

**Research Consortium on
Education and Peacebuilding**

**Education and Social
Cohesion
Country Report:
South Africa**

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April 2016

Summary

The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding

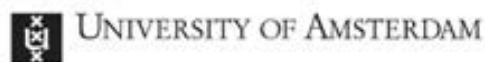
Between July 2014 and December 2015 the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, a partnership between UNICEF and the University of Amsterdam, the University of Sussex, Ulster University and in-country partners, addressed one of the UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA) key objectives, *'contributing to the generation and use of evidence and knowledge in policies and programming related to education, conflict and peacebuilding'*.

Consortium teams carried out research in four countries over the course of the project: Myanmar, Pakistan, South Africa, and Uganda. Each team produced a specific country report which, alongside thematic Literature Reviews, which formed the basis for three synthesis reports addressing the following specific thematic areas:

- the integration of education into peacebuilding processes at global and country levels;
- the role of teachers in peacebuilding;
- the role of formal and non-formal peacebuilding education programmes focusing on youth.

In addition, throughout the research project and as a cross cutting theme in all three areas, the research project aimed to understand the dynamics and impact of various forms of direct and indirect violence in relation to education systems and educational actors in situations of conflict. Each thematic focus also includes a gender analysis.

The research seeks to generate evidence that can inform policy and practice aimed at the global and national peacebuilding community, and the global and national education and international development communities.



The authors are responsible for the choice and presentation of views contained within this report and for opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of UNICEF and do not commit the organisation.

We would also like to thank the UNICEF Country Offices in each of the respective case study countries and the PBEA programme management team, based in New York, as well the ESRC-DFID for a research grant to study teachers as agents of peace building.

Reference suggestion: Sayed, Y., Badroodien, A., McDonald, Z., Hanayo, A., Salmon, T., Balie, L., De Kock, T.G., Sirkotte-Kriel, W., Garisch, C., Gaston, J., Foulds, K. (2016) Education and Social Cohesion in South Africa, Summary Report. Centre for International Teacher Education (CITE), Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT)

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Introduction

“More recently however, scholars and practitioners have highlighted the transformative potential of education in conflict-affected environments in the attempt to foster social justice and build sustainable peace.”

Purpose of Study

Education programmes were in the past mainly treated as forms of development that were separate from (post-) conflict processes of stabilisation, peacebuilding and reconciliation. The majority of education and peacebuilding interventions were framed in terms of service delivery and formal educational infrastructures.

More recently however, scholars and practitioners have highlighted the transformative potential of education in conflict-affected environments in an attempt to foster social justice and build sustainable peace. UNICEF’s Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme has, for example, pioneered efforts to strengthen policies and practices in education for peacebuilding in 14 countries affected by conflict. This has included significant investments in evidence building related to the role of education and peacebuilding in various contexts and regions around the world.

This is a summary of a country report on the role of education and peacebuilding in South Africa and is a research output from the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, and a DFID-ESRC Pathway to Poverty Alleviation Research Project¹. Research for this report was conducted by the University of Sussex, in collaboration with a local partner from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) in South Africa. The aim was to examine three interrelated research areas (RA) and questions:

RA 1 Policy	How is peacebuilding integrated into the education sector at macro and micro policy levels?
RA 2 Teachers	What is the role of teachers in the peacebuilding process of a country?
RA 3 Youth	How do formal and non-formal peacebuilding education programmes address the agency of youth?

In terms of background, South Africa has a population of approximately 54 million (53,675,563) people living in a total land area of 1,219,090 square kilometres. It is classified as a middle income country with an emerging market and an abundant mineral resource supply, including manganese, platinum, gold, diamonds, chromite ore and vanadium. The biggest socio-economic and political challenges remain high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality which are among the highest in the world. This has coincided with an economic growth rate that has increased by as little as 1.5% annually.

Research Methods

This summary report is based on fieldwork that was done across the above noted three research areas. Members of the Centre for International Teacher Education (CITE) at CPUT, South Africa conducted the study between May and October 2015.

105 interviews and 13 Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs) were completed with a variety of stakeholders (some on more than one research area). Interviewees included government officials, education planners, teacher education providers,

1. The views expressed in this report do not reflect that of UNICEF, DFID and ESRC or its partners. Work for this project was funded by a grant from DFID-ESRC, Grant Number ES/L00559X/1 as well as by the UNICEF PBEA Programme.

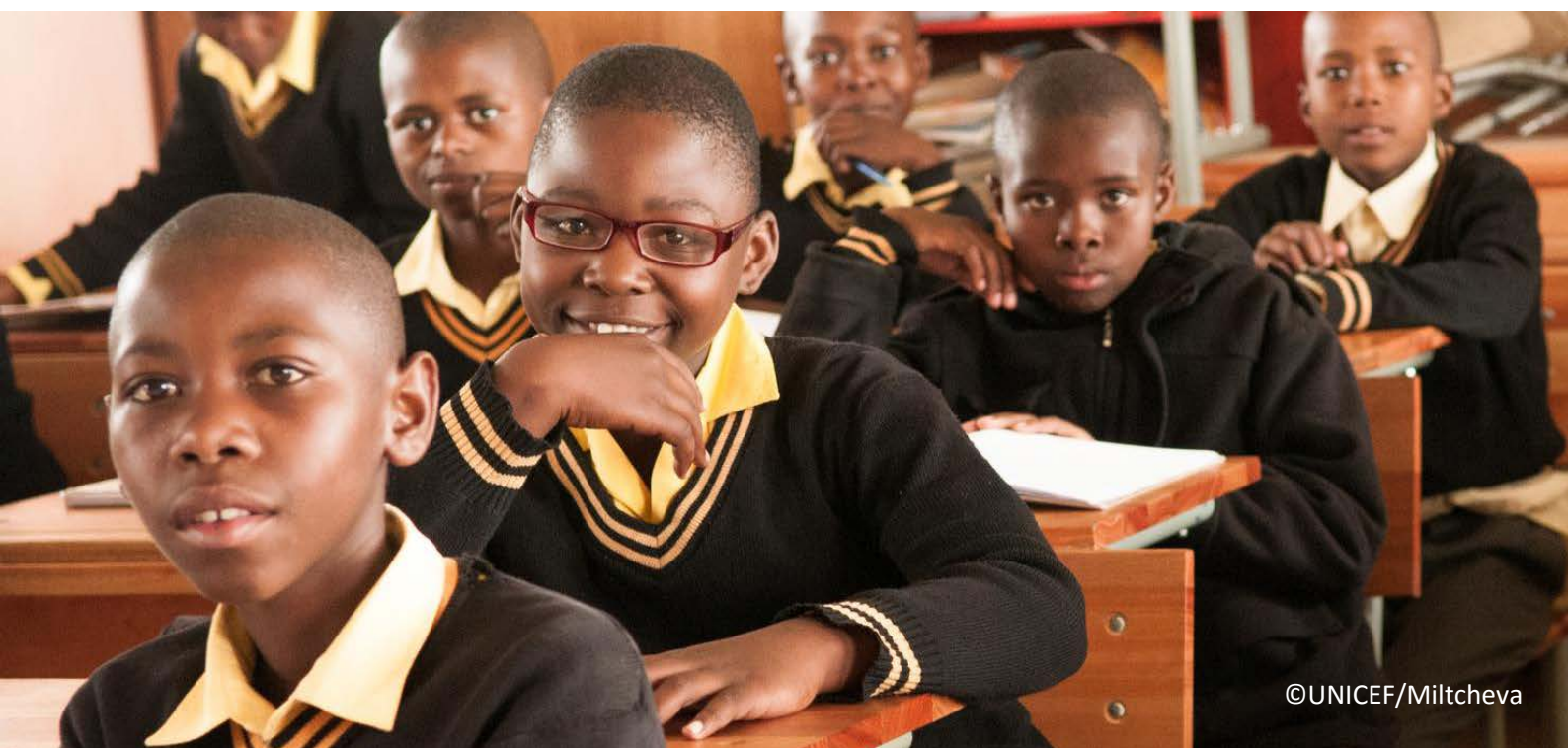
teaching professionals, student teachers, local and international NGOs, and local communities. Further data unique to each research area was also gathered.

For RA-1 (Policy), the team engaged in an extensive document review before and after the field research. The document review included national development plans, relevant policies, national and international peace building plans, education sector plans, education sector reform plans, curricula, as well as other (academic) research and studies. This was augmented by 25 interviews with government officials, education planners, teacher education providers, teaching professionals, student teachers, local and international NGOs, and local communities.

For RA-2 (Teachers) researchers conducted 65 interviews with teacher educators, public officials in national and provincial government departments, as well as government agencies (DBE, DHET, DPME, StatsSA), education sector NGOs, professional associations (for example, unions, governing body associations), and student teachers. Researchers also conducted focus group discussions (FGDs) with student teachers at 2 institutions, observed numerous teaching sessions at teacher education institutions, and drew from data from two workshops conducted with national and provincial government departments (DBE, DHET), education sector NGOs and professional associations (for example, unions, governing body associations). Researchers also drew from original quantitative data from a Teacher Professionalism survey administered to a representative sample of teachers at 151 schools (about 2700 respondents) in the Western Cape, augmented by a documentary analysis and a background literature review.

For RA-3 (Youth), researchers organised and held a total of 7 FGDs (10 participants each, n=70) with youth. The FGDs were conducted within the auspices of four organisations that provide interventions for youth, and were augmented by in-depth interviews with 12 members at various levels within each organisation.

Notably, results from this research are fully analysed in separate working papers, and a separate detailed country report.



