

**The role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners’
discipline in rural schools: a multi-site case study**

By

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Natal in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

July 2020

Durban, South Africa

Supervisor: Prof T.T. Bhengu

Declaration

I, Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu, declare that:

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- ii. This work has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
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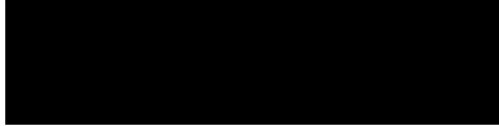
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Statement by the supervisor

This thesis was submitted with/~~without~~ my approval.



Date: 10 August 2020

Supervisor: Prof T.T. Bhengu

Ethical Clearance Certificate



10 September 2019

Mr Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu 944962254
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Mngomezulu,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0462/0190

Project title: The role of Traditional Leadership in maintaining learner discipline in rural schools; and ethnographic Multi site case study

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 17 April 2019, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 1 year from the date of Issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully,

Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

/dd

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cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Ansurie Pillay
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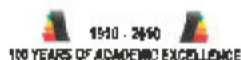
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my late parents, Sipiwe (MaSkhakhane) and Bhekithemba Mngomezulu, the son of Mkipheni (uGxagxagxa) kaMdubukane kaLubelo. My parents had primary school education but worked hard for us, the six siblings, to obtain tertiary education. What they enjoyed most was to watch us wearing the academic regalia being part of the academic procession.

Most importantly, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my wife Lungile (MaDlamini) and Ubala family – Zimtoti, Namanje and Lethukuthula for tolerating my long absence from home. Sometimes I was ‘absent’ while I was at home working behind the closed garage doors. This was the case during the national lockdown due to COVID 19 in 2020. During those difficult times we went through a lot together and survived. Thank you bafowethu for all the support. Nime njalo muzi kaMkipheni (uMavalana ngebutho):

UGxa gxa gxa! Kuyoze kube yizisele,
Imvukazi emaxhukazi mabili elinye elokuya elinye elokubuya,
Umamba zimbili ziyaholana eyenkunzi neyenkomazi,
Zikhohlisana zibheke emzini kaMdubukane
Walwa kabi kweyasemini, walwa kweyasebusuku,
Walwa kweyangaphansi; walwa kweyangaphezulu.
Ingidi egid’ehhohweni, uMlunguzi wenqaba onjengo kaPita
UMahoqoza abuye nenhlendla, uMbengela abuye azosele,
UMqhathi wempi abuye azilwele,
UNKani zephuka kuqala kanti namanje zisephukile
UMlamulankunzi bethi kaziyekwe zibulalane
UPhelekezela ngokuphelekezela intombi nesoka
UMncindi wandengez’ ezimashumishumi.
Dlakadla! Msuthu! Mfis’ongafi ofa uma esethanda!
Nkabanhle! Mdluli! Ume njalo wena kaLubelo!

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- The Department of Education in KZN for granting me permission to conduct research in KZN schools.
- The principals and SGB chairpersons of the participating schools plus traditional leaders for sharing such vital information about their collaboration with schools.
- Zamo Ncokwana and other colleagues who inspired me to soldier on during the challenging times of this long journey.

Abstract

This thesis constitutes the report of the study conducted towards the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in education. This research project explored the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners' discipline in rural schools focusing in three secondary schools located in Ilembe District, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. This study further explored how traditional leaders' role in schools is experienced by school governors as well as district officials and vice versa. Therefore, this study aimed at understanding how and why some schools utilise traditional leaders in handling issues of learner discipline while others do not. The study was underpinned by interpretivist paradigm and adopted a qualitative multi-site case design. Semi-structured interviews, documents reviews and observations were used to generate data which was analysed through themes generated by using NVIVO. NVIVO is a qualitative data analysis computer software package that helps qualitative researchers to organise, analyse and generate insights from unstructured or qualitative data.

The findings of the study suggest that schools and traditional leaders co-exist but have vast leadership approaches in the maintenance of learner discipline. The interaction of school principals with traditional leaders was characterised by complexities, challenges and opportunities. Although the working relationship between schools and the traditional leaders was *ad hoc* and reactionary, schools that collaborated with *Izinduna* or *Amakhosi* succeeded in minimising learner misbehaviour in their schools. The traditional leadership promotion of indigenous practices underpinned by Ubuntu values appears to have been the missing link in the schools. These findings affirm the existence of the network of interrelationships with systemic levels between schools and communities. The study also showed the significance of engaging invitational leadership where leaders wish to initiate work relationships. While the study confirms the significance of the partnerships between schools and local communities in maintaining learners' discipline, it also suggests the need for the involvement of traditional leaders in school governance as growers of discipline in rural communities. Lastly, the implications of the findings for various stakeholders are discussed.

Abbreviations

DBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education
FET	Further education and training
HOD	Head of Department
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LCC	Learner code of conduct
MEC	Member of the executive council
PAM	Personnel Administration Measures
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SGB	School Governing Body
SGBs	School Governing Bodies
SMT	School Management Team
SMTs	School Management Teams
TL	Traditional leadership

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CHAPTER ONE

AN ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This document constitutes a report for the study conducted towards the fulfilment of requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree. The study emanated from informal observations I made on learner discipline and reports submitted to me by school principals while I was a manager of a circuit in the Ilembe District in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Such reports suggested that in rural areas, traditional leaders played a role in the maintenance of learner discipline. In some schools, it seemed to me that the role that traditional leaders played in this regard was critical for the schools' survival. I became interested in that topic and started reading around it for purposes of undertaking an empirical study. The study focused on the role that traditional leaders played in the maintenance of discipline in rural schools. Upon analysing current literature on the maintenance of learner discipline in schools, I noted that the main focus is on the role of the principals (Bush & Heystek, 2003; Bush, 2007) and the School Management Teams (SMTs) as well as, the School Governing Bodies (SGBs). This focus on an individual and few others around him or her is rooted in the pronouncements by Rene Descartes who portrays an individualistic view of people when he makes a claim "I think therefore I am" (Naicker, 2015, p.3). However, there is limited literature on the role of traditional leadership in schools, particularly in the maintenance of discipline. Nevertheless, there is emerging scholarship that pays attention to indigenous approaches to school leadership, and such scholarship seems to embrace collaborative leadership approaches as enshrined in Ubuntu philosophy and are upheld by traditional leaders as well (Koenane, 2018, Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Mbokazi, 2015; Naicker, 2015). By conducting this study, I sought to add to understand how traditional leaders played a role in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools and add to the debates on this topic.

This is the introductory chapter and through it, I provide a background to the study, and formally declare a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study and the rationale underpinning it. This is followed by the discussion of the significance of the study, the clarification of key concepts, as well as, the research aims and questions. The chapter also provides the overview of the research design and methodology as well as demarcation.

Thereafter, the chapter provides the layout of the study and what each chapter entails. Finally, the organisation of the thesis is presented.

1.2 Background to the study

The issue of maintaining learner discipline in schools is a major challenge locally and globally, particularly in secondary schools (Blegur, Wasak, Tlonaen & Manggoa, 2017; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012; Mlisa, Ward, Flisher & Lombard, 2008; Silva, Negreiros & Albano, 2017; Van Wyk, 2016; Wolhuter & Russo, 2013). This is not a uniquely South African problem as some may argue. Countries in America, Europe and sub-Saharan Africa report a similar predicament. Learner indiscipline persists despite the principals of schools and governors enforcing codes of conduct that are in line with relevant Acts governing schools (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012; Moyo, Khewu & Bayaga, 2014). That suggests that pieces of legislation are not enough in addressing the problem of learner discipline in schools.

The government of South Africa has, on several occasions, acknowledged that instead of shifting the paradigm of the people when they ushered in the Constitution in 1996, they wrongly believed that all behavioural problems would consequently be resolved through the ushering of the new Constitution (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016). However, political freedom alone did not make people to think alike. For instance, the establishment of the South African Schools Act, No 84 of 1996, (henceforth, the Schools Act), mandated the formulation of the school governing bodies (SGBs), learner attendance policy and learners' code of conduct among other things. Some of the reasons put forth for the Schools Act, was to ensure smooth governance of schools through for instance, maintaining discipline in schools. In terms of the Schools Act, SGBs are expected to draw school policies and codes of conduct for learners (Republic of South Africa, 1996). However, even after the implementation of the Schools Act, the problem continued in some schools, including those located in rural communities (Adams, 2004, Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014; Lapperts, 2012; Masingi, 2017; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012).

Notably, the School the School Management Teams (SMTs), the SGBs and parents have not been able to maintain discipline although the necessary prescripts have been put in place. Learners do as they wish in some schools. This problem has continued to the extent that parents in these rural schools are more concerned with day to day survival than with far-fetched goals

of education and schools (Msila, 2008). Msila (2012) further asserts that parents also have no power and voice in the education of their children. Such a statement is problematic and paints a gloomy picture about the state of learner discipline in some rural schools. I am saying the statement is problematic because, the Schools Act gives parents power and voice in the education of their children. Nevertheless, it appears that both the parents and the teachers are struggling in terms of managing learner discipline in schools. It appears that there is something missing that can assist in this regard. Teachers are left alone to deal with learners' indiscipline in schools, but due to the violent nature of some of the learners they admit, in some instances, they feel powerless to handle the situation.

National and international literature on discipline in schools (Kiggundu, 1989; Truong & Hallinger, 2017), focuses largely on the role of the structures within schools to enforce learner discipline. However, few researchers who write about the role of indigenous or traditional leadership in schools have emerged (Cajete, 2016; Hagg, 2017; Henry & Wolfgramm, 2015; Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Mbokazi, 2015; Msila, 2009a). I use the term indigenous and traditional leadership interchangeably to refer to those leaders found in rural communities that have existed during the pre-colonial times. These leaders still exist today and now operate within the national and provincial legal frameworks, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, No 41 of 2003 (RSA, 2003) and the Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, No 5 of 2005 (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). Scholars I have cited above, still do not focus specifically on the role of traditional leadership in maintaining learner discipline, but pay more attention to leadership in rural contexts. The picture is different in the East Asian countries where the role of indigenous leaders in learner discipline is acknowledged and embraced. For instance, in the East Asian countries, the dominant indigenous philosophies associated with discipline in the community are key to the maintenance of discipline (Elkington & Tuleja, 2017). Elkington and Tuleja (2017) posit that Confucianism in China and Vietnam is a philosophy which entrenches respect, order and discipline in communities and it is embraced even by governments of these countries. This philosophy is prevalent in schools as well as in governments. However, in the context of South Africa, there is a gap when it comes to the literature on the role of traditional leadership in schools, particularly in the maintenance of discipline; hence, the need for a study such as this one.

Although there are varied opinions about how discipline can be maintained in schools, researchers concur on a number of issues including the existence of indiscipline in schools, the

significance of maintaining discipline and the vital role of SGBs in it. Recent research communities in Asia, Australia and sub-Saharan Africa has emerged with the focus on school-community partnerships and traditional or indigenous leadership roles (Bhengu & Mbokazi, 2015; Bush & Haiyan, 2000; Cajete, 2016; Mashau, Molaudzi & Mutshaeni, 2017; Mbokazi, 2012; Mbokazi, 2015; Wolfgramm et al., 2016). For instance, in South Africa, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act No. 41 of 2003 makes provision for the traditional leaders to assist in the implementation of government programmes (Kamieth, 2007; Luthuli, 2015; RSA, 2003). However, the participation of traditional leaders in schools is not without the contrast of opinions. Some scholars such as Koenane (2018); Msila (2008, 2009); Mbokazi (2015) to mention a few, are in favour of traditional leaders' inclusion while others such as Ntsebenza (2004); Mamdani (1996) and Mbeki (1996) are vehemently opposed to it. As a consequence, the inclusion of the traditional leaders is left in the hands of the SGBs. Contrary to this position, local communities tend to acknowledge traditional leadership structures and accord traditional leaders the status of land ownership due to the authority that traditional leaders wield on the lives of the traditional communities (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Mbokazi, 2015).

Opinions expressed by researchers regarding the significance of learner discipline in schools are similar. Researchers concur that the maintenance of discipline in schools enhances teaching and learning (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Hakata, 2016; Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014). For instance, Simuforsa and Rosemary (2014) posit that learner discipline is the prerequisite for any learning to take place. Briefly, in order to maintain the environment which is academically focused, some standard of acceptable behaviour must be encouraged (Hakata, 2016). Expressed differently, the lack of discipline in schools negatively impacts education and has devastating effects on effective teaching and learning (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016). Arguably, it is important that every effort is made to ensure that learner discipline is maintained. The role that can be played by traditional leaders in this regard needs to be explored, especially in rural communities where traditional leadership exists and has influence on the lives of the people.

International perspectives of applying leadership in schools which are located in indigenous communities are pronounced in developed and developing countries. In these countries traditional leaders wish that their indigenous approaches of leadership can be acknowledged and practised in all organisational structures including schools (Cajete, 2016; Wolfgramm,

Spiller & Voyageur, 2016). Even so, the western leadership style in institutions attended by predominantly indigenous communities worldwide continues to be dominant.

Countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa also pay allegiance to traditional leadership which, in some instances, contains some form of religion or African cultures and customs (Ngunjiri, 2016). What is noteworthy about people of that region of Africa is that communities identify strongly with indigenous leadership role in shaping social behaviour (Michalopoulos & Papalioannou, 2015). In several of these countries, customary laws rather than national laws govern land rights; examples of this phenomenon include Congo Republic and Gabon. The South African traditional leadership scenario is not different from the rest of Sub-Saharan countries in terms of respect given to traditional leaders in the homes and schools. In the community, indigenous leaders command support and respect but are not so much actively involved in schools (Mashau, Molaudzi & Mutshaeni, 2017; Mbokazi, 2012). Mashau et al. (2017) assert that the quality of education is enhanced by members of the society where schools are located. Therefore, it makes more sense that people that are valued in the community get involved in the formal education of the children. In support of community involvement in schools, Msila (2009b) also asserts that schools tend to mirror the society in which they are built. In this regard bringing the disciplined community influence closer to schools is arguably an attempt to transplant discipline of communities into schools. In the context of KwaZulu-Natal and Ilembe District in particular, this study sought to explore how traditional leaders' role in schools was experienced by the school governors and the district officials. This issue constitutes a knowledge gap that has been created by the fact that researchers have not given it adequate attention. As a result, this study will contribute towards a deeper understanding about how and why some schools utilise traditional leaders in handling issues of learner discipline while others do not.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Educators in some secondary schools including those in rural communities admit that they encounter major challenges disciplining learners and feel disempowered to deal with disruptive conduct of learners (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014; Khoza, 1994; Lapperts, 2012; Msila, 2012; Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014). Also, Mestry and Khumalo (2012) note that parent-governors appear to be far removed from school operations due to various reasons. For

some parents the focus is on social ills, particularly poverty than school matters while others are of the view that they have no role to play in the schooling of children. As a result, these parents and school governors fail to understand and contextualise the seriousness of maintaining learner discipline in schools (Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014). Therefore, the problem of indiscipline persists despite numerous attempts by school principals and governors to effectively enforce the codes of conduct for learners in line with relevant pieces of legislation governing the schools (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012; Moyo, Khewu & Bayaga, 2014; Narain, 2015). Notably, the same learners who appear to be in disciplined in schools portray themselves as sheep in the rural communities under traditional leaders leaving an impression that schools and local communities are far apart.

In some countries in East Asia dominant indigenous philosophies associated with discipline in the community are key to the maintenance of learner discipline. For instance, Confucianism in China and Vietnam is a philosophy which entrenches respect, order and discipline in communities and it is embraced even by governments of these countries (Elkington & Tuleja, 2017). However, in South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), particularly in Ilembe District a different scenario is the case. The path travelled by learners between home and school is like a jungle in that neither parents nor teachers are there to monitor the happenings. But parents and teachers know that traditional leaders wield authority in this space and are respected. However, it is not clear why some schools that are located in traditional communities have not collaborated with indigenous leaders to deal with the problem of learner discipline when others have successfully done so.

1.4 Purpose and rationale for the study

The rationale for conducting this study emanates from challenges that were observed while I was visiting schools doing my work as circuit manager. Others were noted in the monthly reports submitted by the principals. These problems include disciplinary problems of learners in schools. While other schools engaged with traditional leaders and successfully managed to maintain learner discipline, other schools did not. These experiences raised questions about efficacies of governance policies adopted in the schools and their connection with practices. As a circuit manager, I often received concerns from principals and School Management Teams (SMTs) relating to challenges of learner discipline in schools. These concerns were reported by principals of secondary schools in particular. The sudden emergence of the lack of discipline

among learners in the Senior and Further Education and Training (FET) Phase is a matter of grievous concern. In some instances, several teachers had started to avoid classes which were known to harbour problem learners who were involved in behavioural challenges. When principals reported the matter to me, these matters had earlier been escalated to the SGB who appealed to the principal to urgently approach the local *Inkosi*¹. The SGB had noted that if parents were invited to a meeting their attendance was known to be poor. Even when parents attend in their numbers to speak against unruly behaviour but learners would still continue as if nothing had happened. Therefore, the voice of parents as members of the school community seemed to have waned; it did not carry any weight to the learners. It is for those reasons that *Inkosi* was requested to intervene. *Inkosi* accepted the request and called on all parents of learners and *izinduna*² to converge at school on the agreed date. Consequently, the impasse was resolved.

For purposes of clarifying the various levels of traditional leadership hierarchy are presented in **Figure 1**. The topmost level is occupied by the Zulu Monarch and below this level are Amakhosi, the senior traditional leaders. Both these positions are occupied predominantly through inheritance (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). The traditional leadership council is the structure that is democratically elected (RSA, 2003; KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). The last two layers comprising of izinduna, *izibonda* sometimes called *amaphoyisa enkosi* are occupied in different ways in various provinces (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Mbokazi, 2012; 2015). This study will focus on Amakhosi, izinduna and indirectly, the traditional councils.

Traditional leadership involvement: There are numerous examples that can be cited where traditional leaders played a positive role in the provision of lasting solutions to indiscipline in schools (Msila, 2009b; Tshika, 2014). In a study conducted by Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008), the school regarded a traditional leader as an expert in resolving conflicts and maintenance of learner discipline.

¹ *Inkosi* means a senior traditional leader as defined in section 1 of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 2003 (Act No. 41 of 2003) and recognised as such in terms of section 19 of this Act and *Amakhosi* is a plural form.

² *Izinduna* means traditional leaders who are under the authority of, or exercise authority within the area of jurisdiction of, an Inkosi in accordance with the customary law, and who are recognised as such in terms of section 27 of KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act (no, 5) of 2005 and *Induna* is the singular form.



Figure 1: The KwaZulu-Natal traditional leadership structure

Subsequently, the school learner code of conduct allowed for serious cases involving the carrying of dangerous weapons to be referred to Inkosi (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). I have observed that, in most schools I know, neither Inkosi nor izinduna or any representative of the traditional leadership is a member of the SGB in their traditional leadership capacity. Yet, the inclusion of traditional leaders in solving unrests in schools appears to bearing positive results.

Policy versus practice: Democratic government legislations and policies alone have not maintained an atmosphere which is free from indiscipline and violence in schools (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). In terms of the Schools Act No. 84 of 1996, the SGBs are expected to formulate and facilitate the adoption of school policies on learner attendance (DBE, 2011) and learner codes of conduct in order to maintain learner discipline in schools (RSA, 1996b). Similarly, traditional leaders in terms of Traditional Leadership Act No. 5 of 2005 (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005) are expected to maintain law and order in the

traditional communities (KZN, 2005) although it does not specify whether this role also applies in school premises. Also, in terms of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act No. 41 of 2003, traditional leaders are expected to promote harmony and peace in the traditional communities (RSA, 2003). These provisions are consistent with Sections 20 and 21 of the Schools Act which stipulate that SGBs must play a meaningful role in the establishment and maintenance of discipline (RSA, 1996b). However, learner discipline gets out of hand in spite of these legislations and policies having been put in place (Anyawu, 2005; Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014; Lapperts, 2012; Msila, 2012). In practice, the SGBs of rural schools in particular are known to lack knowledge and skills to design and enforce by themselves learner codes of conduct effectively (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). The loud silence on the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools leaves a gap which is worth exploring.

1.5 Significance of the study

Before any study can be conducted it is important to have in mind its contribution and significance in the field of knowledge. This study was conducted in order to seek solutions in terms of obtaining deeper understanding of the problems of learner discipline in rural schools of South Africa. Educators, particularly in secondary schools, admit that they encounter major challenges disciplining learners and feel disempowered to, for example, deal with disruptive conduct of learners (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014; Khoza, 1994; Lapperts, 2012; Msila, 2012; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). Also, Mestry and Khumalo (2012) note that parent-governors appear to be far removed from school operations. As a result, they fail to understand and contextualise the seriousness of maintaining learner discipline. Meanwhile the challenges of learner discipline in schools continue to negatively impact teaching and learning in schools when there is anecdotal evidence suggesting the existence of positive influence of involving traditional leaders in schools. Therefore, the study reported in this thesis was conducted in order to elicit deeper understanding of the role that traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools. It is hoped that such understanding might provide insights that may assist in responding the challenges posed by learner indiscipline in schools. Knowledge generated might help identify possible gaps in policy and thus assist in shaping new policy direction in the country.

Researchers concur with the view that the maintenance of learner discipline in schools enhances teaching and learning (Bush & Heystek, 2003; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). Numerous scholars opine that it is critical to create a secure and positive environment in order for teaching and learning to take place (De Wet, 2007; Masingi, 2017; Msila, 2012; Simba, Ogak & Kabuka, 2016). Learner discipline has a major impact on teaching and learning. Simuforosa and Rosemary (2014) highlights that discipline is the prerequisite for any learning to take place. In a nutshell, in order to maintain an environment which is academically focused, some standard of acceptable behaviour must be encouraged (Hakata, 2016). Baruth and Mokoena (2016) conclude that the lack of learner discipline in schools negatively impacts education and has devastating effects on effective teaching and learning. Rural secondary schools are not immune from challenges of learner indiscipline. What is arguably unique about schools in rural areas is that in order for SGBs to get the buy-in of surrounding communities in an attempt to maintain discipline in schools, traditional leaders among other stakeholders are key. Numerous researchers observe that traditional leaders exert considerable power and authority on the schools falling within their jurisdiction (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Bhengu & Myende, 2015; Mbokazi, 2012; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012; Stewart & Warn, 2017). Often researchers provide narratives where unrest in and around schools affected schooling and the collaborative efforts of school governors and community leaders, particularly, the traditional leaders gave birth to some solutions that are sustainable (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Mbokazi, 2015; Tshika, 2014). Arguably, the answers to the questions of this study can add knowledge in the field of leadership and management and assist in better understanding the struggles that schools continue to face in maintaining learner discipline in rural contexts of South Africa.

1.6 Clarification of key concepts

There are four key concepts that I clarify for this study, and they are, traditional leadership, role, learner discipline and rural schools. These concepts have been used in other narratives to convey different meanings to different people in various contexts.

1.6.1 Traditional Leadership

‘Tradition’ as a concept is commonly understood to refer to an inherited body of customs and beliefs (Handler & Linnekin, 1984). In my view this understanding alone creates perceptions

about something from the past that is static and often irrelevant. Hence the dearth of information on traditional leadership role in educational management can be attributable to this perception about the concept, particularly in the maintenance of discipline in schools. The concept ‘traditional’ also herein referred to as ‘indigenous’ refers to something natural and inborn to a special context or culture (Mbigi, 2007; Mbigi & Maree, 1995). In this study, ‘traditional leaders’ refers to individuals such as *Inkosi*, *Induna*, *Iphoyisa lenkosi*, *Isibonda*. These leaders occupy different levels in the traditional leadership structure (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2009), as contemplated in the provincial legislation, Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, No 5 of 2005 (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). These levels are illustrated in Figure 1 in the previous section. Often, some individuals like Amakhosi (plural of Inkosi) become traditional leaders by virtue of being born to certain families which are entrusted with leadership of that community. Others below Inkosi in the leadership hierarchy earn traditional leadership through dedicated service to the people. For instance, Izinduna, izibonda can earn their appointment through various criteria including dedicated service to the community and trust earned and are elected by their respective communities. At the apex of KwaZulu-Natal traditional leadership structure is Zulu monarchy currently occupied by His majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini Zulu. Traditional leaders are respected across all age cohorts in their communities (Nxumalo, Msimang & Cooke, 2003).

In the literature the focus of traditional leadership is on their role in the social activities of local communities. Shembe (2014) laments that, at a local government level the role of traditional leaders is merely ceremonial and confined to sod turning and community mobilisation. There is silence on the meaningful role which traditional leadership play or can play in the enhancement of school governance. As a consequence, among other attempts of this study is to bring to the fore long standing practices of traditional leaders in specific local communities and how these can be merged in school governance through the participation of traditional leaders. Some of these practices involve experiences, innovations, teachings and insights of the people which are accumulated and applied to maintain or improve their livelihood (Kaya, 2013).

1.6.2 The concept ‘role’

In the Thesaurus of 2019, the concept ‘role’ is used synonymously with terms like ‘purpose’, ‘job’ and ‘task’ which, in this study are understood to be closer in meaning. Therefore, the task

or job which is put before the traditional leaders is understood in the similar vein as their role. Mbokazi (2015) understands the concept of role as intertwined with ‘influence’ which is associated with power. To this end, and in the context of this study, I use the concept role in harmony with Mbokazi (2015) when assuming that the role (of traditional leaders) embody power and influence that can either be positive or negative. In this regard, Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008) distinguish between two kinds of power, namely: coercion and authority. Coercion is associated with force or threat of force while authority is power through norms and values that legitimise its use. Either way, traditional leaders are known to wield power and influence in communities under their jurisdiction. Hence, they often have a final say on land related matters in the rural communities where most rural schools are located (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). Therefore, they play a powerful role in the community and are also influential in schools. As a consequence, the task or job of traditional leaders will be explored in the context of their influence in the maintenance of discipline.

1.6.3 Learner discipline

Learner discipline is a complex phenomenon which goes beyond a single definition. Often the definition varies from being equated with punishment to being educative and positive. Squelch and Lemmer (1994) regard discipline as a positive way of encouraging and promoting appropriate behaviour since it is more concerned with promoting self-discipline, co-operation, mutual respect as well as responsibility. Expanding on the notion of discipline, Smit (2013) explains being disciplined in school as indulging in measures that contribute to the creation of an orderly, secure and respectful school culture and environment. Citing the empirical study on discipline by Rossouw and De Waal (2003), Smit (2013) argues that many students exaggerate their behaviour in order to gain some questionable recognition and entitlement among their peers, and such behaviours may cause conflict and disciplinary problems. Deviant behaviours are usually not tolerated in schools as they are regarded as orderly organisations where learners must adhere to legitimate school and classroom rules that have mutually been adopted through participative means.

Msila (2012) refers to learner discipline as the maintenance of an environment that is free of any disruptive behaviour or action by learners that may negatively affect the atmosphere that is conducive to learning. In the context of schools, the SGB is tasked with the maintenance of discipline through the design and enforcement of learner code of conduct. In order for the

learner code of conduct to be effective, Mestry and Khumalo (2012) assert that it must be positive and preventative. Further, the learner code of conduct must not be based on punitive approach since the learner code of conduct alone does not lead to change in learners' behaviour (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). Learners' discipline can be impacted by community norms, values and beliefs which are reflected in the traditional leadership attributes. Finally, learner discipline is maintainable if the learner code of conduct is adopted by all stakeholders and consistently implemented by those who occupy school leadership positions (Mlisa et al., 2008; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012).

1.6.4 Rural school

The term rural has various definitions and conceptions and thus evokes complex connotations when it is used, particularly in the context of South Africa. The complexity is derived from a variety of factors such a geographical, demographic and socio-economic, to mention just a few (Bhengu, 2005; Moletsane, 2012; Hlalele, 2014). The sparsely populated, underdeveloped areas which were designated homelands in the Apartheid South Africa are herein referred to as rural areas. The Native Land Act (1913) deprived Africans of their right to own land. In terms of this Act Africans (Bantu as referred to in the Act) were no longer allowed to own land or to even rent it outside the demarcated areas (Modise, 2013; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Later on, the Bantu Homeland Constitution Act (1973) was imposed. This Act divided land into Homelands (also known as Bantustans) which were allocated to Africans in even smaller pieces that they were to occupy as ethnic groups while the whites remained with vast land suitable for farming. One of the aims of these Acts was to impoverish the Africans by dumping them in these small Bantustans which needed extra work in order to prepare for tilling (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Khunou, 2011). Also, the intention was to divide and control Africans as they had to always carry passbooks where ever they were (Modise, 2013). They had to apply for permission to go in and out of these Bantustans when going to seek jobs in the cities. The legacy of these Apartheid laws is characterised by the break down in family structures, poverty and other social deprivations (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Khunou, 2011). After 1994, these areas fell within the land held in trust by Ingonyama Trust in terms of Ingonyama Trust Act 9 of 1997 and are subject to the system of traditional leadership in terms of Traditional Governance Framework Act, No 41 of 2003, and KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, No. 5 of 2005. Schools in this study are situated in such traditional communities and are herein referred to as rural schools.

1.7 Research aims and questions

In exploring the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools, the study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- To comprehend the role that traditional leaders play in the maintenance of learner discipline in the rural secondary schools.
- To explore how traditional leaders' practices in maintaining learner discipline are understood and experienced in rural secondary schools.
- To understand the motives behind the traditional leaders' approach towards the maintenance of learner discipline in rural secondary schools.

In order to achieve this goal, the critical questions were crafted as follows:

- What role do traditional leaders play in maintaining learner discipline in rural secondary schools?
- How are traditional leaders' practices of maintaining learners' discipline understood and experienced in rural secondary schools?
- What can be learned from traditional leaders' practices of maintaining learners' discipline in rural secondary schools?

1.8 Research design and methodology

The study was sought to explore the role that traditional leaders play in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools. I firstly acknowledged that knowledge is multiple faceted. Consequently, the philosophical orientation of participants can be classified under different paradigms such as positivism, post positivism, interpretivism, critical paradigm, to mention a few (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Although there are overlaps between these paradigms they can be distinguished through their general characteristics. I located the study within the interpretivist paradigm since interpretive paradigm focuses on making meaning and understandings of the subjective human experiences (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). I adopted the ethnographic case study as a methodology. Parker-Jenkins (2018) acknowledges that the ethnography and case study techniques can be simultaneously engaged to locate the study within a richer and wider context while being realistic about the resulting claims. Details on

these issues are provided in Chapter Four which is dedicated to the discussion of methodological issues.

1.9 Organisation of the study

This thesis is organised into nine chapters and the summary of what each chapter contains is provided below.

Chapter One

In this chapter, I introduce the study to the readers by among other things, indicating why issues of learner discipline are important. I then move on to discuss other issues that are relevant to the topic including the clarification of the key terms. Then, I outline the statement of the problem, the purpose and the rationale for the study. Further, I present the significance of the study. The three aims of the study and the three research questions guiding the study are unveiled. In order for the reader to understand the problem better, I briefly outline the literature on local and global developments regarding traditional leaders' involvement in schools generally, and in learner discipline maintenance in particular.

Chapter Two

The local and international literature is reviewed in this chapter. The review of literature focuses on learner discipline in schools and how traditional leaders are involved in it. I began by discussing the legislative mandates then the current status of learners' discipline and the influence of traditional leaders in schools that are located within areas under their jurisdiction. I concluded the chapter by presenting debates for and against traditional leaders' involvement in the governance of schools, in particular those narratives that focus on rural areas.

Chapter Three

In this chapter, I present the theoretical framework within which I conducted the study dealing with traditional leaders and the traditional leadership structure and school governance perspectives in grappling with the challenge of maintaining learner discipline. My presentation focuses on the contexts of the schools and perspectives of indigenous leaders and school-based

participants as well as the debates on the involvement of traditional leaders. Further details about theories providing a framework for the study are provided in the chapter.

Chapter Four

In Chapter Four, I present the research design and the methodology that I chose in order to explore the role that traditional leaders play in maintaining learners' discipline in rural schools and the justification for my choice. I begin by declaring the epistemology and the paradigm I adopted for the study. Since I intended spending a longer duration with participants in their contexts, I engaged the ethnographic case study methodology within a qualitative approach. The data was mainly generated through interviews with open-ended questions in IsiZulu so that traditional leaders and other participants could freely express themselves. IsiZulu is local language understood and used by everybody in rural communities of KwaZulu-Natal province.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven

In these three chapters, I present the qualitative data I generated from the three case study sites whose pseudonyms are Thandimfundo Secondary School (TSS), Mluleki Secondary School (MSS) and Hlobani Secondary School (HSS). In each one of the three sites the principal, the SGB chairperson and the traditional leader of the community in which the school is located were interviewed. The data was voluminous, and because of that, I thought that it would be sensible to present it in three chapters in order to give equal attention to each site. Each of the three chapters, I present data generated from one site at a time. Before presenting the data, I present the brief profile of each school, and its communities before presenting that of the participants. The stories from the schools were presented under four themes that emerged during the data analysis.

Chapter Eight

In this chapter, I conduct the data analysis across the three sites (TSS, MSS and HSS) and identify some emerging patterns from the data and linked them to the literature and the theoretical framework presented in Chapters Two and Three respectively. The diverse patterns that emerged are expressed in terms of IsiZulu metaphor '*Amabal'engwe*' The meaning of the metaphor is explained in Section 8.1 of Chapter Eight.

Chapter Nine

In this chapter, I present and discuss the findings and implications of these findings for various stakeholders and research. Firstly, the synthesis of the whole study is presented and then the findings are discussed under the critical questions that guided the study. Finally, the emerging model of traditional leaders managing learner discipline in rural schools is discussed. I therefore begin sketching the model of leading and managing learner discipline in rural schools by explaining the significance of understanding the metaphoric jungle and how various activities in this jungle impact on learners and indirectly on learner discipline in schools. Hence, the need for school principals to interact with community leaders, particularly those in the traditional leadership positions in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools. In this regard, IsiZulu expressions and metaphors are used to symbolise the synergy between democratic principles practised in schools and in the traditional leadership structures.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN THE MAINTENANCE OF LEARNERS' DISCIPLINE IN RURAL SCHOOLS

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided the synopsis of the thesis, the arrangement and contents of the chapters. The chapter also dealt with the focus and the orientation of the study wherein the purpose of the research, key concepts, as well as the current and historical narratives on the traditional leadership participation in shaping learner behaviour in schools were discussed. Chapter Two reviews literature on the role played by traditional leaders or indigenous leadership in the form of Amakhosi (formerly known as Chiefs), izinduna and other people constituting this leadership structure. In Chapter One, I have explained some of the dynamics about the understanding and usage of the terms 'traditional leadership' and 'traditional leaders'. For purposes of this study and this chapter, I use the terms traditional leadership and indigenous leadership interchangeably to refer to those leaders who operate within traditional leadership structure as defined in KwaZulu-Natal Traditional leadership and Governance Act, No 5 of 2005, and the Traditional leadership and Governance Framework Act, 41 of 2003. As part of the literature review, I focus on the involvement of indigenous leaders in school governance citing examples of countries where indigenous leadership exists in communities surrounding schools. Some of these countries include Australia, the United States of America (USA), Canada, Saudi Arabia, Peoples' Republic of China, North and South Vietnam. The examples of such countries in sub-Saharan Africa include Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Nigeria (Khalifa, Gooden & Davis, 2016; Meer & Campbell, 2007; Stewart & Warn, 2016; Truong & Hallinger, 2017; Wanasika et al., 2011; Wolfgramm, Spiller & Voyageur, 2016). The South African context will be discussed against the background of these countries.

The narratives will be presented under the following topics: The role of traditional leadership in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools. The narratives in this section will focus on legislations and policies framing the maintenance of learner discipline as well as the actual practices that impact on school discipline. The second section focuses on the current status of learner discipline in schools. This section unpacks some of the expected conduct of the learners compared to what was reported in schools as recorded in empirical research findings. The third

section deals with the measures and experiences of maintaining learner discipline in schools. Thereafter, I present debates on the challenges encountered in the process of maintaining learner discipline and emerging research of involving indigenous leadership in school governance locally and globally. In the fourth section, I present opinions from researchers on the influence of indigenous leadership in schools. In this section historical and recently reported experiences of involving traditional leaders in school governance is discussed. Then, the utterances of His Majesty King Zwelithini are discussed followed by views of proponents of involving traditional leaders in school governance. Finally, I provide a synthesis of the debates as I move towards the conclusion of the chapter.

2.2 Traditional leadership prescripts and how indigenous leaders apply them in the communities.

Numerous studies have indicated that traditional leaders are involved in the schools for various reasons including the maintenance of learner discipline. However, the role that traditional leaders play or can play is still subject to debates. Such a debate is found in South Africa and other countries where indigenous leadership exists (Ntsebenza, 2004; Koenane, 2017). Similar to most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the existence of traditional leadership in the Republic of South Africa is legislated and embraced, particularly, by traditional communities as defined in Section 2 of KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act 5 of 2005 (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). Section 20 of this Act stipulates that traditional councils are expected to maintain law and order in the community (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). This exercise makes traditional leaders to command tremendous influence in traditional communities. Children from the community who attend school involuntarily take along with them into school the day to day community behaviours and other customary practices. Since schools are microcosm of society (Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014), the influence of Inkosi in the community can be expected to extend into schools where maintenance of discipline has reportedly gone beyond the control of SMTs and SGBs (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Masingi, 2017; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012).

Traditional leaders play a number of roles in the communities and in some instances, even in the schools. Some of the roles that they play include the promotion of tradition and culture, conflict resolution, sharing of community information, protection of life, persons and property,

maintenance of order and discipline, land administration and development, safety and security. Each of these activities is briefly discussed next.

2.2.1 Promotion of tradition and culture in communities and schools

The role of traditional leaders in South Africa is generally acknowledged by both traditional communities and government. Government recognises traditional leaders through legislations which include the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act No. 41 of 2003 (RSA, 2003) and the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership Act No. 5 of 2005 (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). In terms of these legislations, traditional leaders must observe and promote the system of customary law and practices. These customary laws and practices promote the African culture which is embraced and upheld in most traditional communities in rural areas (Nzimakwe, 2014). Amakhosi and Izinduna play a major role in enhancing the continuum of African value system (Logan, 2013) that is embedded in customs and beliefs of these communities. The underlying philosophy of life that is indirectly taught through these customs and beliefs is the concept known as Ubuntu (Kamwangamalu, 1999). This concept has numerous definitions but not all of them will be discussed in detail.

The concept of Ubuntu recognises differences in life, and as a result, it always strives to strike consensus where others impose universal sameness (Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012). Ubuntu embodies the core African values such as respect, obedience, humility, caring, interdependence and communalism, to mention a few (Msila, 2008; Msengana, 2006; Nzimakwe, 2014). These core values of Ubuntu are not taught at school but rather in communities through oral genres such as proverbs, songs, poetry which is common in indigenous societies. Ubuntu values are particularly evident during family functions and community celebrations. Amakhosi and izinduna form part of the traditional leadership structure which endorses such gatherings. As a result, traditional leaders play a pivotal role in perpetuating the African values among people, young and old in the communities (Msengana, 2006). In terms of the two legislations I have mentioned, the traditional leadership role is striving to enhance tradition and culture as well as promote harmony and peace amongst people (RSA, 2003; KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). Part of this culture includes upholding Ubuntu values which express the interconnectedness and the responsibility of the African people to each other (Kamwangamalu, 1999).

Schools form part of the bigger traditional communities surrounding them which are led by Amakhosi and Izinduna. However, the respect embodied in Ubuntu and embraced by these traditional communities is not clearly expressed in school policies. Indigenous values which are lived in African families form the basis of the customary laws which are respected in communities (Nzimakwe, 2014). Therefore, the participation of traditional leaders in school governance matters can be justified through Ubuntu principles and customary laws since the South African Schools' Act does not specify traditional leaders. Section 23(6) of the Schools Act stipulates the co-option of a member or members of the community into the SGB to assist it in performing its functions (RSA, 1996b). The members referred to in the Schools Act, can be ordinary members of the community but what is not explicitly stated is that members of the community can also be traditional leaders.

In this study, the presence or absence of traditional leaders in school governance or representatives of a structure that wields respect in the community such as traditional leadership forms part of the basis for the research. The indigenous leadership is associated with African value system which is embodied in Ubuntu philosophy. Muzvidziwa and Muzvidziwa (2012) credits the prevalence of Ubuntu values in some schools with enhanced learner discipline. Traditional leaders play a symbolic role in representing community identity, unity, continuity in the public space (Logan, 2013). Therefore, disregard for traditional leadership who are arguably the pillar of respect in rural African communities can impact behaviour of communities in a variety of ways. In order to better understand this narrative I discuss the traditional leadership roles that impact on learner discipline in schools. These include conflict resolution, sharing of community information, protection of life, persons and property, maintenance of order and discipline, the allocation of land, safety and security.

2.2.2 Conflict resolution

Although traditional leadership role in the school terrain is not specified, traditional leaders continue to play a huge role in preventing and sometimes resolving conflicts which have a potential of spilling over into schools. Tshika (2014) narrates a case where there was a stand-off between two rival parties in the community. Schooling was negatively affected. The school governors together with community partners approached the traditional leaders for a solution. Subsequently, the impasse was resolved and the free movement of teachers and learners from one school to another resumed unabated (Tshika, 2014).

In other instances, when afforded space to operate, traditional leaders can prevent or resolve conflicts inside schools. In a study conducted by Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008), where traditional leaders were involved in school governance, some positive results were reported. For instance, Inkosi who was considered to be an expert in conflict resolution and discipline was actively involved in school governance. As a result, the learner code of conduct in that school endorsed the referral of cases involving the carrying of weapons to Inkosi (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). This resulted in teachers getting partly relieved from attending some cases and could focus on other pre-planned activities. This is consistent with legal provisions made in Section 21 of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003 which stipulates that conflict resolution is part of the role which traditional leaders must play. The disputes and conflicts expected to be resolved can arise from customary law and customs between individuals or within families, communities and other customary institutions (RSA, 2003).

2.2.3 Sharing of community information

Traditional leaders keep vital information about individuals, families and the community at large. Information can be a vital weapon in the maintenance of order and discipline in schools. Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008) cite the example of Induna who was the ex-principal of a school. This induna worked closely with the incumbent principal by sharing the information he had about the background of learners in the school. Notably, as ex-principal and then induna he had a deeper understanding of the learners and their families as well as the community in general. The supportive role of providing the school with informed views empowered the school immensely to better understand learners and consequently take informed decisions (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Mbokazi, 2015). The practice of sharing information with schools assist in ensuring that what happens in the community is known in the school and vice versa.

2.2.4 Protection of life, persons and property

Government has made attempts to involve traditional leaders in the maintenance of order and protection of life and property in areas under the jurisdiction of Amakhosi. Section 20(2) of KwaZulu-Natal Traditional leadership and Governance Act 5 of 2005 provides for Amakhosi to protect life, persons and property and report to the relevant department in government or

other relevant authorities (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). The theft of school property and vandalism occurring during weekends and school holidays can be curtailed through the use of this Act. Furthermore, Section 20(2) justifies the participation of Amakhosi in endeavours aimed at protecting people and property in their communities (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). In some areas this intervention extends into schools as mentioned earlier. Bullying that occurs in and outside the school premises has negative consequences for the maintenance of learner discipline in schools (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016). Hence, it is a common practice in rural communities that unbecoming conduct that disrupts order and discipline in the communities is reported to Izinduna. Izinduna deal with such matters and forward the more serious ones to Amakhosi who if necessary set dates for cases to be heard in traditional courts. Referral of serious cases such as carrying of weapons by learners mentioned above is an example of the role that traditional leaders play or can play in schools in order to maintain discipline. This is not a uniquely South African experience. Similar practices are reported in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2015).

2.2.5 Maintenance of order and discipline

The maintenance of order and discipline in the community is one of the fundamental responsibilities of traditional leaders in rural areas. In the South African context, traditional leaders are normally actively involved in dealing with matters involving people in the community (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005; RSA, 2003) and no legislation stipulates TL involvement specifically in schools. But often, principals share anecdotes where some cases submitted for hearing in traditional courts directly involved people of school going age. Drawing from my personal experience of working closely with TL I can recall a story told by Induna where learners who were under the age of 18 and had to appear before the traditional court for a hearing. They had to do so being accompanied by their parents. Upon returning to school from hearings such learners were given a note with a stamp of the traditional leadership authority. This was done as proof of having been to the hearing since cases were heard during normal school days. Therefore, Amakhosi and Izinduna, in the eyes of many including learners, are the symbol of discipline. Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2015) note that in some parts of sub-Saharan Africa, traditional leaders command more respect in communities than, for instance, government ministers and even the police.

Since the pre-colonial era in Africa, traditional leaders have always commanded respect of the customary institutions in the community. The traditional leaders maintained order and minimised incidences of indiscipline within communities (Koenane, 2017). Communities embraced interdependence and communal life (Nzimakwe, 2014). The break-down of the African family structure as a result of colonisation can be blamed for numerous social ills including indiscipline in rural schools.

Before the introduction of individualistic western philosophies of life, Africans upheld the values of Ubuntu which foster a communalistic world-view towards life (Kamwangamalu, 1999). At that time, traditional leaders occupied a very special space in the communities' lives as a symbol of unity (Logan, 2013). Everybody embraced the values and principles of Ubuntu which shun individualistic life styles in families (Nzimakwe, 2014). Kamwangamalu (1999) asserts that in the African context, nobody lives for himself. Ubuntu values promote interdependence; that is, the welfare of the individual member of the family or the society is dependent on the welfare of all and vice-versa (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Lutz, 2009; Msila, 2008). Arguably, the partial collapse of this communal life style weekend the discipline and influence of the family on its members. Arguably, the negative consequences thereof are evident throughout various communities in the form of indiscipline, more so in schools.

When South Africa became a democratic country in 1994, the existence and the position of traditional leadership structure was revived and Section 12 of the South African Constitution made provision for their existence (RSA, 1996a). Later on, various legislations were promulgated to guide their operation. These include the Traditional Leadership and Government Framework Act No. 41 of 2003 and the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, No. 5 of 2005. Among other reasons, these legislations were meant to resuscitate traditional leadership rule while introducing principles of democracy and principles of cooperative governance in all organs of state (RSA, 2003). Briefly, the government introduced principles of democracy in traditional leadership structures and not vice-versa. That is, government preferred not to introduce traditional leadership principles such as consensus into the modern democratic structures like schools. Nonetheless, traditional courts continue to arrive at decisions through proceedings that involve consensus which, Koenane (2017) argues, constitute a better system than liberal democracy.

Incidences of indiscipline or havoc which often find ways of getting into schools from communities through the learners require TL approaches to curtail. Kyed and Buur (2006) argue that despite various attempts by Africa states to do away with chieftaincies, TL forms of governance have never ceased to be important. Further, they posit that in fact since the beginning of the 1990s Sub-Saharan countries are reverting to resurgence of the formal role of TL in local government and development. However, the visibility of traditional leaders as symbols of culture and discipline in the community is seen to enhance the maintenance of stability in the community (Koenane, 2017; Logan, 2013) and in schools. This discussion in some ways tries to indicate that in rural communities today, traditional leaders continue to have influence in the lives of the people who live there. In that way, it makes sense for schools not to ignore their presence and influence, but to harness their expertise and influence in addressing issues of learner discipline.

2.2.6 Land administration and development

In terms of Section 8 of the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act 5 of 2005 one of the functions of the traditional leadership councils is to recommend to the government the appropriate interventions that can contribute to community development and improved service delivery (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). Therefore, school governance is one of many areas where traditional leaders play or can play a positive role after consultations with relevant structures, even though the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional leadership and Governance Act does not specify schools when stipulating the traditional leaders' functions.

The participation of traditional leaders in school governance is not a new concept or point of discussion. Traditional leaders have a long history of supporting the establishment of schools in the South African context (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Mbokazi, 2015). The evidence of this assertion is evident in numerous schools built on land provided by Amakhosi. Amakhosi even went to the extent of building some schools which communities often name after Amakhosi or members of the royal families (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Further, they supported the construction of roads, the connection of water and electricity into schools. Generally, Amakhosi have a history of helping to mobilise the community to work closely with the schools (Bhengu, 2013; Mbokazi, 2015). Traditional leaders continue to play these roles even today.

As custodians of resources such as land and customs, Luthuli (2015) notes that Amakhosi indirectly wield authority on the well-being of their communities. It is worth mentioning that the land on which most rural schools are found falls under Ingonyama Trust (Luthuli, 2015). Drawing from my experiences of managing the circuit consisting of 28 schools, there are positive anecdotes of suggesting the involvement of traditional leaders in school governance that I found vital and worth sharing. In one deep rural secondary school, the local Induna and former Chairperson of the SGB for the past 15 years, maintained a healthy relationship with the school. Due to ill health, he declined to stand for nomination in the latest SGB elections. However, as Induna in the community, he continues to play the pivotal role of promoting the maintenance of safety and discipline in the community as well as inside the school. When schools open, he continues as tasked by the current SGB to regularly address meetings with parents and learners. His address is mainly focused on how safety and security structures function in the community around the school. Learners, teachers and parents are also informed about procedures to be followed in case someone becomes a victim of crime or violence. The traditional leadership structures comprising izinduna are always ready to assist the teachers, the learners and anyone in the community. Induna maintain the culture of convening the first annual meeting of parents, the learners and the educators to inform them about how traditional leadership supports them in maintaining safety and security around the schools throughout the year. These positive experiences with traditional leaders attempting to maintain order and discipline in and around schools are consistent with the legislative framework in South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005; RSA, 2003).

2.2.7 Safety and security

The maintenance of safety and security is one of the responsibilities of traditional leaders in the community. However, schools form part of the community (Heystek, 2002), and because of the intricate connection between schools and communities in which they are located, safety and security of the schools become part of their responsibilities. In some communities like the one mentioned above, Izinduna demonstrate concern for the safety of the learners even after hours. These leaders carry out a variety of activities whose main aim is to ensure safety of learners in and around the schools, including those who study at night using the school premises (Bhengu, 2005). Teachers who stay in the cottages to conduct evening classes and monitor the study sessions are also guaranteed safety. Assault and theft cases that occur outside school premises are reported to the traditional leadership structures who deal with culprits by

involving families in the traditional court. Learners from distant places prefer to become tenants in the neighbouring homesteads at a small fee (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). As a result, late-coming, absenteeism, truancy are not a problem. Traditional leaders can be granted the major portion of the credit. Despite these attempts in some communities and legislative provisions mentioned above, current evidence suggests that traditional leaders are largely not involved in governance of schools in the similar community contexts (Mbokazi, 2015).

2.2 Status of learners' discipline in schools

Learner discipline is the prerequisite for any effective learning to take place (Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). In a nutshell, in order to maintain the environment which is academically focused some standard of acceptable behaviour must be encouraged. Attempts to maintain discipline and stability in schools are done through legislations and adoption of school policies. Few examples of indiscipline will be discussed in the next subsections against the background of the legislative prescripts. These are absenteeism, bullying, carrying of drugs and serious weapons.

2.3.1 Legislative frameworks on learner discipline

The South African Schools Act of 1996 mandates the schools to draw and adopt policies to ensure the smooth running of schools (RSA, 1996b). However, weaknesses in SGBs and other structures can impact negatively on learner discipline. Hence Section 16 of the Schools Act outlines, the establishment of the school governing bodies (SGBs), Representative Council of Learners (RCL) and the adoption of learner attendance policy, in order to maintain discipline in schools. The Schools Act paved way for new measures of disciplining learners in the place of corporal punishment (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). In terms of Section 8 of the Schools Act, SGBs are expected to draw school policies and codes of conduct of learners in order to control discipline (RSA, 1996b). Apparently, learners interpreted differently the abolition of corporal punishment and the introduction of the new measures that followed. Notably, soon after the Constitution and the Schools Act were made public, severe learner indiscipline incidences were experienced in schools (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; De Wet, 2007; Kapueja, 2014; Lapperts, 2012; Masingi, 2017; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012; Msila, 2012).

Suddenly, the mammoth task of maintaining learner discipline was placed on the shoulders of the SGBs. This was done despite the fact that the majority of the SGBs lack of knowledge and skills to design and enforce the learner code of conduct (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). Reasons for the lack of skills can be attributed to the high levels of illiteracy accompanied by the lack of resources in rural schools (Maringe & Moletsane, 2015). The lack of resources hinders the attempts to empower and develop the SGBs. To this end, parents rely on principals and educators to inform and empower them on policy matters. However, meetings and workshops of principals and teachers take precedence. Workshops on the empowerment of SGBs are often pushed to bottom of the priority list. Schools end up looking for 'ready-made' policies which do not talk to their context (Satimburwa, 2015).

Satimburwa (2015) notes that schools opt to borrow policies for a variety of reasons including pressures from the Department of Basic Education. Officials of the Department who visit schools to check if schools have adopted policies tend to exert pressure on principals and SGBs. For this reason, schools borrow policies in order to comply with Departmental policies (Satimburwa, 2015). These transplanted policies are often written in English which is a second or even a third language to the parents. The foreign language is utilised to convey rules in the school which is located in the rural context. Consequently, such policies are not implemented. Often, they remain in files, accumulating dust in shelves in order to be produced upon request for purposes of compliance (Satimburwa, 2015).

Baruth and Mokoena (2016) posit that learner conduct needs to improve drastically if hopes to improve teaching and learning are to be realised. The Schools Act sets uniform norms and standards in order to maintain discipline in schools but still, learners' behaviours continue to deteriorate drastically. Section 8 of the Schools Act mandates the SGBs in consultation with parents, to formulate and adopt the learner codes of conduct aimed at establishing a disciplined and purposeful school environment (RSA, 1996b). The rationale behind the code of conduct is to uphold quality teaching through the general maintenance of the environment that is conducive to learning in schools (Smit, 2013). Specific sections of the Act make provisions for select frequent forms of indiscipline such as absenteeism (Section 3), bullying (Section 10A), carrying of dangerous weapons (Section 8A), to be uniformly controlled (RSA, 1996b). Other forms of indiscipline that are specific to individual schools can be controlled through the adoption of learner codes of conduct. Principals of schools have a major role to play in guiding the SGB to draw policies that conform to these prescripts.

Parents alone cannot draw these policies. According to the PAM document, the role of the principal, among others, is to assist the SGB in the performance of its functions and responsibilities. This role, for instance, involves empowering the SGB to build their human capacity and further formulate the code of conduct of learners (RSA, 1996b). The empowered SGBs are expected to formulate the code of conduct that can be utilised to control tendencies such as absenteeism, bullying, carrying of drugs and dangerous weapons, to mention a few. Mestry and Khumalo (2012) argue that in order for these policies to be implementable they must enjoy the support of the learners, the teachers, the parents and the community. Also, an important condition for the effectiveness of the learner code of conduct lies in its enforcement (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). Therefore, the SGBs' capacity to implement the code of conduct for learners is crucial if learner discipline problems are to be effectively managed.

2.3.2 Learners' discipline in schools

In spite of glossy legislations and codes of conduct drawn to maintain order in schools, learner discipline is still a major challenge in schools, world-wide, particularly in secondary schools (Wolhuter & Russo, 2013). Countries in America, Australia and sub-Saharan Africa report a similar predicament (Sanders, 2003; Kapueja, 2014; Silva, Negreiros & Albano, 2017). South Africa is no exception to this challenge. The problem of indiscipline persists despite the principals of schools and governors enforcing codes of conduct that are in line with relevant legislations governing schools. Emekako (2017) notes that learners and educators continue to encounter challenges of safety and security in school premises. Common cases of indiscipline include absenteeism, indecent dressing, bullying, verbal attacks on others, drawing graffiti on classrooms and toilet walls, stealing, smoking, substance abuse, alcohol drinking, carrying of dangerous weapons, fighting and vandalism (Lapperts, 2012; Kapueja, 2014; Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014). Teachers, the school management teams (SMTs) and SGBs find it hard to maintain learner discipline. Emekako (2017) apportions the blame on the shortage of effective and creative governance and management in schools.

