

**GOVERNMENTALITIES AND THE POLITICS OF TRANSFORMATION:
A CRITIQUE OF THE POST-1994 SOUTH AFRICAN TEACHER EDUCATION
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS, A CASE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
PROVINCE**

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. The dissertation is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Social Science in Public Policy, in the School of Social Science, in the College of Humanities, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Acronyms

ANC:	African National Congress
B Ed:	Bachelor of Education
CATE:	Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education
CDE:	Centre for Development and Enterprise
CED:	Cape Education Department
CHE:	Council of Higher Education
CODESA:	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU:	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSA:	Centre for Science Access
DBE:	Department of Basic Education
DED:	Department of Economic Development
DET:	Department of Education and Training
DHET:	Department of Higher Education and Training
DNE:	Department of National Education
DOE:	Department of Education
DST:	Department of Science and Technology
EITE:	Embury Institute for Teacher Education
ELRC:	Education Labour Relations Council
FAFSA:	Free Application for Federal Student Aid
FEDSAW:	Federation of South African Women
FET:	Further Education and Training
GNU:	Government of National Unity
HDE:	Higher Diploma in Education
HED:	Higher Education Degree
HEI:	Higher Education Institution

HEQF:	Higher Education Qualifications Framework
HoA:	House of Assembly
HoD:	House of Delegates
HoR:	House of Representatives
IFP:	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN:	KwaZulu-Natal
MASP:	Mutually Agreed Severance Package
MK:	Umkhonto WeSizwe
MKI:	Moses Kotane Institute
NCHE:	National Commission on Higher Education
NED:	Natal Education Department
NEPI:	National Education Policy Investigation
NP:	Nationalist Party
NQF:	National Qualifications Framework
NUMSA:	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
OFSED:	Orange Free State Education Department
PAC:	Pan-Africanist Congress
PGCE:	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
PRESET:	Pre-Service Education and Training
PTC:	Primary Teachers' Certificate
QTS:	Qualified Teacher Status
RDP:	Reconstruction and Development Policy
SACE:	South African Council for Educators
SACOD:	South African Congress of Democrats
SACP:	South African Communist Party
SACTU:	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SAIC:	South African Indian Congress
SAQA:	South African Qualification Authority
SCCAA:	School Examination and Assessment Council

STEM:	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
TBVC:	Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (Homelands)
TED:	Transvaal Education Department
TTA:	Teacher Training Agency
UDF:	United Democratic Front
UKZN:	University of KwaZulu-Natal
USA:	United States of America

Abstract

TITLE: GOVERNMENTALITIES AND THE POLITICS OF TRANSFORMATION: A CRITIQUE OF THE POST-1994 SOUTH AFRICAN TEACHER EDUCATION POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS, A CASE OF KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE

The influences of the ruling party in South Africa have had immense impact on the national policies formulated and implemented during the apartheid regime as the policies complimented the ruling National Party's principles. Under the apartheid regime, education was used as a tool to contain and maintain segregation. The transformation into a new elected democratic party in 1994 meant change in many aspects in South Africa including the political, social, economic spheres and education was one field that experienced a huge amount of change, as it was a driver of the apartheid ideology.

Thus, the study determined the ideology and principles that drove the newly elected democratic government (ANC) post-1994 as it supported change, equality, and equal distribution of wealth and drew many of its ideas from the Freedom Charter of 1953. The study also determined the extent those democratic principles and ideology influence education policies post-1994, particularly, the teacher education policies, and whether the teacher-education policy implementation process reveals coherence with the ruling party's principles/ideology.

Using a qualitative approach, this research study adopts a different perspective to analysing educational policies in context of the apparent political milieu of the apartheid regime and the independent democratic regime in South Africa, including the impact of the ideologies upheld in each regime. The findings reveal the use of technologies of power in a top-down approach but within a democratic context.

Furthermore, the findings highlight the implications of the ruling party's governmentality and their perpetuation of ideological principles through national policy development and implementation with negative consequences, especially in teacher education.

Chapter One

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AND INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research report to the study that critically analyses the post-1994 teacher-education policy implementation process in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The chapter introduces the thesis and discusses the background to the research under the following subheadings: background to the study; the research problem statement; the study purpose; the research objectives; key research questions; significance of the study. The chapter ends by outlining the arrangement of chapters in the thesis and discussing a short conclusion of this chapter.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

According to Reddy (2010, p.1162) “Educational transformation has been a dominant discourse in the South African education sector since the shift to majority rule in 1994”. Intent to transform and improve education in the country, the South African Government embarked on several initiatives that attempt to avert many unenviable challenges that the education system faces. For example, to provide equal access to basic education for all South African children, the government passed the South African Schools Act of 1996, which was aimed “to provide for a uniform system for the organisation, governance and funding of schools; to amend and repeal certain laws relating to schools; and to provide for matters connected therewith” (Department of Education, 1996). This Act is also the mechanism through which the government removed financial barriers to education for children coming from poor families as it

introduced the fee exemptions and no-fee schools policy outlined in the Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding of 2006 (DoE, 2006). The no-fee school policy (1998) exempts parents or guardians from paying school fees for their children in public schools situated in poverty-stricken contexts, as the government provides all the funding and resource delivery in terms of free books, and resources required by the school. The no-fee schooling policy is an attempt to provide for all learners coming from poor backgrounds with schooling, and in 2006, there was about “13,800 no-fee schools serving 5million learners in South Africa. The KwaZulu-Natal province alone had 3,300 no-fee schools and approximately 1,2million learners were in no-fee schools” (Juan, 2007, p.45).

However, the implementation of the no-fee school policy in rural areas has been met with some challenges. Some of the challenges emanated from the consequences of the previous burdens that the affected schools had. For example, the identified no-fee schools needed to pay off outstanding bills that had accumulated in the past years and were not paid because the schools did not have the money. In addition, the schools had financial constraints that needed to be met by the Department of Education (DoE) such as paying for books, electricity, and water, as well as school telephone bills. Owing to the slow submission of audited financial statements by all the affected schools, it was hard for the DOE to meet its obligations to finance these schools timeously (Juan, 2007, p.55).

However, these and many other initiatives indicate the South African government’s efforts and willingness to work towards addressing the challenges it faces in education. Obviously, due to the length of time (about forty years) the apartheid regime took to establish its roots with a consequence of countless disadvantages in the South African education system, the numerous challenges within the education system in the country cannot be fixed in a short time. According to the ANC Education Policy (1994) “access to education resources proves to be a long standing problem coupled with the lack of school infrastructure provision and the inefficient

delivery of text book materials, especially to rural areas”. The supply of good and qualified teachers, particularly in rural schools, is another challenge that the DoE faces and has to overcome in order to provide equal and quality education for all South African children.

In an attempt to provide and increase the number of good and qualified teachers in rural schools where they are needed most, in 2007 the DoE introduced the full-cost Funza Lushaka bursary scheme, to attract good learners who pass Matric into the teaching profession. All 23 universities in the country get their allocation of the bursary based on the number of qualifying students enrolled in their Faculties/Schools of Education. Since its inception in 2007, approximately 14 000 South African students have benefited from the bursary scheme, in the scarce subject areas (DBE, 2013b). The bursary scheme pays all the students’ costs for university education if they choose to do a teaching qualification, particularly when specialising in scarce subject areas such as in Languages, Science, Mathematics subjects, and others. According to the Department of Basic Education (DBE) policy, “after completion of studies, the recipient...[of the bursary, has] to teach or work at a Provincial Department of Education for the same amount of time as the bursary sponsorship (DBE ,2013b, p.1).” In this way, the Funza Lushaka bursary scheme attracts teachers who will commit themselves to teach in public schools within the specific subject areas and in contexts where they are needed most, thereby subsequently increasing the number of qualified teachers with a ripple effect of decreasing the teacher supply problem in South Africa. Taylor (2011) and Van der Berg et al (2011, p.5), argue that the teachers produced through the Funza Lushaka bursary scheme should be high achieving students rather than just professionally-not-focused opportunists. These students choose the Funza Lushaka bursary to study to be teachers with no intention of displaying high performance in the teaching profession but only seeing the bursary as a route to secure jobs after studying (Taylor et al, 2011, p.5).

In further attempts to improve teacher education, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) has established policies that aim to regularise teacher education qualifications and thus improve the quality of teachers produced by universities. The first policy in the new dispensation was the policy called *The Norms and Standards for Educators* (DoE, 2000), which has recently been replaced by the current policy, *The Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications No. 583* (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011a), which aims to set qualification standards for teachers and serves as a framework for teacher education in South Africa. Despite efforts by government to attract new students into the teaching profession, the lack of teacher supply in terms of qualified teachers, particularly for rural and township schools, still remains a challenge. This lack of qualified teachers translates into several negative results regarding education quality, including access and success in education.