Theoretical Framework

This study draws on the theoretical and analytical framework developed by research consortium members (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, & Smith, 2015). The framework combines the four dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation (4Rs), linking Nancy Fraser’s (1995, 2005) work on social justice with the peace building and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995, 1997), and others. It uses these dimensions to explore what sustainable peace building might look like in post-conflict environments. Fraser (1995, 2005) associates injustice with misrecognition, maldistribution and misrepresentation. To capture the interconnected dimensions of the “4Rs” the study evaluated the interplay of education interventions with inequality, using Pawson’s (2006) realist approach.

4R dimensions of sustainable peacebuilding (Fraser 1995, 2005; Lederach 1995, 1997)	
<p>Redistribution Equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for different groups in society, particularly marginalised and disadvantaged groups. Whereas inequality and discrimination would be characterised as maldistribution.</p>	<p>Recognition Respect for and affirmation of diversity and identities in education structures, processes, and content, in terms of gender, language, politics, religion, ethnicity, culture, and ability. Whereas the absence of these would constitute misrecognition.</p>
<p>Representation Participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision-making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of human and material resources. Whereas an inability or limitation to do so would result in misrepresentation.</p>	<p>Reconciliation Dealing with past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships of trust. In contrast to persistent woundedness.</p>

How the Theoretical Framework was Applied to South Africa

‘Conflict’ in South Africa before 1994 was not outright war. Rather, in its past, conflict took the form of the unequal and unjust development of the majority of the population, paired with violent oppression. Within this, colonialism and apartheid structures of power splintered South African social identities along multiple lines of race and ethnicity, with apartheid in particular cementing these identities within rigidly unequal patterns of spatial (mal)distribution. Injustice was the root cause of conflict in the South African context, comprised of the gross misrecognition and misrepresentation of the population, with concomitant patterns of maldistribution.

Consequently, by the end of apartheid, South African society was thoroughly disintegrated and unequal. It also meant that when a new government came into power in 1994, it committed itself to a variety of progressive commitments, including equity, redress, social cohesion, and peace. As part of this process, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established after 1994 as the main national intervention intended to reconcile the deeply unequal South African

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nation. It comprised of multiple hearings and investigations, to establish the causes, nature and extent of gross human rights violations between specified dates (RSA 1995: 4), and heard over 21300 filed cases of individual trauma and loss during its term. The TRC interpreted gross human rights violations as an investigation into bodily integrity rights (TRC 1998a: 65). As such, the TRC did not address structural drivers of disadvantage and oppression, including education.

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Similarly, later macro legislative, policy frameworks and planning strategies in South Africa articulated equality without deploying mechanisms to deal with structural inequality. This meant that while South Africans were all deemed to be equal before the law, the vast inequalities in social location within South African society continued unabated. In other words, patterns of maldistribution were left to persist, notwithstanding recognition and representation having been afforded to all citizens after 1994.

In response, the contemporary South African strategic planning framework, the National Development Plan (NDP), foregrounds the promotion of social cohesion as a key goal and outcome. One of the milestones of the NDP (2012: 34) is to ‘[b]roaden social cohesion and unity while redressing the inequities of the past’ (FHI 360 2015: 10). The central authority in South Africa on issues related to social cohesion, the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), defines social cohesion as ‘the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression itself among individuals and communities’ (DAC 2012). It asserts that societies can become cohesive when group-based inequalities are reduced or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner. As such, social cohesion can be commensurate with the outcomes of education interventions that engage with social (dis)integration and (in)equality (DAC 2012). For the report, the promotion of social cohesion in South Africa is regarded as interchangeable with peace building initiatives and related to forms of social integration predicated on equality. This approach – the interchanging of the terms social cohesion and peace building- follows on from the example of international agencies such as UNICEF as well as education policy research centres such as FHI (cf FHI 360 2015: 10).

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Notably, when individuals are historically and consistently positioned apart, rather than together, the conditions of inequality militate against social cohesion. And as unequal conditions in South Africa continued to manifest themselves after 1994 along markers of race, social class, geographical location, language group, sex and disability, it is unsurprising that there has been limited opportunity for broadly shared experiences, or for the proliferation of different kinds of social interactions of varying intersections. With the maldistributive conditions of the past continuing to shape social experiences in ways that fracture social positions and fundamentally limit opportunities for social cohesion, the potential for peacebuilding to effect change through education would be measured by the capacity of the education system to enact equality (or alternatively by the ways it reduces levels of inequality).

Drawing on the work of Nancy Fraser to develop a conception of how to promote social cohesion, the evaluation of education interventions in this study honed in on the capacity of education interventions, and the extent to which they could disrupt patterns of maldistribution, thereby enacting equality.



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Research Area 1: Policy

Research Area 1: Policy

Research Area 1 examines how social cohesion and peace building is located in South African education policy. In line with the theoretical and methodological framework, it evaluates how education policy interventions seek to bring about outcomes associated with equality. More specifically, it examines the intended and unintended consequences of outcomes on social integration, inclusion of communities and society at large, and how to bridge historical legacies of injustice. The findings draw on the analysis of policy, interviews with policy makers, secondary data and relevant published literature. The primary empirical data includes education policies and interviews with research participants, from government departments, international agencies, professional organisations and NGOs. The main themes that arose out of the data are summarised below.

Formal Desegregation with Restricted and Differentiated Access

Education policy after 1994 redressed (and did away with) the most obvious inequity of apartheid, namely, access to public schools using race as a determinant. It furthermore equalized expenditure and affirmed equal rights for all. As such, learners are currently legally free to enter any education institution of their choosing in South Africa. According to section 29 of the Constitution, all South African citizens have a right to basic education, which includes adult basic education and further education and training, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible. The 1995 White Paper for Education and Training (DoE 1995: 4) articulates the purpose of education as enabling:

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

Under the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996, education is a right that is compulsory for all South Africans from the year in which they turn 7 to the end of year in which they turn 15.

Access to schooling in South Africa, however, continues to be restricted by a number of factors that relate directly to *structural inequalities*.

For one, where learners live continues to inform where schooling is accessed. This is a consequence of geographical segregation under apartheid that ensured multiple levels of spatialised inequality. Furthermore, as Sayed (2015b) notes, even where this pattern is changing, hegemonic forms of power and inequality within the schooling system persist. This means that across the post-apartheid landscape patterns of

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access continue to be maldistributed by geographic configurations that are deeply reflective of wealth and resources. Twenty-one years after the end of apartheid most schools remain highly homogeneous in their student composition, with little evidence of sustained integration within the public school system (FHI 360 2015: 45). More worrying, less resourced schools particularly experience limited racial integration. If social cohesion is to be achieved, policy interventions will need to reduce and eliminate group-based inequalities in a much more planned and sustained manner (DAC 2012).

Reforms in South Africa tend to advantage those already advantaged. They also often pit those that have against those that don’t. This heightens tension and often results in conflict. As such, contemporary education statistics bear testimony to persisting inequalities that have historical antecedents in colonial and apartheid rule, as aptly described in the 2015/2016 Technical Report of the Financial Fiscal Commission:

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

In noting this, it should be acknowledged that clear gains have been made since 1994. For example, South Africa is close to achieving universal basic education, with 97% attendance from grade R to grade 9. The problem, however, is that the impact of these gains have been lessened somewhat by 15% of learners in South Africa still not completing Grade 9 due to dropping out, and only 50% of learners completing Grade 12. Moreover, there is a 17% likelihood of a learner from a poor socio-economic background reaching Grade 12, compared to 88% of learners from a privileged background (SAHRC and UNICEF 2014). Also, learners in schools situated in poor residential areas ‘generally receive a significantly poorer quality education relative’ to those learners in schools in wealthier residential areas (National Planning Commission, 2011:24). These all highlight the profound maldistribution of education provision in South Africa society along socio-economic lines.

“Rural, poor, and previously racially disadvantaged learners, as opposed to urban, wealthy, and previously advantaged learners, are statistically less likely to have access to better educational infrastructures and better equipped teachers.”

A key challenge in the current policy model is that policy costing formulas don’t have in-built measures that are intent on equalisation. Thus, while state funding may be decidedly pro-poor, costing formulas are invariably insufficient to correct former patterns of infrastructural maldistribution of education institutions, or able to put in place ways of equalising school expenditure and preventing those that benefitted under apartheid from maintaining their privilege.

And given that race and socio-economic status remain interrelated in South Africa, as can be observed from the racial composition of schools according to the socio-economic composition of surrounding residential areas, a further challenge is that patterns of maldistribution remain clearly tied to geography. This means that rural, poor, and previously racially disadvantaged learners, as opposed to urban, wealthy, and previously advantaged learners, are statistically less likely to have access to better educational infrastructures and better equipped teachers.

Indeed, South African policy has not adequately attended to institutional transformation within the education system since 1994. An analysis of policy outcomes would show an actual reduction in cohesion across class lines (FHI 360 2015: 32). Most notably:

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- Schools remain vastly disparate in their ability to produce equally distributed education achievement.
- Education achievements continue to mirror past racial and ethnic inequities, which are further splintered and maldistributed along multiple geographic, language, gender, and religious lines.
- Resources that have been made available to effect redistribution are a very small (miniscule) proportion of that spent in the system as a whole.
- The public education system in South Africa is bimodal and segmented, where historically advantaged schools (including former Model C schools) co-exist with township, rural, or poor schools. Well-resourced schools are further mostly located in urban areas and used by the privileged minority, while poorly resourced schools generally cater for underprivileged learners, mostly in rural areas.

Access to schooling in South Africa is also restricted by the ways local level actors operate within a decentralised governance system. Thus, whereas the policy framework from 1994 sought to create spaces of democratic participation through decentralised control, it mainly enabled a combination of strong assertive SGBs in schools bolstered by private education expenditure to use decentralised control for self-aggrandisement and self-interest. To overcome this requires:

- A review of the consequences of private expenditure on education outcomes in the public domain.
- A review of decentralised decision making in public schools and links to fee exemption policies within better resourced schools.
- The encouragement of cross-class solidarity where schools willingly and proactively share resources and where learners and teachers move across different types of schools.

