in-depth understanding of textbooks would require a separate study. Lebrun and co-authors (2002), using various sources, indicate approaches used by different researchers. The first approach was that of using themes such as content, communicative meanings, methods, and material (objects that include usability and costs). The second is ideology, use and development. The third is production, dissemination, use and evaluation. After mentioning areas touched upon by other researchers, they finally provide their own version of what is important when researching textbooks, "…that research must be conducted on three levels: analysis of textbooks and appropriate

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documentation; analysis of social representation of their design, selection and use; and analysis of actual practice." (Lebrun, et al., 2002: 55).

After post-apartheid education reforms and the introduction and review of C2005, a considerable amount of textbooks were produced. These textbooks were produced by private publishers and focused on the different areas. For example, there is a publisher called Heart Line, which produces books that contain primarily Bible stories for children.

There are both local and international publishers, and there are publishers producing books for different subjects as well as for different phases. I would like to investigate learning resources for the Foundation Phase with a focus on the three main programmes, Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills (where Life Orientation is the main learning area). The learning resources are for different grades, but here I only consider materials for grade three.

Among a wide range of textbooks used in schools and available in the market I preferred to consider the "ALL-IN-ONE" series. One of the reasons for considering this series is that it is commonly used in many of the classes I visited. Secondly, it has materials for all the programmes given in the Foundation Phase – Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills. Thirdly, the series has teacher's guides. Fourthly, it is designed to serve the purpose of "Integrated learning programmes".

The basic idea of integrated[10] learning is to cover a theme with materials from different programmes. The focus here is on materials concerning leadership quality and voting in all Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills programmes. The five books that I considered in addition to their titles "ALL-IN-ONE" have a sub title "Integrated learning programmes". One of the five books was the teacher's guide for all three programmes. Two of the books were workbooks and two were combinations of workbooks and readers for learners. In all the books, there were sections on leadership quality and voting.

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[10] As was mentioned earlier, according to Bernstein there are collected and integrated curricula. In the first type, subjects are isolated from each other with pre-determined boundaries. But an integrated curriculum allows knowledge to be used by crossing different borders. Outcomes Based Education (OBE) uses the principles of integrated learning.

In the first part of the discussion about "democracy and our leaders" (Best Books Panel, 2007: Teacher's Guide, 146) under the heading "Election in our country", general election procedures in the country are discussed. On the next page (ibid, 147) under the heading "I discover more about democracy and our leaders", the teacher is asked to display pictures of "a ballot paper, polling booth, people queuing to vote, the state president and some of the cabinet portfolios." It gives a hint that some of the pictures can be obtained from newspapers. It also suggests an activity in which children would make a hat for the "president's garden party". It is stated in the book that the teacher should show how to make the hat and later on the learners should make their own hats on their own.

After the above discussions comes "A Class election". This is presented as a story. A teacher, Miss Mohamed, is telling her learners that she will be away for two days and they need to elect somebody as class leader; she says,

> …you will have to elect somebody tomorrow to be class leader and to see that things go well. You must consider well whom you want to elect. That leader will then pick a few other learners to help him or her. Because you are going to elect your leader yourselves, you must listen to him or her while I am away (ibid, 150).

This example is played out in the book during a break, and learners talked with each other about whom to vote for. A boy called Sifiso promises that if elected he will tell them stories every day. A girl called Marianne promises to bring everybody in the class a packet of sweets everyday. Both ideas are accepted by some and rejected by others. One learner says they cannot listen to Sifiso's stories all day and another one says it is impossible for Marianne to bring sweets every day (they will be elected for two days).

After the break, the learners are given pieces of paper on which to write the name of the person they would vote for and then the teacher collects the pieces of paper and writes the names on these pieces of paper on the blackboard. It says in the book, "… The children elected him (Sifiso) to tell them stories…". He then chooses his two assistants, Sindiswa (a girl), and his best friend, Thonga (a boy), to help him.

The teacher was not in classroom the day after election and things were not good enough because one of the helpers, Thonga was bullying the boys in the class. Then a comment came from one of the learners:

…"Oh," sighs Chris. "Before we elected Sifiso we should have thought about it that his best friend is Thonga, who is a real bully. Now we are stuck with him for two days. Next time I'll think before I choose (ibid, 150).

In the book, there are parts where additional activities, resources, concepts and/or vocabulary and enrichment activities are recommended.

Activities: Here, there is a general point of introducing learning materials and engaging learners in class discussions. In the class discussion section, the text recommends:

> Every school has leaders or prefects. Why? What is their function? By whom were they chosen? When were they chosen? Why were they chosen? And not other learners? Head boy and Head girl – How are they appointed? What characteristics must a leader have? What happens if they aren't good leaders? Construct a flow chart on the board with these questions as headings (ibid, 152).

There is a segment including suggestions on considering a theme about how the leaders of the country are elected. Connected to this is a recommended question for discussion on why it is important to vote and to think before voting. Another recommendation is to discuss what the president does and to show a photo of the state president.

The focus of this study is presented in the activities part as "Election of a Class President". This theme is supposed to cover all the three programmes, Life Skills, Literacy and Numeracy. It recommends the process of an election, step by step. The following steps are recommended in the book:

> Step 1: The learners nominate candidates. …Step 2: The candidates speak to the voters… Step 3: Explain to the learners how a ballot paper is compiled… step 4: Explain the principles of "One man, One vote"… Step 5: The voters "post" their ballots in the ballot box… Step 6: The seal of the ballot box is broken: the votes are counted… Step 7: The teacher who is acting as election official counts the votes (let the voters participate). The result is announced and the winner is announced. Step 8: The new class president now appoints his/her vice-president. Step 9: The class president appoints his ministers (ibid, 152).

The teacher's guide books recommend resources that could be used, concepts that are relevant for the lesson and need to be explained and tips on activities that enrich the election of a class president. Ballot papers, pens, voting booth and ballot box were recommended as resources. Using words such as election, nomination, candidates, vote, voters, result, etc. is also recommended.

The following points were given as hints for enrichment of the election process.

Hint 1: Learners who have been nominated: Paint election posters.

Hint 2: Arrange the classroom like a voting station: polling booth, ballot box, election officers, etc.

Hint 3: Make lapel badges to indicate the portfolios of the "ministers".

Hint 4: If something has to be discussed in class (e.g. the entrepreneurship project), convene a "cabinet meeting" (ibid, 153).

Further recommendations were given as to what could happen following the election of the class president.

Life Skill: the class president appoints a cabinet; ministers can be group leaders or ministers of opening windows, ministers of cleaning the board, ministers of dusting, etc. Such class president elections can take place on a regular basis to develop leadership in the learners. Also rotate the portfolios of the ministers (ibid.).

For integrated learning, useful resources from workbooks and readers could be used. In the Life Skills workbook, cutting out and using Ballot Papers is recommended. In the Numeracy workbook, there are examples about how class votes are analysed by adding and subtracting. There are two short passages to read from a literacy additional language workbook, in which a country's president is visiting the learners' town. In the literacy home language workbook and reader, an election day and the election process are described. According to this text, schools are closed on an election day and a boy can follow his father to the pooling station and see the election process.

The textbooks are closely related to the curriculum. They provide teachers with detailed texts on leadership qualities and voting assessment standards. They also provide some hints on the practice of voting in classrooms.

Hints about the steps to follow in election procedures are provided. Vocabularies that could be used in teaching the assessment standard are given. They even give further hints about how to organise the classroom as a polling station when undertaking the voting procedures and they also recommend materials that could be used for the voting.

Some of the democratic procedures such as allowing children to propose their candidates are very important. Even if there could be some exceptions and, theoretically, most teachers accept that learners can contribute to their learning, the common belief is learners come to school to get what their teachers give them in the form of knowledge.

Assessment Guidelines for Foundation Phase (Grades R-9)

In both the Teacher's Guide for Development of Learning Programmes and Assessment Guidelines, points related to assessment are raised. Four types of assessments are given. The first one is baseline assessment to find out about what the learners already know. The second is formative assessment to find out if the learner is progressing or not and to provide feedback to the learner. The third is diagnostic assessment, presented as one form of formative assessment and it is used to review the learners' performance, teaching methodology and other possible barriers. Based on the results, the teacher provides individual assistance for the learner. The fourth one is summative assessment and it gives overall information on learners' performance during a period of one term or school year. Assessments give knowledge of learners' achievements for both improving the learning process as well as confirming that the learner has reached a level of performance expected for the given period (DoE, 2003 and DoE 2007).

> …In Life Orientation the focus of assessment is not only on the product at the end of learning experience, but on what is happening during learning (i.e. the process), particularly the changes occurring in knowledge, skills, attitudes and values…

> While knowledge and skills are commonly assessed in Life Orientation, the teacher must not neglect to assess values and attitudes. Achieving knowledge on its own without developing appropriate skills is not what one strives for in an Outcomes-based curriculum. Although attitudes and values are not easily observable, they do exist and form an integral part of what must be taught and assessed in Life Orientation.

> Values and attitudes are difficult to assess because they refer to internal states that are closely linked with emotions. They influence what people like and dislike doing. From the learner's external actions and behaviours one can infer his/her internal state. For instance if a learner responds to a conflict situation in a positive

way by smiling, the teacher (assessor) can infer that the learner shows patience, tolerance and respect.

Further examples of attitudes include trust, tolerance, self-confidence, and respect for self and others. Examples of values include honesty, charity and care (DoE, 2003, 23).

The material discusses how to assess, what to assess and forms of assessments. It mentions that the teacher can assess change in learners' behaviour by means of observations, questionnaires, reflection worksheets, etc. The teacher is recommended to ask her/himself what concepts, skills and knowledge are gained, if learners are treated on equal basis without any discrimination, if the assessment is improving learning, if it allows learners to display their skills, etc. Some forms of assessment recommended are action research, projects, written tasks/tests, assignments, debates, etc.

Conclusion

Learning outcomes and assessment standards are supposed to provide information on the gradual development of knowledge from simple to complex. On the other hand, is also supposed to provide themes that will be assessed to determine the performances of learners.

The Guidelines, as indicated in the documents, are "intended" or "supposed" to "support", to "assist", and to "guide" teachers. It is also stated in another context that "These policy Guidelines have developed to assure the teaching, learning and assessment…" In the Foreword of Guidelines for the Foundation Phase the General Director says, "These Guidelines should be read…" and in the introduction part of the same document it says, "The Guidelines need to be read…". So one can imagine what verbs are used to say something on a particular occasion and by whom they are used can have its own implication.

In my meeting with teachers in schools, it seemed as if both the guidelines for programme development and assessments were well received. But some teachers complained about extra directives they received from time to time from school authorities concerning assessment. These teachers complained about the workload and the time-consuming practice of assessment.

Material on leadership qualities and voting, taken from textbooks, gives an overview of an election process. As integrated material, it also shows the possibility of teaching a theme by picking materials from different programmes. Using analysis of voting results in Numeracy, reading short stories on an election and a president's visit to a town as passages in Literacy and utilizing posters from Life Skills shows the practical possibility of integration of a theme across programmes. They show the possibility of both staying in one programme alone (for example Life Skills) and moving to the other two programmes to integrate relevant concepts and knowledge.

The material could be questioned in terms of relevance for several different reasons. In the example, rather than having the opportunity to say why they wanted to be elected, the candidates went around during the break and tried to convince friends to vote for them. It is also questionable having the boy promising to tell stories, and the girl promising to bring sweets to the class. This example presents gendered stereotypes. Further, it is inappropriate to present learners with an example in which candidates bribe their voters with promises that are difficult to keep. Additionally, making the boy knowledge carrier (story teller) and the girl briber with material (sweets) is problematic. It would be useful to use this opportunity to show that girls can lead. Interestingly, in all the four classes I observed for this study, it was girls who occupied the leading posts.

Finally, it can be said that the curriculum, the guidelines and the textbooks are closely related to each other. Curriculum and guidelines are produced and dictated by government. Textbooks are supposed to be published independently, but there is a government demand for textbooks to be related to the curriculum. As the government buys textbooks for distribution to schools, it dictates conditions; publishers have to follow these government directives if they are to sell titles. Finally, we can see that all the documents are steered by the government. The goal system, which includes all these documents, is used for governing the teaching process (Lundgren, 1977, 1979).

CHAPTER 6
THE FRAME SYSTEM

The concept of frame is used in Bernstein's terms with a focus on content and teacher-learner relations to the content. When there is strong framing, teachers focus strictly on what they have to transmit and learners are supposed to receive what they get. But weak framing allows for the possibility of being flexible without being strictly restricted to some contents. In such a situation, learners also get the opportunity to express their opinion and together with their teacher construct knowledge (Bernstein, 1996/2000).

According to Lundgren, the concept of frame was first used by Dahllöf, to look at decisions taken beyond the classroom that could constrain the teaching process. Lundgren himself later used the term frame system as a collective name for his three systems when dealing with the teaching process. One of the three systems, the frame system, was used to deal with conditions that are constraining the teaching process (Lundgren, 1979). I will analyse my data in this chapter in relation to the frame system.

The field study was undertaken in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan area which includes the city of Port Elizabeth. As mentioned earlier, the schools in the field study were selected based on the population categorizations from the apartheid years, which to a large extent is still in existence. The schools were located in different parts of the metropolitan area and contained student populations that represented different socio-economic backgrounds. They were: a) a township school with Black learners, b) a Coloured school, c) a mixed school, and d) a dominantly White school. In each of the schools, one third grade class was observed.

To understand the context and to provide the insight regarding the different social and educational contexts, each school has been described individually.

Hills Water Primary

This is a former Model C[11] school and today is attended by predominantly White children. The teaching staff is all White. The number of children per class is about 20 on average. According to the school principal, most of the learners' parents are middle class white-collar workers, working for the university and other institutions. One of the teachers said, some of the parents were employed in the motor industries and other businesses.

In the classroom I visited, the benches were arranged in three rows. Two learners were sitting on each school bench. There was a mat on the floor for learners to sit on for some part of the lesson when the teacher was telling stories or reading texts from books.

The walls were covered with plenty of colourful teaching materials that were both prepared by the teacher and bought by the school. In addition to what is provided by the school, the teacher said she was getting some of the materials from a sister who resided in the USA and a relative from England. The posters on the walls had general knowledge themes such as our five senses and discipline. There was also a book corner with about 100 books. As the book-case was within their reach, learners now and again picked a book to read or to skim through.

Learners came to their classroom with their lunchboxes. The school did not have a feeding scheme for learners.

Magnificent Campus Primary

This school was located in a Coloured suburban area of the Nelson Mandela Metropolis and most of the students were coloured but there were also a significant number of black learners. The majority of the administrative staff as well as the teachers were Coloured. According to the principal, most of the parents were masons, carpenters, small private business owners and some poor people from townships.

In this school, the classrooms had older benches. On the cement floor, there was an old mat for learners to sit on during certain parts of the day. When

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[11] Former Model C schools are schools that were given autonomy in the 1980s to administer themselves. This autonomy included deciding on school fee and what groups of learners to admit.

learners sat on the mat, the teacher sat on a small chair in front of them and read, asked questions and encouraged the learners to participate.

On the walls there were some posters with teaching aids. Some of the posters displayed information on parts of the body, family members, housing, national symbols, numbers and different mathematical shapes. There were shelves built into the walls at the back of the classroom. They were covered with cloth curtains that could be opened and closed to pick books which were stored on the shelves.

There was no canteen in the school. Sliced and packed bread was delivered every day to each class. Learners who were in need were given a package of bread each day to take home to prepare a sandwich for the next day to bring to school for their lunch. Distribution was somewhat random and there was no evidence of a plan in place to identify which learners did and did not need bread packages.

This school had a remedial teacher; she took some learners who needed help for one or more periods per day. Remedial class instruction was provided for learners who needed help from 1st to 5th grade. The school started its own library and there was also a room for computers, but they did not have an internet connection at the time of the study. This school did not have a clinic.

The principal said: "In the curriculum, there are 40 periods per week but we increased them to 43. In one of them, they go to the library to read, in the second one they are going to work on computers and in the third period, we are having assembly every Monday. During the assembly, some ministers from churches come and share the word, but next week for the first time we will have a Muslim sharing the word." There were about 40 Muslim children in the school.

School Governing Body (SGB) members were involved with the principal and teachers on nine committees for different activities at the school. They also worked on developing school policy. Although there was some discussion among teachers about reducing the number of committees, there was a consensus to keep them as they existed.

According to the principal, all educators in South Africa were members of South African Council of Educators (SACE) and adhere to its rules of conduct for educators. He said: "For the school we had one rule of conduct policy before that people around the principal together developed. That one is going to change; another one is on its way. It will be discussed by teachers, parents and it

will also involve 7th grade students (the highest grade in the school). The code of conducts on the wall are not done with the participation of learners. "Grade seven learners will also comment on the code of conducts and it will be presented to parents."

St. Mary Primary

The school was founded in an affluent neighbourhood of the city more than a hundred years ago. It was an Afrikaans school in the beginning and in the middle of the 1970s, it merged with a school with English as the language of instruction. In 1994, the school was opened for all races. In this school, grades were divided according to the instructional languages, Afrikaans and English. In Grade 3A all instruction was given in Afrikaans, while in Grade 3E, the language of instruction was English. At the time of the study, many White learners from this neighbourhood attended other schools in the vicinity with better facilities.

St. Mary Primary is a former Model C school. More than 80% of the learners were Black. Apart from one Coloured and one Black teacher, the teachers were White. The parents of the children were low-income employees in different services. According to the principal, the poor parents were: "Domestic workers, general assistants, factory workers and no work at all". Families that could not afford school fees were exempted from payment. The children from these low income families were "bussed in" to the school from poor township areas.

Here, the class size was on average about 22. There were school benches for learners. There was also a mat on the floor for learners to sit on and read stories or discuss some common issues. There were some teaching materials or teaching aids on the wall. In addition to purchased materials, there were also drawings and stories that children wrote as an assignment.

Some children came to St. Mary Primary with their own food for lunch. It was also possible for students with money to buy some snacks from a shop located in the school compound. Children from poor families were provided with lunch from a school kitchen.

Whales Bay Primary

In this school, there were more than 40 students per class. According to the deputy principal, all the teachers were Black except for one coloured teacher.

Whales Bay Primary school was located on the edge of a township. Most of the parents of these children were domestic workers, street workers (selling things on the street, waiting on the roadside looking for temporary employment) and a large proportion of them were unemployed persons who were given a monthly help package by the government. Chairs in this classroom were plastic and the tables were narrow with metal feet. The learners pushed the tables together and two of them sat on each side. There was no mat on the floor.

The walls were almost bare, with two or three posters with numbers, one poster with means of transport and an incomplete hand written list of letters of the alphabet. The blackboard was well used by the teacher and it quite worn out. The school did not have a library, clinic or other services although there was a public health clinic in the vicinity.

All the children at Whales Bay Primary were from poor families; thus they were provided with food each school day from a communal kitchen in the school. The food was intended for learners up to grade three, but the school decided to provide lunch for all the learners. In the school compound, at the back of the classroom building blocks, there were women selling various food items to school children. They sold fruit, sweets, homemade ice cream, hot dogs and some soft drinks.

In the section below, I will present the situation within each school based on figures obtained during my fieldwork.

The School Realities in Figures

Figures in this section show different realities of schools. They show the number of learners and teachers at the four schools, their sex and race category, amount of school fees, their organisations and facilities. The first table, Table 6.1 presents the number of learners by school, sex and race categories.

Table 6.1 Learners in the four schools visited

Name of School	Sex			Number of learners by race category				
	Male	Female	Tot.	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Others
Hills Water	483	395	878	118	288	45	416	11
Magnificent Campus	378	422	800	281	517	2	-	-
St. Mary	231	192	423	249	41	-	133	-
Whales Bay	639	561	1200	1198	2	-	-	-
Total	1731	1570	3301	1846	848	47	549	11

All the schools were called primary schools; they include Foundation Phase (Grades R-3) and Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6), as well as grade 7. According to the new curriculum, Grade 7 was supposed to be a part of Senior Phase (Grades 7-9). Reception year (Grade R) was not obligatory, but there was a plan to make it obligatory from 2010. These schools did not have officially Grade R. The principal of Magnificent Campus informed me that they had Grade R with 174 children who were not included in the school's 800 learners.

In three of the schools, the principals/head masters were men. At Whales Bay, the school principal position was open and temporarily a woman was serving as deputy principal.

The average teacher student ratios in these schools were: in Hills Water 1:20, Magnificent campus 1:30, St. Mary 1:22 and Whales Bay 1:43. The government considers 1:40 to be the national standard for this phase (Pendlebury, Lake & Smith, 2008/2009).

Out of the total 3,301 learners in the four schools, 1,570 (47.57%) were girls. Of the total of 3,301 learners, 1846 (56%) were Black, 848 (25.7%) were Coloured, 549 (16.6%) were White, 47 (1.4%) were Indians and 11 (0.3%) were from other categories. Below, Table 6.2 gives information on the amount of the school fees per year for the four schools.

Table 6.2 School fees per year

Name of School	School fee per year
Hills Water	R6000/year
Magnificent Campus	R400/year
St. Mary	R4000/year
Whales Bay	R50/year

In South Africa, there are "no-fee" schools located in the poorest communities where parents cannot afford to pay. The four schools I visited had an annual fee, which was decided by their School Governing Bodies (SGB).

The highest school fees were paid by Hills Water learners' parents while the lowest was paid by parents of learners at Whales Bay. There were probably very few, if any, who could not pay the school fee at Hills Water but at Whales Bay, according to the deputy principal, about 50% of the learners' families could not afford to pay their children's school fees. Hills Water had 878 learners and

Whales Bay 1,200. If 50% of Whales Bay learners' parents paid school fees, the annual income would be R30, 000. Hills Water primary could collect this amount of money from only five of its learners parents.

The allocation of resources by the government is based on a system called quintiles. An official at the District Department of Education told me that all schools in the country were classified by quintiles and he looked through his database and found out about the research site schools. He said that all the four schools belonged to quintile 5. He also mentioned without further explanation that within the quintiles some schools get money once a year and others twice a year[12]. Schools in quintiles lower than five get more resources from the state. Schools must apply to be categorized at a lower level.

The Deputy Principal of Whales Bay confirmed that her school was identified as quintile 5. She said "it is unfair we are classified in that quintile and we are contesting it". She said "we would like to be categorized in quintile 2".

One possible reason for Whales Bay being classified in quintile 5 was its location, which was in the vicinity of a wealthy area of the city. Magnificent campus was similarly not a sufficiently resource-rich school to be identified in this category. Even St. Mary, which was located in the middle of quite a wealthy area and was a bit better off than Magnificent Campus and Whales Bay, considered its classification in quintile 5 as unfair. Although St. Mary was located in a wealthy area, its White learners had left the school, and more and more township learners were transported (bussed in) to the school. Most of the learners in the latter group could not afford to pay and were admitted without paying school fees. However, the school was classified based on its location rather than the socio-economic status of the parents of the learners attending it.

The quintile system, which did not consider the situation of learners' family background, appeared to be inequitable. On the other hand, as the system covers the whole nation, it is not difficult to imagine that there are poorer rural schools with high numbers of learners, fewer teachers and poorer material resources.

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[12] According to the South African School Act 84 of 1996 (DoE, 1996), there are paragraph 20 and paragraph 21 schools. Paragraph 20 schools are schools that need government support to manage their funding and they receive their funding divided into more than one payment. Paragraph 21 schools are supposed to administer their fund, and their budget for the whole year is released in a single payment. Recently, a plan was announced that would amend the funding procedure for "No-Fee Schools", to allow them to get their "operational funds" directly from the government (DBE, 2010).

These schools might be the ones that were classified in quintiles 1 to 4 and received the most resources from the government.

Table 6.3 presents the number of teachers in each school and their sex and race categories.

6.3 Teachers in the four visited schools

Name of School	Sex			Number of teachers by category				
	Male	Female	Tot.	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Others
Hills Water	7	38	45	-	3	-	42	-
Magnificent Campus	7	20	27	2	25	-	-	-
St. Mary	6	13	19	1	1	-	17	-
Whales Bay	2	26	28	27	1	-	-	-
Total	22	97	119	30	30	-	59	-

In all the schools, women teachers are in the majority. At Hills Water 84.4%, at Magnificent Campus 74%, at St. Mary 68.4% and at Whales Bay 89.2 % were women. At Whales Bay, the two male teachers taught in grade six and seven. Half the teachers in these four schools were White. There were equal numbers of Black and Coloured teachers. In these four schools, there were no teachers with an Asian/Indian background.

Table 6.4 presents the professional help the four schools provide their learners and other facilities that may be accessible.

Table 6.4 Other Resources

Name of School	Remedial Teach.	Psychologist	Therapist	Others
Hills Water	Yes	Yes	Yes	Computer class (Access to Internet connections) Music Class Swimming Reading help
Magnificent Campus	Not officially but the school assigned one	Uses education department or university.	Gets from the department of education	Computer skills[13] (They hope to get an Internet connection soon).
St. Mary	Yes, two classes. For Grades 2-3 & 4-6.	Gets help from private Psychologists.	Can borrow from the department of education.	Computer classes (the school has an Internet connection).
Whales Bay	No	No	No	Computers (No Internet connection).

At Hills Water and St. Mary, there were staff members who helped with photocopying, cleaning, making coffee, etc. This was also possible at Magnificent Campus Primary. At Whales Bay, the teachers had to interrupt teaching and go to the office for photocopying and other activities. The cleaning of classrooms here was undertaken by learners.

Table 6.5 presents the physical facilities available in the schools.

Table 6.5 Physical Facilities

Name of School	Clinic	Library	Meeting Hall	Sports ground
Hills Water	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Magnificent Campus	No	Yes	No	Yes
St. Mary	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Whales Bay	No	No	No	Yes

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[13] They received some computers from Mark Shuttleworth (the first South African who travelled into space) but they did not have an Internet connection. Some of these computers were not functioning. They had three new ones and one of them was stolen by burglars one weekend. Vodafone promised to connect them to the Internet and everything was ready and they were waiting to be connected.