Regarding access to education, it would appear that South Africa is doing well throughout most of the primary and secondary school phases and poorly thereafter. However, according to Taylor et al (2011, p.1)

It is important to understand that high rates of grade progression despite a generally low quality of schooling in the primary and early secondary school phases lead to substantial drop-out prior to the standardised matric examination, failure to pass matric and failure to achieve a university endorsement.

For example, Matric results continue to be unsatisfactory. According to the 2009 Education statistics, 683 827 learners enrolled in grade12 out of which only 132 176 wrote the National Senior Certificate Examination; and out of these 38.9% of the learners failed the examination (DBE, 2010). This shows a very high dropout rate since 551 651 learners who enrolled in grade 12 in 2009, dropped out of school. It also indicates a high failure rate among learners who wrote Matric.

However, there has been a gradual increase in pass rates from 24.4% in 2009 to 27.6% in 2010 (South African NGO Pulse, 2012). In addition, a further improvement has been noticed in 2011 as 496 090 learners wrote the Senior Certificate Examinations of which 348 117 learners passed. Though the pass rate in education has improved in South Africa from 67.8% in 2010 to 70.2% in 2011 (DBE, 2013a) there was a decrease in the pass rate of Grade 12 learners in Eastern Cape (by 2%), Kwa-Zulu Natal (by 2.6%) and the Northern Cape (by 3.5%). The causes of such decreases can be attributed to the insufficient teachers qualified to teach Mathematics, Science, Technology and the Early Childhood Development/Foundation Phase. According to the DBE (2013a) “South Africa’s enrolment up to Grade 11 is above average and in Grade 12 enrolment is around average. But the number of Grade 12 learners successfully finishing their grade, and therefore secondary schooling, by obtaining their Matric is low by international standards.” The benchmark of measuring standards by international measures results as a problem in and by itself.

According to Manik and Gilbey as cited in the South African Council for Educators (SACE) (2011, p.8), “the 2006 statistics show that about 17 500 educators were lost through attrition, while only 2 500 teachers were being trained”. Although according to Morgan as cited in the SACE (2011, p.6)

In 2006, it was estimated that the total teacher population in South Africa was approximately 400,000 and that South Africa needed to recruit 17 000 to 20 000 teachers per year, yet the teacher training output was about 9 000 newly qualified teachers per year. Thus, the estimated flow of newly qualified teachers was substantially below the number of teaching posts that became vacant each year.

According to the DoE (2006, p.11), “The Educator Supply and Demand report projected a shortfall of about 15000 teachers in 2008, thus showing that from 2008 the output of teachers decreased by 2000”. As much as this was a slight improvement much still needs to be done to achieve the required numbers of teachers.

Through the aid of bursaries such as the Funza Lushaka 17% of students enrolled into the teaching profession and by 2012, 7,744 new teachers were employed into teaching. However, the teaching profession was losing about 20,500 teachers a year to attrition against an enrollment rate of approximately 6,000 and 8,000 teachers, and this culminating into a 5% attrition rate, Centre for Development and Enterprise in First Rand Report (2013, p.13). As much as there is an improvement in professional teacher recruitment it is not enough to meet the gap of scarce subject teachers. The biggest issue that teacher education is facing is producing “new teachers needed by qualification, phase, language, subject, and district.” According to the DoE (2006, p.11) “[teacher] shortages are being experienced in scarce subject areas such as Mathematics, Science and Technology, Languages and Arts, as well as Economic and Management Sciences. Furthermore shortages are also being reported for the Foundation and Intermediate Phases of the schooling system.” The shortage of qualified teachers leads to poor teacher performance and this may affect education quality and performance measured by results obtained by learners. Insufficient resources and inadequate infrastructure debilitate the chances of progression in such a milieu (Prew, 2009).

The massive drop in the number of teachers being trained still poses a major challenge, as in 2008 universities were altogether graduating about 6,000 to 10,000 teachers a year, but the profession was shedding 18,000 teachers a year and South Africa was losing about 4,000 teachers a year to emigration (MacGregor, 2008). There has been an increase in teacher training as in 2009 there was a 15% increase in initial teacher education enrolments that signified an incline of 35,937 enrolments from 2009 to 41,292 in 2010. In contrast, the increase in graduating students was 14% which is about 1,000 students as 7,973 graduated in 2010 in comparison to 6,976 that graduated in 2009 (Nzimande, 2012).

The lack of teacher supply in the country can be attributed to the closing down of teacher education colleges in the mid-1990s. According to the DBE technical report

(2011, p.25) “in 1994, there were 101 public colleges of Education in South Africa, eight of which were distance education institutions”. “Between 1994 and 1998 the number of colleges was cut down from 150 to 50. In 2001 it was announced that the remaining colleges would fall under university education faculties” (MacGregor, 2008). Thus, by 2004 all Colleges of Education had ceased to exist as independent entities. While some were closed down by means of attrition, others were absorbed into the Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). According to Nieuwenhuis and Mokoena (2005, p.130) The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) released a report in 1995 that clearly indicated “that teacher training should become a function of higher education and...should be merged and incorporated into existing universities”. Many independent teacher training colleges and policy researchers opposed this merger and advised about the restructuring of the existing teacher training colleges (including their infrastructures) to suit the new equality standards and be moulded to suit the newly elected government than to be changed into education offices or districts. According to Chisholm (2009, p.15) “policy research with college interests in mind advised that they [the colleges] be restructured rather than expanded or closed.” However, the government did not explore this advice as none of the teacher training colleges were restructured. This act of government to show less interest to the educationists’ voice when making major decisions affecting education, could be viewed within a South African history of government being more focused on government ideology rather than the ultimate educational good.

In South Africa, education has been used as a tool to perpetuate government ideology. For instance, under the previous South African apartheid regime (1948-1994) education became a tool to maintain division and repression (Kallaway, 1984). The influence of apartheid was reflected in the implemented educational policies as they were driven to appraise white superiority and rule, and were linked to the government’s ideological principles accordingly. As per Naicker (2000, p.1), “education policy and curriculum development in apartheid South Africa was used as

an ideological state apparatus to promote the interests of the ruling apartheid government”. The apartheid government promoted race, class, gender and ethnic divisions which emphasised separateness and led to a wide scale of disparities within all aspects of education (Naicker, 2000, p.1). These disparities were prevalent in the formation of a dual education system that was characterised by racial disparity. According to the National Education Policy Investigation of 1992, there were “large numbers of learners being excluded from the mainstream of education (Naicker, 2000, p.2). The attrition and failure rate amongst a large number of learners were estimated between 40% and 50%”. The quality of teaching was affected by the dual system of education, alongside the levels of teacher training where Whites received better facilities and education compared to Blacks¹. Resource allocation was also distributed unequally to schools and all aspects of education service delivery were impacted upon.

The apartheid ideology and its impact on education has been widely discussed and debated by various scholars. Pam Christie’s book, *The Right to Learn: the struggle for education in South Africa*, published in 1985 opened eyes of many teachers and student teachers to the realities of the education crisis in South Africa in the 1980s. However, there is still paucity of knowledge regarding the new government’s ideological influence on education in general and on teacher education in particular. Thus, this study aims to fill that literature gap by studying the governmentalities and politics at play in the transformation of regimes in South Africa with particular reference to teacher education.

The study explored the ideology that drives the current government; what impacts it may have on the teacher education policies as well as the impact this may have on the policy implementation processes of teacher education policy frameworks. The study

¹ Blacks: used to refer to Africans, Coloureds and Indians according to the Employment Equity Act of 1998. Retrieved on 13 March 2014.

<http://bee.b1sa.co.za/docs/The%20Employment%20Equity%20Act%201998.pdf>, p. 3.

sought to fill the gap by studying governmentalities and the politics of transformation in so far as teacher education is affected. In doing so, the study will contribute towards the paucity of knowledge within the effects of the current government's principles.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Education is a fundamental tool to provide knowledge, experience, and skills. In South Africa, education has been misused under the apartheid regime to perpetuate segregationist principles; creating a racial barrier among citizens that would determine their allocation and exposure to resources in all aspects of human life. The effects of apartheid had far reaching implications for the new democratic government that succeeded the apartheid regime after the National Elections in 1994. The urgency to change the fundamental use of education from a segregationist tool under apartheid to a unifying tool (for nation building and national unity) under the new democratic dispensation, meant education needed to transform. The post-apartheid South Africa enjoys a free for all non-discriminatory education that seeks to address the wrongs of the past and works towards a high-performing, better education system.