“Furthermore, given that many of the issues and problems of inequity and social cohesion cannot be resolved by the education sector alone, education-only policies and action are unlikely to resolve inequities.”

Furthermore, given that many of the issues and problems of inequity and social cohesion cannot be resolved by the education sector alone, education-only policies and action are unlikely to resolve inequities. Some transversal policies and actions could for example include:

- The encouragement and planning of mixed-income residential neighbourhoods. This may help resolve some access challenges.
- More concerted efforts and support given to learners in less resourced neighbourhoods to reasonably access some form of education. This may involve, for example, more coherent and better-resourced community safety programmes that support school safety programmes and ensure that learners that live in dangerous neighbourhoods get to school safely.
- A strong focus on challenging hegemonic forms of power, ways of thinking, and forms of inequality within society. For example, the privileging of African languages in schools, the raising of the status of African languages, and the incentivisation of the publication of books and other media in African languages could provide alternative ways of challenging the ways in which privilege is reproduced.

“There has been a flurry of policies that are ambitious in intent and impressive in scale.”

Policy Overload and Coordination

There has been a flurry of policies that are ambitious in intent and impressive in scale. Several policy areas such as curriculum and governance have passed through several amendments. Moreover, education policies have emanated from different divisions in government, as well as other departments outside of education. An analysis of policy, however, suggests a lack of coordination in the formulation of policies within the education sector and across other department lines of government. The following quotation captures the policy challenges of policy overload and coordination, and points to the need to (a) enhance actor and stakeholder awareness of and commitment to education policies, and (b) enhance policy coordination within and between government line-departments:

When it comes to policy in educational services, the policy has almost become a kind of a swear word because schools are inundated with policy. There is so much policy. Yet when it comes the problem around policy is around implementation. And because everyone sees a particular policy as a silo, they don't see it as transversal, where one speaks to the other. Also, why policy is not implemented properly is that it comes around to the marketing of that policy. Does everybody understand- those that need to implement the policy - do they understand what this is about and not just pages and pages of documentation that they have to read through. Are they sensitised about the policy so that they can see the transversal, that they don't just see a particular policy in one silo (Speaker at presentation with a NGO 13 representative).

“Policy overload is often an outcome of a policy formulation process whereby new strategies and directions are added to an existing suite, resulting in fragmentation and incoherence.”

More specifically, there is a need with crosscutting policies, such as social cohesion, to ensure that they are implementable across different departmental policy spaces in a sustained and coherent way. For example, the manner in which education articulates with social integration and the need for equality extends beyond the reading of the preamble of the Constitution and having a visible national flag. Rather, it needs further articulation and expression on sports fields and within civic environments where it is shown to be materialising, thus becoming more meaningful to learners and youth.

Policy overload is often an outcome of a policy formulation process whereby new strategies and directions are added to an existing suite, resulting in fragmentation and incoherence. To address this, it is proposed that the Ministry undertakes a technical review of existing policy, noting areas of duplication and incoherence as the first stage in developing a focused and specific education strategy for effecting social cohesion in and through education.

“Failing to translate policy into practice is arguably one of the most common issues that emerge from this and other analyses.”

Translating Policy into Practice

Failing to translate policy into practice is arguably one of the most common issues that emerge from this and other analyses. Since 1994, notwithstanding a raft of progressive legal frameworks and policies, the key problem has been implementation, particularly when accompanied by a policy overload and a lack of policy coordination. It is particularly frustrating when policies don't meet their progressive intentions due to issues of enforcement or the absence of sanctions for non-compliance. To this end, to ensure that policies are effectively implemented and are not simply symbolic, the following actions need consideration:

- Generating greater political will to enforce policies.
- Enhancing the capacity of those at the frontline of the implementation process, as well as their willingness to see the process through.
- Ensuring that services and provisions across government line-departments such as the police, education, and social services in the case of violence, are better co-ordinated and planned.
- Engaging with, and addressing, conceptual and other inconsistencies in policies that militate against equity. For example, the powers accorded to SGBs to control admission, and the failure to enforce a fair fee exemptions policy, have long been recognised as a serious challenge to achieving equity. Yet, these powers remain largely unchecked at policy level.

The efficacy of policy implementation in South Africa is contingent on how different actors and agencies interpret and mediate mandates. Mediation of policies is, in the South African context, an outcome of a semi-federal education governance arrangement arising out of the Constitution. This means that provinces and local schools can often engage both positively and negatively within policy aims. For example, school governance policies, together with inadequate focused funding for redress, may erode efforts to attain equity and meaningful integration across class and race boundaries, and make it difficult to attain durable peace and social cohesion. A policy that is regarded as progressive and geared to serve the interests of the majority in their local contexts may thus have a contrary effect. To this end, it is necessary to engage meaningfully with diverse actors and agencies to ensure that policies meant to effect durable social cohesion are underpinned by a shared understanding and approach, and are coupled with effective monitoring mechanisms.

Lastly, successful policy implementation is contingent on mandates that are funded properly. This means that if the promotion of social cohesion in South Africa, and particularly Outcome 14 within the National Development Plan (NDP), is to be achieved then there has to be adequate funding to realise the targets and indicators that need to be met.

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Utilising Policy Spaces

The progressive raft of policies in education and beyond the sector has created the space and capacity for the public, and communities, to hold government to account. In a situation where relations of trust have broken down between state and citizen, the Chapter 9 institutions have, for example, become a vital policy vehicle for the poor and marginalised to be heard, and their rights protected. Utilising the spaces that policy has created for citizens requires that attention be paid to:

- Strengthening the capacity of civil society organisations to engage both in policy monitoring as well as policy formulation.
- Making better use of the Chapter 9 institutions to protect and promote citizen rights. This would require intensifying their involvement in education, particularly in relation to key policy blind spots where policy intention is undermined by a breakdown in trust.

Teacher Agency in and through Policy/ies

The density of education policies in general and those that focus on social cohesion expect too much of teachers and schools. Teachers are expected to raise learning attainment, promote equity, engage in continuous professional development, create strong and durable forms of social solidarity, work closely with communities and parents, prevent and mitigate violence, and promote sexual and reproductive health and other rights. All these are not unreasonable expectations in a society seeking to redress deep-seated structural inequities and trying to overcome a long legacy of colonial oppression, segregation, and apartheid. However, these transformation imperatives are exercised in contexts in which the education system continues to be divided and bifurcated, and in which many schools arguably remain dysfunctional. Thus the contextual realities in which teachers find themselves in severely inhibit their agency. This is even more so where policies are formulated with limited participation by the teachers or the schools in which they find themselves. Whilst policies are understandably general statements of intent and action, their implementation is contingent on the extent to which they reflect the contextual spaces that teachers occupy. To this end attention should be paid to:

- Strengthening teacher involvement and participation in education policy formulation, especially with regard to social cohesion.
- Developing differentiated policy strategies for social cohesion that take into account the differing contextual realities of schools and that recognise the structures within which teachers can exercise their agency to promote peace and social cohesion.

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Data

The examination of education policy underscores the need for data that is disaggregated and that has as its main focus equity and integration in pursuit of social cohesion. This is not always the case of the data available in the public domain. Particular attention needs to be paid to the disaggregation of data using indicators of inequity such as wealth and geographic location, and which measures the degree and attainment of social cohesion from a social justice perspective. This kind of data about racial integration across schools, and violence by and against teachers and learners, would for example make for interesting analysis. To this end, an education social cohesion barometer/metric, that includes the inputs of a variety of stakeholders that include researchers, could be very useful in constantly evaluating stakeholder relationships and interactions within schools and society.

On the other hand, it needs to be noted that since 1994 policies have engaged with concerns about equity and social cohesion in quite dense, rich, and complex ways. Often the bigger problem has been how to address unchanging attitudes and beliefs in an environment hampered by historical and structural inequities. As one respondent noted:

We are all products of our world, our environment and I think that it's not a ready-made world, we can change that world all the time and build a more universal world of social cohesion and I think that is a huge challenge in South Africa, but anyway. Education obviously plays a huge role. You know, if you go back to your question of social inequality and if you accept that when a group of people have enjoyed a set of privileges for a certain length of time, they begin to believe it's theirs by right. (Interview with an NGO 3 representative)

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Research Area 2: Teachers

Research Area 2: Teachers

Research Area 2 examines the role of teachers as agents of social cohesion in South Africa, immediately recognising that within any given education system the capacities of teachers to effect change are both strengthened and limited by pervading structural conditions. As key agents both within education institutions and in relation to social cohesion, teachers are the largest line item within education budgets, and as such should potentially be making the largest contribution to social cohesion efforts.