Although it did not have a clinic, a mobile nurse visited the St. Mary school.

The sports grounds for Magnificent Campus and Whales Bay were undeveloped (not prepared for different sport activities).

Hills Water Primary and St. Mary Primary had a working telecom system connected to all their classrooms. Whales Bay Primary had one that was out of order and not repaired while Magnificent Campus Primary had never had one.

Table 6.6 shows the presence or absence of the two important organisations for schools, School Governing Bodies (SGB) and Parent Teachers Associations (PTA).

Table 6.6 SGB and PTA

Name of School	SGB	PTA
Hills Water	Yes	Yes
Magnificent Campus	Yes	No
St. Mary	Yes	Yes
Whales Bay	Yes	No

School Governing Bodies (SGB) are obligatory in schools in South Africa, but Parent Teachers Associations (PTA) are voluntary bodies. The PTA organises different social activities and fundraising occasions. The two very needy schools in this study lacked this important association. A teacher at St. Mary stated that due to transportation and other problems, parents from the townships did not attend these meetings. The next table, Table 6.7 presents the number of learners in the classes by school and sex.

Table 6.7 Number of enrolled learners in 3rd Grades I Observed[14]

Name of School	Girls	Boys	Total
Hills Water	14	15	29
Magnificent Campus	15	23	38
St. Mary	15	18	33
Whales Bay	20	22	42
Total	64	78	142

As we can see in the table, apart from Whales Bay the actual number of learners in classrooms is higher than the averages given earlier. The resource-rich schools had fewer learners. Whales Bay, with its 42 learners, exceeds the national average of 40 learners per teacher.

64 (45%) of the learners in the four classes were girls. All the four teachers in these classes were women. The four teachers got their formal teacher training during the apartheid years and had worked as teachers for more than 15 years.

Similarities and Differences

One subject of discussion at these schools was discipline. At St. Mary, discipline was very strict. Those who were considered to have done something wrong had to stand or sit outside the classroom in a long corridor facing the wall. On one such occasion, I asked why two girls were sitting that way on the floor in the corridor. I was told that they were being disciplined for forgetting their school books at home.

In the same school, learners who demonstrated "good" attitudes were rewarded with sweets. The provision of sweets could be extended to those learners who gave the "right" answers to questions. In Hills Water, "correct" behaviour was awarded according to a points system.

Hills Water had developed a strict procedure for checking learners' behaviour every day. The learners were given three pieces of blue paper with their name on them. For minor misbehaviour, they lost one piece and for major disturbances they lost two or all three. If they gave back all the pieces of paper at

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[14] At Hills Water, grades were identified by room numbers. Grade 3s, I observed, was in room number 19. At Magnificent Campus and Whales Bay by letters, both classes in these schools were 3As. At St. Mary primary, the two 3rd grades were divided into Afrikaans and English classes (3A and 3E). I was in 3E, which had English as its working language.

the end of the day, they earned one point for the day. When they got 10 points, learners received a Merit Letter (a yellow sheet of paper), and when they reached 20 points they got a green pin, with the word "MERIT" written on it. When they reached 30 Points they got a Merit Letter (a sheet of blue paper) indicating their merit level, and at 40 points, they got a white pin with the word "MERIT" written on it. At 50 points, they received a Merit Letter (a white sheet of paper). 60 points, which was the highest, entitled them to a rectangular badge with the school's logotype on it. The letters, pins or badge were awarded on the day the learner reached the required number of points. When the teacher called out the learner's name and gave the reward, the whole class applauded the merit winner. Learners were allowed and even expected to wear the pins or the badges.

The learners had special pass for boys and girls when they took a message to the office. To go to the toilet, they had to borrow a badge with "Boys Pass" or "Girls Pass" written on it to hang around their neck. Teachers meeting them in the corridors during lessons knew where the learners were going.

Conclusion

As we can see above, there were different frame systems for different schools. The schools had different material, financial and organisational resources. The school buildings, the classrooms, the size of fees the school got from learners, the obligatory and voluntary organisations, etc. varies.

The resources available to the school reflect the socio-economic status of learners' parents. Learners from a well-to-do background attend schools in well-planned buildings, with a good organisation and high quality services. Children from townships, on the other hand, attend schools with drab cement buildings and very poor services of all kinds.

One situation I encountered which showed the division between the learners was the school lunch at St. Mary. The learners from the well-to-do families brought food from home or money to buy food from a shop in the school compound. The learners from the poor homes had to queue to get food from the kitchen.

The majority of teachers in the schools were female. The only two male teachers in Whales Bay taught the higher classes in the 6th and 7th grade. They taught mathematics and science. In three of the four schools principals are men

and in one school where there was no principal, a female deputy principal run the school.

Schools are not isolated islands; rather, they are reflections of the society in which they are located. These four South African schools with their varying personal, financial and material resources reflect the different communities from where the learners come. Hills Water where most learners come from well-to-do families and communities was much better off in terms of number and quality of staff, financially and its physical facilities. Whales Bay, with almost all Black learners from poor families and communities, had no access to such resources.

CHAPTER 7
THE FORMAL RULE SYSTEM

Lundgren states that the formal rule system includes "…regulation of a legislative nature concerning the duties of the teacher…" (Lundgren, 1979). In this chapter, I will discuss some rules and regulations legislated by the South African government. These are the basis for setting up some organisations to determine classification of competences at different levels for all professions as well as one specifically dealing with teachers' competences. Here, the focus is on teachers' expected competences and the role of professional conduct.

In post-apartheid South Africa, the government introduced the South African Qualification Authority Act (Act No.58 of 1995) in 1995. Based on this act, the authority developed the National Qualification Framework (SACE, 2000). According to this framework, the education system is divided into three major bands, eight levels and different qualifications with awards of certificates, diplomas and degrees (in South Africa, you can get a degree after receiving a diploma or directly after you have completed high school and a university education). The first band is General Education and Training (GET) with level one and two, which covers the first nine years in school. The second band is Further Education and Training (FET), which covers levels three and four with the 10th to 12th years of education. The third band is Higher Education and Training (HET), which covers levels five to eight and moves vertically from National Certificate on level five to Post-doctoral Research degrees. Teacher education is located in the last category.

Teachers' Qualifications and Code of Conduct

The South African Council for Educators Act, 2000 (Act No.31 of 2000) came into force in August 2000. Its objectives were to improve the quality of education, create a situation for mobility, redress unfair discrimination, and address the development of individual learners and the nation. It also had objectives of confirming the continued existence of South African Council of Educators, a governmental institution with new functions and authorities. In South Africa, to be employed as educator one must be registered by the council.

In addition to registering teachers, the council was given the authority to warn, reprimand, impose a fine of up to a month's salary or remove the educator from the register.

The council has developed registration criteria and procedures based on the act mentioned earlier. Teachers already working in the education system prior to the establishment of the council could get registered even if they did not satisfy the new criteria, if they had been employed earlier as educators. For new teachers, the minimum requirement for registration is a 2-year certificate in teacher education after matriculation for working with early age learners and a 3-year teacher education after matriculation working with older learners. The council receives a registration fee from applicants. The size of the fee can vary from time to time (SACE, 2000).

The council has an ethical document called, South African Council for Educators Code of Professional Ethics. The code of ethics provides general guidelines for educators, their expected conduct in their relations with learners, learners' parents, their community, their colleagues, their profession, their employers and the council. In educators' relations with their learners the following is laid down:

CONDUCT: THE EDUCATOR AND THE LEARNER

An educator:

1.1 respects the dignity, beliefs and constitutional rights of learners and in particular children, which includes the right to privacy and confidentiality;

1.2 acknowledges the uniqueness, individuality, and specific needs of each learner, guiding and encouraging each to realise his or her potentialities;

1.3 strives to enable learners to develop a set of values consistent with the fundamental rights contained in the Constitution of South Africa;

1.4 exercises authority with compassion;

1.5 avoids any form of humiliation, and refrains from any form of abuse, physical or psychological;

1.6 refrains from improper physical contact with learners;

1.7 promotes gender equality;

1.8 refrains from any form of sexual harassment (physical or otherwise) of learners;

1.9 refrains from any form of sexual relationship with learners at a school;

1.10 uses appropriate language and behaviour in his or her interaction with learners, and acts in such a way as to elicit respect from the learners;

1.11 takes reasonable steps to ensure the safety of the learner;

1.12 does not abuse the position he or she holds for financial, political or personal gain;

1.13 is not negligent or indolent in the performance of his or her professional duties; and

1.14 recognises, where appropriate, learners as partners in education.

(SACE, 2000: 2-3).

The code of conduct instructs teachers about what to do and what not to do. It requires teachers to respect the individuality of learners. It also instructs them to respect learners' constitutional rights and help them to develop values related to fundamental rights, and to promote gender equality.

There are also restrictions that are clearly stated. It requires teachers to refrain from sexual harassment, sexual relationships with learners at school and improper physical contacts. It also emphasises refraining from humiliating learners and abusing one's position for personal gain.

Respect for constitutional rights could include learners' right to acquire knowledge of leadership qualities and to vote in their classrooms. But here I am puzzled by two statements or points 1.4 and 1.14.

In 1.4 it says: "exercises authority with compassion". This formulation does not clarify the teacher's authority and its limits. Does this means that the teacher can at any time decide to exercise authority without compassion?

In 1.14 it states: "recognises, where appropriate, learners as partners in education". In this case, I wonder, where and when one could consider learners as non-partners? This gives teachers unnecessary authority and the choice of deciding that learners are partners or non-partners. This statement should have been formulated as "recognises learners as partners in education".

Teacher Education

During apartheid, there were colleges, polytechnics, distance education universities, NGOs, etc. involved in teacher education. According to Harber, there were 281 institutions involved in teacher education and 150 of them run by the state. According to him, most of the institutions provided poor teacher

education. The polytechnics for teacher education were school-level organisations with poor performers, they were also segregated institutions with over 90% of their students being Black Africans. After looking at the situation with the aim of improving the standard of teacher education and getting it well organised, the government decided after 2001 to have 25 higher education institutions to deal with teacher education in the country (Harber, 2001).

According to Harber, the focus was not only on the organisational questions. There was also a focus on what kind of teachers would be expected in the post-apartheid schools. He quoted a report by the Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP), a committee that worked on reforming the content of the teacher education curriculum. Their report, Norms and Standards for Teacher Education, says that the following skills are necessary for a competent teacher:

> *the facilitation of learner-centred classroom practice and collaborative learning;*
>
> *the ability to deal with human rights issues, including gender issues;*
>
> *the ability to reflect critically on the practice of teaching;*
>
> *the ability to reflect on education and society; and*
>
> *being autonomous, flexible, creative and responsible agents for change in response to the educational challenges of the day and in relation to the espoused aims of education in South Africa.*

According to the report, the values necessary for a competent teacher in the post Apartheid South Africa were:

> *education for critical, responsible and useful citizenship in order to equip the individual for service in the wider community and environment;*
>
> *values as encompassed in the human rights manifesto;*
>
> *community involvement, promoting adaptability and tolerance in a multicultural society.*
> (COTEP report of 1996, cited in Harber, 2001: 78).

To be able to get a general idea of how teachers are trained to teach in the Foundation Phase, I tried to explore the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University's (NMMU) teacher training programme. I preferred this university because many teachers I met in schools were trained at this university or former institutions which were affiliated with it and it is located close to the schools where I conducted my study. At present, at the Faculty of Education, the School

for Initial Teachers Education provides a 3-year part-time diploma education programme for candidates with two years of teaching experience or a 4-year B.E. in Education for those who come to the university direct after completing high school and passing matriculation (at the end of high school).

The qualifications at NMMU during this study were called "National Professional Diploma: Education" and the "Baccalureu Educations". In the diploma programme, in the third year, candidates take a Life Skills learning area course for 10 credits and those who want to focus on life skills can select additional 12-credit courses in Life Skills. Those who attend the B.E. programme in the second year take a 10-credit course in Life skills and 10-credit course in Citizenship Education. They can also take another 10-credit[15] course in Life Skills in their third year (NMMU, 2010).

The information above gives us an idea on what qualifications are needed to teach in South African schools. As a part of training for the Foundation Phase, trainee teachers take courses in Life Skills. The course in the Life Skills programme has Life Orientation as its main learning area.

Conclusion

The points raised in this chapter mainly focused on the formal rule system established by the South African government. The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) determined the general qualifications in the education system while the South African Council of Educators (SACE) determined what qualifications a person required to work as a teacher.

I can see a chain of divisions and implementation processes in this work. The government provides acts that stipulate what should be done and who should do it. The agencies established by law legislate regulations on how the work should be done and implement some of them and delegate others to other organisations.

The South African government established by decree the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) and the South African Council of Educators (SACE). The South African Council of Educators (SACE), in addition to determining teachers' qualifications, also draws up codes of conduct for teachers and is authorized to enforce and supervise their proper implementation. Its

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[15] In South Africa at present, one year of full-time study is awarded 120 credits.

authority extends to taking disciplinary measures against those who violate the codes of conduct.

Teacher education itself was reformed from a jungle of low quality institutions taking care of teacher education to a limited number of higher education institutions. Instead of teacher education, which was segregated, teacher-focused and inspired by fundamental pedagogics, it has moved to a more integrated, learner-focused and interactive pedagogics.

As major actors, higher education institutions are responsible for training teachers. As in Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University's (NMMU) teacher education program, teachers are trained to work at different levels. Those who attended the courses for Foundation Phase are expected to use integrated curriculum because the course covers all Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills programmes. Here, it is possible to take more courses in one specialization programme, for example, in Life Skills.

CHAPTER 8

TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR PRACTICE

This chapter will deal with the interviews with teachers. All 3rd grade teachers in the four schools I visited for this study were interviewed (for interview questions, see Appendix 8). There were a total of 14 teachers, four each in two of the schools and three each in the other two schools. The interviews were recorded and transcribed and copies of the transcriptions were given to teachers for their approval.

The focus here will be on teachers' qualifications as well as their understanding and interpretation of the content of what they are teaching in Life Orientation. The teaching process and learners' participation will also be discussed based on teachers' perspectives. Teachers' working relations with their colleagues, employers and other staff will be discussed and finally, the general working environment of teachers will be considered.

Teachers' Qualification

All of the teachers who were interviewed indicated that they had been educated as teachers. 13 of the 14 teachers had completed their education and received diplomas and degrees. The 14th teacher was attending her final year prior to receiving a degree in education.

With the exception of one teacher, all the others had undergone their professional training in the apartheid system. The teacher who was trained in the post-apartheid education system was employed by the School Governing Body (SGB). Provincial departments of education employ most teachers in South African schools.

One of the teachers with the longest experience started working as a teacher in 1972, and the youngest teacher started teaching in 2004. Four teachers started working in the 1970s, two in the 1980s, seven in the 1990s and the last one in 2004. Some teachers indicated they started teaching Life Orientation when Outcomes Based Education (OBE) was introduced in schools in 1998.

Eight of the teachers started teaching Life Orientation in the 1990s and six of them after 2001.

For most of the teachers, Life Orientation was not completely new. According to them, a similar subject was taught during the apartheid years under the name of "environmental study," or "environmental study and health education," or "environmental study, scripture and health education". One of the teachers said, "…I was teaching environmental study at this same school before they changed environment to Life Skills. Environment also included everything, culture, people, ground and all things that we got in our community. The police, the health, the hospital, the judiciary, everything …"

A question was posed to explore teachers' preparation for teaching Life Orientation and the possibilities of refreshing this content of knowledge continuously. It focused on training before they started their teaching practice and on-the-job training. Through a question on personal advancement training, they were expected to give feedback on their individual efforts to improve their qualifications.

During her university training as a Foundation Phase teacher, the newly graduated teacher had attended a course on teaching Life Orientation. There were two teachers in one of the schools who said that they did not get in-service training to teach Life Orientation. The remaining teachers confirmed their attendance of one to three days and sometimes up to two weeks of in-service training. The in-service training workshops were run by a special unit called the Teachers Centre at the provincial department of education. The centre is responsible for providing resources and updating teachers with new knowledge and skills. Those teachers who attended the training or workshops indicated that the content in some cases covered general OBE, curriculum reform, and Foundation Phase programmes. For some of the teachers, these training programmes included coverage of a learning area such as the Life Orientation and the methods teachers could use in their classrooms.

According to some teachers, in-service training was supposed to be provided to improve individual qualifications as well as to improve classroom activities. This training was given outside the schools, although one teacher mentioned that it could be held at a school. Some of the teachers told they attended this in-service programme once a year or once every two years. In one of the schools, the teachers informed me that they had attended such a

programme about three years ago. In all four schools, teachers expressed their wish to have in-service training more frequently than it was offered.

In the case of personal advancement training, most of the teachers were not attending any courses during the time frame of the interviews. One teacher said, "Normally I used to read books to enrich myself". Another teacher was registered for distance course with the University of South Africa (UNISA), and four other teachers had completed their education through distance education with the same university. A teacher discussed her education and how it was accepted as follows:

> …I pay myself and study in distance on my spare time. I come to school and I teach my kids. After school if I have got an assignment, I go to the library and do my assignments. I have got a diploma and two degrees and every time you pass you submit to the department and you get a little bit of one time thing (money). It is not an increase in your salary. A one time thing as long as what you did is related to education.

As the above teacher commented, the provincial/district department of education gives an incentive for those who attend courses specifically related to education. Attending a course in other subjects than education does not qualify for an incentive.

In general, the teachers' qualifications varied from individual to individual. This could be because of the level of individual ambition or discrimination of the apartheid regime. During apartheid, educational opportunities also varied, some groups were not allowed to attend good quality institutions of higher education. As a result of the discrimination in the past, degrees or diplomas teachers received after attending teacher education programmes do not indicate the same qualities of their qualifications. Some of the teacher training institutions had high standards, while most of them were known to have a very low standard. Black and Coloured teachers who attended teacher education during apartheid financed their education themselves to get their qualification.

The following table provides a summary of the information on the number of years the teachers attended higher education and their qualifications.

Table 8.1 Number of years in higher education and qualifications acquired.

Name of School	Teacher	Years in Higher Ed	Qualifications
Hills Water	A	5	**2 Diplomas**[16]
	B	4	Degree
	C	4	Degree
	D	5	Degree & Diploma
Magnificent Campus	A	3	**Diploma**
	B	3	Studying for Degree
	C	4	Degree
St. Mary	A	3	**Diploma**
	B	4	Diploma
	C	6	Degree (As junior & senior primary teacher)
Wales Bay	A	5	2 Diplomas (General & Remedial Ed.)
	B	3	Diploma
	C	3	Diploma
	D	7	**Diploma, Degree & Honours**

As we can see, there were qualifications as a general teacher and remedial teacher for children with various problems. There were also teachers with the qualifications to teach in junior and senior primary school.

Universities formerly awarded lower level Certificates, Diplomas and higher level Degrees. One teacher mentioned that she got her Honours degree. In South Africa, as first degree usually took three and half years, it was considered to be a junior degree. A person, who wants to proceed from a first degree to a

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[16] Qualification of teachers observed.

Masters Degree, had to study for one year to get an Honours degree before proceeding to a Masters Degree in education.

The post-apartheid teachers' education gives a 4-year degree programme for those coming directly from high school. Teachers with two or more years of teaching experience can attend a 3-year course and receive a senior certificate in teaching. Comprehensive school teachers can choose an education for the phase which they want to teach and the learning area in which they will specialise.

Understanding and Interpretation

The concepts of "understanding" and "interpretation" were very difficult for the interviewees to grasp. I considered "understanding" to be a process of getting to know what one reads in a curriculum or other related texts and "interpretation" as a way of relating to one's own or others' experiences of real world. But this is done with the knowledge that the terms could be used without considering one as primary and the other as secondary. Some interviewees tried to avoid answering this question, while others gave just an answer without deeper reflection or replied without really considering the relationship between the two concepts.

According to some teachers, the lack of regular training was the cause of insufficient understanding. There were also teachers who reported that it was not difficult to understand the curriculum and referred to the materials available for reading. One example of this was the teacher who said: "It is quite simple, we have books, tapes and everything about it and we follow the instructions. And we have Learning Outcomes (LOs) and Assessment Standards (Ass.St.)".

As we can see from these replies some teachers regarded understanding as an easy process. Others referred to availability of materials and thought just reading them would be sufficient. But understanding and interpretation cannot be regarded as solely a matter of content. It also includes relating content to context, understanding contents and interpreting them in relation to the context.

There were teachers who understood the curriculum as encouraging learners' achievement by means of active participation and their own exploration of the world around them. While teachers can give instruction on skills, norms and values, they can also help learners acquire the ability to recognise and deal with their feelings, how to treat people and how to relate to events that happen around them. Here, teachers tried to see themselves as facilitators of learning.

When facing problems with understanding, teachers dealt with them in different ways. Turning to a colleague teaching in the same grade or in a senior class, to a person responsible for their grade, the head of the department for Foundation Phase, the school principal or the department of education were some of the approaches used by teachers to find solutions. In most cases, teachers noted only one person to turn to, while a few mentioned a number of different steps that could be taken.

A teacher at Hills Water told me that they used resources at their school and had working relations with other schools too. She said:

> If we have a problem to understand a component of it, we have a grade meeting and we talk a lot about it in our school. There are about six or seven schools that meet together and discuss the problems they are having and on what they are doing on this course.

Very few teachers gave explanations about how they interpret the curriculum. In one case, a teacher equated interpretation with references to some materials, saying: "We have resources that we use. Then you add to it your own things and get other information. You put all together and teach them to children".

Other teachers replied that interpretation could take the form of trying to find out what the learners knew and did not know, what they understood and did not understand, and then specify what they need to know and help them with that. When discussing the theme of relations, one teacher mentioned that discussing relationships in the classroom, relationships in the family based on different roles of family members could be relevant. Another teacher indicated that interpretation should be closer to learners' realities and experiences. This could be achieved by talking about feelings, bullying in school and so on, as well as through role-playing.

I thought that by reading we understand a text or the concepts it presents. Then, as a second step, we can interpret it and as a third step we can implement it. It is also possible that we read a text and interpret it in order to understand and then proceed to implementation. To assume a common frame of reference, it would have been helpful if I had defined concepts and explained my understanding of them in the interview material. Instead, I posed a question about how teachers understand the content of Life Orientation. The question was relevant and the responses indicate how teachers engage their learners in teaching the content.

The Teaching Process

The general planning of a programme and work schedule includes themes teachers were expected to cover every week. Breaking down the weekly schedule into days and covering the weekly activities day by day is the responsibility of the teacher. Some teachers said that in the work schedule, one theme was assigned for one week and they planned for the weekdays every day after class, once a week (or as one teacher said, every Monday and Friday).

There were teachers who said that they prepare lessons for all the three programmes, Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills for every week. The teachers stated that in addition to breaking the themes into components, it was important to see the interrelations between the themes taught.

When asked about how long it would take them to prepare their lessons, the teachers' responses varied. There were those who prepared their lessons once a week or daily. One teacher said it took her an hour to prepare lessons for a week while another teacher said she needed four hours to prepare her lessons for a week. Among those preparing their lessons each day, 30 minutes was an average time mentioned, while the shortest time was 25 minutes and the longest was two hours per lesson. Even if, in practice, lessons were given for longer or shorter time frames, officially, the time allocated for one lesson in three of the schools was 50 minutes and 30 minutes in the fourth school. Depending on the type of theme to be covered and practical tasks to be completed, some lessons took more or less time to prepare.

The teachers said they use different instructional methods for their lessons. Among the major methods indicated were lectures (direct teaching), group work, individual and group assignments, as well as class work and homework. Asking learners to talk to each other, listening to recorded materials and playing games were among other methods used. One teacher mentioned that if, for example, learners were working on a project on emotions, "…they do a mask with emotions under the face, and may be tears, crying, a happy face or a sad face. That is what they do for a project…"

All the teachers considered the methods they used to be effective. They indicated that they chose one or more methods that suited their theme, and they believed that access to different methods made their work effective. There were teachers who pointed out that they did not give homework to learners living

with illiterate parents or grandparents or living in difficult environments that would not allow them to deal with their assignments.

Another important component of the teaching process was assessment. Teachers used different methods depending on what was being assessed. One teacher said: "as you do the lesson, you go through the children and write a little note. You observe them and take actually observation notes".

The teachers indicated that there were strategies and tools for assessment. Assessment could be conducted through sports, practical activities and written assignments. Assessments were mainly carried out by teachers, but learners also assess each other in peer assessment processes. Assessments could be performed by means of written tasks, tests, drawings, rubrics, checklists, oral communications or discussions, demonstrations of understanding, physical movements and other activities outside the classroom.

Most teachers considered the assessment procedure to be effective and fair although the majority of the teachers interviewed said that there were some difficulties in administering assessments. One teacher said: "…We had a lot of disagreement and confusion. Since last year some of the department people came in and we discussed it, in some way it is effective now…"

There were teachers who observed that the National Department of Education was continuously changing assessment directives. There were other teachers who felt that there was too much assessment of learners, "…you hardly have talked something, when you got to do a week's assessment…" According to most of the teachers, assessment took a lot of time from teaching and added a difficult administrative task to their work.

Bernstein points to the role of assessment (evaluation) in his pedagogic devices, where he vertically ranked the distributive contextualization and evaluation of knowledge (Bernstein, 1996/2000). According to him, evaluation/assessment is used as one way of controlling the content of knowledge transmitted. On the other hand, assessment is also used to control what areas of the theme are covered by teacher and obliges the teacher to report what she/he did in the class.