Prior to 1994, teacher education colleges were the most recognised forms of providing teacher training, but the provision of teacher training was unequal and it disadvantaged many, especially the Black people² and in contrast it benefited Whites. The racial differences and the dynamics of power shift that was realised post-1994 played a huge role in the transformation process politically, socially and economically in South Africa. Within education, three main factors needed to be addressed by the new government to rid the past inequalities. Firstly, the exacerbation of gross socio-economic inequalities that was a result of the distorted segregationist ideology of the apartheid regime. Secondly, the deep rooted inequalities within

² Ibid., p. 7.

education, such as, the separate racial schooling and separate resource (text books, infrastructure and stationary) allocation to schools based on race; and thirdly, the unequal financial allocation to schools as well as their race-based geo-graphical situation. The above mentioned factors helped maintain the apartheid ideology and only through transformation would unity, equality, human rights and freedom be attained.

The closure of teacher education colleges had far-reaching impacts on teacher skills and practical experience. The teaching profession, because of attrition lost a huge source of teachers and this occurred alongside the lack of desire for learners to become teachers. Teacher supply decreased in comparison to the increasing teacher demand as enrollment numbers of students in ECD and foundation phase schooling, primary schooling, secondary schooling and university enrollments increased. The decline in teacher supply in South Africa was further aggravated by the growing professional teacher emigration to work in other countries. This had unexpected impacts on education and the education system has been determined to meet the teacher demand since early 20th Century.

Teacher education policies and frameworks are geared towards improving the education system and are created on the basis of working towards creating an efficient education system to better educate society and increase livelihoods in South Africa. The ruling party of the new dispensation is driven by a different ideology compared to that of the apartheid regime. An ideology founded on citizen participation in government, equality, human rights and socio-economic upliftment of previously disadvantaged citizens. The apartheid regime had considerable control of the implementation processes of policies and frameworks as they were in line with the regimes principles. Thus, a lack of knowledge exists pertaining to the extent of influence that the current government has on the implementation process of teacher education policies.

1.4 THE STUDY PURPOSE

As alluded to in the previous subsection, there is paucity of knowledge regarding the new government's ideological influence on education in general and on teacher education in particular. Thus, this study intended to determine the ideology of the ruling party, and the extent of influence the ruling party had on teacher education policies implementation process. The study also intended to determine if there is coherence between the ruling party's ideology and the teacher-education policy implementation process, in the case of KwaZulu-Natal Province.

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The following are the research objectives of this study:

- To explore the ideology of the ruling party.
- To determine the extent in which the ideology of the ruling party influences teacher education policies.
- To determine the extent in which the teacher education policy implementation process reveals coherence with the ruling party's principles/ideology.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The key research questions that this study sought to respond to are the following:

- What is the ideology of the ruling party?
- To what extent does the ideology of the ruling party influence teacher education policies?
- To what extent does the teacher education policy implementation process reveal coherence with the ruling party's principles/ideology?

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

A body of research exists (for example, Kallaway, 1984; Vos and Brits, 1992; Thatcher, 1995; Le Roux, 2005; and others) that reports about the apartheid regime in South Africa; its enactment, its force and its demise. The impact that the apartheid government had on society is well known and understood because the ideology of the apartheid regime was deeply integrated with all institutions of society. Segregation, oppression of Blacks and the divided structures of society were guided and shaped by White supremacy. The policies and laws during this epoch were constituted based on the apartheid principles of segregation in all spheres of society including education. As a result the implementation of racially segregated teacher education colleges was part of the strategy to maintain the status quo. The ideological stance of the newly elected democratic party is characterised by freedom, equality, human rights and redress of the wrongs of the past, including the wrongs that guided education. Teacher education has been a sector where the past educational system was drastically eradicated and the implementation of the new system is visible. However, while the policies on education and teacher education implemented in the new system are known, there is still paucity of knowledge relating to the new government's ideological influence on teacher education; the information is not as yet readily available as that which relates to the apartheid ideology. Thus, this study aims to fill that literature gap by studying the governmentalities and politics at play in the transformation of regimes in South Africa with particular reference to teacher education policy implementation process.

1.8 ARRANGEMENT OF CHAPTERS

The thesis is arranged in the following chapters:

Chapter One outlines the research report to the study that critically analyses the post-1994 teacher-education policy implementation process in the province of KwaZulu-

Natal in South Africa. The chapter introduces the thesis and discusses the background to the research under the following subheadings: background to the study; the research problem statement; the study purpose; the research objectives; key research questions; significance of the study. The chapter ends by outlining the arrangement of chapters in the thesis and discussing a short conclusion of this chapter.

Chapter Two discusses teacher education in the South African context, highlighting the political background including the apartheid regime, the transitional period and transformation. To contextualize the South African situation, the chapter also discusses teacher education in developed countries, with special reference to the United States of America and the United Kingdom situations.

Chapter Three discusses the theoretical framework that is used in the study to understand teacher education policy implementation process that occurred post-1994. The chapter expands on the concepts, and the theories deemed feasible and appropriate for the study. The concepts and theory present coherence with one another and thus serve as the theoretical framework. The concepts of ideology, power and governmentality have impact on what drives a policy and its implementation process in governments and these are therefore discussed. Later in the chapter, the top-down-approach as a theory relevant to the study is then discussed.

Chapter Four discusses the research methodologies that were used to study, collect, and analyse information that led to the findings for this study. In the chapter, I discuss the research design and approach, the sampling framework, study population, the data generation and analysis methods. I also explain the ethical considerations, validity and trustworthiness as well as delimitations and limitations relating to the study.

Chapter Five discusses research findings of the study that critically analysed the post-1994 implementation process of teacher education policy in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The analysis was done on the following data sources: interview transcripts, field notes, email responses to interview questions and

documents (mainly government documents). In chapter Five, the discussion presents the themes that emerged from the data that was analysed and which also reflect the subjective experiences of staff that were part of the specific KZN Colleges of Education. The three themes that emerged through the analysis of the data sources are:

Theme1: Politically contextualised decision and the state of colleges

Theme 2: Radical policy change and impact on teacher education

Theme 3: Implementation process and consequences for staff and students

These themes have sub-themes that are further used to explore and expand on the research findings.

Chapter Six analyses the findings of the research that were presented in chapter five. The chapter discusses the analysis integrating it with the conceptual and theoretical framework that was discussed in chapter three; and also aligning the discussion with the research questions that were outlined in chapter one. After the discussion of the analysis of findings under each of the research questions, I then draw conclusions of the study and provide recommendations that can be considered for future research.

1.9 CONCLUSION

Chapter One outlined the research study through introducing and discussing the background of the study, the problem statement as well as the purpose of the study, the research objectives and research questions that guided the study were discussed. The significance of this study was presented, illustrating the importance of conducting such a study. This was followed by the structure of chapters, which gave a brief explanation of what each chapter intends to do and a conclusion, which is a summary of the chapter, provided.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW: THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL CONTEXT AND TEACHER EDUCATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In South Africa, education, including teacher education has over the years (1948-1994) been influenced and shaped by the political ideology of the apartheid government. During these decades of apartheid, the government built, strengthened, and sustained the apartheid regime through social and government institutions. However, later it was eradicated when the ANC government took over the ruling of the country through the inclusive, democratic, free, and fair elections. The implementation of teacher education transformational policies could therefore be viewed within the South African political history. Therefore, this chapter discusses teacher education in the South African context, highlighting the political background including the apartheid regime, the transitional period, and transformation. The chapter also discusses teacher education in developed countries, with special reference to the United States of America and the United Kingdom situations.

2.2 POLITICAL BACKGROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.2.1 Apartheid Regime

After the Nationalist Party (NP) came to power in South Africa after the whites-only elections of 1948, the ideology of apartheid was instituted. According to Le Roux (2005, p.237) “[the NP] soon instituted the ideology of apartheid that brought an even more rigorous and authoritarian approach” to the governing of the country. There was an increase of discrimination and marginalisation mainly of African people. Vos and Brits (1990, p.52) are of the belief that “the policy of apartheid stems from a

philosophy of life (ideology) which emphasises the particular (differences) and neglects the general (common)”. Under the apartheid system, people in South Africa were divided into four racial groups; namely, Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites. Africans refer to the indigenous African South African population, Coloureds refer to people from mixed racial groups, Indians refer to descendants of Asians, whilst Whites refer to those people of Afrikaner or British descent (CEPD & World Bank in Badat, 2007, p.1; Vos and Brits, 1992, p.49). In the South African context the principles driving the Nationalist Party during apartheid was that of maintaining the segregation of races and the oppression of inferior races, mainly the Africans.