There are various reasons associated with the persistence of indiscipline among learners despite the existence of policies aimed at dealing with this problem. Generally, schools have policies including codes of conduct but enforcement is a challenge (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). First, the illiteracy among SGB members is high yet the policies are written in English which is

foreign to them (Msila, 2012). Therefore, the effective implementation of these policies by parent governors becomes tedious and cumbersome. Second, the violent nature of learners, even towards educators, leaves teachers fearing for their lives (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Lapperts, 2012; Msila, 2012). As a result, any attempt, for instance, to search learners with the intention to seize dangerous weapons as contemplated in Section 10A of the Schools Act becomes nearly impossible. The Department of Basic Education is aware that practical search and seizure in schools is almost impossible to implement for various reasons. Even if workshops were conducted, arguably, the task of ‘search and seizures’ require trained and well equipped security guards at the gate of every school which is not the case at the moment in the majority of schools in South Africa.

In spite of educators in secondary schools admitting that they encounter major challenges of disciplining learners and feel disempowered to deal with disruptive conduct of learners (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014; Khoza, 1994; Lapperts, 2012; Msila, 2012; Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014), parent-governors appear to be far removed from school operations (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). As a result, they fail to contextualise the seriousness of maintaining learner discipline. In such a scenario, numerous negative outcomes can be expected. These can range from high failure rate and ultimately to school collapse. Mabena and Prinsloo (2000) lament that learner indiscipline is a major destructor of teaching and learning and continues to be a matter of great concern. Lapperts (2012) concurs with Simofurosa and Rosemary (2014) that learning occurs better where discipline is maintained. That is, the success of lessons in the classroom depends on many factors one of which is the presence of a climate of discipline in the school. Most studies address learner discipline problems from the perspective of the role of the teachers and the SMTs, particularly the principals. The SGBs somehow get exonerated when in fact, the Schools Act puts them at the centre when it stipulates that the establishment of the code of conduct of learners is the responsibility of the SGB (RSA, 1996b). A few examples of incidences of indiscipline that have negative impact on schooling include absenteeism, bullying, carrying of drugs and weapons, negative use of cell phones, to name a few.

2.3.2.1 Absenteeism

Absenteeism either by the learners or by the educators impacts negatively on learner discipline. In order to maintain high levels of school attendance, Section 3 of the Schools Act compels

parents to cause learners to attend school for the whole duration of school going as stipulated in the Schools Act. Furthermore, Section 6 of this Act stipulates that if a parent does not comply with this Act, s/he is guilty of an offence and can be fined or imprisoned for not more than 6 months if convicted (RSA, 1996b). Therefore, absence without any just cause is a punishable offence in the court of law (RSA, 1996b). However, absence of learners continues unabated.

Parents are also not always innocent in the absenteeism cases of the learners. Reports from principals suggest that parents send learners to perform home duties during school hours. My observation is that grandmothers also see no wrong in being accompanied by school going grandchildren to receive their pension and other social grants during school days. Similarly, the SGBs for a variety of reasons, do not appear to take learner absenteeism seriously since they do not follow adopted measures to control it. Also, absenteeism on the part of educators is prohibited. In terms of Section 18 of the Employment of Educators' Act, unauthorised absence constitutes a misconduct and educators can be charged for this offence (RSA, 1998). The contribution of educators towards indiscipline will be discussed in Section 2.3.3.4. In short, when learners miss classes, what follows is being left behind in lessons. The frustrations that comes with poor performance resulting from falling behind is associated with learner indiscipline (Silva et al., 2017). Some of criminal offenses committed by the learners include bullying, carrying of drugs and dangerous weapons, and these are discussed next.

2.3.2.2 Bullying

Bullying and other initiation related practices are prohibited in schools. Section 10A of the Schools Act covers numerous forms of such indiscipline when stipulating that any person who undermines or endangers human beings is guilty of an offence and is liable to a sentence upon conviction. Prevalent forms of indiscipline mentioned earlier are indirectly covered in both Section 10 and Section 10A of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996a). Steyn and Singh (2018) in their study on managing bullying in South African secondary schools lament the high prevalence of bullying perpetrated by learners towards other learners and towards educators in secondary schools. The findings of their study indicate that the origins of acts of indiscipline such as bullying and other initiation related practices emanate from the family, the school and community (Steyn & Singh, 2018). The origins of indiscipline are discussed under causes of indiscipline in Section 2.3.3 of this chapter.

2.3.2.3 Drug abuse and fights among learners

The carrying of drugs and dangerous weapons in schools is another major challenge to the teachers' attempts of maintaining learner discipline in schools (Emekako, 2017). The challenges become worse when learners get drunk and serious vandalism as well as fighting between learners ensues (Makota & Leoschut, 2016). In the attempt to curb such offences, Section 8A allows principals of schools to search learners and seize items that are prohibited in the school premises. Further, the principal is also mandated to conduct drug testing. However, principals are not trained on how to go about conducting these tasks (RSA, 1996a). Nonetheless, educators can assist in the formulation of codes of conduct and other policies but conducting tests for drugs and searching learners for possession of weapons can be a complicated process that requires resources which rural schools are known not to possess (Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). Further, the searching processes can elicit some resistance. Hence, Baruth and Mokoena (2016) note that educators in schools feel disempowered to deal with indiscipline of learners in schools. As a result, they argue that the code of conduct should contain a set of norms, moral values and principles which are in line with the ethos of the wider community (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016). In rural areas traditional leaders, control the carrying of dangerous weapons by adults and youngsters in the communities. As highlighted by scholars such as Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008) and Mbokazi (2015), there are reported cases where schools have started to work with traditional leadership structures in maintaining discipline in rural school contexts.

One of the frequently reported cases of indiscipline are not limited to absenteeism, indecent dressing, bullying, verbal attacks on others, drawing graffiti on classrooms and toilet walls, stealing, smoking, substance abuse, alcohol drinking, carrying of dangerous weapons, fighting and vandalism (Lapperts, 2012; Kapueja, 2014; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). Access to cell phones and other gadgets by learners has also introduced new forms of indiscipline which includes viewing and dissemination of indecent materials on social networks. Therefore, the maintenance of discipline can imply discouraging or preventing learners from engaging in such behaviours (Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). In order to embark on such a mammoth task, it is essential to understand the underlying factors affecting discipline.

2.3.3 Causes of learner indiscipline in schools

Factors affecting learner discipline are as diverse as the individuals involved (Masitsa, 2008). Family, school and other community factors have contributed towards indiscipline in schools (Steyn & Singh, 2018). The conduct of some educators also contributes to the collapse of learner discipline. At a family level, broken families, high poverty levels, poor upbringing as well as shortage of role models contributes negatively in the school culture, teaching and learning and the ethos of the school in general (Steyn & Singh, 2018). Others include the breaking down of family structures as discussed next.

2.3.3.1 Broken family structures

The concept of broken family structures can be understood and experienced in various ways, including the phenomenon of single parents and absent parents. Single parents or fragmented families when attempting to discipline their children constantly threaten them with violence (Donga, 1998). Children can even be abused and assaulted. Simuforosa and Rosemary (2014) note that learners from such families often exhibit hostile behaviours and have low levels of tolerance while believing in physical violence as the only means of solving their problems. In such contexts, the maintenance of learner discipline cannot be left solely on the hands of the SMTs and SGBs (Silva et al., 2017; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). Mestry and Khumalo (2012) also point at attention seeking habits by learners as another cause. For instance, in rural villages many learners live with grandparents. Grandparents, as well as their actual parents have numerous duties to perform, as a result, less attention is paid to the children. Time for listening and providing positive feedback is minimal. In cases where parents are absent at homes for various reasons, learners head the families. In the process, such learners who seek attention and/or are used to making final decisions while heading families can become undisciplined in schools (Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). It is important teachers in schools are aware of the causes of this phenomenon so that their responses are well informed.

Negative behaviours that have origins in the community require the involvement of the leadership in the community. This is the case if parents and educators are far removed from each other. Simuforosa and Rosemary (2014) assert that where there is no social order in the society learners will show characteristics of indiscipline in school. Since schools are a microcosm of society (Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014), problems in the society are most likely

to directly or indirectly affect discipline in schools. Leadership from the community and school leadership who can provide solutions to this problem are far apart (Barker, 1997). Hence, Bhengu and Myende (2015) argue that the creation of platforms of sharing information between local communities and schools are necessary. The problems in the communities which affect schools and vice versa can be discussed in such platforms. Lapperts (2012) argues that the modelling of good behaviour by adults can cause learners to display acceptable or unacceptable conduct. In support of this view Simuforsa and Rosemary (2014) state that learners with disruptive behaviour come from troubled homes where nurturing of family values has been eroded. They point out that learner indiscipline is largely a reflection of attributes, values and practices in their society (Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014). Therefore, learners at school can depict what they are exposed to in their family environment as well as in the society at large.

2.3.3.2 Peer pressure

Steyn and Singh (2018) attribute the indiscipline at school level to the influence of peer pressure. They point out that learners in school are coerced by their peers to conform to behaviours which can be of indiscipline in order to belong to certain groups. However, other learners, without any pressure from peers, do funny things in order to be noticed (Espelage, 2014). In the attempt to achieve this objective, learners begin by being argumentative and move on to more problematic behaviours such as being confrontational to others and ultimately become violent (Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014). The shortage of after school youth programmes leaves undecided learners open to the influence of the culprits of indiscipline. Sometimes the shortage of after-school community programmes opens a gap for youngsters to engage in negative practices in order to keep themselves occupied (Steyn & Singh, 2018). As a result, youngsters get into disruptive habits which ultimately overlap into schools.

2.3.3.3 Learners as a cause of indiscipline

Learners themselves can be a major cause of indiscipline in schools. Mestry and Khumalo (2012) observe that there is general erosion of learners' sense of respect and discipline. In the study conducted by Simuforsa and Rosemary (2014), it emerged that learners lack self-respect and for others including teachers. As a result, learners display unacceptable behaviour for innumerable reasons. Drunkenness, drug abuse, factions in communities, domestic violence

and other social factors are some of the negative attributes that are frequently associated with indiscipline in schools (Hakata, 2016; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014; Townsend, 2008).

2.3.3.4 The contribution of educators in learner indiscipline

The conduct exhibited by educators can lead to the lack of discipline in schools. Researchers, however, tend to pay more attention to the learners' role as perpetrators in the process (Silva, 2017; Masingi, 2017). But some researchers hold the view expressed in the converse of this narrative. Blegur et al. (2017) argue that the effectiveness of teaching and how teachers conduct themselves in schools can trigger either positive or negative learner behaviours. Blegur et al. (2017) firmly argue that the improvement of educators' conduct can result in improved learner behaviour in schools. Echoing similar sentiments, Simuforosa and Rosemary (2014) lament the behaviour of some teachers who come to school drunk and improperly dressed. In such schools, learners imitate teachers and soon the school experiences disciplinary problems (Blegur et al., 2017; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). Therefore, it can be argued that learner indiscipline can result from unbecoming behaviour of adults including teachers in the schools and parents in the homes. For instance, teachers who go to class unprepared often present boring lessons (Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). These scholars further argue that if teachers have not prepared for lessons, they tend to generalise their teaching and overlook individual learner needs. In such a scenario, learners doubt the capabilities of such teachers and then become bored and disinterested. Then discipline crumbles. It begins with murmuring and then talking without permission during the lessons. Finally, disruptions such as truancy and ultimately some forms of indiscipline such as absenteeism will ensue (Kapueja, 2014; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014).

In schools, learners often emulate educators who are themselves living examples of some form of either good or bad behaviour (Blegur et al., 2017; Lapperts, 2012). Therefore, the significance of modelling good behaviour is embedded in the fact that children tend to follow the example of the role models next to them (Lapperts, 2012). Implicitly, if educators model passion and commitment to their work, compassion and high ethical values of the learners before them are more likely to portray similar behaviours. Similarly, if adults model frustration, intolerance and violence, children are likely to follow in their footsteps and reflect these traits (Lapperts, 2012). Incidents of serious indiscipline perpetrated by educators is beginning to attract the attention of the public media and some researchers. The extreme case is exemplified

by the case of the principal of Hlokohloko Primary School near Empangeni (De Wet, 2007). The principal was implicated and later found guilty in court in the case of two female educators who were murdered and their bodies found dumped in the field (De Wet, 2007). Apparently, the professional relationship between the principal and the two female teachers had dwindled to levels of enmity.

Emanating from the impasse between the principal and the teachers it is obvious that teaching and learning at Hlokohloko Primary School was already compromised even before the murder. There are numerous other reported incidents wherein educators are discovered to be on the wrong side of the law. Often noted being teachers standing at the school gates to corporally punish learners for late coming (De Wet, 2007). This happens even when in terms of Section 10 of the Schools Act, corporal punishment has long been abolished in South African schools (RSA, 1996b). Parents who know their rights can easily stand up against this unbecoming behaviour of the teachers using the stipulations of the Schools Act. Also, learners can simply display deviant behaviour and consequently be labelled as ill-disciplined as it commonly happens. Blegur et al. (2017) argue that learner indiscipline comes as a direct modelling of teacher attitudes and behaviour towards the learners. Lastly, they posit that if teachers can play their role in accordance with the national education goals, the indiscipline by learners can be resolved (Blegur et al., 2017; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014).

2.3 Measures and experiences of maintaining discipline in schools

As people who are regarded as custodians of African value systems and indigenous knowledge in general, traditional leaders wield tremendous respect in the rural communities (Logan, 2013). This can translate into traditional leaders coercing learners to be respectful and disciplined in and out of school.

2.4.1 Involvement of traditional leaders in school matters

In a study conducted by Bhengu and Mbokazi (2009), participants perceived the role of traditional leaders as legitimate and authentic such that when participants highlighted the need to include Izinduna in the SGB they actually wanted to legitimise the role of the SGB by involving the traditional leaders. Therefore, it is vital that we understand, from the experiences and narratives of traditional leaders, how they extend the respect and authority they wield in

their communities to schools, particularly in the maintenance of learner discipline. Msila (2012) also declares that rural district officials and school principals who have a vision of school success will not leave traditional leaders behind as they lead school and community partnerships. Consequently, traditional leaders can be expected to form part of school governance structures so that the respect they command in the community can be experienced within school premises. Logan (2013) concedes that traditional leaders are seen as a symbol of community continuity and stability in the public space. However, international and local experiences with traditional leadership participation in schools varies from country to country.

The influence of traditional leaders in countries which are former colonies is experienced differently than in countries that were never colonised. The colonial leadership frameworks tend to dominate school governance in former colonies long after they were colonised. For instance, in Australia, Canada, the United States of America (USA), and in African countries including South Africa, Western leadership frameworks are dominant even where indigenous learners are in the majority in schools. This is different from countries such as China, Vietnam and Saudi Arabia which were under no colonial power. However, there are lessons that can be drawn from these varying experiences. Generally, traditional leaders wish that their indigenous approaches of leadership can be acknowledged and practised in all spheres including education, school levels in particular (Bush & Haiyan, 2000; Cajete, 2016; Truong & Hallinger, 2015). The main purpose of this discourse is to present traditional leadership experiences and/or views from indigenous perspectives in order for them to be understood and possibly, recognised at the universal stage of leadership.

2.4.2 Recognition of indigenous leadership approaches

Indigenous people, often referred to as Aborigines in Australia and Canada, are called American Indians or Native Americans in the United States of America (USA). In these countries, indigenous people lived long before the arrival of the Europeans. But still, they continue to be excluded from holding key decision-making positions in public space including schools. They are subjected to Western leadership frameworks (Cajete, 2016; Truong & Hallinger, 2015). Recently, they initiated research in favour of the recognition of their indigenous leadership epistemologies in the public space (Wolfgramm, Spiller & Voyageur, 2016). Similar to most indigenous communities throughout the world, emerging Aboriginal scholars no longer want to remain mere leadership research subjects. Gregory Cajete, an

Aboriginal scholar from Canada, argues that communal and culturally relevant leadership style is what matters most among indigenous people (Wolfgramm et al., 2016).

Cajete (2016) argues that indigenous leadership, contrary to Western leadership styles that depict people as individualistic, creates and maintains group solidarity and reflects affection for the followers. In turn, followers respect societal norms and values. Similar values are evident in Ubuntu principles which form the basis of most African community structures and also prevalent in countries that were not colonised such as China and Vietnam (Bush & Haiyan, 2000; Tambulasi & Kayuni, 2005; Truong, Hallinger & Sanga, 2017). Each individual owes his/her existence to the existence of others as expressed in the African proverb 'I am because you are' and 'you are because I am' (Naicker, 2015; Ngunjiri, 2016). Indigenous communities understand leadership to be intertwined and sustained through mutual reciprocal relationships (Nzimakwe, 2014; Kanyane, 2017). The highest value is placed on being in harmony with dynamic balance of relations between human beings and other forms of life (Cajete, 2016). Subsequently, individual respect is influenced in social groups such as the family and the local community (Cajete, 2016). Notably, indigenous leadership influences in North America are directly expressed in local communities but school governors that embrace solely Western leadership philosophies continue to disregard traditional leadership approaches in schools (Cajete, 2016). Native Americans in the study conducted by Bird, Lee and Lopez (2013), express dissatisfaction about harsh measures of maintaining learner discipline that the school managers apply in Native American schools.

Participants from an American Indian community were disgruntled by, firstly, that the important decision-making body like the Learner Discipline Committee was dominated by Non-Native Americans and a lone Native American assistant teacher. Secondly, the policies of the committee were foreign to the local community (Bird, Lee & Lopez, 2013). Implicit in these concerns is the significance which indigenous communities place on the representation of indigenous leadership and their philosophies in school governance structures. Evidently, local communities are loyal to the indigenous philosophy of leadership and therefore, wish that it is included school governance. However, as mentioned earlier, they are still prevented from influencing decisions through the minimisation of their representatives in school governance committees (Cajete, 2016).

Contrary to what obtains in former colonies, indigenous influence in countries that were not colonised prevails in schools and in communities. China, Vietnam and other countries in the Middle East brag about the prevalence of indigenous influence in all societal levels as well as in schools. Truong, Hallinger and Sanga (2016) point out that this is partly due to minimal foreign influences that normally come with being colonised. Individuals in these parts of the world subscribe to certain dominant indigenous philosophies and religions. For instance, the ideologies of a Chinese philosopher Confucius continue to dominate society in China and Vietnam (Truong, Hallinger & Sanga, 2016). As a result, governments in these countries rely on the values of Confucianism to maintain order and stability in society. Learners, teachers and parents are directed by the same philosophy which upholds respect, communalism and interdependence. Indigenous leaders are no exception to subscribing to these societal philosophies.

In a study conducted by Truong, Hallinger and Sanga (2016) which sought to identify the so-called universal laws compared to culturally dependant leadership attributes, significant conclusions were made. One of the conclusions is that leadership effectiveness is enshrined in the societal norms, values and beliefs of the people being led (Truong, Hallinger & Sanga, 2016). Briefly, this conclusion suggests that leadership which embodies values and beliefs of the people can be effective when applied in the proper context. It also acknowledges and respects the accepted norms, values and beliefs of the indigenous communities. In these societies, discipline in schools is contained through the use of approaches conforming to dominant indigenous ideologies embraced by the society. School policies which are adopted appear to be a continuation of local norms, values and beliefs.

2.5 The influence of indigenous leaders in schools

Rural communities in sub-Saharan African countries identify more with traditional leadership and customary laws than government institutions and national laws of democracy (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2015). In such contexts, communities rely more on social structures such as families and indigenous leadership in shaping social behaviour. The basis for relying on traditional leadership can be traced from the role that traditional leaders play in allocating land, as well as settling land disputes (Kanyane, 2017; Luthuli, 2015). It is common knowledge that Amakhosi are custodians of the rural community land, particularly in

KwaZulu-Natal. By virtue of the power Amakhosi wield on the issue of land use, people in these communities regard them as owners of the land who can assist even in school governance matters (Mbokazi, 2015).

As mentioned earlier, numerous researchers note that SGBs, particularly in rural schools, lack knowledge and skills to put the legislations into practice (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). The Schools Act provides for SGBs to deal with forms of indiscipline such as absenteeism, bullying and carrying of drugs, as well as, dangerous weapons as discussed above. Therefore, it is not clear why SGBs continue be aloof from community leaders in the attempt to maintain learner discipline in schools. The SGBs appear to be reluctant to work with Amakhosi even though some research on traditional leadership's involvement in schools suggests positive results, as mentioned earlier. The lack of preparedness of the SGBs for the tasks before them including the maintenance of learner discipline is one reason (Mestry and Khumalo, 2012) suggest. But there could be more reasons. As a result, there is a growing number of voices calling for the involvement of communities in the maintenance of school discipline (Bhengu & Myende, 2015; Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Msila, 2012). To this end, some parents in rural communities call for the involvement of traditional leadership in school governance (Msila, 2012).

Traditional leaders are respected in communities surrounding schools. Michalopoulos and Papaionnou (2015) observe that traditional leaders, tend to be more trusted within areas of their jurisdiction than, for instance, government officials, parliamentarians and even, police officers. Arguably, the power they wield on peoples' lives is due to various reasons including presiding over land disputes. In the South African context, it is clear that although the extent of loyalty to traditional leaders compared to government officials cannot be quantified but it is common knowledge that traditional leaders command substantial respect in traditional communities (Msila, 2012).

As alluded to earlier, traditional leaders' influence in communities does not appear to be a criterion that is significant enough to earn traditional leaders' positions in the SGB. However, when major disciplinary challenges arise in school and the SGBs have exhausted all other avenues, principals do not hesitate to approach the traditional leadership for a solution (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). This suggests that SGBs selectively acknowledge the significance and the role of other stakeholders such as traditional leaders in resolving conflicts. What

remains a mystery is whether or not there are any previous experiences with traditional leaders' involvement in schools that can be cited as the reason for the low participation in the SGBs. Also, why the authority and influence of traditional leaders in the community is not continually extended to school governance, particularly in rural schools is unclear.

Traditional leadership's participation in schools which are located in indigenous communities varies in developed, developing and underdeveloped countries. However, there are common lessons that can be drawn from these varying experiences. Generally, traditional leaders wish that their indigenous approaches of leadership can be acknowledged and practised in all spheres including education, school levels in particular (Bush & Haiyan, 2000; Cajete, 2016; Truong & Hallinger, 2015). Often indigenous leadership and all its manifestations is undermined in institutions of western democracy including schools. As a result, traditional leadership is denied chances even of being piloted. But still rural communities continue to believe in traditional leadership. Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa also pay allegiance to traditional leadership which may have either, elements of some religion or African cultures and customs embedded in Ubuntu. Either way communities identify strongly with indigenous beliefs in shaping social behaviour (Michalopoulos & Papalioannou, 2015).

Michalopoulos and Papalioannou (2015) further note that in several African countries, customary laws rather than national laws govern land rights, for instance in Congo and Gabon. Further, traditional leaders play a major role in settling land disputes and sometimes act as formal or ad hoc arbitrators (Koenane, 2017; Tambulasi & Kayuni, 2005). They enjoy enormous popular support and are reported to be more trusted than government officials as stated earlier. However, their involvement in education, Health and sanitation, is reported to be minimal throughout Sub-Saharan Africa (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2015; Msila, 2009). Secondary schools in general experience challenges of learner indiscipline. What is arguably unique about schools in rural areas when compared to urban schools is that in order for the SGBs to get the buy-in of surrounding communities, traditional leaders among other stakeholders, are key (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). The role of the teachers, the principals, SGBs, as well as, the SMTs in restoring discipline in schools continues to receive attention of leadership and management researchers. On the other side, the participation of traditional leaders in maintaining discipline in schools remains a mystery. Their views on participating in school governance are also not obvious (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2015). Yet, there is anecdotal evidence that suggests that the participation of traditional leaders can contribute to

stability in schools, particularly in those schools located in areas under their administration (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2009; Mbokazi, 2015; Mashau, Molaudzi & Mutshaeni, 2017; Tshika, 2014).

2.6 Views on the involvement of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners' discipline in schools

The participation of traditional leaders in schools, particularly in governance, has provoked opposing views from researchers. Recently, the MEC for Education in KwaZulu-Natal has added more controversy to the debate by approaching His Majesty King Zwelithini to be part of the campaign to improve learner performance in KwaZulu-Natal. In this section, I firstly present in-depth, the inputs of His Majesty the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini; this is followed by the debates on TL participation in school governance.

2.6.1 Inputs of the Isilo

Most recently, the MEC for Education in KwaZulu-Natal noting the multiple challenges hindering the delivery of quality education, approached the head of the traditional leadership structure in the province, His Majesty, the King of the Zulus (Mthethwa, 2017). After the meeting with the MEC, King Zwelithini was suddenly introduced to the education officials as the patron of education in KwaZulu-Natal. Later, the King addressed principals of Amajuba and Zululand Districts in his newly found capacity. However, in terms of the Schools Act, such a position does not exist. It is not clear how the MEC, Mr Dlungwana arrived at the title of patron and why particularly the King was chosen. Also, it is not clear whether the king was chosen in his personal capacity or in his capacity as Isilo, as defined in the Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, No 5 of 2005 (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). It may be argued that this was done in order to garner support for education from KwaZulu-Natal people who are known to be protagonists of the continued existence of traditional leadership in the province and/or nationally. Another explanation could be that it was an attempt to minimise the impediments affecting schools and subsequently improve learner performance in the province. In the first speech to the principals, King Zwelithini appeared to prioritise the fight against lawlessness and strengthen the maintenance of discipline in and around schools. The king lamented:

We can't allow a situation where our children are turned into useless drunkards. We have a problem of taverns near our schools (Mthethwa, 2017, p. 13).

These utterances by the King suggest the role that communities ought to play around schools in terms of protecting schools from invasion by social ills. Isilo also appears to give direction to the communities, and also to the traditional leadership on how they ought to get involved in and provide solutions to school problems. Communities are implored not to allow children in schools to be exposed to intoxicating substances. In short, Isilo, as the head of traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal, pronounces the role of communities and traditional leaders in upholding the law and maintaining learner discipline and orderliness in schools.

Alcohol is blamed for contributing to numerous cases of misconduct which destroy some or all of the following; respect for learner code of conduct, respect for school authority and the maintenance of established standard of behaviour (Simuforsa & Rosemary, 2014). Part of the problem of indiscipline of the learners in schools is blamed on the very communities that also fall within the jurisdiction of traditional leadership. Therefore, the appeal by the King is also directed to communities around schools to prevent the unwanted social activities from negatively impacting schools. The other view of the King's utterance can represent the views of traditional leadership pointing towards the interconnectedness of school discipline and community activities around schools. In short, as I alluded to earlier, community activities can impact learner behaviour in schools since Simuforsa and Rosemary (2014) posit that schools are microcosm of society.

The King is clearly not passive on matters that have a negative impact on the schools. In fact, he appears to be encouraging the prevention of such. The statement can be interpreted to convey a provincial position on the role of traditional leadership on getting involved in the school affairs. What remains uncertain are the views of traditional leaders at lower levels in local communities where schools are located. Also, it is not obvious even whether traditional leaders play any role in schools and whether they have a common approach or it differs from one traditional leader to another.

While the statement can be interpreted to be about the problem of taverns having a negative impact in schools where they are located, the narrative around this utterance can also be viewed broadly. Isilo appears to implore all his subjects to spare no effort and stand up against social

ills which affect schools negatively. Such developments justify the need to explore the views and traditional leadership experiences with schools located in communities they lead. Notably, Isilo indirectly expressed the role that traditional leadership structure, together with all his subjects ought to play in schools:

We need to be jealous of our education. We need to protect the dignity of results in all grades. We must not waste a lot of energy on matric at the expense of lower grades. Matric is like reaping what has been sown in lower grades. If you've not sown the right seeds you can't bother about reaping a good yield. There is no reason why you cannot achieve 80% (in 2017) then next year (2018) you can achieve 100% when I turn 70" (Mthethwa, 2017, p.13).

Such utterances from the leader at the helm of the traditional leadership structure who is also a patron of the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education, are similar to issuing marching orders to all his subjects including traditional leaders in lower structures, as well as, school governors. The King speaking in plural form "We" appears to speak on behalf of all his subjects and committing them to the campaign for the sake of high-quality education for learners. His passion for quality education is expressed by his wish for KwaZulu-Natal schools to obtain 100% pass rate in 2018 when he celebrates his 70th birthday. Indirectly, a new culture was introduced for all His subjects to emulate. That is a culture of putting education at the core of social functions. The King is politely asking for the 70th birthday gift of 100% pass rate from the Department of Education. This is a novel example, arguably for all to emulate.

School principals and governors as well as traditional leaders can learn some lessons from these recent developments involving the political head of KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and the Monarch of KwaZulu-Natal. First, the lesson is that traditional leaders and officials in education are not barred from working collaboratively with each other in order to enhance school performance. In fact, traditional leaders can work within the existing frameworks with school principals and governors of schools located in the communities they lead. Secondly, the silence of education laws and policies on the role of traditional leaders in schools does not prevent creative ways to involve traditional leaders in governance structures where their expertise is required, provided there are no legislations being violated. The King did not call for taverns near schools to be demolished. After all, some taverns hold operating licences. How such taverns are granted these permits to operate near schools is a debate for another research.

Finally, the new innovative culture was announced apparently for all to follow. That is, social celebrations like birthdays can be juxtaposed with schools' academic achievements. Traditionally, the gift by slaughtering cows for the 70th birthday, for instance, can be a normal gift for the King. Instead, the King asked for a rare gift from principals and the MEC - that all learners pass matric in 2018. The role played by the King in support of schools is not evident at local community levels of traditional leadership. This bleakness is another reason for conducting this research. This study can unlock opportunities for further research on new leadership approaches and frameworks involving traditional leadership in maintaining an environment which is conducive to learning in schools. Also, it is not evident whether the decision of the MEC for Education in KwaZulu-Natal is an indication of a plan to amend Schools Act and/or other policies to pave way for the inclusion of traditional leaders.

2.6.2 Debates on traditional leaders' participation in school governance

The debates on traditional leaders' participation in school governance in the democratic dispensation is characterised by two contrasting positions. In a sense, these represent two extremely diverse points of view, namely, those in favour of traditional leaders' participation in western democratic structures such as schools and those who are opposed to it. The Argument of the proponents of involving traditional leaders in school governance is based on the premise that traditional leadership is still relevant and can still play a vital role in the systems of the modern democracy. For this group of scholars, one main reason is that indigenous leadership approaches which are based on Ubuntu principles are the missing link in the modern democratic governance structures (Koenane, 2017; Mashau, Molaudzi & Mutshaeni, 2017; Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Msila, 2012; Naicker, 2015). Implied in this perspective is the importance of Ubuntu philosophy in educating the youth of today. Mashau et al. (2017) assert that the quality of education is enhanced by members of the society where schools are located. They posit that in the urban areas these stakeholders can be non-governmental organisations, owners of industries who can sponsor schools as well as business leaders who can provide support services. In addition to these community formations, members of society in rural areas can include traditional leadership structures which feature prominently in these communities (Mashau et al., 2017). Traditional leaders are known to work closely with local communities in upholding African values such as respect, humanness, a good disposition towards others and group solidarity often referred to as Ubuntu (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Msila, 2009). Their voices are misused when they are not involved in education.

Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008) suggest a need for further exploration of the partnership between traditional leaders and SGBs. They argue that such partnership can create platforms for sharing information between schools and local communities. Echoing similar views in support of community involvement in the schools, Msila (2009) asserts that schools tend to mirror the society in which they are built. In this regard, Msila (2012) urges principals and SGBs to become agents of change and embrace indigenous knowledge systems. This can be done by bringing the local community influence closer to the schools such that discipline anchored through Ubuntu principles and values can manifest itself within schools (Msila, 2012).

Opponents of the involvement of traditional leadership institution are completely sceptical about integrating traditional leaders in modern democratic structures. They regard traditional leadership institution as oppressive, patriarchal, regressive and therefore, irrelevant in the era of democracy (Mamdani, 1996; Mbeki, 1996; Ntsebenza, 2004). The basis of their argument is that traditional leadership structure was infiltrated, distorted and corrupted by colonial powers. Therefore, it does not represent the aspirations of the African people as it used to (Ntsebenza, 2004). The role played by traditional leaders during the Apartheid era is cited as one among many reasons for the reluctance to work with traditional leadership. Traditional leaders during Apartheid South African era were criticised for being apartheid stooges and were associated with authoritarian leadership styles (Mbokazi, 2015). This view can still be lingering in the minds of many principals and school governors. Therefore, the justification for not working with traditional leaders can emanate from fears of autocratic leadership which traditional leaders are associated with (Wasanika et al., 2011). Also, schools are institutions of democracy which are associated with democratic structures and promotion of processes of democracy. In this regard, democratic school governors harbouring negative perceptions about traditional leaders can easily justify their reluctance to welcome traditional leaders in school governance using experiences from other sub-Saharan countries.

Critiques of respect as portrayed by traditional leaders paint a negative picture. Citing Kiggundu (1989), Wanasika et al. (2011) argue that respect for hierarchy is seen as the unconditional obedience to instructions and directives which display traditional leadership. Such views tend to weaken the case for the positive consideration of traditional leaders and their leadership style in school governance. Fears of characteristics similar to dictatorship

models are noted. As a result, traditional leadership style is seen as the promotion of autocracy often portrayed by patriarchs in sub-Saharan Africa (Wanasika, et al., 2011).

The negative publicity attributed to traditional leadership dominance particularly in Africa can also instil fears to many including school governors. In some sub-Saharan countries where there is traditional leadership dominance, ethnicity and intolerance are reported to be rife (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2015). Such countries include the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ruanda, Kenya and Zimbabwe. Strong allegiance to traditional leadership in these countries is associated with ethnic conflict and tribal based authoritarian regimes (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2015). These assertions are based on political and economic perspectives. Although strong traditional leadership dominance is blamed for its negative attributes but researchers report that traditional leaders hardly get involved in educational matters in these countries. Therefore, unless an attempt is made to understand views of traditional leaders the narrative on the negative repercussions of involving traditional leadership in schools will remain an unsubstantiated perception.

Arguments against the inclusion of traditional leaders from active participation in school governance are often based on legislation gaps. For instance, traditional leaders in South Africa do not enjoy the status of owning communal land on which schools are built. In fact, traditional leaders in South Africa do not own the land they preside over, but hold it in trust on behalf of the people. The huge debate on land redistribution will be a topic for another day. Nevertheless, I should highlight that since traditional leaders do not own land, obviously, they cannot be treated the same way as private land owners whose membership in the SGB is recommended in terms of Section 23(7) of the Schools Act. Consequently, the inclusion of influential stakeholders such as the traditional leaders is left to the discretion of the SGB. Nonetheless, local communities tend to accord traditional leaders the similar status of land ownership due to the authority that traditional leaders wield on the lives of the rural communities (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008).

2.7 Conclusion

Chapter Two has presented a detailed discussion of literature on traditional leadership locally and globally regarding the role it plays in school governance generally and in maintaining learner discipline in schools specifically. Through the literature review, I have acknowledged

the fact that the phenomenon of learner discipline in secondary schools is a challenge worldwide. In countries where indigenous leadership still exists and is respected, the conventional colonial leadership approaches applied alone encounter hardship when implemented in order to maintain learner discipline in schools. Learners from indigenous communities in these countries find themselves living in two worlds (Stewart & Warn, 2017). The indigenous world at home is where they uphold their customs and beliefs in respect of community philosophies of life (Cajete, 2015). In schools, the same learners are exposed to western school set up where principals of schools expect them to follow the codes of conduct based on foreign origins, in this case the west. The conflict arises when learner discipline is maintained through the imposition of western leadership philosophies in schools attended by indigenous learners.

This predicament can be found in many countries in Africa, Australia, North and South America. Arguably, this challenge is as a result of the remnants of colonialism. Often foreign philosophies do not sit in harmony with indigenous values and beliefs when applied exclusively. This is not the case in China and other countries in East Asia which have no experience of being colonised. Local, and not colonial, philosophies such as Confucianism are upheld by individuals, families and the society at large (Truong & Hallinger, 2017). The families share the same philosophies with schools hence learner discipline is adequately maintained. The review of literature has shown that the South African context is different from the one in East Asia but similar to most sub-Saharan countries. The chapter has given a comprehensive discussion on these issues, and the next chapter pays special attention to theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

CHAPTER THREE

MAINTENANCE OF DISCIPLINE IN RURAL CONTEXTS: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the literature and relevant recurring debates on the participation of traditional leadership in schools were presented. Although the contexts vary in different countries but narratives on this topic suggest the necessity of partnering schools with communities where learner discipline is to be maintained in schools (Mbigi, 1997; Msila, 2008). As indicated in Chapter Two, various scholars echo similar sentiments that learner discipline cannot be maintained by the SGBs and the SMTs alone (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Mestry & Khumalo, 2014; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014). The communities and schools can be expected to complement each other in symbiotic relationships in various ways including the inculcation and maintenance of learner discipline in schools. Therefore, in order to make informed decisions about informal observations and generated empirical data, I had to choose befitting and applicable theoretical and conceptual framework for this study. The framework is used to check whether or not the findings support or dispute the framework used and also to check if the findings can be explained using the framework (Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009). This chapter presents a discussion about Ecosystemic theory, Ubuntu philosophy and Invitational leadership theory which constitute the framework in which the study is located. I begin with the ecosystemic theory, followed by Ubuntu philosophy and conclude by discussing Invitational leadership and the integration of the three frameworks to guide the analysis of the study.

3.2 Eco-systemic theory

Firstly, I engage the eco-systemic theory through which I explore the relationship between traditional leadership and school governors in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools. Researchers on educational leadership in challenging contexts have argued for the importance of ecological systems theory in which contextual factors and social settings are viewed as major sources of influence on adopted leadership approaches (Bender & Emslie, 2010). For decades, the systems approach, particularly the eco-systemic theory, has been used by numerous

scholars (Bender & Emslie, 2010; Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Tyler & Jones, 2000) in various contexts to comprehend inter and/or intra relationships and interconnectedness of organisations and communities.

In order to make the reader to understand the relevance of the ecology systems in this study, I briefly discuss the eco-systemic theory. Bronfenbrenner (1977), a well-known scholar in developmental psychology, conceptualises the environment of an individual as a multi-layered part of the interconnected systems. These level systems with varying degrees of influence on the individual/s are often referred to as the eco-systemic theory. The basis of the eco-systemic theory is the extension of ecology to include interrelationships and interdependence between different organisms and their habitat (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Echoing similar views on the ecosystemic theory, Pettigrew (1999) posits that individuals and organisations exist within a network of relationships consisting of systemic levels. The four systemic levels are, micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-level systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Pettigrew, 1999).

Human beings, communities and organisations such as schools co-exist within a network of relationships similar to the organisms and their habitat in ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

The understanding of ecology discourse and subsequently the ecosystem in this study is of utmost importance. The analogy is drawn between the ecosystem of the natural organisms and that of human beings that form part of human populations. These ecology issues form the basis of the theoretical framework of this study. The understanding of animals and plants in relation to their habits and habitats in ecology is used in this study as the basis for understanding the human behaviour, particularly the role of traditional leaders in inculcating and maintaining discipline in communities and indirectly in schools. Inter/intra relationships between and/or among animals, plants and their habitats (ecosystem) can be extended to human populations in their varying contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). In this section, the ecosystemic levels will be unpacked by highlighting links between traditional communities led by traditional leaders and schools governed by SGBs. The diagrammatic representation of the ecosystemic levels that follow in Figure 2 is discussed in order to justify this similarity.

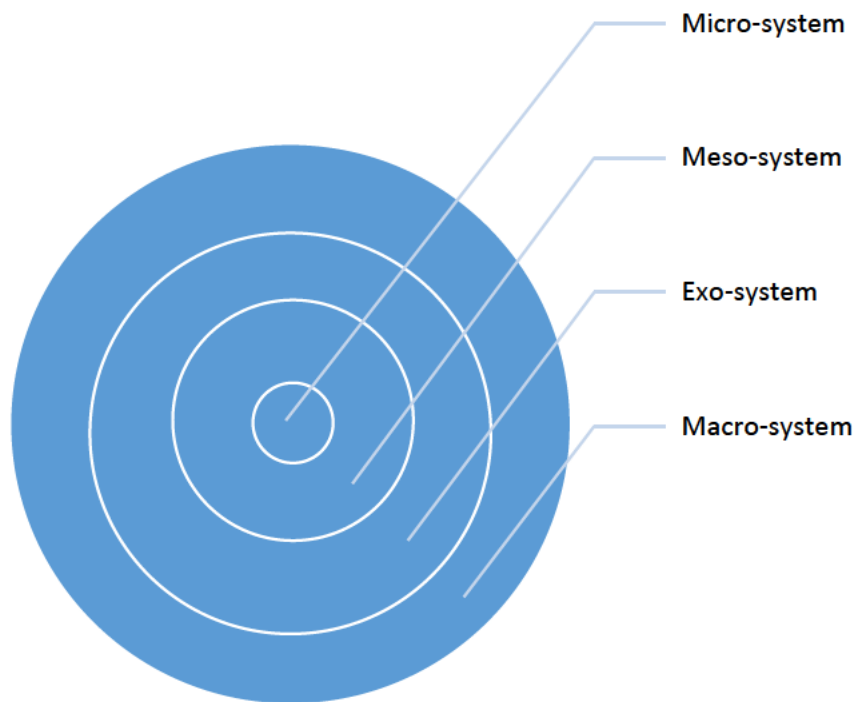


Figure 2 Eco-systemic levels (adapted from Bronfenbrenner, 1977)

3.2.1 Micro-level ecosystems

The innermost circle represents the micro-level system where individuals interact with the environment in an immediate setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Since the study is triggered by the learner discipline, more attention will be paid to learners as active individuals in the ecosystem. As part of the ecosystem levels, other role players that can impact learner conduct are also explored. These include traditional leaders and the SGBs. In the context of this study, learners (children in community) can be examples of the individuals (organisms) interacting with parents, other family members, peers and people in the immediate settings. Families, close to neighbourhood/community and schools form part of the immediate settings (habitat). This level encompasses the eco-system with which learners interact.

Contrary to the commonly accepted view that the ecosystemic process is unidirectional, it also allows for reciprocal processes (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). That is, the environment impacts on the individual/s and vice-versa. The immediate family impacts on an individual organism but also the organism also impacts on the family. For instance, the health condition and physiological status of a child can influence the behaviour and conduct of the parents as well

as the child. Espelage (2014) observes that where children are obese and are at increased risk of peer victimisation, parents may respond by encouraging the use of retaliatory behaviours. This systemic level is characterised by the direct interaction between the organism (the learner) and those who are emotionally and practically closest to that individual organism. Processes can go both ways between parents and their children.

This microsystem and how organisms react to systemic processes can indirectly shape the behaviour and conduct of the individual organisms involved (Espelage, 2014). Espelage (2014) further argues that the disability status of a child is a significant predictor of peer victimisation. For instance, physically challenged learners in schools can become bullies or victims of bullying depending on how families raise them and/or how learners themselves react to their condition and upbringing. In the study on the prevention of youth bullying, Espelage (2014) posits that bullies tend to have parents who do not adequately supervise them or, for a variety of reasons, are not involved in the lives of their children. This summarises common scenarios found in micro- beginning to interact with meso-level ecosystem in schools immersed in traditional communities.

There are numerous reasons for the existence of challenges such as bullying. Lack of supervision often results from a variety of circumstances. For instance, in numerous rural families, parents are semi-literate while others are completely illiterate (Maringe & Moletsane, 2015). In my experience, this predicament is cited as an excuse by parents to distance themselves and not to get involved in the supervision of their children. The other scenario I often observe is where parents are migrant labourers in the cities and grannies are expected to take care of the learners. Grannies tend to concentrate more on 'important' domestic chores than on any other issue (Ngunjiri, 2016). In the process, they overlook other important tasks such as closely monitoring children, in particular, those who are of school going age. Learners from backgrounds of this nature bring along to school behaviours resulting from interactions with and reactions to these micro-level systems (Mbigi, 1997; Khoza, 2011). In cases where children become ill-disciplined while parents are away in urban areas, other members of the homestead interact with traditional leaders and report such matters to either *Isibonda* or *Induna* who are predominantly active in the meso-systemic level.

Section 20 of the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005) stipulates that Inkosi must maintain law and order attend to situations of

unrest in the community. In performing this task, Amakhosi can use their influence and knowledge of community values to maintain respect and discipline in the communities. This influence is felt in the families at micro-levels. Simuforosa and Rosemary (2014) posit that problems in the society are most likely to directly or indirectly affect learner discipline in schools. Consequently, the journey of maintaining learner discipline does not solely rest with parents who lead individual homesteads nor with the SMTs and the SGBs within schools. Leaders in the community also have a role to play. The systemic levels of learner existence involve interactions between, for instance, individual learners and their peers, families, communities and schools (Guckin & Minton, 2014). These intra systemic role players between micro- and meso-systemic levels of which traditional leaders are part, can positively or negatively impact learner behaviours. Leadership that understands this phenomenon is better placed to deal with disciplinary challenges involving learners in schools

3.2.2 Meso-systemic level

The meso-system is the interrelationships between multiple micro-systemic contexts, for instance home, community and school (Guickin & Minton, 2014). At this systemic level learners in some rural contexts, participate in traditional group activities performed according to age and sex cohorts. Bronfenbrenner (1977) asserts that macro-systems are informal and implicit and often, they unknowingly manifest as the ideology in the members of the society through custom and practice in everyday life. The examples include traditional activities and family functions such as *umemulo* (celebration of a girl coming of age), *Umkhehlo* (engagement ceremony), *umshado* (traditional wedding ceremony). Often, functions and celebrations are carried through *ingoma* (traditional dance), *amahubo* (indigenous polyphonic music), praise singing and chants form part of the culture which African society inherit from previous generations (Mbigi & Maree, 1995; Poovan, 2005). These forms of genre convey information that influences the behaviour of an individual and the way of thinking (Bhengu, 2006; Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012). The individuals carry along these genre as they interact with the ecosystems in all levels of the society.

Meso-system differs from the micro-system in that it does not refer to specific contexts affecting a particular individual. Instead, it is general and overarches institutional patterns of the culture or subculture of the micro-systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Common informal

activities of families that include songs, dance and poetry extend to the community during cultural functions to ultimately develop into a culture in the minds of many.

The systemic levels encompass interactions between and among families, schools and peer groups (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). As a result, individuals, families and communities are active between systemic levels. During functions in the community, oral genre and dance are understood and performed by people from various age groups in different levels; young and old, men and women. Kamwangamalu (1999) posits that such interactions promote the culture and values of Ubuntu. Making a distinction between African and Western value systems and epistemologies, Kenyatta is quoted arguing that while Europeans built buildings called schools, Africans used homesteads as schools and cultural gatherings as classes (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003). This forms part of what can be regarded as indigenous African schools. The interaction of families, people from different age groups including learners from various parts of the community tends to encourage communality and interdependence (Poovan, et al., 2005). It also spreads common experiences among families as well as extend the family boundaries to include other structures in communities such as traditional leadership and schools. In brief, according to Bronfenbrenner (1977), a meso-system is a system comprising of micro-systems. The extension of family functioning to become part of the whole community exemplifies meso-systemic activities in which the learners, the SGBs, as well as traditional leaders can be active participants.

Traditional leaders are tasked with the responsibility of preserving and fostering knowledge and understanding of culture, history and tradition (KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). Therefore, traditional leaders can be expected to be familiar, if working closely, with communities including school principals and other school governors. This typifies the interconnectedness of systemic networks at the meso-systemic level. Throughout these systemic levels, traditional leaders epitomise unity as well as continuity of culture and traditions in the public space (Logan, 2013). For instance, as customary marriage officers, Izinduna unite couples in marriage and indirectly families when presiding over traditional wedding ceremonies. Izinduna also promote the culture of respect throughout these ecosystemic levels of the society. In community functions, they are tasked with the responsibility of maintaining order and discipline; hence, Logan (2013) asserts that they have become a symbol of discipline and stability in the community. Therefore, traditional leaders can be expected to wield authority even on learners inside schools.

Msila (2009) posits that traditional leaders are known to work closely with local communities in upholding African values of Ubuntu. Arguably, learners from communities can carry along these good or bad values into the schools. The values of Ubuntu include respect, humanness, and a good disposition towards others which is displayed in group solidarity often referred to as Ubuntu (Ngunjiri, 2016). A detailed discussion of Ubuntu principles is presented in Section 3.3.

3.2.3 Exo-systemic level

The exo-system refers to social structures which do not contain the individual but impinge upon or encompass the immediate settings in which that individual is found (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Since schools are embedded in communities, social ills such as drug abuse, drunkenness, faction fights prevalent in local communities can negatively impact schools and indirectly affect learner discipline inside the school premises. These social settings can be, for instance, community services, the workplace, mass media and agencies of government, to name a few. The individual learner has little impact on these settings. Instead individuals get impacted upon by the contexts. The exo-systemic level refers to experiences in the social settings that exert an indirect influence on the individual organism (Espelage, 2014). Learners can be directly or indirectly involved in drugs and faction fights and these social ills exert a direct or indirect influence upon their own lives

3.2.4 Macro-systemic level

Finally, the macro-systems can be exemplified by broad ideologies such as culture, religion, government and laws. Bronfenbrenner (1977) regards the macro-system level as the cultural blueprint that can determine social structures and activities that occur in the immediate inner levels. Religion and education laws can be associated with certain behaviours depicted by individuals in inner levels of the eco-systemic circle. For example, the provisions of the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act can be linked to how traditional leaders present themselves in relation to schools. Similarly, the provisions of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996b) on school governors may explain actions or views held by the SGBs and the principals towards traditional leaders' involvement in the school affairs. In the natural

ecosystem, the integration of these relationships can result in the growth, the balance or the decline and even the extinction of populations and ecosystems (Guickin & Minton, 2014).

3.2.5 Symbiotic relationships in eco-systemic levels

The symbiotic relationships in the eco-systemic levels is important. Often, organisms in the ecosystem exist as part of some relationship (Guickin & Minton, 2014). When comparing communities of human beings led by the traditional leaders and the schools governed by SGBs, similar symbiotic relationship can be identified. The three common relationship typologies which are discussed in the following subsections are commensalism and parasitism, as well as, mutualism.

3.2.5.1 Commensalism and parasitism

Commensalism can be described as the relationship between organisms where one organism gains while the other one does not gain or lose significantly (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The symbiotic relationship where one organism gains while the other one loses is known as parasitism (Richerson, 1977). For example, the theft of school property by members of the community benefits the criminals but destroys the schools. Another example from the community in my circuit involved Inkosi who was not a participant in the study. That Inkosi demanded a monthly fee from the construction company which was installing electricity in the community including the schools. Financial shortages resulting from the payments of such fees outside the budget compelled the company to employ fewer workers and used the material of poor quality. In that way, the renovations did not last long. In short, fewer people gained while the school and the community lost.

3.2.5.2 Mutualism

Mutualism can be described as a symbiotic interaction between organisms which results in both organisms benefitting from the relationship (Richerson, 1977). For instance, mutual interdependence is found between numerous flowering plants and their insect pollinators (Guckin & Minton, 2014). For instance, communities led by traditional leaders together with schools led by the SGBs can be involved in a variety of symbiotic relationships which can benefit both the schools and the communities. The success of the learners benefits both the

communities and the schools. Schools can achieve their main goal of improving learner performance and ultimately see more learners promoted to the next levels. Numerous researchers note that where learners are disciplined, teaching and learning continues without disruptions (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). As a consequence, the school becomes popular with parents. The learner enrolment increases and more vacancies including promotion posts are created (Msila, 2012).

On the other side, the community gains from school success, include increase in literacy levels, access to better job opportunities and ultimately reduction of poverty (Maringe & Moletsane, 2015). Msila (2012) observes that the betterment of society is through education which is provided in schools. Similarly, active participation of parents and communities in schools is vital in the creation of a positive school climate. For purposes of this study mutual relationship between schools governed by the SGBs and local communities led by traditional leaders will be explored as part of the human ecosystems.

3.2.6 How the ecosystemic theory fits in the schools and the communities

In practice, the task of maintaining learner discipline in schools remains a huge challenge, particularly when it is done in silos by fragmented individuals or structures with gaps in between them (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). As Mestry and Khumalo (2012) point out, SGBs have been unable to unilaterally maintain learner's discipline in schools. On the other hand, security guards who man school gates are not equipped to conduct, for instance, drug testing, search and seizures on learners who often carry prohibited objects in terms of Section 8A of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996b). In situations where learners are notorious for misbehaviour, educators are left fearing for their lives in the schools (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016). It is in such cases where the need arises to explore symbiotic relationships of mutual gain within the human ecosystems. Hence, the role of traditional leaders in maintaining learner's discipline in schools is explored in the context of the mutually benefiting relationships that may or may not exist between schools and communities.

The systems approach has been useful in other emerging research projects which highlight the link between the schools and the communities. For instance, Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008) use the ecosystemic approach in the study where they explore the existence of the partnerships between traditional leadership and the schools. Similarly, this systems approach appears to be

appropriate in exploring the role of traditional leadership in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools. In this study, the analogy is drawn between the symbiotic relationships of organisms and the schools led by the SGBs and the local communities under the traditional leadership.

In conclusion, the analogy between the natural organisms and human populations is intended to explore the role played by traditional leaders in the context of the behaviour of human populations, in this case, the schools and the communities as they interact between levels of their ecosystems. In that way, strategies that are required to maintain learner discipline can hopefully be better understood against other ecosystemic contexts outside schools in various ways. Learners attend a school coming from homesteads (micro-system) to become part of the school and the bigger family which is the community (meso-system). As learners interact with these systemic levels, they bring along experiences and behaviours back and forth between the micro and meso-systemic levels involving communities and schools. Similarly, schools governed by the SGBs and communities led by traditional leaders can be expected to interact at exo- and macro-levels where ideologies, laws and broad cultural patterns represent influences at a removed level (Guckin & Minton, 2014).

Learners form part of the rural communities that are loyal to the traditional leadership and uphold African values of Ubuntu such as respect (Kamwangamalu, 1999). The exo- and macro-systems in this context can be an interaction between the traditional leaders and the SGBs which influences the groups and individuals within communities and directly or indirectly, impact on learner conduct in the schools. Currently, it is evident that attempts by the SGBs alone to, for instance, control learner discipline, have been unsuccessful (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016). Also, a ‘quiet diplomacy’ of influential community leadership of traditional leaders has not solved the problem of learner indiscipline in schools. Therefore, I chose this systems approach to formulate the framework through which to explore the role that may or may not be played by traditional leaders (as community leaders) in partnership with the SGBs to influence discipline within schools.

3.3 Ubuntu principles in African communities

The introduction of the concept of Ubuntu is done in order to address the manipulation of the habitat. Barker (1997) argues that leadership engages with the ethical values of the community

where it is located and therefore, it can be regarded as a process of change where ethics of individualism are mingled with community values. The web of interrelationships discussed in the eco-systemic theory above is indirectly expressed in the concept of Ubuntu. Ubuntu is a multidimensional concept which encompasses core African values such as respect for human being, for human dignity and for human life, collectivism, solidarity, interdependence and communalism among others (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Msila, 2009). Ubuntu is a common value system found in most African societies (Nzimakwe, 2014). Despite the cultural diversity in various African countries, Ubuntu is the underlying value system which runs through the beliefs, customs and practices of various African societies (Msila, 2008; Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012). Muzvidziwa and Muzvidziwa (2012) assert in this regard that Ubuntu is the core of the African way of life and it impacts on every aspect of people's well-being. Arguably, this appears to be the missing link in school leadership.