As indicated previously, the assessment standard (the theme) was predetermined, while the teachers could decide on the form of instruction. Even if teachers recognise the importance of various methods, they usually preferred direct teaching. This could be the result of long-term exposure to this method. A

consequence of direct teaching is that learners could miss the benefit of collaborative learning.

To evaluate learners' understanding of contents, assessments were frequently performed. Teachers preferred lesser forms to fill in and longer intervals between assessments. With longer intervals, time could be saved, which could enable teachers to cover more topics. It would also give them the chance of getting well-established opinions of individual learners' understanding of the assessment standard (theme).

Learners' Participation

The teachers said that they use different strategies to encourage learners' participation. By working individually as well as in groups, learners participate in lessons. Motivations of different types were mentioned such as moving learners from tables and chairs to a mat, getting them out of the classroom for physical activities, in the class by playing different games with each other, telling stories, reading, asking questions and talking about different cultures. The teachers felt that it was possible to get learners to enjoy lessons and participate well.

One teacher explained that there were children from disadvantaged families who considered education to be the only way out of their situation and therefore forced themselves to participate actively. But she added that some learners from similar environments came to class without eating and that they have difficulties concentrating. These learners were not engaged and they usually even slept during the lessons.

Most of teachers believed that following the concepts and contents of themes for most learners was not very difficult. Keeping concepts and content appropriate to learners' knowledge and age level was considered to be essential. One teacher said that relating the content of lessons to learners' life experience, culture and religion helps them to understand concepts introduced in the lessons. Another teacher mentioned that when concepts were difficult to understand, using the learner's home language when giving explanations made learning easier.

There were teachers who noted a variety of problems related to learners' understanding and I will present two of them as follows:

> …I must also be honest with you, because of the black children here and the language barrier, it is difficult for them to grasp simple sentences, understanding. They can't fit the word too. Before you came, before a break, I did a rhyme, "Peter pumpkin eater had a wife", and one child asks what pumpkin is? I said your head is a pumpkin. A simple thing, but they don't understand. It is not easy to relate to all things across information. You must actually be using practical things that they see and have in their homes and have seen.

Another teacher says:

> …when it comes to language, a lot can't understand the language; a lot also have the background that they come from, because they are not having magazines and newspapers.

> Actually, the general knowledge that you teach your children from birth, they don't have it. So, it is difficult to talk again, once more you talk about Little Red Riding Hood, the story that all of us know or you talk about. A little bit higher up, Shakespeare, a poem, a story, I mean they have not got the foggiest idea of what you talk about. Now to explain who Shakespeare is or what Little Red Riding Hood is, it is a thing you grow up with from your mammas milk.

In one of the four schools, learners attended classes taught in their home language, IsiXhosa. In another school, Afrikaans was the home language and it was used in lessons. In two of the schools, English was the standard teaching language. The teacher in the IsiXhosa-speaking class said that when learners had difficulties understanding unfamiliar terms or concepts, she could explain it to them by using their home language.

In the quoted cases where teachers complained about learners' not understanding, the lessons in the classes were given in English while the learners' home language was IsiXhosa. In the case of a learner not knowing what a pumpkin was, I can imagine it was a language problem. As the teacher was not from the same ethnic group as the learner, she could not explain to him in his home language. Instead of finding a way of explaining, she humiliated him by saying "your head is a pumpkin".

The second teacher, in her discussion of the learners' understanding, did not refer to any specific condition. She held the view that there exists some universal basic knowledge for every human being and she wondered why some learners were not aware of it. Her view can be seen as unwillingness to understand and respect the "other". This could be described as an ethnocentric

view of "we" the civilized, and the uncivilized "others". Therefore it was difficult to understand the important knowledge they should have.

Working Relations

Teachers have working relations mainly with their learners, learners' parents, colleagues and employers. Their working environment, their community as well as the nation are also parts of their contact spheres. The discussion here will concentrate on the close relationships with parents of learners, colleagues and employers.

Contact with the parents of learners was highly valued by all the teachers interviewed. As school years were divided into four terms, parents were expected to come to school at the end of every term. At these meetings, parents and teachers discussed the progress of and obstacles to their children's/learners' education.

In one school, teachers mentioned that once in a while parents drop in and ask about their children's progress. In other schools, the teachers indicated that parents showed up for meetings when teachers sent them a letter or phoned them. There were also parents who closely followed up their children's schooling via a teacher's diary sent to them with their children's home assignments. One teacher at Hills Water said that they contact parents frequently, even when there were no problems, to inform them that their children are doing well. She said it was important to have good relationships with the learners' parents.

In one of the classes, I saw a mother going around helping learners. The teacher of this class explained:

> Yes! This mammy is here because at the beginning of the year, when we had parents evening, I had 17 parents out of 24 and I said you are welcome any time to come and spend a day to see what happens in the class. And this lady came today. It is so nice to have somebody in the class helping you.

There was also some complaining about the problem of the absence of some children's parents from meetings. A teacher at one of the schools informed me: "…It is parents you don't want to see that come, those with children with no problems. The ones that have problems, their parents don't come…"

Relations between parents and teachers varied from school to school. Parents sending their children to Hills Water had very close contact with their children's teacher, followed-up their children's schoolwork and once in a while

dropped in to see their children's performance. Teachers at this school contacted parents just to inform them about the progress of their children.

In the other three schools, some parents showed up whenever they were asked to do so by the school. But the teachers said that the children of these concerned parents were not the ones with problems. Mainly teachers from Magnificent Campus and Whales Bay complained about parents who did not show up for meetings and demonstrated little concern for their children's schooling.

To some degree, I could understand the teachers' dissatisfaction in these schools. On the other hand, as some of these parents were making their daily income by doing manual work on the streets, they did not have the time to attend school programmes. In addition, it was easy for these parents to predict that if they went to the school, they would only hear complaints about what mistakes their children had made or what they themselves had failed to do. As what they expected was confirmation of what "bad parents" they were, they may not be eager to go to their children's school.

At St. Mary, as mentioned earlier, I saw a parent in a class going around helping learners. The teacher mentioned earlier she was happy to have the mother of one of the learners in her class. But I wondered about the teacher's statement, "…It is so nice to have somebody in the class helping you". Was she really interested in showing parents the learning and teaching processes in her class, or did she want a helping hand in her work? As in most classes in South African schools, she was the sole teacher in her class, and without any assistant, of more than 30 learners. So, it could be one way of getting temporary extra help in her class. Whatever the intention of the teacher, the presence of the mother in the class was considered positive both by her and the learners. The mother could feel that she was helping both the teacher and the learners, and the learners would like once in a while to see a face other than their teacher's.

Colleagues and other staff

The teachers indicated that they planned together in the Foundation Phase and at grade levels. While planning and deciding on themes and assessment methods was done together at a general level, implementation was the responsibility of the individual teachers. A teacher of a specific class prepares that class's lesson plan. At meetings or informally, teachers asked each other about levels of learners'

progress and this usually led to slowing down the ones moving fast or speeding up those who were slow.

One area where there were different opinions was about time for sharing experiences with other teachers. These differences were evident even among teachers in the same school teaching in the same grade. One teacher said: "Yes, we have a time once a week for sharing experiences" and gave the exact time. Another teacher denied the existence of this meeting time. But most of the teachers admitted the existence of such a time; the main complaint was the insufficiency of the allocated time (usually an hour). At a school where these groups of teachers said they meet only once a fortnight or month, they said that they needed to have their meetings more frequently and for a longer time.

As regards relations with other staff members, all the teachers agreed that they were important. In one of the four schools, additional staff included only a school caretaker and cooks working in the kitchen. In the other schools, there were more staff members and the teachers appreciated the support they got from cleaners, administrative staff such as secretaries and professional staff such as remedial teachers.

Schools with more resources had more professional as well as administrative staff. Hills Water, with its extra professional staff, could support learners and teachers as needed. If there were children with special needs in a class, they could get some support that would hopefully lead to better learning for children with some handicap. It also gave teachers the opportunity to pay more attention to the other learners when learners with special needs visited the remedial teacher.

Employers

Teachers in public schools in South Africa are employed by the provincial/district department of education. In my interviews with teachers from the four schools, they all said that they had no direct contact with their district department of education. A teacher said, "They don't know me. I am just a number to them".

For these teachers, the closest representative of their employer and their leader in day-to-day life was their principal. Most of the teachers confirmed their good relations with their principal and their principal's openness and willingness to help. There were also teachers who gave another picture. Two of them are quoted below:

Like I can see, we have a good relationship but at times, we have those conflicts. As you know conflicts are there in any relationships, but the most important thing is when you have them, you must resolve them…

…The principal is one to one kind of a person. If your attitude is right, the principal's attitude is going to be right. If you want to be attacking, he is going to attack you. That is how it works, in any case.

Most teachers were paid by the department of education but there were teachers who were employed by the School Governing Body (SGB) and paid by them. If the school did not have sufficient resources, teachers employed by SGB were paid less than those employed by the department of education. Teachers employed by SGB lacked the health insurance that governmental employees receive as well as other benefits.

Many teachers compared their salary with the salaries of people working in sectors other than education. They felt that they were hard workers and, because of price increases due to inflation, they were dissatisfied with their salaries.

There were other points of comparison, too. One teacher said:

…If I compare my salary to my daughter who teaches in England, she is only 27, she gets more in one week than what I get in a month after 35 years of teaching…

A few teachers said they were satisfied with their salaries. But one of these teachers said it was because of her love of the profession that she became a teacher, not the salary. She explained herself as follows:

Oh! Are we ever satisfied? When I became a teacher it was not for the money. It was for the love of teaching. My salary is fine, but I am not the bread winner. I teach because I want to teach.

On questions related to incentives, many teachers said that all South Africans working in local government receive an extra month's salary at the end of the month of their birthday. This includes teachers too. Among the four schools included in this study, only the Hills Water teachers received material incentives. Out of the four third grade teachers at this school, two of them mentioned that they received incentives from the school. One said that:

…From the school at the end of the year, they give us some kind of gift or donation. It normally is a material thing, something like a voucher.

In another school, teachers mentioned that they received non-material incentives. They said that the principal thanks them for their work. He does this by writing some words on their planning materials, by writing a thank you card, or by orally thanking them in front of their colleagues in the staff room.

Teachers at the other two schools stated that they received neither material nor non-material incentives. But they believed that teachers in other schools were given incentives. A teacher at Whales Bay indicated this by saying:

> …In Model C schools, I believe teachers, if they do extramural activities, or if they work like up to five o'clock, they will be compensated moneywise.

Contact between teachers and the provincial/district department of education was very limited. One reason could be the physical distance between the schools, as well as the large number of schools. Another reason could be the strict hierarchy of the system where it was a tradition not to jump over one's immediate chief and contact someone at a higher level in the system. Most teachers said that they got on well with their principal.

As indicated above, teachers at Whales Bay thought that teachers in former Model C schools got more benefits. This belief was also confirmed by some of the teachers at Hills Water. In general, teachers were not satisfied with their salaries when they compared them with those people working in other sectors.

Two teachers indicated during the interview they were not the bread winners for their families. It was their husbands who brought home most of the income. This could lead to the possible conclusion that men have higher status and higher paid work. In relation to this one can see from statistics for 2001 to 2007 that more Blacks were unemployed than Whites and more Black women were unemployed than Black men. Even if White women's unemployment rate dropped during this period, the unemployment rate for women was overall much higher than for men (Statistics South Africa, 2008).

General Working Environment

Preconditions must be met to achieve the goals of democratic education that emphasise equality. Some basic levels of economic justice in society must be one of the major preconditions for success. There are also frame systems in the education sector that need to be attended to.

Acceptable levels of financial and material aid as well as services for schools are vital. As teachers are part of the same system, similar teacher education as well as in-service training can contribute to achieving goals of democratic education. Learner participation in their education process and teachers' involvement in the decision-making process in their workplace are some of the ingredients needed to achieve the goals of democratic education.

The teachers expressed both satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their work environment. They also mentioned the roles of School Governing Body (SGB) and Parent Teacher Association (PTA) in their schools. Degrees of loyalty to school were also expressed.

Despite some problems the schools were facing, most teachers were satisfied with their work environment. There were teachers who said, even though they were generally satisfied, that there was room for improvement. One teacher wished for an improvement in the discipline at her school, another teacher wanted to get training more often from the department of education, and a third teacher wished for an assembly hall and a "well-developed" sports field for her school.

One teacher wrote at the bottom of the paper she gave back to me:

> I don't have enough money to educate my daughter X (name was given) who likes singing in the Eastern Cape youth choir and at school. I don't have enough time to form the school choir because there is no school hall. Even some of Life Skills I can't do because of the field.

Teachers, who work at the same school where she is employed, described the insufficiency of their salaries to meet basic needs. They also mentioned the lack of a school hall for any assembly and the lack of a "developed" sports field. The teacher confirmed these common problems mentioned by her colleagues.

Two teachers at one school expressed dissatisfaction with management for not providing them with information about what is happening at their school. One summarized it as follows:

> …You know sometimes, management is not transparent with us. They don't tell us things. We work here and we want to know things.

Each school in South Africa is expected by law to have a School Governing Body (SGB). The four schools where the interviews were conducted each had an

SGB. The teachers in these schools understood that SGBs were primarily expected to participate in the management of a school with a principal, to employ extra teachers, to support the school with maintenance, and to look into the security of the learners and the school.

In addition to a School Governing Body (SGB), two of the four schools had a Parent Teachers Association (PTA). The PTA is a voluntary association. According to teachers at these schools, the PTA's main function is fundraising by organising fun activities, games and barbeques (braai) in the school compound.

A teacher at one of the two schools said:

> …We always used to have a very strong PTA, it was with the White parents. Not the Black parents, they are not interested and also as they live in the townships, it is not easy at night to come out and go back there at 9 o'clock or whatever. They are really scared to do so and a lot of them have no transport and taxis also stop going to certain areas, after sometimes buses can't go. So, to come out is difficult for them. Activities are after school hours. Even if you want to have them during the day, which you cannot because they also work. It is a really difficult situation.

When asked if they would like to send their children to the school where they teach, about two thirds of the interviewed teachers replied "yes". Most of those who answered yes gave as a reason their colleagues' professionalism and hard work as well as their efforts to improve conditions for their learners. In a well-resourced school, reasons such as good quality of education, lots of opportunities, nice teachers and nice buildings were given as reasons for having their children there and recommending the school to relatives and acquaintances.

Among those who preferred other schools than their own, various reasons were given. One teacher said that she did not like to have her children in a mixed school for boys and girls. Another teacher said she lived far from the school where she works and she placed her son in a school in her residential neighbourhood. A third teacher put her little boy in another school to avoid his coming to her every now and then and interrupting her during her work.

A teacher in a low-resourced school gave the following reason for not wanting to have her child there and not recommending the school:

> I don't want to lie; I wouldn't. We are trying to make ends meet, unlike the Model C schools. We can see they have much fewer kids and they have more resources. I

recommend this school, if they (parents or relatives) don't have resources to send them to Model C schools.

In the face of all odds, many teachers expressed satisfaction with their work environment. But teachers in the schools with low resources noted the need for improvements and believed that they were possible.

Conclusion

The teachers interviewed were qualified teachers with different levels, length and quality of training. Most of them were trained during apartheid; thus their formal education did not include courses concerning the new learning areas, including Life Orientation, introduced in post-apartheid South Africa. To be able to teach Life Orientation, they had been given brief training.

It was not easy for these teachers to understand interview questions related to their understanding and interpretations of the curriculum for Life Orientation. When they commented on their understanding and their interpretations of the curriculum, their views varied. They also had varying opinions about their learners' understanding of lessons.

The planning, teaching and assessment processes involved similar procedures in all the schools. Even if the general resources varied from school to school, resources used for teaching Life Orientation in general and leadership qualities and voting in particular were not very different across the four schools. The actual work shows differences based on the teacher's approach and the learners' level of understanding.

All four schools had their own School Governing Body (SGB). Two had Parent Teachers Associations (PTA). The PTA is, as indicated earlier, an important source for the school economy. In the school with learners with mixed backgrounds, it was mainly the White parents who were active in the association and in organising events. One teacher accused the Black parents of a lack of interest and also described the difficulties these parents face to attend the events, which were usually held in the evenings.

Teachers in the well-resourced schools Hills Water and St. Mary were more positive about their school than, for example, Whales Bay, which had the minimum of resources. In low-resourced schools, when they recommended their

schools to others, the main reasons given were the hard-working and well-intentioned colleagues.

There were clear differences between the schools as regards manpower and material and financial resources. The well-resourced schools had additional resources in the form of cooperating and concerned parents, organised in Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA). They also had qualified and well motivated teachers.

CHAPTER 9

LESSONS ON LEADERSHIP QUALITIES
AND VOTING

During each lesson, an observation scheme was filled in and field notes were taken. Each session was recorded with a digital voice recorder and pictures were taken when needed and the situation permitted. My descriptions, interpretations and analyses are based on the data gathered using these methods.

The time allocated for different programmes varied. According to the official allocation in the curriculum (RNCS, 2002): Life Skills has 25%, Literacy 35% and Numeracy 40% of the total time in the Foundation Phase. If we consider Life Skills as an example and break down the time allocated to it, it should get 6 hours and 15 minutes per week, or 1 hour and 15 minutes per day.

I visited the schools studied on several occasions and attended 21 lessons. The time for each observation varied from 50 minutes to two hours, depending on the time given for each lesson, the teacher's preparation and the learners' involvement. I visited these classes when they were dealing with Social Development outcomes of Life Orientation. Five different assessment standards (themes) were considered during the lessons. For this chapter, I have chosen only one assessment standard (theme), leadership qualities and voting. I selected it because it addresses two important components of democracy, leadership and voting. It also contains both theoretical presentation and practical application of these two components.

The Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2002 presents in the Social Development outcomes section, the first assessment standard for learners in grade three as follows:

> Explains leadership qualities in the school context
> and participates in school voting.

The objectives of the observations were to find out how teachers understood, interpreted and presented this specific theme of Social Development outcomes and how learners could understand it.

Below, I will first present the lessons on leadership quality and voting separately and describe how they were dealt with in different schools. This is followed by comments on similarities and differences between lessons, learners' participation and understanding and episodes from the lessons. I finally give a short conclusion.

Leadership Qualities

Hills Water Primary

The teacher dealt with the issues of leadership qualities in different ways. First she asked about "good and weak qualities of leaders". Learners came up with various qualities of leadership, among them being responsible, fair, a good example to others and good listener were given as good qualities while they gave the exact opposite as weak qualities.

To find out about learners' understanding, the teacher gave them class work on this theme. From a mixed list of "good and weak" qualities of a leader they were supposed to identify and classify the qualities in "good and weak" categories. The stencil shows which qualities were included in the assignment (see Appendix 7).

This teacher also tried to explain to learners what autocratic and democratic leaders are and the differences between them. She told them that "An autocratic leader is one who decides everything by himself and a democratic leader in co-operation with others".

Her explanation of the autocratic and democratic leader could also be connected to the curricular dimensions of "good and weak" leaders. The characteristics of a good leader fit her definition of the democratic leader who decides "in cooperation with others". The characteristics of a weak leader match the autocratic leader who decides "everything by himself".

Magnificent Campus Primary

Here, the teacher attempted to explain the word "leader" by asking three learners to stand in a row one after another and demonstrating to the class that the first girl was standing in a leading position. She then said that their school has a leader, the principal. She pointed out that the principal needs the support of both administrative and academic staff in order to lead and she emphasised that

if the school lacks a leader, it will be difficult to fulfil its mission. She also mentioned that just as the school has a principal, the country has a leader. Together with the learners, she identified some of the previous and recent leaders of the country.

Qualities of good leaders were suggested by learners. Respecting, being good hearted, loving, friendly and kind were some of the qualities suggested by learners. The teacher suggested that they would vote for a good leader, who spoke for the class and who was truthful.

The possibility that all the learners could be leaders was emphasised. The focus here was on being elected as class leaders. But few were given the opportunity by their teachers to become a candidate to be a class leader/s.

The teacher repeatedly mentioned the importance of others' participation in helping to lead the school and also the country. But this was not reflected in the class leader election. In contrast to her emphasis on participation, she declared after the class leader election: "Remember, there will be only one leader!"

St. Mary Primary

Learners gave different answers when asked to identify qualities of leaders. A leader was supposed to dress well and be able to speak. Obeying rules and keeping learners quiet were some other qualities mentioned together with being fair, kind, honest, respectful, listening to others, forgiving and caring for one's elders.

When a learner mentioned obeying rules as one of the leadership qualities, the teacher asked the class to clap hands for him. When another learner mentioned honesty as one of the qualities, she commented by saying "he should not steal my pen". She also commented on another quality of leadership, care for one's elders. She said one should "care for elders, teachers, parents and strangers. Allowing the teacher or some other people to walk first at the door".

Whales Bay Primary

In this class, instead of asking for learners' opinions about leadership qualities, the teacher took the lead and gave her own criteria. Being humble, having good manners, respecting people at all levels, being at peace and being able to talk to people were identified as good leadership qualities.

The teacher discussed leadership at different levels. She addressed leadership provided by parents at home and explained the role of the principal and other actors including teachers and learners. She emphasised the importance of getting assistance to lead. She also discussed the post-apartheid presidents of South Africa and their deputy presidents.

Voting

In the voting process, ballot papers and ballot boxes were used in all the classes. In two classes, teachers used plain paper as ballot papers and in two other classes there were printed or photocopied papers. In three cases, shoe boxes and in one case an ice cream box were used as ballot boxes.

Hills Water Primary

During the lesson on voting, this teacher gave learners information about the undemocratic history of the country. She told them that during apartheid, some people were allowed to vote while others were denied that right. She also told them that having a mixed class like the one in which they were enrolled was unthinkable then.

Then she read aloud from a book called "The Day Gogo Went to Vote". The main characters in the book were a 100-year old woman and her six-year old great granddaughter. Even though she was ill, the old woman insisted on voting and she did vote on Election Day with transportation offered by a better off person living in the same township. The old woman explained to the six-year old that in the past, Black South Africans were denied the right to vote and now when they could vote, she did not want to miss it. The six-year old went to the polling station with her great grandmother. That day there was a feast and it ended with the new national anthem. The next day, the two appeared in the newspaper and under their picture was written: "The past and the future: Hundred-year old voter Mrs M. Mokoena accompanied by her six year old great-granddaughter, Thembi". The girl said she was happy and felt she was important.

The book the teacher read aloud from expressed the importance of using one's right to vote, supporting others' right to vote and respect for the results of the vote. The great grandmother talking to the six-year old about the importance of voting shows the responsibility of an adult generation to pass on to the new generation knowledge of the values of democracy.

At the election centre, the mother of the six-year old girl told her daughter not to ask the election officer too many questions. This could be an expression of an old tradition that children should not bother adults they don't know and that they must be quiet when adults are talking. In fact, the election officer went against the mother's demand that the girl should be quiet by encouraging the girl to ask more questions as a method of preparing herself to vote in the future. This indicates a hope that openness and curiosity will be encouraged in the future.

After the teacher had read the text, and during the discussion, a boy said, "Some people can give you money to vote for them". This matter was discussed and both the teacher and the learners agreed that it is unacceptable to vote in exchange for sweets or money. The comment about a bribe, could lead to wondering about why it came up. The learner may have been just curious, or perhaps he had heard that kind of information from adults close to him or from the mass media. When the teacher was warned and indicated that it was wrong, another learner reassured her by saying that when they get older and matured they can tackle these kinds of problems by acting in a responsible way.

As an answer to the question by the teacher about why one needs to vote, one learner answered: "to change the world". This answer may indicate dissatisfaction with the present world or the environment in which the learner lives and the need to change conditions for the better. Another learner answered, "If a good person is elected, she/he gives right to the people". This answer also indirectly indicates the opposite; if a wrong person takes power, a bad administration will follow, which gradually leads to violation of people's rights.

The election of class captain/class president ended with the election of two leaders. The plan was to have one leader, but one girl and one boy received the same number of votes. As the class did not want to revote, they approved the two as leaders, according to the teacher "as class presidents".

Magnificent Campus Primary

At this school I was surprised to hear the learners guessing the voting age. They guessed between 1 and 30 years. Guessing one year as an age for voting represented major misunderstanding. Giving different ages could indicate that these learners had not been exposed to such a discussion earlier or that they had misunderstood the question.

With the help of her notes, this teacher explained the election process to the learners. She started with the idea of thinking before voting and candidacy before election. She told the class, that candidates must get their messages across to the voters, that they use their pictures, posters, and mass media. To emphasise its importance, she and the learners repeated together the word "candidate."

She also introduced them to the idea of voting tickets and the ballot box. She explained that voting is done in secret and it takes place at a specially arranged centre. During the discussion, it was also said that the counting of votes takes place at the end of the election; the candidate with the most votes wins the election. Elections take place at limited intervals.

After her explanation of the voting process, the teacher proposed three candidates, a boy and two girls. Then she wrote the three names on the blackboard. After the learners decided their preference and had written it down on a piece of paper, the result showed that a girl was elected as class leader.

The teacher informed the elected girl that she would serve for one term. She also instructed her to do her duty, "You prove to us you have a leadership quality" otherwise "…we can choose another leader". As she was not voting, I wondered why the teacher used the pronouns "us" and "we". As she was the person who proposed the candidates (and might continue to do so), she may have viewed herself as a part of the process.

St. Mary Primary

When the teacher started with the question about "what is voting?" the answers by the learners reflected that voting is supposed to be done for the sake of others. They indicated that people vote when "Somebody wants to be something", "wants to be elected," or "wants to be a president". The need for voters to elect their leaders democratically and the interests of a candidate in being elected democratically in order to lead the voters were not expressed.

South African political organisations and their leading figures were introduced to the class. The possibility of the people choosing their preferences among the organisations was indicated. The national Election Day (22nd of April, 2009) was mentioned. The teacher reminded learners that the adults will vote to elect leaders of the nation while the classroom will vote for group captains and class captain.