According to Nwabuzor and Mueller (1985, p.83) a totalitarian state is characterised by principles that give the state total power and control. The apartheid government, which enjoyed extreme totalitarian measures, was characterised by the full involvement and regulation of government in all aspects of human life (see table one below).

Table 1: Nationalist Principles

1	The economy is centrally directed and managed rather than being left to individual initiative or market forces
2	One party is politically and legally dominant.
3	An official ideology (Afrikanerdom and segregation) is upheld by the ruling single party in which is presupposed in theory to regulate all governmental decisions and political activity within the system.
4	The judiciary and the mass media are rigidly controlled by the government and are expected to ‘indoctrinate’ the people in the official ideology.
5	Civil liberties are gravely discouraged.
6	Terror is used, where necessary, to enforce obedience and suppress criticism.

Under such extreme measures, the idea of a democracy was fruitless and not viable. Thus, change was needed with the beginning of a new democracy, which called for equality and major changes in the system to make right the wrongs of the past that

included oppression, subordination, and secondary citizen treatment of mainly African people. The limited access to capital, land, and housing which was imposed on Africans and was certified and regulated by the apartheid government also had to be addressed. The new democracy of 1994 that was a vision shared by a majority of South African citizens was to be founded on the freedom charter of 1955 and guided by firm and free elections in 1994.

The manner in which these segregationist principles were upheld was through the formation and implementation of national policies. For example, the following acts were key to establishing and maintaining the apartheid regime; (1) The Population Registration Act of 1950, which categorised people of different races; (2) The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, which banned mixed marriages; (3) The Group Areas Act of 1950, which divided residential areas based on race; (4) The Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was a pillar of the apartheid project as “this legislation was intended to separate African South Africans from the main, comparatively very well- resourced education system for Whites” (South African History Online, n.d); and (5) The Separate Amenities Act of 1954, which provided separate facilities and services such as hospitals, beaches and busses for different races further maintaining division amongst races.

At the centre of these injustices was the way in which education policies were employed, that perpetuated the discourse of policy implementation. According to the 1948 Constitution (Vos and Brits, 1992, p.52) “apartheid recognised the separate development of people on the grounds of cultural, ethnic and language groups”. Separate development of the population groups shaped the national education policy that was based on each population group being served by its own sub-system of education that had minimal co-ordination and co-operation, especially from the disadvantaged groups. These forms of segregation further divided the South African society as it perpetuated deep-rooted radicalised identities and caused severe impacts on South African’s elected democratic regime.

2.2.2 Resistance to apartheid and The Freedom Charter as beacons of hope

The apartheid regime met with much resistance and hostility from the growing oppressed masses that led to the mass political mobilisation and fight for freedom. The Freedom Charter that was adopted in 1955 resonated hope amongst all oppressed as well as those who could identify with the harsh segregated society in which South Africa had become. The conference (in Kliptown) in which the Freedom Charter was adopted gave the ANC, PAC and other anti-apartheid political parties as well as their affiliates that had ceased to be active since the 1930s an opportunity to avail themselves. In this conference, they restated and emphasised their true struggle vision and determination to realise an equal, free and peaceful South Africa (DoE, 2005, p.2). The freedom charter was signed by the ANC-led Congress Alliance, which was a pact signed between the ANC and the African Indian Congress (SAIC) in 1949, and later included the SACPO, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) and the South African Congress of Democrats (SACOD) (DoE, 2005, p.7). Thus, the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 saw an intensified support and active support from non-White South Africans. The main highlights of that renewed resistance movement was the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s which was characterised by a mass movement against the intense apartheid laws to maintain a strong hold over its ideology (DoE, 2005).

According to Le Roux (2005, p.237) after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 “the ANC formed its armed wing, UMkhonto weSizwe (MK), and embarked on a campaign of limited sabotage”. The imprisonment of Mandela and other political leaders caused an increasing unrest and eventually led to a fully-fledged struggle during the 1970s and 1980s. A growing source of support came from the youth that mobilised to fight against the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The youth was highly involved and it influenced growing notions of black consciousness and exposure to freedom doctrines. By the 1990s, the internal struggle had the NP government’s

authority unstable, as pressure from external forces on South African government to alleviate the forms of oppression by enforcing embargos of external countries trading with South Africa further curtailed the apartheid dominance. According to Le Roux (2005, p.237),

South Africa was becoming increasingly isolated from the world community, and the corresponding political, social and economic pressures combined with internal mass action and the armed struggle, forced the apartheid regime to re-think its political policies.

The only option left for the NP was to negotiate terms for a peaceful and equal restoration of political, social and economic stability. By the 1990s South Africa was in the process of change; and, politically there was much discussion and negotiation between political parties and affiliates on how to create a South Africa for all those who lived in it and to eradicate all spheres of oppression and introduce equality, human rights and employment for all South African citizens. By 1993, South Africa stood on the threshold of a new era in education. The separate and fragmented policies and laws that guided and upheld the apartheid system were losing authority and dominance as discussion and decisions of change were already in session. According to Le Roux (2005, p.240) “during the transition phase to prepare for the first democratic elections in South Africa, political events in South Africa were dominated by the negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)”, which I discuss in the next subsection.

2.3 NEW SOUTH AFRICAN DISPENSATION AND TRANSFORMATION

The post-apartheid South Africa that came into being in 1994 was focused on doing away with the apartheid system and introducing a democratic state that would seek racial integration, equality among all races and a redistribution of wealth to the previously disadvantaged races (ANC, 1994). The national policies that were formed by the ruling party (the African National Congress), called for fundamental

restructuring of all spheres of South African society and sought to address all the challenges of oppression, inequality and discrimination that were inflicted on the Black Africans, Indians and Coloured people by the White and Afrikaner's (DoE, 2005). Such national policies carried the spirit of the Freedom Charter of 1955, which was drawn up years before the ANC came into rule.

If transformation in South Africa was to be successful in 1994, then the apartheid system status quo could not be upheld. Venter and Johnston (1991, p.9) believed "if power is seen in purely functional terms, domination may be impractical but it is never immoral". Apartheid was practical for those that it served and benefited, as the apartheid principles did not confront power, they merely expressed it, thus accepted amongst most Whites. However, transition into a democratic country meant many aspects of the politics, power, socio-economic spheres would need to be transformed to suit and benefit all those that lived in South Africa. According to Le Roux (2005, p.235),

After a long struggle for freedom, South Africa in 1994 finally joined the community of nations as a democratic state. Since then the country has undergone fundamental transformation from the closed and isolated apartheid state to a state that is playing an increasingly important role in international, regional, and sub-regional affairs. Internally, much has been done to advance reconciliation and nation building, and government has been transformed to ensure transparency and accountability in governance, as well as to focus all spheres of government on improved service delivery.

Transformation was necessary in introducing change in South Africa, as the principles of the Nationalist Party were not conducive for a democratic government to reign. However, the course that transformation would take in South Africa had to be negotiated among all interested and affected parties at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) that I discuss below.

2.3.1 CODESA

The first Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA 1) in 1991 signified a formal gathering that sought to discuss and make mandates on the direction of South Africa's future. The collective agreement of the Declaration of Intent that would bind all present political parties to commit to bringing about a democratic South Africa with a new constitution was conceded (O'Malley, 1994). The collapse of CODESA 2 led to the bilateral negotiations between the Cyril Ramaposa for the ANC and Roelf Meyer for the NP, making it the main negotiating channel. A record of understanding was agreed upon in 1992, which dealt with the introduction of an interim government. The Multiparty Negotiating Forum was formed in 1993, which sought to include all political party races in the task of making decisions to provide a collective way forward, especially after the collapse of CODESA 2 in 1992. The collapse of CODESA 2 was because of much antagonistic tension that fell through in trying to put South Africa's racial differences aside and meeting a common goal of national unity. The magnitude of the conflict resulted in the assassination of the far left wing leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP), Chris Hani, in 1993 causing much uncertainty and bitterness in South Africa as the prospects of negotiating unity seemed farfetched. The SACP sought revenge to extremes of considering a revolt. Mandela and his ability to 'calm the storm' showed an act of true leadership and reiterated his stand for a peaceful, equal, free, and united nation (O'Malley, 1994). Mandela's virtue of calming a potential revolt by emphasising the greater good worked. The elections would determine a brighter future for South Africa more than a war that would leave more pain and suffering.

The IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was absent all through the CODESA conventions availed himself in April 1994 when his demands were met by the ANC's leader, Nelson Mandela (O'Malley, 1994). He was guaranteed the status of a Zulu Monarchy in KZN after elections, and his authority to retain more autonomy over

Zulu areas in KwaZulu-Natal where he had the biggest support base (O'Malley, 1994). The IFP's union in negotiations meant dropping the IFP boycotts of negotiations as well as of the democratic elections that were round the corner. Mandela's belief of (Rockwell, 2013) "lead from the back — and let others believe they are in front" was clearly visible. In the context of meeting the IFP's demands, Mandela was able to make the IFP believe they had won the battle, but not necessarily the war. Mandela's vision to see all South Africans vote in a free and democratic nation was thus realised.

Education was one of the vital tools that the apartheid regime used to perpetuate and maintain its rule. Achieving a successful transition to what the affiliated organisations (ANC, PAC, GNU, UDF), and the majority of South Africans longed for, meant that change in education was required from the grassroots level. The previous educational policies did not favour any sort of racial socialisation in all spheres of human life, this could be seen in the "own affairs" dogma in apartheid education that duly focused on separate development of all race groups. The apartheid system was thus to be replaced by a single unified system of education. Mandela believed that "education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" (Rockwell, 2013), and through this vision education was to provide all South African racial groups, especially the disadvantaged groups, with intellectual liberty and freedom.

The adoption of the Interim Constitution (1993) provided an introduction into the principles of democracy as far as human rights and freedoms were implicated. The victory of the democratic government that was elected by the people under this interim constitution guaranteed "equality and non-discrimination, cultural freedom and diversity, the right to basic education for all and equal access to educational institutions" (South African Constitution, 1994, p.4). With the ANC freely and fairly elected into government, it was able to initiate authoritative processes of strategically implementing the ideas and visions that were longed for in South Africa, and were in line with ANC principles. According to Thatcher (1995, p.2) "on 31 March 1994, the

‘own affairs’ administration was abolished”. The old constitution framework of South Africa being divided into ‘own affairs’ and ‘general affairs’ was negated. Education in South Africa was met with radical fundamental change, as the ANC was determined to start tabular rasa; the education system was to be planned, systematic, and structured through the creation of a Department of Education and Training at a national level and a provincial Department of Education administration in each of nine provinces.

According to Thatcher (1995, p.24) “the government is a controlling body in the education system and juridically harmonises and integrates the interests of the different societal structures, including the education system, by legislation”. The ANC government stood committed to providing effective teacher education as far as meeting the teacher demand, teacher quality, teacher qualification and teacher resources needed. School infrastructure was to be increased to benefit all citizens that were previously disadvantaged under apartheid rule. According to the De Lange Commission (1981) in Rakometsi (2008)

Without a corps of well-trained and talented teachers, any attempts aimed at realising the potential of a country’s inhabitants, improving the quality of life of its citizens, promoting economic growth and providing an equal system of education, cannot be successful.

Considerable pressure was on the ANC to steer the nation away from the adversity of apartheid and into a democratic society where all citizens could have an equal opportunity in realising their rights, dreams, and potential. The following section provides a list of the ANC principles that were to guide the newly elected government of national unity.

2.3.2 The ANC Principles of Democracy

Constitutional democracy is characterised by defining features that must be active and adhered to in order to be deemed legitimate. Heywood (2002, p.30) highlights the characteristics of democracy, which are outlined in table two below. The ANC government was then to be grounded in such democratic principles of liberal democracy, human rights, equality, equal distribution of wealth, as well as equal distribution of housing and welfare. The democratic principles provided below are what guides the ruling party on how to govern the country.

Table 2: Characteristics of democracy (ANC Principles)

1	A constitutional government based on formal legal rules.
2	A guarantee of civil liberties and individual rights.
3	A system of checks and balances
4	A regular election that respects the principle of “one person, one vote; one vote, one value”
5	Party competition and political pluralism
6	The independence of organised groups and interests from government
7	A private-enterprise economy organised along market lines.

A state with the above characteristics should enable its citizens’ participation and control over government. In such a state, more than one political party should exist to compete for political power through regular elections to determine which party should run the government. South Africa has acquired such characteristics since 1994. The liberty for trade unions and other like pressure groups to operate and have the freedom to make efforts to influence government decisions also prevails. In South Africa, such examples are COSATU and NUMSA, which have a large support base that is easily mobilised.

According to Nwabuzor and Mueller (1985, p.83) “democracies are ruled by civilians, who compete with each other for political power in an open and non-violent manner.” The government provides a platform provided to allow for citizen freedom of speech, opinion, and participation in public and policy decision making especially

if the policy or decision to be made affects the citizen or stakeholder directly. Media is authorised to criticise the government from various ideological viewpoints thus making the media free from government control. The power and functions of government are divided into the executive, legislature, and judiciary to maintain a balance between central government, the main law-making body and the independent body focused to apply and uphold the law. The government's control over the social and economic spheres of life is relatively limited to as far as no law is broken. Government maintains a supervisory role and leaves most decisions to the notions of the 'free market' (Heywood, 2002, p.30).

Therefore, during the transitional period, the principles of the ANC that envisaged a democratic state proved to be possible to achieve the vision of the new elected party than that of the NP. Thus, change was needed to see that vision realised. However, change does not necessarily adopt a detailed strategic plan but it can also be undertaken in situations where the existing affairs are unbearable and chaotic. Change can also be needed to restore peace, such as in the case of South Africa. This change in South Africa affected education in general and teacher education in particular. The transformed South African teacher education system bears some of the characteristics of the United Kingdom (UK) teacher education system. In the following subsections, I therefore discuss the UK teacher education system and juxtaposing it with the United States of American (USA) system of teacher education.

2.4 Teacher education in developed countries: United States of America and the United Kingdom

2.4.1 United States of America (USA)

The USA is characterised by principles of freedom and equality and enjoys a democratic federal system spread across 52 states. The geographical size of the USA allows for a national system of education but permits the decentralisation of authority, and in this respect each state has its own budget and system of education.

Teacher education is an important profession within the USA given its large population that includes disadvantaged groups. According to Thatcher (1995, p.144-145) under a decentralised system “great differences exist between the states, as regards compulsory school attendance, school structures and financial provision for educational purposes.” The financial stipulation of education departments guides the varied quality of service conditions for teachers and teacher training programmes. According to Kagan in Thatcher (1995, p.145) “in many school communities, local school boards, with little or no expertise dictated educational policy, whilst in the large cities, educational systems were heavily bureaucratised”.

The universities and Colleges carry out professional and academic training of student teachers. Teacher education requires a four-year course through a teacher education institution. According to Thatcher (1995, p.148) “teacher Colleges were recognised as being of university level and award university-style degrees, although this recognition is not willingly given by the more reputable universities”. The teacher education programmes are planned to help teachers acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes to teach, based on research, theory and practice. Community Colleges of education are many and dispersed around USA and they serve to train teachers for two years after completing secondary education because of an increased demand for teachers throughout USA. The community Colleges are state funded and student funding is an alternative to state bursaries. According to Robinson in Thatcher (1995, p.152) “most students at the Colleges [are] engaged in credit education”. The community Colleges are according to Le Roux in Thatcher (1995, p.151-152),

- Providing access to teacher education for those that are not suitable for universities
- Preparing individuals for jobs
- Providing the opportunity for the illiterate to read and write
- Providing greater mobility for different courses which could ultimately allow individuals to proceed to an association degree at a university

- Providing equal access to all and the opportunity to transfer from one course to another and;
- Providing for diversity of interests.

Some of the characteristics of the USA model of the community Colleges were evident in the South African system of the apartheid period, though it was a cheaper race-based version. The own affairs dogma was a principle of the Nationalist Party carried out through the implementation of the education policies. According to Parker in Salomon (1992, p.13), “in KwaZulu-Natal, 98% of schools were community schools in 1989”. Students were able to leave high school and take a two-year course for the Primary Teacher Certificate (PTC). This was because of the growing demand for teachers in rural schools.

According to Jarvis (2010) cited in Wassermann and Bryan (2013, p.84), “in 1991 a service agreement was entered into the South African and KwaZulu Government that the National Education Department’s White English College would accept 200 African students of the KwaZulu Department of Education”. The students were granted a two-year school based part-time study period and could only teach in primary schools thereafter. In terms of accreditation, the students would be awarded a two-year diploma after a College examination then a three-year diploma upon the completion of their studies. In this light, the transfer of the students were as a solution of preparing the students for individual jobs, providing teacher education to a population group that was not suitable for university just as the community schools in the USA. In the South African perspective, this ensured the maintenance of the apartheid ideology, as most of such students were African. The PTC disenabled the students to further their education or any type of desired course. In such a context, the teacher education of the African students was provided as far as the apartheid government had intended. The participation of the government in teacher education was highly active. Thus, the ideology of the apartheid government was a driving force and it had a strong influence in the nature of policies made and influence in the

implementation process of the policy. This also made it highly possible that the same ideology of the apartheid government could influence the kind of knowledge that went into the teacher education programmes. When the country was transforming, the ANC rejected every characteristic of the segregationist approach and it favoured the national system of education. So, the teacher education system of the transforming South African society / state showed more characteristics of the UK system, which I discuss below.