There is growing research which links the application of Ubuntu in the school contexts with learner discipline in the schools. For instance, Muzvidziwa and Muzvidziwa (2012) assert that the prevalence of the climate of Ubuntu within school premises enhances discipline. Although they argue that Ubuntu is a foreign concept in other continents such as Europe by citing the practice of slavery there are other contrasting opinions in the research. Msengana (2006) argues that Ubuntu is both a uniquely African and a universal concept. Nonetheless, without veering deeply into this debate, the discipline that comes with embracing Ubuntu paves way for the conducive atmosphere for teaching and learning which results in improved learner performance. Although Ubuntu core values such as communalism and interdependence are not taught at school and are therefore, not part of the school culture that is encouraged, they are passed on from generation to generation through oral genres such as proverbs, songs, chants (Kamwangamalu, 1999, Mbigi, 1997; Ngunjiri, 2016). Rural communities embrace these values. Therefore, I chose Ubuntu philosophy to form part of the leadership frame of this study.

Numerous scholars cite African proverbs to make certain points in support of practising Ubuntu and leadership in governance. For example, the African proverb 'I am because you are' and 'you are because I am', partly expresses the core of what Ubuntu is about (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Mbigi & Maree, 1995; Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012; Nzimakwe, 2014). Applied in the context of the ecosystem, Ubuntu values can enhance interdependence (mutualism) with the environment instead of habitat manipulation for selfish gains (parasitism). The African proverbs teach Ubuntu and the value it places on interdependence rather than independence

often upheld in the Western thinking. For instance, Naicker (2015) asserts that Ubuntu is the opposite of Descartes' individualistic concept expressed in "I think therefore I am". Arguably, the destruction of the ecosystems can be attributable to such foreign individualistic philosophies that emphasise self-centredness. The Nguni proverb, "*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" loosely translated into English means "a person is a person through other people", implies that we are who we are because of others. Another example is IsiZulu proverb "*izandla ziyagezana*" which can loosely be translated to say "hands wash each other". It actually means that as human beings, we depend on one another. These two proverbs sum up how people ought to take care and not hurt each other including the environment. They (African proverbs) further express Ubuntu principles of caring for each other's well-being (Koenane, 2017). Importantly, they also acknowledge the rights and responsibilities of every citizen in promoting individual and social well-being (Msila, 2014; Ngunjiri, 2016). Ubuntu concepts used together with ecosystemic theory can see more harmonious coexistence with the habitat and less destructive manipulation of the ecosystems. Therefore, the ecosystems theory and the Ubuntu philosophy can be useful when applied in leadership approaches in particular to maintain discipline. Naicker (2015) posits that school leadership in African school contexts should infuse Ubuntu in their day-to-day practices.

Leadership, from Ubuntu perspective, puts the welfare of both the individual and the community in the same level of importance (Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012). Ubuntu embraces the bottom-up approach which is based on trust and morality, respect and mutual concern, co-operation and participation (Mbigi & Maree, 1995). The interaction between leadership in schools and community leadership can influence learner conduct in the direction of being disciplined as it is usually the case with community people in the presence of traditional leaders. Traditional leadership epitomises community unity and continuity to most people in rural communities (Logan, 2013). The presence of traditional leadership is characterised by the environment of mutual respect and trust. Rural communities associate more with Ubuntu leadership style than top-down approaches that is often found in institutions such as schools which are immersed in western organisational structures (Nzimakwe, 2014). Further, Mbigi (1995) notes that parents are reluctant to participate in structures which are solely based on formal expertise and high education qualifications as insinuated in Section 23(5) of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996b). Therefore, the common ground on which the SGBs and the traditional leaders can operate on equal terms is when there is prevalence of Ubuntu.

Ubuntu environment welcomes the participation by everyone (Koenane, 2017) in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools – parents and traditional leaders alike.

In a study conducted by Msibi (2012) on Ubuntu and peace-making in schools, parents called for the involvement of traditional leaders in school governance and indirectly, the instilling of Ubuntu philosophy in school cultures. Rural communities regard traditional leaders as custodians of traditions and customs enshrined in Ubuntu. It is believed that by indirectly upholding Ubuntu values in schools through, for example, the participation of traditional leaders in the SGB committees can promote community ownership of schools. In the study conducted by Msila (2012) on black parental involvement in rural schools, it emerged that parents submitted various ways in which they could be involved including the utilisation of traditional leaders in fostering collaboration. Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008) contend that traditional leadership's participation in the maintenance of learner discipline can mediate and strengthen relationship between the schools and the communities. In that way, the interconnection of the ecosystems can begin to integrate Ubuntu values such as respect to become part of the school culture that can positively influence learner conduct. Indirectly, discipline in the schools can be maintained through upholding Ubuntu values. Nzimakwe (2014) contends that Ubuntu promotes cooperation between and among individuals, cultures and nations. The interconnectedness and interdependence of individuals, families and communities in rural contexts can be extended into schools if the SGBs and traditional leaders work as equal partners in the ecosystem to maintain discipline in schools.

There is a clear concept of morality and respect in Ubuntu which is contrary to the western inspired codes of conduct which crumble when indiscipline creeps in schools today. Muzvidziwa and Muzvidziwa (2012) observe that the indiscipline happening in schools reflects a transition from *Ubuntu* (humanness) to *into* (a thing). Instead of people treating one another as human beings, they behave and treat each other like things. In Nguni languages of South Africa, when a person stoops below the level of human behaviour s/he is referred to as *inswelaboya* (an animal without fur). According to Muzvidziwa and Muzvidziwa (2012), such a person has diminished from being *umuntu* (person) to become a thing (*into*). Under normal circumstances, nobody likes to be referred to as *into*. Instead, people feel honoured when someone says they have *Ubuntu* because it implies they are somehow respectful, humane, hospitable, caring and compassionate (Ngunjiri, 2016). If children in the community are raised in environments underpinned with Ubuntu values, it is not clear how such children can

suddenly change and become undisciplined learners when they get into the school premises. Therefore, the participation of traditional leaders as symbols of Ubuntu and respect in this study is intended to demystify the question of learner discipline in schools.

In conclusion, the narratives presented in the previous chapter suggest that legislations and policies alone have not been successful in maintaining learner discipline in schools. More is needed to achieve this goal. The infusion of Ubuntu in school leadership can yield positive results (Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012; Naicker, 2015), including the containment of indiscipline in schools. This justifies Ubuntu philosophy forming part of the framework of this study which seeks to explore leadership solutions to learner indiscipline. Numerous researchers recommend that the African philosophy of Ubuntu should be injected in leadership in various contexts including schools in Africa (Naicker, 2015; Msila, 2008; Koenane, 2018). In addition, principals should be capacitated on how they can infuse Ubuntu in their day-to-day activities. This includes becoming role models by demonstrating the values of Ubuntu in their leadership practice (Naicker, 2015). However, the choice of Ubuntu and the ecosystemic theory forming the framework of this study are not enough. These two can be practised by each individual leader either the school principal or the traditional leader without being extended to each other. This necessitates the need for the inclusion of invitational leadership to form part of the framework of the study.

3.4 Invitational Leadership Theory

Leadership practices are not rigid and static; they are fluid and are about the ability to identify what is efficient at a given context (Bhengu & Myende, 2016). In the context of this study which focuses on rural schools and the role played by traditional leaders in maintaining learner discipline, invitational leadership became necessary. Invitational leadership is both a philosophy and a set of actions aimed at developing a school climate that is inviting (Steyn, 2007). Purkey and Novak (1984) present four values which form the basis of invitational leadership theory, namely: respect, trust, optimism and intentionality.

Respect: The assumption is that people are able, valuable and responsible and therefore should be treated accordingly (Purkey & Novak, 1996). Trust: Leadership is a collaborative and co-operative activity. This pillar refers to being personally and professionally inviting to self and towards others (Niemann, Swanepoel & Marais, 2010). Optimism: People are in possession of

untapped potential in all areas of development. In this regard Niemann, et al. (2010) argue that if people are regarded as valuable assets they become self-responsible and in turn develop a positive self-concept through the direction and guidance of others. In terms of leadership, this implies that leaders, whether in school or community, should strive to uplift and guide people in order to reach full potential. Consequently, leaders can look at themselves through the eyes of their mentors. If they are welcomed and viewed positively they will do the same to others and their environment (Purkey & Novak, 1992). Similarly, the converse which is the negative narrative holds. Intentionality: The human potential is attained through places, policies, processes and programmes that are intentionally designed to invite development (Purkey & Novak, 1996). Therefore, traditional leaders or SGBs as invitational leaders can be expected to have an intention to invite others in order for human potential to be realised.

In conclusion, the entry point towards the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools, managed by school principals, is contingent upon the principal as gatekeeper. The trouble is that some principals may not necessarily be keen to work with the traditional leaders for a variety of reasons (Mbokazi, 2015). The ecosystemic theory was chosen for its relevance for a study such as this. The integration of the ecosystemic theory, Ubuntu and invitational leadership theory avails the opportunity to explore possible interconnection and interdependence between schools with maintained discipline and communities led by traditional leaders. Invitational leadership furnishes the SGBs, as well as, the leaders in the community with a set of values that can be utilised to practice behaviours that seek to integrate their activities. Some of these values overlap with Ubuntu principles that are upheld by rural communities. The purpose of invitational leadership philosophy is to intentionally uplift people in the community and in the workplace, traditional leadership and school governors so that they can ultimately realise their personal and collective potential (Purkey & Novak, 1992, 1996). Subsequently, learner discipline can be impacted at all levels of the ecosystems, particularly within families, schools and communities.

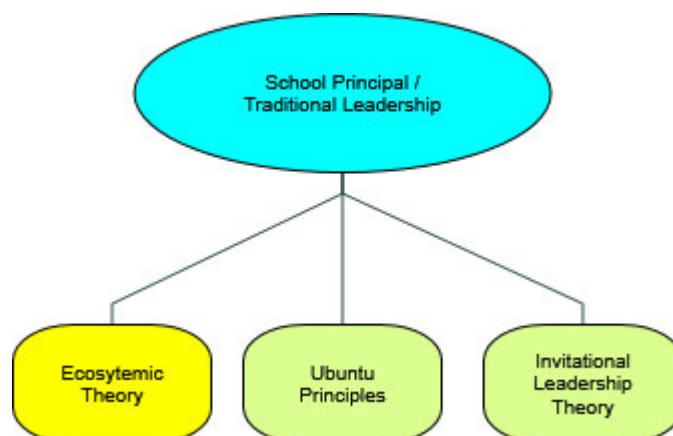


Figure 3 Ecosystemic theory, Invitational leadership theory and Ubuntu principles

The role of leaders such as traditional leaders, as well as, school principals in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools can be explored against the ecosystems, Ubuntu values and principles guided by invitational leadership as depicted in **Figure 3**. It is envisaged that attempts of traditional leaders and school principals of maintaining learner discipline can be understood within this framework.

3.5 Synthesis and summary of the framework

The notion of maintaining learner discipline in terms of current codes of conduct involves school principals (SGB) and parents (households in rural communities). The framework of this study introduces traditional leaders as role players in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools. **Figure 4** below shows the diagrammatic representation of the role players maintaining learner discipline in the context of the theoretical framework. The interconnectedness of schools and their communities guided by values of invitational leadership is a point presented in this framework. Rural schools are situated in community land entrusted to traditional leaders.

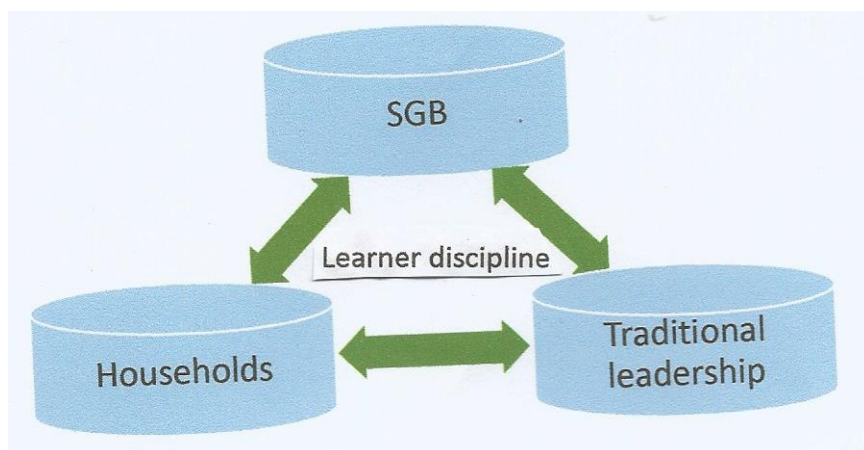


Figure 4. Maintenance of learner discipline through the collaboration of school and community leadership

The figure above (**Fig. 4**) indicates the relationship between schools represented by SGBs, local communities led by traditional leaders and the homes, especially, in relation to ensuring that learners grow up in a disciplined environment. Therefore, the SGB representing schools can be expected to work closely with traditional leaders representing communities.

3.6 Conclusion

Rural communities led by traditional leaders are known to uphold Ubuntu principles whose values include among others, respect, humaneness, communalism, interdependence and empathy. Although these values may be welcome in schools but their use in practice may not be as evident as it is the case with traditional leaders. Some of Ubuntu values such as respect and trust overlap with those espoused in the invitational leadership theory. In that respect, ecosystemic theory has a lot in common with Ubuntu philosophy through its view points on organisms. By this, I mean that individuals and their communities are seen to be interconnected together with their environment. The interactions between traditional leaders and schools open the possibility of introducing indigenous leadership approach in schools. Such a move may contribute significantly in minimising learners' discipline challenges in schools.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In the previous Chapter, I discussed three theories that underpin the study. In this chapter, I present and unpack the research design and methodological choices for this qualitative, multi-site case study which explored the role played by traditional leaders in maintaining learner discipline in rural schools. In my discussion, I begin by briefly explaining my understanding of and providing my justification for the research design and paradigm chosen, the research participants, issues around gaining entry into the research communities, the research instruments, data generation methods and process, data analysis method, issues of trustworthiness, ethical considerations and limitations of the study. This research design and methodology chosen were deemed appropriate for understanding the role played by traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools.

4.2 Research design and paradigm

The nature of research is such that it allows researchers to declare the research paradigm and describe certain concepts of the research paradigm in different ways. This study is conducted within the interpretive paradigm. But first, I describe the disposition about the nature of reality (ontology) and relationship between the knower and the known (epistemology) (Cohen et al. 2018). Due to the understanding that the participating schools had different contextual realities although they were located in rural communities, my ontological belief is the existence of multiple realities that influence the construction of these realities (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Therefore, participants were expected to express different realities from different perspectives that are equally important. Epistemologically, I understood my relationship as a researcher with what was being researched from participants to be a social and interactive activity (Cohen et al., 2014).

As previously explained, the study was intended to explore the role played by traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools. I acknowledge that knowledge is socially constructed, and that its construction is multiple faceted (Creswell, 2014).

Consequently, philosophical orientation of research can be classified under different paradigms such as positivism, post-positivism, interpretivism, critical paradigm, to mention a few (Cohen et al., 2011). Although there are overlaps between some of these paradigms, they can be distinguished through their general characteristics, ontologies and epistemologies. Positivists hold the view that outcomes or effects can be traced from causes (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Therefore, their aim is to adopt an objective approach to research and deny the existence of various social realities (Creswell, 2010). Clearly, such a research paradigm is not appropriate for my study as it acknowledges the existence of multiple realities and multiple truths. Positivist researchers hold a deterministic philosophy in which outcomes or effects are determined by causes and is typically seen as an approach to quantitative research where researchers aim to be objective (Creswell, 2014).

One of the dominant research paradigms after positivism and post-positivism is interpretivism. Interpretivists acknowledge the multiplicity of knowledge and therefore, focus on meanings that individuals attach to their social world (Cohen et al., 2014). Due to its nature, such a paradigm does not seek to do anything beyond exploring and describing meanings that participants attach to their actions. Interpretive paradigm focuses on making meaning and understandings of the subjective human experiences. This paradigm assumes that people make meanings in their worlds as a result of social interactions with others (Cohen et al., 2018). The next and the last of the four dominant paradigms is known as critical theory or critical paradigm (Neuman, 2011). Critical researchers regard the reality to be shaped by socio-economic, political, cultural and other dynamics which impact on the balance of power relations (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). As a result, critical research seeks to critique and transform society in order to balance the power relations. In other words, unlike interpretivists, critical researchers go beyond understanding the situation of the participants, and seek to bring about changes that will make their lives better. It is not my intention to discuss all these paradigms but the main aim for mentioning them is just to acknowledge their existence as I located the study within one of them, the interpretivist paradigm.

The study sought to explore the role played by traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools, and adopted a qualitative research approach (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Qualitative approaches are appropriate for inquiries whose analyses and findings are done through the use of words rather than statistical means. Detailed descriptions of how people make sense of their worlds (traditional leaders, school principals and SGB

Chairpersons) and how they make meaning of their particular actions (dealing with learner discipline in schools), was done narratively. In qualitative inquiry, there is no right or wrong answers, but the focus is on personal, subjective experiences of the participants. Adding on this, Bertram and Christiansen (2014) assert that interpretivists seek to describe how people make sense of their worlds and the contexts in which they live and work.

4.3 Research methodology

Researchers concur that in research different people can hold different perspectives for the same event and therefore, make different interpretations about similar concepts and even words (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). This is the case with the concept of methodology and methods. In research, sometimes the concepts method and methodology are used interchangeably. However, one of the distinctions between methodology and method is provided by Henning, van Rensburg and Smit (2004, p. 36) who define methodology as a “coherent group of methods that complement one another” and that have the ability “to deliver data and findings that will reflect the research question and suit the research purpose”. In simpler terms, methodology is predominantly about the features or nature of the research. On the other hand, methods are defined as a variety of “approaches used in educational research to gather data which are to be used as a basis for inference and interpretation, for explanation and prediction” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 47). Methods or techniques, must be detailed in order for the readers and other researchers to comprehend the sequence of processes which the researcher followed when conducting the research (Cohen et al., 2014). In the context of this study, I used a variety of data generation techniques including semi-structured interviews, documents reviews. Further discussion on the methods also referred to as data generation instruments (Hammersley, 2006) used is presented on Section 4.3.4 of this chapter.

4.3.1 Qualitative approach

In this study, I explored the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools. The focus was to explore traditional leaders and other participants in their context in order to study their experiences as well as examining in detail sets of common or different features among participants. Nieuwenhuis (2010) asserts that qualitative research is a way of generating data in a specific context with an aim of getting in-depth understanding of that particular phenomenon. Further to this, Maree (2013) asserts that the qualitative research

focuses more on the depth and quality of the data than quantity. I chose qualitative research approach in order to provide a full description of the participants' social reality in its context (Cohen et al., 2011; 2014). This involved employing the methods such as observation and conducting interviews (Delamont, 2009) with semi-structured conversation with open-ended questions (Gummesson, 2000). These methods do not clearly distinguish whether the researcher is conducting an ethnographic inquiry or a case study. What I hoped to achieve was to generate information around the critical questions on the role of traditional leaders and how their roles are experienced in schools.

Due to time constraints, the time spent in the field could not be long enough for the study to be regarded as purely ethnographic as understood by anthropologists and conventional ethnographers (Aktinson & Hammersley, 1998; Parker-Jenkins, 2018). Ethnography refers to a practice wherein researchers spend months or even years on the research site in order to study patterns and systems of everyday life (Goetz & LeCompte, 1981). This form of research emphasises the importance of studying what participants do and say in particular contexts (Hammersley, 2018). Unfortunately, traditional leaders and some SGB chairpersons were sometimes not readily available for scheduled interview sessions. Also, I could not be in the three sites on daily basis since I conducted the research after hours while honouring the duties of my employment during working hours. The challenges became worse when participants made last minute cancellations of interviews due to other commitments they had on agreed dates. I had to be careful with what I was doing between ethnography and case study because the fewer number of sessions with participants had implications in that regard. Where else there is a fine line between the concepts case study and ethnography, Hammersley (2006) points out that the distinguishing feature is time spent in the field. They warn ethnographers not to assume that observed situations are typical of what happens in the entire research site if they spend a relatively short time in the site. Researchers are reminded that what goes on in any situation changes over time. Therefore, the danger of a relatively short fieldwork is that detected and resulting claims and conclusions can be based on a once off or seasonal observation and not on what is the case on day-to-day basis. In that way, the claims can be misleading (Hammersley, 2006). Also, a case study may not engage in data immersion to warrant the term ethnography. Ethnography is understood by some researchers to be a qualitative research whose intention is to provide detailed, in-depth description obtained through sustained time spent by the researcher in the field (Parker-Jenkins, 2018). In this study, I chose to engage with research participants in a manner that contains elements of both an ethnographic inquiry and a case

study since I could not do justice by spending long enough time in all the three sites equally (ethnography). In addition, I did not intend studying a concept outside the context (case study) throughout the sites (Hammersley, 2006).

Therefore, an approach of ethnographic multi-site case study (Tran, Hallinger & Truong, 2018) was adopted as a methodology. Ethnographic multi-site case methodology enabled me to conduct research in naturalistic settings by constructing culture through in-depth studies and meanings of participants (Hammersley, 2006; Parker-Jenkins, 2018). Moreover, the study envisaged the existence of some creative leadership on the part of school principals and traditional leaders to meet new challenges. Therefore, ethnographic multi-site case approach is seen as appropriate in exploring leadership dynamism and innovation in the changing school governance contexts (Goetz & LeCompte, 1981; Parker-Jenkins, 2018). As such, it is befitting to engage such a methodology when exploring the role of traditional leadership in maintaining learner discipline in rural schools.

4.3.2 The choice of research site and participants

In qualitative research, it is important to select sites and participants that will assist the researcher to understand the problem and the research questions (Creswell, 2013; Parker-Jenkins, 2018). Creswell (2013) believes that in qualitative research, this could be done through purposive sampling. In this regard, purposive sampling was used to achieve this goal. The study was conducted in three purposively selected sites whose *pseudonyms* are namely, Thandimfundo Secondary School (TSS), Mluleki Secondary School (MSS) and Hlobani Secondary School (HSS). These schools were chosen for their contexts which were similar in a number of ways. See Table 1 showing the enrolment and staffing of participant schools. All three schools were located in communities which fell within the jurisdiction of traditional leadership authority. I was interested in the role that traditional leaders played in the maintenance of learner discipline in these schools through conducting an ethnographic multi-site case study (Tran, Hallinger & Truong, 2018) as explained in the previous section. Although the participant schools were located in similar rural contexts, the leadership practices and their experiences with learner discipline were not necessarily the same.

	TSS	MSS	HSS
Enrolment	442	662	512
PPN	15	17	16
Principal	1	1	1
Deputy Principal	0	1	1
Departmental Heads	2	3	3
Teachers	12	12	12
Teacher librarian	0	0	0
Security	1	1	1

Table 1. Enrolment and staffing of participant schools in 2019

For instance, MSS had a longer history of collaboration between the school and community led by Induna when compared to the other two schools. Further, learner discipline was also higher at MSS and so was the learner performance in Grade 12. The performance of matric learners in the participant schools is shown in **Table 2** below. This drew my attention and I began to examine sets of commonalities and differences among the participating traditional leaders, SGB chairpersons and principals (Neuman, 2011) as they grappled with the challenges of maintaining discipline in schools.

	TSS	MSS	HSS
2019 pass rate	70%	88,9%	65,5%
2018 Pass rate	56,5%	92%	65,6%
2017 Pass rate	36%	90%	55,9%
2016 Pass rate	29%	57,7%	20,3%
2015 Pass rate	46%	60,6%	47%
2014 Pass rate	67%	100%	28%

Table 2. Percentage matric pass rate of participant schools from 2014 to 2019

The selection of participants came with the selection of the sites which was purposive and aimed at focusing on identified categories of leadership that have an influence (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011) in schools. Purposive sampling refers to researchers choosing participants that can provide data that is relevant to that research (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2007). Further Cohen, Morrison and Manion (2014) assert that purposive sampling allows the researcher an opportunity to have access to people with the in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation. For purposes of this study, the categories of participants who were purposively selected was confined to school principals, SGB chairpersons and traditional leaders. The categories consisted of two *Amakhosi* and one *Induna*; three principals and three SGB chairpersons; one district official in charge of school governance. Their pseudonyms according to the sites are from TSS – Mr Pepper (Principal), Ms Buka (SGB Chairperson), Inkosi NTV (traditional leader); from MSS – Mr Cool (Principal), Ms T (SGB Chairperson), Mr Joyisa (traditional leaders); from HSS – Mr Brave (Principal), Mawisa (SGB Chairperson) and Inkosi Mphathi (Traditional leaders); and from the Department of Education at district level – Mr Newman (the District official in Governance). These participants had in-depth information from different perspectives about schools. In each site, the selected traditional leader worked closely with the community where the school is located and had wealth of information about the school. The Chairperson of the SGB and the school principal had different years of experience in the positions but were able to provide current and previous years' stories on learner discipline in their respective schools. See the profiles of the participants in the Table 3 below.

Two schools Mluleki Secondary School and Hlobani Secondary School fell under the jurisdiction of Inkosi Mphathi (pseudonym). There was an arrangement made traditional court among traditional leaders that izinduna as well as Amakhosi would work closely with schools falling within their jurisdiction. For instance, HSS worked closely with Inkosi Mphathi while MSS worked closely with Induna Mr Joyisa (not their real names). The principal and the SGB Chairperson of each of the three participating school were automatic choices because of their portfolios (Principal and SGB chairperson) in the chosen schools. After all, they were directly involved with school governance on continual basis. Other participants were involved in school governance matters in a variety of ways. The traditional leaders are known to have effectively dealt with numerous learner unrests in schools which fall under their jurisdiction. Their impression of the involvement of traditional leadership structures in handling learner discipline issues were earmarked to provide insights about contributions they make in this regard. The

other important participant was the district official who was involved in school governance matters and therefore, provided the perspective of the district and the department on questions being asked. Since I maintained good working relations with traditional leaders and district officials on matters pertaining to SGBs and school administration in general, it was not difficult to obtain their consent to participate in the research.

4.3.3 Gaining access to schools and communities

In order for readers to be able to evaluate the research they must be clear about how access took place (Gummesson, 2000). It is also important to share with other researchers the experiences I had of gaining access to schools, communities and participants. This multi-site case study was conducted in South Africa, within the province of KwaZulu-Natal in Ilembe district in the Department of Education where I worked as manager in one of the deep rural circuits. Gummesson (2000) submits three types of access, namely, access to finances to fund the project; access to the organisation to be studied and access to individuals (participants) in the organisation. Further, Gummesson (2000) adds to the equation the converse of the access process. That is, access of the organisation and/or individuals (participants) to the researcher. The three types of access apply to this study and therefore, I explain how I gained access to these three types.

Finance is always a critical issue in research. Similarly, finance issue in this research was important because I needed funding to travel to different schools and traditional leadership offices as I attempted to establish relationships with prospective participants. One of the three schools (TSS) fell under my circuit and the other two (MSS and HSS) were about 230 km away from TSS in another circuit with a different circuit manager. In addition to travelling, I needed to buy a recording device to be used during interviews. I was fortunate to get funding from the University which I used to pay for photocopying and transcribers in addition to other expenses. I needed permission from the KZN Department of Education to first access the schools. I thought it was going to be easy since I worked for the Department of Education. I was wrong. When I emailed my application to conduct research in the three selected schools there was no acknowledgement of receipt of the application after three; let alone the actual response. When I phoned the office, no one responded until I was advised by other students to submit the hard copy of the application in person. After submitting the hard copy, I kept phoning every other week. Still, there was no response. After eight months from the initial submission, I came

across a high ranking official in the office of the Premier (the head of the provincial government), who recognised me from a recently held awards function. We had a brief conversation and I shared with her my frustration about my application to gain access to the schools. She took my contact details and promised to assist. Before the end of the day, I received permission through the e-mail, to conduct research in the selected schools. Gummesson (2000) describes gate keepers as those who can open or close the gate for the researcher.

As if the struggle to get permission from the department was not enough, I had to undertake another journey to be ethically cleared by the University's research office in order to proceed to the field. I met with my supervisor and we agreed to forward the documents to the research office in order to be cleared. When I telephonically made a follow up on my submission two weeks later, I was informed that someone who received my application was on leave and others in the office could not help unless I was willing to resubmit the whole dossier. About two and half months later I received the ethical clearance letter. Then I was ready to approach school based participants. As a result of the good relationship I had with schools, I got assisted by principals to access the SGB Chairpersons, as well as traditional leaders since they worked closely with them. As a researcher, I was reliant on the participants' social networks and personal contacts for gaining access to people (Noy, 2008). That is why schools were my main point of entry.

I had been visiting the schools in my capacity as a circuit manager, and thus, have been meeting with some participants in various contexts for various school issues. It was coincidental that I was later going to have conversations with *Amakhosi*, Izinduna and principals in their contexts before I started conducting this study. My familiarity with indigenous protocols and understanding of the Zulu culture and customs made it easy for me to interact with traditional leaders and I finally obtained their consent to participate in the research. Participants were very positive about participating in the study.

4.3.4 Research instruments

Hammersley (2006) asserts that interviewing is a useful method of generating data but may require the researcher to audio-tape the interviews. But also, the researcher can be regarded as an instrument of generating information in an interpersonal environment. This assertion is

derived from the fact that the researcher personally goes to the institution where the study is conducted to interact with the participants in their natural settings. The researcher does not control or manipulate the behaviour of the participants (Creswell, 2014).

In this section I describe research instruments I used to generate data. Among the instruments that are generally used to generate data in qualitative research Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) list the following; questionnaires, interviews, personal accounts, observations, roleplay, documents reviews and visual media. In this study, I used interviews predominantly and to a lesser extent documents reviews and informal observations. The interviews were conducted in areas which were convenient to participants. Traditional leaders preferred different venues. While they all preferred to be interviewed at their traditional courts but due to distances to the courts, they ended up opting for nearby school office and others chose to be at their homesteads.

4.3.4.1 Interviews

The interviews consisted of carefully crafted questions that were meant to generate responses in respect to critical questions. Before embarking on the interviews with participants I asked each participant if I could record our conversations and explained the significance of doing so. The main reasons for recording was to maintain the accurate record of our discussions and to avoid misrepresenting their stories. After getting the participants' consent, I went ahead with recording. I also assured the participants that their names would remain anonymous and that the recordings would remain confidential. Further, I asked for their contact details including cell phone numbers so that I could contact them in case I needed further clarity on certain issues pertaining to the study.

Each category of participants had its schedule of questions. Some questions had to be similar for purposes of triangulation across the categories. Others were specific to categories of participants in order to obtain exclusive individual perspectives. Interviews were generally meant to elicit information about the role of traditional leaders, how their practices are experienced in schools and lastly, why traditional leaders maintained learner discipline the way they do. Cohen et al. (2011) posit that the use of interviews in research represents a move towards regarding knowledge as generated between humans, often through conversation. Greef (2010) posits that having an interview schedule beforehand forces the researcher to think about what the interview process might entail. As a result, an interview guide was crafted in advance

for the semi-structured interviews with the school principals, traditional leaders and SGB chairpersons. Although there was a sequence of questions, because I was using semi-structured questions, I had freedom to do follow ups and probing. The interview schedule or guide helped to facilitate coherence and logic in discussions (Creswell, 2014). This was done to allow for rich discussions and probing on issues raised by the participants.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in IsiZulu, the language which they spoke fluently. As a result, the inputs were full of IsiZulu expressions and were long. The discussions assisted me to ask follow up questions about what they meant about what they said. For example, participants would talk of “umfana wathinta omunye” literally it means “the boy touched another learner”. I had to ask what the problem was with touching someone and I found that they meant ‘the boy bit the other learner’. In all the communities, participants were not explicit in their responses instead they were polite and often used understatement particularly when they told stories involving culturally unacceptable behaviours. Without the probes, I was going to be left with wrong impressions and misunderstandings. In some instances the gestures and the body language, in particular the use of the hands helped to clarify the meanings of the expressions they used to tell their story.

The interviews of traditional leaders were conducted in their traditional courts/offices where I found them to be relaxed and free to express their views. The duration of interviews ranged between 40 to 55 minutes. Follow up interviews were done where ever the participants were willing to respond to follow up questions. In one instance, Inkosi NTV was interviewed in his car after attending to a family matter. This happened because no one between us had an office we could use nearby. Principals and SGB chairperson were interviewed in schools. Similarly follow up interviews were conducted where ever they availed themselves. Sometimes I made cell phone calls to ask clarity questions.

4.3.4.2 Document review and informal observations

Qualitative methods of generating data include conducting interviews with open-ended questions complemented by observation of various sorts of documents such as minutes, notes (Goetz & LeCompte, 1981). Documents review entails any written proof that gives information about the investigated phenomena and are existent with/without research being conducted (Fitzgerald, 2007). Maree (2013) distinguishes between two types of documentary sources,

namely, primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are original materials written from the author's own experiences and observations. On the other hand, secondary sources consist of materials that are derived from original proceedings compiled by someone else (Maree, 2013). In this study, I used both primary and secondary reviews since I was partly immersed in the interactions with participants as they reflect on the involvement of traditional leaders in maintaining learner discipline in schools. Documents reviews refers to critical reading of documents as these form a major source of data in qualitative research and can help to uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insight relevant to the research problem (Merriam, 1998).

For purposes of this study, observations, semi-structured interviews were conducted to generate in-depth data from participants' own involvement in the maintenance of learner discipline. Gillham (2000) describes observations as the most direct technique of generating data and not just what the person has written nor said, but what they have enacted. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), observations afford the researcher the opportunity to study what occurs in real life, as opposed to what happens in highly contrived settings. However, the main data generation method was semi-structured interviews and documents reviews. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) describe such interviews as conversations between people that enable researchers to elicit the detailed responses of participants and explore an issue in-depth to understand a participant's perspective. The review of documents, observation and interviews provided an opportunity for triangulation. The accurate record of inputs captured using a voice recorder (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2014) was compared with what was observed in the field together with other availed documents such as minutes of meetings and other kept records. Minutes were used to confirm or reject claims about the adopted resolutions versus what is practised. However, I experienced some hardships in accessing documents from traditional leaders. I noted that traditional leaders did not have employed secretaries to keep their records. They utilised the voluntary services of unemployed youth who, in some cases, were relatives of traditional leaders. The only records I accessed were school records and meetings compiled during joint meetings held between schools and traditional leaders. I had to find some community profiles from Statistics South Africa using internet Google. Other information was compiled during the few traditional leadership meetings when as a circuit manager, I was invited to attend. In the traditional leaders' records, I intended to find evidence of the role played by traditional leaders in schools. This was going to be in the form of

agreements, minutes, and other records of verbal pronouncements in the traditional leadership council.

4.3.5 Data analysis

In qualitative approaches research takes a form of ongoing interactive and emerging process (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004), and occurs while data generation process is unfolding. Thereafter, the voice recorded data was transcribed and translated into English. This huge data needed to be reduced and classified for interpretation and presentation through the process called data analysis (Goetz & LeCompte, 1981). The inductive approach of analysing data was engaged. In this study I used the software called NVIVO 12 to analyse data. I began by uploading the transcripts from all three sites to NVIVO 12. Thereafter, I started reading transcripts repeatedly to familiarise myself with the data before engaging with the analysis. Sentences and words were organised into categories and then into themes (Cohen et al., 2018) speaking about traditional leaders' roles and experiences in the maintenance of learner discipline and reasons for what traditional leaders do. Cohen et al. (2014) describe data analysis as a process consisting of organising, accounting for and explaining the data. Then, I began coding each incident into categories and later on, I was able to put them into four main categories called nodes. These four nodes capture the following themes: community involvement; cultural capital around schools; actualising the role of traditional leaders and invitational leadership. The vital sentences and quotes from each participant in each site were copied into these nodes. As part of the analysis process, data was placed under categories (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Merriam, 1998). At this stage, data was in the form of minutes and other observational field notes as well as school records and minutes. Data generated from documents reviews and observations was incorporated into the themes that emerged in the process to ensure that triangulation features. In the next section, I describe trustworthiness issues in order to ensure that the findings can be regarded as credible.

4.4 Trustworthiness

The critical moment in qualitative approaches occurs when trust in the research findings has to be determined. In this research, I chose to borrow from Lincoln and Guba (1985) who are generally regarded as pioneers of trustworthiness in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) present four criteria, dependability, confirmability, transferability and credibility as

alternative constructs which are appropriate to determine trust in the qualitative study. Each of these criteria is discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

Dependability refers to an assessment of the quality of the integrated process of data generation, data analysis and theory generation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To enhance dependability, the transcribed interviews were checked against the record of minutes where each school had a joint meeting with traditional leaders (triangulation). These minutes were available in schools and not in traditional council offices. Further, emergent findings were discussed with participants in the same category to ensure analyses are grounded in data (peer debriefing). Sticking to these procedures was an attempt to indirectly address dependability.

Confirmability measures how well the inquiry's findings are supported by data generated (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). There are various techniques that can be used to ensure confirmation. These include member-checking, wherein, as the discussions continued, I checked with the participants what they meant by what they said. I have given a number of examples where I discussed issues of access to the research sites. Sometimes, participants used a softer language to describe for example, beatings that may have occurred, and participants used words like 'touching' for beating. Another technique I used to enhance confirmability entailed giving the transcripts back to the participants to confirm their content. I did this for school principals and the District official responsible for governance issues. When it comes to the SGB Chairperson and traditional leaders, I explained to them what they had told me and what I understood them to mean. They then confirmed the accuracy of the content of our discussion as narratively described. I did this because these participants had demonstrated comfortability speaking in the local language (IsiZulu), and our discussions were held in that language.

Credibility is the third criterion and it refers to the believability of what the researcher claims to have generated. In this regard, Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer a set of procedures to ensure credibility of the findings. These procedures include prolonged engagement, member-checking and peer-debriefing. In this study, I gave the participants ample time to read the transcripts of the interviews and were able to confirm their inputs. That helped enhance the credibility of my interpretations. Another technique included ensuring that all participants understand the purpose of the study and that their participation was voluntary and that I did not promise them anything or favour for participating in the study.

Transferability is the fourth and the last criterion to be applied during the study. Transferability refers to the degree to which the findings of the inquiry can apply or be transferred beyond the bounds of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In the context of this study, I ensured that I provide detailed descriptions of all the steps that I undertook in the process of conducting the study. In that way, other researchers who intend to conduct a similar study know almost every step that I took and they can be able to follow all the steps of the research should they wish to do so. In the next section I discuss ethical considerations. Providing thick descriptions of the research process assist in enhancing transferability.

4.5 Ethical considerations

In every research process, it is of utmost importance that research is conducted in an ethical manner. One of the main ethical consideration is that permission is granted by gatekeepers to conduct the study. As I explained elsewhere in this chapter, I applied to the provincial Department of Education for permission to conduct the study. After that, I applied for ethical clearance at the University's ethics committee known as Human and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC). By filling various forms from HSSREC offices, I made various declarations that were meant to ensure that I complied with ethical standards.

When I got to the research sites, I informed the participants about their rights and autonomy. For example, I informed them that their participation was voluntary and that their participation was confidential. To ensure confidentiality, I informed them that their real names and places would not be revealed to anyone. In other words, they were protected from any possible harm that may go with being identified and thus avoid the possibility of victimisation. It is a common practice in social research that participants are guaranteed anonymity in order to protect their identity for various reasons including undue pressure from society (Novak, 2014). In the literature, anonymity is sometimes used interchangeably with confidentiality. Kitinger and Kitinger (2015) describe confidentiality as a generic term that refers to keeping information hidden from everyone else except the primary research team. Anonymity is a form of confidentiality in which the identities of participants are kept secret but not what is said by participants (Novak, 2014; Saunders et al., 2015).

Hiding participants' identities is not without challenges. Tolich (2004) identifies threats to 'internal confidentiality'; and since academics tend to use geographically convenient locations,

this makes research sites more easily traceable (Walford, 2005). In this study, I had first-hand experience of this problem since the positions of participants were few in the Ilembe District where this research was conducted. The anonymity of some participants was difficult to maintain. The disclosure of the district where the study was conducted plus the leadership position of a participant almost made the identity of the individual to be traceable. In order to protect identities I omitted to mention the specific details including portfolios they held and the time period in which participants held the positions/portfolios. For example, one of the traditional leaders who was a participant holds a certain position in traditional leadership structure in the Ilembe District. If I mentioned this position in his profile, that would be equivalent to naming him. Similarly, some schools obtained certain rankings in the matric awards during some years. The mere mention of the ranking and the year was enough for people in the Ilembe schools to guess the name/s correctly. I had to proceed cautiously. Tolich, (2004) points out that the difficulties faced in anonymising do not justify the abandonment of the research.

However, there is a growing debate around challenges of anonymity and a claim of protecting the identity of participants. For instance, Grinyer (2009) presents cases where participants felt that they lose the ownership of data when they are anonymised. In another case, a participant in the research was disappointed when she saw her words in the published article but someone else was credited with that input. Therefore, participants were afforded a choice to be allocated *pseudonyms* or their real names and places would be used in the research. Participants were also guaranteed that data obtained from them would be used strictly for purposes of this research and would not be used against them as well as for any other purpose. The rights of participants to withdraw from participating in the research at any time, if they so wish, was guaranteed. After discussing how the study was to be conducted, participants were informed about the importance of protecting their identities through the choice of anonymity (Novak, 2014). Participants preferred to remain anonymous and therefore anonymity was guaranteed.

4.6 Limitations of the study

There were few remarkable limitations that are notable in the study. First, participants did not always honour the interview appointments which resulted in rescheduling of interviews. Traditional leaders, in particular, asked for postponement of interview sessions on numerous

occasions due to other commitments and unforeseen circumstances. One interview with Inkosi had to be conducted in the car because he was at the local clinic where his daughter was being treated after getting involved in a taxi accident. This poses questions about his focus on the interview process given his emotional state because of what had happened. While waiting in the clinic premises, Inkosi suggested that we conduct the interview in his car where there was going to be less disturbance. This is a result of trust that was created by spending time establishing the rapport with participants. The relationship that had been started with traditional leaders and other participants worked in my favour.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter began by presenting the critical questions and then outlines the qualitative nature of the design as well as the ethnographic multi-site case methodology engaged in the study. The rationale for the methodological choices made is explained. The choice of participants is then discussed as well as how the entry into the communities will be gained. Furthermore, the research instruments were outlined. The instruments were discussed followed by how data will be generated and how it will be analysed. Trustworthiness and ethical issues were presented towards the end of the chapter before outlining the limitations of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN MAINTAINING LEARNER DISCIPLINE: PERSPECTIVES FROM THANDIMFUNDO SECONDARY SCHOOL AND SABALELE COMMUNITY

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a detailed discussion about research design and methodological issues that underpinned the study. This chapter presents data that was generated from one school whose *pseudonym* is Thandimfundo Secondary School (TSS). This data depicts the views of the principal, the SGB Chairperson and the Inkosi NTV (not his real name), who is a senior member of traditional leadership structure in the Sabalele Community. Due to the voluminous nature of the data from all three research sites, I have divided the data presentation into three chapters, organised according to research sites. This means that in Chapter Six, I will present data from the other participating school whose *pseudonym* is Mluleki Secondary School (MSS) in Sinono Community (*pseudonym*) where the schools are located. Similarly in Chapter Seven, I will present data from the school whose *pseudonym* is Hlobani Secondary School (HSS). In all three participating schools the principal, SGB Chairperson and Inkosi/Induna as traditional leaders in the respective communities were interviewed. The data is largely, presented without infusing the literature. Later on in Chapter Eight during the cross-site analysis the literature will be infused. This is done in order to enable the reader to follow the discussion of data from each site before engaging with the comparative analysis across the three sites in Chapter Eight.

This is a multi-site case study. Data was generated through semi-structured interviews and observations were recorded following the drawn schedule. The minutes of some meetings such as the traditional leadership council could not be accessed. However the minutes of the mass meetings attended by traditional leadership (TL) were made available and were used as part of the data. The names of the participants and sites including the ones that are mentioned above are not their real names but pseudonyms. Participants in Thandimfundo were Mr Pepper, the principal of the school, Ms Buka, the SGB chairperson and *Inkosi* NTV of Sabalele community. This chapter presents the data generated from the first site, Thandimfundo Secondary School

(TSS). The pseudonyms are given to the sites and participants in order to protect their identities. However, before I discuss the data, the profiles of the school, community around the school and participants will be presented. This format will also be followed in the two subsequent two chapters. This is done in order to enable the reader to understand the inputs as well as the contexts of the participants.

In addition to the three participants that were interviewed across the three sites there was also a departmental official who came from the district office in governance section. As a departmental official, this participant was tasked with the training and support to all SGBs throughout the district. As a result, he had vast experience and knowledge about the district including the participant schools and communities where the schools are located. Therefore, he could provide the posture of the department plus his opinion across all the schools. For that reason, the departmental posture regarding the involvement of TL in school will be discussed in Chapter Five. This will enable the reader to understand the stories from the sites against the posture of the Department. Thereafter the stories emerging from TSS will be discussed.

5.2 The profile of the school, community and participants

This section is presented so that the reader can understand the context of the stories that will follow in the next section. The profiles can be vast but I will present information which in my view can provide readers with a better understanding of the data that will be unleashed. In doing so I begin with the profile of the school.

5.2.1 The profile of Thandimfundo Secondary School

Thandimfundo Secondary School (TSS) was founded in 1984 and the first Grade 12 was produced in 1996. Thandimfundo Secondary School is at the border of Ilembe and the neighbouring district. It is located at the bottom of the surrounding mountains with carves and cliffs. When approaching the school from the top of the mountain the school fence can be seen from the aerial view of the school. The desert thorny trees and shrubs cover the mountains and the areas just outside the fence. After crossing the river towards the school, the new storey block of classes towers above the old block of classes with asbestos roof. There are two small rivers originating from the east and the west sides of the school and they merge approximately 1km behind the school. The majority of learners cross one of the two rivers before coming to

school while few learners descend to school from the homesteads on the mountainside. During rainy days the floods prevent many learners and educators from coming to school. As a result, classes are suspended until water levels in the rivers normalise. Actually, cars fail to drive up the steep slippery gravel roads of the surrounding mountains. During such weather the whole community of Sabalele remains in the ‘calabash’ of the surrounding cliffs and mountains. Teachers coming from distant places communicate with their colleagues who stay in the local homesteads through SMS to find out whether or not to come to school. The cell phone reception is poor in the area. Cell phones cannot pick up the network connection in most parts of the school premises. The school is electrified and has tap water although the taps are often dry. Due to the shortage of water the learners still use pit toilets.

The staff establishment of TSS comprises of a principal, 3 Departmental Heads and 11 teachers. Other staff include 1 security guard, 1 cleaner and 3 Food Handlers as the school benefits from national schools nutrition program as is the case in all the participant schools. The summary of staff establishment is provided in **Table 1**.

Number of educators	Principal	Deputy principal	Dept. Head	Level 1 educators	Security	Admin clerk	Cleaner	Grounds men	Food handlers	Learner enrolment
16	01	0	03	11	01	0	01	0	03	

Table 3. TSS staff establishment and learner enrolment in 2019

In terms of matric results, the overall percentage pass rate of TSS has fluctuated between 67% and 70% from 2014 to 2019. The learner performance in Grade 12 examinations has been modest for a number of years until last year (2019) when the pass rate went up to 70% (see **Table 2**)

The school consists of two blocks of classrooms, a laboratory without apparatus, an administration block and a tuck shop. The old block of classrooms is no longer in use. Learners use these classes to play informal indoor games during breaks. Next to the administration block the shrubs and tall grass can be seen in the incomplete soccer field that was abandoned by the contractor.

5.2.2 The profile of Sabalele Community

Sabalele is a rural community which is surrounded by mountains and cliffs. The nearest town is about 15 km away from the school but is not easily accessible as there is no public transport between the town and the school. Due to public transport challenges, most people in the Sabalele prefer to go to Durban instead of the nearest town. This is because public transport to this major city is readily available. According to Statistics South Africa (2016), the information to date about the area is as follows: the settlement type of the community is completely rural; 57% of households use water from river stream or rivers while 1.2 % got water from the municipality water tankers which delivered water on weekly basis. Ninety percent (90 %) of the families used pit toilets. Importantly, 69.3 % of the families were female headed households. This suggests that there are fewer male headed households and this may have some implications for disciplinary challenges amongst the youth and school going learners.

Households using river stream/ river water	98.8 %
Households getting Municipality water	0.9 %
Households using pit toilets	93%

Table 4. Household utilities in Sabalele (Adapted from Stats SA, 2016)

The level of formal education in Sabalele Community is very low, and this reality hardly surprising as this is typical of many South African rural communities. Only 1.2% has formal education beyond Grade 12 or matric as it is commonly called in the country, while 13.1% has Grade 12 certificate. Table 4 summarises education levels and also marital status in this community.

Marital status	Percentage		Highest level of education	Percentage
Married	13.9%		No schooling	32,7%
Living together like married partners	7.2%		Some primary	21%
Never married	74,3%		Completed primary	3%
Widower/widow	1,3%		Some secondary	29%
Divorced	0%		Matric	13,1%
			Higher education	1.2%

Table 5. Marital status and highest levels of education in Sabalele community (Adapted from Stats SA, 2016)

5.2.3 The profile of participants

In this site there were three participants from this site, namely Mr Pepper, the Principal; Ms Buka, the SGB Chairperson and Inkosi ETV, the senior traditional leader in the traditional leadership structure of Sabalele community. The education levels of the participants are summarised in Figure 3 below.

Participant name and portfolio	Age	Gender	Years in the position	Highest level of education
Mr Pepper, principal of TSS	49	M	7	Graduate
Ms Buka, SGB chairperson	45	F	5	Grade 9
Inkosi NTV of Sabalele	50	M	20	Matric
Mr Newman, District official	44	M	8	Graduate

Table 6. TSS participants' details and highest levels of education.

Mr Pepper had been the Principal of TSS for 9 years after serving as a Departmental Head (DH) in the same school. Having served for a lengthy period as a teacher or Post Level One

Educator and later on became a Departmental Head, Mr Pepper had established and sustained good relations with the teachers. He was born in the Sabalele community but at a later stage he moved to live in a suburban area near Durban, a major city in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Ms Buka is the SGB Chairperson and is one of the highly experienced members in the SGB. She had served as a member of the SGB in three local primary schools in Sabalele Community. As a member of the community and a former learner at TSS and then employed in the public works programme, she was readily available for all meetings in the school and community.

Inkosi NTV was born at Sabalele Community but grew up in the township near Durban. He returned from the township to be anointed as Inkosi after his father had passed on. Inkosi became an active member of the house of traditional leaders and was working smoothly with ward councillors and school principals in the area. During the time of the interviews, he was in process of strengthening the partnership between traditional leadership and the local schools. He had earlier on organised an Imbizo of learners attending schools in Sabalele Community. The purpose of this important gathering was to address the learners on various social ills such as drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, crime and general problems of learner indiscipline. Other participants who were invited to talk to the learners included officials from various government departments which included the South African Police Service (SAPS), Social Welfare, Health Services and Department of Education officials at circuit level.

Mr Newman is one of the two specialist officials who dealt with governance matters in the whole district. As could be expected, Mr Newman was conversant with the content and purpose of the Schools Act, various departmental policies and circulars that relate to schooling. As district officials in Governance Section, Mr Newman and his team were tasked with the responsibility of capacitating SGB members and school principals on issues of school governance and management. Therefore, Mr Newman was familiar with the schools and the issues therein. He even knew most of the SGB chairpersons by their surnames. He also worked closely with community leaders, particularly traditional leaders. More so, when schools were caught in between community conflicts in various ways. Since he also grew up in the rural areas in northern KwaZulu-Natal province, he understood the protocols to be followed when seeking access to Amakhosi and Izinduna. It is because of these considerations that he was purposively selected to a participant in the research sample.

5.3 The posture of the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Basic Education regarding the involvement of traditional leaders in schools

Before I discuss the role that traditional leaders played in the maintenance of learner discipline in rural schools, I present a perspective and the contexts of the education officials in rural schools. The levels of learner discipline experienced in schools was the question that initiated the discussion. Before expressing the position of the Department, Mr Newman highlighted what he believed was the common causes of learner discipline problems in the schools. He was not hesitant to express the shocking anecdotes about learner indiscipline in spite of the existence of departmental policies. He attributed the major portion of learner discipline problems to the upbringing of learners citing the challenge of child-headed families, which was prevalent in many rural communities including Sabalele. This is how Mr Newman explained it:

Most schools experience high levels of ill-disciplined learners and this is caused by a variety of factors emanating from home situations. Some learners come from homes that are child-headed and they are ill-disciplined. They come to school with that ill-disciplined mentality and they are not controllable.

Learners from poor socio-economic background and others who headed their own families often received financial support from the Department of Social Welfare through Social Grant scheme. While such grants are important in terms of alleviating negative effects of poverty, side effects were crucially impacting negatively on the behaviour of some of the school going youths. Clearly, social grants was not enough, and some recipients used other means to supplement the amount they received through social grant. Mr Newman lamented:

Some of them are used by the community members to be drug merchants because they are given drugs to be sold at school.

Some unscrupulous elements within the community at times encourage fighting among the learners during faction fights between izigodi in the communities. Mr Newman cited an example of a case where community elements incited learners to engage in fighting. He said:

There was a faction fight there caused by the youth over the weekend. They were attending the traditional function called icece where conflicts started among young men and moved to the school premises during the week. So, the school activities were disrupted. Learners fought amongst themselves and there were people from the community who brought a bag full of sticks which was dropped behind the toilets. A whistle was blown for these other boys to come and pick up these sticks and attack others who were at school. Most boys were brutally beaten and seriously injured.

I was particularly interested to know how the school managed the situation as advised by the Department of Basic Education. It is during this period that Mr Newman explained how he started the process of resolving the conflict by inviting key stakeholders to get involved in dealing with disciplinary matters in schools. Mr Newman explained:

So, we intervened by inviting the Department of Community Safety and Liaison, the SAPS together with the four Amakhosi under whose jurisdiction the school is located. Amakhosi play a pivotal role when it comes to safety issues because Amakhosi have a better understanding of communities where the schools are situated. They know who leaves here and who leaves there. So, as Education Department, Community Safety and SAPS, we could not win that battle unless we involved Amakhosi because of their influence and the power and knowledge they wield in the communities.

When the departmental policies fell short in terms of bringing stability in school, traditional leaders were asked to provide a solution. The traditional leaders' approach of resolving skirmishes in the community was applied at school. Mr Newman explained:

Inkosi nenkosi yanikwa umsebenzi wokuthi izibizele abafana besigodi sayo abazintsizwa ngaphandle kodwa eskoleni abazingane zesikole. Amakhosi nezinduna abakhuza agcizelela ukuthi abayiyeke lento abayenzayo ngoba uma ngabe bese sikoleni bazingane zesikole hayi intsizwa, so eskoleni kuyafundwa. So siyinqoba kanjalo leyompi ngokubakhona kwalamakhosi awu-four. Ngikhuluma nawe nje iskole sisebenza kahle kanti nemiphumela kamatric ithuthuke kakhulungenxa yokubambibisa kwethu siwumnyango wemfundo nalamakhosi. [Each Inkosi was given a task of convening a meeting of izinsizwa (grown up young men) but who are boys at school. Amakhosi and izinduna talked strongly to them, warning them not to engage in faction fights because school is not a place to engage in fights. That

is how we as the department of education control the skirmishes through the involvement of traditional leaders].