The teacher introduced ten candidates for five groups who were presented as having been nominated by the class the previous day. Using an alternate method, the teacher decided on five candidates for the class captain post on the spot. In this case, why were the learners given the right to nominate candidates for the group leader post one day, but denied the right to nominate candidates for the class captain post the following day?

Before voting took place, the teacher told the learners to vote carefully, vote for a good leader and that voting is secret. She also explained to the learners that they should use their voting card and identify the five learners they wanted to serve as group leaders out of the ten candidates, and then vote for the learner who would be the class captain out of the five candidates. She told them to put their cards in the voting box. Four boys who were considered to have violated the rules by talking to each other were stopped from voting for group leaders, but they were allowed to vote for a class captain.

According to the comments from learners and their teacher, group leaders were supposed to control learners, to supervise class work and to report results of different activities to the teacher. After the election of a girl as class captain, the learners were told, "If she says something, you must listen! You've got to listen! Because most of you voted for her. You cannot come and say, "Oh! Mamma! Lisa did this! Oh! Mamma! Lisa did that". The class captain was told by the teacher that she was "in charge of all the groups".

The teacher used the term "in charge" in several contexts. I feel that this election was designed by the teacher to create hierarchies where the teacher wanted to be "in charge." The teacher was at the top, then came class captain, the group leaders, the groups and last the whole class.

Whales Bay Primary

In her explanation of voting, this teacher said, "we elect a person to stand for our needs and rights". In a discussion between her and the learners, they came to the conclusion that according to the law, the voting age in South Africa is 18. In response to the teacher's question about how many votes one person has, a learner replied that "one person has one vote."

The voting process was discussed and the teacher instructed learners about how to vote in their class. She told them that voting is secret, that they should indicate with a cross the person they want to elect, and then put their voting

paper into the ballot box. She told them that the results would be counted at the end of the voting and the one with the most votes would win the election.

She asked the learners to nominate six candidates for their monitor and deputy monitor. At the end of the voting, she picked six learners who were given the assignment to count the votes for one candidate per ballot. Because she emphasised the principle of transparency, all the votes were counted in front of the class. Out of the six candidates, the girl with the highest number of votes was made class monitor and a boy with the second highest vote was made deputy monitor. After the election, the class sang for the girl and the teacher encouraged her to say something to the class, but she was shy and did not dare.

Similarities and Differences between Lessons

In the different classes, the introduction of the theme of the day, its development and conclusion of the lessons showed both similarities and differences. In all four classes, the theme of leadership qualities and voting was discussed. The learners were informed about the general election in South Africa as well as their own class election. They were informed about how to vote; that voting is secret and that they should vote for a leader they viewed as genuine and potentially helpful when it came to fulfilling their needs.

In three of the classes, ballot boxes were made of cardboard boxes and in one class it was a plastic box. All the boxes were prepared by the teachers. In two of the classes, pre-prepared lists or forms for voting were used. In two other classes, ordinary white paper was provided. In one class, A4 sheets of paper were distributed so that the learners could write the names of three candidates they wanted to vote for; in another class learners wrote names of six candidates on a ¼ of A4 sheet of paper given to each learner.

As can be seen, there were similarities but also differences between the lessons. The classes started in different ways. At Hills Water, the teacher started by explaining why the election in 1994 was unique. She proceeded to informing the students about apartheid and how the majority of the population's right to vote was ignored.

At Magnificent Campus, the teacher started by explaining the word "leader." At St. Mary, the teacher began by asking what voting is and explaining it. At Whales Bay, "leadership" and "voting" were explained at the beginning of the lesson.

At Hills Water, the teacher read aloud from a book on voting to the children, and in other classes, some general supplementary materials prepared by the teacher or stencils from a book were used. The teacher at Hills Water explained to learners that in the USA, the people vote for a president and in South Africa people vote for a party. The teacher at St. Mary told her class that people were going to vote for a president in South Africa.

While the teacher at Hills Water explained the differences between autocratic and democratic leaders, this was not raised by the other teachers. In this class, the discussion on leadership quality focused on good and weak leaders. The other classes mainly emphasised the qualities of a good leader.

At Magnificent Campus, leaders at different levels were mentioned, starting with school leaders. At Whales Bay, the discussion started with leaders at home and proceeded to school. These two classes raised and discussed the issue of assistant leaders and the need for cooperation for effective leadership.

The voting in three classes was only for class leader/s, while at St. Mary, the election was for both group leaders and a class captain. In three of the classes, candidates were proposed by the teachers. At St. Mary, the teacher mentioned that group leaders' candidates had been nominated the previous day by raising hands. At Hills Water, the teacher took the whole class as candidates. At Whales Bay, the learners nominated their candidates. In all the classes, vote counters were nominated by the teachers.

During the voting process at Hills Water and St. Mary, learners were given some assignments. At Hills Water, while learners were going to the front of the class and voting one by one, those who were waiting their turn to vote were doing an English assignment. At St. Mary, learners were given an assignment to colour a drawing photocopied from a book of Biblical stories. In the other two classes, learners were not given an assignment; the focus was only on the election.

At St. Mary, the learners first voted by putting "X" on an A4 sheet of paper with the list of 10 candidates for the group leaders. When Group one's two candidates got the same number of votes, the group re-voted by raising hands. Finally, they voted for class captain by writing a name and putting their ballot paper in the box. In three of the classes, the learners went to the front and put their vote in the box; at Magnificent Campus, the teacher went round with the box for the learners to put in their vote.

The teacher at Hills Water took the votes home with her to be counted by her son and her husband. In the other three classes, the votes were counted together with the learners in the classes. The results were announced directly after the voting.

At Hills Water, a boy and a girl got the same number of votes, and instead of re-voting the class decided to have one boy and one girl as presidents of the class. At Magnificent Campus, a girl was elected as class leader. Also at St. Mary, a girl was elected as class captain and three girls and two boys as group leaders. Whales Bay elected a girl as a monitor and a boy as an assistant monitor.

At the end of the election, the teacher at Magnificent Campus informed the class that the elected leader would serve for one term and then be replaced by another leader for the next term. She also turned to the class leader and told her that she should work well, otherwise she would be replaced by another leader. The teacher at St. Mary turned to the class and told them to respect what the class captain said and did and what she told the learners to do. These students were also warned not to come to the teacher and accuse the class captain. The election sessions at Magnificent Campus and Whales Bay ended with prayers.

Learners Participation and Understanding

During my observations of the lessons, I saw learners participating in all the classes. They participated by asking some questions, answering questions and commenting on ideas. They also participated as candidates, as voters and as vote counters.

The level of learner participation was not easy to measure. Due to the teacher's preparations, better explanations and the family background of the learners, there were obvious differences in learners' level of understanding. At Hills Water, due to clear instructions and the middle-class family background of learners, understanding of the theme was better than in the classes in the other schools. These learners could be exposed to discussions related to election at home. It would not be surprising if the homes of these learners all had newspapers, radio and TV in view of the fact that not one vote was invalid in this class. In addition to clear instructions, the teacher prepared printed voting papers where learners were expected to put an "X" in a box in front of the learner they wished to choose.

At St. Mary, the preparations were good and a combination of different voting systems was applied. Voting for group leaders was done by putting an "X" in front of names on an A4 sheet of paper. When two candidates in group one got the same number of votes, group one re-voted by raising hands to elect one of the two. In the election of class captain, out of the three names written on the board, learners were told to write only the name of the candidate they wanted to have as a leader. In the whole process, only one vote was invalid.

At Magnificent Campus, the teacher told learners to copy all three candidates' names from the board and put an "X" next to one of them. The process of writing all the three names and voting for one led to seven votes being invalid.

Whales Bay learners were instructed to write all of their candidates' names from the board on a piece of paper and to put an "X" before two names. They were supposed to elect one monitor and one assistant monitor. Unlike Magnificent Campus where a similar method was used, here all the votes were valid. These results could have been the result of a better understanding of the instructions, which were given in the learners' home language.

In all the classes, there were a few active learners, while the rest of the class could be classified as average participants. There were some learners who had good levels of general knowledge of South African politics. This could have been because of their families' orientation and participation in the country's political process.

Here, Bernstein's concepts of restricted and elaborated codes (Bernstein, 1996/2000) could be used to explain learners' understanding. It was not likely that learners coming from poor, underclass (Giddens, 2009) families had been exposed to mass media and any other forms of media or print information; thus their prior knowledge of middle-class codes was limited. It was more likely that learners coming from middle-class environments were exposed to information as well as values and norms similar to those at school; consequently, their codes were elaborated. They could use information gained from different sources including their knowledge and experiences from the home and school environments.

Comments on Events During Lessons

In two of the classes, I saw printed voting cards and in two of them just sheets of white paper. I wondered why they did not print voting cards here too. It could have been due to lack of computers or other printing facilities, or due to lack of time or motivation.

As regards teaching resources, only the teacher at Hills Water used literature that described the whole election process. In the other classes, one to two handwritten pages of materials outlining important points were provided.

Another interesting point I want to raise is that the teacher at Hills Water mentioned to the class that in the USA, people vote for a president, but in South Africa, the vote is for a party. In South African elections, instead of individuals' campaigning to be elected, it was the parties that competed. Instead of direct democracy, it is representative democracy that is at work in the election system. At St. Mary, the teacher repeatedly mentioned that there was going to be an election for a president in South Africa. However, it would not be completely wrong to say that people in South Africa elect a president. I think the teacher was implying that the parties had already chosen their leaders and if one party won the election, the leader of the party would take over the presidency of the country. However, this point was not made explicit for the learners.

The teacher at Hills Water raised a discussion about good and weak leaders. She also compared autocratic and democratic types of leadership. Although "good" and "weak" are not opposites, and although types of leadership cannot be divided into only two categories, these discussions offered further knowledge on the topic of leadership qualities and voting. In the other classes, the discussion was only about good qualities of leaders.

At Magnificent Campus, the teacher started the discussion about leadership from a school level while at Whales Bay the teacher started from home environment with the parents' role as leaders. In both classes, they discussed the need for assistance and cooperation for effective leadership, and that this applies to the school principal too. These two classes had a brainstorming session by imagining schools without leaders.

There were also differences and similarities in the election titles and results. In one class, a boy and a girl were elected as presidents, in another one class a leader, in the third class a captain, in the last one a monitor and an assistant monitor were elected. The different terms used: "president," "leader," "captain"

and "monitor" may have reflected the level of authority of the elected and/or whether she/he is a democratic or an autocratic leader. Another possibility in such a situation could be that teachers did not know which term to use. The third alternative could be confusion between terms used earlier such as "Class Captain" and newly emerging terms such as "Class President" and "Class Leader". It is not uncommon to hear the terms, "Head Boy", "Head Girl" and "Prefects" at schools.

The term "President" is used to indicate the highest authority of the elected. In the world outside the classroom, in countries with a democratic system, a president can be a person with a lot of power or just a symbolic figure. "Captain" is a term usually used in the military ranking with some positions over it and others under it. There are also "Captains" on sport teams. "Monitor" has its own literary meaning, indicating a control function of the elected person. On the other hand, a "Leader" is a more neutral term that indicates the role of a person who has been elected without a focus on the type of leadership (See definitions/clarifications of terms).

Apart from Whales Bay, the candidates in the other schools were nominated by teachers. In all the classes, vote counters were identified by teachers. If the learners in these classes were capable enough to elect classmates for leadership positions, they were also able to choose their candidates and vote counters. Teachers could have given the learners more rights and allowed them to take more responsibility. More responsibility for the learners could deepen their understanding of the responsibilities of citizens in a democratic society.

The teacher at Magnificent Campus was the only teacher to walk around the classroom with a ballot box to collect votes. In the elections in other classes, learners went to the voting boxes; boxes were not brought to them. The actual voting process in South Africa and other countries requires voters to go to polling stations to vote. The higher the level of authenticity in the instructional setting is, the more useful is the learners' knowledge in practical settings.

Giving an assignment for learners during voting could be considered to be time saving. It is difficult to guess why in one of the classes the assignment was English and in another it was drawing. The other two teachers may have considered the voting process to be an event of great importance and wanted their learners to concentrate only on the voting process. It is also possible the

teachers in the two classes did not feel the same time pressure as the ones mentioned earlier.

The teacher taking home the ballot box from Hills Water can be interpreted in different ways. In the first place, it could be positive that neutral persons without any vested interest counted the votes. On the other hand, it would not be pedagogically relevant for learners when they miss a part of the election process. In the case of the other three classes the votes were counted in front of the learners. It also forced the learners to wait longer to know the result of their voting. This gives learners a reason to wonder whether it is possible that the teacher picked her favourite candidate.

At St. Mary, there were a lot of things to wonder about. The first point I want to raise is the teacher banning some learners from voting in the group election. Two of the four who were forbidden to vote were often isolated from the class for not behaving. I think they may have been the class scapegoats. Whenever something went wrong, they were usually told to sit on one side or go out into the corridor. The four lost their right to participate in a democratic process for electing group leaders, but they were allowed to vote for class captain.

Secondly, I doubt whether the group candidates elected the previous day were really elected by learners. As the teacher indicated on earlier occasions, she was the one to decide who would be group leaders, and even on the day of the election it was she who selected the candidates for the post of class captain. I also wondered why a group leader election took place only in this classroom.

Thirdly, there was an issue related to this teacher's attempt to get one learner elected. During the election, the teacher named Aster on many occasions. In earlier lessons too, I could see that this girl was her favourite learner. But she was unpopular among her classmates because she wrote down the names of those who were considered disruptive and reported them to the teacher.

The teacher tried to make the class aware of the fact that Aster was her favourite by naming her on several occasions and by giving her important assignments. She indirectly showed her interest in having Aster elected as a group leader or class captain, but in both cases, this wish was turned down by learners. I saw what I considered as a hidden struggle between the teacher and the learners, which the learners won on this occasion.

Fourthly, I wondered about her comment at the end of an election. She told the class, after they had voted for Lisa, that they should obey her without question. The class was told that they could not go to the teacher and accuse Lisa of doing something wrong. My worry here is that this could encourage the development of absolute leadership.

On the other hand, the teacher at Magnificent Campus firstly indicated to the class that the election of the class leader was for a limited time. Then she turned to the elected girl and instructed her to do her duty; otherwise she would be replaced by another elected learner. While this teacher emphasised the accountability of the elected girl, the St. Mary teacher instructed the class to obey the elected leader.

Fifthly, I wondered about prejudice of the St. Mary teacher. When looking at school photos from the beginning of the 1990s, I saw that all the teachers and learners were White. In 2009, almost all the teachers were still White, while 80% of the learners were Black. This could be due to the government policy change; in the late 1990s, the school became multiracial, and Black learners were "bussed in" from a township. When this happened, most of the White learners moved to more privileged schools in the neighbourhood.

The above point is reflected by a comment made by this teacher. She told me that many of these learners had not heard about "Little Red Riding Hood" or "Shakespeare". She did not reflect on possible reasons for these learners not knowing about these texts. The majority of Black learners came from a Xhosa ethnic background where they were told their own cultural/ linguistic fairy tales, which would be unknown to the teacher. Further, most of them came from illiterate families where it was unlikely that there would be any interest in this kind of foreign literature or the resources to buy it.

At Magnificent Campus, I observed that the class leader who was elected started her duties by writing down the names of some learners she considered to be disruptive. Despite an election of learners as leaders of classes, their roles and responsibilities were not specified either to them or to the class. I wonder if they believed that they were considered to be the long arm of the teachers and part of the school's control machinery. Or perhaps they were expected to represent their classmates and forward their demands to the different hierarchies of the school system. Because they were only young 3rd grade learners, it was particularly important that they should be given clear information about what their duties as

class leaders would entail. In fact, this information should have been provided prior to the elections so that all learners could understand the roles that their elected classmates would be expected to fulfil.

Conclusion

Leadership qualities and voting as a theme were not focused on sufficiently in all the lessons. The specific leadership qualities that were emphasised varied to some extent from class to class. The levels the discussions covered were also different. In some classes, the discussion started with the family and went the whole way up to the national level. In others, the topic started with the school or the nation.

The number of representatives of the learners elected varied from class to class. In two classes, there were two leaders each, while the other two classes, elected one leader each. In one of the classes, in addition to one leader for the whole class, five group leaders were also elected. The titles of the class leaders varied from class to class. They were referred to as class leader, class president, class captain, monitor and assistant monitor.

In the classes I observed, the teachers engaged in direct teaching and had a dominating leadership role. The teachers steered the whole procedure from preparation to implementation. They decided on candidates and vote counters. On all occasions, the teachers were initiators of discussions and leaders of the whole activity. Even if the teachers asked questions and the learners participated, the questions asked usually led to predetermined or known answers. Encouraging learners to be critical and creative thinkers was absent.

CHAPTER 10
EPISODES FROM CLASSROOMS

In this chapter, I present some findings based on the observation scheme and my field notes. These materials are presented to reflect upon events that are not included in the other parts of the dissertation. The observation scheme (Appendix 9) mainly focuses on four major themes: Content, pedagogy, teacher and learner and are based on the Life Orientation curriculum. The scheme aims at exploring the degree to which what was happening in the classroom matched what was recommended for the curriculum.

While filling in the observation schemes, during each lesson, field notes were also taken. Field notes were taken on whatever I considered was relevant to the study. They included interactions between learners and teacher, interactions between learners and learners as well as interaction with any other persons in the classroom that was relevant to the lesson.

The main focus of the study is on lessons related to leadership qualities and voting. But in this section, I will look more closely at the activities in all the lessons I observed. The lessons I observed focused on five different assessment standards (themes): "…leadership qualities and voting; South African national anthem; the role of acceptance, giving, forgiving, and sharing in healthy social environment; stories of female and male role models; and discussion on diet, clothing, and decoration in variety of religions in South Africa" (DoE, 2002). First I will look at contents, pedagogy, teacher and learner. Then I will discuss some episodes in the classrooms.

The regulative and instructional discourses and how they are expressed in the classroom will be considered. The chapter will also look into the productive and reproductive functions of schools, aspects discussed in the theory chapter and which include the preparation of learners for participation in material production. Teachers reproduce different discourses of life that are sometimes open and official and on other occasions unofficial and unplanned.

Content

The teaching content focused upon in the observation guidelines was based on the goals given in the Life Orientation education curriculum for the Foundation Phase (Grades R-3). The following section will investigate whether the major goals of Life Orientation education in the Foundation Phase were discussed. These major goals are: "Recognition and opposing unfair discrimination; knowledge of diverse languages, cultures and religions; and relationships with family, friends, school and local community" (ibid.).

Recognition and opposing unfair discrimination

This topic was considered on two occasions in a class at Hills Water Primary and on one occasion at Magnificent Campus. It was neglected in the other classes. At Hills Water, the teacher raised the point that during apartheid the majority of citizens were not allowed to vote. On the other hand, the teacher at Magnificent Campus told her learners that the IsiXhosa and IsiZulu parts of the national anthem were banned during apartheid.

On both occasions, the focus was on the past, the denied rights of the people to vote and to sing a part of the national anthem. This led me to think about what kinds of discriminations there could be today? If there are some, shouldn't they be discussed? Or there is no need to oppose them?

Knowledge of diverse languages, cultures and religions

At St. Mary, lessons were given in Afrikaans and English and at Whales Bay in English and IsiXhosa. There were signs that learners were aware of their different cultures. One way they showed the different cultures was through traditional music and dance of various population groups (I saw learners' performances on different occasions in the classrooms).

During one of the lessons I attended at the St. Mary school, the class teacher decided to invite another person to come to the class to talk about the Xhosa culture. As the speaker invited was a white woman, I wondered if the teacher was avoiding an invitation to a Xhosa person. It was also difficult to tell whether she did this out of lack of interest in doing it herself or whether she believed that she did not have sufficient knowledge of the language to talk about this subject.

The woman who came to the class was white, but dressed as a Xhosa woman. She talked about a Xhosa woman who was her nanny when she was a child and she told the learners that she had studied the IsiXhosa language at university. In addition to her traditional clothing she also brought some miniatures with her. These included the figures of a man, a woman and a traditional medicine man in their traditional clothes.

She told the class about the men's and women's clothing, the economic roles of men and women and the food traditions that mainly involved meat and beans. She also explained marriage arrangements, stating that in the Xhosa culture, when a young man falls in love with a girl, he turns to his father to send elders to the girl's family. Next, she explained how they reached an agreement for the marriage to take place.

When the speaker mentioned a traditional fairy-tale figure, Tokoloshe, most learners recognised it and started telling all sorts of stories about it. They mentioned that, if for example, a Tokoloshe gives you a bicycle and if you take it, in return he will ask you to steal something and give it to him. A learner mentioned that when children are supposed to go to bed, sometimes a Tokoloshe can fool them into continuing to play so they would refuse to go to bed.

The learners actively participated in answering some questions, sometimes adding to the speaker's comments or correcting her on some facts. They appreciated her knowledge of their language. They also liked that she dressed in the traditional way.

In addition to telling the learners that she was taken care of by a Xhosa woman as a child, she then referred to the clan her nanny belonged to and told them she also belonged to that clan. Some of the learners from that clan raised their hands and told her they were also from that clan. She and these learners confirmed to each other their membership of the same clan.

At the onset, it could have been a problem that the teacher invited a non-Xhosa person to talk about the Xhosa culture. However, it turned out to be useful and it sparked the learners' participation. The Xhosa learners were very interested in listening to someone who did not have the same physical feature as them but who understand their life style. They recognised most of the points the speaker raised for discussion. The respect shown for learners' culture made it

easy to consider the white woman as one of them. This point to the potential for future integration by understanding each other's cultures.

In addition to language and culture, religion is also an issue that needs to be mentioned. Religion is one major component of everyday life for many South Africans. In all four classrooms, Christianity was the de facto religion. On one occasion, learners at Whales Bay demonstrated their different Christian denominations through song and clothing. In two of the classes, only knowledge of Christianity was made available to learners, while in two other classes knowledge about other religions was considered; traditional African religions, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism were discussed.

Relationships with family, friends, school and the local community

This theme was raised for discussion at least once at Hills Water. At Magnificent Campus and Whales Bay, it was considered for discussion in each classroom on two occasions.

Drawing family trees and identifying relations with family members was one way of dealing with this theme. Discussion of activities inside and outside the school brought in relationships with friends. Additionally, their being in continuous contact with classmates, teachers, principals and other staff indicates close relationships with their school. Classroom discussions on the location of learners' homes and the services available to them and their families made them aware of their local community.

As was mentioned earlier, observations in classrooms took into consideration the goals of Life Orientation in the Foundation Phase. My experience was that different content were focused on in different classrooms. Discrimination was addressed in two classrooms, culture was discussed in detail in one and different languages were focused on by using them as mediums of instruction in the classrooms observed or in other classrooms at the schools.

Pedagogy

This section focuses on methods used for teaching in the classes observed. Methods of teaching can include direct teaching, individual assignments, group work, classroom assignments, and homeworks.

Teaching methods

Depending on the theme and teachers' preferences, different teaching methods were used for the lessons observed. In general, in 17 of the 21 lessons, knowledge transmission (direct teaching) was used. During 20 of the 21 lessons, question-and-answer dialogues took place between learners and teachers. In 7 lessons out of 21, learners were given individual class assignments. In 6 out of 21 lessons, group work or group discussion were used as a teaching method. In 6 out of 21 lessons, homework was given to learners.

At Hills Water Primary, learners were given homework in 4 lessons out of 7. In my conversation with the teacher at Hills Water, she emphasised the importance of free time and weekends as times for learners to play. She however, gave them homework on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. During two lessons at Whales Bay, learners were given homework but no homework was given at Magnificent Campus and St. Mary.

Learners at Hills Water Primary came from well-to-do families. The teacher may have given homework because she knew that the learners could get help from their parents if needed. Perhaps other classes were not given homework because the teachers knew that the parents were unable to help their children.

Parents' inability to help their children could be due to illiteracy. It could also be due to their social and material situation. For example, some learners at Whales Bay lived in shacks with no electricity or other facilities. The absence of electricity made it difficult for learners to sit in the evenings doing their homework.

The learners at Hills Water Primary were asked by the teacher during one of the lessons to read aloud to their classmates what they had written. They also listened to what other learners had written. On one occasion, they were told to just read their own work and listen to others, but not to comment at all on others' work.

In this class, during the national election, the teacher asked the learners to follow on TV and radio programmes what was happening during the election days. They were also told that they were expected to come back and report and explain what they had found out. This demonstrated that the teacher knew that all the learners in her class had access to TV and radio.

In the curricular goals for Life Orientation, knowledge, skills, values and attitudes were noted as areas to be addressed. During the lessons, none of the

teachers mentioned these categories separately. But by the use subjective judgement it was possible to place some lessons in the categories of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. Based on my observations, the exercise of categorizing thoughts or actions in the classroom was quite difficult. It was as well difficult to identify any lesson content that dealt directly with the categories of values and attitudes. Identifying categories of knowledge and skills was less problematic.

There were some isolated examples; for instance, in one class the teacher told her learners about the democratic election process, and made them practise voting, emphasising the value of being honest and having respectful attitudes towards democratic leaders. In another lesson, the teacher provided knowledge about voting, decision-making and the value of a candidate who shows respect, friendship, love and kindness to others. She also emphasised the importance of having a positive attitude towards a democratically elected leader.

Teachers

The teachers at Hills Water and Magnificent Campus paid much attention to their learners. In general, during most of the lessons observed, the teachers listened carefully to their learners. They encouraged participation by asking questions and giving the learners time to think and reply. Compared to the other three classes, my observations show that the teacher at Whales Bay gave learners lesser time to think before they replied to questions.