2.4.2 United Kingdom

In this subsection, I discuss England and Britain's educational systems because much of the transformed teacher education system in South Africa bears the characteristics of the UK system. England has undergone radical reform in its education system and in the development of a rapid industrial society. The structure of the education line of authority is between "central government, local education authorities, and the teaching profession" (Vos and Brits, 1990, p.144). The aim of providing all graduates the professions within the teacher profession, teacher training is offered within universities, polytechnics and Colleges of Education. The Education Act of 1993 and the White Paper of 1992, introduced the education legislation that was built on five key objectives which were to "improve quality, encourage diversity, increase parental choice, grant more autonomy to schools and demand greater accountability" (Thatcher, 1995, p.124). The structure of education changed to include a Funding Agency for Schools (FAS) and included a Teacher Training Agency (TTA) to administer teacher training. Other such changes included "The National Curriculum Council and the School Examination and Assessment Council merging to become the School Assessment Authority (SCAA)" (Thatcher, 1995, p.125). The encouragement of graduate teachers was further propagated by the decision by the Department of Education to restrict teachers' employment in England to be for qualified teachers. This meant that teachers required a Post Graduate Certificate of Education or a

Bachelor of Education in order to enter the teaching profession. This meant teacher education Colleges and their certificate qualifications became irrelevant in the new educational system.

According to NEPI in Thatcher (1995, p.125) “allowances were made for undergraduates to apply for qualified teacher status (QTS). New teachers were required to serve a year of probation before qualifying status was granted”. In 1991, the Prime Minister of Britain, John Major, asserted, “Teachers must have the training they need, not what the Colleges think they ought to have”. New routes to teacher training were experimented with; namely, The Articled Teacher Scheme and Licensed Teacher Scheme. These schemes were characterised by the assignment of trainees to a school where they were supervised by mentors and given additional training. The advantages were that students received ‘on the job’ training and “80% of training would be spent in the classroom whilst 20% would be spent at the university” (Thatcher, 1995, p.127). The new qualifications allowed an easy access for graduates into the teaching profession. It also enabled opportunities for students who wanted to change careers and served as an effective route to providing teacher supply. The need for teacher education Colleges ceased as Universities offered various courses such as, Initial Training, Post-Graduate Training, Mature Entry and Teachers Trained Elsewhere. The Mature Entry was provided for students who had completed a recognised teacher qualification from outside Europe and the Teachers Trained Elsewhere such as in Scotland, Northern Europe nationals trained in a member state could apply to the Department of Education for a QTS (Thatcher, 1995, p.128-129).

The ideology that underpinned teacher education in England was shaped by a rapid industrialised and modern culture that stressed the provision of more opportunities within universities than in teacher education Colleges. The National Department of Education showed its support for this model by preferring university graduates rather than students with QTS or teacher education certificates. The rationale behind this

was that universities awarded higher qualifications and promoted the research culture that the students would not be exposed to within a teacher education College. Thus, in the UK, the future of education colleges became faint and they ceased to be relevant in an established industrial country and a rapidly developed nation. Intent to eradicate the past and take the country forward, the transforming South African state, whether on purpose or by co-incidence, adopted much of the characteristics of the UK teacher education systems. I discuss the South African teacher education system and its transformation below.

2.5 TEACHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA PRE-1994

In South Africa, prior to the closure of colleges of Education teacher education was institutionally located in colleges of Education which offered a range of qualifications, especially for primary school education, although a few of the colleges offered Secondary Teachers Diplomas. According to Thatcher (1995, p.76) “approximately 21 universities, all except one; and 15 Technikons, offered teacher education courses”. In the Technikon sector the qualifications were accredited by the Certification Council for Technikon Education (SERTEC)”. The universities were accredited by broad regulations of the ex-Department of National Education (ex-DNE) which “managed the task of national policy-making within the political framework” (Thatcher, 1995, p.26). The ex-DNE awarded both Higher Education Degrees (HED) and Higher Education Diplomas (HDE) within the apartheid government criteria for teacher education.

Universities enjoyed many freedoms in this respect and had authority on the courses they taught. According to Thatcher (1995, p.76) the freedoms and autonomy shared by universities “resulted in many [universities] maintaining conservative programmes”. Thatcher (1995) further states that the accreditation differences of technikons and universities caused isolation among the institutions and thus making it difficult for students to transfer courses. Colleges of Education were part of the

higher education system but the ‘own affairs’ dogma applied in education colleges further isolated colleges of Education from universities and Technikons. In the colleges of Education, the decision-making powers were many and thus differences on decisions on how to administer colleges of Education differed according to where the college was located geographically. Pre-service Education & Training (PRESET) was a body provided by the state that had various authorities that were responsible for the control of different colleges of Education. The minimum entry requirements into teacher education varied according to the type of institution to which a student applied. This provided for the great variations regarding the quality of teachers produced. The following table provides the different general admission requirements for PRESET for universities, technikons and colleges (Thatcher, 1995, p.81),

Table 3: Minimum entry requirements for universities, Colleges and Technikons

Institution type	Minimum entry requirements
Universities	Non-graduate diplomas: Senior Certificate (with endorsement/exemption) with one additional higher grade subject and with appropriate school subjects Graduate diplomas: Degree
Technikons	Senior Certificate with one additional higher grade subject and with school subjects appropriate to the specialization offered
Colleges	Senior Certificate with one additional higher grade subject and with school subjects appropriate to the primary school curriculum

According to NEPI in Thatcher (1995, p.74) “the fragmented system of teacher education was organised along ethnic lines and controlled by different ex-departments”. The different state departments responsible for teacher education for the White, Indian, Coloured and African cultural groups existed and I show these in table four below,

Table 4: State Departments for different races in South Africa (Thatcher, 1995, p.26)

Cultural Group Education (in Homelands)	Department of Education and Culture, Administration
White Education	House of Assembly (HoA)
Indian Education	House of Delegates (HoD)
Coloured Education	House of Representatives (HoR)
African Education	Department of Education and Training (DET)

Teacher education was also overseen by the various provincial education departments; and these were namely, “the Cape Education Department (CED), the Natal Education Department (NED), the Orange Free State Education Department (OFSED) and the Transvaal Education Department (TED)” (Thatcher, 1995, p.26); and South Africa had four provinces at that time. The autonomy given to the colleges under the HoA and HoD was more flexible. The colleges under the HoR and DET had least authority and administrative autonomy. For instance, colleges under the HoA and HoD were able to transfer students to universities and between colleges by means of exemption or credit points; whereas this was not possible for colleges under the HoR and DET. The African and Coloured colleges were under strict control and were closely monitored. Most of the African colleges were situated in rural areas, had little resource allocation from their departments, and they had facilities not big enough to support the number of students enrolled. They had ill-maintained infrastructure and lacked textbooks, resources and finances. In light of the teacher education structural differences, administrative inequalities and financial disparities, the average scholar-teacher ratio in 1992 for colleges was 10.47: 1, university scholar-lecturer ratio was 19.83: 1, and for Technikons it was 19.26: 1 (Jaffe in Thatcher, 1995, p.77-78).

Colleges of Education carried the bulk of African students and the need for teachers in the rural areas was high. The colleges lacked qualified teacher educators and adequate resources to train students effectively and this accounted for deteriorating

teacher production with declining expertise. With such challenges there were no mechanisms provided by the departments as a solution and the enrolment of students continued to rise despite the challenges (Thatcher, 1995).

The following Table illustrates the teacher qualification according to population Groups in 1990, provided by NEPI: Teacher education in Thatcher (1995, p.83):

Table 5: Teacher qualification according to population Groups in 1990 (Thatcher, 1995)

Pop. Group	Phase	Without Profess. Qualification	With Profess. Qualification	Total
Africans	Primary	19 819	105 659	125 478
	Secondary	5 112	59 651	64 763
	Total	24 931	165 310	190 241
Whites	Primary	-	25 912	25 912
	Secondary	-	27 189	27 189
	Total	-	53 101	53 101
Coloureds	Primary	921	23 150	24 071
	Secondary	650	11 633	12 283
	Total	1 571	34 783	36 354
Indians	Primary	61	5 872	5 933
	Secondary	115	5 474	5 589
	Total	176	11 346	11 522

The table thus further infers that many South African teachers were not recognised as qualified teachers due to the lack of qualifications. The White population group had no teachers without qualifications as opposed to the African population group that accounted for an immense amount of 24 931 unqualified teachers for the primary and secondary phase teaching. The fundamental years of a child's development are in its early years. If the education they were receiving was from teachers without qualifications, this was to have immeasurable implications for future generations and ultimately the standard of teachers produced. Therefore, transformation was essential to improve the education standards of the African population groups.