As a district official, Mr Newman involved traditional leaders in numerous other schools where there was instability caused by the learners. However, it was not clear whether this initiative was an exclusive privilege of the district officials to involve traditional leaders or schools can do the same. If this interaction is encouraged between schools and the traditional leaders, it is unclear as to who should start the process. For instance, should it always be the schools that takes the initiative of inviting traditional leaders? Mr Newman responded:

Ngizocaphuna inkosi yangasekhaya yakwa Xulu (not a real name) eyathi isanda kufika yase ibiza othisha basendaweni base primary school nase high school. Yase ithi ifuna ukuzobabona ibazi labothisha abasebenza endaweni yayo ngoba akubona bonke othisha okungabasendaweni abasebenza kulezikole. Yababona. Yasibabuza ukuthi nifuna nginisiwe ngani bothisha? So siyawadinga Amakhosi anjengalawa azovuleleka ngaleyondlela izimemezelo eyikhona endaweni nasesikoleni izokwazi ukuzikhipha futhi yazi nokuthi eskoleni kwenzakalani. [Let me quote Inkosi Xulu (not his real name) in my community back at home. After being anointed Inkosi, he convened a meeting of teachers in order to know all teachers who work in the community. Inkosi Xulu also wanted to know how teachers needed to be assisted. I think we need such traditional leaders who are accessible who can also be used to issue school and community announcements to the public]

According to Mr Newman, traditional leaders are keen to get involved in school matters but the narrative on their low levels of education makes them to feel inferior and then remain in their cocoons. On the other hand, some communities do not accept teachers, including principals from outside their communities. They prefer local teachers. Mr Newman lamented:

Sometimes there is lack of co-operation between traditional leaders and principals because of the different levels of education between them. Some principals undermine Amakhosi because of their low levels of education and then traditional leaders feel inferior and retreat. Sometimes it is community people who call for local teachers to teach in local schools. As a result, they demand that teachers from distant communities must not be appointed in local schools. Such politics destructs collaboration between schools and communities. These differences can be

eradicated and also the local politics hinders progress. But when these problems are addressed we can see progress.

In spite of this reluctance to work with each other, Mr Newman's opinion was that traditional leaders must be involved in school governance matters at all times, particularly in safety and security committees. Actually, he propagated that principals must find ways of co-opting traditional leaders into SGBs because he did not believe that schools can overcome the safety and security problems without the participation of traditional leaders. Mr Newman argued:

They have got a big role to play in schools, actually in the whole education system and we need not to be like firefighters and only react. We need to rope them in. Firstly, in terms of Section 30 of the South Africans Schools Act. Once the governing body has been elected it formulates sub-committees including the school safety committee from among its members. The composition of the school safety committee includes amongst other stakeholders, the local counsellor and the traditional leadership who can be induna or inkosi, depending on who is accessible to the school at the time. This means we need to co-opt them as early as possible and not wait until there are feuds. Secondly, we need to make them feel to be part and parcel of the education system. We need to bring them close if we are to win this battle.

Briefly, Mr Newman as an experienced official of the Department of Basic Education had realized that disciplinary problems in schools needed the involvement of traditional leaders in order to be concluded amicably. Therefore, he kept advising the principals and the SGBs to work closely with the traditional leaders. In some instances, Mr Newman's opinions of favouring the involvement of the traditional leaders in the school governance featured prominently in his utterances to the principals and SGBs.

5.4 Stories emerging from Thandimfundo Secondary School

The stories from Thandimfundo Secondary School (TSS) is discussed under the four major themes that emerged from the analysis of data, and these are establishing and strengthening the partnership between the school and the community; cultural capital around school; actualising the role of traditional leadership, and enactment of invitational leadership. In order to ascertain data accuracy, the participants' *verbatim* quotes in IsiZulu will be incorporated followed by the

English translation. I begin with the discussion of the partnership between the school Thandimfundo and community around the school.

5.4.1 Establishing and strengthening the partnership between the school and the community

The data from the principal, Inkosi and SGB Chairperson highlighted the importance of establishing and strengthening the partnership between the school and Sabalele Community as a strategy to control learners' discipline in the school. However, there was no clear agreement among the participants about how this partnership could be strengthened. For example, regarding the level of learner discipline at the school and how it was to be dealt with, participants expressed contrasting opinions about the learner behaviour at the school. Some were satisfied with the *status quo* on discipline while others were sceptical. Expressing his optimism and satisfaction with learner behaviour, Mr Pepper commented:

Izingane ezikhona njengamanje akusezona izingane eyihluphayo ngoba abantu ababehlupha bamane bayiphumela. Sekungaba nje yithina esifanele sisebenze. Izingane zona asinazo lezingane ezikwenza ukuthi uye emsebenzini, ubikelwa ukuthi kazi lezingane ke ziyothini ke namhlanje; ziyokwenzani ke. Sekuyizingane ngempela ezize nje ngokufunda. [Learners that we have currently, are no longer ill-disciplined because the undisciplined ones decided to quit. Now, it is upon us as teachers to do the work. As for the learners, we do not have learners that make you think twice about going to work, pondering how they are going to conduct themselves on the day and what they are likely to do. Now we have learners who are ready to be taught].

Mr Peppers' views suggested that the level of indiscipline had declined to acceptable levels in which teaching and learning could occur with minimal disturbances. The glossy picture he painted is that the school was left with well-behaved learners. As a result, the onus was upon their shoulders as educators to teach as expected. This was contrary to what Ms Buka, the SGB Chairperson observed. Ms Buka was still concerned with learners who loiter outside the classrooms during teaching time without permission. In fact, what Mr Pepper meant is that teachers could live with current levels of indiscipline compared to the past learner behaviours which instilled fear among the teachers. In the previous monthly reports, he used to regularly

convey gross violations of the learner codes to the Circuit Manager. During those years, the principal's reports were mainly about cases involving late coming, absenteeism, foul language, bunking classes, vandalism, dagga smoking, drunkenness, fighting, carrying of weapons as well as high levels of learner pregnancy. This time Mr Pepper was satisfied with the conduct of learners such that he did not deem it necessary to mention any learner violations of the code of conduct that needed to be addressed.

The principal expressed his contentment and delight about the learners, depicting their readiness to be taught. Consequently, as a subject teacher himself, he was looking forward to going to class and teach on any given day. On the other hand, the SGB Chairperson was still unhappy with the manner in which learners conducted themselves. Her major concern was the loitering of learners on campus during teaching time, as well as, the indecent manner in which they carried themselves. Ms Buka vented her dissatisfaction:

Abafundi besikole lesi enginguchairperson kusona abaziphethe kahle, abayiphethe kahle bayahluleka ukuyiphatha. Lokho ngikusho ngoba bawuvanzi. Yebo bona abaselona uvanzi kakhulu ngaphandle kweskole kodwa nangaphakathi kukhona izinto abazenzayo ezingasile, abasazenza namanje ngaphakathi eskoleni. Batholakala ema toilet. Sebejolela khona futhi ngaphakathi eskoleni [Learners in this school where I am the SGB chairperson, are not well behaved. They are chaotic. They fail to conduct themselves well. Although their conduct in the public eye has improved, but they still indulge in indecent activities inside school. They are frequently found in toilets which have become their rendezvous].

Ms Buka complained about learners lingering around in school premises and chit-chatting in the toilets during teaching time. These transgressions which Mr Pepper did not mention were not visible to the public and arguably were not worth reporting. In the process the principal left parents and other people in the community ignorant of the problems experienced inside school. Arguably, that could be a reason behind the poor attendance of school meetings by parents. On the other hand, Ms Buka was concerned with the remnants of the unruly behaviour of yester years. Indirectly, she kept sounding the alarm about the prevalence of indiscipline inside school and also calling for more efforts to reduce indiscipline even further.

Inkosi NTV paid more attention to the discipline of learners and compared it to the way in which people in the community conducted themselves. He stated that learners at school depicted what they were exposed to in their community environment. For this reason, *Inkosi* felt that the successes on learner discipline that were achieved at Thandimfundo were a result of integrated efforts between the school and the community leadership and other stakeholders. He pleaded that collectivism and the partnership they had initiated should be strengthened. Nonetheless, there was consensus among participants regarding the decline of indiscipline among learners when comparing it to previous years. While the two participants spoke about the *status quo* on learner discipline at the school, *Inkosi* NTV was not keen to dwell on the present situation. Instead, he chose to focus on how learner discipline can be maintained if not improved. He contended:

Uma kukhona ukuthula endaweni kuzoba khona ukuthula eskoleni. Mangabe indawo ixokozela inezidakamizwa, inezimpi, inayo yonke leyonto. Isiphetho vele ukuthi leyonto isuke iye laphaya eskoleni. Ngokubambisana, kuningi esingakwenza ukuthi kube nomehluko kakhulu. Asingalindi ukuthi kubhulwe umlilo. Ngoba uma kuzoba khona umlilo, kuqale kubekhona intuthu. Ngalesosikhathi ke kusenentuthu, makube khona ubudlelwano. Ubukhosi abuvakashele ey'koleni kungonakele lutho, kukhona nje ukukhuluma. [If there is peace in the community, there will be peace in school. When the community is rowdy and infested with drugs, unrest and all such things all those social ills will finally find their way into the schools. Therefore, our co-operation can make a difference. TL must visit schools to conduct bilateral talks before conflicts can erupt].

Inkosi NTV was of the view that schools are the microcosm of the community where they are situated. Therefore, learners carry along the characteristics and traits of the community which they later depict inside the school. In this regard, the solution to the problem of learner indiscipline should not be expected to come from school leaders alone. There must be vibrant school-community partnership. The community must be part of providing solutions to various school problems. Also, traditional leaders must obtain first-hand information by visiting schools to provide support even when there are no reports of learner indiscipline. *Inkosi* went further to justify his contention, saying:

Othisha bebodwa abazange bakufundele ukuba amaphoyisa. Futhi abakufundelanga ukuba onesi nokutetisa izingane zethu ngaphakathi ey'koleni. Ngakho ke, ezinye zalezinto ziyadinga ukuthi thina mphakathi ngokwethu, singayi

esikoleni ngoba sihambise ikhalo ngezinto ezingalungile esiy'bona eskoleni ukuze lezozinkinga zibhekane nothisha kuphela [Teachers were not trained to become policemen. Also, they are not nurses or gynaecologists who should assist our children to give birth in schools. Challenges in the schools need us as the community. We must not only go to school in order to complain about wrong things which we expect teachers to resolve single handedly].

Frankly, Inkosi spoke against the divisive boundaries between the school and the community. This was a clear indication that the school-community partnership was still young. Some people in the community were still clinging onto the past practices of distancing themselves from the school and *vice versa*. As a community leader, Inkosi was opposed to working in silos. Hence, he argued that teachers alone could not provide solutions. Indeed, some of the features portrayed by learners required community interventions and expertise from various government departments such as police services, social welfare and health as well as drugs and narcotics bureau.

My observation of Inkosi NTV in the community is that his intentions were consistent with his public utterances. Indeed, his approach focused on moulding the youth in the community and engaging other stakeholders including political leaders. For instance, in the Education *Imbizo*, which he convened as a follow up to Thandimfundo unrests, I noted that he invited these stakeholders mentioned above to come and address the learners. Boys and girls assembled in separate neighbouring venues and were addressed on issues affecting them. Hence, Inkosi attributed the state of declined learner discipline at the school to the collective efforts of all the community and school leaders who were involved. The voices of participants yearned for the continued partnership between the school leadership and traditional leaders. Their intention was to work collaboratively in order to eliminate unruly elements in Thandimfundo. Such an attempt is consistent with the eco-systemic theory which maintains that individuals and organisations co-exist within a web of relationships (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Participants were unanimous in granting credit to the partnership between the school and the community for the diminished levels of learner indiscipline. They realised that it was not the teachers alone nor was it the traditional leaders alone that contributed to the decline in the incidents of learners' indiscipline at school. Instead, the traditional leaders worked with the SGB supported by other stakeholders. This confirms that indeed, schools do not exist in a

vacuum (Bhengu & Myende, 2015). Therefore, stakeholders from the surrounding communities had to be made aware of, if not involved in, the day to day business of the school. These sentiments were also echoed by Mr Pepper, Principal of TSS:

Ukubasondeza ngempela abantu abafana nezinduna namakhosi kuyabaqhelisa labantwana abangalaleli, ngoba esikoleni yilapho bekwazi khona ukwenza zona izinto zabo zokukhohlakala. Ngoba ngaphandle emphakathini abakwazi ukwenza noma yikanjani ngoba kunezinduna namakhosi. [Involving people such as izinduna and Amakhosi assists in repelling unruly learners from school because undisciplined learners only become unruly within school premises. Outside school, in the community, their unruly behaviour is curtailed by the authority of izinduna and Amakhosi].

Mr Pepper gave reasons why unruly elements could not remain in Thandimfundo Secondary School. In short, traditional leaders were the symbol of discipline and respect in the community. Therefore, their visibility inside the school premises implied intolerance for unruly behaviour. Hence, Mr Pepper maintained that the school needed the community in order to restore learner discipline in the school. Echoing similar sentiments, Inkosi proclaimed:

Isikole yisona siqaliso sempilo yanoma yimuphi umuntu. [Schooling is the beginning of life for everybody].

The community of Sabalele, led by Inkosi NTV, had just initiated integrated efforts with the school to try and curb learner indiscipline. The role of schooling in the community was regarded as key. This was reference to schooling at all levels from home up to formal schools in the community. Similarly, the principal and the SGB Chairperson regarded the role of the traditional leaders as vital and stressed the reasons of involving Izinduna and Amakhosi in school matters. Mr Pepper said:

Siyakuqinisekisa ukuthi induna ngempela ibekhona nayo uma kunomhlangano womkhandlu wesikole ngoba kubalulekile nabo bazi bengaphandle, ukuthi yiziphi izinto ezidingwa yiskole. Yini abangalekelela ngayo thina siyisikole bese bekwazi ukuthatha lokho bayokudlulisa kuNdabezitha ukuthi naye azazi izinkinga ezikhona eskoleni. Isikole sidinga ukuthi; Sifuna ukusizwa la nala, bakwazi ukuthi beze baselekelele. Ngoba ngiyacabanga ukuthi isikole esawowonke umphakathi. So kubalulekile nabo bewumphakathi baqonde ukuthi yini ngempela eyenzekayo

esikoleni. So ukuba khona kwenduna kuyasilekelela ukuthi abaholi bendabuko bazi ukuthi yini izidingo esizidingayo siyisikole, bakwazi ukusilekelele kuzona. So kubaluleke kakhulu. [We ensure that induna is present in all SGB meetings so that through his presence the community can be made to understand the needs of the school and decide how they can assist. In the process, Ndabezitha (Inkosi) will also be informed about the school problems. Subsequently, the community can assist because the school belongs to the community. Therefore, it is important for the community to understand the day to day happenings in the school. Also, the presence of induna assists in informing the traditional leadership structure about the needs of the school so that they can assist. Their involvement is vital].

Participants acknowledged that the school belongs to the community but noted that people in the community needed to embrace this position. This view of the school by the community was going to benefit the school when parents begin to realise their ownership of school. The principal was hoping that when parents and other stakeholders attend meetings their attention could easily be drawn to the needs of the school. To this end, the principal asserted that the involvement of the traditional leadership was a strategy to attract the entire community into school matters. In particular, the involvement of Induna would continuously keep the Traditional Leadership Council abreast of the developments in the school. The partnership between the school and the traditional leaders was still in its preliminary stages following the incidents of learner indiscipline at Thandimfundo which was rife at the time. The recently compiled documents and anecdotes could be cited as proof that the partnership was still new.

5.4.2 Cultural capital on learner discipline

The data indicates that the issue of cultural capital was important for the maintenance of learner discipline. During the interviews, participants brought along cultural and behavioural contexts in their responses to the issues and challenges of maintaining learner discipline in the school. For instance, these participants highlighted the view that the upbringing of the learners was an important factor in instilling learner behaviour. Also, the fuelling of indiscipline by some elements in the community leading to the involvement of traditional leaders in the schools was mentioned as one the main threats to the maintenance of learner discipline in the school. Therefore, under this section I discuss three issues, namely, the upbringing of learner; the challenges of indiscipline involving outsiders; the role of traditional leadership on the safety of

schools. Mr Newman strongly believed that learners who came from child-headed families were uncontrollable and undisciplined.

5.4.2.1 Upbringing of learners

Participants strongly felt that the manner in which children were raised in their house holds was vital. The focus of Inkosi NTV was on the significance of upholding and infusing African culture in the upbringing of learners. The principal introduced the spiritual benefits of upholding respect while the SGB Chairperson reiterated the significance of collectivism and the revival of Ubuntu principles among learners and to the community in general. It was in the interest of the community to pass on the African culture to the future generations at all levels of the society. To this end, Inkosi NTV had this to say:

Yizinto esifisa ukuthi noma thina singasekho emhlabeni kodwa sizigxilise. Singeke siwashiye ngemuva amasiko ethu nemvelaphi yethu ngoba kuyingxenye yezinto lezo eziyosiholela ekuthini sigcine sikwazi ukuya phambili. [Our culture is one of those things which we would like to entrench in schools so that they can remain behind even when we are no more. As we go forward, we cannot leave behind our culture and heritage because they will form part of the solution to our problems as we go forward].

Talking about the significance of upholding the values of Ubuntu such as respect was expressed by all participants. Respect in particular, was linked to religious benefits. Referring to *Ubuntu* while encouraging respect, Inkosi expressed his wish for this value system to be transmitted throughout the society from generation to generation. He argued that it would form the basis of solutions that will resolve problems in future. In addition, Mr Pepper introduced the dimension of religious benefits that come as a result of being respectful.

Angicabangi ukuthi kukhona umntwana ongaphumelela uma kungukuthi akahloniphi. Ngoba izibusiso uzithola endleleni oziphethe ngayo. Ngiyacabanga ukuthi kuyamsiza umntwana uma kungukuthi uziphethe kahle eskoleni; ukuze ezokwazi ukuthola izibusiso kubantu abadala. [I don't think that there is a learner who can succeed without being respectful. Because blessings are showered unto those who carry themselves well. I think by being disciplined learners can obtain blessings from adults].

Ms Buka emphasised the significance of giving respect to all people equally. She appealed for collective responsibility and interconnectedness between the traditional leaders and the school leadership, as well as, other stakeholders in the community. The general message she conveyed was that respect must not be confined to certain boundaries, for instance, family or school. Instead, she argued that learners ought to respect, as their parents, anyone who is at the age of being their parent, whether in the community or at school. Ms Buka declared:

Ngicabanga ukuthi ukuze zigcine ziziphethe kahle izingane ngaphakathi, kufanele kube khona ukubambisana okukhulu phakathi kobukhosi bendabuko nama stakeholder endawo kanye nothisha ngaphakathi. Babambisane. Kuthi uma ingane isingaphakathi esikoleni yazi ukuthi sekungumzali lowo ngaphakathi. Uma ingaphandle yazi ukuthi ubaba noma umama lowo; noma ihlangana nenduna noma nenkosi, nje kusewu mama lowo noma kusewu baba noma kusewumzali lowo. [I think that if learners are to be expected to conduct themselves well in school, there must be a strong partnership between traditional leaders and local stakeholders as well as the teachers. They must all co-operate with one another. Inside the school, a learner must know that adults who are there are their parents. Also, in the community, learners must know that they have mothers and fathers in adults they come across. Similarly, they must see their fathers and mothers in traditional leaders].

The appeal to uphold values of *Ubuntu* were echoed by participants in various ways. For instance, Ms Buka appealed for the revival of *Ubuntu* virtues that appeared to be dwindling in the community. In this regard, she proposed that collective consciousness of other people must be instilled at all levels of the society. In harmony with *Ubuntu* principles, learners must be taught that adults that they come across, whether at school or in the community, must be regarded as parents. This is how African children are raised in the spirit of *Ubuntu*. That is ‘your child is my child and my child is your child’ or, expressed differently, ‘I am because you are and you are because I am’ (Kamwangamalu, 1999). Putting these expressions into practice is what participants thought could positively impact learner discipline.

5.4.2.2 Dynamics and challenges of indiscipline involving outsiders

The data indicates that all was not rosy in terms of the maintenance of learners’ discipline in the school. Although traditional leaders’ involvement in TSS yielded some positive results, the

issue of crime perpetrated by community elements in the school continued to show its ugly head. Theft of a small scale in which pens, rulers and rubbers were stolen was common among the learners in schools. But various challenges and complexities in school emerged when cases involving learners and people outside school. Issues such as a learner drop-out in the community were reported. During weekends, learners would engage in various sporting and cultural activities which involved people who did not necessarily attend school. For example, in a case where sandals of a learner were stolen by another learner during the weekend in the community sporting field, the school out sourced it to the traditional court and the matter was resolved. The story was summarised by Ms Buka when she said:

Kwathi makufikwa koNkosi kwacaca ukuthi ngempela ubetshontshile lona omunye. Kwathiwa akakhokhe izinto zabantu abezebile ziphindele emuva kubanikazi bazo. Zakhokhwa izinto zabantu zabuyela kubanikazi bazo. Futhi ukubuyela kwazo hayi ukuthi uzozithatha yena aziyise kumnikazi wazo, kufanele ezenazo koNkosi. Zibonakale ukuthi yizona ngempela lezozinto. Zinikwe abanikazi bazo, kwaba kuphelile ke. Kwathula emva kwalokho, eskoleni. [During the seating of the Traditional Leadership Council (TLC), it was evident that the learner who was suspected of stealing sandals of another learner was actually guilty as charged. He was instructed to return or replace those sandals. Indeed, sandals were returned to the owners. They were first brought to the TLC before Inkosi for everyone to see - and not directly to the owners. Later the sandals were returned to the owners and there was peace at school thereafter].

Where crime was committed in the community and learners were involved either as culprits or victims the case could result in dreadful consequences within the school premises. Mr Newman shared an example of such a case in Section 5.3, wherein, certain elements in the community brought weapons into school and blew the whistle to start the fight. This is an example of serious skirmishes that involved outsiders that were dealt with in other parts of the district having started in the community and spilled over into school. Although TSS had adopted the code of conduct of learners which they used to maintain learner discipline, the involvement of community elements in some cases brought dimensions that were not part of the codes. Participants cited such conflicts as cases which were often outsourced to traditional leaders. Ms Buka explained:

Lelocala kufanele lixazululwe konkosi ngoba kusuke kungasaxubi umfundi oyedwa. Mhlawumbe omunye ubenabangakubo esingathi abazimbhodla nje abangafundi,

kanti omunye naye ubenabangakubo. Ukuze laba abangaphandle bengaze nabo bangene ngaphakathi eskoleni bese kubakhona isixakaxaka eskoleni, kungcono kucelwe laba abangaphakathi baphume bahambe baye konkosi bonke nalaba abakade belwa nabo ke. [Such cases are outsourced to the TLC because it is not learners only we are dealing with. Sometimes it involves group fights which include outsiders. Let's say a case was between a learner/s and school drop-out/s. To avoid the spill-over of the conflict into the school campus, all parties are sent to the TLC].

The principal observed that learners abhorred appearing in court especially when they were expected to be accompanied by their parents as it was always the case. Actually, this was embarrassing and disgusting even to parents. Subsequently, parents would be compelled to reprimand their children to guard against being unruly in order to avoid the embarrassment of going to TLC. Sentences in traditional leadership courts included, but were not limited to, compensation, replacement of items and/or fines. Mr Pepper re-iterated:

Udaba lwakho lukelwaze lwafika ngaphandle enduneni noma enkosini akuzukubamnandi ngoba kuzothinta nabazali bakho, kuze kufike ephuzwini lapho sekufanele kuhlawule abazali. So abazali bagcina bephoqelesa ukuba bakhulume nezingane zabo ngoba bengafuni ukuthi udaba lwabo luze lufike lapha ngaphandle kubuholi bomdabu lapho kuzogcina khona sekufanele omunye ahlawule. So kuyamphoqa umzali ukuthi naye abe neqhaza alibambayo. Uma kungukuthi impela labababaholi bomphakathi, baba yingxenye yesikole (SGB) kungaselekelela kakhulu. [The seriousness of a learner's case that warrants the escalation of the matter to the TLC is not a pleasant experience to the learner concerned. Particularly because parents are affected when sentences are meted out. Subsequently, parents are compelled to sternly talk to their children in order to avoid the embarrassment of appearing before the TLC and face sentences. As a result, parents are obliged to play their role. Therefore, if traditional leaders can be part of the SGB that can assist us].

The positive role played by traditional leaders was confirmed. Participants told numerous stories where Izinduna and Amakhosi came to the rescue of the school. This section has indicated not only the challenges faced by the school, emanating from the environment outside, but also how, through collaborative efforts such challenges were addressed. As it has been

demonstrated, various dynamics come into play and these result in the resolution of the problematic issues. Sometimes, they would settle disputes and in some instances they would recover items which were stolen from the school as it will be shown in the next subsection.

5.4.2.3 Traditional leaders' role on the safety of schools

The data has indicated that criminal activities taking place during week-ends and/or holidays around the school in Sabalele Community continued relentlessly. There were numerous challenges associated with crime during this time. Ms Buka shared her experience:

Kwenzekile eskoleni kuvaliwe izikole, kwagqekwezwa, kwathathwa i-school stamp, kwathathwa ama laptop, kwathathwa ama report a-blank, kwathathwa umshini wotshani, kwathathwa izinto ey'ningi eyibalulekile. Lavulwa icala ukuze kube ne Casekodwa abantu abakutholayo abantu bendawo ngoba kwatholwa induna enye yakwesinye isigodi. Yangifonela yathi ena hhayi bo, khona izinto engizibonayo la engathi ezase sikoleni sakho. Hayi ngafonela uthishomkhulu ngathi njoba kugqekwezwe eskoleni nje uyazi ukuthi khona umkhondo ongathi ukhona. Sahamba sayakhona, safika sakuthola konke. Umbambile umfana, wathatha iskhwama wasibeka phansi Safica kuphephile kukhona yonke into, kwabuya konke. Amaphoyisa awakutholanga, kutholwe ubukhosi bendabuko. [This is what happened during the school holidays. The school was burgled. The items that were stolen included school stamp, blank progress reports, laptops, a lawn mower and numerous other important things. The case was opened with the police but it is community people, Induna in particular, who found all the stolen goods. Induna phoned and reported to me that he has discovered goods from my school. After phoning the principal to inform him about traces of stolen goods, we went to the homestead of Induna and found all the school belongings. Apparently, Induna caught a boy carrying a bag full of goods. He took that bag. That's how everything was found, not by the police but by traditional leadership].

Traditional leaders were more trusted on matters of safety and security compared to the police. They resolved numerous cases of conflict among people as well as general criminal activities in the community such as theft and burglary. At some point, Ms Buka lamented that the reason they often reported school cases to the police was merely to obtain the case number. It served

as proof that they opened cases when they discover their stolen items. Nonetheless, the principal and the SGB Chairperson relied on traditional leaders to find the culprits and recover goods. It has emerged elsewhere in this chapter that traditional leaders played a critical role in maintaining safety and security in the community and the schools. Therefore, the experiences shared by Ms Buka in the extract above is just one case, and it bears testimony to their role that traditional leaders played on this matter, particularly, within the school context. It also indicates what can be achieved if the school and the community can work closely together for the benefit of both.

5.4.3 Actualising the role of traditional leaders in the community and in schools

The advent of a democratic dispensation in South Africa in 1994 came with the recognition that traditional leadership should become part of that democracy. Hence, the existence of traditional leadership was provided for in the country's constitution. Nothing is said in the constitution about the role of traditional leaders in schools. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Traditional Leadership and Government Framework Act, No 41 of 2003, among other reasons, was to align traditional leadership rule with the principles of democracy and promote principles of cooperative governance in all organs of state including schools (RSA, 2003). The data revealed in this study that some traditional leaders use provisions of this Act to venture into the schools and assist in bringing about stability, especially in relation to learner behaviour. For instance, in my conversation with Inkosi, he gave an indication that they, as traditional leaders, regularly assessed the atmosphere in the community in relation to discipline and conduct in the community including in the schools. Upon realising that there was simmering instability, Inkosi together with his TLC would invite affected people to the tribal court or convene Imbizo if it concerns the whole community.

5.4.3.1 Experiences of traditional leaders working with Thandimfundo Secondary School

The data indicates that collaboration between traditional leaders and leadership in the school was working well. None of the stakeholders harboured ill feelings or held any scepticism about the other. Any of the two stakeholders could initiate a meeting or a programme. Sometimes, Inkosi planned traditional activities that involved the learners. In other instances the principal adopted traditional leaders' approaches when dealing with learner indiscipline. During one of our conversations with Inkosi NTV, it emerged that he was preparing for one of the sessions

with the learners of TSS. In fact, learner not going to be addressed by Inkosi alone, but various stakeholders were going to talk to them about how they should go about doing things in life. Highlighting his preparations for that session, Inkosi NTV had this to say:

Njengamanje sisezinhlelweni nje lapho sihlele khona izithangami lapho sizobe siluleka khona abafundi besilisa thina njengamadoda. Sinxuse nabothisha besifazane ngokunjalo namalunga omphakathi lawo azoqokwa, nalaba abaphuma ezinhakeni - ezikahulumeni abazo bebhekeleni nokululeka abesifazane; nalaba abasuke ezinhakeni lezi zamaphoyisa ezilwa namadrugs nabo bazobe bekhona. Yilabo bamaphoyisa abalwa nobugebengu nabo bazobe bekhona. Konke lokhu kungumphumela ke wokubambisana kwethu. [Currently, we are planning the Education Imbizo where we as men, will be addressing boy learners. We have also requested female educators and other selected community members to do the same to girl learners. Other stakeholders who will participate in the Imbizo include social workers, police from Anti-drugs and Narcotics Bureau as well as Crime Prevention Unit. This will happen as a result of our vibrant partnership].

Indeed, the Education Imbizo took place as planned. I attended it as invited by the organisers, and I had previously asked that I would like to observe how such sessions were conducted and how they were received. Boy learners gathered at Thandimfundo while girls were in the neighbouring primary school. Speakers from the same sector had to divide themselves into two groups. For instance, the two social workers who came had to attend separate gatherings, one addressed the girls while the other talked to the boys. But Inkosi NTV talked to both groups about indigenous ways of conducting themselves as young men. Notably, the principal as well as *Inkosi* often elevated the boys to the level of adults when addressing them. The strategy they used was to pretend that the boys were already adults and touch on the issues that adult men have to deal with. For instance, Mr Pepper would say:

No madoda, nakhu esikulindele kinina njengabantu abangabafana. Ukuthi ziphatheni kanje. Silindele lokhu... [Countrymen, here is what we expect from you as boy learners. We are expecting you to do the following...].

Apparently, addressing boys as if they were mature adults was a strategy which appealed to boys to conduct themselves like mature men. This indigenous approach is used when holding important traditional meetings often conducted at *Es'hlahleni*. Loosely translated into English *Es'hlahleni* refers to 'under the tree' gathering. In *Es'hlahleni* gatherings, everyone is

addressed and treated as an equal or as mature adults (Bhengu, 2013). Arguably, this is done in order for the inner maturity and Ubuntu of everyone including the youth to emerge. The boys who lead *ingoma* and *Amahubo* at school were respected by other learners because they also led the same activities in the community cultural activities. What we see happening in these cases is the merging of what the youth did in the community and what they did as learners in the school. In the meetings convened by the principal the boys who lead *ingoma* and *Amahubo* known as *Amagosa* or *Izinsizwa* also attended. They were less than ten of them but they were respected by learners as young upcoming leaders in the community. They were used to being addressed as men during cultural gatherings in the community. As young leaders, *Amagosa* could chant a slogan and the crowd of learners would respond accordingly. Another slogan would be chanted in order to make the crowd to be quiet, sit down and thereafter listen to the directives. This was a common practice within Zulu tradition to calm down *Amabutho* (regiments) during cultural gatherings but such a control of the crowds using slogans was foreign in the school environment (Nxumalo, et al., 2003; Poovan, Du Toit & Engelbrecht, 2006). Again here, we see the integration of community language and practices and those of the school.

Mr Newman confirmed the effectiveness of adopting traditional leaders' strategy of utilising *izinsizwa* or regiments' language their efforts to extinguish learner feuds in schools. More details are provided in Section 5.3 above). Mr Pepper adopted the same strategy of meeting boys separately from the girls as if they were gathering *Es'hlahleni* where they arrived at binding decisions by consensus. Similarly, on the day of the Education *Imbizo*, *Inkosi* NTV and all other speakers attempted to harness the wisdom of *Es'hlahleni* gatherings in order to have an impact on the learners, particularly, boy learners. Upon analysing the documents and the responses of the participants, it appeared that traditional leaders and the SGB had recently started to hold joint meetings about school matters (see Figure 1). In the past, traditional leaders was not represented in school meetings convened by the SGB. Participants had nothing against partnering in order to address matters of common interest but both sides were uncertain whether education or traditional leadership policies permitted such initiatives. Therefore, traditional leaders used to stick to the Traditional Leadership Councils while principals confined themselves to working within the school premises, and not to involve other stakeholders outside the school such as traditional leaders. When they finally broke that invisible dividing walls in favour of collectivism, positive outcomes were observed as both the schools traditional leaders began to embrace each other's initiatives. Participants regretted the delay of

formulating and sustaining the partnership. Mr Pepper commented:

Ngikubonile ukuthi kuyasilekelela ukusondeza ubuholi bendabuko lobu bubeseduzane nokuthi kususiza kangakanani uma bukhona buse duze. Ya yingakho sidinga ukuthi sikusebenzise ngoba bekuyinto ebesingayisebenzisi siyisikole. Ngempela sibonile ukuthi kuneqhaza elibanjwa umphakathi. Izigameko ezenzekile sibathatha sibasondeze eduzane, sibonile ukuthi umehluko eskoleni ubakhona. [I have since realised that bringing traditional leaders closer to the school is assisting us. That is why we need to use work with them. It is something we never engaged as a school. In deed there is a role played by the community. The incidents that occurred in school and how we engaged them made a huge difference inside school].

One of the documents I reviewed was the minutes of the meeting which was attended by Inkosi, izinduna, the local counsellor, class representatives SMT and teachers. The extract below shows the copy of the minutes of the previous meeting that was held at Thandimfundo on the 16th October 2017.

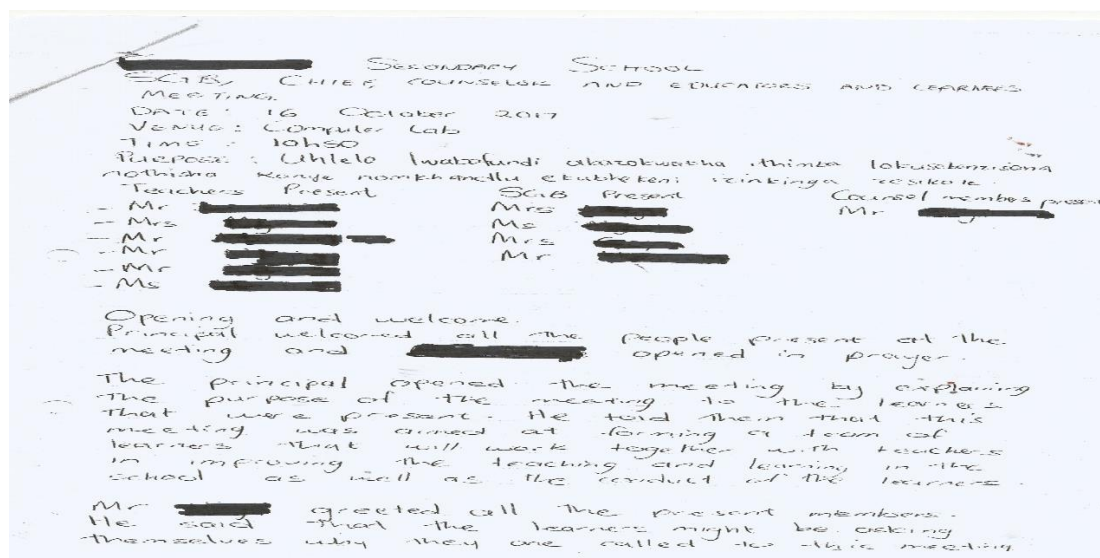


Figure 5. Section of the minutes of the TSS meeting (attended by Inkosi and Induna, SGB, Ward councillor, teachers and some learners).

The minutes give clear indication that traditional leaders and leadership in the school regarded collaboration very seriously. Arguably, the convening of *imbizo* in the community and the attendance of school meetings by traditional leaders somehow, benefited both the school and

the traditional leadership. Traditional leaders increased the scope of their influence to include the youth and, as Mr Pepper puts it, “traditional leaders could easily map learners to their parents and other relatives”. This means that traditional leaders could easily link learners to their parents and vice-versa. This strategy is consistent with the findings of another study on school-community partnership where, for instance, the interactions between traditional leaders and the school leaders was associated with improved parent attendance in school meetings (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008). In the current study being reported in this thesis, *Inkosi* had been approached to invite the parents of the learners to the school meetings. Note that it is not the school inviting the parents to the school. Subsequently, parents attended in huge numbers. Similarly, participants in Thandimfundo Secondary School attributed the improved conduct of learners to the active participation of traditional leaders in the life of their school.

5.4.3.2 Traditional leaders’ practices of maintaining learner discipline in TSS

I indicated in Chapter One and Chapter Two that traditional leadership as a structure enjoyed huge support in rural communities for various reasons. The data indicated that traditional leaders enjoyed similar respect in the studied school and community. As custodians of culture and traditions, traditional leaders believed in promoting respect which they regarded as one of the most important constituent values of Ubuntu. All the participants reiterated the significance of inculcating respect among the learners. It was believed that if learners embraced such values, incidences of misbehaviour would be minimised accordingly. This was some kind of a proactive approach to handling issues of learner discipline. Ms Buka the SGB Chairperson mentioned levels of respect that can be given to people. She suggested that the respect which learners gave to people had various levels. Ms Buka Asserted:

Kumanje lezingane bezinokwenza izinto ezingasile ngaphakathi eskoleni, abantu abasiza kakhulu ekuxazululeni lezo zikinga kuye kube induna. Inkosi iye ithumele induna. Yinduna nje ephethe lawo ma case eskoleni. Ngicabanga ukuthi yilapho asiza khona ke Amakhosi ngoba nazo izingane ziyabahlonipha oNdabezitha. Zihlonipha Amakhosi ukudlula othisha, zihlonipha izinduna ukudlula abazali.

[Currently, these learners sometimes become unruly inside the school premises. People who assist us in resolving those problems are traditional leaders, specifically Induna. Inkosi sends Induna who is in charge in the area surrounding the school. That is how traditional leadership assists us because learners respect

Amakhosi more than their teachers; they respect Izinduna more than their parents].

The above extract indicates the variations of respect and how and why it is important to capitalise on such inherent thinking to deal with learner discipline proactively. Implicitly, the respect which learners accorded to Amakhosi and Izinduna was more than the one they gave to teachers and parents. Hence, the marching orders given by traditional leaders prevailed even where teachers' and parents' attempts had been futile. It was therefore, important that TSS capitalises on such respect to curb incidences of learner discipline problems. Mr Pepper concurred:

Kubalulekile ukuthi ezindaweni ezinjengezikole simsondeze uNdabezitha ngoba yibona abazi nabazali balezizingane. Thina sisebenza ngazo uma ngabe zisesikoleni kuphela. UNdabezitha bayamhlonipha, bayamnika leyondawo yakhe ngakho kuyasilekelela kakhulu siyis'kole ukuthi kungabilula kubafundi ukuthi benze noma yikanjani. Phela bayazi ukuthi uma udaba lokungaziphathi kahle kwabo lukelwaze lwafika konkosi kungase kuthinteke nabazali babo. Mhlawumbe kufike lapho behlawuliswa khona. [It is important to bring Inkosi closer to the schools in the context such as ours because traditional leaders know learners as well as their parents. Teachers only see learners when they are in school premises. Ndabezitha wields authority and is respected throughout the community. Therefore, his visibility at school has positive effects; it helps prevent the learners from doing as they please. They are aware that if they misbehave and the matter is escalated to the Traditional Leadership Council, their parents will be negatively impacted. That is, if learners are found guilty and subsequently get fined].

The above utterances point at the actual role played by traditional leaders and how they are perceived in the community. Traditional leaders are presented as reliable partners, especially when it comes to issues of safety and security within the school environment. Further, participants suggested that learners respect traditional leaders more than their parents and teachers. Also, traditional leaders were better positioned to be able to associate learners with their parents in the community. As a result, they were better placed to assist in the maintenance of learner discipline in the schools. Participants held a similar opinion in that learners held traditional leaders in high regard. Frankly, learners respected the traditional leaders more than teachers and even their parents. Also, participants were unanimous that the respect that traditional leaders wielded in the community could be credited for the reduction of unruliness

at the school. What I also need to highlight is that there was no competition between the two stakeholders regarding the issues of respect that community members including the learners accorded to the traditional leaders. What is evident is that it is the respect that leadership in the school exploited to their benefit. What needed to be clarified was how the interaction of traditional leaders and schools should be initiated. In brief, who of these leaders should start the process? For this reason, the enactment of invitational leadership is discussed in the next sections.

5.4.4 Enactment of invitational leadership by traditional leaders and principals

The analysis of data showed that the notion of ‘invitation’ as depicted in invitational leadership played an important role in dealing with learner discipline. It became clear during my interactions with traditional leaders and the school principal that they were amenable to inputs from other stakeholders. In fact, they invited the views of others and believed in their abilities to contribute to the growth of the learners and the youth. Respect and trust are some of the values that school and community leaders can be utilised in order to integrate their activities (Purkey & Novak, 1984). Invitational leadership comprises both these values. Invitational leadership is both a philosophy and a set of actions aimed at developing a school climate that is inviting (Steyn, 2007). All participants respected and spoke positively about each other. The Inkosi and the principal regarded each other as being able and valuable. Interestingly, what was not clear was why leadership of the school and the community took so long to initiate the partnership. It was not clear as to who between the participants should have initiated the invitation of others. Participants had to reflect on how they started working collectively. They expressed divergent opinions about how the process began. For instance, Ms Buka said it is the circumstances inside school that led to the intervention of traditional leaders.

Ngokwazi kwami ngike ngizwe kuthiwa odabeni lwezingane kufanele kubambisane uthisha nomzali wengane, hayi namakhosi. Kodwa ngendlela amakhosi abona kwenzeka ngayo eskoleni, yingakho aseze angenelela ke ukuthi nawo abe ingxenye ekuy'phatheni kwey'ngane. [According to my knowledge, and from what I have learnt, matters pertaining to the conduct of learners require the collaboration of the teachers and the parents, not Amakhosi. However, the unbearable circumstances inside the school caused Amakhosi to intervene and become part of the solution to the improper conduct of learners].

As an experienced member of the SGBs of different schools in the community, Ms Buka had attended numerous SGB workshops. This became evident when she asserted that the Schools Act mentions the role that teachers and parents in school have to play, but not the role of traditional leaders. Briefly, traditional leaders' role in the schooling sector is not acknowledged in the Schools Act. Hence, the SGBs could not invite traditional leaders into school governance matters. Nonetheless, the circumstances inside the school and other contextual considerations compelled traditional leaders to go ahead and forge the partnership with the schools. On the other side, Inkosi NTV claimed that they analysed and discussed behavioural matters in the community and the schools. In some ways, Inkosi has a special view about the school in relation to the community. That is, the school is part of the community. Following these meetings, traditional leaders used their discretion to intervene and work with the school to resolve its issues. Inkosi commented: *“Sihlala sihlale sisibheke isimo ukuthi sinje, siphinde sibone ukuthi isimo sinjani”* [Often we sit down, observe how situations develop again and again...].

Inkosi made these introductory remarks before he unpacked how they came to the decision to intervene in school matters. Although his remarks insinuated that the decision to intervene in schools emanated from deliberations about situations in the community but he concurred with other participants that, mainly, the unbecoming conduct of learners at Thandimfundo triggered their intervention. Mr Pepper on the other side claimed that as school leadership they invited traditional leaders to assist and he provided the rationale for that decision.

“Kwahlalwa phansi kwabonakala ukuthi iqhaza lobuholi bendabuko libaluleke kakhulu. So nje, awukho umhlangothi kulonyaka esikesabanawo sangayibiza induna. Induna kuyoyonke imihlangano esibanayo kakhulukazi singumkhandlu (SGB) siyayibiza induna njengomuntu okwaziyo ukuthatha ama report nezinto ezenzeka eskoleni, akwazi ukuthi ayozezitha kuNdabezitha” [After lengthy discussions there was a realisation that the role of traditional leadership was vital. As a result, throughout this year, we have never held a meeting without inviting Induna. We invite Induna in all our SGB meetings. Induna plays a liaison role between the school and the Traditional Leadership Council].

As part of the evidence of the meetings between traditional leaders, RCL and teachers the extract of minutes is presented below in which Inkosi highlighted drug abuse as the main cause of learner indiscipline in secondary schools. The main purpose for looking at these minutes

was to find issues associated with discipline maintenance that were discussed. In deed the extract of the minutes (Figure 6) indicate that Inkosi expressed his views on the matter.

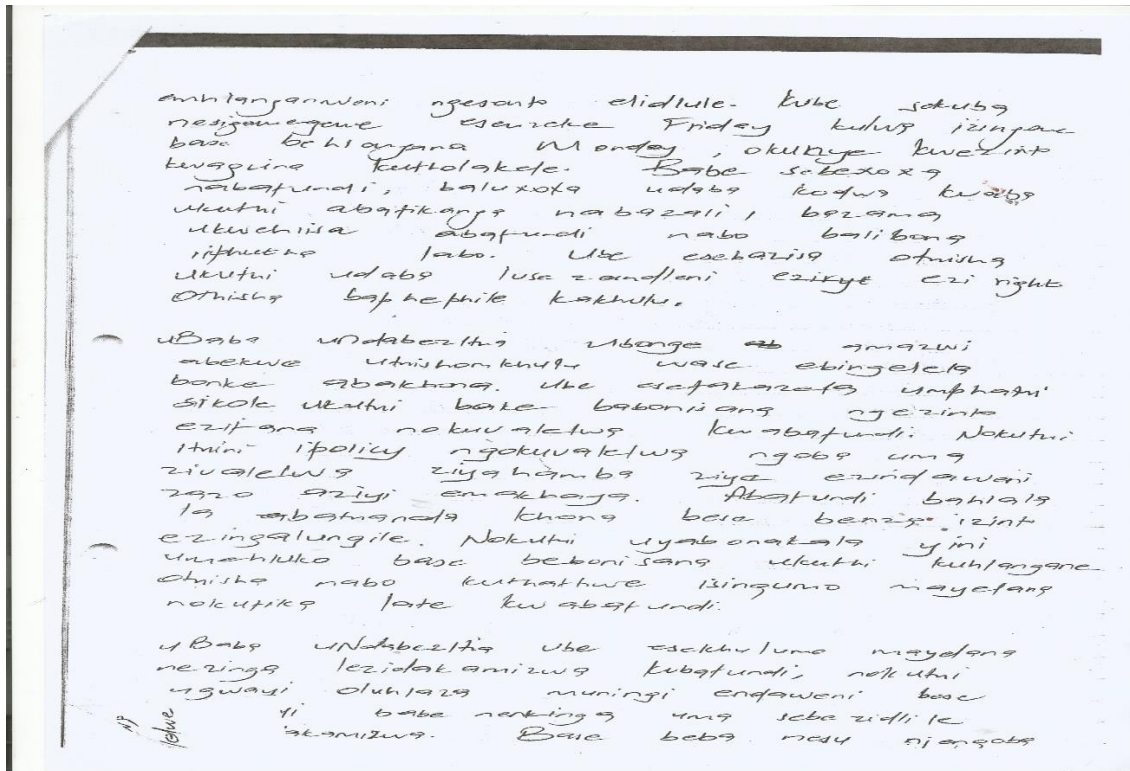


Figure 6. Extract of minutes of the meeting addressed by Inkosi NTV at TSS.

Participants pointed out that the involvement of traditional leaders in the school faced some challenges emanating from existing legislation. Inkosi NTV complained.

“Nayo imthetho esikwiyona esibusayo ngasohlangothini luka Hulumeni, singeke sasho ukuthi mibi kodwa hlambe akubhekakale ukuthi yona iyakha yini noma ithekelwe kwenye indawo, bona eyathekelwa kubona abayisebenzisi ngalendlela. Banendlela abayisebenzisa ngayo. Mhlambe thina asikwenzi yini kuze kweqe. Nalokho kungadinga ukuthi sikubuke ukuthi sikumisa kanjani” [I am not saying government education laws are ridiculous but we must evaluate whether these laws are constructive. Possibly, they were simply adopted from other countries where they are applied differently from the way in which we do. Are we not going overboard in the way in which we apply these laws? That also needs to be evaluated and decisions be taken].

The extract above indicates that Inkosi in particular, and other traditional leaders generally,

held some views that are critical about some policy positions of the South African government. Clearly, the importance of contextualising policies is emphasised by Inkosi. Implicitly, the Schools' Act and other education legislations were blamed for the prevailing school problems including lack of clarity on the role that can or should be played by traditional leadership in schools, including the maintenance of learner discipline. Inkosi NTV insinuated that the education laws were foreign and possibly not applied correctly in the rural context of South Africa. In some instances, the strict application of these laws did not fit the purpose for which they were adopted. Inkosi yearned for the good old days and spoke against tendencies to disregard community approaches of instilling discipline while at the same time, attempting to raise children to become responsible citizens. Inkosi NTV expressed his wishes:

Isifiso sami esikhona ngakolwami uhlangothi, bengifisa ukuthi kube khona okushicilelwe phansi ngendlela enobunono. Kubenesihloko esihle futhi kube ney'ndaba okuyizona esikhuluma ngazo. Kungasukelwanga nje umuntu obey'hambela ngendlela, wayesebizwa ewumuntu ongekho endimeni yomthetho wezemfundo. Ngoba uma kube njalo kusho ukuthi iyongena kakhulu ehlathini. Asisho ukuthi ayingathathwa ngesilungu kodwa akesikuvume phela ukuthi nakudala abantu babevele bephila. Inhlonipho vele yayikubantu. Njengamanje sekukhona abantu ababonakala njengey'qhaza okungethathwe lutho kubo. Kodwa imfundiso yabo isalandelwa akekho umuntu okwakuthiwa ubanjwe ehamba ebusuku wadlwengulwa. Akekho umuntu okwakuthiwa ubanjwe ebusuku waphucwa impahla zakhe. Umuntu wayeba ukuhlwelwa angene kwamuntu, alambe umuntu endleleni athi 'isisu somhambi kasingakanani, singagentso yenyoni'. Angene kwamuntu adle, baze bamfakele nase shungwini lakhe ukuthi adle ngendlela eyaphambili, uyabona ukuthi uyakuwenzanjani la eyangakhona. Kwakungenje njenga manje la kufanele umuntu asabe omunye umuntu"

[Personally, my wish is that something in the form of legislation be carefully crafted under an appropriate title regarding education matters that we are discussing. This requires, not simply anybody, because that will derail everything. Instead, we would need someone with expertise in education laws and leadership matters. We are not proposing that Western approaches should be discarded completely, but let us admit that since time immemorial indigenous people lived a disciplined life. Currently, there are people who are regarded as primitive and whose voice is not worth considering. But, when they were in authority nobody

was mugged or raped simply because they were walking alone at night. During those times, when sunset caught up with a stranger s/he would get into the nearest homestead citing the African expression that says ‘the stomach of stranger is almost the size of a bird’s kidney’. Then, the stranger was received, fed and spent the night. On the next day, before leaving s/he would be given food to take along the journey. Unlike today where human beings have fears for other human beings].

The above extract depicts Inkosi NTV expressing his reservations about current value systems and practices that have moved away from caring for others, particularly, strangers, and protect women and strangers. This leader also decries the fact that indigenous systems of raising children are ignored and the participation of traditional leaders in school governance is not provided for in the Schools Act. Because of all these factors, it is difficult for invitational gestures to emerge from either the school or traditional leadership in the community. The invitational leadership on both the side of community and the school leaderships could not emerge easily due to the silence of the Schools Act on the role of traditional leaders in schools. Instead, it was the acts of indiscipline among the learners that attracted the attention of the traditional leaders. It is such realities that prompted Inkosi NTV to appeal for the amendment of the Schools Act. Although he was not specific to any one section of the Schools Act, but he was concerned about its silence on the role of traditional leadership in the schools. As he went on to narrate indigenous ways of leading a disciplined life, indirectly he was pointing on the deficient understanding of rurality and the role of traditional leaders in the context on the part of government officials. As a result, he proposed that someone with expertise in education law could craft an amendment of the Schools Act and introduce some provision for the role that traditional leaders can play in the schools. The suggestion was not to discard the Schools Act completely, but it was a response to a concern which emanated from the disregarding of indigenous ways of raising children to become disciplined people. Inkosi was opposed to the labelling people as illiterate and then ignore indigenous knowledge they possess even if it might be useful in certain contexts.

The views expressed by Inkosi NTV were also shared by other participants such as the principal and the SGB Chairperson who appreciated the need to partner with traditional leaders. Subsequently, there was a growing realisation among the participants that the collaboration and co-operation of community and school leaders yielded positive results. Hence, induna was co-opted to the SGB for the respect that traditional leadership commanded among the learners.

The significance of the TL role of commanding respect among learners was made by Mr Pepper when he commented:

Ukubakhona kwenkosi nezinduna kususiza kakhulu ngoba yibona abazi abantwana kangcono ukudlula thina. So ukubakhona kwabo eduze nesikole kuyasisiza ngoba abantwana abakwazi ukuthi bayiphathe noma yikanjani uma bazi ukuthi kuyenzeka noma ngasiphi isikhathi nibameme abantu abanjengenduna beze khona eskoleni. [The presence of Inkosi and Izinduna in school meetings assists us because they know learners better than we do. Therefore, their presence makes learners to conduct themselves better knowing that induna can be present in any of the school meetings].

The assertion by the principal that traditional leaders knew learners from the community and could map them to their parents was cited in support of inviting traditional leadership into school. The other reason behind the co-option of Induna was that he would play the liaison role by assisting in the speedy conveyance of school developments to the Traditional Leadership Council. Induna symbolised the presence of Inkosi in the school. In spite of the silence of Schools Act, about the role traditional leadership in schools, the SGB and local traditional leaders forged partnership nonetheless. It had become evident that the school alone could not resolve the issue of learners' indiscipline that had become endemic in the school. Thereafter, they refused to become victims of the gap and silence in the Schools Act and interacted to resolve the problematic situation before them.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented perspectives of the school principal, the SGB Chairperson and Inkosi regarding the role that traditional leaders play in the maintenance of learner discipline. The narrative data was generated from Thandimfundo Secondary Schools' perspective, and the discussion is organised into four themes that emerged from the analysis. The themes as indicated in the introduction included partnership with the community; cultural capital around school; actualising the role of traditional leadership and the enactment of invitational leadership. The next chapter will present the same issues as this chapter, but from the perspectives of Mluleki Secondary School.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN MAINTAINING LEARNER DISCIPLINE: PERSPECTIVES FROM MLULEKI SECONDARY SCHOOL AND SINONO COMMUNITY

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter Five, I presented a discussion on the role played by traditional leaders in Thandimfundo Secondary School. Views were solicited from the school principal, the SGB chairperson and Inkosi of the area, where the school is situated. In this chapter, I present a discussion on traditional leaders' involvement in learner discipline from the perspectives of the participants in Mluleki Secondary School (MSS). I begin the discussion by providing a profile of the school, the community and participants followed by the discussion of data that emerged from my engagements with various participants in this research site, namely, the principal, the SGB chairperson as well as Induna in the community where the school is located. There are four major themes that emerged from the analysis that will be discussed under the following topics: partnership with the community; cultural capital around school; actualising the role of traditional leadership (TL); enactment of invitational leadership (IL). The participants' *verbatim* quotes in IsiZulu will be incorporated in order to ensure data precision followed by the English translations.