In their interactions with learners, it was difficult to determine whether or not the teachers favoured learners according to race, sex or ethnic background. At St. Mary, it was clear that the teacher was less appreciative of the family background of Black learners, which she showed by mentioning that these families were illiterate, irresponsible and less interested in their children's schooling. Even if the learners' social background might have an impact on the way they were treated by the teachers, one cannot claim there was any open discrimination by teachers.

Learners

The learners at Hills Water and St. Mary in most cases listened carefully. This was not the case in the other two classes. The learners at Magnificent Campus and Whales Bay concentrated less during lessons.

The learners asked questions during half the number of lessons at Hills Water and during fewer lessons in St. Mary. Generally, asking questions was less frequent compared to answering questions. In most of the total of 21 lessons observed, learners actively participated mainly by replying to questions posed by teachers. The rate on replying to questions was higher in Magnificent Campus and St. Mary.

During about half the number of lessons, learners tried to communicate with their teachers by raising their hand or calling for attention. They did this more often at Magnificent Campus than at Whales Bay. The learners at Magnificent Campus tried to communicate with each other than with their teacher. At St. Mary, the learners communicated a lot with the woman who was there to talk about the culture of the Xhosa people. The learners from Whales Bay were quite curious about me and talked to me often and asked different questions.

Learners with different kinds of learning problems cannot be identified through observation. In many cases, because the schools lack resources, teachers do not talk openly about this category of learners. It was only at Hills Water, in the classroom I was observing, that seven learners were known to have some learning problems and, once in a while, they were given a separate lesson where they received support from the remedial teacher. Their teacher, even in the regular class, gave these learners more attention.

Regulative and Instructional Discourses

Some of the points I jotted down in my field notes were also electronically recorded. As some of these events are discussed in other parts of this work, I will consider a few selected episodes. These events are selected from all the lessons observed.

Bernstein's (1996/2000) regulative and instructional discourses can be used for the purpose of analysing the classroom activities. Although it is not difficult to see the dominance of regulative discourses over instructional discourses, I will present them separately.

Regulative discourses

At Hills Water, children were assessed for discipline every day. As mentioned earlier, one day's good behaviour earned a learner one point. Learners got a

"Merit Letter" and a "Merit Badge" based on the number of points they collected.

In this class, students asked for permission to go to the toilet and carried a plastic symbol with "Boy's Pass" and "Girl's Pass" written on it. They hung the plastic badge on a ribbon around their neck. They also used a special badge hanging around their neck when they left their classroom with a message from their teacher. This structure was supposed to help adults in the corridor know where the learner was going, as well as making sure that they did not go somewhere other than the indicated place, the toilet, office or another classroom.

At Magnificent Campus and St. Mary, learners were isolated from their classmates or repeatedly warned for not listening, talking to each other or other forms of misbehaviour. At Magnificent Campus, the teacher started her lesson by asking learners to cross their hands or their feet and keep quiet. Later on, when she thought certain learners were noisy or disruptive, she usually separated them from the rest of the group to sit by themselves. On some occasions, she threatened to send them to the principal or punish them after the visitor had left the classroom.

At St. Mary, in addition to isolation of learners from their classmates, I once heard a teacher say: "If you don't listen, you will be dead meat!". On another occasion, when one of the girls (the group leader) was not quick enough handing out paper to her group, the teacher decided immediately that she was no longer a group leader. Instead, she asked her favourite girl (Aster, mentioned earlier) to take over (Aster was physically larger and older than the other girl).

Whales Bay was a school with quite lax discipline. Learners were not given any warnings and were not isolated from their groups. Once I observed a group discussion in which the learners were lying on their chests on a table and discussing. This kind of behaviour would not have been tolerated at all in the other schools.

Lax discipline at this school was not limited to learners. The deputy principal was never observed leaving her office to visit learners and see how teachers were doing. During breaks, 3rd grade teachers met in one of the classrooms for a coffee or tea break. On many occasions, they extended their break by 10 to 15 minutes.

On one occasion, when the teacher had not returned from a break, a boy in the class I was observing stood in front of the class, banging on the table demanding silence. I recognised him as the informal leader of the class. The elected monitor and the assistant monitor were there, sitting quietly. The situation with this boy alerted me to note the presence of informal leaders also in the other classes I observed.

One way of bringing about order in the classroom was to reward the learners as individuals or as a group. At Hills Water, learners with a good academic performance were rewarded with a sticker on their exercise book, with exclamations such as "Wow!". At St. Mary, individual learners were given a sweet for respecting order. In general, at every school except Whales Bay, learners were individually or as a group given sweets for good academic performance or behaviour approved by the teacher.

Instructional discourses

At Hills Water, there were in addition to the content of lessons, high levels of socialisation or reproductive activities. Learners were instructed to develop their body, mind and feelings. Being part of certain important group in society was encouraged.

The teacher told the learners that they were going to do physical exercises for two weeks. The children were instructed to exercise one hour a day for two weeks and keep a journal about their exercising. She also told them to go home and tell their parents. "If they exercise regularly, they get better muscles, better health, and will not get diseases when they get old…"

In relation to the above, the teacher wanted to make an inventory of what sports they were participating in at school and at home. All the 29 learners stated that they were involved in one or another sports activity at school and after school. The major activities mentioned were swimming, playing tennis, playing cricket, skateboarding and walking their dogs.

On this classroom wall, there were different hats of different colours, taken from computer clip art. The hats were designed to symbolize different concepts. They were used to help learners categorize their thoughts, feelings and actions. Under each hat explanatory statements were written. For example, Red Hat – Feelings. What do I feel about this?

On one occasion in this classroom, each group was given five teddy bears with different expressions on their faces and each learner in the group was given one bear. The learner told the group, as shown from the figure, whether the bear showed an expression of being happy, angry, sad, jealous or lonely. The learner then talked about her/his own feelings compared with the bear.

On another occasion a pink doll, called "Pigment", was placed on a stool in front of the class. The doll was programmed to play some music. When the teacher turned it on, it started singing a melody. It was learners who asked their teacher to let them listen to "Pigment". The song was meant to inspire them in their story writing.

During one lesson, children were given a subject to write about. The subject was "My favourite sport and my favourite sport star". When they had finished, the learners read out aloud one by one. Before they started reading they were instructed by their teacher not to comment on any other learner's essay; rather, they were expected to read their own essay out aloud and listen to the others. They were told that they should not clap loudly and that they should behave politely like "a British gentleman".

During this session, the girls were addressed as Miss and boys as Mr or Master. I wondered why some of the boys were addressed as Master and the teacher said that it was just for fun. One girl was reminded by the teacher to "Sit like a lady".

In another lesson, the teacher asked the learners how one could become a star. The learners made different suggestions. They said: "He practises for a long time, he sets goals, and he concentrates on what he is doing." The teacher continued with the same theme and asked what is needed to be a star, receiving a lot of replies. One boy said "Never walk from a challenge!" and another boy commented "In my effort I must move from B to A". At the end, the teacher encouraged them by saying, "No goal is unachievable!"

At Magnificent Campus, while discussing the flag and the national anthem, the teacher said, "we are proud to be South Africans. Mr Abraham (referring to me) comes from another country and he is proud of his country and we are as South Africans proud of our country."

The teacher also told to learners that during apartheid, it was forbidden to sing "Inkosi sikelel'I Afrika", the IsiXhosa and IsiZulu parts of the national anthem. She said that now South Africa is a free country and everybody can sing

it. Then they started singing the national anthem together. When they were singing, I could see the smiles on the faces of these children.

At St. Mary, the teacher read from a stencil she had given the class of a story about Rachael De Beer.[17] She also read from a book about Nelson Mandela's life. Later she told me she started with Rachael De Beer because Rachael was a child and the learners could identify with her (she was 12 and most of the learners in the class were between 8 and 10 years old). The teacher said that you could start with the child and move on to the adults such as Nelson Mandela and Emily Hobhouse[18].

The episodes, picked from three of the four classrooms, explain different situations. At Hills Water, learners were trained on planning activities, developing their thinking abilities, identifying their feelings, relaxing while working and aiming to reach some future goals. On the other hand, a teacher at Magnificent Campus told her learners about what was previously forbidden was now permitted (singing all the verses of the national anthem). At St. Mary, telling the story was intended to emphasise making sacrifices to help others.

Production and Reproduction

I wanted to see what was happening in the classes in terms of support for the processes of social production and reproduction (Lundgren, 1977, 1990). My concern was what was happening in the process of training for material and non-material production. What was going on in the process of reproduction of knowledge, skills, values and norms was another concern.

In all four classes signs of past norms and values were visible. On the surface, each teacher was making an effort to adopt the new discourses of

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[17] According to the book, Rachael De Beer lived in Drakensberg area with her farmer family. She was 12 years old and one day there was a snowstorm and all their cattle were brought home except a calf that could not be found and was left out in the storm. Rachael begged her father to be allowed to go out and look for the calf and her father gave his permission. Later on, her younger brother was also allowed to join her. While they were out, they were surprised by a snowstorm. They found an old anthill. She cleaned it and wrapped her younger brother with all her clothes and closed the opening of the anthill. The next day she was found dead wearing only her pants but her brother had survived. The teacher said, "She is one of the South African heroines".

[18] Emily Hobhouse was a British woman, who visited South Africa during the Anglo-Boer war and reported to the British public about the bad treatment of women and children in concentration camps. Her report created a strong public opinion in Britain about how the British government treated women and children in Boer camps in South Africa and it finally led to improvements (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

human rights, equality and integration. This was supported by the new curriculum. But representations of the past or influences outside the classroom were strong. Let me develop some of my points.

As regards the production of qualified leaders and the workforce of the future, in 3rd grades I observed that there were wide gaps. Learners in Hills Water had access to textual, audiovisual and material resources, as well as well-trained manpower. Additionally, there were fewer learners in the class compared with the other schools.

In this context, it was possible for the teacher to pay attention to each learner. During one of my visits to the class, it was the birthday of a boy who got much attention. According to the school's tradition he was not wearing his school uniform that day so as to be unique in the class. He was also given a birthday card (although they did not sing for him) and a voucher from the school to go and get an ice cream from a shop whenever it suited him.

In addition to abundant resources and individual attention, learners at Hills Water were prepared in different ways for the future. For example, they were invited to discuss how to be stars and given ideas about what characteristics are needed to be a future star. They were given support in reflecting on how to tackle challenging situations. The school was preparing these learners for high positions in the future.

On the other hand, at the other three schools there were no such discussions. Teachers did not go beyond the concrete past and present realities. It seemed that preparing learners systematically for future challenges was far beyond the capacity of these classes. Based on the preparations by their school one can guess that some learners from Magnificent Campus and St. Mary might have opportunities in the future labour market.

Learners at Whales Bay were not prepared in terms of knowledge and discipline to satisfy the demands the labour market might make on them. The world outside school, which was emphasised at Hills Water, was beyond the reach of this group. Some of these learners, just like their teachers, will struggle and by their own efforts be able to gain some kind of employment in the labour market. But the possibility of many of them not going to complete high school because of their own lack of motivation or the poverty of their families is high.

Besides this, when it comes to social reproduction, Hills Water was trying to reproduce the traditional gender order as well as British aristocratic traditions.

The reproduction of the British aristocratic tradition may not be local South African. But there could be reasons for it.

The area where the city of Port Elisabeth is located on the East Coast of South Africa was first occupied by the British in 1795. Two decades later, in 1820, about 4,000 British nationals landed here and settled in the area (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007). As a result, the area was strongly influenced by the presence of the British.

Hills Water uses English as the language of instruction and the school's different sport clubs were named after the ships that brought the settlers to East Coast in the 1820s. I think many of the learner's parents had British or other English-speaking backgrounds. It is also possible that some of these families live in accordance with some form of the British aristocratic tradition or wish to live according to its values. This might be the possible reason for an attempt to reproduce it.

Magnificent Campus was, as was mentioned earlier, a school dominated by coloured learners. In the principal's office, there was a prominent photo of a founder of the school who was a coloured person. The school also bears his name. On one occasion, a rugby coach was invited to the class and on another occasion a police officer. They were both Coloured men.

St. Mary was originally a school that used Afrikaans as the language of instruction. When I conducted my study, the grades were divided in Afrikaans and English speaking. Most White children attended the Afrikaans class, while children of other origins attended the English language class.

Most of the teachers had an Afrikaans background. The teacher in the class I observed would usually appreciate and include in her lesson matters that reflected the value of the Afrikaans life. In one lesson she selected a book printed during apartheid that was suitable for the lesson. The book, mentioned earlier was about Rachel de Beer, a girl who sacrificed her life to save her younger brother.

In this class as well as in the school, teachers mainly appreciated the European way of doing things. On one occasion I attended a Christmas celebration drama, which was for the whole school. The ceremony was accompanied by a choir singing and a teacher playing the piano.

The learners in Whales Bay were mainly ethnic Xhosas. Lessons in the lower classes were given in IsiXhosa. Teachers usually talked in positive terms

about the Xhosa tradition. Once in a while, arrangements were made to demonstrate Xhosa traditional song and dance. In this and the other schools, some reproduction processes were integrated in school curricula.

Conclusion

In this chapter, results of the observation scheme, field notes and analysis have been given. The observation scheme focused on the content of the Life Orientation curriculum and the methods of teaching it. It also took into account the main partners in this process, the learners and the teachers.

The contents focused upon were unfair discrimination, diversity and relationships. In two classes, unfair discrimination of the past was discussed. Diversity of cultures and religions was addressed to varying degrees. Relationships with families were focused on in some classes. Drawing family trees and identifying who is who and in what way their family members relate to them were methods used. Their schools as well as their local communities were also discussed.

Teacher-centred methods were prevalent in all four classrooms. The general resources available to teachers and learners varied from school to school and class to class. In some cases, teachers could choose different types of materials while teaching the same theme. In the case of leadership qualities and voting, there was little variation in materials used.

The level of attention given to their learners was not the same across the four classes. Their level of understanding and how much the teacher encouraged them determined the learners' participation. Even if on some occasions teachers were unfriendly towards learners, there were no signs of openly racist or aggressive attitudes towards learners.

Learners appeared to be attentive at Hills Water and St. Mary. There were few learners who raised questions or suggested new ideas although quite a large number of learners replied to questions asked by their teacher.

With the exception of Whales Bay, strong regulative and instructional discourses were prevalent at the schools. The regulative discourse at Hills Water was enforced by a well organised mechanism of control and rewards. At Magnificent Campus and St. Mary, regulation was enforced by rewards (sweets) and direct sanctions (isolating learners from the whole group).

As we can see from the episodes, learners at Hills Water were being prepared for further education and leadership positions in society in the future. They were being prepared to be "stars". The school was involved in their overall development. The focus was on their physical, mental, behavioural and emotional development.

At this school, in addition to preparing learners, the reproductive processes took place at different levels. In a discussion about stars, the pronoun "he" was used repeatedly; a girl was told to "Sit like a lady"; when leaving their class during lessons, their passes were identified as "Boy's Pass" and "Girls Pass"; and the teacher on one occasion said that she preferred separate boys and girls' schools. These practices imply that the school wishes to reproduce gender stereotypes as well as middle-class values.

At the other extreme, Whales Bay did not prepare learners for the labour market sufficiently well. Low levels of resources and weak instruction and control do not enable learners to acquire the knowledge and skills that will result in them having the same opportunities as learners from other schools. These learners were being prepared for unqualified work at low wages.

It was clear from an analysis of the observations and field notes that the reproduction process in these schools followed the trend of the population groups. At Hills Water, the focus was on the reproduction of the British aristocratic tradition. At St. Mary's school, the teacher emphasised the Afrikaans traditions. At Magnificent Campus they were looking for coloured persons who could be role models and at Whales Bay, teachers tried to focus on some elements of the Xhosa culture. Reproduction in these contexts, if focused only on one's own culture, life style and so on, will hardly encourage learning from each other. This might uphold the existing hierarchy and to some extent hinder integration.

CHAPTER 11
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The major concern of this dissertation was to investigate how teachers understood, interpreted and taught the social development outcome of Life Orientation. At the beginning of the study, I thought it was possible to cover all the four outcomes of Life Orientation education, i.e. health promotion, social development, personal development, and physical development and motion. I soon realised however that the outcomes are broad to cover, and my interest was in lessons on democracy, which were included in the social development outcome. That is why I decided to focus only on social development outcome and an assessment standard for leadership qualities and voting. My main question for the investigation was: "How do teachers understand and interpret/interpret and understand the social development aspects of Life Orientation, and how do teachers facilitate the teaching of leadership qualities and voting?"

Teachers' theoretical understanding and interpretation of leadership qualities and voting and their practical application in classrooms were investigated. The study further aimed at both gaining knowledge of the practice and sharing this knowledge with educational systems with a similar practice and those with the ambition of introducing a similar learning area in their school system. Here, it is appropriate to pose questions such as what are the results of this study and what conclusions can be drawn from it?

At an early stage of this study, I realised it would be difficult to understand the classroom reality in isolation. It was necessary to understand the frames in which the classrooms function. To gain a better picture of this reality, both the past and the present education systems were reviewed.

Decisions on different levels of the system influence what happens in the classroom. Due to major changes in South Africa, the old education ideology was deconstructed and replaced by a new one. Theoretically, what was produced in the new formulation arena, how it was contextualised and how it was reproduced in the realisation arena were interdependent (Bernstein, 1996/2000; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000).

The South African education system, in relation to its past, present and intended future will be discussed below. This discussion will be followed by reflections on the knowledge gained by observing lessons on leadership qualities and voting. The frames available for it and the actual undertakings will be discussed. In the conclusion, I will discuss some issues that I found relevant for further studies.

Schools as "Ideal Types"

Weber's concept of the "ideal type" could be used as an instrument of analysis for this section. With this concept, Weber showed the researcher's understanding of a certain reality and its emphasis on a certain aspect of it. Weber defines "ideal type" as

> An ideal type is formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present, and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct (Gedankenbild)…(Weber 1949, 90).

Weber's definition above provides the basis for using the analytical concept "ideal type". The four types of schools, which were regarded as norms and implemented under apartheid (for Black, Coloured, Indian/Asian and White), will be used as examples. In addition to these four types of schools, the four schools investigated in this study can be viewed as "ideal types" as in a general sense they mirror the differences in conditions and resources present in the educational system at the national level in South Africa.

In apartheid South Africa and in post-apartheid South Africa, as intensively discussed in the dissertation, education policies were based on different values and views of human beings. Apartheid was based on the ascription of different values to different categories of people, which was extended to the education system. To borrow Lundgren's (1983) terms, the formulation and realisation arenas for the policies of the two periods were based on different value systems. With the help of the following figures, I will try to explain further my views on the development of the education policy.

Formulation arena
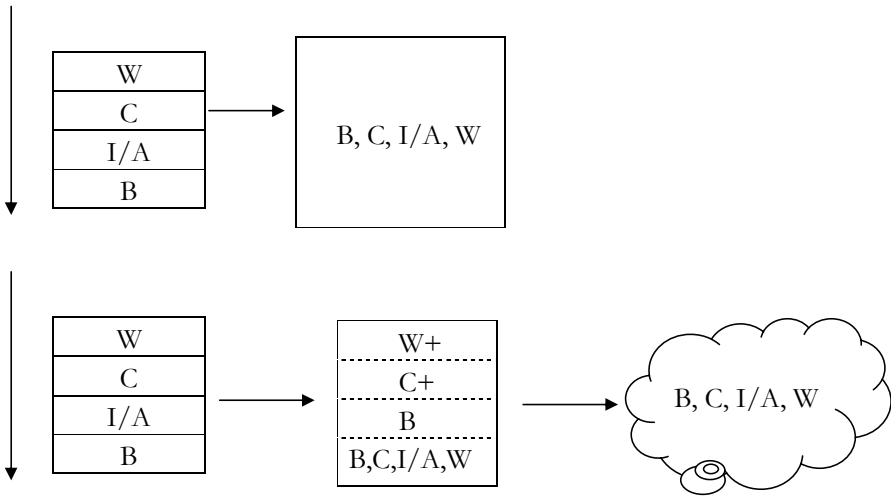
Realisation arena

| Apartheid | Post apartheid | Policy vision |

Figure 11. 1 The ideal types

In the figure, the formulation arena provides a visualized version of apartheid policies and post-apartheid education systems. The realization arena gives an impression of the practice during the two periods and the intended realization arena of the present curriculum. The capital letters in the boxes represent the racial classification by apartheid on an ideological basis, which is still used for statistical purposes. W stands for White, C for Coloured, I/A for Indian/Asian and B for Black. The capital letters with a + sign indicate the dominance of the racial group represented with a capital letter as well as the presence of other groups in the school. Mixed letters in the same box in the post-apartheid period indicate that the school has multiracial groups of learners.

Generally, apartheid was based on a strict boundary between the different populations in South Africa. This practice also included the education system. In the formulation arena, the four racial groupings had their own education policies. As was mentioned in chapter one, the Bantu Education Act, Coloured Person

Education Act, the Indian Education Act and the National Education Act were legislated to implement the divisive educational system.

In the realisation arena during apartheid, these policies were carefully implemented. There were strict regulations about not mixing learners of different race groups. As shown in the above figure, under apartheid the boundaries were closed. The groups attended different schools with different subjects, contents and facilities.

The formulation arena in the post-apartheid period (through laws, legislations and policies) was intended to erase the boundaries between the different races. Schools are not allowed to reject a learner because of racial background (South African Government, 1996). As has been discussed in the dissertation, the integration process was neither fast nor smooth. One major reason could be that even if the old policy was deconstructed and a new policy was produced, there was no law for the latter's immediate and strict implementation. Integration was slow. Another reason was, as described above, active resistance from prestigious formerly White schools against admitting students from other categories.

In the realisation arena, in the post-apartheid years, erasing racial boundaries contributed to the movement of learners mainly from Black townships to schools previously limited to Whites, Coloured and Indian/Asians (W+, C+ and I/A+). In most cases, as the schools which earlier accommodated only Black learners (B) were located in townships with a high crime rate and the quality of education was low, they did not attract learners from other racial groups. It is, mostly from these schools that learners moved to schools with better facilities.

Most schools still often have a high number of learners from one group. If we think of the four schools considered in this study, one was dominated by White learners, the second by Coloured learners and the third by Black learner. Only one of the four schools had mixed racial groups. In the case of teachers, the situation in the schools shows that there was no mobility between schools as in the case of learners. Theoretically, it is possible that well-resourced schools would employ experienced and knowledgeable teachers from township schools and some teachers from these schools might be inspired to join the well-resourced White dominated schools, but it has been observed that this was not a common scenario. Schools dominated by White learners continued to have

White teachers, while in the Coloured school, Coloured teachers were employed and in the Black schools Black teachers were employed. The mixed school, instead of having mixed groups of teachers, retained the majority of its White teachers. Due to socio-economic developments and the erasing of racial boundaries, the number of mixed schools might increase in the future. I will discuss these mixed schools below.

After the fall of apartheid, new grounds for segregation developed. The growing Black middle class and the well-to-do from other race groupings send their children to expensive and well-organised, former White-only schools. Because of their monetary and cultural capital, the Black middle class was welcomed to have their children in the prestigious schools without any colour bar.

This mixing of groups was not limited to only the well-to-do. In the mixed school visited for this study, children from different backgrounds were taught together. There were a few children from better off families, otherwise, Black, Coloured and children from low income White families were in the same class. In this type of school, different cultures meet, clash with each other and opposing values and viewpoints come to the surface. It is also here that the culture of understanding, respect for each other's rights and views and the will to fight together against injustice will prevail in society.

Even if these kinds of schools, if properly handled could be a fertile ground for democracy, they could also play the opposite role. If teachers are not willing to promote the ideas in the curriculum, which was grounded on the idea of finding a multicultural society, it could instead lead to conflicts and discrimination. Learners could disrespect and ignore each other's background and consider that whatever comes from their culture is right while the other side is always wrong. Consequently, it is important to accept that there will always be conflicts of various types, which will be dealt with while respecting the opposite party.

Schools have the responsibility for integrating the different groups. Johnson (2007) mentions four integration models. Based on case studies of four schools, he identified the following models: assimilation, accommodation, positive diversity and productive diversity. According to him, productive diversity is the preferable model because of its "genuine amalgamation of

linguistic and cultural viewpoints". Productive diversity could be a possible model for mixed schools in the future.

In the White dominated (W+) and mixed (B,C,I/A,W) schools, there are already established norms and values. These schools are not changing for the sake of their new learners from other categories. It was, rather those learners who were expected to adapt to their new school. The formulation arena of the new education policies shows an orientation towards diversity and integration in equal terms. But all schools had problems leaving their traditional norms and values for the new ones provided by the state.

The national norms set out for schools in the formulation arena, as shown in different documents, were supposed to support the development of democracy. Based on these norms, this study scrutinized the practice of teaching democracy in the four classes in the study.

Lessons on Leadership Qualities and Voting

This part of the dissertation will discuss the qualification a teacher is expected to have to teach this theme. It will also analyse the materials available in the classes and in general what resources are needed to give the lessons on this theme.

Qualifications required

As was explained in chapter five, the South African Council of Educators (SACE) was mandated the authority to control teacher registration. Based on this authority, the council developed criteria for registering qualified teachers. To be able to register as a teacher to teach young learners (could be Foundation Phase, Grades R-3), one must have a minimum of two years of teacher education after matriculation (12th grade examination). To teach learners in other age groups, a minimum of three years of teacher education after matriculation is required. In addition, there is a code of professional ethics concerning how teachers should perform their work in a professional manner. As regards their relation to their learners, educators should, among other things, "avoid any form of humiliation, and refrain from any form of abuse, physical or psychological;" (SACE, 2010).

All the 3rd grade teachers included in this study had completed a teacher education programme. Most of them had received their training during apartheid. Teacher training during apartheid varied in quality. As has been

discussed earlier, the quality of some of the programmes was high while the quality of others was very low. Not having undergone post-apartheid teachers training was a disadvantage for these teachers in many ways.