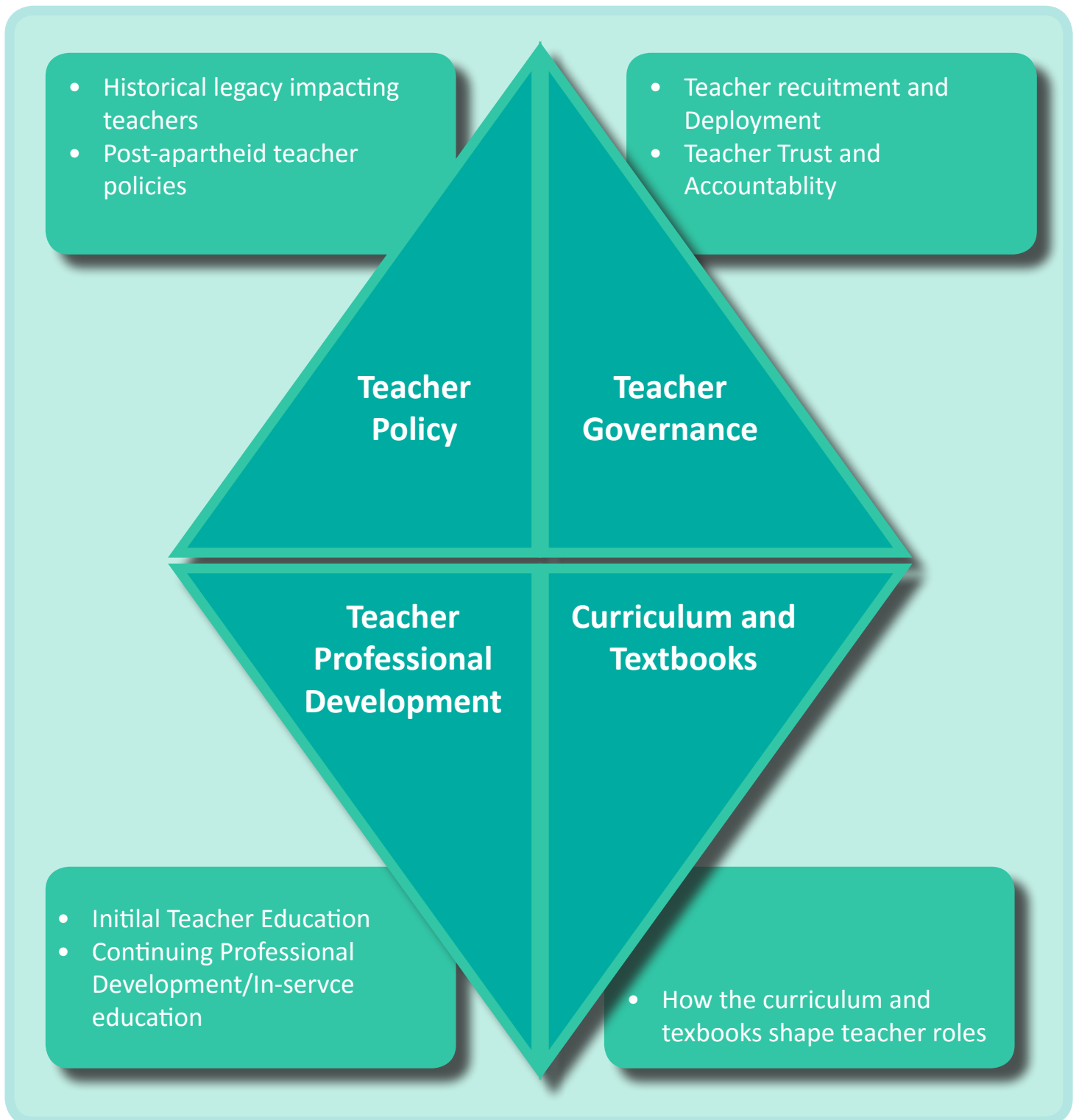
For the study, education interventions directed at teachers were evaluated, with the manner in which they enabled teachers to exert agency to promote social cohesion specifically considered. The overall report sought to understand how education interventions dealt with social cohesion in relation to social integration and the reduction of inequality.

“A key institutional legacy in this regard is that colonial and apartheid rule spawned a complex maldistribution of teachers within the education system. Current statistics show that the previous racial designation and socio-economic status of South African schools and their teaching staffs have mostly remained unaltered.”

A key institutional legacy in this regard is that colonial and apartheid rule spawned a complex maldistribution of teachers within the education system. Current statistics show that the previous racial designation and socio-economic status of South African schools and their teaching staffs have mostly remained unaltered. Poorly trained teachers remain in the less resourced schools. Statistics demonstrate that wealthier schools have, on average, a higher proportion of qualified educators (Isaacs, 2015; Van der Berg 2007; Spaul 2015). This means that when tested on subject content knowledge, educators in wealthier schools tend to excel with urban educators invariably performing better than their rural counterparts (Spaul & Venkat 2015). Statistics further show that schools that have learners that come from a higher socio-economic background are able to raise funds to hire additional teachers and thus can create a situation where they have a much lower learner-teacher education ratio (LER). These starkly illustrate how inequality has endured since 1994 with respect to the education provided to different learners within the South African education system, despite the equality intended by the White Paper 1 on Education and Training (DoE 1995).

The diagram below illustrates the areas of evaluated interventions that affect teacher agency.

Figure 1: Areas of education interventions that affect teachers evaluated by the study



Each area was examined by evaluating particular case studies.

Table 1: List of case studies per area

Teacher Governance	Post-provisioning norms Funza Lushaka Bursary Programme Teachers Rural Incentive Scheme Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) South African Council of Educators – Code of Professional Ethics School Governing Bodies (SGBs)
Curriculum	Curriculum and textbook analysis: Life Orientation History English
Initial Teacher Education	Initial teacher education programmes: Bachelor of Education (PGCE) Post graduate certificate in education (PGCE)
Continued Professional Teacher Development	Teaching Respect for All Facing the Past Genocide Foundations Educator Training

Teacher Governance

The governance of teachers during apartheid was characterised by high levels of disparity in the distribution of teachers. As a result, in an effort to enhance the contribution of teachers after 1994, a number of policies and interventions emerged to address equity, develop better systems of recruitment, deployment, and trust and accountability.

The Department of Basic Education (DBE 2011, 2015) has specific targets for teacher deployment and recruitment in their current strategic plans, and has introduced particular interventions to redress the imbalances in teacher recruitment and deployment. For the study, three of these interventions were evaluated, namely post provisioning norms and standards (PPNs), the Funza Lushaka Bursary Program (FLBP), and the rural teacher incentive scheme (TRIS).

Post-provisioning norms (PPNs) were first introduced in South Africa in 1998 to manage teacher employment and deployment, and sought to bring about an equitable distribution of publicly funded educator posts across public schools and technical colleges, whilst ensuring that posts were affordable to the state. It was quickly found however that PPNS entrench the relative advantage of schools that were favoured during apartheid, and that the mechanism works mostly to the benefit of schools that have highly qualified teachers and that can recruit more. **This meant that the organisation of post provisioning couldn't be left to the demands of the school marketplace, and requires tighter state regulation and guidance.**

The Funza Lushaka Bursary Programme (FLBP) is a multi-year, service-linked bursary scheme designed to raise the number of newly qualified teachers entering schools

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particularly in poor and rural areas, by offering full-cost bursaries to eligible students who enrol in specific ITE programmes. There are several challenges in implementing this policy. A key conceptual challenge for the FLBP is that it mainly serves as a compromise between being an incentive for broad-based teacher training, an incentive for teachers to choose to work in rural areas, and an incentive for teacher training to address skill-shortages in the economy (maths and science). Whilst the strategy may be working well in terms of increasing enrolment rates at teacher education institutions and the overall shape of new graduates, this has not necessarily led to effective absorption, retention or utilisation. Graduate absorption requires that provinces have a tight control on the deployment process and that accurate information around posts is available for specific placement, which is not necessarily the case. **Thus, while the Funza Lushaka Bursary Program has great potential to reverse some of the legacies of apartheid provisioning, it needs to be accompanied by greater supply-side interventions and be organised in ways that strengthen demands for social justice, for example district-based recruitment.**

To incentivise teaching, in October 2004 an amount of R4.2bn was allocated to enhance human resources capacity in the education sector. It was found that teacher shortages were most acute in:

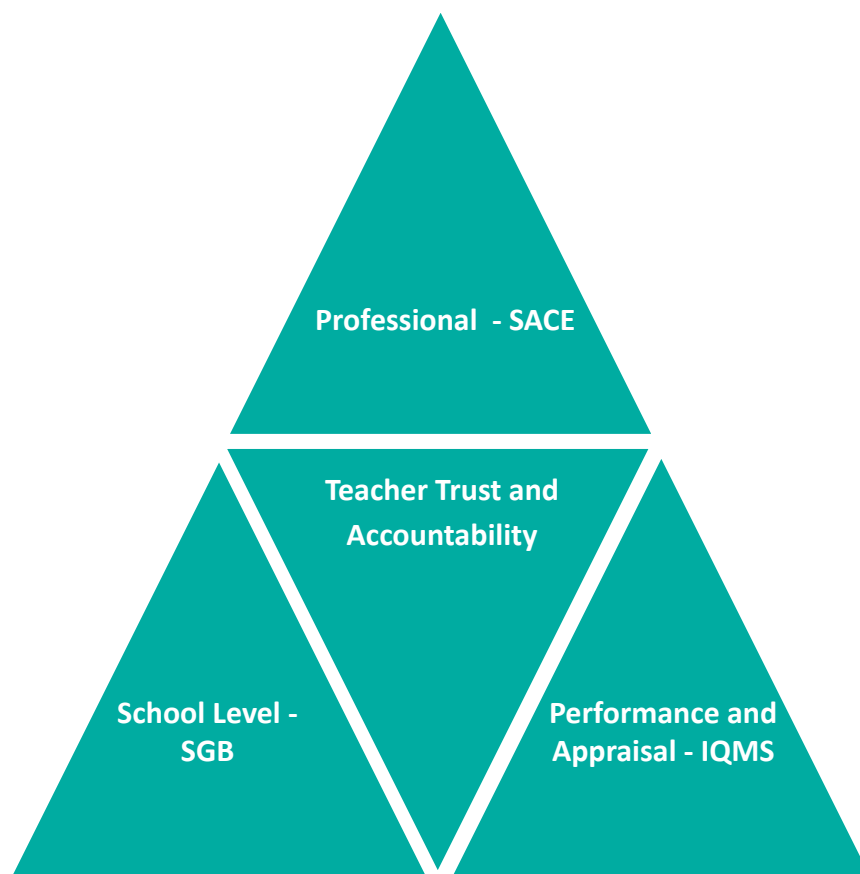
- Certain geographical areas especially in ‘rural’ areas; and in
- Certain specific subject areas (mathematics, science and technology)

The goal of the Teachers Rural Incentive Scheme (TRIS) was to incentivise posts that had recruitment and retention challenges. The policy provided for two categories of schools in which posts could be incentivised, namely posts in ‘Remote Schools’ and in ‘Other schools’. The ‘Other Schools’ category comprised of three kinds of schools: (1) posts in schools experiencing chronic shortages of educators in certain subjects/ learning areas as identified by provincial education Departments, (2) in hard-to-teach schools, and (3) in schools where the school principal or governing body had requested that some post(s) in the school be made eligible for an incentive.