6.2 The profile of MSS, the community and participants

The profile of the school and the community provides the readers with a context within which the participation of traditional leaders occurred. The school, the community and participants were given *pseudonyms* in order to protect their identities. Therefore, the discourse on profiles will begin with the school which was point of entry to the community, then the community and finally the three participants.

6.2.1 The profile of Mluleki Secondary School

Mluleki Secondary School (MSS) was founded in 1984 and was named after the grandfather of Inkosi Mphathi who is currently reigning in the community. MSS is located in the deep rural community, I call Sinono for anonymity purposes, and it is located within Ilembe District. It is

approximately 16km away from the nearest town and approximately 5km below the altitude of the town. The road to the community is tarred until the turn off to the school. From there the gravel road to the school is about 6km and it is extremely bad. In some areas, cars went through creeks and floors of dry rivers. As a result, during rainy days, the school was inaccessible. The school presented its first matric in 1996. The lack of reliable public transport led the SGB and parents into constructing cottages for teachers outside the fence at the back of the school. Cottages for learners from distant areas were also constructed outside the fence next to the main gate in front of the school. In the process they were able to arrest late coming and absenteeism of teachers.

As you approach the school gate, the homestead with more than 24 modern huts with corrugated iron roofs attract your attention. The homestead on the mountain side overlooking the school belonged to Induna, Mr Joyisa who works closely with the school. From this homestead all sides of the school were clearly visible (See Figure 3 in Section 8.4.3.1 of Chapter Eight). The school has two blocks of classrooms and the new administration block. One of the two blocks of classes, has a saggy roof with leaky corrugated iron. The pit toilets are shared between the school and the cottages. The school grounds consist of stones and bare ground with few indigenous trees which provided shade on sunny days.

The staff establishment of Mluleki Secondary School is summarised in Figure 8.

Number of educators	Principal	Deputy principal	Dept. Head	Level 1 educators	Security	Admin clerk	Cleaner	Grounds men	Food handlers	Learner enrolment
16	01	01	03	11	01	01	Nil	Nil	03	662

Table 7. MSS staff establishment breakdown and learner enrolment in 2019

The learner performance in Grade 12 from 2015 to 2019 is shown in **Table 9** below together with the 2002 and 2006 highlights where the school obtained 100% pass rate. Although Mluleki Secondary School is a school with multiple deprivations which are associated with rurality, it is one of the top performing schools in Ilembe District in terms matric results.

Years	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Matric pass rate	100%	60.6%	57.7	90%	92%	88.9%

Table 8. Matric results in MSS over the years

6.2.2 The profile of Sinono Community

Sinono community is a rural settlement which is about 16 km away from the nearest town. It falls under the uNtunjambili local municipality but it was also demarcated into *izigodi*. Izigodi can be loosely be understood to refer to subdivisions of the traditional ward. Each of these *Izigodi* has a traditional leader (Induna) who is in charge of the area and represents Isigodi in the Traditional Leadership Council (TLC). Small community disputes are resolved at this local traditional level. Mr Joyisa is Induna for Sinono community. The school is situated in the area which experiences dry weather for the most part of the year. Most rivers have run dry and the water tanker delivers water to the community at regular intervals. The aloe, cactus and other desert plants are common in the area. Homesteads consisting of huts surrounding the kraals of cattle and goats are common throughout the community. According Statistics South Africa (2016), the information to date about the area is summarised in Table 3 below:

Households using river stream/ river water	60%
Households getting Municipality water	1%
Households using pit toilets	95%
Female headed households	69,7%

Table 9. Household utilities in Sinono community (Stats SA, 2006)

6.2.3 The profile of participants

There are three participants who were interviewed in this site, namely: Mr Cool, the Principal of MSS; Ms T., the Chairperson of the SGB and Mr Joyisa, the Induna in charge of the community where MSS is situated. As explained earlier, the homestead on the mountainside near the school with a semi-aerial view of MSS belonged to Mr Joyisa. The names of

participants and school are not their real names. Instead participants were allocated pseudonyms in order to protect their individual identity. The summary of additional information about participants is shown in **Table 10** below.

Participant' name	Age	Gender	Years in the position	Level of education
Mr Cool (Principal)	42	M	9	Graduate
Ms T (SGB Chairperson)	48	F	2	Gr 7
Mr Joyisa (Induna)	67	M	26	Gr 6

Table 10. Particulars of MSS participants

6.3 Stories emerging from Mluleki Secondary School

The discussions that emerged during coding is presented under the four major themes as follows: partnership with the community surrounding the school; cultural capital around school; actualising the role of traditional leadership (TL); enactment of invitational leadership (IL). In order to ensure data precision the participants' *verbatim* quotes in IsiZulu will be incorporated followed by the English translations.

6.3.1 Partnership between MSS and the surrounding community

The level of learner discipline at MSS was appreciated by all participants. However, when I asked the participants to comment about the reasons behind the prevalence of the high level of discipline Mr Cool and Ms T heaped praises on the efficiency of Mr Joyisa, as Induna in the community. They admired him for the respect and authority he commanded in the community plus the continuous support he offered to the school. On the other hand, Mr Joyisa was modest and did not mention the impact of his role in the prevailing order both in the community and at school. Instead, he preferred to talk about the effective implementation of the school code of conduct and school policy plus the cooperation of teachers with the community. Nonetheless, the partnership between the school and the community was noticeable as positive. When I asked Mr Cool, the Principal of the school, about challenges posed by learners' deviant behaviours and how the school handled them, he confirmed that they experienced learner

misbehaviour. However, he was quick to say that learner discipline problems were not severe as in other places. This is how Mr Cool explained the state of discipline at MSS.

No izinkinga zikhona kodwa yinto engaxakile kakhulu..... When it comes to ama fights of learners, hayi angifuni ukuqamba amanga awekho. Isizathu esidala lokho yinduna yethu. Induna yethu iyaye yenze sure ukuthi uma izingane zifika lapha ixhumana ney'nduna especially zezigodi lapho kusuka khona izingane bese ezichazela ukuthi ke kulesisigodi lesi kuhamba kanjani, yini into elindeleke enganeni. So yikho ama faction fights singenawo iskhathi esiningi. Noma kukhona okufufusayo siyaye sithathe sibeke kuyona induna. Yona iyakwazi ukuthi ihlangane nenduna yangalapho ingane isuka ngakhona kanye nabazali and then izinto zisheshe zilunge. Kodwa kusenesisikhathi kwagcina ukwenzeka into enjalo. Mhlawumbe kwaku ko2004. [We do experience problems but not that much. When it comes to faction fights involving learners, I don't want to lie. We don't have such problems. The reason for that is our Induna. At the beginning of every school year, without fail, he contacts all izinduna of izigodi where learners come from and informs them about what is expected from learners. That is why we do not experience faction fights. When there is one that is simmering we report to Induna. He is in a better position to meet with the parents of the concerned learner/s as well as izinduna of Izigodi where the learner/s come from. That is how potential problems get prevented. But it has been a long time since such problems occurred. Perhaps, it was around 2004].

Sometime around 2004, isolated incidents of skirmishes involving learners were report. These incidents emerged from functions occurring during weekends in the community. When such challenges spilled over into school Mr Joyisa was always ready to assist. Ms T credited Mr Joyisa and the traditional leadership in general with the maintenance of learner discipline through solving major feuds affecting the school. Ms T elaborated:

Uma ebona uthishomkhulu ukuthi uyahluleka ukukhuza iy'ngane udlulisela udaba kwi-governing body. Ihlale phansi ixoxisane i-governing body. Uma nathi sihluleka siluthathe udaba siluphonse enduneni. Uma ngabe udaba luthinta izingane zezigodi ezehlukene induna ihlangana nezinye induna bahlale phansi, ku kukhuzwe izingane. Kahle kahle abantu abagcina besizile yizinduna kanye namakhosi bebambisene uma sekukhona izimo ezinzima ngaleyondlela. Uma sisodwa iskole, nathi sisodwa siyi-governing body iskhathi esiningi izimo ezikanje siyahluleka ukuthi sizilungise. Size sisizwe yizona izinduna ngokuxazulula izinkinga. Futhi uma zihlangene noma

yikanjani iyaphela leyonkinga. Akwenzeki ukuthi ingapheli. [When the principal realises that he will be unable to deal with a particular case of indiscipline, he would escalate it to the SGB. If we as the SGB encounter challenges with the matter we escalate it to Induna. When the problem involves learners from different izigodi, then Induna convenes a sitting which is attended by all concerned izinduna. The SGB on its own often fails to resolve such problems. As the SGB we rely on the traditional leadership for lasting solutions. Once they intervene, definitely the problems get resolved].

Participants concurred that the prevalence of indiscipline often reported in other schools was not experienced at MSS. The partnership of the school and the community was the main source for the prevalence of order and discipline at school. Speaking with a deep voice which is typical of traditional leaders, Mr Joyisa said:

Izigemegeme ezikhona kulez'ezinye izindawo azenzeki la. Angazi ukuthi kwenziwa yini. Izinto ey'ningi la azenzeki. Lana nje ngeke uzwe ukuthi kutelekiwe eskoleni, kushawa othisha, kwenziwani... Cha! Ayikho into enjengaleyo...Nomthetho wesikole ukhona kubazali ngoba njalo uma kuqala unyaka siba nomhlangano, ngoba i-high school iyahlupha. Inabantu abasuka kude kwezinye izindawo, abenza imikhuba yabo bese behamba beye kwezinye izikole bafike benze izinto ebekade bezenza emuva. Ngenhlanhla ke la eMluleki baba, nohlanyahlanyayo uyafika athathe lapha ngoba ufika athole ukuthi kubanjiswene. Othisha babambisene nathi singumphakathi sibambisene. [Major incidents of indiscipline which are prevalent in other areas do not occur here. I am not sure, why. Such negative incidents do not happen here. In this place you will never hear that there was a strike here and teachers were assaulted and so on... No! There is no such a thing....The school policy is embraced by all parents because at the beginning of every school calendar year we convene a meeting. A high school is problematic because there are learners who come from distant places who bring along all sorts of mischief from their previous schools. Fortunately, here at Mluleki, even someone who is a bit crazy comes here and behave well because we are interconnected. Teachers work hand in hand with the community].

Although Induna, at first, claimed not to know why major incidents of learner indiscipline did not occur at MSS but the vibrant partnership between the school and the community was highlighted and was noticeable. Induna was characterised as an umbrella - someone who was open to consultation and often approached by the school and the community to preside over

serious commotions. His fair and firm intervention was praiseworthy by all participants in the school. As a result of Induna's highly visible leadership in the school and community, the SGB decided not to co-opt him to the SGB, but instead preferred to work closely with him so that he could provide neutral views on matters affecting the school and the community. At the beginning of every school calendar Induna was afforded a slot in the opening meetings attended by teachers, learners and parents where he unveiled how learners were expected to conduct themselves in the community and by extension, also in the school. He also welcomed teachers back in community as they would have been away during December holidays. In return, Induna was introduced to newly appointed educators. Such events also helped the newly appointed teachers to understand the relationship between the school and the community structures such as traditional leadership. Elaborating on the close relationship the school enjoyed with traditional leadership, Mr Cool explained:

Umuntu esike simsebenzise kakhulu iyona induna kodwa futhi, hayi ngoba isekomidini. Ayikho ekomidini. Asiyifaki ekomidini. Iseceleni ngoba sabona ukuthi yiyona eyi-umbrella, eyi-overseer, esikoleni nasemphakathini. Yiyo engakwazi futhi ukuthi iseluleke uma sifuna izeluleko. Uma simsondeza eduze sizohluleka ukusebenza kahle naye. Kungcono athi qekelele lapha kude, ehe. So ke siyesebenze naye kanjalo, bese iskole siy'qhubekela ne governing body. Ngoba naye uma...hlambe kunentwana ozoyibika kuye umbuzo wokuqala awubuzayo ukuthi usuyitshelile i-governing body na? Yenza njani i-governing body? [We often work with Induna but not as a member of a committee. He is on his own and not a member of the SGB. We decided not to co-opt him because he is an umbrella, overseer both at school and in the community. He plays an advisory role when necessary. If we bring him close we will not be able to freely work with him. He must be free to work independently. Then we can go on with the SGB. If any matter is brought to his attention, his first question is 'have you informed the SGB? What did they say?']

Mr Joyisa played a liaison role between the school and the community at large. The principal and the SGB felt that co-opting him into the SGB was going to subject him to being partisan. Therefore, they worked closely with him but acknowledged that he had an overarching role to play as a traditional leader in the community. Expectations of the community from the learners, the teachers and the parents were conveyed by Mr Joyisa in the school opening meeting. Mr Cool explained:

Okunye okuyekubalulwe yinduna kakhulu: izingane azivumelekile la endaweni ukuhamba ebusuku njengoba sinezingane ezisuka kude. Lokho iyakuqinisekisa ukuthi ikukhuluma nabazali, emhlanganweni wabazali igcizelele. Iphinde ibuye futhi izogcizelela lapha esikoleni kuzona iy'ngane ukuthi anihambi ebusuku. Okwesibili eyayikugcizelele ukuthi akekho onelungelo lokuthi ashaye omunye umuntu - ukuthi izingane zishayane zodwa. Cha akuvumelekile lokho. Okunye eyayik'gcizelele ukuthi uma umuntu enekinga kumele maka riphothe ukuze athole usizo. Inkinga ayisolwva ngenye inkinga. Uyaye akugcizelele kakhulu lokho ubabuJoyisa. Neminye imithetho ekhona endaweni. [What Induna normally conveys is the following: Learners are not allowed to loiter at night, as learners coming from distant places may be tempted to do. Induna ensures that this is announced in parents' meetings and also re-iterates to learners here at school. Secondly, he stresses that assaulting another person is prohibited – fighting is forbidden. No! It is strictly forbidden. Further, anyone who encounters a problem must report. A problem cannot be solved by creating another problem. Mr Joyisa highlights that and other restrictions which apply in the community].

The rules conveyed on school opening at the beginning of the year cut across the school and the community. School rules which apply to learners were clearly made known to the community and *vice-versa*. The welcoming of teachers back to MSS by Mr Joyisa who was respected and admired in the community made educators and learners feel safe and appreciated in the community. Lack of major incidents of learner indiscipline at the school could be partly attributed to such cordial gestures between the school and traditional leadership. Mr Joyisa was known to have keen interest in educational matters and abhorred the disruption of classes by any one. He supported all initiatives that were meant to improve schooling. As a result, teachers embraced his support. It was not surprising that the focus of educators at the school was on teaching and learning. Mr Cool explained:

Induna ingumuntu othandayo ukufunda futhi umuntu othanda kakhulu into enhle. Uma usukhulume naye ubabu Joyisa, uyakwazi ukukukhulumela kahle nomphakathi. Wenza ukusebenza kwethu kubelula siyisikole. Nezinselelo esibanzayo njengakho ukubangelwa umsindo abantu bezimoto eduze kwesikole uyakwazi ukuthi asisolwele khona. Once sarephotha nje kuye, leyo moto iyo trey'swa. Kugcine kuze kufikwe kuye umshayeli axwayiswe ngokuthi akusondeli muntu ongavumelekile eskoleni. [Induna has keen interest in learning and appreciates progress. If you discuss something with

him, he is well spoken to convey it to the community. He makes our work to be easy. He attends to even challenges of car drivers making noise outside the school premises. One day we reported a car that made noise near the school. Induna used his structures to trace the driver of the vehicle. He was found and reprimanded].

In spite of the school being regarded as one of the best in the district in terms of matric learner performance, the principal had high aspirations and was not pleased with their matric pass rate. The matric results were contrary to the huge support they received from the community plus the high commitment levels of learners and teachers. The principal pondered about the reasons for such an inconsistency. Watching learners swiftly getting back into classes after break, Mr Cool murmured:

Isikole sigcina si-dealer nje nokuthi ingane ilovile. Sibuze ukuthi uloveleni esikoleni? Nokuthi ingane idojile, sigcina sesi-dealer nalokho ke. Yikho ngihlezi ngikhala ukuthi awayi-touch i-ceiling ama results akulesikole. Awafiki la engifuna afike khona, angazi ukuthi ilahlekaphi ngoba i-support siyithola left and right uyabona. I-support ngiyayithola, angeke ngikhale yabona. Namanje nazi izingane zigcwele, sekuyafundwa ke manje. Zingenile, ayikho engaphandle zonke zingaphakathi. [As a school we end up dealing with minor cases such as absenteeism; asking learners why they have been absent and also truancy. That is why I always complain that our pass rate does not reach our expectations. I don't know what is wrong because we receive support left and right. I cannot complain about it. Even now you can see classes are full of learners. Tuition is in progress. All of them are in class. No one is outside].

The partnership between the school and the community has helped reduce time spent holding tribunals and other sittings dealing with serious cases of learner indiscipline. The school had to deal with issues of teaching and learning as well as minor cases such as absenteeism, which various class and/or subject teachers could easily manage. In order to understand the reasons for the state of discipline at MSS the prevalent culture in the surrounding is worth presenting.

6.3.2 Cultural capital on discipline

In the community, Mluleki Secondary School was treated with respect as if it was another homestead. Although teachers were from distant urban areas, Induna welcomed them and

accorded them respect as residents of the community and made them to feel at home. In the spirit of Ubuntu teachers were often invited to attend family festivities during weekends in the community. The culture of mutual respect was extended to and expected from teachers. Any negative interaction with the school by certain elements in the community was reported to Induna who dealt with it accordingly. In accordance with the African culture traditional leaders led by Inkosi would reward school excellence as a motivation to teachers and learners.

Teachers were indirectly made to feel like part of the community. In the process, they enjoyed the convenience of easy access to the traditional leadership and community services. During the time when the school water tanks were empty, in the absence of the local councillor who had recently been assassinated, teachers could easily approach the local Induna for assistance. Mr Joyisa explained:

Ngangikhuphuka la ekuseni nje angazi ukuthi ngangiyaphi. Bangivimbela bathi babu Joyisa i-water can ingenhla kwesikole manje. Awusicelela ukuthi bazosithelela amanzi la. Asiwatholi amanzi. Nangempela ngama yaze yafika. Ngathi kubo: 'Laba abantu aba la ema cottage, abomphakathi. Bacela ukuthi eskoleni manifika amanzi nibaphe. Nabo bayithina, bayapheka la, bafuna ukugeza, bafuna ukwenza yonke into. Bapheni nabo amanzi basizakale'....phela othisha bakhile bayizakhamizi bakhile. [Early in the morning one day, I was walking up, past the school. I was approached by teachers who asked me to request the water tanker to deliver water at school because they had no water. Indeed, I waited for the water tanker on the side of the road. Upon its arrival, I told them that teachers residing in cottages are part of the community. I requested them to also give them water to cater for their daily needs since they are citizens as well in this community].

The welcome and the greeting of teachers in the spirit of Ubuntu by Induna played a major role in cementing the interconnection between the school and the community. The communication channels were open for the information to flow. Mr Cool explained:

Okunye okuke kungisize ukuthi othisha bafika babingelelwe yinduna uma kuqala unyaka. Iyafika nje ithi ngizonibingelela nje. 'Sanibonani bothisha. Nidle kahle uKhisimuzi' kanjalo, kanjalo. Nalokho kudlala indima yakho kuveze ne-role yabo enhle. [What is also advantageous to me is that teachers are welcomed by Induna when schools open at the beginning of the year. He comes to school just to greet. He

greet and asks them about the Christmas holidays and so on. That also plays a big role in depicting the positive role of traditional leaders in schools].

The coexistence of the school and the community was evident when teachers and learners mingled informally when attending functions in homesteads outside the schools. Parents and other community members in attendance would be ecstatic to be in the vicinity of teachers beyond the formalities of the school premises. On such occasions, teachers got introduced to parents of learners and *vice-versa*. In the process the school-community partnership and trust got strengthened. The interaction between the teachers and the parents opened easy channels of communication between them. Mutual understanding was enhanced. Mr Cool elaborated:

Uma kunomsebenzi endaweni nje nakhona emuzini wenduna wona lo ongaphesheya. Induna iyathetha uma singafikanga. Kufanele siye. Umasesifikile sihlale kube mnandi. Sibuse nabo bonke abantu becommunity. Induna ibatshela ukuthi othisha laba bey'ngane zethu. Abazali abaningi-ke bayasazi. Bajabule bababaze: 'Hawu othisha beyingane zethu!' Uthole ukuthi bayasibingelela kumnandi kusemcimbini. Yonke imicimbi yalapha siyayihamba. Sivumelekile ukuyihamba. Bayasibiza abazali, bayajabula futhi uma sinabo. Lokho kudala si-bond-e kakhulu ne community. [When there are family functions in the community and even in homestead of Induna, he would not be pleased if we did not pitch up. We are expected to attend. Once we have arrived, we sit down and feast together with the rest of the community. Induna would introduce us, the teachers of their children. Parents knowing us would come and talk to us. We often attend most of such functions. They invite and welcome us upon our arrival. That strengthens our bond with the community].

The discourse of maintaining discipline through the use of culture is not only about functions and festivities but it is also used to raise children with the culture of respect which is enshrined in Ubuntu.

6.3.2.1 Upbringing of learners

The data indicated that the issue of raising children in the community and in the school was viewed as critical, and both environments feed into each other. When children misbehave in the school, teachers will ask questions about what is going on at home and *vice versa*. In the

context of this study, it came out clearly that the children of Sinono community were raised to uphold respect above everything else. Issues of respect would feature in a variety of activities such as poetry, traditional songs, and traditional singing in the form of for example, isicathamiya and dance was encouraged through age cohort groups aimed at promoting high morals among youth. Mr Joyisa elaborated on the significance of respect:

Ayikho into edlula inhlonipho ngisho ungathathwa ubekwe phezulu le, kodwa uma ungahloniphi. Ngisho noma ungaba nemali eningi kodwa nje uma ungahloniphi, awuyilutho nemali yakho. Inhlonipho into ehamba phambil. [Nothing surpasses respect. Even when you appointed to topmost position and be filthy rich but if you are not respectful you are nothing together with your wealth. Respect comes first].

Even ordinary people in the community expected learners not only to behave well in their homes but also in the community and at school. Mr Joyisa continued:

Ayifuneki ingane ebudedengu. Nabantu basemphakathini uqobo abazidingi izingane eziluvanzi. [There is no need for learners to misbehave. Even the community does not want unruly children].

In order to encourage uniform behaviour, Ingoma dance, Isicathamiya and Maskandi youth groups regularly performed during community celebrations and functions. The annual Reed Dance which is organised by His Majesty the King occupied the young girls of Sinono with preparations to participate in the celebration. Among the requirements for girls to participate in these celebrations is being a virgin until she gets married. Induna explained:

Kukhona omama abagade wona amantombazane ngendlela yokuziphatha nokuthi baziphathe kanjani ukuzilungiselela ukuya emkhosini womhlanga. [There are women who look after young girls by teaching them how they should conduct themselves in preparation for attending the Reed Dance celebration].

Often some people in the community become unruly. Cultural measures of maintaining discipline conveyed a strong message to every potential culprit that the school is not the place to do mischief. One way in which respect was promoted in the school and in the community was that of sensitising the learners about the deeper meanings of committing a crime and the

notion of taking responsibility for wrong doing. This had a more spiritual meaning rather than just paying a penalty for wrong doing. Examples of a cultural and spiritual ways included paying a goat to the family negatively affected, thus appeasing the ancestors. Mr Cool narrated a story of outsiders who disrupted the order of the school operations when walking past the school gate:

Khona abafana abadlula la ngomunye unyaka, bathuka, bathuka iphoyisa lasesangweni lesikole sami. Abafana abangale kwalesikole lesi. Sekuk'dala kodwa ngyakhumbula kwenzeka. Kwadingeka ukuthi indaba siyithathe siyise kwinduna ngoba yayenzeke ngaphandle kweskole. Kodwa sahlambazeka. Induna yaxhumana ney'nduna zangale. Icala labuya lazokhulunywa la. Lwakhulunywa lolodaba lolo, kwagcina kuthiwa hayi izingane azilethe imbuzi, zigeze inhlamba. Nebala abazali bazo bayigeza inhlamba kwaqhubeka kwaba right, kwangaba nankinga. Hayi kwashwelezwa kwadlula futhi. Akubanga khona lutho futhi emva kwalokho. Yilokho futhi okwasisiza ke kwasetha isbonelo sokuthi akudlalelwa esikoleni. [During a certain year some boys went past the school and started hurling insults at the security guard at the gate. They were from another isigodi beyond the school. It was long time ago but I can still remember it vividly. Although the matter happened outside school but we felt insulted. The matter had to be reported to Induna. Izinduna from both izigodi came together to sit for the hearing. Finally, the boys were found guilty and consequently each one got a fine of a goat to cleanse the school and the security guard. Their parents complied and fought goats. Thereafter, there was no problem. That assisted us by conveying the message that the school is not a place to do mischief].

In the African culture a goat is slaughtered, among other reasons, in order to perform sacred cultural rituals involving ancestors. Therefore, merely taking a goat from the family kraal in order to cleanse the wrongful deeds conducted by someone in the family was a disgrace not only to the perpetrator but also to the whole family. Therefore, people avoided to be involved in squabbles that could compel them to give away a goat. The understanding that when learners engage in serious misconduct at school, their misdemeanour may result in the payment of such a big penalty in the form of a goat, discouraged them from engaging in disgraceful activities. Punishment was not the only way that was utilised to maintain learner discipline. Sometimes, traditional leaders rewarded good behaviour and excellence in order to motivate and encourage good conduct among the youth and the learners. Awards functions were organised where

excellent performance was celebrated and motivational speeches presented. Mr Cool narrated one such an example:

Ngo 2009...2007 saphasa kahle yajabula inkosi yaze yasihlabela inkomo khona lapha ngaphakathi. Kwaba umcimbi kwadliwa, kwamnandi. Kwaba yinto emnandi kakhulu, as a result nje lokho kwadala ukuthi i-culture yokufunda nokufundisa iqhubekele phambili. Si recognise-ziwa i-excellence yethu uNdabezitha kanye noMkhandlu wakhe. Noma yena wayengekho ngelanga lomcimbi kodwa nje umkhandlu wonke wawukhona including ubaba uJoyisa, induna yethu eyaze yaba yisikhulumi. Nalaba ababewumkhandlu nabo bakhuluma. [During the years 2007 and 2009, we as a school performed well in matric. Inkosi was so pleased such that he offered us a cow to be slaughtered. Indeed, the function was organised and the cow was slaughtered. There was jubilation on school campus. As a result, the culture of teaching and learning was enhanced. Our success was being acknowledged by Inkosi and his Traditional Council. Though Inkosi was not personally present but the Traditional Council was present. Mr Joyisa and others even gave speeches].

In their weekly meetings traditional leaders discussed developments in the community and school progress in its various dimensions. These meetings were also used to enhance the continuum of the African value system across the generations in the community. As a result, discipline in the community and learner performance in schools was closely monitored. Relevant resolutions to curb disorder in the community and support schools were adopted during the Traditional Leadership Council (TLC) meetings. The end of the year results were also discussed in order to provide support to schools, when necessary. This was done despite the silence of the Schools' Act on the role of traditional leadership in school governance. What is becoming clearer is the manner in which schools and the communities are working closer together, particularly, in the area of learner discipline and promoting effective teaching and learning. Explaining the collaboration between the schools and the communities through traditional leaders, Mr Joyisa explained:

Njalo ngoMsombuluko nangoLwesine siyesihlangane njengoMkhandlu sizokhuluma ngezinto okufanele zenzeke nalezo okungafanele sizivume ukuthi zenzeke la endaweni yakithi ukuze izingane zingaphumi endleleni, zibe abantu. Ngoba esikulwela kakhulu ukuthi izingane zikhule zibe abantu for ikusasa lethu.... Uma uphela unyaka siyesihlale phansi sixoxe ukuthi izikole zenze kanjani. Uma isikole esithile singenzanga kahle Induna elapho kulesosigodi siyicele nethimba layo ukuba

isondele kuthishomkhulu baxoxisane ukuthi kungenziwa njani. [Every Monday and Thursday we meet as the Traditional Council to discuss things that must be promoted and those that have to be discouraged in the community. This is done in order to keep children on track and promote humaneness. What we are striving towards is that our children must grow up and be humane for our future as a nation... When the year ends, we sit down and discuss the performance of individual schools. If a certain school has not done well Induna where the school is located, together with his team would be requested to meet with the principal and discuss the way forward].

The extract above clearly indicates that the community in which schools are located have a keen interest in what is happening in the schools, and when they were not performing well, it was a concern to them. It is also noted that traditional leaders' discussion of the happenings in the communities and in the households took care of numerous social ills that had a potential to cause indiscipline among affected learners. Traditional leaders looked after children who had various social problems including the broken-down families. In this Sinono community the problems of schools and learners who needed assistance were discussed and brought to the attention of traditional leadership as a structure. As a result, the problems of broken-down families were not a major issue among participants. Induna explained:

Kuke kwenzeke hlambe umzali othile eze eskoleni, hlambe ezokulwa ukuthi ingane yenze ukuthi. Hlambe uze ngengane esiyaziyo ukuthi ngisho ekhaya iphuma eceleni iluhlaza. Sim'buze ukuthi lengane yakho ekhaya angithi iyukuthi nokuthi nokuthi... [Sometimes some parents come to school under duress to take the side of a child who is charged by the school. Often such learners are known to be undisciplined even to their parents. In such a case we disclose what we know to the parent and how ill-disciplined the learner is even at home].

In this regard traditional leaders expose the weaknesses of a learner to the parent and the court. In return, sometimes the unruly learner together with the parent who is often a guardian tenders an apology after realising that they have no facts to back their case. Induna explained that such children are grandchildren who are left behind by single parents who seek jobs in distant towns and cities.

In brief the values which are enshrined in Ubuntu such as interdependence and communalism, respect for self and others as well as acknowledging capabilities of other people were vital in the maintenance of discipline. Traditional leaders as symbols of stability in the community also augmented community continuity. These Ubuntu values could be seen as part of the cultural capital of enhancing order and discipline in and around Mluleki Secondary School. However, the role played by traditional in maintaining discipline leaders and how they are experienced in Mluleki Secondary School is a trajectory that can bring clarity to this matter.

6.3.3 Actualising the role of traditional leaders

The data indicates that schools benefited by working collaboratively with communities in dealing with learner discipline and other matters. Without this collaboration, schools have limited access and understanding of the learners' situation, while traditional leaders have a comprehensive picture about the learners. Traditional leaders often kept vital information about families and individuals in the community. In some instances, Induna harboured information about the conduct of individuals including learners within their families. Such information was very vital when informed decisions had to be taken during hearings.

6.3.3.1 Experiences of traditional leaders working with MSS

Traditional leaders were in a better position to provide information about people in the community including learners compared to SMTs in Mluleki Secondary School. This observation was made when some parents hid information from teachers but could not conceal it from the rest of the community. Parents hid some information about their children if they thought it would compromise the position of their children during the hearings. However, traditional leaders would expose pieces of such information in order for the meeting to make informed decisions. In short, a broader picture about the learners' conduct and records would emerge because of the collaboration between the school and traditional leaders. Elaborating on this matter, Mr Joyisa had this to say: *“Hlambe silalele udaba lwengane esiyaziyo ukuthi ngisho ekhaya iphuma eceleni, ikuhlaza. Siyamtshela umzali wayo ukuthi siyayayazi ingane yakhe ukuthi injani ekhaya. Besesimbuza ukuthi yini acabange ukuthi manje uma lengane isises'koleni izokuyeka lokhuya eyikho ekhaya ilandele lokhu okushiwo esikoleni?”* [For instance, when we are sitting for a case involving a learner who is known to be ill-disciplined even at home, we do tell the parent that we are aware how indisciplined the child is even at

home. Then we ask him/her why s/he thinks that the learner will suddenly abandon being undisciplined and obey the school rules].

6.3.3.2 Traditional leaders' practices of maintaining learners' discipline in MSS

The other important role of traditional leaders was ensuring the safety and security of people in the community as well as the school and its property. Traditional leaders looked after the safety of people inside school and the school property in general. In that regard, learners and other elements for outside school who had a potential to be unruly had no chance to engage in such activities. Traditional leaders had a network that was on guard. Mr Cool explained:

Yah ubuholi bendabuko bubambe iqhaza elikhulu ekwenzeni thina bothisha sizizwe siphephile. Ey'dlini zethu asikhiyi thina la ngaphakathi eskoleni. Sikhiya uma sithanda. Asinawo ngisho ama burglar guards. Sithembele ekuthini indawo yethu i-right, iqoqekile. Sizizwa siphephile; siyakwazi nokufundisa iy'ngane ngasosonk'isikhathi, kungaba semini noma ebusuku. Futhi siyazi ukuthi izingane kulesisigodi lasisebenza khona, ziphephe ngokwanele. Nenkosi iyay'ifike la eskoleni isivakashele nje. [Yes, traditional leaders play a major role in safety and security. As a result, we feel safe such that we hardly lock our cottages. We don't even have burglar guards because our place is safe enough. Even Inkosi does pay us courtesy visits].

Induna regarded any person without respect in that community to be as good as a nonentity. Respect is a thread that runs across the African continent in spite of cultural diversities (Kamwangamalu, 1999). It is one of the co-values of Ubuntu which are upheld as a pillar of discipline in the community of Mluleki Secondary School. Induna expounded:

Ayikho into edlula inhlonipho ngisho ungathathwa ubekwe phezulu le, kodwa uma ungahloniphi awulutho. Ngisho noma ungaba nemali eningi kodwa nje uma ungahloniphi, awuyilutho nemali yakho. Inhlonipho yinto ehamba phambili.namanje okungithokozisa kakhulu ngothisha ukuthi bayazi ukuthi la kufanele ukuthi babambisane nabazali ukusebenza. Ngoba phela uma kungabamjiswa ngeke kubekhona ukusebenza okuhle. Othisha la eskoleni lokhu sabakhona lesisikole akukaze kubekhona ingxabano. Ngisho nje kuthiwa kunamacala eskoleni, uthisha ubani uxabene nothisha othile, hayi! [There is nothing that supersedes respect. Even if you can be promoted to high positions but without respect you are nothing. Even when you are filthy rich but if you don't show respect you are a

nonentity together with your riches. Respect comes first....right now I am pleased with the manner in which teachers interact and cooperate with parents. Without cooperation there will be no synergy. Since the inception of this school teachers have never experienced conflicts even among themselves. Never!].

Induna regarded mutual respect among the teachers and the learners, as well as, among the teachers themselves as key to the maintenance of learner discipline. Teachers have consistently demonstrated to be good role models to the learners in term of respect and discipline to their learners. Implicitly, learners followed on teachers' behaviours as their role models next to them. All the participants regarded respect as the pillar of maintaining learner discipline at Mluleki Secondary School. The high level of respect accorded to Mr Joyisa as Induna in the community suited his role of maintaining order and discipline in the community. When the principal was asked about the level of respect which was accorded to traditional leaders he ran out of words to describe the high levels he had observed. What this suggests is that Induna showed respect for all such that people in the school and in the community held him in high regard. What the data indicates as well as the notion of reciprocation in terms of respecting others. Elaborating on this point, Mr Cool had this to say:

Hayi....., hay..., hay.... Yinto enkulu kakhulu induna. Hayi! Yinto enkulu kakhulu induna. Iyalalelwa induna la! Kodwa futhi ngeke ngithi ey'nganeni kuphela...kuwonke nje umuntu. Uma kuthiwa kukhulunywa ngenduna la endaweni. Eyi.....! Angazi uma kuthiwa kukhulunywa ngondabezitha kodwa induna le esinayo uJali, uma kuthiwa kukhulunywa ngaye noma kukhuluma yena noma kubizwe yena....kusuke kunzima kabi... Okwenza lokho ukuthi ungumuntu oqondile kakhulu. [...Induna is someone who is highly respected....highly respected. He is respected not only by the learners but by everybody. When talking about Induna in this community, Wow! I cannot describe the high level of respect Mr Joyisa enjoys. I don't know how much more respect there is when we talk about Inkosi. For instance, when a case warrants that the current Induna, Mr Joyisa must be invited to preside in the proceedings, that is often a very serious case. Mr Joyisa is a straight talker and upholds justice].

The implication of these comments is that there are levels of respect which were accorded to traditional leaders which are higher than those which were given to other people in the community including parents and teachers. Further his comment on the respect for Inkosi which says, "I don't know how much more respect there is when talking about Inkosi" Implied that the respect for Inkosi was even higher than that of Induna such that he did not even have

the words to explain it. Clearly, Mr Cool observed various levels of respect in the community although he did not quantify them. Nonetheless, such a respect could be a result of invitational leadership that embraces trust and respect for others. Therefore, the discussion of the principal and induna as invitational leaders that will follow can assist in this regard.

6.3.4 Enactment of invitational leadership by traditional leaders and principals

In this section I discuss how invitational leadership was enacted by traditional leaders in this community. Although Induna was such a respected leader in Sinono community and Mluleki Secondary School, he trusted and respected other people to add value in his leadership. The use of invitational leadership in MSS can be ascribed to both Mr Joyisa, Induna, and Mr Cool, the principals. While the study focuses on the role played by traditional leaders, it is also evident that the principal played an important role in opening up the school space for easy communication between the school and the community through Mr Joyisa's leadership. The positive view and the welcoming of teachers on arrival at school after holidays was characteristic of Mr Joyisa's invitational leadership. In return, the principal invited Induna to address learners and parents at the start of every school year. He justified his actions and appealed to other principals in the similar rural contexts to do the same. Mr Cool gave details about the invitational leadership of Mr Joyisa:

Ikhona into ebeyenziwa ubabu Joyisa ekuqaleni ngisanda kufika la kulesis'kole, ubethi uma ebiza i-community meeting athi ubofika khona uzokwazi ukukhuluma namadoda futhi uzowazi amadoda ala endaweni. Kujwayele ukugcwala amadoda kakhulu kulemihlangano ngoba amaningi asebenza emadolobheni, asuke engekho uma izikole zivuliwe. Ngi-drive ke ngisuke eThekwini ngize la emhlanganweni womphakathi obizwe yinduna. Ngifike ngihlale nje. Bese ithi induna, 'hayi ngizonitshela la madoda ukuthi nangu uthishomkhulu. Kukhona into afuna ukuyidlulisa naye. Akubanjiswane nje ngoba ufundisa izingane'. Futhi babe right abantu bajabule abasuke bengibona beku le meeting. Nembala ngethule umbiko ngesikole. Ngisho okuhle okwenzekayo kanye nengikhala ngakho. [When I arrived at MSS for the first time, there is something that Mr Joyisa used to do. He would invite me to attend the community meetings he convened. He would say, 'you must come so that you can know and understand men in this community'. These meetings were predominantly attended by men who work in big cities who are away during schooling periods. Then, I would drive from Durban in order to attend the meeting

called by Induna. During the meeting Induna would for example, say, ‘countrymen, I introduce the school principal to you. There is something he wants to also convey. Let’s cooperate with him since he teaches our children’. They would be pleased to be with me. Then, I would report about progress at school sharing successes and my concerns].

Induna was passionate about education and extended his trust to the new principal. As an invitational leader, Induna trusted that Mr Cool would be collaborative and cooperative. Mr Joyisa took an initiative to invite Mr Cool to participate in some community meetings and was also granted a slot to communicate school matters. As a result, the principal got the opportunity to sell new initiatives to the heads of homesteads. He also utilised the slot to clarify community concerns about the school proceedings. The resolutions of such meetings had a major influence on the school’s Annual General Meetings and on the school policy. As a result, Mr Cool invited Mr Joyisa to school opening meetings so that he could address the learners on how they were expected to conduct themselves in the community and in the school. Mr Joyisa explained:

Bake bacele othishomkhulu ukuthi babu Jali unyaka uqalile ingane zigcwele eskoleni ezinye ziqhamuka ezindaweni ezikude, ngicela ukuthi uze esikoleni uzozinika ulwazi lwendawo. Ukuthi kulendawo esihlezi kuyona yini efunekayo, yini engafuneki. Bangibize ukuba ngizoqondis’ izingane ukuthi kuphilwa kanjani la. Bese ngiyeza ke ngifike ekuseni ngesikhathi somthandazo. Uthishomkhulu bese enginikeza ithuba ke lokuthi ngikhulume nazo izingane, ngiba nikeze izinto ezingafuneki kulendawo. Kubenjalo nje wonke unyaka. [Often, teachers request me to come and address the learners at the beginning of the year. This is because some of the learners come from areas which are not under my jurisdiction. They would ask me to inform the learners about what they can and what they cannot do, as well as, how people live in this community. Then, I go there during the morning assembly to address the learners what is allowed and what is prohibited. Indeed, that is what learner would do throughout the year].

The school was treated as part of the community and *vice versa*. Uniform code of conduct that applied in the community also applied to the learners in school including those who came from areas beyond the jurisdiction of Mr Joyisa. Consequently, the SMT and the SGB were partly relieved from explaining these community expectations to the learners. Instead, they had to deal with other important issues such the codes of conduct and other school matters. Mr Cool

justified the invitation of Induna to address the learners at assembly and recommended it to his colleague principals. He said:

Ngeke ufike i-community uyike ibe laphaya uthi uzoyibiza muzukwane kunenkinga. If o principal basemakhaya especially njengami engila emakhaya, bengakwazi ukuzinika iskhathi babuke i-environment iskole sikuyona, bese bebuka uhlobo lwe community. Ukuthi i-community abayi-serve-vayo la injani bese emva kwalokho babe nendlela yokuzisondeza kwi-community. Kungekho nkinga nje noma kungonakele lutho nje, bayisondeze i-community khona bezokwazi ukuthi bayijwayele, baxoxe nayo. [You cannot distance yourself from the community and hope to get support from them when problems arise. Principals, like me, of schools in rural areas ought to give themselves time to understand the environment where their schools are located, understand the type of community they are serving and then decide on how they can work in partnership with the community. Opening communication channels with community can be done without waiting for skirmishes to emerge].

Both the Induna and the principal displayed characteristics of being invitational leaders. They had respect and trust for each other's leadership. In saying this, I am not in any way suggesting that once a person shows respect for others, that person immediately becomes invitational. In making this claim I have considered a whole range of activities and beliefs about what others can and should be allowed to do. A number of these principles are discussed in Chapter Three and the presentation of data has indicated that such principles are embraced in the practice of leadership by both the traditional leader in this community and the principal in this school. Because of such disposition of these stakeholders, members of the community held them in high esteem.

6.4 Conclusion

Chapter Six has presented a discussion about traditional leaders' role in maintaining learner discipline at Mluleki Secondary School, drawing from the perspectives of the school principal, SGB Chairperson and Induna. What can be concluded from the discussion is that the school and the traditional leader worked collaboratively in handling various issues affecting the school. Besides the involvement of traditional leaders in maintaining learner discipline, it has become quite clear that the welfare of the school was considered to be of paramount importance by traditional leadership in the community. The safety and security of the teaching staff and

learners was prioritised. In short, I can say with confidence that the school and the community worked together in ways that demonstrated the value of integration of both structures, the school as an organisation and traditional leaders as custodians of community values and community life. The next chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the same issues, but from Hlobani Secondary School's perspectives.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN MAINTAINING LEARNERS' DISCIPLINE: PERSPECTIVES FROM HLOBANI SECONDARY SCHOOL AND EMFULENI COMMUNITY

7.1 Introduction

In the previous Chapter, I presented and discussed the circumstances regarding learner discipline from the perspectives of participants of Mluleki Secondary School and Emfuleni Community. Participants in this research site consisted of school principal, SGB Chairperson and Induna of Sinono Community, where the school is situated. In Chapter Seven, I present, first, the profiles of the third and the last site, Hlobani Secondary School (HSS), Emfuleni Community and three participants. Then, I proceed to discuss data from the perspectives of these three participants, principal, SGB Chairperson, as well as, Inkosi in the community where the school is located.

7.2 The profile of the school, the community and participants

The profiling of the community and the school provides the reader with a context within which to comprehend the role played by traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in the school. Readers are also given vital information about the school, the community and the participants in order to understand their perspectives. The school, the community and the participants were given *pseudonyms* in order to protect their identities, and thus comply with ethical practice.

7.2.1 The profile of Hlobani Secondary School

Hlobani Secondary School (HSS) is situated in the deep rural area next to the banks of Emfuleni River (not its real name). Hlobani Secondary School is about 13 km away from the nearest town. The school has electricity and the road to the school is tarred up to the gate. During the years prior to 2008, the school experienced unbearable learner indiscipline which almost led to

the closure of the school. The possession of dangerous weapons inside school premises was common. As a result, cases of stabbings of learners by other learners were rife. In one horrible incident, a learner was shot and killed during the afternoon assembly. In another incident the principal was shot at close range during assembly and the bullet went through his face and got out in front of the ear. Luckily, he survived and continued to manage the school. However, after the 2008 incident, the conduct of learners improved. The total staff establishment stood at 16 educators comprising a principal, 1 Deputy Principal, 3 Departmental Heads and 11 teachers. In addition, the school also has 1 Administration Clerk, 1 Security guard and 3 Food handlers as the school participates in the National Nutrition Programme. Staff establishment is summarised in Table 11.

Number of educators	Principal	Deputy principal	Dept. Head	Level 1 educators	Security	Admin clerk	Cleaner	Grounds men	Food handlers	Learner enrolment
16	01	01	03	11	01	01	Nil	Nil	03	512

Table 11. HSS staff establishment

HSS is one of the three secondary schools which are about 10 km apart from one another in the area. Learner enrolment is slightly above 500. Learner performance has been mediocre for the past 4 to 5 years. It is only in 2018 and 2019 that the National Senior Certificate results were above 60%. A summary of learner results in the National Senior Certificate for the years 2014 to 2019 are summarised in **Table 11**.

YEARS	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Matric Pass rate	28%	47%	36%	55,9%	65,6%	65,5%

Table 12. HSS matric results over the years.

7.2.2 The profile of Emfuleni Community

The Emfuleni is a rural community which is situated 13 km away from the nearest town. According to Statistics South Africa (2016), the information to date about the area is as follows: the settlement type of the community is completely rural, with 57% of the households using

water from the river stream or rivers while only 1.2 % got water from the municipality water tankers which are delivered on weekly basis. Ninety percent of the families used pit toilets. Importantly, 69.3 % of the families were female headed households. This can have serious implications for the maintenance of discipline among the youth as most of the male adults can be described as ‘absent fathers’.

Utilities	%
Households using river stream/ river water	57%
Households getting Municipality water	1,2%
Households using pit toilets	93%

Table 13. Household utilities in Emfuleni community (Stats SA, 2006)

The level of formal education in the Emfuleni Community is very low, and this reality is not surprising as this is typical of many South African rural communities. Only 0.8% has formal education beyond Grade 12 or matric as it is commonly called in the country, while 15.7% has Grade 12 certificate. Thirty three percent has never been to school. Table 14 summarises education levels and also marital status in this community. The level of education and marriage status of the adult population in the community is summarised in the **Table 14** below.

Marital status	Percentage		Highest level of education	Percentage
Married	12,5%		No schooling	33.5%
Living together like married partners	4.0%		Some primary	31%
Never married	82%		Completed primary	2.8%
Widower/widow	1.3%		Some secondary	16.1%
Divorced	0.1%		Matric	15.7%
			Higher education	0.8%

Table 14. Highest levels of education and marital status in the Emfuleni community (Adapted from Stats SA, 2016)

7.2.3 The profile of participants

There were three participants from this site, namely Mr Brave, the principal; Mawisa, the SGB Chairperson and Inkosi Mphathi who is the senior leader in the traditional Leadership structure of Emfuleni Community. The highest levels of education of the participants is summarised in Figure 15 below.

Participant name and portfolio	Age	Gender	Highest level of education
Mr Brave, principal of HSS	61	M	Post graduate
Mawisa, SGB chairperson	45	M	Post matric diploma
Inkosi Mphathi of Emfuleni	44	M	Matric

Table 15. Particulars of HSS participants

Mr Brave was in the process of retiring after 22 years of working as principal of HSS. He grew up at Emfuleni Community and obtained his post matric education at the University of Zululand. As the principal of HSS, he spearheaded the building of the administration block and other blocks of classes. He had vast experience and possessed the wealth of knowledge about the school and the community. He once experienced being shot by a learner at close range but survived. His capability to manage school finances earned him the respect of the community. As a result, Inkosi entrusted him with the task of managing the finances of the traditional leadership authority and worked closely with the Traditional Leadership Council. Mawisa is the SGB Chairperson and the former SAPS detective. He has vast experience of investigating the origins and causes of conflicts. As a consequence, he would advise the Induna on whether or not the merits of a case warrant the involvement of the TLC or the matter warranted the engagement of the SAPS. At the time he was pursuing his studies at the FET College while conducting small businesses in the community.

Inkosi Mphathi was indeed Inkosi. He completed matric in HSS under the principalship of Mr Brave. He had Izinduna who managed Izigodi on his behalf. Induna of Sinono, in the previous chapter was one the most respected Induna. But the community of Emfuleni did not have Induna who could be regarded as the authority in the area. However, Inkosi Mphathi was

respected, admired by the community and had expansive knowledge about traditional leadership and how they engaged with the schools in the area.

7.3 Stories emerging from Hlobani Secondary School

The discussions is presented under four major themes that emerged from the analysis, and these are, establishing and sustaining partnership between the school and the community; cultural capital around school; actualising the role of traditional leadership; enactment of invitational leadership. In order to ensure data precision, the participants' *verbatim* quotes in IsiZulu will be incorporated followed by the English translations.

7.3.1 Establishing and sustaining partnership between the school and the community

The issue of creating partnerships between schools, especially those located in rural areas and the communities where they are located has persistently shown to be difficult. I have highlighted this issue in Chapter Two and more discussion about empirical studies on this important issue are found in the next chapter. The data presented in this chapter indicates that this kind of partnership was deemed critical in dealing with learner discipline in the school. Respect and discipline emerged as among the most important values embraced by the community of Emfuleni. These values were expected from all members of the community including the learners in schools. However, the conflicting past versus the present experiences with learner discipline at Hlobani Secondary School was contrary to the general community expectations. The community assessment of the current discipline in the community, particularly the behaviour of the learners in HSS sometimes differed from participant to participant. For example, the history of Emfuleni Community indicates that conflicts and violence had become a dominant feature in the lives of the community. As a result, teachers feared for their lives. Because of the fear that the teachers in HSS had, they prioritise their own safety and did not want to get involved in the maintenance of discipline among the learners. Rather, they surrendered the maintenance of learner discipline to the SGB. By establishing partnership with traditional leaders, the school managed to salvage the school from the state of learner indiscipline and chaos.

When I asked the participants to comment on the levels of learner discipline at HSS, they were unanimous in their response that the learner discipline had drastically improved. They also echoed similar sentiments on the positive role that was played by traditional leaders in containing learner indiscipline. In order to make me understand the conduct of HSS learners in previous years the principal told shocking stories. This served as a background to how they arrived where they were at the time of the interviews. Mr Brave said:

Iskole lesiya, sabanezinkinga impela. Kangoba enye ingane yafa khona lapho; igwazwa enye emthandazweni. Hmm, yafa impela. Kwase kuphunywa emthandazweni ntambama. Yagwaza yafa. Ngizama njalo ukubeka isimo sokuthi, nibone ubunzima esivela kubo before hlambe umuntu axoxe. Othisha nje heyi kwake kwaba nzima impela. Kothisha bekuba khona iykhathi la uthola khona ukuthi useshawa yingane yeskole. Mina ke yavele yakhipha isbhamu yangidubula impela. Sahlala enyameni, abantu abakholwanga. [That school once had serious problems such that one day a learner died on the sport during afternoon prayers. He was stabbed by another learner and died instantly. I am trying to make you understand the context and the difficulties we faced before we can proceed with the interview. There was a difficult time when the teachers were beaten up by the learners. My case was worse because the learner simply pulled out a gun and fired at me. The bullet hit me but I survived because we are created by God].

The school used to be like a battle field for both the teachers and the learners. Nobody was sure of coming back alive after getting into the school premises. The school was virtually like a war zone. The principal with his SMT experienced difficulties when attempting to execute policies prescriptions and the codes of conduct as adopted. The principal was once shot at the face in broad daylight and the bullet came out through the ear. Teachers were easily beaten up by the learners. Whoever tried to exercise authority became a target. That is when teachers resolved to focus on teaching the few disciplined learners who remained in class, ready to be taught. Other learners who chose to loiter outside class being unruly were free to do as they pleased. Mr Brave continued:

Kufike iskhathi lapho sithi sizofundisa osekilasini. Kulungile ongafuni ukufunda siyamyeka. Uma beshayana kulungile. Kodwa uma besondela eduze kwethu asizobathatha njengey'ngane. Zashayana ke zasho ukubulalana. Bangenelela abazali. Umhlangano wabizwa abazali, hhayi thina iskole. Yilapho bafika khona ke

abazali bacela inkosi ukuthi ayingenelele. Yangenelela ke inkosi nenduna. Hhay bacela yangenelela ke inkosi. [There came a time when we resolved to teach those who wanted to be taught. We did not bother about those who did not want to learn. When they beat one another, we did not intervene - it was fine; however, we resolved that if they got too close to us we were not going to treat them as learners anymore; we would treat them as assailants and retaliate. When they went for each other's throats, only then did parents intervene. The meeting was convened by parents and not by the school. In that meeting, parents resolved to ask Inkosi Mphathi to intervene. Indeed, Inkosi together with Induna intervened. All along their perception was that traditional leaders had nothing to do with schools. That is how Inkosi was invited to intervene].

The utterance, "if learners got too close to us we were not going to treat them as learners anymore" suggests that teachers had reached a stage where the learners had to be treated as enemies and the teachers had to defend themselves by retaliating when attacked by the learners. The violent situation inside HSS forced parents who had been aloof from the school to take steps to resolve the situation. They requested the traditional leadership to intervene. That is how the partnership was initiated between the school and the community, particularly traditional leaders. Traditional leadership led by Inkosi Mphathi convened the community meeting where agreements on the expected conduct of learners were reached. Inkosi Mphathi explained:

Njengoba uzibona sezinjena izingane, hhayi ngoba zilungile ukuthi thina njengobukhosi, umkhandlu kanye nabazali bazo sikhale phansi sakugcizelela ukuy'phatha komtwana. Siqoqe nomphakathi, abazali, kwakhiwa isivumelwano esithize ukuthi ingane ethize eyotholakala yenza into enje la Emfuleni, iyojeziswa ngokuthi kube kanje. Kuyazethusa ke lokho izingane. Noma ke singakusho kugcwale umlomo ukuthi hhayi ey'koleni zakithi hayi asikakabi nenkinga le esiyizwa ema redweni nasendaweni ezinye eziqhelile. [The conduct of learners as you see them now is not because they by nature are well behaved. It is due to our intervention as traditional leaders and the Traditional Leadership Council and the parents. In our meetings we emphasised the significance of good learner conduct. In the community meeting attended by parents, we came to the agreement about how learners are expected to conduct themselves and they would be punished when they broke those rules. That instilled fear though some learners tend to easily forget. But we can

gladly say that in this school, learners have not been as problematic as we often hear over the radio what learners do in other places].