The previous teacher training was based on a teacher-centred and fundamental pedagogical approach. This perspective implies authoritarian power and pure knowledge without considering issues outside the subject matter. This focus on pure knowledge had some similarities with what Englund presented in his dissertation regarding the Swedish context as "The scientific-rational conception of education". He divided the educational conceptions that prevailed in Sweden after the 1918 school reform into three conceptions – the patriarchal conception, the scientific-rational conception and a democratic conception. According to him, the scientific-rational conception that dominated in the post-World War II period, emphasised "science as value-free" (Englund, 1986). Compared to the earlier teacher training programmes, South Africa's post-apartheid teacher training focuses on learner-centred, interactive and integrated approaches.

Because of their training during apartheid, these teachers were not exposed to the new learning areas introduced after the fall of apartheid. This means terminologies used in the new curriculum were not familiar to them. In the new curriculum, divisions are made in programmes and learning areas instead of subjects, students are referred to as learners, teachers are referred to as educators in some documents, and so on.[19]

A majority of South African teachers attended between one day and two weeks of in-service training to be introduced with the new programmes and learning areas. This training was not only for Life Skills or Life Orientation. Life Skills was given a rather marginal place as a component of this in-service training. I will return later to the issue of the marginal position of Life Skills.

Most teachers expressed a wish for both more frequent and more comprehensive in-service training. Some of them also raised the point that this

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[19] Based on the recommendations of the Curriculum Implementation Review Committee (appointed in 2009) and the decision of Council of Education Ministers, Minister of Basic Education Angie Matsie Motshekga announced a number of changes on the 6th of July 2010. One of the announcements was that starting in 2011, instead of using the terms "learning areas and programmes", the term subjects will be used. In addition to this, there will be fewer topics to cover, fewer projects for learners and a lighter assessment workload for teachers (Department of Basic Education, 2010).

insufficient in-service training contributed to the limitations of their understanding and interpretation of this programme or learning area. However, there were also teachers who said that the content of Life Orientation was not completely new to them because they recognised some aspects of it from subjects such as guidance and environmental studies they had taught during apartheid. Even if they recognised some aspects of it, the content of the outcome dealing with democracy originates from the new constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996) and the education policies of the country.

Teachers could have been better prepared to take their responsibility for teaching democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. In the first place, it would have been necessary to give them orientation on why teaching about democracy had become necessary. Secondly, they should have been given convincing information on why the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic relationship between learners and teachers was needed. Thirdly, they should have been given sufficient information about the content of the learning area dealing with democracy as well as pedagogical methods for teaching it.

Resources available

The four schools covered in this study were different in many ways. According to my observations, the infrastructural, material and financial resources available to these schools varied. There were also variations in their teaching facilities.

One of the schools had textbooks, wall posters, audio-visual materials, and film projectors. This school owned a well-organised library, had reading time, and provided its learners with other professional aids such as the support of special education teachers and a school psychologist. At the other extreme, one of the schools had none of these resources except some textbooks and an overused and worn-out blackboard to write on.

In general, there were differences in the quality of education, staff, facilities and pedagogical methods at the four schools. The White-dominated school (W+) with well-trained teachers and well equipped with material resources had much better pedagogical settings than the others. But teaching leadership qualities and voting did not need special or expensive materials. All the classes could afford the basic materials needed for the lesson. Paper was used for cards, pens to sign on cards or writing the names of preferred candidates and paper or plastic boxes were used as ballot boxes.

We can look at the availability and lack of resources with the help of Lundgren's concepts, goal system and frame system. As indicated in the goal system, access to resources such as textbooks and other teaching materials in combination with other factors supports successful achievements in schools. The provision of resources in the frame system such as organizational access and physical equipment can benefit the teaching process. On the other hand, schools or classes that lack what could be accessible via goal and frame systems will be constrained from providing an optimal teaching context (Lundgren, 1979).

Teachers' Attitude towards their Environment

While the ideal teacher is flexible and respectful, teachers who show contempt for their learners could be said to rely on belief systems of the past in South Africa. A teacher may still believe that the old system of division was right and should have been retained. It is also possible that a teacher could be blind to systemic problems that benefit one group but not others. Harber, referring to a study by the Committee on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP), captured the situation in the following text:

> The same study also found that there was considerable nostalgia for an imagined golden age in which children respected elders and certainly prevailed. For some South African teachers, nostalgia for the old order was coupled with suspicion of the new and radical democratic values accompanying the end of apartheid. There were difficulties for some teachers in reconciling the contradictions of the collapse of apartheid (a good thing) with the break down of traditional values (a bad thing). This desire for certainty and fixed rules sits awkwardly with one of the key competencies of teacher education as defined by COTEP – the development of creative and critical thinking. Yet, evidence suggests there remains quite a low level of critical consciousness among teachers. Under apartheid, teachers were expected to follow rules and implement prescriptive curricula established from above. Their job was to obey orders and not to be creative… (Harber, 2001: 81).

As teachers have different backgrounds, their ways of understanding their context, their assignment and the way they act could vary widely. There could be some teachers who come from a well-to-do family or have spouses with a good income and who became teachers only because it was an employment opportunity. On the other hand, there were teachers who came from very poor communities and took the work as it was the only way for them to earn an income. During apartheid, some groups were banned from working in any

profession, but being a teacher of their own groups was allowed; Blacks could teach in schools for blacks and the others in their respective communities.

On the other hand, there were also some teachers who say that they love the profession. They like the school environment and the children and they would be happy to play a socialising role. As presented in the interview, one teacher said that she was not happy with her salary. However, she said she joined the profession not because of the salary, but because of her love of teaching. It is possible that teachers in a similar situation can still appreciate their work as teachers, despite shortcomings in their schools and their wish to have a better salary and working environment.

The Teaching Process

Life Orientation in the Foundation Phase is classified as being in the Life Skills Programme. Life Skills was viewed differently by different decision makers. During the introduction of the first curriculum C2005 in 1997, the three programmes in the Foundation Phase, Life Skills, Literacy and Numeracy were each allocated 25% of the time. The other 25% of the time was left for flexible use. After the first curriculum was revised in the new curriculum (RNCS, 2002), the time for Literacy was increased to 40% and the time for Numeracy to 35%, while the amount of time for Life Skills remained unchanged (Abraham, 2008a).

The reduced emphasis on Life skills continued later. The first conference on Foundation Phase education in South Africa was held in 2008. In her opening address to the conference, the then Minister of Education, Ms Naledi Pandor, completely ignored Life Skills. From the beginning to the end, she emphasised Literacy and Numeracy (DoE, 2008). A recent report by an expert group appointed by the Minister of Basic Education to assess the implementation process of the national curriculum, recommended replacing this programme with another subject. The recommendation was to replace the democratic component of the programme with religious and moral education (Dada, F. et al., 2009).

Based on the recommendations of the group, in September 2010 a draft policy document, "Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)" was released for public comment. In the new document, Life Skills is included as a subject and not as a programme and its content has been changed in the Foundation Phase. Instead of having learning areas, including Life Orientation, it

is proposed that it should have subjects. The four subjects of Life Skills are: Beginning Knowledge, Arts and Craft, Physical Education and Health Education. It is proposed that Life Orientation as a subject start from the Senior Phase (Grades 7-9). In the Foundation Phase, the subject Beginning Knowledge is supposed to replace the social development components of Life Orientation. While themes on national symbols, diversity and relationship are in the draft, themes such as leadership qualities and voting have been removed without sufficient explanations (DoE, 2010).

If one looks back at Life Skills (Life Orientation), one reason for its low status was that it was not a subject for national examination; nor was it one of the subjects internationally tested. In the international tests for reading, writing and mathematics in the 1990s, South Africa's score was not impressive. This could also be one of the reasons for focusing on learning programmes other than Life Skills. In the following part of this section, I will proceed to a discussion on attending class by learners of diverse backgrounds and their participation in lessons on leadership qualities and voting.

Before 1994, as has been mentioned in many places in the dissertation, different activities were carried out separately because of racial divisions and isolation from each other. Following the fall of apartheid, discrimination based on race was made illegal. At present, as evidence from the schools visited shows, it is not uncommon to have learners with different backgrounds in the same class. Here, it can be noted that democracy has both its advantages and challenges.

Allowing learners from disadvantaged groups to attend schools with richer resources could be considered to be an advantage gained through democracy. On the other hand, bringing together different groupings previously isolated from each other and allowing them expressing rights to their languages and culture provokes conflicts until they gradually reach a certain level of understanding and tolerance for each other. These challenges are faced by teachers too. In contrast to the mono-racial classes they used to teach, in some schools they were challenged by having learners from different racial, linguistic and cultural groups with different norms and values.

As was seen in earlier chapters, the teachers presented the theme of leadership qualities and voting in different ways. Their emphasis on leadership qualities varied in the way they were presented and on who presented them. In

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some classes, leadership qualities were negotiated and agreed upon by learners and their teachers. In one of the four classes, the teacher listed leadership qualities for learners. In this case, the learners were deprived of the possibility of participating in thinking about the theme and coming up with their own proposals. This makes the teacher a source of knowledge and not a facilitator for learning.

Carrying out a democratic election process allows learners to participate both as candidates and voters. As voters, they will be expected to register, think about whom they are going to vote for, decide on whom to vote for and finally vote. When a person wishes to have a leadership position, she/he makes a decision to be a candidate. After becoming a candidate, the person campaigns to explain the idea she/he wants to promote and why her/his idea is better than those of the other candidates. If the voters are convinced, they vote for her/him and the class gets a leader. This could be considered an ideal process.

Another possible way of actualizing democratic elections in the classroom would have been to take the democratic system in the country as an ideal. This would mean identifying different parties, with the parties electing their representatives to campaign, and when one party wins, the leader of the winning party becomes the class leader.

It is possible that teachers deliberately avoided dividing learners by party or any grouping. There are indications in the country that sympathy for political organisations is influenced by ethnic and racial backgrounds (Magadla, 2010). So it is possible that some teachers avoid situations that could lead to their learners organising themselves on either an ethnic or a racial basis.

In the classrooms, either the first general election principles or South Africa's type of democratic system can be considered as ideal for a classroom exercise. It was done in different ways that were considered by the teachers to be democratic.

In the case of voting, the guidebooks for teachers discussed earlier in this dissertation provide guidance for teachers on how to go about their work. It is clearly stated that "learners nominate candidate", "the candidates speak to the voters", "votes are counted", "the result is announced and the winner is announced" (Best Books Panel, Teacher's Guide, 2007).

In the voting process, learners were not encouraged to exercise their right to choose to be a candidate. One of the reasons could be the teachers' belief that

regardless of who elects the candidates, the voting, the most important part of the process, is still done by all the learners in the class. Another possible explanation could be that teachers doubt the maturity of their learners because of their low age and consequently taking the decision on their behalf. In three of the classes, no one in the class was asked by a teacher if she/he wanted to be a candidate; instead, in two of the classes, the teacher (without asking the learners) decided to pick the candidates and in one of the classes the teacher decided to consider all the learners as both candidates and voters. Only at Whales Bay were the learners encouraged and allowed to elect their candidates. As mentioned earlier, in one of the classes, in addition to nominating candidates, the teacher tried to manipulate the process to have a girl she favoured elected. The same teacher on another occasion fired one of the girls elected as a group leader and replaced this elected individual with her favourite girl. Thus, this teacher modelled an authoritarian rather than a democratic approach

None of the teachers created a learning environment that allowed candidates to campaign and say what they could do for the class. Furthermore, no opportunity was provided for candidates to speak to the class before voting. Thus, there was no real competition. In three of the classes, the votes were counted in front of the learners/voters; a practice that could have led to hurt feelings for learners who received few votes.

In the last class, votes were not counted on the spot and the results were not announced immediately. Instead, the teacher took the ballot box home with her, saying that she would ask her husband and son to count the votes. As a result, the announcement was delayed a few days. This may also have created a lack of trust in the validity of the process on the part of the learners.

Elected class representatives were referred to by different titles in different classes. What the different positions in the classroom are called could be considered to be of minor importance. However, the titles may also have a meaning or a message. In one class, the title was "president", in another class "leader", in the third class "captain" and in the fourth class "monitor". Could this have any implications? It is difficult to be certain.

The textbooks I referred to earlier use the term "class president." On the other hand, the curriculum document refers to "leadership qualities". This could imply that learners are electing a leader. The teacher using the term "leader" was probably thinking of the more neutral implication of the term. It is unclear what

the teachers were thinking about when they used the terms "captain" and "monitor," which clearly have different meanings from "president" and "leader."

The terms "president" and "captain" mainly emphasise the leading or commanding role of a person. There are presidents of a country as well as of a company and other organisations. There are also captains of sports teams, in the military, of airplanes and of ships. The role of the presidents or captains in most cases focuses on leading and taking from one point to another and the full authority to lead.

A "monitor", on the other hand, mainly plays the role of controlling behaviour. It can also indicate that there is an on-going activity following its own course. The monitor checks if the participants in an activity are following the right course.

One of the guidebooks mentioned earlier in the dissertation recommended which words to use when practising voting in the class. One of them was "election." The concept of "election" was not discussed in any of the classes. Instead, the discussion was only about leadership qualities and voting.

The terms "election" and "voting" do not represent exactly the same concepts or phenomena. Election represents a wider process, which includes voting. In the election process, candidates compete against each other using ideas about issues, needs and possible solutions to problems as their campaign platforms. Finally, voters exercise their right to decide who should be elected as a leader.

Eligibility to register to vote has been an issue of significant historical importance in South Africa. Nowadays, voters are registered at least some weeks before an election, and on Election Day, ID cards are checked. To avoid illegal double voting, people get a stamp on their hand that remains for one or two days until the end of the election process and then fades away. In the class elections, it would have been possible to discuss this procedure and to pretend to check ID cards and the stamps. However, no teacher dealt with this part of the election process.

The teachers were the ones facilitating the whole process. The teachers' leadership was not limited to facilitating the voting but went far beyond it. It hampered the vital principles of democracy, the right to participate and make a decision (Held, 1996) to nominate and elect leaders. If teachers left more room for learners' decisions, it would have helped learners to understand more about

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democratic decision-making processes and their right to be a candidate and to nominate candidates.

There was an overemphasis on individual leaders instead of the leadership function in the context of democracy, as in the case of one of the class elections. The teacher instructed learners to obey the elected leader, instead of making them aware of a democratic principle of the accountability of an elected leader to her/his constituency. The role of local, provincial and national institutions in reinforcing democracy was absent in the classroom discussion.

If we consider the general conditions, contrary to the SACE code of conduct there were teachers who humiliated their learners; for example, a teacher said to a learner: "your head is a pumpkin". Another teacher talked about "Black children" not doing their school assignments and that "Black parents" were not concerned about their children. These statements demonstrated a lack of respect for the code of conduct and for some groups of learners, their families and their home environments and culture. It appeared that those teachers had difficulty leaving behind their prejudices towards certain groups.

As we have seen, in these schools, teachers behaved in different ways on different occasions. Teachers restricted the learners' right to nominate their leaders, they had different ways of emphasising the leader's role, requested the learners to submit to elected leaders, prevented some learners from voting and employed strict disciplinary measures. How could these acts be explained?

To answer these questions effectively, it is essential to step out of the school and relate the situation to society at large. Some of the teachers come from an environment where parents give their children a very strict upbringing. These teachers also attended schools with a strong control element and belief in physical punishment. After the fall of apartheid, physical punishment in schools was outlawed. However, there is evidence that corporal punishment is still used in some schools (Govender, 2009).

Teachers' Understanding and Interpretation

Ideally, the teacher is supposed to read, understand and interpret the assessment standard or the theme, leadership qualities and voting. Given this understanding, the teacher introduces the concepts of the theme. With the help of this introduction, learners are expected to engage in discussions on the topic/concepts.

For some teachers, the concepts as well as the practice of understanding and interpretations were limited to texts. Other teachers related text and context. They attempted to relate their understanding and interpretation to their learners' life experiences.

Some teachers complained that lack of a good quality and frequent further training limited their capacity to understand and interpret the curriculum. In most cases, consulting colleagues, superiors and institutions in the field of education compensated such shortcomings. In a few cases consulting documents was mentioned as a way of arriving at a better understanding and interpretation.

There was a wide difference among learners across these four schools. Varying socio-economic backgrounds was the primary differentiating factor. But there were also differences along lines of race (according to the old classification), ethnicity, language, religion, age and gender. The teachers, perhaps unintentionally, ignored these differences. While there were still injustices in many ways, it seemed that they tried to avoid discussing them.

Some of the teachers instead emphasised the unity of South Africans. The national anthem, the national symbols and the national sports teams were emphasised. Why? Basil Bernstein writes on the issue of disguising hierarchical relations as follows.

> By creating a fundamental identity, a discourse is created which generates what I shall call horizontal solidarities whose object is to contain and ameliorate vertical (hierarchical) cleavages between social groups. All schools make massive attempts to create horizontal solidarities among their staff and students, irrespective of the political ideology and social arrangement of the society. The discourse which produces *horizontal solidarities* or attempts to produce such solidarities from this point of view I call a mythological discourse. This mythological discourse consists of two pairs of elements which, although having different functions, combine to reinforce each other. One pair celebrates and attempts to produce a united, integrated, apparently common national consciousness; the other pair work together to disconnect hierarchies within the school from a causal relations with social hierarchies outside the school. (Bernstein, 1996/2000: xxiii)

What these teachers reflected in their words was the constitution of the country and the focus of the mass media. Everywhere, there was talk about helping to create a united South Africa instead of a divided country. Opinion polls were conducted on this issue and were considered positive if people referred to themselves as South Africans rather than mentioning their racial category. The

results of a survey from December 2009 were presented with pride because it showed that 54% of the population compared to 46% in 2008 described themselves as "first and foremost" South Africans, instead of identifying themselves by race, language, culture, religion or other factors (Futurefacts, 2010).

As mentioned earlier, a teacher in one of the classes disregarded differences by referring to learners and herself, as all having been created by God, all having the same constitutional rights and responsibilities, and all being equal before the law. But learners saw their obvious differences every day. Socioeconomic differences were seen at the end of the lesson when learners left their classroom for lunch. In the mixed school (B,C,I/A,W), for example, those who had food from home, sat and ate their lunch and those who had money from their parents bought their food from the shop in the school compound. The learners from poor families went out to the school kitchen and queued for the handouts.

As was indicated in the chapter on discussion of theory, constructing differences was the basis of systems of oppression and discrimination (Rothenberg, 1990). Just as it is dangerous to emphasise differences, it is equally damaging to disregard differences (Bernstein, 1996/2000). Groups facing both covert and overt economical and other types of problems should be identified and recognised; further, they should be accorded empathy and solidarity in their struggle for social justice.

The Learners

The communication between the teacher and the learners is expected to provide learners with knowledge, skills, values and attitudes related to the curricular theme of leadership qualities and voting. The practice of electing candidates, voting, vote counting and finally having an elected leader, is designed to provide learners with the skills needed in the election process. Values such as honesty, respect for the choices of others and attitudes such as being in favour of the democratic process of electing leaders are expected.

It is difficult to claim that learners understood a theme because they were provided with a list of information. In a situation where they were not allowed to participate fully, they limited themselves to comments very close to what the teacher presented. The learners raised a few questions, but in most cases, they replied to questions posed by their teachers.

The teachers accepted this routine teaching process. During the observed lessons, they did not encourage learners to look critically at the lessons or come up with alternative creative ideas.

Learners can acquire a surface understanding of the theme based on a direct explanation by the teacher, but the development of in-depth understanding requires more effort from both learners and teachers. More participation, further questions and critical comments from learners could probably contribute to deeper understanding. In the classes I studied, teachers used almost 80% of the time. The results of data on verbal communication in classrooms in Swedish school environments collected over ten years in the 1970s verified teachers' dominance and the fact that they used two-thirds of the lesson time (Lundgren, 1983). Even if this information does not reflect the reality of Swedish schools today, the South African schools visited for this study reflect this kind of reality.

In this study, some of the teachers believed learners could not understand what they were teaching. One of the major reasons they gave was the language barrier for learners attending lessons in other languages than their home language. On another occasion a teacher referred to learners with illiterate parents and stated that they neither read magazines nor were exposed to other news media. These comments show that as a result of their backgrounds, these learners have restricted codes compared to learners from middle-class families with elaborated codes. Elaborated middle-class codes are used in the same way both at home and in the school environment (Bernstein, 1971).

On the other hand, there were teachers who believed learners could easily understand the concepts taught. These teachers argued that they could simplify the concepts to suit the age and knowledge level of the learners. Other explanations given by these teachers were that teaching a theme to learners, connecting it to their general life experiences, culture and religion could help them to understanding. They also said that when learners get into a trouble because of language barriers, using their home language when explaining things to them makes it easier for learners to grasp what was taught.

Conclusion

The assessment standard I focused on dealt with "leadership qualities in school context and participating in school voting" (DoE, 2002). Even if it was stated in

the curriculum in that way, all 3rd grades considered general leadership qualities instead of "leadership qualities in the school context", voting in the classroom context instead of "school voting" as it was written in the curriculum. This focus on general leadership qualities and voting in a classroom context did not affect my work.

My fieldwork in schools in South Africa showed me that schools focus very much on control and authoritative administration. In the classrooms, there was strong teacher dominance. Teachers tended to give strict orders and learners just followed without questioning.

When a teacher introduces a theme, the focus is mainly on the content and the transmission of the content. The content of a particular theme was taken from a certain textbook. Here, I see a parallel with what Lundgren (1977) wrote concerning use of the integrated curriculum by teachers in Sweden.

> The curriculum has, at the same time, become more integrated in the sense that insulation on the syllabus level has diminished,…Looking on curriculum documents the classification has been weaker, but as the competency of teachers in relation to subject has more or less remained the same…this weaker classification can be doubted…(Lundgren, 1977: 119).

My observations show that teachers transmitted the contents of themes strictly and narrowly only from a certain textbook. As was discussed earlier in the dissertation, it was possible enriching a theme by integrating texts from different learning programmes. For example texts from Life Skills discussed election procedures, texts from Numeracy helped in calculating the results of elections and texts from Literacy described an election day and the visit of a president.

Based on their socio-economic background, their view of democracy, their training, their work experiences and the school environment, different teachers understood, interpreted and facilitated the teaching of Life Orientation differently. When teaching the theme, the teachers with abundant resources were able to present the theme in various ways. They used books when preparing their work and in some cases read aloud to the class in explaining their theme.

Explanations, reading texts and question-and-answer sessions were used in particular when teaching leadership qualities and voting. Group discussion as a teaching method was used minimally during the lessons on this theme. After

going through the theme and informing the learners about the procedures of an election, the teachers usually moved directly to the election process.

It seemed certain that the learners learned something about leadership qualities and voting. But if they had been allowed to be more actively involved in preparing materials such as the voting cards and ballot box, in freely discussing the theme and in nominating all their candidates, they might have acquired more knowledge, skills and experiences from the lessons. It would have been good if this proverb (some call it Chinese while others refer to it as Native American) had been considered as a motto, "tell me and I *will forget*, show me and I *may not remember*, involve me and I *will understand!*" The lessons on leadership qualities and voting target both the theoretical and the practical understanding of the learners. So for the sake of understanding, involving learners in the teaching process is essential.

There are reasons for wondering whether some of the teachers were interested in their learners acquiring deep knowledge of democracy. A teacher in one class told her learners to behave like the British aristocrats, telling a girl to sit like a lady, and believed in separate schools for boys and girls. Another teacher told her learners to respect elders and teachers. How compatible are these views with democracy? Some teachers can talk about democracy and do what is written in the policy documents and textbooks, but they may be aware that they could find their own authority in jeopardy if learners get a real sense of democracy.

It is not difficult to imagine those sessions on leadership qualities and voting leading to possible misunderstandings by learners in some of the classes. In some of the classes, learners only discussed the good qualities of leaders and this did not stimulate learners to see both the good and bad qualities of leaders. In addition, when teachers (instead of facilitating the election process) over controlled it by choosing the candidates and vote counters and so on, learners could perceive their rights as being very limited. When, as in the case of one class, learners are told to accept all directives coming from the elected leader, they would be likely to believe that they elected their masters instead of representatives to speak for them.

To improve the teaching of leadership qualities and voting, those who are dealing with this theme need to be convinced of model democratic processes by using a true facilitator role to enable better understanding through participation and encourage learners to reflect. Arranging visits to a local election office or

meeting elected leaders of local communities or cities could provide a firsthand insight for teaching this theme. In addition to the above, it is important to invite someone who can come and talk to children about this theme. Such persons give learners an opportunity to meet elected leaders and learn about how democratic ideas work in practice.

The teachers in the classes I observed had a general training as teachers but not specifically in Life Orientation. Continuous training for teachers to improve their knowledge of the theme is needed. Through continuous training and the exchange of ideas with other teachers, they can develop deeper knowledge of the theme and improve their teaching methods. Effective use of time set aside for exchange of ideas among colleagues in schools would also benefit teachers teaching this theme.

If a teacher is teaching about democracy and acting undemocratically, it will not be helpful for either the teacher or the learners. Principals are also responsible for acting democratically towards their staff. The principals, the teachers and the entire school community are responsible for creating a democratic school environment that benefits democratic socialisation of future citizens.

This study was conducted in a small fragment of a large learning area, in four schools in four classrooms in a small part of a large country. Clearly, the study only generalizes some aspects of the realities of the whole nation. Teachers in this study cannot be considered representative of all teachers of South Africa. The research involved an investigation of a small piece of the large reality of the country. But due to certain common characteristics of schools studied and other schools in the nation, some findings from the schools studied could be generalised.

Improvement in schools might require a general improvement and transformation in society. Job opportunities for the unemployed, better residences and better services for formerly oppressed groups are necessary. But with the situation as it is at present, it is still possible to improve teaching. Improvements in the teaching of Life Orientation education could also be made. For this to happen, the role of teachers with democratic views and democratic practices is vital.