The key problem with the TRIS policy however is that a broad rural incentive cannot be effectively deployed in a one-size-fits all manner. This is evident in relation to two issues, namely whether the payment of the incentives can be better accounted for by PEDs (Provincial Education Departments) via PERSAL (salary database), and secondly whether the criteria used for targeting the incentive needs to be developed at the provincial level. **It was noted that in order to get teachers into rural areas, financial incentives alone are not sufficient to bring about the kinds of changes needed in rural areas.**

Moreover, with regard to issues of teacher trust and accountability, the nature of current systems is invariably dependent on the ways in which the values of the education system are fully expressed. What is most valued in an education system is tied to whom, and for what, teachers feel accountable, and who holds them accountable and for what. The NDP noted in 2012 that schools and teachers were directly accountable to education authorities. As such, it proposed three kinds of accountability interventions. These included: accountability to a professional council, trust building at the school level through school governing bodies (SGBs), and trust

and accountability interventions done through performance management and evaluation systems such as the integrated quality management system (IQMS).



The South African Council of Educators (SACE) is a professional council established in terms of the SACE Act No.31 of 2000. The establishment thereof was aimed at enhancing the status of the teaching profession, with a vision of excellence towards education (SACE 2011: 4). SACE provides a strong framework for teacher accountability, and has an overarching code of professional ethics to which teachers are held accountable. One of SACE's key goals is to develop how teachers see themselves and to embed within them a binding capacity, desire, and commitment to the proposed code of professional ethics.

The challenge that has been encountered is that while SACE is well positioned to assist teachers and help identify their key needs, it does not have enough state support to be able to fulfil these responsibilities. Furthermore, while SACE may be the main platform whereby the teaching profession is professionalised, for greater effectiveness tighter communication with other important government departments is necessary to deal with cross cutting issues like teacher misconduct.

With regard to trust building and accountability at the local level, this is done through school governing bodies. A key challenge however, that emerged from the

“It was generally found that while the establishment of SGBs have been vital for democratic participation in school governance and community involvement, the presence of SGBs has not helped to minimise inequality across the schooling system.”

South African Schools Act of 1996, is that while school governance ‘is vested in the governing body (SGB)’, the school principal, responsible for professional management, reports to the provincial education department. This presents schools with unique challenges in building environments of trust and accountability, in that SGBs and principals have different mandates and responsibilities. Provinces expect principals to achieve specific targets and outcomes, while SGBs are expected to oversee overall governance issues tied to the best interests of the school. These include supporting staff in their positions, helping make subject choices, overseeing a number of other responsibilities such as developing a school constitution and a school code of conduct, and also creating posts for educators and non-educators at the school if needed or financially possible.

The problem for the principal is that many targets and outcomes are difficult to achieve without a fully functioning and effective SGB. On the other hand, with such a large number of responsibilities, and often without the required capacities to address them, SGBs struggle to fulfil many of their roles. This is even more difficult in challenging contexts such as rural areas where, as Sayed (2016) and Mkentane (2003) observe, SGBs are often not structurally part of schools and thus struggle to make meaningful or positive contributions to school governance.

It was generally found that while the establishment of SGBs have been vital for democratic participation in school governance and community involvement, the presence of SGBs has not helped to minimise inequality across the schooling system. The key challenge has been that while SGBs of well-resourced schools mostly have the capacity and resources to fulfil key functions, they often use their power to exclude and insulate their schools. This undermines the capacity of the system to best serve all its learners.

Lastly, the main aim of the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) is to develop the capacities of schools and teachers so that they can become part of, and see themselves part of, one greater whole. The policy proposes that by enhancing teachers’ sense of accountability while supporting their capacity, their desire to serve as agents of social cohesion will be activated. It was found however that IQMS mainly evaluates teachers and schools as isolated entities, treating each school and teacher as a devolved entity accountable to the centre, (whether that be to national, provincial or district level offices). This does not account for the different kinds of relationships that teachers have with their schools for example, nor does it account for the nature of accountability structures within different schools. **The IQMS is a comprehensive yet weakly co-ordinated evaluation and accountability mechanism. The department offers little support to enable teachers to abide by accountability demands, and unequal resource distribution places more demands on teachers who do not have the resources to follow through on recommendations. What are needed are simplified accountability mechanisms that have the buy-in of teachers.**

“For overall teacher governance, what are invariably not taken into account are the stark inequalities between schools. This misrepresents the unique locations of teachers and their potential contributions and capacities to be held accountable.”

For overall teacher governance, what are invariably not taken into account are the stark inequalities between schools. This misrepresents the unique locations of teachers and their potential contributions and capacities to be held accountable. As is evident from the variously described interventions noted above, teacher governance interventions fall short in many of their ambitions and intentions.

“The curriculum and the textbooks that teachers use are crucial in effecting cohesion. One of the major education reforms in the post-1994 period comprised curriculum standardization across all schools in the country. This process recognised that this was tied to both curriculum content and development.”

To this end, several actions are necessary that:

- Ensure that there is greater alignment between national policies and provincial implementation. For example, in relation to the implementation of the quintile system or the post provision norms.
- Where incentives are deployed such as the Teacher Rural Incentive Scheme, they are well targeted, administratively manageable and feasible, effectively monitored, and meaningful and important to teachers.
- Build a culture of trust in which teachers as professional and active agents uphold the code of conduct and ethics agreements that they undertake as teachers registered with SACE
- Enforce sanctions against teachers who transgress.

Curriculum

The curriculum and the textbooks that teachers use are crucial in effecting cohesion. One of the major education reforms in the post-1994 period comprised curriculum standardization across all schools in the country. This process recognised that this was tied to both curriculum content and development. For example, the involvement of various stakeholders in the re-development of the Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) Curriculum in 2005 and the National Curriculum Statements (NCS) was considered to be an important part of the democratic process to ensure the provision of education suited to a diverse and unequal state (Chisholm 2005). Also, it recognised that the curriculum needed to be revised, and that curriculum content was devised in ways that fairly and humanely represented a diverse range of cultures, ethnicities, religions and identities as equal parties in the new South Africa.

The curriculum has an indisputable role to play in realising several constitutional aims. In 2011 the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, noted in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) that the curriculum was crucial for:

- Healing divisions of the past, establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights.
- Improving the quality of life and free potential of all persons.
- Laying the foundations for a democratic, open society where the government is based on the will of the people and the equal exercise of law.
- Building a united, democratic South Africa.

“The curriculum has an indisputable role to play in realising several constitutional aims.”

McKinney (2005) notes that if social cohesion is to be promoted this is particularly needed in the curricula of social sciences, literature and languages, life orientation, and in arts and culture. In that respect, given the importance of the curriculum attached to social cohesion, the study evaluated the curriculum and textbooks of three subjects, namely Life Orientation, History, and English.

Firstly, the subject Life Orientation is described as ‘the study of the self in relation to others and to society’, and broadly focuses on the development of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes about things like responsible citizenship, how to live a healthy and productive life, and issues of social engagement. The curriculum content of the subject addresses critical social issues such as citizenship, health and personal

development. Crucially however, as a school subject Life Orientation is not given equal status with subjects like Mathematics and Science in the curriculum, and often is afforded even less priority by schools and teachers. This has dire implications for the promotion of social cohesion in schools.

“In South Africa language is a crucial way of engaging with issues of diversity, inequality, and social integration. In particular, language study is regarded as an important tool in the development of thought and communication (CAPS 2011).”

Secondly, the subject History is described in CAPS (2011) as ‘the study of change and development in society over time’. History is conceived of a process of enquiry – of thinking critically about what citizens are told and what they tell themselves about what is needed to support citizenship in a democracy. More importantly, the subject History is regarded as crucial in fostering social cohesion because of its ability to coherently transmit both knowledge and values in its approach to the curriculum and in the retelling of the past. This is especially important in a country with such a divergent history where the knowledge and values being transmitted remains contested. There is little doubt that the quality teaching of the subject History is crucial for the promotion of integration in South Africa, and that an incomplete understanding of the historical legacy(ies) of South Africa, as well as the imperatives of nation-building, will undermine efforts at social cohesion.

Lastly, in South Africa language is a crucial way of engaging with issues of diversity, inequality, and social integration. In particular, language study is regarded as an important tool in the development of thought and communication (CAPS 2011). Learning to use a language effectively enables learners to acquire knowledge, express identities/feelings/ideas, interact with others, and manage their world. Furthermore, cultural diversity and social relations are expressed and constructed through language, which is helped by the fact that it can be altered, broadened, and redefined. Notably, given the focus on multilingualism in South Africa, a key legacy of the past has been the role of English in nation building, as well as its history as a language of struggle between different social and racial groups. Its contribution to social cohesion is thus particularly significant.