Echoing sentiments on how the role of TL was received by the department of education, Inkosi Mphathi commented:

Ngokungenelela nje kobukhosi kwalunga konke. Nomhloli wabonga. Manje isikole siya siyasebenza. Ngokwakhe umhloli, ngoba wayengasenayo i-solution beyi-department, kwase kungukuthi asivalwe isikole ukuze kuphephiswe ingane zingabulalani. [The Circuit Manager had no other solution but to close the school in order to prevent learners from killing each other. As traditional leaders, we realised that closing the school was going to be a disadvantage to the learners. We resolved to take disciplinary measures against the culprits. Due to traditional leaders' and the community's intervention, the problems were solved and the Circuit Manager expressed his appreciation. As we speak, the school is fully functional].

While the parents and the traditional leaders were seeking the solution, the Circuit Manager was preparing to close the school in order to avoid further turmoil. That was the mooted solution by the Department of Basic Education which was about to be implemented without the consultation of other stakeholders, in particular, the traditional leadership. Hence, Inkosi intervened in HSS and later expressed concern about the government's eagerness to take unilateral decisions such as the abolishment of corporal punishment and the introduction of alternative measures to corporal punishment that were not as effective as one would have liked. Inkosi Mphathi lamented:

Kukhona ukungaziphathi kahle kwezingane njengoba sazi ukuthi uHulumeni wasishintshela indlela esasiphila ngayo, walawula ukuthi izingane zingabe zisashawa kanti ingane yayikhuliswa ngokuthuswa, ukuze iqonde indlela ukuthi ikuphi. [Learner indiscipline exists as we all know that government changed the way we used to do things. Instead, it prohibited the use of corporal punishment when we know that it was used to scare learners away from wrong doing].

It is noticeable and pleasing that although learners do not fear anything now, in terms of punishment, still their conduct has improved and teaching and learning is happening. However, during the time of conducting this research fear for traditional leadership authority was the main factor behind learners' discipline improvement. Participants heaped praises on the positive role played by the traditional leaders towards minimising incidents of learners'

indiscipline in HSS. Mr Brave expressed similar sentiments expressed by Inkosi Mphathi about policies of the department to maintain learner discipline in schools. Mr Brave said:

Lapha kulesiskole nakuba kuyakhulunywa ukuthi sisekhona, kusize bona ubukhosi lobo noMkhandlu wenkosi kakhulu kabi. Angithi izingane zizokwenza noma kanjani ngoba zazi ukuthi othisha abenzilutho, abanamandla. Yingakho ke kwaqhamuka inkosi isithunywa ngabazali noMkhndlu ke. Thina ngokubuka kwethu asisho ukuthi ngeke kusebenze, kodwa into eyenza ukuthi kungabi nawo amazinyo ukuthi kujika le kude. [The prevention of the closure of this school is a result of the traditional leaders' intervention. Inkosi and the Traditional Leadership Council played a major role. We cannot do much if the TLC members who are in the SGB can be withdrawn. Parents and learners regard the TLC members as authorities. In their absence learners can do as they please knowing that that teachers have not authority over them. They are helpless. Hence, Inkosi intervened. Talking to the learners is not anyone's business. It is for people who wield authority like members of the Traditional Leadership Council. If they say to a learner, 'go and come back with your parent' that happens, but not when teachers say the same. Government measures are ineffective. We are not saying they cannot work, but our opinion it that following government procedures takes too long while the situation gets worse].

What I have noted is that traditional leaders enjoy a lot of respect in the community, and because history and other related factors, traditional leaders continue to wield authority in rural communities. Traditional leaders and even members of the Traditional Leadership Council (TLC) were respected and admired by the parents and the learners. Traditional leaders, as well as, members of the TLC were in a position to give marching orders at Emfuleni Community. In spite of the positions and the high levels of education they held, school leaders and other democratically elected leaders in the community, such as Ward Councillors, were not as respected as traditional leaders were. Therefore, the SGB worked closely with traditional leadership structures. Actually, they admitted that they were also in favour of utilising the traditional leaders as a means of restoring learner discipline in school. However, as members of the SGB they did not wield much authority as traditional leaders do. Coincidentally, school security happened to be a member of both the SGB and the traditional council. Therefore he was helpful in presenting school cases that were outsourced to TLC. Mawisa explained:

Thina njenge governing body siyingxenye ka hulumeni. Kukhona lapho khona noma ubona ukuthi la kufanele sithathe isinqumo sokuthi ingane kufanele siyiphanishe kodwa uthole ukuthi asikwazi ngoba umthetho awusivumeli..... Udaba siludlulisele kubo. Silekelela inkantolo sibazise ukuthi cha siphenyile la sathola ukuthi udunguyane lolu lususwe yinasi isizathu. [By virtue of being members of the SGB which is a structure of the department, we are part of government. Even when we think of punishing a learner we cannot do that because the law prevents us from doing so. Government can get into problems if we, as members of the SGB, do these things. For that reason we chose to work with the tribal court. We investigate the matter and then hand it over to the court where Inkosi, Izinduna and the community sit for it. We only attend the court proceedings as witnesses because the matter may have started either at school or in the community but glitches emerge at school. We assist by providing the findings of our investigation].

The integration was not only between the school and traditional leaders, the South African Police Services was also involved. The SAPS were part of the safety and security committee. The SGB utilised the investigation experience of Mr Mawisa as a former detective to refer cases to the police. Mawisa elaborated:

Igalelo lamaphoyisa nelobukhosi bendabuko, likhulu kakhulu. Vele into esuke idingeka eyikoleni it's a joint operation. Kufanele kuhlangele wonke umuntu ukuze sikwazi uku-tackle-lishwa izinkinga ezikhona, more especially lezi zokulwa kwabafundi. Ngoba azigcini esikoleni. Ukulwa kwabafundi kuphumela emphakathini. Lokho kusuke kuwadinga wona amaphoyisa. [The role of the SAPS and the traditional leaders is vital. After all, the joint operation involving everybody is necessary if problems including learner skirmishes are to be prevented. These learner problems do not remain within the school premises but they spill over to the community, the terrain of the police. For that reason, the SAPS were approached to be part of the safety and security committee].

One of the most effective strategy in dealing with issues of safety and security is information and gathering of intelligence. This is an area where Mawisa was strong as a former police detective. He established informers in the community and also among learners at HSS to gather information about planned conflicts. As a result, there were numerous potential skirmishes at HSS that were prevented before they could erupt. Such

information was conveyed to the principal and other relevant structures for speedy reactions. Mawisa explained:

Kufana nokusesha iskole nginolwazi olunzulu lwakho. Ama-informers ami ayangitshela eminingi imikhuba enzakalayo edalwa ama-syndicate enzakalayo. Uyabona nje eyikoleni uma kuzoliwa khona into engayi-tshelwa ama-informers ukuthi i-security njengoba ingeyesilisa nje lapha egeyithini, aliziseshi izingane zamantombazane. Vele umthetho awuvumi. Ngakho ke izikhali zingena namantombazane. Ocelemba, izibhamu, nemmese yonke lento isuke isezikhwameni zezincwadi eziphethwe ngamantombazane. Kokunye zisuke zisemzimbeni emantombazaneni ngoba awaseshwa. Ngithi ngifika eskoleni nothishomkhulu sikwazi ukuyigwema ingakafiki, ingakalwi eskoleni ngoba sisuke thina sinayo i-information yokuthi khona into ezokwenzeka. [I have also played the role of being the investigator for the school. My informers relay to me numerous syndicate activities in the school. They inform me about ways of smuggling weapons into school during faction fights. Since the security guard at the gate is a male weapons are carried by girls because he is not allowed to search them. Knives, guns and other weapons are carried in bags of the girls and on their bodies because body search is not conducted on them. There is collaboration among the learners as well. But my sources inform me and together with the principal we prepare preventative measures in advance before fighting can start. We do this because of the information at our disposal].

In most schools in the Emfuleni Community, including HSS, security guards at the school gates were men. When the emergence of skirmishes in school were suspected, the searching of learners focused on boys. Surprisingly, through the use of the informers, Mawisa gathered information that the girls were often used to smuggle weapons inside school in preparation for the faction fights. Learners became aware that body searches of girls by male security guards were unlawful. Therefore, they used the strategy of using girl learners to assist boys in smuggling weapons inside the school premises by carrying them on their bodies. Mawisa conveyed the information to the principal and numerous potential fights were prevented when weapons were intercepted.

Collaborative efforts of the school and the community provided solutions to numerous cases which were behind the turmoil at HSS. Participants hailed the joint efforts of the school

together with the community leadership structures. Inkosi Mphathi expressed his appreciation for the school-community partnership. He emphasised the significance of the collaboration between the school and the community. Appealing to the community to collaborate with the schools, Inkosi Mphathi said:

Into nje engingayisho ebalulekile yikho nje ukuthi sikugcizelele emphakathini wakithi ukuthi siwumphakathi, sizihlaka zobuholi, asibeni yingxenye yezikole. ...Kwenzeka yonke into: ubugebengu, kuyagqezwa. Ngoba nje okungabanini bazo izikole umphakathi uqhelile. Kufanele kube nalokho ukuhlangana umphakathi neskole, ukuze iskole sivikeleke. [I am still emphasising the importance of the cooperation of the community with schools in order to prevent anything that gets out of hand. If it is the community that is distancing itself from schools, that makes it easy for any criminal activity such as burglary to happen. This happens if the owners of the school (parents) have distanced themselves from the school. The school and the community must come together so that our schools can be secured].

Other participants also concurred that the traditional leaders played a major role in bringing back the learner discipline. Mr Brave praised the traditional leadership when he said:

Ngingakusho ngingananazi ukuthi abantu abasisizile kube yibo laba abaholi obashoyo, i-local leadership - laba esikhule ngaphansi kwabo izinduna kanye nawo amakhosi. Yibona abasisizile kakhulukazi kuleyandawo yethu. [I can say without hesitation that people who came to our rescue is the local leadership, Amakhosi and Izinduna – leaders under whom we were raised. Those are people who assisted us in our community].

Although Mawisa also concurred with other participants but he had concerns about the general community attitude towards education, particularly, the parents who appeared not to care about the education of their children. Mr Mawisa elaborated:

Izinga lokuyiphatha kabi eyikoleni likhona kodwa ke likhona nje lenziwa i-environment noma indawo noma inqubo yendawo ezikhulela ngaphansi kwayo... Kwangithusa kakhulu ekufikeni kwami ngo 2010 kulendawo ukuthi abantu bakhona abanandaba nemfundo. Abantu bakhona abafundile. Indawo esikuyona i-environment, kahle kahle la khona ukufunda kuyinto engabalulekile. Kunjengokuthi

nje abantu bayaphoqwa. Yingakho nje izingane zi-negative ngalendlela. [The level of poor conduct in schools is there but it is due to the environment under which learners are raised. Upon my arrival to this place in 2010, I was appalled to realise that people in this community do not care about education. After all they are not educated. Those who go to school do so in order to reach matric. They do not care whether they pass or not; so long as they reach matric. Our environment does not encourage education. Those who do go to school do so as if it is a burden. That is why learners have such a negative attitude].

Emfuleni children had no inspiration of going to school other than to reach Grade 12. Whether they passed or not that was not important. After all, the level of illiteracy in the community was high. On average, the majority of parents had only the primary school level of education (see **Tables 15 and 16**). The parents would easily accept that the child is dropping out of school without questioning such a decision. Mawisa justified his assertion:

Kulula nje ukuthi umzali omunye umuzwe ethi, “hayi ingane iyekile, ithe iya eGoli”, kube kanjalo nje. Wena wenzeni? “Hawu bengizothini mina?” Uma ithi futhi ayisafuni kuphelile. Yiyona eshoyo ukuthi ayisafuni. [It is common to hear parent saying “my child has quit school and going to Gauteng”. When you ask for their position as parents they say, “What was I supposed to say?” meaning that parents follow what their children decide. Their children are the ones who have a final say whether or not they go to school].

In spite of the challenges relating to high levels of illiteracy and other challenges at Emfuleni Community, the school and the community were able to partner and bring manage discipline at HSS. Inkosi Mphathi summarised the *status quo* on discipline in the community of HSS when he said:

Izikole nje zivikelekile ngenxa yomphakathi - Izinduna, amaphoyisa enkosi, umphakathi nje uqobo wamadoda endawo. Ayazi nje ukuthi iskole akuyona indawo yokugangela ukuthi kuzoba khona ofuna ukugqokeza noma wenzani. Ngoba ngisho indoda izidlulela nje eskoleni ibona umuntu, ihlaba umkhosi manje ukuthi hayibo nansiya indoda. Ifunani eskoleni? Ngenxa yokuthi kunalokho kubambisana. [Schools are safe due to the joint cooperation of the community together with Izinduna, SAPS, Amaphoyisa enkosi and men in the community. Everybody knows that the school is not a place to do mischief – doing burglary and other such

activities. Ordinary men passing by seeing someone inside school would spread the word around questioning why s/he is in the school premises. It all happens because of the partnership].

7.3.2 Cultural capital on discipline

Emfuleni Community was still committed to upholding the values of Ubuntu to high esteem. African expressions and proverbs were cited regularly as a way of relaying centuries' old wisdom to younger generations. Although boys and girls were taught in their age cohorts for purposes of entrenching Ubuntu values, it was evident that the level of respect among youth was gradually dwindling. The number of learners who were authorities to themselves had drastically risen. Some participants blamed the break down in family structures while others blamed the government's intervention programmes as the main reasons behind the waning culture of respect. For instance, participants as adults firmly believed that it was their responsibility to raise the youth to become respectful citizens, and that this should be done their own way. Young people were still expected to learn from adults. Similarly, parents had the responsibility to extend community values to the young ones to avoid pushing these values to extinction. Inkosi Mphathi asserted:

“IsiZulu siyakusho ukuthi indlela ibuzwa kwabaphambili. Uma ke thina abadala sizohoba sithi sizoba ngemuva shuthi sibulala ikusasa lezingane zethu” [IsiZulu expression says: seek the direction from those who have travelled that route before you].

Participants noted that respect among the learners was sliding and concurred with Inkosi who suggested that there was a need to get closer to the youth in order to revive human values. For instance, the expression which says ‘your child is my child’ or paraphrased for children we would say, ‘your parent is my parent’, this expression was gradually diminishing in practice. Mawisa complained:

Ubuntu bona buyaphela, ukuhlonipha kwezingane kwehlile. Izingane zamanje sezenza ezikuthandayo. Sebacitheka bugayiwe. Akusafani nanjengoba thina esikhathini sethu, sasazi ukuthi umunt’omdala ukuthi noma engowasiphi isibongo, uma ewubaba nje uwubaba nakimi. [Ubuntu in fading, learner respect has diminished. Today’s children do as they wish. It is unlike what happened during our times. We knew that an adult male regardless of the surname if he was addressed a

father by others he was my father too].

For the purpose of understanding the significance of African values such as respect it is vital to understand how these values were infused in the upbringing of children in order to shape the conduct of learners, the youth and subsequently, the Emfuleni Community as a whole.

7.3.2.1 Upbringing of learners

Participants aspired to influence learners to raise children in the African way which had the emphasis on respect for all in the community. Traditional leaders as custodians of community customs and cultures are well placed to ensure that children in their respective communities are brought up in ways that are consistent with African values as understood in the communities. Emphasising this point, Inkosi Mphathi explained:

Kubalulekile phela ukuyiphatha kahle kwezingane ngoba silindele lukhulu kumntwana kusasa. Uma ezo-behaviour ngendlela engeyona kusho ukuthi izwe lethu alikho. Ngoba iningi lethu kuthina abantu abadala asikhonanga ukuthola lamathuba okuthi sibe nemfundo. Ngakho ke ukuze sibe negama nathi sakhe izwe, kumele ukuthi siqaphele ukuthi izingane zethu ziziphatha ngendlela. [The conduct of learners is vital because we expect a lot from them in future. If they are going to misbehave it means that our nation has no future because most of us, the adults, did not get the opportunity to be educated. Therefore, if we are to be counted among other nations we need to be careful about how our children conduct themselves].

This view was expressed by all participants in this community. Traditional leaders expressed awareness of the fact that the community placed their hopes of retaining their culture of respect and other values on the shoulders of traditional leaders, particularly Inkosi who is the head of traditional leadership. Although respect was diminishing among the youth but traditional leaders continued to mould young people using traditional leadership structures. Inkosi clarified:

Njengobukhosi sisakugcizelela lolusiko especially ezinganeni zamantombazane. Kunomama abadala abasebekhulile abayala baphinde bahlole amantombazane ngama weekend. Mhlawumbe nge-weekend eyodwa enyangeni kuba nalezozindawo ezisebenzisa izikole ukuthi bayihlale izingane ukuze njalo uma sekufike iskhathi somhlanga zikwazi ukuya emhlangeni. Nabo abafana siba nazo ithangamu zokuthi

umfana uyiphatha kanjani ukuze abe indoda kusasa. Awuhambi ulala ney'gane zabantu nje uthi uzoba indoda ksasa. Kuneskhathi obekelwesona ukuthi cha ke manje usungahamba ke uyoqasha intombi ushele ukuze kuvuke umuzi wakini. Kunalokho nje ukuthi ziyakhuliswa ngendlela. Umfana adlule ey'gabeni zokuba umfana hayi umfana athi esuka abe yindoda, usemithisile, usenzani! [As traditional leaders we still emphasise the importance of our culture to girls and boys. Girls attend their monthly sessions conducted by women once a month. In these sessions the girls are taught how they should carry themselves. They also participate in voluntary virginity tests in preparation for attending the annual Reed Dance Ceremony which is organised and attended by the King. We also have sessions for boys where they are taught how to approach manhood. There are stages where boys are allowed to engage in courtship in order raise their families. We raise them properly. Boys must go past the stage of being young boys and become men. They must not go around impregnating girls!].

Young girls and boys attended weekend sessions once a month. Boys and girls met in separate venues for different activities. In addition to lessons on how the youth ought to conduct themselves, girls also underwent voluntary virginity testing. This was one condition that must be met by those who aspired to participate in the annual Reed Dance Ceremony organised by the King. Similarly, boys had manhood lessons which they had to undergo which included being disciplined and also abstain from premarital sex. The collaboration of the school with traditional leaders enabled Inkosi and Izinduna to address learners during the first few weeks of school opening, particularly in the secondary schools. This was done in order to prevent learners from getting into mischief due to ignorance of the school and community rules. These were unpacked at school. Inkosi asserted:

Zingaze zone siye siziyale nje zisafika eskoleni. Sithi njengoba kuqala u Januwari silindele ukuthi nizofunda. Uma kukhona ophazamisana naye omunye umfundi, musani ukulwa bikani udaba lwenu kuthisha luxazululwe nifunde. [Before learners can violate the rules we go to the school to address them. We tell them that we are expecting them to learn. If there are conflicts with anyone they must not fight. Instead they must report it to teachers who will resolve the matter].

Notwithstanding these attempts to support teaching and learning by traditional leaders, participants mentioned other social factors that hampered proper upbringing of children in the

community. They presented challenges that disrupt processes of properly raising the youth and also curb learner indiscipline. The breakdown in family structures was among the main culprits which formed the basis of learner indiscipline both at school and in the community. This challenge was new to Emfuleni Community. Therefore, it required innovative approaches to resolve and even restore respect among learners.

7.3.2.2 Breakdown of the family structures

The problem of learners with absent parents due to a variety of reasons was rife in the Emfuleni Community. Some learners were orphans and in the spirit of Ubuntu such learners were adopted by relatives and families in the community. The worst situation was where young single mothers left their children with their grandmothers and went on to live in big cities. While living in these cities they would register for the child support grant. Upon receiving it, they would not send the money to the grandmothers who take care of their children. Fathers disappeared in the cities and were not known. Meantime, some of the grandmother were expected to raise the grandchildren. Also, some were too old and sometimes sickly to be able to attend the parents' meetings and also cater for other learners' needs. Mawisa lamented:

Zikhona ke ingane ey'ningi ngakithi ezingenabo abazali. Uthole ukuthi mama ndini wayithola Ethekwini. Nayo lengane akaziwa noyise, kway'nina loyo wayishiya la nogogo walibangisa eThekwini. Kuyezwakala futhi ukuthi usewashona. Ziningi ke izingane ezinjalo ngakithi. Sibone nje ukuthi kufanele ibe nje. Kufanele zenze ngaloluhlobo kungenxa yokuthi ayizange ikhulele ngaphansi kwesandla somzali. Ayikwazi ke phela ukuthi ingahlala entabeni. Kukhona umuzi ehlala kuwona. Umuzi ehlala kuwona, sekungabazali bayo ke labo. [There are many children in the community who have no parents. You find that the mother had the child with unknown father in Durban. These young mothers live their children with grannies and disappear to big cities. Later on, we hear that they have long passed on. There many children in our community who live with such a dilemma. Then we understand why they behave as they do. It is because they never grew up under the guidance of parents. But such children cannot live in the mountains. They live in certain families where they have surrogate parents].

When learners from such families misbehaved the challenge was the unavailability of parents who could be given the misconduct reports and then represent the learner during the tribunal.

In some instances where parents attended the tribunals, they would be glaringly biased in favour of their children. Participants asserted that some parents were compelled by socio-economic circumstances to defend the indefensible deeds of learners. Mawisa elaborated:

Kukhona abazali emakhaya abahlulwa zingane, hhayi ngoba bethanda ukuhlulwa yizingane, kodwa isimo sempilo siyakwenza ukuthi bagcine abazali emakhaya sehlulwe yizingane. Uyabo uma ngake ngibeka umzekelo: Uzothola ukuthi ekhaya kuney'ngane zamantombazane zintathu, zingabafundi. Zontathu zizele zinezingane. Ubaba nomama lay'khaya abasebenzi. Uthole ukuthi lezizingane zithola i-grant zontathu. Uma kuno-wrong lezizingane eziwenzayo laph'ekhaya kuyinkinga ukuzikhuza. Ubaba uzithola ewu baba nje; athi uphakamisa izwi ethi hheyi, emzini wami akwenziwa lokhu. Kuthiwe kulungileke ngoba usho kanje sokesibone ukuthi uzodlani. Ngoba i-support yalay'khaya nebhodwe eliya laphana estofini liya ngenxa yalababafundi. Yibona ke manje asebebhondla lay'khaya. Sekugcina abazali nabo bebuyela phansi sebeyithulela ngoba vele lokho sekubangindile amandla. [Some parents are not authorities to their children, not out of choice. The socio-economic situation dictates that parents must become helpless. Let me make an example: You find in a certain family there are three girls who go to school. Both their parents are unemployed. All three girl learners have babies who receive social grant. If these girl learners go out of the way they are difficult to control. If their father tries to stamp his authority, they say fine but we will see where your food will come from because the girl learners control the purse. They now control the household. Parents end up keeping quiet because they have lost control and authority].

Participants observed that some parents who were unemployed had less authority over their children who received child support grant for their babies. Parents were unemployed and also not old enough to receive old age pension grant. Such a situation was becoming a norm in the community. There were many learners in the community who received child support grants and used that money to buy their family groceries and other leisure items such as cigarettes for penniless smoking fathers. Subsequently, parents in such a predicament were somehow obliged to return favours by for example, protecting their children when facing disciplinary hearings. Often, they would be in the form of taking the side of learners during tribunals even when such learners had glaringly violated the school codes of conduct. These are some of the instances that indicate a breakdown in family structures and values that are normally held by adult persons.

7.3.3 Actualising the role of traditional leadership

Traditional leaders were praised by participants and in all corners of the Emfuleni Community for playing a major role in maintaining learners' discipline. Participants told various narratives in support of this perspective. Some of measures taken by traditional leaders in maintaining learner discipline were within the prescripts of the law while others were not. Nonetheless, the strategies they adopted in the maintenance of learner discipline in the community and in Emfuleni schools were praiseworthy. The SGB Chairperson of HSS was elated when talking about the state of learner discipline at the school. Mawisa bragged:

Thina sikhululekile cishe iminyaka mithathu manje ngingu-sihlalo we-governing body noma mine, angisazi ngigcine nini ukuhambisa abafundi kwi-tribal court. Kodwa nje isimo sokuziphatha kwezingane la sise-right. Ingane iyazi kahle ukuthi uma ikeyathi ithinta enye nje, kuthiwa 'izomthola unduna usibanibani enkantolo. [For almost three or four years as the chairperson of the SGB, I cannot even remember when last did we have to outsource the case involving learners to the tribal court. The conduct of learners is fine, so far. If a learner thinks of beating others, often you hear others saying: 'Induna will make you to face the consequences in the tribal court].

Due to bad experiences with learner violence in the past, it had been agreed that teachers should outsource cases of learners' indiscipline to the Traditional Leadership Council. Participants mentioned serious reasons for resolving to excuse teachers from being part of the tribunals. These reasons included the easy access to dangerous weapons by learners in the community. Mawisa shared his experiences of searching for weapons in that community during the years when he was a policeman in the local police station. He explained:

Kwesinye isikhathi imizi ebesiy'ngena ngosuku, beyiba u-ten, hlambe ibewu-fifteen. Wonke umuzi nomuzi besiphuma nesbhamu esingekho emthethweni kuwona. Isho ukuthini leyonto? Manje kuwukusabela lokho kakhulu ukuthi vele iskole sethu lasikhona sisendaweni ebucayi. Lakhona udweshu lungasuka noma yinini ngoba yizindawo ezinomlando wezimpi lezigodi. Ukuthole ukuthi somewhere somehow ngaphambilini kwake kwaliwa izimpi zezigodi la; kwafa abantu. [Sometimes, we got into ten or fifteen households in search of illegal weapons. In each one of these households we would come out with at least one illegal firearm. What does that

mean? That is what we are scared of. Our school is situated in this dangerous place where faction fights can resume at any time. Sometime back there were faction fights and people died].

As explained in the profile, it was normal to possess illegal weapons at Emfuleni Community, particularly the firearms. Learners could easily access firearms. That was the reason why the SGB excused teachers from handling cases of learner indiscipline, particularly serious cases of assault involving the carrying or the use of weapons. Therefore, the authority of traditional leaders and their practices of maintaining discipline were engaged. Hence, they are discussed in the next two subsections.

7.3.3.1 Experiences of traditional leaders working with Hlobani Secondary School

Sometimes SGBs outsourced cases while others were escalated or referred to the upper structures. Outsourcing of cases means assessing the possibility of the school hearing the case. If, for instance, cases started outside school or involved people who are not learners but feuds between learners erupt inside school, then the case is outsourced to the traditional court through the local induna. Sometimes schools escalated cases to higher levels such as the level of the HOD. For instance, if the school recommends the expulsion of a learner. In some cases, involving for instance, firearms and rape, schools work closely with the TL to escalate cases to the SAPS.

The outsourcing of learners' cases to the Traditional Leadership Council led to agreements being made between parents, community and traditional leaders on how learners were expected to conduct themselves and how they would be punished in case they went wrong. Fear of the traditional leadership structure processes assisted in the reduction of unruly behaviour. The mere appearance of a learner before traditional leaders for wrongdoing brought embarrassment to the learner concerned and disappointment to the whole family. That was even worse if the learner was found guilty because in that case parents were sometimes directly affected. Mr Brave elaborated:

Inkosi inamandla amakhulu esizweni. Amandla ayo aqala kubazali emakhaya, ngokuthi uma ithi 'uyabona wena uma ingane yakho izohlupha, ingezukulawuleka kuzoba khona ukuthi nawe uthinteke'. Kuzoba khona ukuthi athinteke umzali njengomuntu ozoba i-persona non grata la emphakathini. [Inkosi had huge authority

in the community. His authority began with parents in their households. If Inkosi says, ‘your child is troublesome. If s/he continues to be uncontrollable you will get affected’. Indeed, the parent was going to be affected as a persona non grata in the community].

Traditional leaders led by Inkosi Mphathi went all out to ensure the safety of learners to and from school. Emfuleni Community had attracted learners from distant places due to their discipline particularly, the improved learner performance in the nearby Mluleki Secondary School. Subsequently, the traditional leadership structure did not tolerate any form of deviant conduct that could disturb learners. Inkosi Mphathi asserted:

Sikwenza siqinisekise siwumkhandlu neyinduna ukuthi lezongane ziphephile, zivikelekile kumphakathi nje. Wathinta ingane yeskole iyeskoleni nje uzobhekana nomthetho. Ngoba sekunama night school manje ukuze ingane zikwazi ukulekeleleka. Wenza sho umkhandlu ney'nduna ukuthi lezongane zivikelekile. [As the Traditional Leadership Council, we ensure the safety of these learners everywhere in the community. If you assault a learner you face the might of the law particularly when they attend evening classes].

As a result, potential culprits in the community, as well as the learners, were indirectly deterred from doing mischief directed to learners. By all means they avoided anything that would make them to appear before the Traditional Leadership Council. Mr Brave emphasised: “*Yinto eyesatshwa ngendlela eyisimanga indaba yenkantolo*”. [The tribal court is the most feared and respected structure in the community].

In spite of the fear and respect for the traditional court conflicts emerged. In the case where two or more parties were at loggerheads and were in the TLC, they were allowed to present evidence and to cross examine each other. They would even be part of arriving at the decision on how the guilty party should be punished. Finally, both parties had to be satisfied about how the guilty party would serve the punishment. Mawisa continued:

Uma kusakhuzeka bakwazi ukukhuza, uma futhi kuya isimo siqhubeka bayakwazi ukuthi bathathe isinqumo bebonke bengabazali bephelele, izinhlangothi zonke ezilwayo. Kokunye udaba uma selukhulunyiwe hlambe nomfundi, omunye umfundi uyakwazi ukuzisola abone ukuthi wenze iphutha kangaka nani. Uya-deserver ukuthi agwetshwe. Omunye uyayicelela athi ‘cha bakwethu ngisathanda ukufunda,

ngiphazamile ngicela ukuthi nginikezwe isgwebo'. Isigwebo uzosithola, nomfundi abone naye aneliseke ukuthi cha ngibhedile vele la, isgwebo sikufanele. Besekuthiwa ke awusho ke ukuthi wena ufuna ukugwetshwa kanjani? Ilapho khona omunye umfundi uyayikhethela ukuthi ngiyacela, ningishaye leyomvimbo eningangishaya yona, ngiye eskoleni ngiyofunda bekuyiphutha ngoniswe usbanibani no sibanibani. [In the tribal court, sometimes they mediate parties in conflict if it is still possible. But if the situation gets worse they take a decision by consensus. Sometimes after deliberations the defendant learner would admit having done wrong and then ask to be punished. The house would ask how he prefers to be punished. Others would simply ask for five lashes at the back and mention names of other learners who misled him].

Other cases were referred to the local magistrate court for various reasons. These included serious criminal offences such as carrying of firearms, attempted murder and even murder. Also, if the party that was found guilty was dissatisfied with the sentence, they could approach SAPS who were sometimes in the premises as invited by Inkosi to attend the case. If dissatisfied the guilty party would be allowed to approach the police in order for the case to be heard in the local magistrate court. In some cases, the dissatisfied guilty party would not go to any further courts but instead they would opt to remove the learner from the school in favour of another. Although cases were decided by consensus, not all the measures that were used in the TLC could pass the legality tests in the magistrate courts.

7.3.3.2 Traditional leaders' practices of maintaining learners' discipline in Hlobani Secondary School

This chapter presents data that was generated from Hlobani Secondary School in the Emfuleni Community. I can also mention that data was generated at Emfuleni Community and at school. The data reveal that traditional leaders used various strategies to maintain learner discipline, but also that all decisions made were arrived at through consensus. Cases involving learners which were heard in the tribal court were debated by everybody in the court including the accused learners. However, some decisions were taken contrary to the prescripts of the law. Participants also admitted that some measures that were agreed upon tended to overlook some sections of the Schools Act. Mawisa confessed:

I-tribal court yilapho khona esingathi sometimes umthetho wephulwa khona. Bewuphula ngegunya lokuthi bethi ngeke sivalwelwe iskole thina ngoba lesiskole yisona sodwa esiy-high school lapha endaweni. [The tribal court is where sometimes the laws are not followed. They break the law justifying themselves that they are, for example, preventing the closure of the only high school they have in the community].

One area where the Schools Act was violated was where corporal punishment was administered to the learners who had been charged for misconduct and had been found guilty. The participants expressed similar sentiments in favour of the use of corporal punishment but were not explicit about it. Instead, they often used understatement when referring to corporal punishment. However, they acknowledged that what the traditional leaders were doing was unlawful. For instance, Inkosi Mphathi said:

Kuke kubekhona phela lokho kuthusathusa izingane. Noma sitshontsha uHulumeni engavumi kodwa nje kuke kubekhona nje ukuyithusathusa iy'ngane uyifake endleleni. [Sometimes, we 'scare' the learners even though it is unlawful but that is the way to restore order and discipline among the learners].

All the participants were quick to justify the use of corporal punishment. The mentioning of the presence of parents during the hearings as well as the police presence on the traditional court's premises was an attempt to justify their actions. Inkosi Mphathi defended their actions by saying:

Abazali basuke bekuqonda ngoba sisuke sikwenza nabo, kube wuye kanye umzali oyithintayo naye ingane yakhe. Abanye-ke asebesile, uthole ukuthi ufuna ukuya emaphoyiseni. Kukhona phela nokuxhumana nalo uphiko lwamaphoyisa, uma hlambe kukhona ukuthi kukhona abafana abagangile abafuna ukuthuswa. Siyakwenza ukuthi sivele emkhandlwini lapha sizimemele amaphoyisa abe around ukuze kungabilula nakumfana ukuthi enze noma yikanjani ngoba engekho amaphoyisa. [Parents clearly understand this because we do it together. In fact, parents are the ones who punish their children in our presence. Others who are enlightened demand to approach the police. We communicate with SAPS if there are boys to be 'scared'. We invite the police to be around the premises so that the culprits do not behave any how if the police are not around].

Further, participants felt that the use of corporal punishment was an attempt to prevent violent incidences that could arise within the school as a result of fierce learner indiscipline. The Department of Basic Education in the province was known for taking the unilateral decisions such as closing the school when learners became uncontrollable. Participants expressed their fears for the closure of the school as a consequence of learner indiscipline. Therefore, these efforts of traditional leaders and the community were meant to avoid that predicament. Emphasising that point, Mawisa explained:

So uma kungathiwa siziyekelela thina la eskoleni sithi: akube kwampunzi edla emini, i-department isivale iskole kungasho ukungena kobubha kuthina bazali. Ngoba izingane zethu sekungafanele manje sizikhokhele izimali ziya eyikoleni ezisebangeni elingango-thirty kilometres away from indawo lapho kuvalwe khona iskole. Lokho sekusho ukuthi sekufanele kuqashiwe izimoto zihambise iy'ngane lapho noma kube nemali ephumayo manje ekhaya ziyiqhasha ukuze zibe eduzane nalezo zikole ezizofunda kuzona. [If we can allow laissez faire situation in the school, the Department will close down the school. That will be the beginning of extreme poverty among parents because we will begin to pay high taxi fares to distant schools which are as far as 30km away. In some cases, we may have to pay rent when our children are compelled to stay next to those distant schools, and both scenarios are unsustainable].

As a former investigating officer in the community and now the Chairperson of the SGB, Mawisa had access to diverse opinions on the disciplinary measures given by the Traditional Leadership Council. Mawisa firstly expressed the position of the majority of parents and the community. He said:

Yingakho ubhukula umphakathi uthi cha, ushaya phansi ngonyawo uthi: noma umthetho ungavumi ukuthi zipanishwe kodwa kubalulekile ekuthi sigweme ukuthi uMnyango ungasivali iskole ngenxa yokuthi kuyaliwa eskoleni. [That is why the community decided to put their foot down saying: 'although the law is not permitting corporal punishment but we will do everything within our power to prevent the Department from closing the school due to learners fighting].

Although parents had agreed on the disciplinary measures to be followed in order to maintain discipline but others took a different view when their children were involved. According to Mawisa and Inkosi Mphathi, this opinion was common among educated parents who chose to

abide by the prescripts of the law. Mawisa explained:

Bakhona ke laba abafundile ke abazifundiswa bagcine sebethi hayi inkantolo iyahlukumeza, yenza ukuthi kuxoshwe izingane, akukho emthethweni. [Those who are educated say the TLC is abusive because they cause learners to be expelled which is unlawful].

Echoing similar sentiments expressed by Mawisa, Inkosi Mphathi commented: “*Abanye-ke asebesile, uthole ukuthi ufuna ukuya emaphoyiseni*”. [The enlightened ones who wanted to the matter to be handled by the police]. Mawisa presented the side of the majority of parents when he argued:

Yebo siyavuma kodwa nabo abayibuki lento ngehlo lokuthi mhla sekwenzeka lempi yalezingane, sekuzigodi ziphathelene ibhamu. Ngoba ngeke ngikufihle, mina njoba kade ngiyiphoyisa nje endaweni esikuyona. Lena yindawo embi ngoba besingena thina emzini yabantu, sifuna izibhamu. Kuyingozi uma usakwazi ukungena emzini owodwa ubuye nezibhamu eziyisihlanu. Lokho kusho ukuthi leyondawo leyo inobungozi obukhulu kabi. [Yes, we agree it is unlawful but consider what will happen when one day these learners carry firearms against each other. I must be frank with you. As a former policeman, I remember that we used to raid households in this area. It is scary to know that sometimes we would come out of one household with five unlicensed firearms. That means the place is dangerous].

The above extract shows the seriousness of the possibility of warfare using dangerous weapons such as firearms. In order to avoid such a situation drastic measures were taken, including the use of corporal punishment. Briefly, the previous experiences with learner conflicts at HSS were often cited as the basis for the TLC to allow the implementation of the strict measures in the school. These measures included corporal punishment of learners, in some cases, as requested by the learner and the parents. Sometimes, learners were expelled for committing serious offences and showing no remorse. Mr Brave explained:

Uma sekubonakele ukuthi ingane kasibanibani iyaqhubeka iyadlebeleka nakuba lento siyikhuzile. Bese bethatha isinqumo sokuthi umnyango awume eceleni, balithathe icala. Uma leyongane itholwa inecala siyixoshe eskoleni, totally. Siy'khiphe straight ukuze phela sigweme ukuqhubeka kodungunyane. Vele noma zingabambili izingane ezinengxabano kodwa iba yodwa ingane esuke iyiqalile

ngoba ifuna ukufeza izinhloso ezithize. [When they conclude that a learner has been reprimanded but still continues to be unruly, they would put aside departmental procedures and expel the learner from school. This is done to avoid ongoing conflicts. After all, when two learners are at loggerheads one of them could have started it in order to achieve certain goals].

The aim was to restore discipline and respect for the agreements reached with parents in the parents' meetings as well as in community meetings. These agreements emanated from meetings which were convened as a result of activities perpetrated by unruly elements in the community which negatively affected the schools and the community.

7.3.4 Enactment of invitational leadership by traditional leaders and principals.

The study is about traditional leaders and the role they played in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools. In this chapter, the same theme is pursued but now in Hlobani Secondary School. The data has shown that traditional leaders in this community were invitation and reached decisions through consensus. The data further reveals that both the school principal and the traditional leadership, represented by Inkosi Mphathi proved to be invitational leaders. The principal and the SGB trusted Inkosi to provide solutions to their problems. The circumstances inside school which were unbecoming drove them into approaching Inkosi to assist when learner indiscipline was rife. At some point the lives of both teachers and learners were under threat due to learners being unruly. Mr Brave explained why they invited traditional leaders to intervene. He said:

Ingakho sakhetha ukuthi i-tribal court ayingenelele ngoba ayigcini ngempela ngempela kuyindaba yasesikoleni. Igcina lento isinwebekile isinkulu, amahostela. Njenjoba kuyiwa ku-December nje. Ukuba kuthiwa sineyikinga ezingaxazululeki ngabe sihlalele ovalweni. Kuthiwa eyi ziyeza izigagayi zasendaweni yasekuthini ngoba phela kwashaywa umfana wangakhona. Kodwa ngoba thina siyakwazi ukushesha sikulamule nenkantolo, ikhulume nomphakathi nenkosi iwutshela umphakathi ukuthi endaweni yami angiyifuni into enje. Wonke umuntu lapho uyakwazi ukuzwa, nobenomoya ophezulu ugcina esehoxa esehlela ngezansi. [That is why we decided to outsource certain matters. It is because they end up spilling over into the community. It expands and ends up involving people reside in hostels

in distant cities. As we are heading for Christmas there was going to be talk about men from the hostels coming back to retaliate during holidays if there unresolved matters. But since we Inkosi and the TLC intervened successfully retaliation fights are not expected. Inkosi clearly spelled out what was not acceptable in his community. Even the angry ones calmed down].

Mawisa also re-iterated similar sentiments when he explained how he engaged other stakeholders such as traditional leadership and SAPS to provide solutions to the problems in school. He said:

Uma futhi nami ngibona ukuthi sengiphenyile inkinga inkulu idinga ukuthi ingayi enkantolo yenkosi noma idinga inkantolo yemantshi, sekunamaphoyisa ngiyakwazi ukwa-engager, there and there. Ngiwazise ukuthi No le ngeke sikwazi ukuyixazulula nenkantolo yenkosi ngoba isinobungozi la nala. Kuyaye kubelula lokho ukuthi ke namaphoyisa ngiwathinte ngicele usizo uma udaba ludlebeleka. [When I have investigated and concluded that the matter is beyond the TLC capacity but it needs expertise of the magistrate court, I engage the police to come on board. I unpack the merits of the case to the police to make it easy for them to contain the matter before it gets out of hand].

The notion of invitations entails leaders being optimistic about the abilities of others and having trust in them. It is such faith, openness, trust and optimism in others that play a critical role in the leader inviting him/herself to the leadership discourse. Participants in this study were also leaders at the same time, and they expressed huge trust and respect for other leaders, in particular, the traditional leaders. Similarly, Inkosi and the TLC trusted the other leaders in the community. He welcomed other peoples' opinions and worked collaboratively with the principal and the SGB of HSS. Inkosi Mphathi elaborated:

So iskole nje and umphakathi yinto ebalulekile kakhulu ngalendlela. Yingakho ke sikesiqikelele siwubukhosi ukuthi uma izingane kukhona ukuphambuka esezikwenza esikoleni sisondele eduze. Njalo ngokuqala konyaka umkhandlu wenkosi uyasuka nje uhambele ama-high school wonke akhona lapha Emfuleni ukuyoyala nje izingane. Ziyalwe ngokuyiphatha nje eskoleni [The school and community cooperation is very significant. That is the reason for getting close to the school when there are signs of learners becoming unruly. At the beginning of every school year we go to school to address learners on how they should conduct themselves].

The traditional leaders under the leadership of Inkosi Mphathi constantly consulted the community on matters affecting them. Leaders of various formations in the community were consulted and were welcome to submit inputs. Nobody was viewed as the possessor of knowledge but wisdom was shared with every stakeholder's words carrying equal weighting.

7.4 Conclusion

It is evident that Hlobani Secondary School has had major challenges of learner indiscipline in the past few years. The participants shared similar views that the situation was dire and reached a point whereby the school was about to be closed down. The data has also revealed that it was through the intervention of the parents and traditional leaders that worked collaboratively to find a solution that the situation was turned around. The need to keep and strengthen the partnership between the school and the community was emphasised if lasting solution to the challenges of learner discipline challenges is to be found. What has also emerged from the data is that traditional leaders sometimes utilised unconventional means to achieve the desired goal of maintaining learner discipline. This and the previous two chapters have described how traditional leaders played their role in the maintenance of learner discipline. The next chapter is dedicated to providing a broader and comprehensive picture about this phenomenon.

CHAPTER EIGHT

AMABAL'ENGWE: MAPPING THE PATTERNS EMERGING FROM THE DATA

8.1 Introduction

In the previous three chapters, I presented data from the perspectives of the participants from different research sites on how they understood and experienced the role of traditional leaders in maintaining learner discipline in their schools. The data was descriptive in that it presented what participants said and experienced across the three sites when they collaborated with TL in dealing with learner discipline. In this chapter, the attention shifts from what was said by participants to the analysis of what they said and why they said what they said. Briefly, I explain what they meant about what they said and why that is the case. In so doing, I infuse literature and the theoretical frameworks that I presented in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, respectively. In presenting the analysis, I start by sketching patterns emerging from the data generated across all the research sites against the backdrop of the departmental expectations and policy position on the issue of learner discipline. As I move from descriptive data discussion to analysis, I begin by mapping the similarities and differences of the profiles of the three schools, then similarities and differences on communities as well as similarities and differences on participants. Thereafter, I discuss the emerging patterns in the other aspects of the data regarding the similarities and differences in the participants' understandings of the traditional leaders' role in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools and in broad leadership approaches across the schools and communities. Finally, I present points to note towards a model of leading and managing learner discipline in rural schools and then make a conclusion of the chapter. But I begin with the presentation of the similarities and differences in schools.

The IsiZulu metaphoric expression of *Amabal'engwe* in the title of this chapter can loosely be translated to 'the leopard's spots'. Leopards are known for their spots which feature prominently, black and white. Whereas, these colours can be seen as opposites, they actually complement each other and therefore, enhance the beauty of the leopard. In this chapter, I use Amabal'engwe metaphorically, to describe the nature of the emerging patterns from schools, communities, participants as well as participants' understandings of traditional leaders' role in the maintenance of learner discipline.

8.2 Similarities and differences in the participating schools

All the three schools were situated in geographical positions that looked similar although they were kilometres apart. From the nearest town going to any of the participant schools the distances differed but there were common factors. The common denominator was driving past the flat commercial sugarcane fields and then go down the steep mountains before arriving at the school. All the three schools were situated in the low lands surrounded by the stony mountains and cliffs which are not suitable for farming (see **Figure 7**).



Figure 7. Sabalele community typical of the settlements in all the three communities

It is common practice to name schools after the traditional leaders in the respective communities. For instance, Mluleki and Hlobani are names of the former Amakhosi and grandfathers of the current Inkosi Mphathi (not his real name). Indirectly, that is how the communities around schools acknowledged the role played by traditional leaders, particularly, in the building of schools in the communities (Mbokazi, 2015). In each of the three schools, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (KZNDoe) had recently built at least one block of classrooms and an administration block. **Figure 8** shows the recently built block of classes towering over the old block built by parents. Due to the lack of funds within the KZNDoe, the newly built classroom which was to be used as a library at Thandimfundo Secondary School was still without books. Similarly, the Hlobani Secondary School laboratory was also without

the necessary apparatus and equipment. This is typical of schools located in rural communities such as these.



Figure 8. Recently built block of classes towering over the old buildings at TSS

HSS and TSS had water taps but the taps had no water on certain days while MSS relied on rain water to fill the tanks with drinking water. All the schools had electricity. Therefore, they could photocopy notes and other teaching materials within the schools. In terms of staffing, there was no librarian teacher in all the schools yet there was a security guard in each school gate (see **Table1**).

It is notable from **Table 1** that while security guards were appointed in the three schools at the expense of the KZNDoE, teacher librarians were not. This is despite the invaluable role that such teachers play in supporting teaching and learning conditions in schools. The KZN school library policy stipulates that the mission of Education Library Information Technology Systems (ELITS) is to provide support service for teacher librarians in all KZN schools (KZN DoE, 2003). Without teacher librarians in schools, this objective is not achievable. Others can argue that the Department (KZN DoE) prioritised the security of the school property before

delivering the teaching and learning equipment. However, in the context of this study, this does not appear to be the case when considering that the security guards are on duty only during school hours. Further, Ms Buka, the Chairperson of the SGB of MSS opined that the school security is not meant for the safety of school property but only for people in the school. Indeed, the job description of the security guards does not cater for work after school hours, during weekends and holidays. Worse, while the security guards are supposed to look after the safety of people inside the school premises during working hours, they were not even equipped with the necessary tools to perform that task. Notably, they were also not armed with batons in case they had to defend themselves or others. Metal detectors to use when conducting search and seizures at the school gates were also not available. They only had a pen and a register on which they recorded the names of people coming in and out of the school. Therefore, the security guards in all the schools were not adequately equipped to maintain safety of either people or the school as expected. In order to understand the contexts of the schools, I discuss the communities by focusing on their similarities and differences.

8.3 Similarities and differences in communities

The communities were sparsely populated with more than 70% of the households using electricity for lighting and cooking. The long distances between the households and schools meant that learners travelled long distances to school (see **Figure 7 and Table 16**). Water supply was still a major problem in the community. More than 85% of the communities relied on rivers for drinking water. This was problematic especially during the dry seasons when there was no rain. Water tankers regularly delivered water in the communities, but this was not adequate.

In terms of the Native Land Act of 1913, such pieces of land were set aside for black people (Modise, 2013) as a result of this law black African people were forcibly removed from the flat fertile lands which they had tilled since time immemorial. That is how some people ended up being part of communities such as Sabalele, Sinono and Emfuleni. In the new democratic dispensation these areas fell under the Ingonyama Trust wherein Amakhosi are the custodians of the land (KwaZulu-Natal Ingonyama Trust Act, 1994). All participating schools fell under Ingonyama Trust and were built through the contributions of the communities led by predominantly local traditional leaders.

	Sabalele (Around TSS)	Sinono (Around MSS)	Emfuleni (Around HSS)
Total population	891	651	1920
Female headed household	62	69,3	69,7
Population density per square km	65	36	82
Number of households	170	114	407

Table 16. Population density in communities (Adapted from Stats SA, 2016)

In addition to falling under the demarcations of the new political dispensation called Municipal Wards led by councillors, the communities also adhered to indigenous leadership. Subsequently, the communities were further subdivided into *izigodi* which are under the *izinduna* who in return report to Amakhosi. The traditional leadership hierarchy is shown in **Figure 1** in Chapter Two. The communities around the schools were loyal to both the western democratic leadership of the Ward Councillors and the Mayors as well as traditional leadership structures of Izinduna and Amakhosi. In terms of settlement, the homesteads were no longer the same as they used to be during the Apartheid era. The homesteads used to comprise more than 20 huts and were commonly headed by men but now the families were becoming fragmented. In the participating schools, most homesteads had gradually been reduced to houses between 5 and 10. Gradually, things were changing (**See Table 16 and Figure 7**). More and more of these households were headed by females. In terms of marital status, less than 20% of people lived as married couples in each community while more than 70% were unmarried. However, participants expressed concerns about the high levels of unemployment in the communities and their subsequent reliance on some form of government pension or social grant. Mr Brave and Mawisa argued that without financial muscle due to unemployment, some parents or guardians have lost authority over their children. Details on this matter can be found in Section 7.3.2.2 of Chapter Seven. Hence, Mr Joyisa complained that some parents of children who received some form of social support grant were not decisive when dealing with children who have committed acts of misconduct. Mr Brave noted that such parents were unemployed but also were not old enough to be paid old age government pension. Therefore, they often succumbed to the authority of their children, who by virtue of receiving child support grant, have become bread winners. Hence, Mawisa made an example about girl learners

becoming unruly due to the financial muscle because they got child support grants while parents had no source of income.

The major challenge throughout the three communities was the high level of illiteracy (see **Table 17**). The few people that passed matric and obtained post matric qualifications had relocated to the urban areas and only came back during holidays to visit relatives. There is a classic problem of brain drain due to migration from rural areas to the urban areas (Myende, 2014). More than 30% of the people in each community had little or no schooling experience while less than 3% had post matric qualifications. As a consequence, some learners would drop out of school even before completing matric in order to head for the big cities in search for jobs. Parents and guardians, particularly grannies and other unemployed adults lacked authority to firmly oppose this practice. Section 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven has more details on this issue.

Level of education obtained	Sabalele (Around TSS)	Sinono (Around MSS)	Emfuleni (Around HSS)
No schooling	37.7	33.5	34.2
Some primary	21	31	16.9
Completed primary	3	2.8	4.7
Some secondary	29	16.1	16.3
Completed matric	13.1	15.7	25.2
Higher education	1.2	0.8	2.7

Table 17. Percentage levels of education in the communities

People who were found in the homesteads during working days were predominantly grannies and women who had numerous duties to perform. As a result less attention was paid to listening to children and providing positive feedback (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). This had negative consequences on the practices of raising children, particularly when considering that the communities were highly patriarchal. Boys had nobody to look up to. Men were working in the distant cities while others worked and stayed in the nearby farms. Arguably, these are some of the factors that negatively affected the culture of Ubuntu and subsequently, respect that the African rural communities embraced over the years (Kamwangamalu, 1999). The balance of socio-economic forces was becoming skewed in favour of learners who had a financial muscle.

Richerson (1977) posits that human beings tend to manipulate the environment contrary to the balance of the human eco-systems as presented by Bronfenbrenner (1977).

8.4 Similarities and differences in the participants

The participants in the three research sites were divided into three categories, namely: school principals, SGB Chairpersons and traditional leaders. In each category there were vast differences and similarities in various aspects. I begin with the analysis of the similarities and differences in school principals in the three sites. Their profiles are summarised in **Table 18**.

	KZN DoE	PRINCIPALS			SGB C/PERSONS			Traditional Leaders		
	DISTRICT OFFICIAL (MR NEWMAN)	TSS (Mr Pepper)	MSS (Mr Cool)	HSS (Mr Brave)	TSS Buka	MSS Ms T	HSS Mawisa	TSS Inkosi NTV	MSS Induna Joyisa	HSS Inkosi Mphathi
Age	47	49	42	60	44	48	45	53	67	43
Gender	M	M	M	M	F	F	M	M	M	M
Years in position	9	5	9	28	8	2	8	18	26	14
Level of education	Graduate	Graduate	Graduate	Post Graduate	Gr 8	Gr 7	2 Post matric diplomas	Matric	Gr 6	Matric

Table 18. Participants' age, gender, years in position and levels of education

8.4.1 School principals – personal profiles and approaches to leadership

All three principals of schools were men who had been acting principals before the posts were advertised. From my experience of being part of interview processes, I noted that female educators were reluctant to apply for principalship positions in secondary schools, particularly because of the violent nature of the learner unrests in some of the secondary schools, particularly, in rural areas. Similarly, in the participating schools, shortlisted applicants were predominantly men. But, it was clear that the candidates who were finally recommended for the positions of principal had an advantage of having acted in the positions.

Nonetheless, there was a general belief in all the three communities that secondary school leadership positions had to be occupied by men although there is no evidence suggesting that it played itself out in the appointments of these principals. When I asked the SGB Chairpersons of TSS and MSS about the possibility of female principals in their respective schools in future, they claimed to have no problem with that possibility. However, they preferred male principals for the simple reason that secondary school boys tended to respect male teachers more than female ones due to existing stereotypes regarding the perceived dominance of men in the households and communities. The principals were all university graduates with varying years of experience as principals in their respective schools (see **Figure 18**). For instance, Mr Brave of HSS had the longest experience (28 years) and Mr Cool and Mr Pepper had 5 and 9 years, respectively as managers of their respective schools. In terms of the places of their upbringing, there were variations here too. Mr Cool grew up a township near Durban. He came to MSS as a post level 1 educator (teacher) and grew up in the ranks to ultimately become the principal of this school. In order to garner community support, Mr Cool adopted the strategy of working closely with the community, particularly traditional leaders. He had the reasons for having a strong belief in working closely with traditional leaders and communities, and this is how Mr Cool put it:

You cannot distance yourself from the community and hope to get support from it when problems arise. Principals of schools, like me, in rural areas ought to give themselves time to understand the environment where their schools are located, understand the type of community they are serving and then decide on how they can work in partnership with the community.