Teachers could be more open in their lessons. Instead of just focusing on transmission, they could provide more room for discussion and learner

involvement. Even in the practice of electing classroom leaders, they could create opportunities for high levels of learner participation. They could allow learners to choose their candidates as well as becoming vote counters after the election. They could demonstrate full transparency by counting the votes in front of the learners.

Candidates could be encouraged to develop their own ideas for improvements in the classroom and school. While one candidate stands for one idea, another could have a very different perspective. They could plan efforts to attract votes. The teacher could help learners understand that having different ideas and struggling for their ideas to be accepted and implemented does not mean that people must consider one another to be enemies. Learners need to learn to tolerate, appreciate and celebrate others.

Teachers need also to think and rethink the importance of respect for their learners as individuals, as well as their families and the population groups they belong to. They need to also think about individual differences within groups. Insulting a learner for lack of knowledge because he/she comes from a specific family or racial group violates the rights of the child and the teacher's code of conduct. Teachers are responsible for evaluating their actions and attitudes and improving them. They must always be mindful of the fact that their words and behaviour serve as models of "right thinking" and are part of their professionalism.

This research provides a perspective on how a segment of the Life Orientation learning area is understood, interpreted and taught in four classrooms in South African schools. There is a need for further research in this area. Comparative studies are needed to examine differences in teaching the social development aspects of Life Orientation by teachers trained during and after apartheid. This research could include investigating the level of participation of learners in classrooms led by these different categories of teachers. It would also be helpful to look into the understanding of this learning area by learners from different socio-economic backgrounds. A study could also be made to show the effects of different types of school leadership on the teaching of this learning area.

Thinking ahead it can be noted that South Africa is once again preparing for another adventure within the educational sector. As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, in 2009 a task team set up to review curriculum implementation

presented a number of recommendations and in July 2010 the government decided to address some problems facing the implementation process. Some of the issues to be addressed were raised by teachers interviewed for this study. The government decided to ease the burden of teachers in relation to assessment of learners, to reduce the number of topics to be covered in each grade and the number of projects for learners. The new policy document, "Action Plan to 2014: Towards the realisation of Schooling 2025", which was released for public comment this year, overemphasised test results, the importance of standard textbooks and clarity of directives concerning what teachers should do. On the other hand, the democratic socialisation process in schools was ignored. A future study could investigate the process of development of this action plan and its effect on the South African school system.

In general, having a progressive curriculum, guidelines and textbooks promoting democratic values does not do all the work. The progressive and constructive ideas in these documents need to be practised. To do this, there is a need to prioritize democratic working traditions in schools. Further training in democratic working procedures, regular meetings where each teacher can reflect on what she/he thinks and how she/he works to create a democratic working environment could contribute to improvement. There is also a need for a forum where learners are supported in reflecting on how they see democratic processes working in their classrooms and schools. Special inspection programmes for schools to examine how they carry out their assignments and responsibilities related to socialising democratic citizens should be considered.

Finally, I still wonder if educating for democracy can succeed in a basically undemocratic environment? Education for democracy should not be based solely on theoretical knowledge transmission. The schools, the teachers and other adults working with young learners should teach democracy by practising it.

Swedish Summary

> *Demokrati måste födas på nytt varje generation,*
> *och utbildning är dess barnmorska*
> (Dewey, 1889/1995).

Inledning

Skolämnet "Life Orientation" ges i hela grundskolan i Sydafrika. Under de första fyra skolåren delas det upp i fyra mål som ska uppnås. De fyra målen berör hälsoutveckling, social utveckling, personlighetsutveckling och fysisk utveckling och motion. Jag har främst intresserat mig för social utveckling, som i sin tur indelas i fem olika teman: ledarskapskvalitet och att rösta, att kunna förklara vad nationalsången handlar om och att kunna sjunga den, att förstå och diskutera betydelsen av att acceptera, ge, förlåta och dela med sig i en hälsosam relation, att berätta om kvinnliga och manliga förebilder från olika lokala kulturer och att diskutera mat, klädsel och symboler och deras betydelse för olika religioner i Sydafrika. Bland dessa fem teman har jag valt att inrikta mig på ledarskapskvalitet och på att rösta (leadership qualities and voting) som undervisas i årskurs tre (8-10 åringar). Studien genomfördes i fyra klasser i fyra olika skolor med olika elevsammansättning. Tre av skolorna hade en dominans av färgade, svarta respektive vita elever, medan eleverna i den fjärde skolan kom från olika befolkningskategorier.

Huvudfrågan i min avhandling syftar till att få svar på hur lärare förstår och hur de tolkar momentet social utveckling i "Life Orientation" och hur undervisningen om ledarskapskvalitet och temat om att rösta i klassen förbereds och genomförs. För att besvara huvudfrågan ställs några stödjande frågor; Vilka kvalifikationer behövs för att undervisa i "Life Orientation"? Vilka resurser är tillgängliga för lärare beträffande undervisningen om social utveckling inom "Life Orientation"? Finns skillnader i undervisningen i olika skolmiljöer? Hur förstår elever temat om ledarskapskvalitet och röstningsförfarande? Ett övergripande syfte för mitt arbete har varit att försöka förstå vilken betydelse undervisning och utbildning i demokratirelaterade ämnen kan ha för att främja ett demokratiskt samhälle. I det övergripande syftet finns också tanken om

erfarenheter från Sydafrika kan användas i undervisning i andra afrikanska länder.

Tidigare forskning

"Life Orientation" tillkom i den första läroplanen efter apartheidtiden (C2005) 1997. Det var ett av åtta kunskapsområden som senare återkom i den reviderade läroplanen, "Revised National Curriculum Statement" (RNCS, 2002). Under revideringsprocessen kom stark kritik, inte minst från den kristna högern. Kritiken gällde bland annat förslaget om att utgå från gemensamma värderingar, att ge eleverna kunskap om olika religioner, att sluta utöva praktiserande av kristen tro i skolan och införande av sexualundervisning i skolan (Chisholm, 2005).

Under apartheidtiden var lärare från utsatta grupper ofta väl respekterade i sina lokalsamhällen utifrån sitt engagemang i kampen mot apartheid (Wieder, 2004). De åtnjöt respekt för att de hade en anställning, för att de hade lyckats ta sig förbi apartheids olika restriktioner för att få ett arbete, för sina ämneskunskaper, för att de använde skolan som arena för antiapartheidkampen genom att de undervisade sina elever om antiapartheidideologi och utifrån sin roll som ledare i sina närsamhällen (Hammet, 2008). Allt detta försvann efter 1994. Istället för det sociala kapital som tidigare hade givit lärarna respekt, började tillgång till ekonomiskt kapital bli det som räknades. Lärare saknar i allmänhet ekonomiskt kapital och detta har lett till att de har förlorat den tidigare framskjutna plats de haft i samhället (ibid.).

Lärarna var inte direkt delaktiga i läroplansreformen. Den utformades på högsta politiska nivå och i samspel med universiteten och internationella experter. Lärarnas tidigare arbetssätt liknade inte den nya målinriktade, elevcentrerade och processinriktade undervisningen och bedömningssättet. Detta har gjort och gör implementeringen svår (Malcom, 2000; Smit, 2001; Vandeyar & Killen, 2007). För en del lärare var det svårt att förlora makten över sina elever i klassrummet. Några kunde inte acceptera avskaffandet av fysisk bestraffning (Morrell, 2001). De som fått sin utbildning under apartheidtiden saknade både kunskap om och erfarenhet av samarbetsbaserade undervisningsformer och grupparbeten som bas för elevers lärande (Taylor, 2008; Skinner, 2006). Inflödet av svarta elever till före detta skolor för enbart vita tvingade vita lärare att ta emot elever med annan kulturell och språklig bakgrund

(Vandeyar & Killen, 2007), vilket de varken hade kompetens för eller positiv inställning till. Skolor i tidigare fattiga områden fortsatte att ha stora materiella och finansiella svårigheter.

Nya elever, nya arbetssätt, nya bedömningssystem, nya begrepp som började användas bidrog till att arbetet kändes svårt för många lärare. Exempel på sådana grundläggande begrepp är "student" (elev) som ändrades till "learner" och "subject" (ämne) till "learning area".

Prinsloo (2007) betonar vikten av lärares förståelse för mångfald i sitt klassrum, förmågan att skapa förtroende mellan sig och sina elever och att kunna hålla lektioner på ett intressant och engagerande sätt. Att utbilda lärare och skolpersonal till ett arbetssätt som bidrar till att skapa sammanhang bland elever med olika bakgrund är också viktigt enligt Prinsloo. Ferguson och Roux diskuterar "Life Orientation"-lektionernas framgång och tillkortakommanden och anser att dess framgång eller misslyckande till stor del beror på skolans situation, lärarnas bakgrund, utbildning, kvalitet på fortbildning och attityd till mångfald (Ferguson och Roux, 2003). Edna Rooth betonar, utöver lärarutbildningen, vikten av att på ett effektivt och relevant sätt använda den tid som är avsatt för undervisning i ämnet. Hon förtydligar vidare att för att en förbättring av undervisningen av "Life Orientation" ska kunna uppnås, behövs åtgärder för att minska den stora elevmängden per klass, överanvändningen av katederundervisning, den obekanta bedömningsproceduren och den allmänna resursbristen (Rooth, 2005).

Teoretiska ramar

För en bättre förståelse av den sydafrikanska utbildningsreformen har jag använt analytiska begrepp som konstruktion, dekonstruktion och rekonstruktion (Garrison, 2003). Den vita minoritetsregimen *konstruerade* apartheid som ideologi och institutioner som kunde upprätthålla den. Genom demokratiska val 1994 ändrade landet politisk kurs. Det gamla systemet behövde då *dekonstruera*s. Dekonstruktionen av ideologin startade omedelbart under det nya styret, men det är tveksamt huruvida de olika gamla institutionerna är helt dekonstruerade. En del institutioner som först blev dekonstruerade har (re)konstruerats på nytt. Detta kan även gälla skolan, avseende såväl ideologi som administrativ organisation.

Andra teorier som används i avhandlingen är dels *ramfaktorteorin* som utvecklats av bland andra Ulf P Lundgren (Lundgren, 1979) och dels begreppet

"*pedagogic devices*" skapat av Basil Bernstein (Bernstein, 1996/2000). Ramfaktorteorin används för att på systemnivå förklara olika mål, ramar och regler i relation till skolsystemet. Den bidrar till att tydliggöra hur olika fenomen inom skolväsendet, både på makro- och mikronivå, kan klassificeras.

De båda använda begreppssystemen överlappar delvis varandra beträffande diskussioner på systemnivå. Bernsteins begrepp har även använts för att beskriva och förstå vad som händer i klassrummet. Han tar upp "regler" och "fält" för att diskutera pedagogiska händelser på olika nivåer. "Reglerna" avser distribution, kontextualisering och utvärdering. De tre "fälten" är uppdelade i produktion, kontextualisering och reproduktion.

Metod

Den empiriska studien är en etnografiskt inspirerad undersökning i vilken klassrumsobservationer har genomförts i fyra klasser. Jag har följt undervisningen om ledarskapskvalitet och om röstning. Jag då observerat lärarnas undervisning om ledarskapskvalitet och om hur de orienterat eleverna om procedurer för att välja en klassrepresentant genom röstning. Lektionerna ljudbandades, ett observationsschema fylldes i och fältanteckningar gjordes vid varje observationstillfälle. Dessutom intervjuades 14 tredjeklasslärare i de fyra skolorna. Förhållanden som ramar in det som händer i klassrummet såsom olika typer av styrdokument, lärarhandledningar och undervisningsmaterial har också analyserats.

Resultat

För att få undervisa barn i Sydafrika under deras första skolår krävs en lärarutbildning under minst två år efter gymnasiet och för att undervisa barn i högre klasser krävs minst tre års lärarutbildning efter gymnasiet (SACE, 2010). De flesta lärare i de skolor som studien omfattar och som undervisar i "Life Orientation" har fått sin utbildning under apartheidtiden. Kvaliteten på deras utbildning varierar, eftersom det under apartheidtiden fanns många institutioner som med varierande kvalitet och standard arbetade med utbildning av lärare. De flesta av de i studien berörda lärarna har deltagit i fortbildningstillfällen arrangerade av distriktkontoret för utbildning för att introducera den nya läroplanen, den nya filosofin för undervisning och de nya kunskapsområdena (som inkluderar "Life Orientation"). Fortbildningsseminarierna pågick från en

eller ett par dagar upp till två veckor. Många lärare ansåg att seminarierna varit alldeles för korta och givits alldeles för sällan.

En del lärare tyckte sig ibland ha svårigheter att förstå delar av läroplanen. Merparten av dessa ansåg att svårigheterna berodde på brist på fortbildning. När de fick svårigheter, vände de sig till sina kolleger, till ämnesansvarig lärare, till rektor, till kollegor i andra skolor och/eller till skolmyndigheten på distriktskontoret för att få hjälp.

Arbetsmiljön för lärare varierade avsevärt mellan de olika skolorna. Skolorna hade olika höga skolavgifter, olika resurser och de finns i olika socioekonomiska områden. En av de aktuella skolorna hade en god ekonomi, där fanns ett välutrustat bibliotek, en bra idrottsanläggning, ändamålsenliga hallar för olika aktiviteter, extra resurser i form av psykolog, terapeut, speciallärare, musiklärare och möjlighet till extra läshjälp. Två skolor hade några av ovannämnda möjligheter medan det i den fjärde skolan inte fanns några extraresurser. Lärarnas motivation var nära kopplad till de resurser och förmåner som skolan gav. En tydlig bild är att de flesta av lärarna i samtliga aktuella skolor inte var nöjda med sin lön.

Arbetet med temat ledarskapskvalitet och att rösta i klasserna var mycket varierande. I tre klasser diskuterade lärare och elever och kom tillsammans fram till vilka de bästa egenskaperna för en god ledare är. I en klass räknade läraren direkt upp vilka egenskaper en ledare bör ha. Bland de egenskaper som betonades som viktiga var förmågan att tala så att andra lyssnar, att vara pålitlig, att lyssna på andra, att bry sig om andra och att respektera överenskomna tider.

Under förberedelsen för att välja ledare för klassen gjorde lärarna kopplingar till ledare på olika nivåer i samhället såsom ledare i hemmet, i det lokala samhället, i skolan och på nationell nivå. I alla klasser förklarade läraren vilka landets olika politiska partier var och vilka dess ledare var och att dessa partier skulle ställa upp mot varandra i det kommande valet i april, 2009.

Lärarna i de observerade klasserna styrde i varierande grad över valprocessen. Endast en lärare tillät sina elever att själva välja sina kandidater inför valet av klassledare. I tre av fyra klasser bestämde läraren vilka som skulle få kandidera och efter röstningen vem som skulle räkna rösterna. I tre av klasserna räknades rösterna framför klassen. En lärare tog valurnan med sig hem och kom med resultatet några dagar senare.

En lärare utestängde några elever från en del av valmomenten och försökte, utan att lyckas, att övertala eleverna att välja en flicka som läraren tyckte mycket om. Några veckor efter valet tog läraren bort den flicka som valts av eleverna och ersatte henne med den flicka läraren ville ha som ledare.

På lektionerna förekom inga diskussioner kring olika uppfattningar och eleverna uppmuntrades inte att dela upp sig i grupper inför valet. De elever som valdes till kandidater gjorde inga försök att övertyga sina klasskamrater. De valda ledarna fick av lärarna olika beteckning i olika klasser såsom klassens "president", "captain", "ledare" och "monitor".

I undervisningen och under valprocessen upptogs större delen av tiden av lärarna. Eleverna var mer aktiva när det gällde att svara på lärarnas frågor än att ställa egna frågor. Lärarna tog inga initiativ till att uppmuntra sina elever till kritiskt och kreativt tänkande.

Lärare reproducerar olika verkligheter genom sitt arbete. I den engelsktalande skolan verkade läraren uppmuntra elever att bete sig som "English gentleman" och bevara den traditionella köns-/genusordningen. I skolan med afrikaans som huvudspråk brukade lärare använda litteratur som till sitt innehåll höjde upp den folkgruppen. I skolorna med färgade och svarta elever försökte lärarna ofta hålla sig till sin kultur och sitt språk genom att välja besökare till skolan från sina respektiva grupper.

Även om de reproducerar sina olika verkligheter, betonade lärarna i de fyra klasserna den gemensamma nationella identiteten genom att bland annat prata om flaggan, nationalsången, nationella symboler och nationella idrottsevene-mang. Detta kan relateras till Bernsteins terminologi om att förstärka den horisontella solidariteten och tona ner den vertikala hierarkin (Bernstein, 1996/2000).

Sammanfattningsvis kan sägas att läroplanen har ett demokratiskt ideal, att lärarnas kvalifikationer varierar och att deras förståelse för hur undervisningen bör genomföras är olika. Undervisningen är lärardominerad. Ramfaktorerna (Lundgren,1979) ser olika ut för de olika skolorna. Lärare reproducerar olika verkligheter och samtidigt betonar de en national identitet och tonar ner skillnader mellan olika grupper.

Diskussion

Sydafrikas skolor kan, såväl under apartheidtiden som tiden efter apartheid, förstås som en form av "idealtyper". Apartheidregimen bestämde på sin formuleringsarena att ha skolor baserade på människors hudfärg och såg sedan till att skolorna blev åtskilda för färgade, indier/asiater, svarta och vita. Den regering som kom till makten efter apartheid rev på sin formuleringsarena bort gränserna mellan rasgrupperna och betonade att framtida skolor skulle baseras på demokratiska värden och betonade vikten av en nation med lika människovärde för alla. Förändringen tar tid och de flesta skolor är fortfarande dominerade av den ena eller den andra rasgruppen. Dock finns idag många skolor med blandade elevgrupper.

Det är naturligt att lärare i olika klasser hanterar frågor om ledarskapskvalitet och röstningsförfarande vid val på olika sätt. Att ställa det som förväntades enligt läroplanen och andra styrdokument mot vad som åstadkommits är intressant. Här är det möjligt att ha en norm med utgångspunkt i målformuleringar och jämföra med vad lärarna i verkligheten gjort tillsammans med sina elever. Kopplingarna mellan formuleringsarenan och realiseringsarenan (Lundgren, 1983; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000) blir tydliga.

Den sydafrikanska grundskolans läroplan, olika styrdokument och läroböcker beskriver hur lärare förväntas undervisa om ledarskapskvalitet och om röstningsprocessen. Det finns en uttalad norm för hur röstningsförfarandet ska gå till och att elever under lektionerna praktiskt ska få träna och rösta fram sina egna ledare. Det är möjligt att jämföra denna norm som är baserad på en demokratisk syn med det som praktiskt kommer fram i klassrummet.

En norm för ett demokratiskt klassval är att eleverna genom den praktiska övningen ska förstå att de både kan välja och bli valda. Om de bara vill välja sina representanter, registrerar de sig först för att välja, tänker över på vem de ska rösta, kommer till ett beslut och lägger därefter sin röst. Om de själva vill vara ledare, ska de först besluta sig för att kandidera och sedan genomföra en valkampanj för att föra fram sitt budskap till väljarna. Om deras idéer går hem hos väljarna, kan de vinna valet och ta plats som ledare. Under förutsättning att alla dessa led är tydliga och att de genomförs enligt ovan under en lektion, har normen uppnåtts.

Ingen kandidat i någon klass uppmuntrades till att förklara sina tankar om vad de skulle vilja göra om de blev valda och ingen "kampanj" fanns mellan de

olika kandidaterna. En lärare frågade dock en nyvald flicka (efter valet) om hon ville säga några ord till klassen. Flickan var emellertid blyg och vågade ej säga något.

Klassrummet är i allmänhet det forum där elever och lärare träffas för olika lektioner. De lektioner som jag observerade beträffande "leadership qualities and voting" var påfallande lärardominerade. Lärarna pratade själva cirka 80 % av lektionstiden vilket inte gav stort utrymme för elevernas deltagande.

Normen för lärarens genomförande av dessa lektioner baseras på olika dokument. Dessa uttrycker bland annat att hon/han ska vara respektfull inför sina elever och inte dra fördel av sin position som lärare. Under de lektioner jag följde förekom kränkande ord från lärarna till eleverna. Till en elev, som inte förstått vad läraren menat med "pumpa", sa läraren till eleven på ett negativt sätt att "det är ditt huvud som är en pumpa". En annan lärare klagade ofta på "svarta barn som inte gör sina skoluppgifter" och på "svarta föräldrar som inte är intresserade av vad deras barn gör".

Lärarnas agerande kan utifrån olika anledningar vara begripligt. En kan kanske vara att vissa lärare uppfostrats under stränga och auktoritära förhållanden. Det hierarkiska samhället, som byggde på en föreställning att några är bättre än andra på grund av ras, kan skapa ett sådant förhållningssätt. Den utbildning som lärarna fick under apartheidtiden var lärarcentrerad och krävde samtidigt att lärare skulle lyda order uppifrån något som i sin tur ledde till att lärare krävde motsvarande lydnad från sina elever.

Clive Harber hävdar i sin bok om utbildningsreformen efter apartheidtiden att många lärare tycker att avskaffandet av apartheid var rätt, men att de ändå inte är beredda att bryta gamla traditioner. Han anser detta kopplat till misstänksamhet mot nya/radikala, demokratiska värderingar och en önskan att ha säkra och bestämda regler. För honom går detta emot den förväntan från nya lärare som hans studie tar upp och som handlar om kreativitet och kritiskt tänkande. Lärare förväntades under apartheidtiden att göra vad de var instruerade att göra. Utifrån detta befinner sig många lärare fortfarande på en låg nivå när det gäller kritisk medvetenhet (Harber, 2001).

På grund av kvaliteten på den tidigare utbildningen och på grund av att lärarna inte hade haft någon utbildning inom ramen för postapartheid behövde de fortbildning för att kunna undervisa i de nya kunskapsområdena. Detta gällde

även undervisningen i "Life Orientation". De flesta av lärarna önskade längre och mer frekvent fortbildning.

Det finns förmodligen många positiva delar av lärararbetet som jag inte har tagit upp och så är det förmodligen även beträffande en del brister. Utifrån de brister som iakttagits och nämnts kan emellertid några idéer till åtgärder för förbättringar nämnas.

För att underlätta elevers lärande inom det här studerade området är det synnerligen viktigt att lärare inte så starkt betonar sin ledarroll. Rektorer, lärare och annan skolpersonal behöver i större utsträckning samarbeta för att skolan ska bli en mera demokratisk arbetsmiljö i vilken barn kan fostras till demokratiska medborgare.

Att besöka ett lokalt valkommissonskontor eller något annat kontor för förtroendevalda kan vara betydelsefullt för elever för att möta demokratiska institutioner och folkvalda ledare. Lärare kan också bjuda in personer därifrån till klassen för att barnen ska få träffa dem, höra hur demokratin fungerar i praktiken och kunna ställa frågor till dem.

Utöver förändringar på lektionerna och i skolan behövs mera kunskap genom studier. En studie som jämför lektioner med lärare som utbildats under apartheidtiden med lärare utbildade under postapartheidtiden kan ge underlag för kommande förändringar. Hur lärarens utbildning påverkar elevdeltagande i sådana lektioner behöver tydliggöras. Studier kan vidare göras om hur olika typer av skolledning påverkar undervisningen inom detta tema. Undersökningar kan också göras om hur elevers socioekonomiska bakgrund kan påverka deras förståelse av detta ämne.

Framtida forskning kan också inriktas mot den läroplansreform för grundskolan som pågår i Sydafrika. Förslaget till ny läroplan som är ute på remiss kommer att ha läroplanen och bedömningspolicyn i samma dokument, "Curriculum and Assessment Policy statement (CAPS)". En framtida studie skulle också kunna avse den nya implementeringspolicyn, "Action Plan to 2014: Towards the realisation of Schooling 2025". Båda dessa reformer träder i kraft 2011 (DoE, 2010).

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Appendix 1

Definitions/Clarifications of terms

Assessment: "a continuous planned process of gathering information on learner performance, measured against the Assessment Standards" (Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS, (Life Orientation), 2002: 61).

Assessment Standards: "the knowledge, skills and values that learners need to show to achieve the Learning Outcomes" (ibid.).

C2005 (Curriculum 2005): "the first version of the post-apartheid National Curriculum Statement…" (ibid.). C stands for Curriculum and 2005 indicates the year in which the curriculum implementation will cover all the grades in comprehensive school.

Class Captain/President: A commander or a leader. A term used in this study to refer to a class representative.

Democracy: "While the word 'democracy' came into the English language in the sixteenth century from the French *démocratie*, its origins are Greek. 'Democracy' is derived from *demokratia*, the root meanings of which are *demos* (people) and *kratos* (rule). Democracy means a form of government in which, in contradistinction to monarchies and aristocracies, the people rule. Democracy entails a political community in which there is some form of *political equality* among the people…The history of the idea of democracy is complex and is marked by conflicting conceptions. There is plenty of scope for disagreement." (Held, 2006: 1).

Educator: "means any educator registered or provisionally registered with the council" (South African Council of Educators (SACE), legal-affairs-and-ethics, Retrieved 17th February, 2010, from http://sace.org.za/legal-affairs-and-ethics.php).

Foundation Phase: "the first phase of the General Education and Training Band: Grades R, 1, 2 and 3." (RNCS, (Life Orientation), 2002: 61).

Head Boy: "the most important boy in a school, chosen to lead a team of older boys (prefects) in controlling the younger ones, and to represent the school on public occasions." (Longman, 1992: 607).

Head Girl: "the most important girl in a British school, chosen to lead a team of older girls (prefects) in controlling the younger ones, and to represent the school on public occasions (ibid.)