2.6 TEACHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE TRANSFORMATION PERIOD

In the midst of challenges, in a short space of time post-1994 South Africa was able to create a 'single national Department of Education out of 19 racially, ethnically, and regionally divided Departments of Education, and transformed them to nine provincial departments. According to Garth (2002, p.12) "with the establishment of the Government of National Unity in 1994, one national and nine new provincial educational departments were formed out of the previously fragmented and duplicated departments". This was to orchestrate coherent levels of authority and was to provide for better accountability and organisation. According to Jansen & Taylor (2003, p.2) this created "a new political basis for the governance of education that nullified the logic of race in the education system's constitution". Inter alia, the South African government set up policies and frameworks that were to govern education although Jansen (2003, p.2) believed these policies and frameworks were "set in place, with ambitious goals and lofty ideals for new programmes, schools, colleges, Technikons, and universities." According to the OECD (2008, p.3), during this transformation period,

Impressive progress had been made in education legislation, policy development, curriculum reform, and the implementation on new ways of delivering education, but many challenges remained in many areas, such as student outcomes and labour market relevance.

Rembe (2006, p.4) also argues that the findings of studies conducted,

Have shown that various factors have led to setbacks and contradictions in the policies that were adopted in education. They have also affected the formulation and implementation of the policies, hence exerting certain limitations on the achievements of the goals of transformation in education.

As much as the closing down of teacher education colleges and incorporation of other colleges into universities was eventually made clear, the impacts that those who

would be affected by the closure, was still difficult to deal with. For other academics, leaving the teaching profession was not easy and adapting to a new working environment was just as hard (Garth, 2002). According to Garth (2002, p.3) “the process of staff absorption within the Provincial Departments of Education was not clearly explained to those who would be affected, nor was it based on any clearly defined strategic plan”.

The teacher education report drawn by the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) in 1992 influenced the ANC’s policy framework for education and training and provided for the rationalisation of teachers / teacher educators. It supposed that,

Given the lack of uniformity and the absence of planning across the teacher education sector, coupled with the uneven quality of inputs and outputs, the under-utilisation of many college facilities, undemocratic governance, and a stifling and uncritical ethos, the entire system of teacher preparation and development needed to be reconstructed (DBE Technical Report, 2011).

The National Teacher Audit of 1995 was an in depth report that provided information to make a decision on the relevance of teacher education colleges. The report included various data from which policy planning in teacher development could occur (Joint Education Trust, 1995). According to Garth (2002, p.13) the National Audit “provided valuable information which has had a significant impact on policy decisions regarding teacher education”.

The idea behind the rationalisation of colleges of Education was announced by the National Minister of Education and called for the Provincial Department of Education to absorb the staff who had been previously employed in colleges of Education (Garth, 2002, p.2). There was much uncertainty on the future of the teacher educators as according to Garth (2002, p. 2) “staffs were never given assurances of the security of their employment...many lived with the threat of retrenchment and unemployment hanging over their heads”. According to the Hindle Interview in Jansen & Taylor (2003, p.29), the teacher rationalisation policy of 1996 created a hiatus in the normal

patterns of supply and demand. This effect is still being felt as there was a decline in the training of teachers that led to the decline of teacher resource and as a result, learners were not encouraged to become teachers and they lost interest in the teaching profession. “This disruption is a direct consequence of the excess teacher problem of 1996 and the subsequent policy of halting new recruitments until all the teachers deemed to be in excess were redeployed or retrenched” (Jansen & Taylor, 2003, p.29). Many staff members did not take lightly to this process but there were no channels of communication to contest this significant drain in expertise as Garth (2002, p.3) states that “many felt intimidated and de-moralised by the process, and felt powerless to challenge the bureaucracy which enforced its will”.

Considering that other teacher training colleges were not efficiently financially provided for the service, those teacher-training colleges were not effective to provide skilled, qualified and experienced teachers. By the mid-1990s colleges that were generally privileged (mainly, the White teacher training colleges), had greater possibility to be merged with higher institutions than did the African teacher training colleges, especially those in rural areas. According to Ros Jaff in Chisholm (2009, p.15),

While a few colleges in rural areas were showpieces in the dust, with manicured lawns and fountains, many were also quite rotten, with grass higher than you could see through, terrible facilities, chairs in the quadrangle just rotting away....underperforming and problematic in terms of turning out quality teachers.

This means that the reasons behind the closing down of colleges might have been solid; however, the process of redeploying staff members was not well-thought of and was insensitively applied. Three options that the college staff could choose from when the colleges closed existed. Firstly, posts within the Provincial Departments were available; in the head office or districts and staff at colleges could apply for these. Secondly, there was an option of a Voluntary Severance Package (VSP) that

was offered late in 2000 and a Mutually Agreed Severance Package (MASP) that was however, later withdrawn. The other third option was to apply to the few posts made available in universities (Garth, 2002, p.2). Many staff members were personally affected and in many cases, the jobs that were available to them did not fit their expertise. According to Garth (2002, p.3) “college staff had been compelled to apply for new jobs that they were not suited for or qualified to hold”

2.7 EQUALISATION OF LEARNER TO TEACHER RATION

In 1994, the student-teacher ratio in colleges of Education in respect to primary school was the highest with the Eastern Cape Province having 54 students per teacher and the KwaZulu-Natal Province was having 42 students per teacher (Thatcher, 1995, p.244). During the period 1996-2000 the Department of Education called for a standard teacher ratio of 40 students to one teacher for primary schools and 35 students to one teacher in high schools (Jansen & Taylor, 2003, p.29). In the schooling system, the introduction of the new pupil to teacher norms did not necessitate an increase in the overall numbers of teachers; attempts to equalise the differences resulted in the employment of between 40,000 and 60,000 new teachers countrywide. This arose from the fact that schools that were above the norms hired new teachers, while those below the norm were given five years to reduce their teacher numbers (Jansen & Taylor, 2003, p.29). According to Taylor, Fleisch and Shindler (2008, p.21),

Whilst funding for education increased between 2000 and 2004, the real achievement in the period was the gradual equalisation of per capita expenditure. In 2000, KwaZulu-Natal was spending 87% of the average expenditure per child compared to the Northern Cape that was spending 135% of the average.

Currently there is a significant improvement as all nine provinces of South Africa are meeting much less teacher learner ratio than agreed upon in the ELRC in Resolution 4 of 1995, as shown in table six below,

Table 6: Learner-educator ratio (Source: School Realities 2012 preliminary report (Jansen and Taylor, 2003))

Province	L:E
Eastern Cape	29.1:1
Free State	27.1:1
Gauteng	31.4:1
KwaZulu-Natal	31.2:1
Limpopo	30.1:1
Mpumalanga	31.1:1
Northern Cape	31.8:1
North West	30.6:1
Western Cape	30.6:1
South Africa	30.4:1

According to Taylor, Fleisch and Shindler (2008, p.17) the Higher Education budget “...increased from R6,05 million in 1998/99 to R12,8 billion in 2007/08”. According to the DBE Technical Report (2011, p.30) “in 2007 there were 372 342 teachers in public ordinary schools, at a learner-educator ratio of 32.4: 1, and 21 883 teachers in independent ordinary schools, at a learner-teacher ratio of 16: 1, giving a total of 394 225 teachers and an overall learner-teacher ratio of 31.5:1”. Overall in 2009, the schooling system in South Africa had over 12 million learners enrolled in more than 25 000 schools with over 400 000 teachers teaching in South African schools.

Like in other countries, the schooling system comprises of public and independent sector. More than 11 million learners were enrolled in 24 699 public ordinary schools and were taught by 387 837 educators in 2009. While 393 447 learners attended 1 207 independent ordinary schools, and were taught by 25 230 educators. The above statistics show that there is a teacher resource and the key issue is the teachers required for scarce subjects.

According to the DBE Technical Report (2011, p.30) in 2009, 96% of teachers had a senior certificate, 30% had some academic qualification, 89% had a professional teaching qualification but of them, only 18% were graduates (in possession of a four-year B.Ed or a degree plus PGCE or its equivalent). There is massive shortage of teachers, especially skilled and qualified teachers as well as teachers skilled to teach in the scarce areas such as Maths, Science, Language, and ECD-foundation phase.