A key concern remains, as the Status of the Language of Learning and Teaching in South African Public Schools report observed in 2010, that only 7% of all learners in South Africa speak English as their home language, yet about 65.4% of all learners across all grades are taught in English. This context places a particular responsibility on English teachers in terms of accommodating difference and approaching language instruction in a way that is sensitive, pertinent, and appropriate to the classroom context. To address and promote social cohesion, policy needs to:

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- Ensure that the context of the curriculum deals with the drivers of societal fragmentation and inequality in South Africa including race, class, sexual orientation, gender and religion.
- Ensure that social cohesion as a curriculum imperative has both a ‘carrier subject’ and is mainstreamed across all subjects.
- Reconfigure the textbook review process such that issues of social cohesion feature more prominently in the review process. To this end a template and metrics for what constitutes social cohesion as it relates to textbooks is crucial.
- Reconfigure the textbook publishing process such that there is greater interaction and regulation of the outsourcing of textbook production.
- Explore more forcefully open source publications, particularly for resources and materials that address social cohesion.
- Enhance the involvement of teachers in procuring and developing textbooks.

“It is important to review the nature, focus, content, and approach to professional development with respect of outcomes related to social cohesion after 1994. From that time, the new government’s transformation plan envisioned major modifications to both the governance and curricula of teacher education in order to shift qualification structures and their requirements (CHE, 2010: 9).”

Professional Development

Qualification imbalances associated with teacher education in the colonial period were exacerbated during apartheid rule, with the supply and demand of teachers tied closely to ‘the need to maintain racial and ethnic segregation’ (Sayed 2002: 382). This was bolstered by policies such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953 that established segregated education departments to govern the schools, separating out teacher education institutions for white, African, coloured and Indian learners and teachers (CHE 2010: 8; Sayed 2002: 381). In short, before 1994, teacher professional development, following the education system and the country generally, was thoroughly fragmented.

As such, it is important to review the nature, focus, content, and approach to professional development with respect of outcomes related to social cohesion after 1994. From that time, the new government’s transformation plan envisioned major modifications to both the governance and curricula of teacher education in order to shift qualification structures and their requirements (CHE, 2010: 9). The reorganisation of the governance and curricula of teacher education was considered essential to bring about redress, equity, efficiency and quality in terms of teacher education, and for preparing teachers to implement the new school curriculum that was introduced (CHE 2010: 9).

For the South African country study, two case studies of initial teacher education programmes were considered as a way of understanding how the above policies translated into preparing teachers to be agents of social cohesion. These were augmented by a review of three Continuing Professional Teacher Development (CPTD) interventions that focused on developing teacher agency for social cohesion and peace building.

The ITE case studies comprised of education programmes provided at 2 South African Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). The first programme was a Bachelor of Education (BEd) at the Intermediate and Senior Phase (ISP), whilst the second programme was a Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) at the Further Education and Training Phase (FET). The two case studies offered relational insights of inequality and integration that was tied to student experiences of social cohesion within one different programmes at each of the 2 universities, as well as how the two institutions approached this challenge. It is important to note that the case studies **were not** an evaluation of the institutions or their programmes, and that the research considered the course content, pedagogies, teaching practicum, and assessments from the perspective of student teachers, with the focus on how teacher agency was enabled in promoting social cohesion. In addition, it reflected on the dispositions of teacher educators and their knowledge about social cohesion.

The case studies of the ITE programmes reveal how teacher education providers mediate and engage the preparation of teachers as agents of social cohesion in the existing policy context. The case studies illustrate that initial teacher education programmes, as experienced by student teachers, provide particular pedagogical approaches to prompt student teachers to reflect on diversity. In the process student teachers are provided with opportunities to develop respect for diversity in ways that include a diverse learner population, as well as tools to address their needs and identify social problems.

“The case studies highlight how the experiences, expertise, and understandings of teacher educators play a crucial role in shaping the experiences of student teachers.”

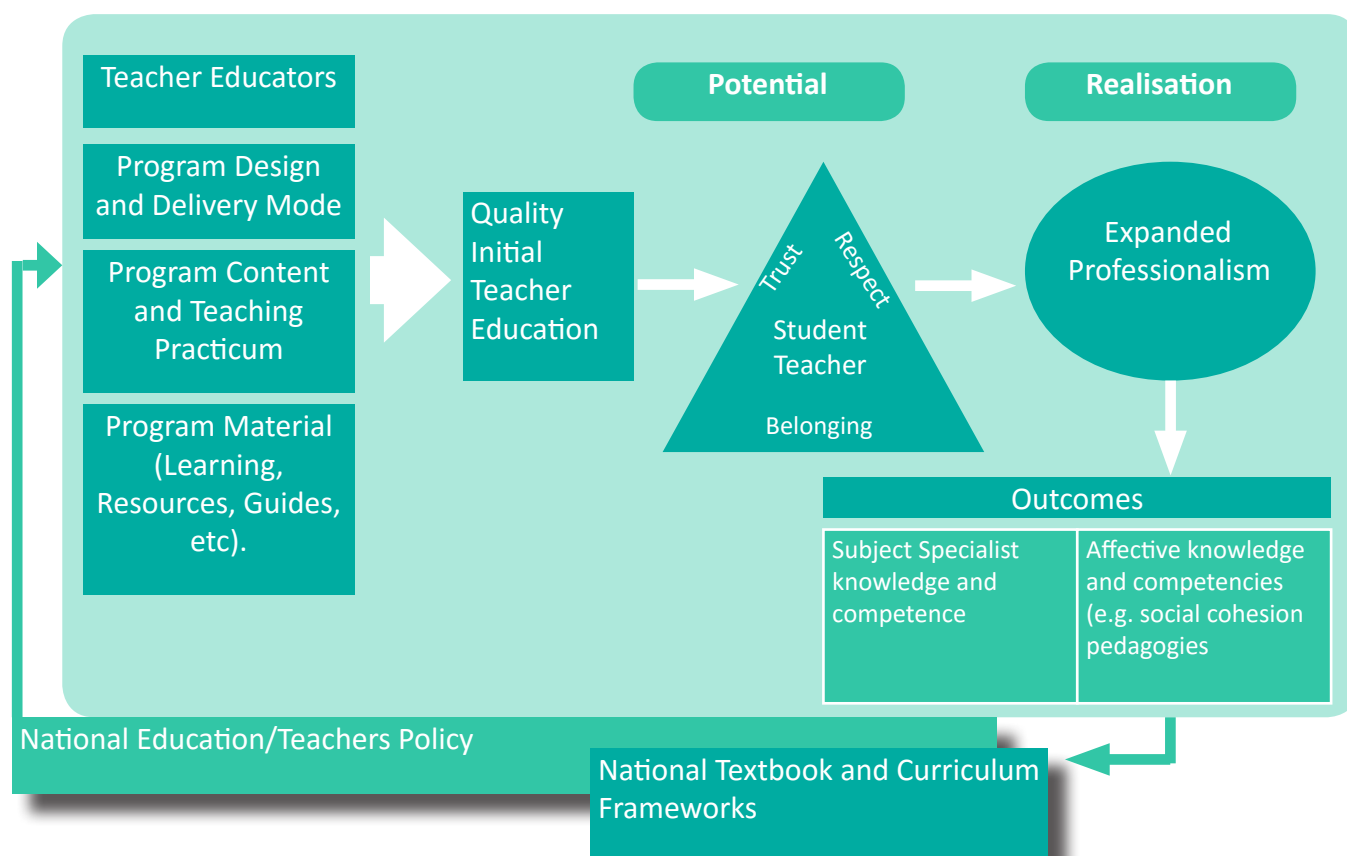
But the two case studies also reveal how the specific histories and characteristics of the two institutions shape the experiences of student teachers with regard to content and practice about social cohesion. It was found that these institutional contexts, as well as their different institutional and cultural histories, invariably rub up against the diverse racial, class, and gendered identities of students, and the social locations that student teachers bring to their learning experiences. It is shown in the country report how this unravels in lecture spaces, within the social milieu of the institution, as well as during the teaching practicum or the school spaces that student teachers enter. This is often not anticipated by teacher education policy interventions, nor is the diversity of complex and ambiguous experiences that students encounter. The case studies further showed that while the nature and character of student diversity – inequality and fragmentation – inevitably lends itself to conflict, it also leads to respect and innovation. It was found that just by virtue of being one group of student teachers engaged in a single purpose there are a number of moments of commonality that are forged during the learning process, and that notwithstanding their different backgrounds, the majority of student teachers are committed to social cohesion.

Also, the case studies highlight how the experiences, expertise, and understandings of teacher educators play a crucial role in shaping the experiences of student teachers. It is their purpose to support and challenge, provide content knowledge, as well as empower student teachers to seek knowledge, as well as expose students to diverse pedagogies and contexts. Thus, the understanding of teacher educators about social cohesion is as important as that of the student teachers. And as much as student teachers need support, policy frameworks and specifications have to pay particular attention to the needs of tertiary teacher educators.

“To promote social cohesion, student teachers need to be empowered with a better variety of approaches and tools that allow them to engage with the everyday and diverse manifestations of racial, social class, and linguistic practices.”

In terms of reflections on the two programmes, the case studies reveal that student teachers need additional support during their own learning experiences to confront diversity in its multiple-fragmented forms. To promote social cohesion, student teachers need to be empowered with a better variety of approaches and tools that allow them to engage with the everyday and diverse manifestations of racial, social class, and linguistic practices. While the initial teacher education programmes illustrated that they offer good and sustained opportunities for developing student teachers to be agents of social cohesion, there remains room for improving the experiences of student teachers of their initial teacher education and to ensure they are empowering. This will enhance how student teachers feel about themselves and their practices and assist them to become active and critical agents of social cohesion. One way of understanding the experiences of student teachers in initial teacher education programmes is reflected in the figure below. The figure shows how context, and what occurs in a programme, prepares student teachers to develop an expanded notion of professionalism. It is within this professional persona, whatever the background of the student teacher, that they will convert their potential into becoming agents of peace and social cohesion.