In-service training: Training given while the person is in service or working.

Learner: "means a pupil or student at any early learning site, school, further education and training institution or adult learning centre;" (SACE, legal-affairs and-ethics, Retrieved 17th February, 2010, from http://sace.org.za/legal-affairs-and-ethics.php)

Learning Areas: "the eight fields of knowledge in the Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools): Languages, Mathematics, Natural sciences, Technology, Social Sciences, Arts and Culture, Life Orientation, and Economic and Management Sciences." (RNCS, (Life Orientation), 2002: 62).

Learning Outcomes: "…It is a description of what (knowledge, skills and values) learners should know, demonstrate and be able to do at the end of the General Education and Training band…" (RNCS, (Overview), 2002: 14).

Learning Programmes: "Programmes of learning activities, including content and teaching methods; …" (RNCS, (Life Orientation), 2002: 62).

Life Orientation: "The concept of Life Orientation captures the essence of what this Learning Area aims to achieve. It guides and prepares for life and its possibilities. Specifically, the Life Orientation Learning Area equips learners for meaningful and successful living in a rapidly changing and transforming society.

The Life Orientation Learning Area is central to the holistic development of learners. It is concerned with the social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical growth of learners and with the way in which these facets are interrelated. The focus is the development of *self-in-society*. The Learning Area's vision of individual growth is part of an effort to create a democratic society, a productive economy and an improved quality of life." (RNCS, (Life Orientation), 2002: 4).

Life Skills: One of the three Learning Programmes in the Foundation Phase. The three are Literacy, Numeracy and Life Skills.

Monitor: "a pupil chosen to help the teacher or school in various ways." (Longman, 1992: 858).

Outcomes: "the results at the end of the learning process in outcomes-based education; …" (RNCS, (Life Orientation), 2002: 62).

Outcomes-Based Education (OBE): "a process and achievement oriented, activity-based and learner-centred education process;…" (ibid.).

Parent Teachers Association (PTA): A voluntary organisation of parents and teachers with the aim of arranging events and raising funds for the school.

Personal advancement training: For this study, it refers to individual efforts by teachers to advance their knowledge through regular education, distance courses or other types of training. They cover the costs out of their own pockets.

Prefect: "(In some British schools) an older pupil with certain powers to control and punish other pupils…" (Longman, 1992: 1035).

Pre-service training: A training teachers get before they start working. A teacher education programme can be considered pre-service training.

Programme: The term programme is used in two different ways. The first one is a major classification of programmes in the Foundation Phase, such as Life Skills, Numeracy and Literacy. The second usage is as a step in planning; you plan in a Programme, Work Schedule and at Lesson Plan levels.

Quintiles: This is a governmental system categorizing schools into five groupings. The aim is to allocate resources from the government to schools based on the assumed socio-economic status.

Rand: Rand is a South African currency. 1 Rand was USD 0.13 (SEK 0.91) at the beginning of 2009.

Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS): A curriculum from 2002, which came after revising C2005 from 1997.

School Governing Body (SGB): A body required by law to administer schools in close collaboration with the principal and other school staff. Learners (after eighth grade) and parents are represented in it.

Appendix 2

REFLECTION ON MY WAY TO THE PHD

"Yes, there is a goal and a meaning in our path
but it is the way that is the labour's worth." [20]

Karin Boye

Writing a dissertation as a part of postgraduate studies could be considered a goal. If someone is doing her/his PhD only by writing a dissertation, the above statement could be somehow acceptable. But at the University of Gothenburg, research students do not receive a PhD only by writing a dissertation. Being a research student here is a process with a beginning, a journey and an end. Let me take you through my journey.

The beginning

I received my MSc in Social Work in 1993 and another MSc in Sociology in 2004 from this same university. I then wanted to continue studying for my PhD on a regular or distance basis. But as competition was high and resources were limited, I did not get any regular or distance-based education of this level.

Later, while working at the Municipality of Mölndal's social services office with issues related to youth in difficult situations, in my spare time I attended some courses in education at the undergraduate level. In 2005, I applied for a post-graduate methodology course at the then Institute for Pedagogy and Didactics. This course marked the beginning of my new journey.

After attending the methodology course, I took some more courses while still working in my regular job. Two years later, I applied to be admitted as a PhD

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[20] These are lines taken from the Swedish version of Karin Boye's poem "I rörelse" from 1927. David McDuff translated it with the title "In Motion," in 2005 (retrieved, 16 July, 2010, from http://www.karinboye.se/verk/dikter/dikter-mcduff/in-motion.shtml). In Swedish, the original verse is: "Nog finns det mål och mening i vår färd –
men det är vägen, som är mödan värd."

student and in 2007, I was officially admitted. As working and studying demanded a lot of time, since the second term of 2007, I was on leave of absence from my work to pursue my education on a full-time basis. Below, I would like to briefly describe some of my major activities as a PhD student.

Courses

Introduction to post-graduate education, methodology and basics of pedagogy were three obligatory blocks of courses. The students are able choose the other courses. Many courses were available and one needed to think a lot to decide what to take.

I took courses with a focus on design, analysis and presentation of themes; on text analysis; on critical review of different types of academic work; on school development and on searching for relevant articles and other documents in databases. Later on, I also attended a course on supervising students work and on teaching in higher education. These courses were both interesting and stimulating.

All the courses required reading course literature and attending literature seminars where we were expected to actively participate by presenting our views. In addition to reflections on the course literature in all the courses, writing assignments were compulsory. Presenting one's own work, as well as reading and commenting on others' work was a part of the learning process. Both individual and group learning were used as methods.

Collegiums

In the faculty of education there are groupings around different themes. The themes could cover among others gender, education policies, socialisation, didactics, and school development. These groupings are open for all who are interested in these themes.

A collegium can invite a speaker from within the faculty, the university or another university within or outside Sweden. Often, interesting topics are presented or discussed but there were also occasions when I was attracted by a title of a lecture, and found at times a lecture with unexpected content. My other experience is that, I usually found many interesting lectures which I didn't want to miss. These lectures took at times much time from my research activities.

Dissertation

In Swedish post-graduate education, the PhD programme covers about two years of courses and two years of dissertation writing. In most cases, more time is needed to complete the studies. Writing the dissertation is done in close collaboration with supervisors; one main supervisor and one or two deputy supervisors. The work passes through three official seminars, the planning, the intermediate and the final seminar.

Supervisors

I had two supervisors, a main supervisor and a deputy supervisor. My main supervisor is an experienced professor, with many doctoral students whom she supervised successfully through the years. She taught some post-graduate courses, and I first met her when attending these courses before she became my supervisor. I also became acquainted with my deputy supervisor years ago, before I started this postgraduate education, while attending her course on conflict resolution among pre-school and school children.

Meetings with my supervisors were usually planned and the topics of discussion were agreed upon. They usually received material for discussions from me a few days before the meeting. There were also occasions when I asked for a meeting to get some extra help, and they were generous enough to allow me to present issues on what I needed their help.

There were occasions when, my deputy supervisor, due to her workload, could not attend our meetings. On such occasions, instead of just postponing our meetings, my main supervisor and I used to continue and then inform my deputy supervisor about the results of our discussions. On these occasions, my main supervisor listened, asked questions, commented and criticised. She also used to ask, "Did you get my point?" "how does it feel?" and "may be you'll think about it?" My right to disagree was always respected.

My main supervisor was open about what she knew and did not know. She used to say once in a while, "Yes, I can supervise what you are doing, but I cannot claim to have detailed knowledge of South Africa. If necessary, you can look for a person with that expertise who could be an additional supervisor."

My main supervisor never failed to reply on time and comment on my texts. She generously replied to all my questions even while walking through the corridors, and in the staff coffee room. The critical comments, the willingness to listen and collegial attitudes of my supervisors made my dissertation work a pleasant and smooth experience.

The seminars

There are three checkpoints during the dissertation writing phases. The first checkpoint is the planning seminar to see one's start and to help the student not to take a difficult route. The second checkpoint is the intermediate seminar to check on how the student is progressing; and the third checkpoint is the final seminar to see what the student had achieved and to prepare her/him for the defence of her/his dissertation. How were these seminars for me?

The planning seminar

I had my planning seminar in October, 2007. A lecturer from the faculty reviewed my planning. She carefully went through my research questions, methodology, theories and planning for the fieldwork.

The material for the planning seminar included detailed information about the subject and planning about how to deal with Life Orientation education in South African comprehensive schools. The focus from the beginning was on the social development outcome of Life Orientation in the Foundation Phase. The time for visits to South Africa to collect data, the time for analysis of materials and the time for writing were included.

The intermediate seminar

This seminar was held after completing my fieldwork and half way through my writing process, in October 2009. A draft dissertation containing two seminar papers and a short monograph was presented. A professor from Örebro University with knowledge of the South African education system was invited to comment on the draft.

One of the seminar papers, "Curriculum Reform and Life Orientation Education", was presented at the 10th International Conference on Education in Athens, in May, 2008. The second one, "Compulsory School Curricula of South Africa (RNCS, 2002) and Sweden (Lpo94)" was presented at the European Conference on Education Research (ECER) in Gothenburg in September 2008. There was a plan to have them developed into articles later.

After the intermediate seminar, based on different comments and discussions between my supervisors and myself, I agreed to work on a monograph instead of collection dissertation. This decision was taken on the basis of:

- The relatively long time required to publish an article.
- The fact that a monograph can include more material from the fieldwork.
- A monograph is one work by itself compared to separate articles.

The final seminar

This seminar usually takes place three to six months before the defence. My last seminar took place in the middle of June 2010. The draft dissertation (a monograph), was reviewed by a professor from Uppsala University.

The reviewer was in general positive towards the dissertation. He however recommended expanding the part dealing with the history of education in South Africa. He also suggested sub-dividing of the research questions, re-working the methodology section and moving the definitions and clarifications to the appendix.

The fieldwork

My fieldwork benefited much from a contact with the Faculty of Education at NMMU. Through their letters and some phone calls, they introduced me to schools. They also guided me on procedures on how to secure permission to visit schools. After reviewing my plans and approving them, they provided me with ethical clearance to go ahead with my work.

During the fieldwork, the schools I visited accommodated me in the best way they could. Despite the by-and-large positive experiences, also some difficulties are

worth mentioning. In one of the schools, both the principal and teachers wanted me to observe lessons in the 5th grade instead of the 3rd grade. Later on, when they agreed to my request, they demanded that I move between four 3rd grade classes. Another round of discussion was needed to explain and convince them why I wanted to make my observations in only one 3rd grade classroom.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, due to fewer learners in one school caused by a public transport workers strike in the city, my visit was cancelled. On another occasion, a teacher was absent from the class on an errand without notifying any one. In two other classrooms, the time agreed upon for my visit was moved from morning to mid day.

Although some of the unplanned changes were frustrating, I was given good help together with cooperation by principals, administrative staff, teachers and learners. Both positive and negative experiences during fieldwork, were varied depending on different situations.
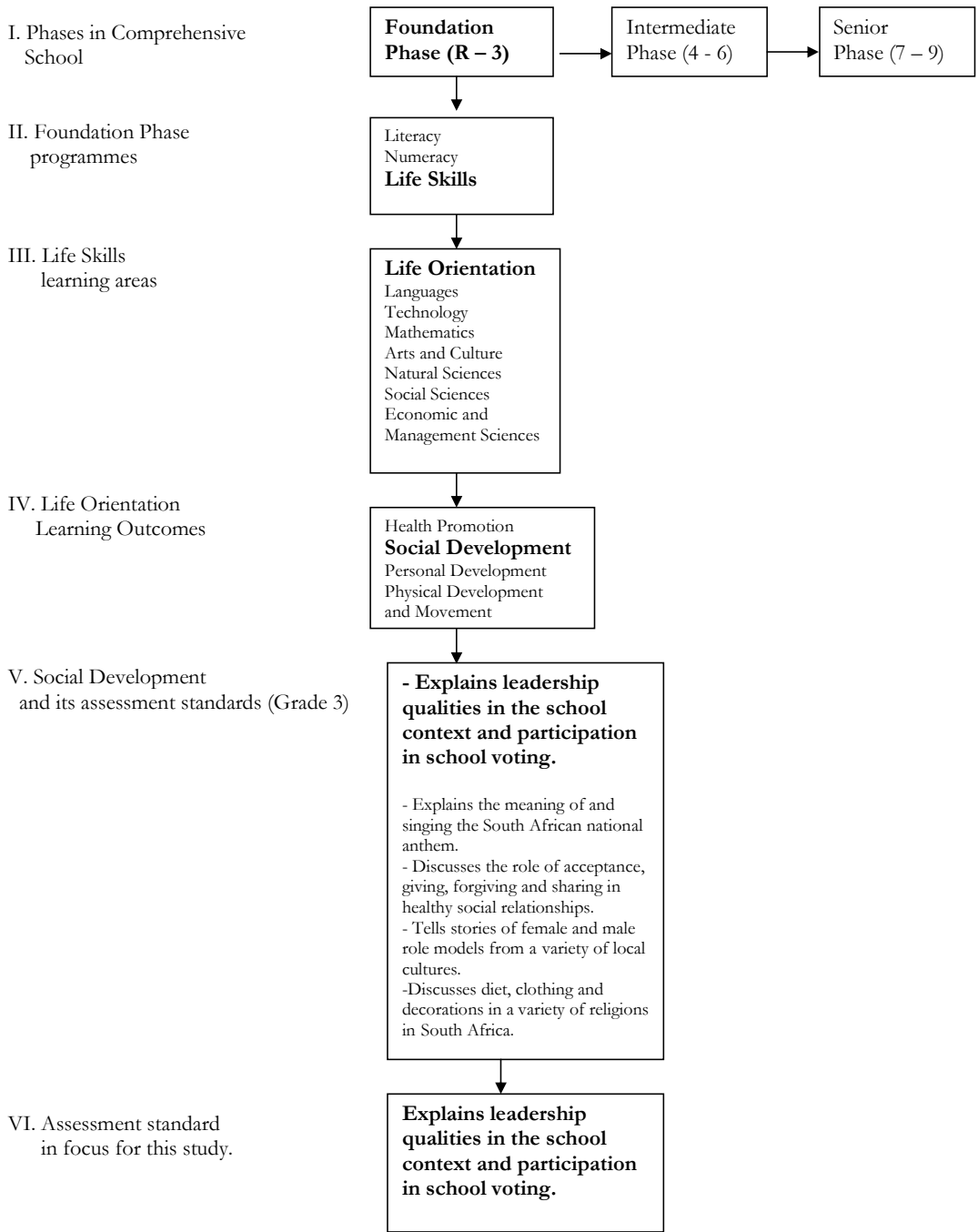
Doing research in a country other than your own involves considering many aspects. As I mentioned earlier, my fieldwork went relatively smoothly because of the tremendous support and cooperation I received from those I contacted. Those planning to undertake a similar project should consider, first of all, to find an entry point via already existing or new contact channels. Using existing contacts between institutions in one's own country and in the host country could be valuable and effective. Secondly, they should learn about the country and if possible undertake repeated visits to the area planned for fieldwork. Thirdly, try to find out as early as possible the procedures needed to undertake the fieldwork. Fourthly, observe the difference between the basic educational ideologies and practices of your own and the host country. Fifthly, respect the efforts of educators you meet while retaining your critical view of their practice. Last but not least, it is important to maintain one's integrity and be persistent.

Conclusion

In this short text, I have tried to revisit my journey as a postgraduate student. It has helped me to look back and see the long journey I have undertaken. Now it is time to turn around and look ahead the path that is awaiting me. As for the past, "…the way that is the labour's worth."

Appendix 3

From Phase to Assessment Standards

I. Phases in Comprehensive School	**Foundation Phase (R – 3)**	→	Intermediate Phase (4 - 6)	→	Senior Phase (7 – 9)

II. Foundation Phase
  programmes

Literacy
Numeracy
Life Skills

III. Life Skills
   learning areas

Life Orientation
Languages
Technology
Mathematics
Arts and Culture
Natural Sciences
Social Sciences
Economic and
Management Sciences

IV. Life Orientation
   Learning Outcomes

Health Promotion
Social Development
Personal Development
Physical Development
and Movement

V. Social Development
  and its assessment standards (Grade 3)

- Explains leadership qualities in the school context and participation in school voting.

- Explains the meaning of and singing the South African national anthem.
- Discusses the role of acceptance, giving, forgiving and sharing in healthy social relationships.
- Tells stories of female and male role models from a variety of local cultures.
-Discusses diet, clothing and decorations in a variety of religions in South Africa.

VI. Assessment standard
   in focus for this study.

Explains leadership qualities in the school context and participation in school voting.

Appendix 4

To………………………………………………………….School

My name is Getahun Yacob Abraham and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. In the Swedish higher education system, a PhD takes four full academic years (Two years of course work and two years of dissertation work). I have completed my course work and am at present working on my dissertation.

For my dissertation work, I am interested in investigating Life Skills Learning Programme in the Foundation Phase. My focus will be on the Social Development aspect of Life Orientation in Grade 3. This involves investigating teachers' interpretation of the curriculum and the teaching of Learning Outcome 2 of Life Orientation. I would like to interview teachers and I also need to carry out some classroom observations during which I would like to record the teaching and learning process. I will also be carrying out an investigation to establish how learners understand the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes linked to the outcome and what they think of it.

In my research undertaking, all ethical aspects will be taken into consideration.

1. The names of the learners, teachers and the school will be kept confidential.
2. The observation and interview results will be presented to the participating teachers and the school for respondent validation, i.e. verifying that my understanding corresponds with their views
3. The school, the teacher or learner can at any time withdraw from the research project.

Any questions concerning this research project can be directed to me at the following address:

Getahun Yacob Abraham

Cell phone: 0732685536
E-mail: getahun.abraham@ped.gu.se

Hoping for your kind cooperation.

Appendix 5

Dear Principal. Thank you for allowing me to come to your school to carry out my pilot study. The two days I interviewed educators and participated in activities for learners was a wonderful experience.

To be able to complete my studies I would like to undertake a one-term study along the same lines. If it is convenient for the school, I would like to come back in January 2009 to your school and interview three third grade Life Skills teachers (if I cannot find three, I can add one teacher from 2nd grade) and observe the teaching of Life Orientation. In my observations I will be interested in Learning Outcome 2, which focuses on the **Social Development** aspect of Life Orientation.

Learning Outcome 2

"SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The learner will be able to demonstrate an understanding and commitment to constitutional rights and responsibilities and to show an understanding of diverse cultures and religions".

Grade 3

"Assessment Standards

We know this when the learner:

- Explains leadership qualities in the school context and participates in school voting.
- Explains the meaning of and sings the South African national anthem.
- Discusses the role of acceptance, giving, forgiving and sharing in healthy social relationships.
- Tells stories of female and male role models from a variety of local cultures.
- Discusses diet, clothing and decorations in a variety of religions in South Africa."

I wanted to observe only one third grade class once a week when one of the above areas of Life Orientation is focused on.

Before returning to your school in January 2009, I will get the necessary clearance both from the District Department of Education and NMMU.

Kind regards,

Getahun Y Abraham

Appendix 6

LESSON PLAN EXAMPLE WEEK 2*
LEARNING PROGRAMME: LIFE SKILLS

TERM 2

DURATION: **GRADE 3**
2 WEEKS **DAILY: 1HR 10MINS** **WEEKLY: 6HRS 15MINS** **CONTEXT: THE WORLD AROUND US**

		INFORMAL		REFLECTIONS

LO2: SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
 AS 1 – *Explains Leadership qualities in the school context and participation in school voting*
 INTEGRATION
 LO:LO4 AS 4
 Participates in play and describes its effects on the body
 HL LO1 AS 1
 Listens attentively and responds to an extended sequence of instructions appropriate to the learners' level
 HL: LO 1 AS 2
 Demonstrates appropriate listening behaviour by showing respect for the speaker, taking turns to speak, asking questions for clarification and summarising or commenting on what has been heard
 HL :LO2 AS 5.4
 Shows sensitivity to the rights and feelings of others
 MATHS LO1 AS 8.4
 Estimation
	1. *Listen and respond to **Leader Game***
	   • *Choose a leader*
	   • *Others are blindfolded*
	   • *Leader gives routes to be followed*
	   • *Others respond*
	   • *Leader is exchanged*
	   • *More guidance / instructions are given*
	
	 2. *Teacher asks questions e.g. What does one need in order to respond to the instructions? ; Who was the best leader and why?*
	 3. *Learners discuss and jot down characteristics of a good leader (small group)*
	 4. *Individually, they draw a person who might be their leader*
	 5. *They write down the person's leadership qualities they have observed*
	 6. *The class decides on 4 candidates to be nominated as Class Leaders*
	 7. *They make and put the posters for each candidate in their classroom*
	 8. *Discuss and develop ballot papers and boxes*
	 9. *Elect and count votes*
	 10. *A leader gives a speech*
		Form : Worksheet
		 Method: Educator
		 Tool : Checklist
			Ballot paper, boxes, a piece of cloth, sheets of paper, crayons, pencils, posters	

* East London Education District. Retrieved 26th May 2010, from www.eastlondoneducationdistrict.org.za/FPhase.htm

Appendix 7

Leadership Qualities

A good leader	A weak leader

Listens well	Always on time
Never plans	Organized
Disorganized	Always late
Does what he promises	Never accepts advice
Plans carefully	Helps other people
Trustworthy	Sorts out problems
Can't make decisions	Plans for the future
Does not listen	Does not like problems
Makes decisions	Does not keep promises
Can't get things done	Doesn't ask for help

Life Skills   FAT 1 Term 2
LO 2: Leadership qualities:

4	3	2	1
Makes no errors in distinguishing between good or bad leaders	Makes no more than 2 errors when distinguishing between good and bad leaders	Makes no more than 5 errors when distinguishing between good and bad leaders	Unable to distinguish between good and bad leaders

Appendix 8

Interview for teachers of Life Orientation Education

I. General Questions

1. Age_____ Sex_____ Education_____

2. When did you start teaching?

3. When did you start teaching Life Orientation?

4. Have you read the Revised National Curriculum Statement and the part dealing with Life Orientation?

5. If you have a problem understanding some component of it, who do you turn to for help?

6. How long is one lesson in Life Orientation?

7. How many lessons do you prepare at a time?

II. Content of Life Orientation

1. Are you trained as Life Orientation teacher? If your answer is no, what kind of an orientation course did you attend for teaching this subject?

2. How often are you getting on-the-job training?

3. What kind of materials do you use to prepare your lesson plan and one specific lesson (ex. textbooks, charts, films, etc.)?

4. How much time do you need to prepare one lesson?

5. How do you understand the content of Life Orientation learning area?

III. Teaching Method

1. What teaching method do you use? Lectures? Group work? Giving assignment to children to work with on their own in the classroom? Or homework?

IV. Assessment

1. Which assessment strategies do you often use? (e.g. tests, assignments, etc.)
2. What do you think of the assessment methods you are using? Are they sufficient? Fair? Easy to administer?

V. Working relations

1. With learners

a. Do you think they are actively engaged? If yes, why? If no, why?
b. Do you think it is easy for children to follow the concepts you are presenting to them?
c. If yes, why?
d. If no? What do you think is the problem?

2. With colleagues and employers

a. Which part of your work are you doing by yourself and which with other teachers?
b. Do you have an allocated time to share experiences with your colleagues?
c. What kind of a working relationship do you have with your employers?
d. Are you satisfied with your working environment and the salary you are receiving for your work?

3. Other staff

a. Which other staff in the school are important for your work and why?

4. Learners' parents

a. Do you have contact with learners' parents?

b. How often?

c. Do you discuss the progress and obstacles facing their children with them?

VI. Additional Question

1. If you have a child, would you send your child to this school?

1) If yes, why?

2) If no, why?

Appendix 9

Name of School (Code)……………………………Class…………………. Name of Teacher/s (Code)…………………………………..

Week………Day of the Week……………….Date……………Hours………….

Observation Guideline for Life Orientation education in Foundation Phase (Grades R-3).

Areas to be Observed	Observation of Performance
I. Content	I. a) Are the following goals of Life Orientation education in Foundation Phase (Grades R-3) discussed - Recognising and opposing unfair discrimination Yes ☐ No ☐ - Knowledge of diverse languages, cultures and religions. Yes ☐ No ☐ - Relationship with family, friends, school and local community. Yes ☐ No ☐ b) Which of the following are considered in the lesson? - Knowledge of………………………………… - Skills of……………………………………. - Values of………………………………… - Attitudes towards……………………………..
II. Pedagogy	II. a) Which of the following methods are used? - Knowledge transmission (Direct teaching) Yes ☐ No ☐ - Questions and answers Yes ☐ No ☐ - Individual class assignment Yes ☐ No ☐ - Group work/Group discussion Yes ☐ No ☐ - Homework Yes ☐ No ☐ - Other methods …………………………….. b) What teaching and learning resources are used? - Books Yes ☐ No ☐ - Charts Yes ☐ No ☐ - Pictures Yes ☐ No ☐ - Films Yes ☐ No ☐ - Others………………………….
III. Teacher	III. How does the teacher interact and communicate with learners? - Listens to learners' views and experiences Yes ☐ No ☐ - Encourages learners' participation Yes ☐ No ☐ - Interacts with learners of different race, sex, and ethnic background Yes ☐ No ☐

	- Helps learners with different needs and learning barriers Yes ☐ No ☐ - Covers the expected content has sufficient knowledge of the day's lesson Yes ☐ No ☐

IV. Learner	IV. Does she/he
	
	- Listen with interest and attention Yes ☐ No ☐
	
	(All listen ☐ some listen ☐ No one listens)
	
	- Asks questions Yes ☐ No ☐
	
	- Answers questions Yes ☐ No ☐
	
	- Tries to communicate with:-
	  - teacher Yes ☐ No ☐
	  - classmates Yes ☐ No ☐

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