The other two principals grew up in the communities where their schools are located. Mr Brave and Mr Pepper grew up in Emfuleni and Sabalele (not real names of places), respectively but spent most of their time in the urban areas where their families had relocated. I noted that life in rural setting in general and the indiscipline among the learners, as well as other negative factors, were among the drivers behind the migration of the two principals to live the urban areas. The attitude of the community of Emfuleni towards schooling was not positive to say the least. This is how Mawisa described them when he said:

They (people in community) do not care whether they pass or not; so long as they reach matric. Our environment does not encourage education.

Therefore, principals and other educated local people wanted to live in communities where their children would grow up and achieve their goals through schooling. Muzvidziwa and Muzvidziwa (2012) note that among the greatest aspirations of every human being is to live in

a society where people respect human dignity and other human rights. Furthermore, there is strong desire among African people to lead a life that is governed by culture and Ubuntu principles (Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012). The negative experiences with unruly learners in MSS and TSS caused many educators to seek transfers to what was perceived to be safer schools. Sharing his personal experience about what happened to him sometime back, Mr Brave revealed that he was shot by a learner during assembly at HSS and the bullet went through his face. Surely, this must have been traumatic and symbolised the extent of violence that many had been accustomed to.

In TSS, Mr Pepper reported a problem of learners who walked in and out of class while educators were teaching. Some educators began to avoid certain classrooms that harboured unruly learners. Post Level One educators sought in large numbers transfers to other schools that they perceived to be safer. However, for Mr Pepper and Mr Brave who were principals, it was not easy to apply and be granted transfers. Vacant principalship positions were not readily available in other distant schools with more disciplined learners. Arguably, these two principals remained in their schools in order to keep their jobs because they had nowhere else to go.

8.4.2 SGB Chairpersons – personal profiles and approaches to leadership

The category of the SGB chairpersons is the only one that was dominated by females, Ms T and Ms Buka from MSS and TSS respectively. This was not an indication of being gender sensitive on the part of SGBs in these schools. Instead, drawing from the attendance registers of schools in parents' meetings of MSS and TSS, I argue that they were elected as SGB Chairpersons merely because they had consistently attended parents' meetings and were literate. In these communities most men did not attend parents' meetings. Those who did were not literate enough and also did not attend the meetings consistently to understand the school proceedings. In this regard, I discuss the levels of education qualifications of the chairpersons (see **Table 18**).

There were vast differences in the levels of education qualifications among the SGB Chairpersons. For example, Mawisa had two post matric diplomas and therefore, he was the most educated of them all. I noted that he had relocated from a distant place to Emfuleni in 2010 when he said, *"Upon my arrival to this place in 2010, I was appalled to realise that people in this community do not care about education"*. He was committed to the maintenance of

order and learner discipline in HSS. He brought along to the SGB portfolio a wealth of work experience as a police detective. This experience was appropriate in the maintenance of order and learner discipline. Hence, he had substantial influence in the decisions taken by the SGB. For example, he introduced the strategy of working with informers in order to gather intelligence that assisted in intercepting ploys of sowing conflicts among the learners and in the community. However, the question arises whether this is what all SGBs are expected to do or not. If it is so, this has some implications on the qualifications and skills base of SGB members and in the criteria for electing the SGB executives and chairpersons. On the other hand, the SGB chairpersons at TSS and MSS did not have matric certificate. For instance, Ms Buka (Grade 8) was working for the local municipality as a general worker in the maintenance of local gravel roads and Ms T (Grade 7) was unemployed. These two SGB chairpersons had very little influence in their schools.

Then, I pondered about the reasons behind the leadership influence of the SGB chairpersons in their respective communities. Did the influence have anything to do with gender, bearing in mind that the schools were immersed in patriarchal communities? Or the influence was dependant on the level of education of the chairperson combined with work experience? Nonetheless, the SGB chairperson of HSS was able to influence traditional leaders in the community and the school principal and indirectly contributed immensely towards the maintenance of learner discipline in HSS. He also assisted the traditional leaders to intercept ploys to cause conflict in school and in the community.

8.4.3 Traditional leaders - personal profile and approaches to leadership

The three communities were led by two Amakhosi, namely: Inkosi Mphathi and Inkosi NTV. Emfuleni and Sinono communities were izigodi under Inkosi Mphathi (not his real name). For purposes of this study Mr Joyisa, an Induna of Sinono, Inkosi Mphathi and Inkosi NTV (not their real names), are traditional leaders that participated. These traditional leaders had vast differences in terms of age, years in the throne/position and the level of education. In rural communities such as the ones in the study, senior citizens are given special respect and the position of Induna is traditionally given to highly respected members of the community. The same principles appear to have been followed when according higher levels of respect to community leaders such as Amakhosi and Izinduna.

Largely, seniority in terms of the position one held in the traditional leadership hierarchy, and also in terms of age played a major role in terms of respect which community people gave to such a person. Although Mr Joyisa was Induna, he was senior to the two participating Amakhosi in terms of age and experience. He was 67 years old and has remained Induna for the past 26 years. He occupied this position some years even before the two Amakhosi were anointed. Like most people in the community he went to school up to Standard 4 (now Grade 6) and then headed for Johannesburg (now Gauteng) to seek for low income jobs. Mr Joyisa was highly respected in all communities under Inkosi Mphathi and more so, in Sinono community. After all, he had many cattle and goats as well as more than 8 taxis operating between Sinono and the nearest town. In indigenous communities this was symbolic of being wealthy and influential. Furthermore, he commanded a homestead which had about 25 huts overlooking the school. This command of the homestead is characteristic of men who wield authority (See Mr Joyisa's homestead in **Figure 9**).



Figure 9. The homestead belonging to Induna, Mr Joyisa overlooking MSS

There were similarities between the two Amakhosi. Both Inkosi NTV and Inkosi Mphathi were younger than Mr Joyisa in terms of age and years on the throne (see **Table 18**). Also, they

both had passed matric and occupied senior positions in the Provincial House of Traditional Leaders. This means that they had been elected to lead other Amakhosi in the Provincial House of Traditional leaders.

I noted that all three traditional leaders were easily approachable and created a climate that is inviting (Steyn, 2007); hence, they worked closely with school principals, councillors and other leaders in the communities without any difficulties. For a number of reasons including being approachable, I concluded that they were invitational leaders although initially, they were reluctant to initiate partnerships with the schools for fear of being perceived as interfering in the lives of the schools. Niemann, Swanepoel and Marais (2010) posit that invitational leadership has to do with being personally and professionally inviting towards others. In all the three schools, particularly at MSS, the traditional leaders expressed their willingness to collaborate with school principals in various ways to improve school functionality and governance efficiency. Mr Cool gave evidence in support of this assertion when he talked about what Induna did when he began working at MSS. Section 6.3.4 of Chapter Six has more details on this matter. Induna was optimistic and worked towards seeing the operational success at MSS. Optimism is one of the four values of invitational leadership (Purkey & Novak, 1996). Mr Joyisa made attempts to uplift and guide Mr Cool so that he could understand the community people and be able to reach his full potential which is characteristic of invitational leaders (Niemann, Swanepoel & Marais, 2010). Although there was no policy stipulating that traditional leaders must collaborate with the schools but traditional leaders were keen to be part of programmes that were directed towards the enhancement of schooling and learner discipline. Such a practice is consistent with the view that schools are a microcosm of society (Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2014).

While appearing to acknowledge that schools were part of the community but traditional leaders at HSS and TSS did not initiate the interactions between themselves and the schools. Instead, they responded to the plight of the school principals. Often, traditional leaders were invited by principals and/or parents to collaborate and interact with them in grappling with learner disciplinary challenges in schools. The problems of learner indiscipline triggered the relationship of schools and communities. Sections 5.4.1 of Chapter Five and 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven have details on this matter. This experience is congruent with basic tenets of the ecosystemic theory which maintains that individuals and organisations co-exist within a network of relationships (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Pettigrew, 1999). This is seen happening in

these schools and communities as the effects of life in the schools were felt across the school boundaries and negatively affected the communities themselves. What happens in the school affects what happens in the community and *vice versa*.

8.5 Emerging patterns and themes from the data

This section comprises the discussion patterns that emerged from the data. The section highlights the multi-site cross case analysis. The data reveals that there is considerable variation and few commonalities. In this section, I focus on three aspects, namely: emerging participants' understanding of the traditional leadership role in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools; interaction of traditional leadership with leaders in schools; broad leadership approaches across the schools and communities.

8.5.1 Patterns in the participants' understandings of the traditional leaders' role in the maintenance of learners' discipline in schools

This section outlines the patterns in the participants' understandings of the traditional leaders' role in maintaining learners' discipline in the rural schools. The emerging picture is that participants did not have a common understanding of their role in maintaining learner discipline in the schools. Some of them believed that they should play an active role in schools as much as they do in the community while others believed their role to be mainly in the maintenance of discipline and orderliness in the community and indirectly, in the schools. What is common amongst them is that they viewed schools to be part of the community, and therefore, that they should play a role in maintaining learner discipline in the schools as well. Some preferred an active role as detailed in Section 6.3.1 of Chapter Six while others preferred a much indirect and reactive role in the affairs of the school, including learner discipline as exemplified by Section 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven. However, not all traditional leaders confined themselves to reactionary roles of maintaining learner discipline. Some regarded schools to be part of their communities on which they reign. As a result, in some of their meetings, they discussed matric learner performance of schools such that Inkosi Mphathi offered a cow to be slaughtered at MSS when a school had performed well. Implicitly, they regard schools as part of the community. This is in harmony with the active participation of King Zwelithini in schooling matters (Mthethwa, 2017), arguably for all to emulate. Although school-based participants such as principals and SGB Chairpersons, expressed similar views in that indigenous leaders should

be involved in the maintenance of learner discipline but they had contrasting opinions about how these leaders should be involved. This is similar to the polarisation of debates that exist around the involvement of traditional leaders in the democratic dispensation (Koenane, 2017). Hence, various participants viewed the involvement of traditional leaders in diverse and multifaceted ways, and according to their understandings, namely, keeping and supporting the stability and functionality of the schools; establishing partnerships between schools and communities in the maintenance of discipline; schools exploit the respect traditional leaders enjoy in community to minimise learner misbehaviour in the schools; complex traditional leadership status in the partnership with schools.

8.5.1.1 Keeping and supporting the stability and functionality of schools

In respect of the stability and functionality of schools, traditional leaders' perspectives can be divided into two. There were those traditional leaders who believed in reactive approach, and thus, indirect role in schools, and these would fall in the 'supporting stability' in the school while those who believe in proactive role would fall in the 'keeping stability' in the schools. The participants from two schools realised that they had problems of learner discipline in their respective schools. In spite of the codes of conduct which the SGBs had developed and adopted with the aim of maintaining order and discipline in schools, learner indiscipline persisted. This confirms the findings made by numerous scholars who conclude that the SGBs are known to lack knowledge and skills to design and enforce by themselves learner codes of conduct effectively (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). In the two schools, the problems were too huge to be resolved by the schools alone. The principals and SGBs needed the assistance from the community leadership which comprises the religious, business, political and even indigenous leadership, to mention a few. The participants preferred to collaborate with the indigenous leadership. The Principals and the SGBs understood and experienced the role of traditional leaders to be that of supporting stability in the schools.

Where schools were overwhelmed with cases of learner indiscipline, the SGBs would escalate such serious cases to Induna and traditional leadership structure. In return, traditional leaders reacted positively by intervening in order to provide the necessary support in the schools. This is consistent with the provisions of the Law governing their operations. Traditional leaders are expected to recommend to government the interventions that will contribute towards development and service delivery (RSA, 2003; KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, 2005). Notably,

the learner cases that were escalated to the traditional leaders involved community members or cases that started outside the school premises and spilled over into schools, thus acknowledging the interconnected levels of the human eco-systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). This assisted them in preventing potential conflicts from erupting into the school premises. More details on how potential conflicts can be understood are found in Section 8.6.1 of this chapter – *‘izandla ziyagezana’*.

On the other hand, some schools understood the role of the traditional leaders to be in keeping stability of the school. Such was the understanding of the traditional leaders’ role in MSS. Mr Joyisa would proactively welcome teachers back from holidays and then address the learners. The invitation of the principal and staff to attend community meetings and functions was symbolic of Ubuntu as practised in the local community. Naicker (2015) asserts that Ubuntu is the opposite of the individualistic Descartes concept expressed in ‘I think therefore I am’. The interaction of traditional leaders and the schools also put mutual symbiotic relationship of the human ecosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, Pettigrew, 1999) into practice. The action of inviting others was a sign of trust and respect for others which is typical of invitational leaders (Niemann et al., 2010; Steyn, 2007).

The practice of escalating case involving the learners was a local arrangement by the principals and the SGBs, but it was not provided for in any of the policies of their schools nor was it expressed in the Schools Act. For instance, in the HSS policy, there was nothing stipulating that the SGB Chairperson or any other member of the SGB would have informers among the learners and in the community as a strategy of getting information about learner ploys. Further, the sustainability of using informers beyond the era of the current SGB members raises other questions. Nonetheless, the utilisation of this strategy helped in resolving and preventing many conflicts and potential conflicts from erupting. Where schools, for example in HSS and TSS, had become dysfunctional and for instance, the Circuit Manager was preparing to close HSS, the schools approached the traditional leaders for support in order to restore order and discipline in these schools. Section 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven provides more details on how traditional leaders’ intervention prevented the closure of HSS. Subsequently, the functionality of the school was restored and enhanced. The Principals and the SGBs involved the traditional leaders in order to keep and/or support the stability and functionality of schools.

8.5.1.2 Establishing partnerships between the schools and communities in maintaining discipline.

Participants in all the three research sites held similar opinions that the schools and the communities can have a working partnership in order to maintain order particularly in the schools. The principals and the SGBs also saw traditional leaders as an important link between the schools and the communities that can bring unruly community elements that disrupt schools to justice. Traditional leaders had realised that schools were an extension of society, and as a result, Inkosi NTV argued that what happens in the community, including some social ills, will ultimately find its way into the school premises. Guckin and Minton (2014) posit that schools and local communities can be expected to interact at exo- and macro-levels of the ecosystem representing influences at removed levels. Implicitly, the learners tend to do in schools what they do or is done in the communities. Inkosi Mphathi openly appealed to Izinduna and other community leaders to work as teams with schools to curb indiscipline in the society and among the learners in the schools. Details and examples of this point can be obtained in Section 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven, Section 6.3.1 of Chapter Six as well as Section 5.4.1 of Chapter Five. Implicitly, the respect and discipline that people display in the presence of the traditional leaders in the community can transcend the metaphoric boundaries if traditional leaders can be equally visible in schools and communities. Hence, Inkosi NTV delegated Induna to represent him in the SGB of TSS. This is not provided for in the Schools' Act which stipulates that such an arrangement is not applicable in the schools which fall under Section 14 of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996b).

In Sinono Community, Mr Joyisa was regarded as an umbrella which protected both the community and the school. He kept the school and the community glued together and made himself available to the MSS and co-operated with Mr Cool in most school and community activities. These conclusions confirm the findings by Logan (2013) that traditional leaders represent community identity, unity, continuity and stability in the public space. Consequently, MSS learners were disciplined and there were no conflicts reported. The voice of Mr Cool bragging that he spends most of his time worrying about improving learner outcomes confirms the assertions by numerous researcher that teaching and learning occurs better where discipline is under control (Lapperts, 2012; Simofurosa & Rosemary, 2014).

In the Emfuleni Community, Inkosi was seen as a vital link between HSS and the community. Inkosi worked closely with Mawisa and the police. Mawisa often represented HSS in the school- community partnership meetings. Due to fear of being targeted, the principal, Mr Brave delegated Mawisa to actively represent the school in various partnership activities. His fears emanated from the gunshot he had sustained when he was shot by a learner. Fear of learners is a well-documented feeling among many secondary school teachers in the country (Baruth & Mokoena, 2016; Kapueja, 2014). Among other reasons for HSS to actively co-operate with Inkosi are problems of some people that often brew conflicts among the learners, sometimes from outside the school premises. The principal and the SGB had realised that they were helpless since the Schools Act of 1996 does not have a provision for dealing with culprits in the community.

On the other hand, asking the police to act on such a matter, participants concluded that it did not lead to any prosecution unless someone had opened a case and had witnesses to back the charge. Ms Buka noted that police required a case number as proof that the case was reported before they could act. That means that if an informer, for instance, who was a learner had confided to Mawisa with the condition of anonymity, the school would have to go through a lot of red tape if their intention was to hand the matter over to the police. Therefore, as a school, they chose what was convenient and effective and that was partnering with the community through working closely with mainly the traditional leaders. Without arguing about who initiated the school-community partnership, but the vital role played by traditional leaders in the partnership between the schools and the community was acknowledged by the participants and evidenced by the reduction of incidents of indiscipline in schools.

8.5.1.3 Schools exploit the respect traditional leaders enjoy in community to minimise learner misbehaviour in the schools

The emerging pattern in all the schools in the study is that school management and traditional leaders collaboratively deal with learner misbehaviours. School principals are aware of the respect that traditional leaders enjoy in the community, and by extension, in the schools as well. Schools exploit this respect to, for instance, scare misbehaving learners. Mr Newman summarised how some schools in the Ilembe district jointly with traditional leaders maintain discipline in schools. He said:

Amakhosi play a pivotal role when it comes to safety issues because Amakhosi have a better understanding of communities where the schools are situated. They know who leaves here and who leaves there. So, as Education Department, Community Safety and SAPS, we could not win that battle unless we involved Amakhosi because of their influence and the power and knowledge they wield in the communities.

The principal of MSS, Mr Cool confirmed the positive role of played by the TL in school when he bragged that teachers in the cottages hardly lock during the day due to the safety provided by induna at school. Mr Cool said, *“Traditional leaders play a major role in safety and security. As a result, we feel safe such that we hardly lock our cottages in school”*.

This observation confirms the finding by Tshika (2014) where the SMT was proud of the safety and security provided by traditional leaders at the school. The local TL looked after the school such that there was no formally employed school security who was on guard after hours.

In this study, one of the wishes of the participants, the principals and the SGBs, as well as, the traditional leaders, was to chase the learners and other elements in the community away from engaging in mischief. The principals and the SGBs used traditional leaders to play that role of scaring learners away from being unruly. Section 5.4.1 of Chapter Five and 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven provide more details on this matter. In order to be effective in playing this role, some traditional leaders flouted some sections of the law. Inkosi Mphathi kept complaining that the government has prohibited the ‘scaring of learners’ by the schools. He was actually referring to the prohibition of corporal punishment. Even then, learner culprits who were found guilty in the traditional courts could opt for lashes instead of, for instance, manual labour which they were to serve hourly for a couple of days. Traditional leaders allowed the option of lashes to be administered by the parents or the guardians, and such actions are clearly against the stipulations of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996a) and Section 10 of the South African Constitution which prohibit corporal punishment. In some cases, stubborn learners who repeated similar offences were expelled from schools. More details on this matter can be found in Section 7.3.3.2 of Chapter Seven. However, neither the SGBs nor the traditional leaders had the powers to expel a learner. Only the SGB can, in terms of Section 9 of the Schools Act, forward recommendations for expulsion to the provincial Head of Department (RSA, 1996b). In addition, sometimes, the learners had to apologise to the teachers and other learners during the morning assembly and denounce their actions publicly. Although the intention of these

sentences by the traditional courts was to distance learners from being unruly, it is clear that they violated the provisions of the Schools Act, and were thus unlawful.

The participants, particularly, the principals and the SGBs Chairpersons, saw the traditional leaders to be suitable for performing the ‘scaring task’ because of their immeasurable respect and authority that they enjoyed in the communities. It is evident that such strategies worked in these contexts and members of the community, including the parents and the learners did not contest what was happening to their learners. In addition, it is clear that people who were tired of crime, lawlessness and learner discipline challenges, were happier that the problems were resolved rather than focusing on the means of resolving them. Arguably, the respect given to people in these communities had different levels. The level of respect which was accorded to the traditional leaders was higher than any one that was given to the parents and the teachers. In this regard, Ms Buka said, “...*learners respect Amakhosi more than their teachers; they respect Izinduna more than their parents*”. More details on this matter can be found in Section 5.4.3 of Chapter Five. This is consistent with the views expressed by Michalopoulos and Papaionnou (2015) that traditional leaders tend to be more trusted within areas of their jurisdiction than, for instance, the government officials, the parliamentarians and even, the police officers. In this regard, I observed that the principals and the SGBs had lost hope in implementing learner codes of conduct when dealing with cases of learner indiscipline. Instead of following other departmental policies, they invented other means. Hence, Mr Brave referred to the government prescripts as toothless. Section 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven has more details on this matter. I conclude that participants exploited the respect which traditional leaders enjoy in order to scare learners from doing mischief in schools.

8.5.1.4 Complex traditional leadership status in the partnership with schools

The understanding of the principals and the SGBs of the role of traditional leaders in schools was that there should be some kind of collaboration between them and traditional leaders although the status of traditional leadership in the SGB was still unclear (Luthuli, 2015). Therefore, the status of traditional leaders in the partnership with schools was subject to debate and subsequently their participation varied in the three schools. Mr Cool opted to closely interact with Induna without giving him any status in the SGB. He was opposed to the inclusion of Induna, Mr Joyisa in the SGB of MSS. The rationale for this approach was that Induna had the last say on disputes in the community or disciplinary matters which were escalated to the

traditional leadership by the school. Induna as part of traditional leadership structure was regarded as an overarching and trustworthy voice inside and outside the school and therefore, should be neutral and not be seen to be conflicted when dealing with school/community matters.

Although Mr Cool was not in favour of co-opting Induna, Mr Joyisa but they kept him informed about all the developments in MSS. They involved Mr Joyisa in all stages of the school happenings and projects. In return, Mr Joyisa trusted and respected the Mr Cool and the SGB. Mr Cool confirmed that Induna trusted him when he said whenever matters about the school were brought to Mr Joyisa, his initial questions would be: “*Have you informed the SGB? What did they say?*” This suggested traditional leaders and the school had a strong relationship based on trust although Mr Joyisa was not an SGB member. On the other hand, the principal and the SGB of TSS adhered to the advice of Mr Newman that the traditional leaders can be co-opted into the SGB in terms of Section 30 of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996b). Hence, there was Induna who represented Inkosi in the SGB and played a liaison function between the school and the Traditional Leadership Council. The details on this matter can be found in Section 5.3.4 of Chapter Five. The principal of TSS, Mr Pepper’s approach was to co-opt Inkosi NTV to be part of the SGB. However, because of Inkosi’s daily commitments Inkosi delegated one of the Induna who was conversant with educational matters to sit in the SGB on his behalf. The principal had reasons for affording Inkosi the space in the SGB. One of the reasons was that the principal wanted to repel unruly learners who often become disruptive in schools where traditional leaders are not visible. Consistent with this view, Niemann, et al. (2010) posit that leadership is a collaborative and co-operative activity.

The suggestion to afford the traditional leaders a permanent seat in the SGB has implications for the constitution of the SGB as a structure. In addition, it has implications in terms of SGB’s effectiveness and responsiveness to local dynamics and complexities. This move may also have other implications related to other leadership principles which are associated with invitational leadership. Such an act may also have other implications that relate to the blurring of boundaries between communities and schools. Implicitly, Mr Pepper concurred with numerous scholars (Ngunjiri, 2016; Nzimakwe, 2014; Msibi, 2012) to name a few, that some learners who are unruly at school can appear as angels in homes where Ubuntu values including respect are practiced. In the community their unruly behaviour is contained by numerous values including fear and respect for traditional leadership authority. Hence, the SGB co-opted Inkosi

NTV in order to legitimise the leadership role of principals and indirectly, the SGB. Bhengu and Mbokazi (2008) made a similar finding in the study they conducted on the involvement of traditional leaders in schools. In response traditional leaders rubber stamped school decisions in support of principals and SGBs to advance joint authority of principals and traditional leaders in schools.

What was done in TSS was also observed in HSS; the school engaged traditional leaders when the school discipline was under threat. Otherwise, the traditional leaders had no clear status in the SGB except for some SGB members who co-incidentally happened to be members of the traditional council. Those members were then used to disseminate new developments to the traditional leadership structure. In the context of the ordinary schools such as TSS, the role and the co-option of Inkosi was complex and controversial. According to the Schools Act, by co-opting Inkosi NTV, Mr Pepper indirectly placed Inkosi at the same level as the landlord in the SGB of a public school on private land (RSA, 1996b). But, TSS was an ordinary public school in terms of the Schools Act. Inkosi was not a parent of any learner and therefore, was not eligible to be a member of the SGB in which case, he could only be co-opted for his expertise as provided for in Section 23 and 30 of the Schools Act (RSA, 1996b).

Similar to findings by other researchers on traditional leaders' involvement in schools (Tshika, 2014; Mbokazi, 2015), Inkosi NTV, like other traditional leaders, was known to wield authority and was highly respected. Could that be regarded as the expertise for which an Inkosi or Induna can be co-opted by the SGBs? Or should traditional leaders only be regarded as owners of the rural community land on which schools are built? Research has shown that local communities already regard traditional leaders as owners of the land due to the power they wield in the issues of land use (Mbokazi & Bhengu, 2008; Mbokazi, 2015). But that is a subject for another study. Notably, schools deviated from adopted school policies and resorted to their own creative ways to partner with traditional leaders. However, I argue that although SGBs and school principals closely interacted with traditional leaders but the status of traditional leaders in the SGB was complex and dubious. Principals were the ones who set the agenda and simply used traditional leaders to rubber stamp the SGB resolutions to crush learner upheavals when called upon to do so.

8.5.2 Interaction of traditional leaders with schools

In this section I conduct an analysis of how the role traditional leaders played in maintaining learner discipline was experienced across the three sites. Among other things that became evident about traditional leaders' interactions with schools is that they engaged in conflict prevention and discipline maintenance as part of their strategy of maintaining learner discipline in schools. Other leadership issues such as being invitational and adopting values and principles associated with Ubuntu philosophy are discussed because they featured prominently throughout their interactions with schools. I begin by discussing the TL practices of conflict prevention and discipline maintenance.

8.5.2.1 Traditional leadership practices of conflict prevention and discipline maintenance

Sometimes traditional leaders interacted with school principals in order to prevent conflicts from occurring inside the schools and also maintain learner discipline. This was the case in all three schools as presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Traditional leaders sometimes detected potential conflicts through the information gathered from various sources. They would then become proactive and put in place measures to intercept the ploys intended to disrupt schooling. Traditional leaders interacted with schools and exchanged the information they had at their disposal as was the case in the study conducted by Mbokazi and Bhengu (2008). In HSS, the chairperson of the SGB played a leading role in obtaining and conveying underground information which he got using his informers. Consequently, the perpetrators of the plots were exposed and punished. The potential conflicts were prevented.

Although Induna, Mr Joyisa had stable school-community partnership but he also played a major role in preventing conflicts thus maintaining discipline at MSS. He initiated the welcome back of teachers from holidays and talk to learners during assembly at the beginning of every year and also at the beginning of the second term. The interaction of Mr Joyisa with schools enhanced learner discipline and indirectly created the environment that is conducive to teaching and learning. As highlighted previously, Mr Cool was working collaboratively with Induna for more than eight years. During this period, they had established a good culture of learner discipline. As a consequence, teaching and learning had not been disturbed since this interaction began as far back as in 2005. Simofurosa and Rosemary (2014) argue that learner discipline is the prerequisite for any effective learning to take place.

The other two schools, TSS and HSS, were still struggling with attempts to reduce indiscipline as late as 2016. Although this study did not intend to establish the impacts of learner indiscipline on learner performance, I noted that MSS had the best learner performance when compared to the other two schools (see **Table 2**). To this end, Simofurosa and Rosemary (2014) further assert that the success of the lessons in the classroom depends on many factors one of which is the discipline in school. Maintenance of discipline contributed towards the creation of the environment that was conducive to teaching and learning. Hence, the learner performance was higher at MSS than in the other two schools.

8.5.2.2 Custodianship of African culture and heritage

Traditional leaders epitomise unity as well as the continuity of culture and traditions in the public space (Logan, 2013; Modise, 2013; Poovan, et al., 2006). Also, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act stipulates that the other role of traditional leadership is to be custodians of culture in the communities (RSA, 2003). One of the ways in which traditional leaders responded to such a call, they organised cultural activities aimed at, among other things, curbing community youth indiscipline and pass onto them the culture in which they were raised by previous generations. Since the majority of learners form part of the community youth, these activities subsequently impacted on schools in varied ways. On Heritage Days, learners performed various activities wearing the traditional attire which reflected their age cohort in the community. Different age groups had their own traditional attire which identifies them from others. The manner in which learners carried themselves on these days depicted respect for themselves and for people in general. Adults including teachers and community leaders would ululate and whistle in appreciation of various renditions. This was the case during the Heritage Day at Sabalele playgrounds (**See Figure 10**)

Throughout the participating communities, youth sessions organised by Amakhosi, reiterated the culture of respect, how learners and other people in attendance should carry themselves where ever they go. Notably, during these sessions, learners were addressed as if they were adults in *Es'hlahleni* gatherings. For example, boys were addressed as '*madoda*' meaning country men. Learners attended age cohort sessions in order to be part of cultural activities. For example, in Emfuleni, girls who attended the girl sessions had a choice to participate in the annual Reed Dance celebrations organised and attended by His majesty the King of the Zulu

nation and other dignitaries from distant places. By engaging learners in these activities, the participating schools were hoping to improve their character and behaviour as Nzimakwe (2014) posits that Ubuntu has values that are concerned with both the character and the behaviour of a person. Through these activities traditional leaders aimed at reviving the African culture of respect and other traditions. More details on this matter can be found in Section 5.4.3 of Chapter Five and Section 7.3.2.1 of Chapter Seven. Examples of some of these cultural activities can be seen in the photograph taken outside Sabalele Community traditional court.



Figure 10. Learners and teachers during the Heritage Day at Sabalele Community.

During Heritage Day, some learners displayed placards against prohibited substances and forms of indiscipline in schools. Numerous researchers posit that culture is passed from generation to generation through proverbs, metaphors, expressions, Amahubo, ingoma and other genres (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Ngunjiri, 2016). Cultural activities assist in reviving culture and values of Ubuntu (Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2003). This was the hope of traditional leaders and schools when they celebrated Heritage Day annually. For instance, in Sabalele Community Heritage Day celebrations were jointly organised by the schools and the local traditional leaders. During these activities all people in attendance tended to practice and

display respect, particularly in the presence of traditional leaders and other guests. Everybody from the school or the community when attending such activities did not want to be remembered for being disrespectful and uncultured on the day. Nzimakwe (2014) argues that where there is Ubuntu there is a concerted effort and commitment to bringing sense not only to one's own life but also to the lives of others. During these proceedings the attendees including learners would talk to each other respectfully by addressing one another using praise names instead of the first names. At least for those few hours, learners displayed some of the key values of Ubuntu submitted by Mbigi (1997) which are solidarity spirit, respect, compassion and dignity. Survival was more visible in communities. On such days learners behaved in a disciplined manner like most adults. This is how learners got impacted upon by the cultural and heritage activities.

8.5.2.3 Traditional leadership promotion of indigenous practices underpinned by values of Ubuntu

Among some indigenous practices which traditional leaders promoted are age cohort sessions which were separate for boys and girls and cultural day celebrations as explained in Section 8.5.2.2 of Chapter Eight. Traditional leaders displayed similarities in enhancing the continuum of the African value system that is embedded in the customs and beliefs of the communities (Kamwangamalu, 1999). For instance, all three traditional leaders wanted to retain and enhance Ubuntu values which promote respect in the community and in schools. Their wish was that children who come out of the school system carry with them community value systems of caring, communalism and the protection of the weak, to mention just a few.

During certain weekends and school holidays, school going age cohorts of boys and girls were addressed in distinct venues by selected trustworthy men and women on issues of morals and manhood as well as womanhood in terms of the African culture. These were some of attempts to keep community values such that the education that children receive in schools does not suppress or override these indigenous values. More details on this can be found in Sections 7.3.2.1 of Chapter Seven and 6.3.2.1 of Chapter Six. The emphasis of all traditional leaders was on preparing the youth for the future. Respect was the most important value of Ubuntu which was highlighted to all youth cohorts in all the communities.

Cultural and heritage days were sometimes celebrated jointly by the schools and the communities as was the case in **Figure 10**. This is how Ubuntu values are passed from generation to generation although they are not part of the school syllabus (Kamwangamalu, 1999). Furthermore, the ecosystemic levels of learner existence involves interaction between individuals and their peers, families, communities and schools (Guckin & Minton, 2014). This value of Ubuntu was always mentioned by all the participants as the most important value that must be embraced by the youth in order for discipline to be maintained. This is harmony with the spirit of upholding Ubuntu values which express the interconnectedness and the responsibility of the African people to each other (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Ngunjiri, 2016). Ubuntu is the underlying value system which runs through the beliefs, customs and practices of various African societies (Muzvidziwa & Muzvidziwa, 2012; Msila, 2008).

8.5.3 Broad leadership approaches across the schools and communities: Complexities, Challenges and Opportunities

The pattern that emerged from descriptive data suggests that various leadership approaches were used by traditional leaders across the three communities. It is also evident that interactions between the two important stakeholders in education was fraught with complexities and challenges which are manifested in many ways. What constitutes such complexities is the fact that in many instances, it is not clear whether initiatives that traditional leaders took were the outcomes of school principal's invitation disposition. In short, it is unclear if the manner in which the principal embraces the traditional leaders' activities in the school relates to the extent to which the traditional leader feels free to express his views and initiate things in the school or not. Nevertheless, what is evident is that interactions between traditional leaders and schools was characterised by diversity and contradictions in approaches. Some leadership reactive in their approaches, and their interventions were triggered by learner problems of indiscipline in schools. Therefore, their interactions can be described as *ad hoc* and reactionary. In those circumstances the principal invites or approaches the traditional leader, and reverse is true where traditional leaders initiated the ideas. In the second scenario where interactions are not reactionary, the principal and thus the schools on one hand and communities on the other, had stable ongoing partnership which was characterised by mutual invitational approach and Ubuntu principles. I next discuss the two approaches that characterised by traditional leaders' leadership practices, namely, *ad hoc* and reactionary working relationship of traditional

leadership and schools; Invitational leadership practices of traditional leaders; Ubuntu principles forming the basis of traditional leadership approaches

8.5.3.1 *Ad hoc* and reactionary working relationship of traditional leaders and schools

The interactions between traditional leaders and schools in TSS and HSS were largely characterised by a series of *ad hoc* reactions directed at quelling the unbecoming conduct of learners. Often, incidents of learner misconduct in the schools originated from outside the school premises. Later on, conflicts would then erupt within the school premises to disrupt teaching and learning. The schools would then react to the situations of learner indiscipline by inviting traditional leaders to use their authority and bring calm in schools. For instance, the sandals belonging to one boy at TSS were stolen in the sporting fields during the weekend, only to be recovered through the intervention of Induna. Details on this matter can be obtained in Section 5.3.3 of Chapter Five. The school was not in a position to preside over such a case since some witnesses were not learners at the school. Moreover, other witnesses were ordinary community people on whom the school did not have authority. That is how the need to involve the community leadership began. In return, traditional leaders would request the school to give them support during the hearings. The interaction was simply an *ad hoc* reactionary kind of leadership. They had no clear partnership and standing processes to be followed since their close interaction was created by impromptu situations that had arisen. Otherwise, they did not have ongoing dealings. Traditional leaders responded positively when asked to intervene because they feared the school may be closed if there was turmoil at the school. Also, Inkosi Mphathi was doing everything he could do to see the school producing future leaders in the community. In these two schools, traditional leaders were more visible when the school needed assistance from Inkosi and/or Induna. Traditional leaders themselves did not take any initiative to address issues affecting the schools.

8.5.3.2 Invitational leadership practices of traditional leaders

The interactions between some principals and traditional leaders had a stable relationship characterised by principles of invitational leadership. For some leaders, such interactions were voluntary and embrative of each other while for others, there was a question of tolerating each other for the duration of the unrests in schools. In MSS the initiatives of traditional leaders were voluntary and uncompelled. It was a characteristic of invitational leadership principles.

Even in festivities that were organised in the community, the principal and the rest of the educators at MSS were invited to attend as members of the Sinono Community. The approach of inviting others in processes and programmes that are intentionally designed to invite development is a characteristic of invitational leadership (Purkey & Novak, 1984). My using the term ‘invitation’ is not just based on the act of traditional leaders inviting the schools, but it is founded on deep meaning associated with core values and principles of invitational leadership. These relate to messages that are communicated to people, (intentional or unintentional), which inform them that they are able, responsible and worthwhile. These ‘invitations’ are communicated through the leader’s interactions with staff and other people, programmes and practices in organisational setup, as well as the physical environment (Purkey & Novak, 1996). According to Invitational Leadership theory, the way a leader interacts with others will display either invitations or ‘disinvitations’. ‘Disinvitations’ metaphor refers to messages to people (intentional or unintentional), which are uncaring, demeaning, devaluing, intolerant, discriminatory, and hurtful (Stoll & Fink, 1996). However, some values of invitational leadership were arguably contradicted during the interaction of Mr Cool and Mr Joyisa.

Contrary to the values of invitational leadership, Mr Cool had some reservations about working closely with Induna Mr Joyisa. In his own words he said he was not going to freely work with Induna if he was a member of the SGB. Arguably, Mr Cool had other reasons for not co-opting Induna. Firstly, I note that Mr Joyisa was highly respected and powerful in the community as a result it was not going to be easy to engage Mr Joyisa in debates that often ensued during the SGB meetings without being perceived by the parent component of the SGB to be disrespectful. Secondly, Mr Cool wanted to be free when managing the school. He did not want to run the risk of being overshadowed by the presence of Mr Joyisa. Also, the membership of MSS SGB was dominated by females who, like any member of the community, respected Induna more than anybody else in Sinono Community as explained earlier. Lastly, due to the silence of the Schools Act on the co-option of traditional leaders to the SGB there is no provision for traditional leadership protocols in school governance meetings.

In my opinion this poses questions whether or not the reluctance to closely work with Induna is as a result of the conflict which often leads to a stale mate between the systems of the modern liberal democracy versus those of traditional African democracy, as Koenane (2017) argues. Koenane (2017) posits that traditional African democracy has a system known as consensus

that is often used by indigenous leaders to arrive at decisions through considering everyone's point of view. He argues that this system is far better than the 'majority rule' of the modern liberal democracy which divides people in terms of one person one vote to make decisions (Koenane, 2017). I do not intend getting into the debate about these two forms of democracy. Rather, I want to elaborate on debates which the SGBs go through before they consider possible collaborations with Amakhosi and Izinduna. Against such debates, the SGB and Mr Cool took the route of not co-opting induna for numerous reasons including the ones I have just mentioned. Nonetheless, I argue that lack of trust for Induna on the part of Mr Cool contradicts the values of IL.

Wasanika, et al. (2011), citing Kiggundu (1989), argue that respect for hierarchy which is characteristic of traditional leadership can be seen as the unconditional obedience to instructions and directives. In the study conducted by Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2015), it was revealed that in many African Countries there were fears among many including school governors that emanated from the negative impacts of traditional leaders' dominance particularly, in government departments in Sub-Saharan Africa. These negative impacts include the dissemination of conflicts and authoritarianism. Hence, the reluctance to co-opt induna into the SGB can be as a result of fears for their dominance. In this study, traditional leaders saw the need to collaborate with school principals in order to assist schools to fight learner indiscipline but were reluctant to approach the principals. Later on, the mutual trust developed and they started to exchange invitations in their attempts to quell learner indiscipline. Invitational leadership was evidently used to transverse the metaphoric boundaries between schools and communities (Bhengu & Myende, 2015). This does not imply that other leadership approaches were insignificant but for purposes of this study more focus is on Invitational leadership which is part of the theoretical framework. I argue that invitational leadership of both traditional leaders and school principals contributed immensely towards the maintenance of learner discipline in schools.

8.5.3.3 Ubuntu principles forming the basis of traditional leadership approaches

Ubuntu principles and the principles of leadership and good governance are compatible and complementary (Msila, 2014). Nzimakwe (2014) posits that most principles or values that underpin Ubuntu are universal. These values are practiced in different ways in various sectors of societies in East Asia, Europe and Africa. Interdependence is much valued in Africa as it is

in Asia (Kamwangamalu, 1999). As it was the case in the participating schools in relation to school leadership, Msila (2008) posits that the principles of Ubuntu can positively impact school leadership when applied effectively. Ubuntu principles embodied the basis of traditional leaders' approaches to leadership. Where parents were absent or exercising no authority in the household, traditional leaders filled in that vacuum in the spirit of Ubuntu. Lutz (2009) posits that the ethics that come with Ubuntu invites persons to recognise that they can achieve their own true good by promoting the good of others.

Ubuntu calls for strangers to be treated with the level of warmth that one would afford their own family. Traditional leaders embraced the non-resident educators who stay in the school cottages. For example, in Sinono Community, Mr Joyisa pleaded for the water tanker to supply water to the school on behalf of teachers who were staying in the cottages. Water tankers were on duty delivering water to people in the community and not to teachers from distant places who stayed in the school cottages. This is against the essence of Ubuntu which says that an individual owes his/her existence to the existence of others (Bhengu, 1996; Kamwangamalu, 1999). Under normal circumstances, it is the ward councillor who designates nodal points in the community where people gather to collect water. In this instance the school was not one of the nodal points. But Induna, in the spirit of leading a communal life, took it upon himself to embrace teachers by regarding them as citizens and the school as one of the 'homesteads' whose occupants deserved to be given water. In line with Ubuntu principles, teachers in the cottages were not treated as strangers. Instead, they were regarded as members of the community and were welcome to attend and enjoy themselves in all community functions that took place during the week-ends or holidays. This is in harmony with Ubuntu communalism which stipulates that in the African context a person lives for the community and not for himself/herself as an individual (Kamwangamalu, 1999). I must also mention here that the scenario I summarise in this section did not feature in all three rural communities in the study, but in two, namely, Sinono and Emfuleni.

Furthermore, the strong presence of traditional leadership authority in communities brought stability in many homesteads as well as in schools. Ubuntu means caring and sharing with others (Msila, 2015). In the spirit of 'I am because you are', traditional leaders filled the vacuum created by the absence of parents and sometimes the weakened authority of the heads of the households. The proverbs '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*' meaning 'a person is person through other people' and 'anyone who is as young as my child is my child', were put into

practice when traditional leaders stood in the place of the weak or absent parents. Nzimakwe (2014) asserts that Ubuntu expresses the opposite of being selfish and self-centred.

When cases of indiscipline went beyond the premises of schools or homesteads and were brought to the Traditional Leadership Council, traditional leaders did not hesitate to act decisively. The evidence of parents who took the side of the accused children in exchange for favours from children were discredited and parents exposed as presented by Mr Joyisa of MSS. In that way, the learners who had misbehaved were exposed and had to face disciplinary measures against him. In the spirit of ‘your child is my child’, Mr Joyisa asked parents why they thought the child would suddenly abandon undisciplined behaviour and obey school rules. Details on this matter can be found in Section 6.3.3 Chapter Six. That is one reason why Mr Cool regarded Induna, Mr Joyisa as an umbrella or overseer in the Sinono community.

8.6 Key concepts characterising the importance of traditional leaders in leading and managing learner discipline in rural schools

In this section, I briefly discuss key concepts that characterise the importance of traditional leaders’ role in leading and managing learner discipline in rural contexts. These concepts further provide insights about the context within which to understand learner discipline and how different role players can impact on it or be impacted by it. In order to express the complementary role of the principles of Ubuntu embedded in traditional leaders’ approaches to leadership practices and the leadership of school principals (Nzimakwe, 2014) in the maintenance of discipline in rural schools, I will use IsiZulu expressions and metaphors as subheadings. This symbolises the African indigenous approaches merging with the school governance of the democratic dispensation in the attempts to maintain learner discipline. Others refer to this concept as hybridisation (Logan, 2013) when leaders embrace African traditional leadership approaches while being active democrats. The metaphors and expressions that will be used are, ‘Izandla ziyagezana!’; ‘Ingwe idla ngamabala!’ ‘Ikhohlisana ihlomile!’ The first two metaphors describe the context of rural and African relations and the last two describe the behaviours and strategic positioning of indigenous African people in the community.

Later on, I briefly discuss an emerging model which describes the importance of the intersection and interconnection of the three distinct spaces that the learners travel on daily basis, namely, the home/household, the school and the space in between (community). In my

presentation, I argue that learners are found predominantly in these three important spaces. The learner contexts have been briefly discussed in households and in schools located in the three communities in varied ways throughout Chapters Five, Six and Seven. What has not been analysed is the path travelled by the learners as they go back and forth between school and home. For reasons that I will explain, I argue that this path between home and school goes through a metaphoric ‘jungle’. Therefore, I begin sketching the model of leading and managing learner discipline in rural schools. I sketch this model by explaining the concepts that characterise the relationship between the traditional leaders and school principals as they grapple with issues of learner discipline before and during school as well as after hours. Notably, learners do not become learners only when they enter the school premises. In my view, they are learners starting from home till they get into class and back. Hence, the need for school principals to interact with community leaders, particularly traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools.

8.6.1 ‘Izandla ziyagezana’ – *Hands wash each other*

The role played by traditional leaders and principals in maintaining learner discipline can be explained using IsiZulu metaphor, *Izandla ziyagezana*, loosely translated, ‘hands wash each other’. This metaphor is often used when expressing the interdependence of two entities or individuals in a particular context. The metaphor expresses one of the values of Ubuntu while also entrenching the notion of symbiotic relationship of mutualism (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) between schools and local communities. As alluded to earlier, school principals were faced with disciplinary problems of learners which they could not tackle alone as schools. The challenges of learner indiscipline were not confined to activities within the school boundaries. Regardless of whether or not they started in communities, but the reality is that the problems of learner indiscipline ultimately spilled over into the schools. Therefore, adult members of the society have to be involved in tasks of child upbringing, guiding and educating them, which is more than what the schools alone can offer (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003). The leadership approach adopted by traditional leaders and principals became fluid and evolved in order to accommodate what they thought would work in their context (Bhengu & Myende, 2015). In line with the values of Ubuntu the metaphor *Izandla ziyagezana* expresses the interconnectedness of schools and their communities. Similarly, the communities and schools needed that kind of co-operation. In the context of this study, school principals sought assistance from local communities and traditional leaders responded as custodians of

communal and interconnected life which is enshrined in Ubuntu (Kamwangamalu, 1999). Attesting to this African culture Inkosi Mphathi said, “*The school and the community must come together so that our schools can be secure*”. The explanation why schools needed to co-operate with various stakeholders in the community was given by Mawisa when he said:

After all, the joint operation involving everybody is necessary if problems including learner skirmishes are to be prevented. These learner problems do not remain within the school premises but they spill over to the community, the terrain of the police. For that reason, the police were approached to be part of the safety and security committee.

Communities also depended on schools to provide special knowledge and skills that today’s world requires of the youth. Therefore, it is in the interest of both the schools and the communities that their children grow up properly and pass through all education levels successfully. For that to happen, the environment must be conducive to effective teaching and learning (Mkhize, 2017). Out of various leaders in the community such as political, religious, business to mention a few, schools opted to closely collaborate with traditional leaders for reasons that will be discussed in the next subsection. In the next subsection, I briefly mention the role played by traditional leaders which distinguished them from other leaders in the community.

8.6.2 ‘Ingwe idla ngamabala!’ – Gaining followers through good deeds

Traditional leaders’ ways of dealing with indiscipline distinguished Amakhosi and Izinduna from other leaders in the community. Briefly, this is how traditional leaders’ practices were perceived in schools. First, I should highlight that traditional leaders welcomed the collaboration between themselves and the schools; the schools too, welcomed the collaboration between the two. One of the reasons for the school principals’ choosing to collaborate with traditional leaders can best be described using a Zulu metaphor, *Ingwe idla ngamabala*, literally translated - ‘the leopard is admired for its spots’. It actually means, ‘it is your good deeds that will attract people towards you’. In this subsection, I mention and discuss briefly, ways in which traditional leaders dealt with discipline issues in the community and subsequently, school principals escalated or sometimes, simply outsourced other cases of learner indiscipline to traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders in all three schools upheld respect as understood within Ubuntu philosophy as described by Msila (2008). Good behaviour and discipline in rural communities is often associated with respect as a value of Ubuntu (Ngunjiri, 2016). Respect for self, others, property and for life in general is a value of Ubuntu (Mbigi, 2007; Prinsloo, 2000) that traditional leaders uphold and inculcate. On this point Mr Joyisa said:

Even when you are appointed to the topmost position and you become filthy rich but if you are not respectful you are a nonentity together with your wealth. Respect comes first.

Therefore, it is a common practice for people including parents and learners in rural communities to show respect, more so, in the presence of traditional leaders. According to the participants, traditional leaders enjoyed the highest level of respect above anyone else in schools and even in their communities. Ms Buka testified to this point when she emphasised that learners respected traditional leaders more than, for instance, the teachers and the parents. Therefore, principals needed to collaborate with such people if they were to successfully maintain learner discipline in schools. Naicker (2015) propagates the injection of the African philosophy of Ubuntu as a norm into African school leadership. He further recommends that school principals should be capacitated to infuse Ubuntu values in their day-to-day practices of leadership.

Traditional leaders were able to bring learners under control even where principals and/ parents had lost control. In some cases, learners had become the law unto themselves and would be uncontrollable, especially in their homes where parents had lost control of the situation and often sided with their children in exchange for certain favours from them. This scenario was prevalent in Emfuleni Community where Hlobani Secondary School is located. In that community, it is reported that traditional leaders would use information at their disposal to expose such parents and learners as Mr Joyisa eluded earlier. Sometimes, some members of the Traditional Leadership Council (TLC) were also members of the SGB. Their membership in the SGB gave huge credibility to the SGB. Mr Brave attested:

We cannot do much if the TLC members who are in the SGB can be withdrawn. Parents and learners regard TLC members as authorities. In their absence, learners can do as they please knowing that that teachers will do nothing. They are helpless.

In some instances, traditional leaders went against the law in order to maintain discipline. For instance, in some cases the traditional court would by consensus resolve that a deliberate repeat offender must be expelled from the school. The reasons they submitted for doing what they did

was that they were trying to avoid the conflicts which could ultimately lead to the closure of the schools. For instance, Mr Cool explained:

When they conclude that a learner has been reprimanded but still continues to be unruly, they would put aside departmental procedures and expel the learner from school. This is done to avoid ongoing conflicts.

Also, unruly community elements standing or passing near the school can be disruptive to the school proceedings. The schools have no authority over such people if they are outside the school premises. Traditional leaders often defended the schools and punished such people. For instance, the boys who were passing by the school and then insulted the security guard at MSS were reported to Induna, Mr Joyisa. Induna found them and they were summoned to the traditional court. The punishments meted out to anyone who was found guilty in the traditional courts is what most learners abhorred. Often, the punishment impacted on learners directly as culprits and sometimes affected parents. Mr Brave explained:

If a learner thinks of engaging in a fight with others, often you hear others saying: 'Induna will make you to face the consequences in the tribal court'

The case where a fine was in the form of livestock, it was the most serious one because that involved going through the rituals of reporting to the ancestors before for example, a goat can be given away for a fine. The reporting and tendering of an apology to the ancestors in the homestead is done in the presence of the culprit. Ubuntu involves being spiritual and one can seek divine intervention through the values of Ubuntu (Prinsloo, 2000; Ngunjiri, 2016). Being reported to the ancestors for mischief is what everyone in the communities tried to avoid in every way possible. Mr Cool explained how the boys who insulted the security guard were fined. He said:

Finally, the boys were found guilty and consequently each one got a fine of paying a goat to cleanse the school and the security guard. Their parents complied and brought goats..... That assisted us by conveying the message that the school is not a place to do mischief.

Briefly, principals needed quick and effective solutions to the problems of learner indiscipline. According to Mr Brave, following the departmental disciplinary policies was taking too long and at the end these policies proved to be toothless. As a result, principals chose to partner with traditional leaders as people who commanded respect and authority in all levels of the community. Sections 5.4.1 of Chapter Five, Section 6.3.1 of Chapter Six and Section 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven have more details on this point. Therefore, the principals perceived traditional leaders' practices to be effective and appropriate in the maintenance of learner discipline in

schools; hence, they were preferred - *Ingwe idla ngamabala*. Traditional leaders were invited to participate in dealing with cases of learner misconduct, and such invitations were driven by trust and optimism in their capabilities (Niemann, Swanepoel & Marais, 2010). Bhengu (2013) notes that such leadership approaches provides managers with the open mind to identify capabilities of other people with whom they can collaborate.

8.6.3 ‘Ikhohlisana ihlomile!’ – Leaders playing cards close to their chests

Participants in this study expressed a need for the traditional leaders and the school principals to work closely with each other. Sections 5.4.1 of Chapter Five, 6.3.1 of Chapter Six and 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven have more examples that elaborate this point. Due to the silence of the Schools Act on the involvement of traditional leaders in school governance, the participants were not open to one another about how they dealt with learner indiscipline using traditional leaders. Section 5.4.4 of Chapter Five, Section 6.3.4 of Chapter Six and Section 7.3.4 of Chapter Seven provide more details on this point. This section describes how the traditional leaders and the school principals kept their strategies of maintaining learner discipline confidential. However departmental officials knew about these strategies but preferred not to comment about them openly as long as their practices were effective in the maintenance of learner discipline. Evidently, one may argue that officials of the KZN Department of Education were complicit in turning a blind eye to some serious violations of the Law. Nevertheless, it is clear that their interests were also in the functioning of the schools and not necessarily on the means through which such functionality was achieved.

The proverb “*Ikhohlisana ihlomile*” translated literally - ‘regiments can be deceitful to one another’. It refers to the regiments of the same army advancing towards the enemy. Regiments can stand on the same side facing the common enemy but their individual strategies of surviving the war can differ. Figuratively, it means that one does not inform others about what makes him/her succeed (trump card). I use this proverb to highlight the varying approaches adopted by the school principals, the departmental officials and even the traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in the schools without divulging their strategies to one another.

In all the schools, each principal played his cards close to his chest. When taking into account that the three school principals together with their SGBs had a common goal to restore order

and learner discipline in their respective schools, it is not clear why they did not openly discuss their strategies among themselves and include those strategies in school policies. These principals were not open to each other or to the Department of Basic Education about what was actually practiced in their schools. For instance, the setting aside of the policies of the Department in favour of their own innovations was not disclosed. This was problematic in terms of the law since some of these innovations were not in the policies of the respective schools. The position of the Inkosi in the SGB of TSS is not provided for in the Schools Act nor in the policy of TSS. Nonetheless, Inkosi has a special position in the SGB and Induna represents him.

It is also evident that most innovative ideas adopted by the schools in the study were tacitly endorsed by Mr Newman, an official of the department in the province, responsible for issues of school governance. Further, there is no evidence to suggest that he distanced himself from such activities although some of them went beyond the provisions of various policies of the government. Instead of strictly preaching the departmental policy and guide the principals and SGBs accordingly, he also encouraged the SGBs to work closely with local Amakhosi and Izinduna without providing any legislation to justify each one of the practices. Apparently, he was only pleased with the absence of conflicts in schools regardless of how this goal was achieved. I am also aware that sometimes, I tend to take the side of the law and this is based largely on my positionality as a circuit manager who has to ensure that policy implementation occurs. However, I also note my commitment to interpretive paradigm that underpin this study. In terms of that, multiple truths as perceived by the participants are recognised and help us understand the social world from the perspectives of the participants. Therefore, it is clear that the participants in this study did what they had to do and resolve the challenges they faced.