Figure 2: Realising student teacher potential as agents of social cohesion in and through initial professional education programmes



Continuing Professional Teacher Development (CPTD) in South Africa plays a critical role in the lives of state-employed teachers, given that two-thirds of teachers in the system currently were trained during apartheid at a time when education was racially segregated and non-white South Africans were systematically undertrained (Adler 2002). This is especially pronounced with regard to the promotion of social cohesion and the re-orientation of teachers to the goals of the new curriculum.

“Under apartheid the multitude of teacher education institutions that offered in-service training programs were not only racially segregated, and uncoordinated between departments, but also offered programmes of varying relevance and quality.”

Under apartheid the multitude of teacher education institutions that offered in-service training programs were not only racially segregated, and uncoordinated between departments, but also offered programmes of varying relevance and quality. Many programs were ad hoc in nature and were not regulated or guided by a cohesive national policy for teacher development (Reeves and Robinson 2010). That is why the new government in 1995 commissioned a national audit into the state of teacher education. The Audit Report noted that there was a considerably large number of NGO-provided teacher training programs spread across the nine provinces in South Africa, reaching approximately 112,000 teachers (Onwu & Schoole 2011). It further noted that while many of these programs were often poorly managed and were of varying quality, the high-calibre staff and volunteers of many organisations provided mostly innovative work in developing teachers. This work and techniques influenced the development of a number of current CPTD programs and policies (Welch 2002). For the South African country study, three interventions were examined to reflect on their contributions to social cohesion: the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation’s

(IJR) Programme Education for Reconciliation – Teaching Respect for All (TRA), Shikaya’s *Facing the Past* Programme, and the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation’s Educator Training Programme.

The first intervention, namely the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), is a non-governmental organization that was launched in May 2000 after the end of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). It was established to fill the void that the TRC had brought into view, namely that the TRC had not dealt with the reconciliation or healing that many South Africans sought and the recognition that these goals required a longer, continuous process.

As part of that process the IJR implemented the program, Teaching Respect for All (TRA) in 2012, as a way of promoting tolerance and respect for all through education. The programme is part of a UNESCO project launched in the US and Brazil to help counter racism and violence, and seeks to guide teachers via a series of workshops to ‘eliminate discriminatory attitudes and ideas by teaching critical thinking, tolerance, respect, human rights and multiculturalism so that learners become proactive in everyday situations’ (UNESCO 2014a). The goal of the TRA is to initiate a change of attitude among teachers at the end of each workshop. It was noted in an interview with the IJR that ‘this first step would lead them to becoming better agents for promoting tolerance and respect in the classroom’ (Interview with IJR staff).

With regard to its coverage and effectiveness, a key concern was that due to its limited resources few teachers had the opportunity to actually attend the workshops, and also that once completed there was no follow-up or evaluation of the effect the programme had on those that attended. Nonetheless, for those that attended, they noted that they left the workshops revitalized and committed to change the low expectations they had of themselves and their learners (IJR 2014).

The second CPTD provider, Shikaya, is a South African non-profit civil society organization that was collaboratively set up in 2005 by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), the Cape Town Holocaust Centre (CTCH), and Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO). They named the CPTD program intervention *Facing the Past* as a way of focusing teacher identity on attitudes and values conditioned by life experiences (Weldon 2005). *Facing the Past* sets out to prepare teachers to teach history in a meaningful way, first through teacher development seminars, and then followed by an implementation phase where teachers are supported by online resources and lesson templates. Additional workshops are made available for teachers who want to share their experiences in implementing the programme, as well as for gaining new teaching methodologies (Tibbits 2006).

Tibbits (2006) notes that teachers who participate in the intervention observe that the process of understanding human rights and democracy through a personal lens helps to highlight their own prejudices, the impact apartheid had on them, and how it influences the way they teach History in their classrooms. Furthermore, while meaningfully affecting their personal growth as teachers, the Facing the Past seminar impacts on their educational practice, with a number of teachers noting that they better understand their role as educators and are more prepared to embrace learner-centred pedagogy in their classrooms (Tibbits 2006).

“In terms of professional development and social cohesion, the key finding that emerged from the country study is that teachers need opportunities to engage in programmes that explore values of trust and respect for others.”

Weldon (2010) similarly reports that the most valuable outcome of the *Facing the Past* programme is the increased self-awareness of teachers, and its impact on their personal journeys. Weldon (2010: 360) concedes however that “personal change in a divided society is a complex process” and that because teachers are not a homogenous group, the process is often highly variable. Moreover, the *Facing the Past* program (like the TRA) has limited reach, and is difficult to scale-up nationally given that provincial departments have varying capacities and resource allocations (Goodman 2014).

The third CPTD provider, the South Africa Holocaust and Genocide Foundation (SAHGF, or the Foundation), was founded in 2007 as an outgrowth of the Cape Town Holocaust Centre (CTHC, or the Centre) that was established in 1999. As part of its national brief the Foundation was from the outset focused on ensuring that South African educators are capable of teaching the Holocaust. As such, a consequence of its collaboration with the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) for example, led to Holocaust studies being included in the national curriculum in 2007 (Freedman 2014).

Furthermore, while the Educator Training was originally designed to develop educator’s knowledge of the Holocaust, the Foundation also recognises that educators need help expanding their repertoire of teaching methodologies (Interview with Teacher Trainer). Thus, the Educator Training consists of a 4-hour introductory workshop that focuses on the content and approaches to the content, with further skills development workshops spread over 3 sessions of 2 ½-hours each where facilitators model a variety of methodologies. To date, the Foundation has trained just over 4,000 teachers in approximately 2700 schools in eight of South Africa’s nine provinces (except Limpopo). The ultimate goal of the Foundation is to train all of South Africa’s history teachers.

In terms of professional development and social cohesion, the key finding that emerged from the country study is that teachers need opportunities to engage in programmes that explore values of trust and respect for others. What the programmes show is that they have benefits both for teacher personal development as well as for how teachers view their role and responsibility towards learners in their classrooms. The three cases illustrate the need for CPTD interventions that not only take into account teachers attitudes and possible prejudices, but also provide on-going support to ensure translation into positive classroom practice. All three case studies show a potential pathway for supporting initiatives that build capacity for promoting teachers as agents of social cohesion.

Notably however, none of the programmes are national interventions targeted at *all* teachers. No evidence could be found to suggest that a common teacher identity is being forged amongst teachers, which could enable them to be agents of social cohesion that are able to unify a body of learners in a South African education system still fractured by the legacies of past provisioning. In the above regard, it is notable that:

- Teacher education institutions are important players in the promotion of social cohesion. They have the ability and opportunity to create spaces for dialogue and undertake comprehensive reviews of their programmes, on whether they are using an effective social cohesion lens in their various rules, procedures, and practices and in how they capacitate student teachers to become agents of peace and social cohesion.
- It is through the process of both initial and continuing professional development programmes that the issues of social cohesion and teacher agency can best be promoted, especially through dialogue and consultation and the development of a common framework and understanding.
- Within initial and continuing professional development programmes issues of teacher values and dispositions should always be foregrounded.
- It is important to recognise the histories, context, and capacities of different institutions and to provide previously disadvantaged institutions, in particular, with additional support.
- NGOs and other providers need to be incentivised to provide on-going professional development for teachers to capacitate them in the pedagogies and values of social cohesion
- The capacities and understandings of tertiary teacher educators need to be enhanced to promote social cohesion.
- Student teachers need constant opportunities during their teaching practicum to practice in diverse school settings and apply what they are taught with regard to social cohesion.
- Student teachers need to be better equipped with the pedagogies that are able to mediate inequalities associated with diversity in order to bolster their capacity to promote social cohesion in the classroom.

“It is evident that there is a clear need for a policy framework and strategy for social cohesion that cohesively included issues of teacher governance, curriculum and textbooks, initial teacher education, and continuing teacher professional development.”

Summary Points

From the above it is evident that there is a clear need for a policy framework and strategy for social cohesion that cohesively includes issues of teacher governance, curriculum and textbooks, initial teacher education, and continuing teacher professional development. This may require policy to revisit the national-provincial relationship in operationalizing national norms, standards, and frameworks in education and ensure that the roll out of the ISFTPED fully foregrounds social cohesion and professional development. Funding is crucial for many of these changes and options. In that regard, there is little doubt that capacitating teachers to become agents of peace requires sufficient and well targeted funding from diverse sources, including the private sector and international agencies.



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Research Area 3: Youth

Research Area 3: Youth

Research Area 3 examines the role of youth as agents of social cohesion in non-formal education programmes in South Africa. Non-formal education programmes were examined to illustrate some of the challenges confronting youth, and the agencies they exert. Four micro case studies are presented to illuminate how youth and youth workers create ways to assert their agencies and voices.

Key themes and issues emerged from findings in relation to the three focus areas of the study, namely (i) key issues and challenges that affect the lives of the majority of South Africa's young people and directly or indirectly inhibit agency development; (ii) formal and non-formal education initiatives-as-case studies (iii) youth development-focused policy framework and associated perceptions of youth.

Issues and Challenges Impacting the Lives of South African Youth and Constraining their Agency

The report shows that there are enormous socio-economic, psychological, emotional, educational and work-related challenges that confront youth on a daily basis in South Africa, as well as policies that address this. While aspects of representation and recognition were clearly evident in the policies and processes that engaged with the needs of youth, it is at the level of redistribution and reconciliation that much work still needs to be done. From a review of the policies and structural constraints, as well as from what youth workers and youths observed, the following 6 issues were emphasised:

“The report shows that there are enormous socio-economic, psychological, emotional, educational and work-related challenges that confront youth on a daily basis in South Africa, as well as policies that address this.”

Education, Employment and Poverty (access/exclusion)

It was found that the high levels of economic inequality and poverty in South Africa constrain youth and inform how they address issues of social cohesion. The poor connection between schooling (educational outcomes) and employment is particularly evident, with high unemployment and lack of equitable access to employment opportunities as the main drivers of youth frustration. While programmes like the national youth service (NYS) are trying to deal with this, the extent of the bigger economic challenge is such that there needs to be a much broader collaboration on how to address this education-work issue.