It has also emerged in this study that, the traditional leaders were not always transparent about some of their methods of maintaining learner discipline, some of which overlooked certain provisions of the law. For example, boys who were found guilty of some offences would sometimes ask for few lashes to be meted as an alternative to some other forms of punishment. In that case, the parent/s would then administer those lashes. During that time, the police officials would be in the premises of the traditional court yard, but not inside the court, arguably, to make it appear as if all the proceedings inside the court were official. Their presence assisted the traditional leaders to implement their decisions that brought stability in the schools and the community. Furthermore, stubborn repeat learner offenders could be

expelled from the school and be given transfer letters in order to seek admission in other schools. Inkosi Mphathi and Mawisa attested to this and justified it by arguing that it is all done in order to prevent indiscipline which could lead to the closure of their only secondary schools they have in the community.

In this regard, the principals, the departmental official in Governance section, as well as the traditional leaders had a similar goal of maintaining learner discipline in schools and in the communities. The maintenance of learner discipline was important for both the school environment and the community as these were intricately related. The instability in one environment negatively affected the other. The data presented in the previous three chapters have shown how learner discipline was maintained and what role the traditional leaders played in it. Where the situation had become extremely volatile, with the intervention of traditional leaders, calm was restored. However, each leader was not candid to the others about how that was achieved. Instead each person played his cards close to his chest and did not share what worked for them. Therefore, *Ikhohlisana ihlomile* is an appropriate IsiZulu proverb to use when describing leaders who conceal their winning strategies from others while on the other hand covering up their tracks. Such leadership approaches are based on the belief that the ends justify the means.

8.7 Conclusion

The chapter has attempted to develop a pattern about what the data indicate across the three research sites. Through this chapter, I have been able to explain what the data indicate about how traditional leaders play their role in the maintenance of learners' discipline in rural schools. This chapter has also indicated that the close connection between the schools and the community was felt in similar ways across the three communities. However, the chapter has indicated that the motivation behind the traditional leaders' playing their role differed, largely due to their conception about how and why they should play their role in the maintenance of learners' discipline. While all traditional leaders agreed that they had to play a role, they differed on who should start the process. Two views have dominated this narrative - one is proactive whereas, the other one is reactive. The next chapter presents the findings about the study.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN MAINTAINING LEARNERS’ DISCIPLINE IN RURAL SCHOOLS: SYNTHESIS, FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

9.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I focused on mapping the patterns that emerged from cross site analysis presented in Chapter Five, Chapter Six and Chapter Seven. I have given the across sites analysis chapter a caption, *Amabal’engwe* to depict numerous variations in the narratives around the role played by traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners’ discipline. In Chapter Nine I present the findings of the study and their implications to various stakeholders. The findings from this multi-site case study on the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners’ discipline in schools are presented under the research questions that underpinned the study. This is done in order to logically present the findings while also evaluating the extent to which the critical questions were answered. Before presenting the findings, I begin this chapter by presenting the synthesis of the entire study.

9.2 The synthesis of the thesis

When I undertook to conduct the study, I sought to explore the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners’ discipline in rural schools. The aim was to understand how traditional leaders played the role and how they understood their role to be in terms of maintaining learners’ discipline specifically, and their involvement in the schools’ affairs generally. As a circuit manager, I developed an interest in this study drawing from my informal observations about how traditional leaders interacted with some principals in rural contexts, which coincidentally, related to my own work context. A number of problems that were reported to me which had to do with issues relating to the school principals and their interactions with various traditional leaders, caught my attention and interest. In the monthly reports of school principals, learner discipline was like a standing item, particularly in the secondary schools. Principals reported various forms of learner indiscipline. I observed that some principals had started to work closely with traditional leaders. In one secondary school in my circuit the involvement of traditional leaders contributed to the drastic reduction of problems relating to learners’ discipline. I have shared these anecdotes in Chapter One. In addition to the

developments in one school, there are many other anecdotes about the involvement of traditional leaders that made me ponder as to why some schools work with them while others do not. For that reason, I decided to embark on an empirical study focusing on the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners' discipline in rural schools.

In the introduction of the study in Chapter One, I orientate the readers to the entire inquiry by discussing the issues relevant to the topic after providing the clarification of the key terms. Then, I outline the background to the problem, the statement of the problem, the purpose and the rationale for the study. Further, the significance of the study is presented. The three aims of the study and the three research questions guiding the study are unveiled. In order for the reader to understand the problem at hand, I briefly reviewed the literature on local and global developments and views on the traditional leaders' involvement in schools. The detailed review of the literature is done in Chapter Two. This was necessary for the reader to understand local versus global perspectives on the role of indigenous leadership approaches in maintaining learners' discipline in schools. Finally, Chapter One concludes with the layout of the whole thesis by briefly providing what each of the nine chapters contains.

In Chapter Two, I reviewed literature focusing on learner discipline through the participation of traditional leaders as a structure and individual leaders in this structure. I began by discussing the legislative mandates, and then the current status of learner discipline and the influence of traditional leaders in the schools. I concluded the chapter by presenting debates for and against traditional leader involvement in the governance of schools, in particular those narratives that focus on rural areas. In Chapter Three, I presented the theoretical framework which undergirded the study dealing with traditional leaders and school governance perspectives of grappling with the challenge of maintaining learner discipline. After considering the contexts of the schools and the perspectives of indigenous leadership and school-based participants, as well as the debates on the involvement of traditional leaders in school governance, the ecosystemic theory was used due to its appropriateness in explaining inter- and/or intra-relationships and interconnectedness of organisations and communities (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Pettigrew, 1999). Since schools are regarded as the microcosm of society they can be expected to exist within a network of interconnected relationships. In order to cater for the gap that is created in the balance of the ecosystems when this theory is applied alone on human beings that are known to be manipulative, the concept of Ubuntu was introduced. The values of Ubuntu are upheld and embraced in the communities in which the participant schools are

located. But still, the principals and the traditional leaders could embrace these two theories and put them into practice without involving each other. In order for the traditional leaders and the school principals to successfully interact, it was important that they have mutual trust and be able to invite each other. Therefore, the invitational leadership theory (Purkey & Novak, 1984) was adopted to provide some explanations about their relationships and interactions. Hence, the theoretical framework that I engaged comprises of the ecosystemic and invitational leadership theories plus Ubuntu philosophy.

In Chapter Four, I presented and justified the research design and the methodology that I chose in order to explore the role played by traditional leaders in maintaining learners' discipline in rural schools. I began by declaring the epistemology and the paradigm which was interpretivist. Since I intended spending a longer duration with participants in their contexts, I adopted a multi-site case study approach in the three purposively selected schools. The data was mainly generated through interviews with open-ended questions in IsiZulu so that they could freely express themselves. The interviews were later translated to English. As a circuit manager in the Ilembe district, I was familiar with the school principals, the SGB Chairpersons and traditional leaders in the communities. Therefore, I had a long relationship of trust with some of the participants which made it easy for me to obtain their consent. As a result, they appeared to be free when expressing their feelings during our semi-structured interviews. Before getting into the field to interview the participants I had obtained permission from the KZN DoE to conduct the research. I had also been cleared by the Ethics Committee of the University. Throughout this qualitative study trustworthiness was upheld in order for the study to be dependable, confirmable, transferable and credible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I presented the data from the perspectives of TSS, MSS and HSS. In each of the three sites the principal, SGB Chairperson and the traditional leader of the community in which the school is located were interviewed. The data was so huge that I decided to present it in three chapters in order to give equal attention to each site. Each chapter dealt with data generated from one site at a time. Before presenting the data, the profiles of schools, the communities and the participants were discussed. The stories from the schools were presented under four themes that emerged from the analysis namely, establishing partnership between the schools and the community surrounding the school; the cultural capital around school; actualising the role of traditional leaders and enactment of invitational leadership. In presenting data, *verbatim* quotes in IsiZulu were used in order to ensure the

accuracy of participants' voices. Some data emerged from observations made in between interviews and from few documents that I was allowed to access. Literature did not play a major role in these three chapters but instead it was infused in Chapter Eight.

In Chapter Eight, I conducted the analysis across the three sites and mapped the patterns emerging from the data and linked them to the literature and the theoretical framework presented in Chapters Two and Three. The diverse patterns that emerged are expressed in terms of IsiZulu metaphor '*Amabal'engwe*'. The meaning of the metaphor is explained in Section 8.1 of Chapter Eight. Towards the end of the chapter, I present some conclusions about the context within which to understand learners' discipline and how leaders can impact or be impacted by it. The picture that emerged is that rural school principals needed the traditional leaders in maintaining learners' discipline in schools despite diversity of their approaches. Therefore, the school principals' and traditional leaders' leadership approaches and the way they dealt with learner indiscipline is expressed through IsiZulu metaphors and proverbs to symbolise the convergence of western democratic governance with African indigenous approaches. Possibly, the hybrid leadership can be the consequence of merging these two (Logan, 2009). I conclude the thesis by presenting the findings and the implications of the findings to various stakeholders.

9.3 Presentation of findings

I present the findings under each research question. To remind the reader, the research questions underpinning this study were:

- What role do traditional leaders play in maintaining learners' discipline in rural secondary schools?
- How are traditional leaders' practices of maintaining learners' discipline understood and experienced in rural secondary schools?
- What can be learned from traditional leaders' practices of maintaining learners' discipline in rural secondary schools?

9.3.1 What role do traditional leaders play in maintaining learner discipline in rural secondary schools?

The analysis of data generated three key findings about traditional leaders' role in maintaining learner discipline in rural schools, and they are as follows, (a) Promotion of collaborative work between traditional leadership structure and school principals in the maintenance of discipline; (b) Identification and selection of the most practicable policies for rural contexts; (c) Promotion of indigenous form of respect to underpin learners' general behaviours in schools. These findings are briefly discussed next.

9.3.1.1 Promotion of collaborative work between traditional leadership structure and school principals in maintaining learner discipline

Data has indicated that all traditional leaders in the study valued and prioritised collaboration between themselves and schools for effective learner discipline to be sustained. I must hasten to say that traditional leaders understood that they had to play a role in the maintenance of learners' discipline in schools. However, there were diverse opinions among themselves about how to play this role, with some adopting a proactive approach while others preferred a reactive approach. Reactive approach entailed traditional leaders waiting, for example, for unrests to break out in schools before they act. In short, it is the schools that had to approach them for support before they respond to their request. For instance, Inkosi Mphathi used to wait for unrests to erupt in schools and for principals to approach him. Proactive approach entailed traditional leaders taking initiatives and approaching school leaders and governors with proposals that they believed would obviate disciplinary problems before they erupted. Mr Joyisa belongs to the category of those traditional leaders who are proactive and usually took initiatives. For example, he would welcome teachers back from the Christmas holidays and then seek permission from the principal to address learners on how learners were expected to conduct themselves.

Some traditional leaders preferred to intervene in school unrests when they were approached by principals. They adopted such an approach in order to avoid being regarded by the SGBs and the principals as being intrusive. Inkosi Mphathi, for example, intervened in the HSS feuds after he was approached by the SGB to do so. The principal and the rest of the HSS staff had surrendered the governance of the school to the SGB and the parents for fear of becoming

targeted by the learners. But still, learners became unruly as discussed in Chapter Seven. When the situation further got out of control and the circuit manager was initiating the processes of closing the school, parents approached Inkosi Mphathi to intervene. Similarly, at TSS, Inkosi NTV was approached by Mr Pepper when educators began to avoid going to certain classes which were known to harbour unruly learners as discussed in the background to the study in Chapter One. In both instances, parents' meetings were held in which each learner had to come with his/her parents to the meeting. In these meetings the culprits were exposed and later dealt with in the traditional courts. Meantime, the schools were slowly recuperating towards normality.

Notably, the leadership approaches of these traditional leaders confirm the existence of the metaphoric boundaries between the schools and the communities (Bhengu, 2005; Bhengu & Myende, 2015). Although the schools were within the boundaries of the land under traditional leadership jurisdiction, the traditional leaders appeared to be cautious not to 'intrude' in matters occurring inside schools. On the other hand, the principals were torn apart between saving schools from unruly learners versus sticking to departmental policies which are silent about the role of traditional leaders in schools. I argue that initially both principals and traditional leaders lacked invitational leadership until they became compelled by the unbecoming circumstances within schools. Only after the situation became unbearable in schools did they realise that they needed to collaborate with each other.

Contrary to the HSS and TSS situation, Induna Mr Joyisa adopted a more proactive approach and initiated efforts that would help improve the situation in the school and demonstrated optimism, trust and openness which are some of the characteristics of invitational leadership. His strategy was to enhance learner discipline by developing a close relationship of trust with the school, rather than to react to cases of indiscipline reported by schools. He went beyond relying on the principal's side of the story but he also engaged with the educators and the learners. This initiative was an indirect acknowledgement that the school was not an island removed from the community. Induna understood his role not only to be in the prevention of indiscipline in the schools but also in supporting teaching and learning. For instance, at MSS, Inkosi offered a cow to be slaughtered on the day of celebrating 100% matric pass rate. Briefly, some traditional leaders play the role of supporting teaching and learning by recognising excellence in learner performance. Consequently, Mr Cool boasted about zero incidents of learner indiscipline at MSS. Instead, his main focus was on the core business of teaching and

learning and was concerned about the improvement of learner performance, particularly in matric.

Given the above findings, traditional leaders acknowledged that schools are a microcosm of society. This is in harmony with the ecosystemic theory and the principles of Ubuntu which assume that individuals and organisations exist in a web of interconnected interrelationships which constitute the ecosystemic levels. At a micro-systemic level, learners interact with parents and other relatives within the homestead but at meso-systemic level, learners are also part of the interrelationships of multiple micro-systems comprising the school, the community and other related structures (Guickin & Minton, 2014). Therefore, learner behaviour can be impacted at any of these levels. Therefore, learner discipline ought to be the joint responsibility of leaders in every one of the levels - home, community and school. This suggests that schools alone may not succeed in maintaining learners' discipline. Among other reasons behind this suggestion is that cases of indiscipline do not only start and end in the schools. Sometimes, they start from the metaphoric forest and erupt in schools as discussed in Section 8.6.1 in Chapter Eight. In such cases, witnesses do not readily avail themselves when the tribunals are conducted in the schools.

I also noted that where traditional leaders had partnered with schools in the maintenance of learner discipline, teachers spent more time focusing on teaching and learning and less time on tribunals. Although the study was not about the correlation between learners' discipline and learners' performance, but the findings confirm that the positive learners' behaviour can contribute towards the improved learner outcomes (Mestry & Khumalo, 2012). For example, in Chapter Six Mr Cool reiterated that the positive learner conduct at MSS makes him to focus on improving learner outcomes; hence, **Table 2** depicts MSS results as being the highest when compared to the other participant schools. Arguably, indiscipline of learners in the other two schools contributed in the derailment of the educators' focus from teaching to tribunals.

The discussion about the importance of the partnership between traditional leadership as a structure and individual leaders on one hand as well as the schools on the other, has shown that for this partnership to be realised, leaders on both ends ought to accept each other. Leaders need to show optimism, trust, intentionality, and embrace the contribution of each other in the spirit of the proverb '*izandla ziyagezana*' which was discussed in Section 8.6.2 of Chapter

Eight. This implies that we cannot achieve much alone, but working collaboratively together, we can achieve more. The collaborative enterprise of the households, the schools and the community can serve as an aerial view to all learner activities. Indirectly, I propose that the Schools' Act and other related school policies should be revised in order to accommodate the role that can be played by traditional leaders in schools. In preparation for this exercise traditional leaders can be familiarised with the Schools' Act and similarly, the same can be done to principals about the Acts governing traditional leaders. In that way, learners' activities including indiscipline can be closely monitored in and outside of schools. Any ploy to cause conflicts in the school or in the community can be jointly exposed. That way, learners can realise that indeed '*ayikho impunga yehlathi*' meaning that no one can hide and not be discovered forever. After all, individuals in schools and communities co-exist in a web of interconnected relationships where they occupy different ecosystemic levels within the human ecosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Pettigrew, 1999).

9.3.1.2 Identification and selection of the most suitable and practicable policies for rural contexts

The analysis of data clearly shows that all traditional leaders that participated in the study emphasised the need to adopt and utilise policy positions that would be effective in the context of their communities and schools. They acknowledged the fact that learners in the schools belong to the community and constituted the future adult population that will fit into the life and traditions of their respective communities. One way in which traditional leaders applied this basic principle was to be selective in terms of observance of national legislative provisions when meting out punishment to learners who had misbehaved and violated the code of conduct.

Traditional leaders sometimes presided over cases and meted out various sentences to culprits in the traditional courts. Some of the learners were involved in cases that were escalated by the schools to the traditional leadership courts, and the motivation for that varied. Since the process of sentencing was done by consensus, the culprits were also allowed to make suggestions on how they preferred to be punished. That is when some of them asked to be given lashes, which means opting for corporal punishment. When the request was accepted it was agreed that it was their parents who would administer those strokes. Although the sentences were decided by people in attendance of the cases and not Inkosi or Induna in particular but that decision, arguably, became the verdict of the traditional court for which Inkosi was responsible and

liable. Further, serial offenders who were seen to be posing a threat to disrupt schooling, were sometimes forcibly removed from the schools. The school had to issue a transfer letter so that the parents of the culprit learner can look for another school of their choice. However, when dealing with cases of indiscipline traditional leaders were expected to abide by the prescripts of the new dispensation as well as the customary laws. Based on the examples mentioned above, I argue here that traditional leaders tended to overlook or selectively observed certain legislative provisions of the Schools' Act and the Constitution which prohibit some of the sentences including the administering of corporal punishment. Whilst I acknowledge the fact that traditional leaders do not operate within the Schools' Act, it is also common knowledge in South Africa that corporal punishment is prohibited as its use was banned more than 25 years ago. Evidence of continued use of this form of punishment has been reported in certain parts of South Africa (Bhengu, 2005; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005).

9.3.1.3 Promotion of indigenous form of respect to underpin learners' general behaviours

From the data analysis, one of the findings is that traditional leaders promoted the notion of inculcating indigenous form of respect amongst the learners. They strongly believed that to build future leaders and respectable members of the community, values of Ubuntu should be inculcated in the youth. One way to do this was to always show respect for elders in their communities and adults in the school environment. Uppermost in their thinking and practices, was the notion of integration of schools and the communities where they are located. In terms of that view, the conduct of learners in schools should reflect what is expected of them in their communities. Section 5.4.2.1 of Chapter Five and Section 6.3.2.1 of Chapter Six have details on this matter. For instance, Inkosi NTV said, 'If there is peace in the community there will be peace in school' (5.4.2.1 of Chapter Five). Similarly, Inkosi Mphathi held the same opinion when he explained how the boys and the girls are expected to conduct themselves if they are to succeed in life (Section 7.3.2.1 of Chapter Seven).

In most of their dealings, traditional leaders endorsed and instilled respect in the communities. The utterances of all traditional leaders suggest that respect is one of the most significant values of Ubuntu that they intended to inculcate in the communities, in particular, to the learners. Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 of Chapter Five and Section 7.3.2 of Chapter Seven have more details on these matters. Mr Joyisa went to the extent of saying that the importance of respect surpasses, for instance, the social positions and wealth (Section 6.3.2.1 of Chapter Six).

Nzimakwe (2014) asserts that the emphasis on collectivism and relationships over material things is characteristic of Ubuntu. The community youth which consisted mainly of learners was encouraged to regard anyone who is as old as their parent to be also their parent (Ngunjiri, 2016). Learners were expected to treat educators as their parents as teachers regard learners as their children (Section 5.4.2.1 of Chapter Five). This opinion was re-iterated by all three traditional leaders. Briefly, everyone in the communities was expected to show respect towards others and also be respected. All participating traditional leaders led by example in this regard.

Excellence was rewarded whenever it appeared. For example, when MSS achieved hundred percent pass rate in matric. Inkosi Mphathi gave the school an ox to slaughter for the celebration and motivation of educators and learners. In 2006 the MSS pass rate was 100% although it does not reflect in Table 2 of Section 6.2.1 and 6.3.2.1 of Chapter Six. Similarly, His Majesty King Zwelithini gave a cow to each of the 3 districts, Ilembe, Pinetown and Ugu to be slaughtered in appreciation of the good matric results they had obtained in 2018. Unfortunately, both these events did not draw the attention of the media. Hence, the public is only aware of the grim picture where traditional leaders punish the culprits whereas, the positive gesture of rewarding excellence in the spirit of Ubuntu remains a closed book to many. As a result, traditional leadership practices end up positively impacting on local communities and learners only. Distant schools that are sometimes reluctant to work with traditional leaders lack information about the collaboration of schools with indigenous leaders. Traditional leaders do not merely maintain discipline of learners but also to promote excellence in schooling as was the case in MSS.

9.3.2 How are traditional leaders' practices of maintaining learner discipline understood and experienced in rural secondary schools?

The findings relating to answering the first research question are closely related to the findings presented in this section. What I need to highlight in that regard is that the first question focuses on the role that traditional leaders played in maintaining learner discipline, and that largely focused on approaches they adopted. Findings presented in this section focus on how their leadership practices were received in the schools and also what influenced the reception of their practices. It has emerged in previous sections that traditional leaders' practices in schools were varied and driven by different understandings about how traditional leaders should play their role particularly, in learner discipline. Some practices did not form part of the rationale for

conducting this study. Therefore, I will present two findings which are within the scope of this study that were mentioned by school participants, namely: custodianship of culture; enjoyment of high levels of respect.

9.3.2.1 Custodianship of culture

The other role of traditional leaders is to preserve and foster knowledge and understanding of the Zulu culture, history and tradition (KZN, 2005). In all three communities, traditional leaders had ways of conveying indigenous knowledge and culture to younger generations. The youth sessions for girls separately from boys prepared them for future challenges in life. Similarly, boys were taught about things they should avoid and when others in which to engage. I note that traditional leaders relayed the indigenous ‘curriculum’ through various activities including song, dance, praise poetry, *Amahubo* and other genres, to mention a few. This matter is discussed in details in Section 7.3.2.1 of Chapter Seven and Section 5.3.3 of Chapter Five. These are some of the indigenous ways of shaping social behaviour in communities particularly the youth, an idea which Michalopoulos and Papalioannou (2015) strongly identify with.

The age cohort leaders for the boys and for the girls were often given the roles of leading groups in the schools. For instance, during Heritage Day celebrations in most schools, the leaders of *Ingoma* and *Amahubo* were boys who were referred to as *Amagosa*. They were respected as young upcoming leaders in their age cohort in communities. Details on this matter can be found in Section 5.3.3 of Chapter Five. Sometimes, *Amagosa* were asked to resolve disputes among certain learners. For example, in another school in my circuit which was not part of this research, boys known as *Amagosa* who led *Amahubo* and *ingoma* were respected by other learners such that when there was learner indiscipline at the school and the local induna was asked to intervene, he would simply ask *Amagosa* to convene boys from *izigodi* which they led to come and assist in resolving the conflicts. In so doing traditional leaders were grooming *Amagosa* not only for the leadership of songs and dance, but also as potential future leaders in the communities. What these traditional leaders also did was to show that leadership should not be confined to particular spaces, but spans across different environments such as in the community and the school.

Schools on the other hand, used some of *Amagosa* to lead *ingoma* and *amahubo* for boys and for girls during the annual cultural competitions and not in the maintenance of discipline.

Although schools relied on traditional leadership to resolve disputes related to learner indiscipline, but what they did not realise was that traditional leaders obtained some suggestions from *Amagosa* who are learners at the school. This rigid approach of looking for solutions solely within school boundaries limits the school principals from arriving at lasting solutions to learner problems. The infusion of indigenous approaches to bring about unity of purpose among the learners in schools clearly helped the schools that were engaged in this exercise. I noted that the acknowledgement of *Amagosa* contributed some positives in controlling learner conduct. In the few instances where *Amagosa* were involved, I noted that they appeared to be more respected by other learners when compared to, for example, the representative councils of learners (RCLs).

In TSS, the principal adopted the *Es'hlahleni* style (Bhengu, 2013) when talking to the boys alone. Learners attending the boys' gathering were treated as adults and equals. He addressed them as '*madoda*' meaning 'country men'. Section 5.3.3 of Chapter Five has more details on the matter. If one of *Amagosa* chanted a slogan, the crowds of learners would respond accordingly. Another slogan would be chanted in order to make the crowd to sit down and wait for the next item on the agenda. The *Es'hlahleni* atmosphere was in deed practiced. This was done numerous times during the Heritage Day to control the crowds. Talking to the school boys or girls alone as if they were at *Es'hlahleni* was not done regularly when a need arose. On the few occasions when they convened for a specific problem, positive results were observed. I was not fortunate to attend many of such gatherings but the two that I attended at MSS and the other secondary school were eye opening for me. Under normal circumstances, this is one of traditional leaders' practices of arriving at binding decisions although it may appear to be foreign in school environments.

Notably, apportioning leadership to boys/girls age cohorts in different *izigodi* for various cultural genres which include *ingoma* and *amahubo* is another way of developing leadership and responsibility among the youth in the communities. Leadership skills attained in such contexts can be passed on from generation to generation and to multiple ecosystemic levels including the schools and the communities. When talking to the youth Inkosi Mphathi regularly cited IsiZulu metaphors and proverbs such as '*indlela ibuzwa kwabaphambili*' meaning 'seek the direction from those who have travelled that route before you' (Section 7.3.2 of Chapter Seven). Learners easily associated with such expressions and were meaningful to them since they are practised in communities where traditional leaders reign in various ecosystemic levels.

Cohort leaders who happen to be learners in schools emulate the adults who subscribe to the principles of Ubuntu and are themselves living examples of some form of either good or bad behaviour (Lapperts, 2012; Blegur, et al., 2017). In any case, traditional leaders wield immense influence on various aspects of communities including their culture.

9.3.2.2 Enjoyment of high levels of respect

The findings indicate that traditional leaders used their inherent influence in the community to deal with learner discipline issues. Among other reasons for schools to comply with traditional leaders' pronouncements is that traditional leaders enjoy the high levels of respect when compared to other leaders in the communities. They enjoy respect for a number of reasons. For example, traditional leaders are regarded as custodians of culture and tradition which people in the communities uphold and embrace. In that way most of the cultural functions which are organised in/between households are officiated by traditional leaders. These functions include weddings which attract many people from local communities and other distant places. Mr Brave strongly believed that talking with authority to diverse people in such gatherings is a prerogative of traditional leaders and not anybody. Second, they had a comprehensive understanding of people in the community and stayed longer periods in their positions compared to councillors and school principals. Section 9.3.3.1 of this chapter has more details on their understanding of communities.

Traditional leaders played a symbolic role of representing community unity, identity, stability and continuity in the public space (Logan, 2013). They unified people with different socio-economic, political and religious beliefs in the communities. Communities were united by various things including culture whose custodianship fell within the jurisdiction of traditional leaders. Their work in the community earned them respect and consequently, schools preferred to work closely with them compared to other leaders in the community. This can best be described by the African proverb, '*Ingwe idla ngamabala*' meaning it is your good deeds that will attract people towards you. In the next section, I move on to provide an explanation about why traditional leaders play their role in the maintenance of learner discipline in the manner they do.

9.3.3 What can be learned from the practices of traditional leaders in maintaining learner's discipline in rural secondary schools?

The findings point to two main findings which formed the basis for the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline. These are discussed under the following topics. First, the traditional leadership's comprehensive understanding of their communities. Second, TL summing the authority to reign in trust of the local community.

9.3.3.1 Traditional leaders' comprehensive understanding of their communities compared to other leaders

Traditional leaders are by law, the custodians of customary law and culture in their communities (RSA, 2003; KZN, 2005). This gives them power to influence various aspects of life of members in the communities where they reign. They have shown awareness and understanding of this reality and they display a better understanding of their communities and people they lead. In terms of Section 20 of Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (RSA, 2003), among other roles of traditional leaders is land administration. While performing their numerous roles traditional leaders also allocate land for schools to be built as well as to families to build houses. As a result, they have an in depth understanding of families and individuals within these communities unlike principals.

Mr Pepper confirmed that as teachers, they spend less time with the learners, and as a result, their understanding of learners is based on what learners portray themselves to be within the school premises. However, learners spend most of their time outside the school boundaries, in the community where traditional leaders are in charge. In community gatherings traditional leaders often meet families and relatives of the learners. That makes traditional leaders to know most people in communities by name including the learners and then better understand them. Hence, Inkosi NTV mentioned the parents of the culprits at Thandimfundo by name in front of the whole school and promised to deal with the learners in the traditional court outside the school hours. Thereafter, incidences of learner indiscipline at TSS gradually decreased. Details on this matter can be found in the rationale for the study in Section 2.2 of Chapter One.

All three participating schools are built on the land that was allocated by Amakhosi. Notably, Mbokazi (2015) made the similar observation. Further, HSS and MSS are examples of schools

that were built and named after Amakhosi who are grandfathers of the current Inkosi Mphathi. That alone has implications for the kind of influence that Inkosi has in the lives of the learners in the school and outside the school in the community. In the spirit of Ubuntu, they paid part of the money towards the construction of the schools, not for personal gain but for the benefit of their communities. Ubuntu can be put into practice in many ways including demonstrating one's contribution to society and advancing the interests of others (Nzimakwe, 2014). The above discussion suggests that the kind of awareness that traditional leaders have of their position, gives them a bird's eye view of the lives of the learners, in the school and at home. That is why they constitute the most critical component of the solution to the problem of learner discipline in the schools.

9.3.3.2 Traditional leaders assuming the authority to reign in trust of the local community

Sometimes the traditional leaders acted as trustees of families in the case absent or powerless parents in the households. They looked after the welfare of the needy and the elderly. In families where parents were missing for various reasons, traditional leaders came to their rescue in various ways. In some instances, traditional leaders signed official documents and confirmed members of those households as citizens of the community when there was a need to do so. It was common to come across learners going out of the gate carrying permission slips to fetch validated documents from the traditional court before proceeding to government offices. Many of these learners had household relations to be validated by the local *Induna* or *Isibonda*. The common cause for traditional leadership to exercise their authority in family matters was during the breakdown in family structures. Section 7.3.2.2 of Chapter Seven has more details on the matter. For instance, in the absence of parents, new applicants for identity documents needed the documentation of traditional leadership before proceeding to the Department of Home Affairs to make identity document applications when they turned 16 years of age. Importantly, traditional leaders officiated in community functions such as customary weddings and other related ceremonies. Mr Cool confirmed that MSS teachers were often invited by Induna to attend community functions taking place during weekends or holidays. Such functions do not proceed before the arrival of Induna or any delegated person from the traditional leadership structure since they are authorities who constitute and close the customary gatherings. In all three communities, traditional leaders performed such functions as conferred by customary law consistent with the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (RSA, 2003). Consequently, traditional leaders were trusted by communities

and households. These realities provide insights about why traditional leaders handle learner discipline the way they do.

9.4 An emerging model of traditional leaders leading and managing learner discipline in rural schools

This section attempts to actually develop a model and provide an understanding that can explain how traditional leaders manage learner discipline in the schools. In doing this, I firstly discuss the learners as they are found predominantly found in three major contexts, namely, home/household, community and school. The learner contexts have been briefly discussed in households and in schools located in the three communities in varied ways throughout Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight. What has not been analysed is the path travelled by learners as they go back and forth between school and home. For reasons that I will explain, I argue that this path between home and school goes through a metaphoric ‘jungle’. I therefore begin sketching the model of leading and managing learner discipline in rural schools by explaining the significance of understanding the metaphoric jungle and how various activities in this jungle impact on learners and indirectly on learner discipline in schools. Hence, the need for school principals to interact with community leaders, particularly the traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools.

9.4.1 ‘Ayikho impunga yehlathi!’ – Exposing learners’ activities for all to see

In describing the metaphoric jungle and the wild activities proceeding therein, I have entitled this section, *Ayikho impunga yehlathi* literally translated, ‘No one can grow up unknown in the jungle until they become grey headed without being discovered’. It simply means, ‘no one can hide forever’. The path of the learners from home to school and back is not as simple as it may appear to be in the eyes of many. Learners often spend the shortest time in this route when compared to the time they spend at school or at home. But the impact of what they encounter within this short time and how they grapple with it can determine what will or will not happen in their entire lives and/or at school. In order to understand the learners’ path between school and the household and why it goes through a metaphoric jungle refer to **Figure 11** titled *Impunga yehlathi*.

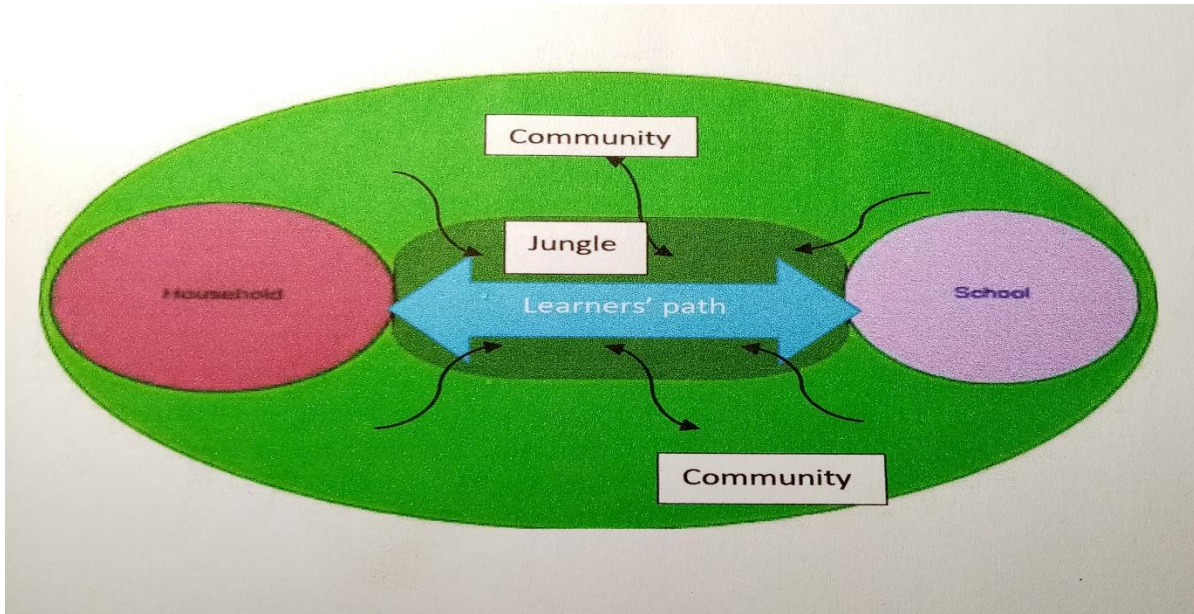


FIGURE 11. *Impunga yehlathi* -The learners' path between the household and the school.

In **Figure 11** the big green ellipse represents the community encompassing the households and schools. The smaller ellipses inside represent households and schools in the community. The ellipse on the left represents households and on the far right is the ellipse representing schools. The huge arrow in between pointing in both directions represents learners' path from the households going to schools and back walking through the metaphoric jungle. I call this a metaphoric jungle because there is a variety of happenings in this space which impact on learners as they journey to school and back. As a result, children who are perceived by the parents as angels before leaving the household can become something else after going through this jungle. They can even become hyenas upon their arrival at school. It should be noted that I am not suggesting that every experience in this jungle is negative. I am merely focusing on what negatively influences learner discipline in schools.

Children leave their homes wearing their full uniform in order to become learners in the school. In this space between the home and the school, learners are not in front of their parents nor are they within the school premises to be in front of teachers. They are on their own as they experience a variety of influences from certain elements in the community. Inkosi Mphathi agreed for instance, that young men in the community often chase after school girls while they are on their way to or from school. As a result, Inkosi Mphathi made a pronouncement discouraging young and older men in the community from disturbing girl learners while in full school uniform. These older and out of school young men, as well as, school boys would stop

the girl learners in order to propose love and make promises. Such behaviours were mentioned as the main reasons for learners to arrive late at school, and that negatively affected schooling. Further, Mawisa complained that such scrambles for girls end up causing conflicts among learners within the school premises and ultimately, between *izigodi*. Hence, in HSS, boys who were involved in faction fights would approach certain girls to carry weapons on their bodies when going to school knowing that the male security guard at the school gate will not conduct body searches on girls. In such an environment, the question is who must maintain discipline - parents or principals? Obviously, since both are affected, they both need to play their roles.

On their way to and from school, learners go through numerous experiences and engage in various activities. These include but are not limited to, physical or cyberspace bullying, assaults, drinking of alcoholic beverages, engaging in premature sex, carrying of weapons, cigarette and dagga smoking/selling. Indeed, the learners' path to and from school goes through a lot of challenges. The route is not as simple and straight forward as the arrow in **Figure 11** suggests through its representation. Only those who have a thick skin who are physically and mentally fit can survive the negative influences of the jungle. The law of the jungle which encourages the survival of the fittest becomes a reality in every step of the way.

9.4.2 Human eco-systems with Ubuntu in the management of learners' discipline

Usually schools get overwhelmed with incidents emanating from the metaphoric jungle. But in the spirit of Ubuntu, the communal life lived by people in the communities ought to make them to practice the African metaphors such as, 'your child is my child'. Briefly, what happens to your child brings similar feeling to me as it does to you (Kamwangamalu, 1999). However, this is not necessarily what all people practice although this spirit of Ubuntu is generally embraced in communities. People in the communities appear to expect schools to teach learners both the subject content plus indigenous knowledge which includes Ubuntu. No wonder communities become outraged when they are informed that their children are unruly. Apparently they associate getting promoted to the next grade with being disciplined in school. It is not clear whether or not they expect schools to infuse indigenous knowledge in the school curriculum or they are merely abandoning their responsibility of playing their role to nurture their children. Either way, the negative experiences of learners caused by some elements in the 'jungle' continues to negatively affect everybody. That is, schools and households alike since

the schools and communities co-exist within a network of relationships (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

IsiZulu metaphor says, '*Ayikho impunga yehlathi*', implying that where there is a web of relationships, no one can hide forever from these networks. Briefly, culprits and their deeds can be easily exposed through the joint co-operation between school and community networks. In all three schools cases emanating from outside the boundaries of schools were outsourced to the traditional leaders and often, the culprits were identified, tried and finally got punished. This is also the application of '*izandla ziyagezana*'. In his study involving traditional leaders, Mbokazi (2015) observed the similar collaboration between traditional leaders and some principals of schools. The schools alone could not cope with learner cases erupting inside schools. Ms T attested to this assertion when she commented, "*As the SGB we rely on the traditional leaders for lasting solutions. The SGB on its own often fails to resolve such problems. Once traditional leaders come together and intervene, definitely the problems get resolved*"

Similar to the moment of the handover of a baton during the relay event in athletics, learners ought to be handed over by parents to teachers and vice-versa. For most of the time during the relay event the baton is held in the hand of one athlete at a given time. Similarly, for most of the time, learners are either at school or at home and not in both places at the same time. But there is a vital moment during the relay race - when the baton is in the hands of the two consecutive athletes at the same time. That happens during the handover. How the athletes grapple with this experience can determine the team that will or will not ultimately win the race. This is similar to the path travelled by learners between school and home. The role of parents, traditional leaders and principals is equally important. The journey of learners may last for a short time when comparing it to the time learners spend either at school or in the household. However, what happens during that short time may have dire consequences for learners, the school and subsequently, the entire community. Therefore, I argue that in order to arrest learners' indiscipline in schools, its origins are worth noting and further, take cognisance that schools are the microcosm of society as school principals and traditional leaders of the participant schools observed. Next, I discuss the implications of the findings for different stakeholders.

9.5 Implications of the findings for various stakeholders

The main goal of this chapter is to present the findings after a brief synthesis of the entire study. The findings I have presented in the previous section have implications for school principals and SGBs, traditional leadership and officials of the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Basic Education. First, the collaboration between schools and traditional leaders in the maintenance of learner discipline in schools has implications for traditional leaders as well as school principals. Ingonyama, His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini as the head of the House of Traditional Leaders in KwaZulu-Natal is currently the patron of education in this province. In his new role as the patron, the King has been in and out of the education districts in KwaZulu-Natal, pleading with principals and other senior officials in education to improve learner performance, particularly, in matric. What is not clear is whether the expectation by the King is that other traditional leaders at their levels should also play this role or it is the exclusive 'privilege' meant for the King. I refer to it as a privilege because the position of a patron is not provided for in the Schools Act. Therefore, the participation of traditional leaders in schools is complex and contradictory in that the highest echelons of traditional leadership and the Department of Education are linked by the patron and the Member of Executive Committee (MEC) for Education. The introduction of the portfolio of a patron formalises the role of the incumbent (King Zwelithini) in KwaZulu-Natal education. But in contrast to this conclusion, the non-existence of patron portfolio in the Schools Act implies that the role is informal as is traditional leaders' interaction with schools in the local community levels. Others can call it a 'gentlemen's agreement'. Its sustainability beyond the era of the current MEC for Education and the reign of King Zwelithini is not guaranteed.

Further, interactions between the schools and traditional leaders were characterised by being tolerant but sometimes embrative of each other. Traditional leaders and school principals sometimes tolerated each other for the duration of the learner upheavals in schools and adopted the *ad hoc* leadership approach. In other words, I am raising questions about the wisdom of these two structures (traditional leadership and schools) collaborating on *ad hoc* basis. This form of relationship also poses questions about its sustainability beyond the challenges that led to the formulation of the interaction, in this case learner unrests. On the other hand, the embrative collaboration between, for instance, Induna Mr Joyisa and the principal, Mr Cool portrayed an ongoing interaction between traditional leaders and was characterised by

principles of invitational leadership. However, the continuity of the collaboration was anchored on the personalities of the incumbents in the respective positions. My opinion is that practices that are based on individual personalities have a tendency of lacking sustainability.

Leadership exhibited by leaders such as Mr Joyisa and Mr Cool suggest openness, optimism and trust in the abilities of others to make tangible contribution for the school and society. The practices of going beyond being ordinary managers and instead become leaders who uphold the values of Ubuntu conducted by some traditional leaders with schools was not characteristic of everyone who occupied such leadership positions. This was a leadership arrangement at MSS during the time of Mr Joyisa and Mr Cool. In my opinion, the possibility of the stable collaboration between the schools and traditional leaders appears to be a function of the incumbents of the respective offices. Also, the request for traditional leaders' assistance suggests some weaknesses in the manner in which principals implemented departmental policies or the gaps in the actual policies. Hence, Mr Brave defended the involvement of traditional leaders in schools while referred to departmental policies as 'toothless' (Section 7.3.1 of Chapter Seven).

Second, findings have shown that the practices of traditional leaders as enshrined in the principles of Ubuntu were embraced in schools and communities. To this end, schools engaged traditional leaders in varied ways and learner discipline in schools was enhanced but not without questions. Whether learner discipline improved due to respect for traditional leaders or it was as a result of fear of punishment or the culture of respect was evoked among learners remains a mystery. But what became vivid is that traditional leaders were the popular choice of the schools because they could decisively deal with learner indiscipline when compared to other leaders in the communities. However, some of the practices of traditional leaders in schools lacked uniformity and were conducted for diverse reasons. Some traditional leaders were half-heartedly committed to these practices and were merely responding to requests to curb learner indiscipline in schools. Others committed themselves in exchange for schools to hone the community youth to become the future nation. Therefore, the continuity and sustainability of traditional leaders' practices in schools had mixed implications for both the schools and traditional leadership.

9.6 Conclusion

Finally, the manner in which traditional leaders played their role in the maintenance of learner discipline was informed by their comprehensive understanding of their communities. For instance, it was shocking to find that girls in one of the schools appeared to be innocent and were often overlooked by the security guards during search and seizures when actually, they were culprits who connived with boys in carrying weapons and other illegal substances into schools. The causes of learner unrests in schools did not form part of this study. However, I have noted that traditional leadership practices were partly informed by these activities.

The expertise of one of the SGB chairpersons as a former police detective, assisted the school to expose numerous unknown learner activities including manoeuvres to cause unrests. However, his strategy of keeping informers among learners raised legality questions since this strategy bordered on invading on learners' privacy. In other schools, they did not have someone with such expertise. It is unknown whether the Department of Basic Education can approve the application of such a strategy in the attempts to maintain learners' discipline in schools. Clearly, without expertise to gather information it was difficult for other schools to intercept plans which disrupt schooling. Also, it is not clear whether or not other schools had activities by learners and other elements in communities which emanated from the metaphoric jungle that affected schools negatively.

Nonetheless, the joint initiatives of partnership between traditional leaders and school principals in maintaining learner discipline in rural secondary schools produced positive results. Principals as accounting officials in schools implicitly saw the need for departmental policies to be complemented by indigenous African approaches which include Ubuntu principles. Logan (2009) asserts that there is no evidence supporting the existence of conflict where leaders followed traditional leadership approaches while they remain committed democrats. In support of this assertion the study revealed that the involvement of traditional leaders in the maintenance of learners' discipline in schools produced positive outcomes in the maintenance of discipline.

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ANNEXURE A: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

P.O. BOX 54031

UMLZI

4031

31 January 2019

THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

KZN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

SIR

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN ILEMBE DISTRICT
SCHOOLS

I am Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu currently conducting research as a requirement of the University of KwaZulu-Natal towards a Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The title of the research study is "The role of Traditional Leadership in Maintaining Learner Discipline in Rural Schools: An ethnographic case study".

I would like to conduct research in 2 secondary schools in Ilembe district, and this letter intends to request for your permission. The focus of the study is on the role played by traditional leadership in the maintenance of learner discipline and how the role is experienced in schools and district level. Therefore, I would request two principals from selected schools and a district official to participate. Should permission be granted, the interviews with these officials will be scheduled for dates and times that are outside working hours. Participation in this study will be voluntary and the participants will be informed about their rights, for instance, to withdraw from the study at any time, should they wish, without any negative consequence. In addition, participants will be guaranteed confidentiality and will remain anonymous.

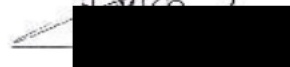
For more information and questions about the study, my contact details are as follows:

Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu Cell No.: 072 182 9602; email: mhusoxyz@gmail.com

My supervisor: Prof. TT Bhengu: 031-2603534 email: bhengutt@ukzn.ac.za

Thanking you in advance.

Yours in Education



Mr N.M. Mngomezulu

ANNEXURE B: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH



education

Department:
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Enquiries: Phindile Duma

Tel: 033 392 1063

Ref.:2/4/8/1759

Mr NM Mngomezulu
PO Box 5403
UMlazi
4031

Dear Mr Mngomezulu

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DoE INSTITUTIONS

Your application to conduct research entitled: **"THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN MAINTAINING LEARNER DISCIPLINE IN RURAL SCHOOLS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY"**, in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education Institutions has been approved. The conditions of the approval are as follows:

1. The researcher will make all the arrangements concerning the research and interviews.
2. The researcher must ensure that Educator and learning programmes are not interrupted.
3. Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.
4. Learners, Educators, Schools and Institutions are not identifiable in any way from the results of the research.
5. A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers, Principals and Heads of Institutions where the Intended research and interviews are to be conducted.
6. The period of investigation is limited to the period from 01 April 2019 to 01 September 2021.
7. Your research and interviews will be limited to the schools you have proposed and approved by the Head of Department. Please note that Principals, Educators, Departmental Officials and Learners are under no obligation to participate or assist you in your investigation.
8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the school(s), please contact Miss Phindile Duma at the contact numbers below.
9. Upon completion of the research, a brief summary of the findings, recommendations or a full report/dissertation/thesis must be submitted to the research office of the Department. Please address it to The Office of the HOD, Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200.
10. Please note that your research and interviews will be limited to schools and institutions in KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education.

Ilembe District


Dr. EV Nzama
Head of Department: Education
Date: 05 April 2019

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Postal Address: Private Bag X9137 • Pietermaritzburg • 3200 • Republic of South Africa
Physical Address: 247 Burger Street • Anton Lembede Building • Pietermaritzburg • 3201
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„Championing Quality Education - Creating and Securing a Brighter Future“

**ANNEXURE C: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN
ILEMBE SCHOOLS**

P.O. BOX 54031

UMLAZI

4031

31 January 20---

THE PRINCIPAL/SGB CHAIRPERSON

.....SECONDARY SCHOOL

SIR

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR SCHOOL

I am Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu currently conducting research as a requirement of the University of KwaZulu-Natal towards a Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The title of the research study is “The role of Traditional Leaders in the Maintenance of Learners’ Discipline in Rural Schools: A multi-site case study”.

I would like to conduct research in your secondary school, and this letter intends to request for your permission. The focus of the study is on the role played by traditional leadership in the maintenance of learner discipline and how the role is experienced in schools and district level. Therefore, I would request you as a principal from one of the selected schools to participate. Should permission be granted, the interviews will be scheduled for dates and times that are outside working hours. Participation in this study will be voluntary and you will be informed about their rights, for instance, to withdraw from the study at any time, should you wish, without any negative consequence. In addition, you will be guaranteed confidentiality and will remain anonymous.

For more information and questions about the study, my contact details are as follows:

Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu Cell No.: 072 182 9602; email: mbusoxyz@gmail.com

My supervisor: Prof. TT Bhengu: 031-2603534 email: bhengutt@ukzn.ac.za

Thanking you in advance for your positive consideration.

Yours in Education

Mr N.M. Mngomezulu

ANNEXURE D: PARTICIPANT DECLARATION LETTER

DEAR (PARTICIPANT)

I am Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu currently conducting research as a requirement of the University of KwaZulu-Natal towards a Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The title of the research study is “The Role of Traditional Leaders in the Maintenance of Learners’ Discipline in Rural Schools: A multi-site case study”. The objectives of this study are:

To comprehend the role of traditional leaders in the maintenance of discipline in rural schools; To explore how traditional leaders’ practices of maintaining learner discipline are understood and experienced in schools; To understand the reasons behind the traditional leadership approach towards the maintenance of learners’ discipline in schools.

I humbly request your participation in order to achieve the objectives of this study. You are requested to participate in the interviews which will be conducted at the venue and times convenient to you. During the interviews I will have to use a voice recorder in order to correctly capture your views. However I need your permission to do so. Participation in this study will be voluntary and the participants will have a right to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequence. In addition, participants will be guaranteed confidentiality and will remain anonymous. Finally, upon completion of the research a copy of the thesis will be made available to you. For more information and questions about the study, contact my supervisor:

Contact details

Supervisor: Prof. TT Bhengu: 031-2603534 Email: bhengutt@ukzn.ac.za

Research office: Tel. No. 031 260 3587 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Email: HssrecHumanities@ukzn.ac.za

Thanking you in advance.

Yours Sincerely

Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu

Cell No. **072 182 9602**; email: **mbusoxyz@gmail.com**

ANNEXURE E: CONSENT FORM

I (Full name of participant)
hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this letter and the nature of the research project.
I consent to:

(Indicate by making a cross (X) as your response)

	Yes	No
PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH		
HAVE MY INTERVIEWS RECORDED		

I also understand that I am at liberty to withdraw at any time from the project should I wish to do so.

Signature of participant: ----- Date-----

Thanking you in advance.

Yours Sincerely

Nhlanhla Mbuso Mngomezulu

Cell No. **072 182 9602**; email: **mbusoxyz@gmail.com**

ANNEXURE F: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH TRADITIONAL LEADER
(INKOSI/INDUNA)

1. How is the level of learner discipline in secondary schools in your area?
2. What do you think is the cause of the prevailing status of discipline in schools?
3. Do you have any role to play in the maintenance of safety, order and discipline in the community? Explain.
4. Do you think the maintenance of learners' discipline is important? Explain.
5. In your view, how should learner discipline be maintained?
6. Do you or your representative attend school meetings? Explain?
7. Do you play any role in maintaining discipline in schools?
8. In your view which structures should deal with the maintenance of discipline in schools?
9. What is your view on meetings between SGBs and traditional leadership about discipline, safety and security in schools?
10. Are matters pertaining to maintenance of discipline in schools discussed in traditional leadership council meetings?
11. How are you informed about cases of indiscipline involving learners?
12. How do you deal with cases of indiscipline involving learners? Explain

ANNEXURE G: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH THE PRINCIPAL

1. How is the level of discipline of learners in your school?
2. What do you think is the cause of the prevailing status of discipline in your school?
3. In your view, is the maintenance of learners' discipline important? Explain.
4. In your view, how should learners' discipline be maintained?
5. Do TL have any role to play in the maintenance of safety, order and discipline in school/s? Explain.
6. Are traditional leaders or their representatives invited to attend school meetings? Give reasons.
7. In your view, what is the role of TL in school governance matters?
8. How is the influence of the TL on learners in the school?
9. In your view which structures should deal with the maintenance learner discipline in school/s?
10. What are your experiences with the traditional leadership involvement in maintaining learners' discipline in your school?
11. In your, should matters pertaining to learners' discipline in schools be discussed in traditional leadership council meetings? Explain.

ANNEXURE H: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH SGB CHAIRPERSONS

1. How is the level of discipline of learners in your school?
2. What do you think is the cause of the prevailing status of discipline in your school?
3. In your view, is the maintenance of learners' discipline important? Explain.
4. In your view, how should learners' discipline be maintained?
5. Do TL have any role to play in the maintenance of safety, order and discipline in school/s? Explain.
6. Are traditional leaders or their representatives invited to attend school meetings? Give reasons.
7. In your view, what is the role of TL in school governance matters?
8. How is the influence of the TL on learners in the school?
9. In your view which structures should deal with the maintenance learners' discipline in school/s?
10. What are your experiences with the traditional leadership involvement in maintaining learners' discipline in your school?
11. In your view should matters pertaining to learners' discipline in schools be discussed in traditional leadership council meetings? Explain.

ANNEXURE I: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW FOR THE DISTRICT OFFICIAL

1. How is the level of discipline of learners in your secondary schools?
2. What do you think is the cause of the prevailing status of discipline in your schools?
3. In your view, is the maintenance of learners' discipline important? Explain.
4. In your view, how should learners' discipline be maintained?
5. Do TL have any role to play in the maintenance of safety, order and discipline in school/s? Explain.
6. Are traditional leaders or their representatives invited to attend school meetings? Give reasons.
7. In your view, what is the role of TL in school governance matters?
8. How is the influence of the TL on learner discipline in schools?
9. In your view which structures should deal with the maintenance learner discipline in school/s?
10. What are your experiences with the traditional leadership involvement in maintaining learners' discipline in your school?
11. In your view should matters pertaining to learner discipline in schools be discussed in traditional leadership council meetings? Explain.

ANNEXURE J: TURNITIN REPORT

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CHAPTER ONE

AN ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This document constitutes a report for the study conducted towards the fulfilment for requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree. The study emanated from observations I made on learner discipline and reports submitted to me by school principals while I was a manager of a circuit in Ilembe District.

The study focused on the traditional leadership (TL) role in the maintenance of discipline in rural schools. Upon analysing literature on the maintenance of discipline in schools, I noted that the main focus is on the role of the leader/manager (Bush, 2003; 2007) and the SMTs and SGBs. This focus on an individual and few others around him/her is rooted in the pronouncements by Rene Descartes who portrays an individualistic view of people when he makes a claim "I think therefore I am" (Naicker, 2015). However there is a gap when it comes to the literature on the role of traditional leadership in schools, particularly in the maintenance

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