Health and Well-Being

Youth report extremely high levels of social challenges - high prevalence levels of HIV/Aids, sexual activity and teen pregnancy, maternal deaths, single parenting, mental health problems (depression, trauma, suicide). In such contexts, it is difficult for youth, particularly in marginalised communities, to think positively about social

cohesion. If the aim is to foster social solidarity and take the needs of youth seriously, then much more needs to be done to intervene in the social challenges that they confront on a daily basis.

Support Networks

Youth and program administrators highlight the low levels of positive parenting (including male role models), and community support systems and resources in marginalised communities to deal with this, and how this shapes how they think about themselves and their families.

Political/Civic Participation

Many participants note that the constant everyday challenges and the disillusionment of youth affect their (low) levels of participation in political and civic structures. Processes attached to poor service delivery, inaccessibility and lack of trust in officialdom (including the police) do not help promote social cohesion amongst youth.

Violence and Trauma

Youth assert that their constant everyday exposure to excessively high levels of physical (murder, assault and rape) and normative (what they assume to be normal) violence, as well as gender-based violence, domestic violence, discrimination and exploitation, as well as intergenerational-violence, shape how they approach their lives. Youth note that the preoccupation with how they fit in economically into society, at the expense of their social needs, is not helpful in the long term.

Social Cohesion/Integration

All participants emphasise how divisions across class, race, cultural divides, and the resultant low level of social cohesion/integration, continue to characterise South African society, and the ways they see themselves and how they connect with others.

Noting the above, with regard to social cohesion amongst youth it is most likely that the difficulties confronting them, along with their limited opportunities to exert their agency and change things in their lives, will continue to fuel their frustrations.

“A review of the four micro case studies confirmed that social intervention programmes targeting the social transformation of youth tend to have a greater focus amongst civil society organisations or initiatives. Many of these programmes play crucial roles in the lives of youth, but often struggle to have a greater impact because of funding and a lack of support to assist youth over the longer term.”

Formal and Non-Formal Education Initiatives for Youth

A review of the four micro case studies confirmed that social intervention programmes targeting the social transformation of youth tend to have a greater focus amongst civil society organisations or initiatives. Many of these programmes play crucial roles in the lives of youth, but often struggle to have a greater impact because of funding and a lack of support to assist youth over the longer term. For the case studies it was instructive that their programmes and interventions, by focusing mainly on helping youth in their everyday social lives, tended to be better received amongst youth.

The case studies further highlighted that formal government-driven programs and youth policy frameworks, with their emphasis on skills development and entrepreneurship promotion and a much smaller focus on life ('soft') skills, did not

enthrall youth. It was noted that the prioritisation of skills needs over other social and ‘soft skill’ needs has dire implications for the lives of youth, and how their needs are adequately addressed.

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The case studies demonstrated that the compartmentalisation of youth needs is not helpful, and that foci that emphasise the whole community context and are issue-based tend to have greater success. Interventions that have personal development as a core dimension of their theory of change tend to have a better effect on the navigational capacities of youth, and assist them to achieve important life competencies. Youth need to be addressed as part of the peace building agenda of South Africa, and not be seen as a problem and hindrance to achieving this. The case studies illustrate that non-formal programmes have greater potential to nurture and influence social unity and social reconciliation alongside macro policy processes or nationally driven formal programmes.

The main finding that emerged out of the study was that there is not enough collaboration and integrated work between formal (government) and non-formal education sectors and programmes, and that this undermines the levels to which youth benefit from their various programs. Civil society organisations have an important role to play on social cohesion initiatives, especially given their role as the historical drivers of youth and community-based interventions.

Youth-Related Policy and Framing

The key challenge for youth to act as agents of change is that current policy continues to *frame youth* in deficit terms and as passive receivers of top-down and institutionalised interventions that seek to address ‘their problems’. This view limits the capacity of youth to take charge of their individual wellbeing and does not approach them as assets to society. In contrast, youth and community development initiatives tend to adopt a more asset-based approach when working with youth.

While national youth development policies and strategic provisions take the issue of social cohesion seriously and attempt to address the realisation thereof through visible recognition and representation within policies, the overarching thrust remains focused on issues of nation-building and national unity– with allegiance to constitutional values as the bonding agent. By exclusively doing so, key aspects of redistribution and reconciliation amongst youth at local levels and within education programmes tend to be inadequately addressed.

“All participants highlight the urgent need to invest in and address continued youth leadership (development) programmes.”

All participants highlight the urgent need to invest in and address continued youth leadership (development) programmes. They note that it is not through policy that changes will be effected in local areas, but through a more concerted and dedicated collaboration with youth leaders and workers on the ground who understand the challenges confronting youth given that in many cases they have had to work themselves out of such situations.

Within the four case studies, stakeholders draw attention to a number of key following *shortcomings and gaps* in current youth development policy and strategy formulations that they claim leads to low levels of social cohesion.

“With regard to youth agency, what currently requires needs closer attention is the apparent disconnect between formal and non-formal programmes and the limited policy enactment of youth-related policies and strategies, ‘youth desks’, and departmental plans.”

They note, for example, that policy needs to enable youth voices to gain better traction within policy thinking and not treat youth as dependent on state intervention. Policy also needs to recognise that youth are heterogeneous, and are not one marginalised group. Within the category youth there are different needs and challenges tied to various local contexts.

This is particularly evident with regard to the legacies of the apartheid past, since youth experiences and identities remain shaped by a cross section of race, class, gender, and geography that have a direct impact on their different vulnerabilities. In the current context, policies struggle to engage with the different layers of oppression encountered by youth. Youth development policy speaks regularly about the legacies of the apartheid past, but fails to understand the intersectionality of youth experiences and identities in relation to race, gender, class, and geographical location, and how this influences their different vulnerabilities.

A further concern is the ways in which the needs of rural youth are addressed. Their needs are invariably approached in relation to the ‘urban’ and based on previous understandings of rural challenges. This imposes a variety of limits on rural youth. Presumptions about their needs based on historical legacies also limits how the needs of migrant youth are approached, as well as the differential disabilities and psycho-social-educational needs of vulnerable youth, those in detention, and those in conflict with the law. As such, the state needs to take resource deficiencies within the lives of marginalised far more seriously, as this will have dire consequences for future levels of social unity.

With regard to youth agency, what currently requires needs closer attention is the apparent disconnect between formal and non-formal programmes and the limited policy enactment of youth-related policies and strategies, ‘youth desks’, and departmental plans. Should the state focus on forging more strategic and collaborative partnerships with civil society around programme planning and implementation, NGOs/CBOs could take a far more effective and meaningful responsibility for addressing the everyday needs of youth, especially around how to address conflict in local contexts.





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Conclusion

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“In South Africa, the historical antecedents of colonialism punctuate the dynamics of peace, equity and social cohesion, to the extent that apartheid legacies remain manifested in the ways in which inequality persists within the new state. The effect of this has been to splinter education outcomes along racial and ethnic lines as well as generate geographic, language, gender, and religious disparities.”

In South Africa, the historical antecedents of colonialism punctuate the dynamics of peace, equity and social cohesion, to the extent that apartheid legacies remain manifested in the ways in which inequality persists within the new state. The effect of this has been to splinter education outcomes along racial and ethnic lines as well as generate geographic, language, gender, and religious disparities. While post-apartheid reforms attempted to form a united education system, efforts to equalise education opportunity are not yet fully realised. Within a social justice framework, this suggests that education policy should prioritise reducing and eliminating the inequalities noted above.

The South African country study demonstrates that to address the 4R dimensions of peace building, namely redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation, requires context specific strategies that address the historic and structural drivers of inequality that makes social cohesion difficult to realise. This requires political will and consensus amongst educational stakeholders to support teachers to acquire the knowledge, skills and disposition of teachers to become agents of peace and social cohesion. When this occurs, education interventions can certainly make a positive contribution to peace building, social cohesion, and mitigating violence. But if the outcomes of the schooling system in South Africa continue to be bifurcated, social cohesion may remain elusive, peace tenuous, and conflict will continue to loom.

The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding

Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam

The AISSR Programme Group Governance and Inclusive Development (<http://aissr.uva.nl/programmegroups/item/governance-and-inclusive-development.html>) consists of an interdisciplinary team of researchers focusing on issues relating to global and local issues of governance and development. The Research Cluster Governance of Education, Development and Social Justice focuses on multilevel politics of education and development, with a specific focus on processes of peacebuilding in relation to socio-economic, political and cultural (in)justices. The research group since 2006 has maintained a particular research focus on education, conflict and peacebuilding, as part of its co-funded 'IS Academie' research project with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Centre for International Education, University of Sussex

The Centre for International Education (CIE) (www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cie) was founded in 1989 on the premise that education is a basic human right that lies at the heart of development processes aimed at social justice, equity, social and civic participation, improved wellbeing, health, economic growth and poverty reduction. It is recognised as one of the premiere research centres working on education and international development in Europe. The Centre also secured a prestigious UK ESRC/DFID grant to carry out research on the Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding in Conflict Affected Contexts, which aligns with the research strategy of the PBEA programme and is part of the broader research partnership.

UNESCO Centre at Ulster University

Established in 2002 the UNESCO Centre (www.unescocentre.ulster.ac.uk) at the University of Ulster provides specialist expertise in education, conflict and international development. It builds on a strong track record of research and policy analysis related to education and conflict in Northern Ireland. Over the past ten years the UNESCO Centre has increasingly used this expertise in international development contexts, working with DFID, GiZ, Norad, Save the Children, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank, providing research on education and social cohesion, the role of education in reconciliation and analysis of aid to education in fragile and conflict affected situations.

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