The efforts to overcome the teacher shortage in South Africa have been prevalent in the Funza Lushaka Bursary that is aimed at giving disadvantaged students an opportunity to be a teacher in the scarce subject areas that lack a teacher resource pool (DBE Funza Lushaka, 2013). The conditions of the bursary are that on completion the student will be working in a public school appointed by the Provincial Department of Education for the number of years that the student received funding whilst studying. As much as this initiative provides a solution for the production of teachers for the scarce subject areas, the bursaries available are limited. According to DBE Funza Lushaka document (2013b, p.2) “This programme makes a limited number of full-cost, service-linked bursaries available to capable learners studying towards a qualification in teaching and who are specialising in a specific priority subject specialisation”. Funza Lushaka is not necessarily able to keep the teacher in that school for as long as he/she is needed indefinitely. After the student has ‘paid back’ their bursary in the form of providing service to the rural school that he/she may be allocated to, he/she is able to apply to any other school of their choice or just leave the teaching profession. The initiative does not provide a lasting solution to the teacher shortage crises in which the education system faces. According to the HSRC in Thatcher (1995, p.9) “the critical shortage of professionally-qualified teachers in South Africa is a well-documented fact, with regard to the quality and quantity of teachers, a serious shortage exists in schools for African and Coloured children”.

2.8 TEACHER EDUCATION AT UNIVERSITIES

Universities are a high-level educational institution in which students study for degrees and academic research is done (Oxford dictionary, 2013). The definition of a university does not emphasise practical experience and training but fosters a thorough research principle. On taking on the responsibility to provide teacher education and absorbing teacher education colleges, the universities had agreed to providing better qualifications and producing effective teachers. According to the DBE Technical Report (2011, p.25) “in December 2000, 25 colleges of Education, including two distance education colleges, were declared by the Minister of Education as subdivisions of various universities with effect from 31 January 2001”. This meant that government was eradicating the divide of tertiary and sought to improve all tertiary institutions. Some colleges of Education were incorporated into universities whilst technikons were upgraded into Institutions of Technology. These upliftments and strategies for change were aimed at supporting the policy of Norms and Standards for Educators (2000), a policy document that would streamline all teacher education qualifications. According to the DHET Technical report (2011, p.4) the Norms and Standards for Educators (2000) “was the first formal policy on academic qualifications for educators and it attempted to bring a sub-sector of Higher Education qualifications into line with the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the national school curriculum”.

Not all universities had the capacity to incorporate teacher education colleges in terms of financing the restructuring, renovating and maintenance provision. According to Taylor, Fleisch and Shindler (2008, p.18),

In the period prior to 2003, higher education funding was dominated by the process of fundamental transformation. Moving away from the old funding framework, the new funding formula after 2003 began to take into account the costs of mergers and new expenditure on IT systems, library systems, communications, and infrastructure.

The incorporated colleges changed their accreditation modes as well as their teaching methods to suit the universities. Before the colleges' incorporation, universities were offering courses for diplomas and degrees already and teaching and training students, but the courses were more theoretical and lacked efficient practices of experience.

Annually university graduates produced have increased steadily from 74,000 in 1994 to more than 127,000 in 2007 (South African Higher Education, 2007, p.16). The National Education Human Resources Planning Framework of 2009 estimated a need to produce at least 15,000 to 20,000 teachers per annum, to meet the demand of teachers in all sectors by 2015. The DHET Technical Report estimates a total output of 12,000 new teacher graduates per year by 2014 and 18,000 per year by 2019 (DBE Technical Report, 2011, p.15). If currently universities are producing a third of 15,000, the South African education system is not producing enough teachers to meet the gap. According to the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) report (2011) "the teacher training system is producing about a third of the country's requirement of about 25,000 new teachers a year." To make means to produce more than 25,000 teachers a year, new initiatives should be introduced to train more teachers. According to Bernstein in the CDE report (2011) "South Africa cannot solely rely on current systems to train more and better teachers". Various teacher education projects have been established to help provide the shortages of teachers needed in scarce subject areas. However, most of such projects are privately owned institutions and I do not discuss them here as they are beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed teacher education in the South African context, highlighting the political background including the apartheid regime, the transitional period, and transformation. The transitional / transformation period affected not only teacher training but also teacher educators at colleges of Education. The chapter also discussed teacher education in developed countries, with special reference to the

United States of America and the United Kingdom situations. Here, I have argued that the Community college system of teacher education in the USA resembled the pre-1994 teacher education system in South Africa although the South African version was discriminatory and race-based. I have also argued that whether by intent or by co-incidence, the post-1994 South African model for teacher education resembles that of the UK, with similar initial teacher education qualifications (The Post graduate Certificate in Education and the Bachelor of Education).

Chapter Three

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: IDEOLOGY, POWER, GOVERNMENTALITY AND THE TOP-DOWN THEORETICAL APPROACH

3.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Naicker (2006, p.5), “sound theoretical frameworks provide the intellectual tools to understanding assumptions, models, practices and tools of a new policy.” This chapter discusses the theoretical framework that is used in the study to understand teacher-education policy implementation process that occurred post-1994. The chapter expands on the concepts, and the theory deemed feasible and appropriate for the study. The concepts and theory present coherence with one another and thus serve as the theoretical framework. The concepts of ideology, power and governmentality have impact on what drives a policy and its implementation process in governments and these are therefore discussed. Later, the top-down-approach as a theory relevant to the study is then discussed.

3.2 IDEOLOGY

Ideology has been in existence and has been part of human nature as far as the existence of humankind; however, it was conceptualised by Karl Marx in 1845 in ‘The German Ideology’ where Marx expands on the force of ideas and how it can develop to be an effective tool to pursue an agenda. Based on the materialistic conception of history, Marx holds that all men [and women] recognise themselves on the foundation of material accumulation; thus if one acquires more than another it automatically puts them on a higher status level. According to Marx (in Feuerbach, 2011, p.5),

The way in which men [and women] produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the actual means of subsistence they find in existence and have to produce. This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the production of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite mode of life on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production.

Thus, in Marx's views, if a person associates himself/herself with his/her materialistic accumulation, a group of people with the same ideas and interests are likely to coalesce and pursue this interest. When a group or more has accepted this level of materialistic accumulation as the truth and a norm, thus this re-affirms the level of accumulation and the dividing of classes of those with materials and those who aspire to acquire those materials. The forming of these sub-levels allows that a group with the most material accumulation will have an advantage and certain dominance and authority over those who do not have large accumulated materials. In such a society, a difference emerges between those that own the means of production (the capitalists) and those that do not who form a working class (the proletariat). Such a situation tends to form an opportunity for those without the means of production to earn money to satisfy their materialistic needs and their working condition provides them a chance also to be materialistically satisfied through their labour performance.

An individual's development within society determines much of their nature. According to Marx in (Feuerbach, 2011, p.5),

The various stages of development in division of labour are just so many different forms of ownership; that is, the existing stage in the division of labour determines also the relations of individuals to one another with reference to the material, instrument, and product of labour.

The introduction of the Church and religion, the Industrial Revolution in Britain, the Caste system in India are examples of the emergence of driven ideologies. The rapid transition of an agricultural sector to an industrial sector in Russia shows the technique undertaken to drive an ideology. According to Marx's original ideas (1845),

If an epoch imagines itself to be actuated by purely "political" or "religious" motives, although "religion" and "politics" are only forms of its true motives, the historian accepts this opinion. The "idea," the "conception" of the people in question about their real practice, is transformed into the sole determining, active force, which controls and determines their practice."

Ideologies are better understood as a body of principles that act as a guide to an individual, class or group (Marx in Feuerbach, 2011, p.5). An ideology may also drive a social movement such as the Industrial Revolution in its transition from an agricultural to industrial sector as well as a specific class in society such as the Caste system in India. An ideology arises from a shared economic, political, or social idea or plan. The rapid transition of an agricultural sector to an industrial sector in Russia shows the technique undertaken to drive an ideology, in terms of the economic and social interests of the minority in power took preference over that of the masses.

As early as 1845, Marx held that religion and politics are the only forms used to encourage ideologies into action. Thus, individuals that accept an idea as truth and a set of guidelines believe in the principle driven. As a result, the accepted notion then affects the thought process and actions of the individual, class, or group. Those that do not accept the truth of the ideology are then marginalised. If this is the case, a clash of ideas and values is bound to emerge causing an ultimate clash of ideologies.

This Marx's idea of an ideology is still relevant and applicable to the South African context. In South Africa, the transition from an apartheid government to a democratic government introduced a transition from a government holding a particular ideology (of apartheid) to another government with another ideology (of democracy), and thus

a conflict of ideologies in the South African society prevailed. This political party transition was rapid and radical because there was a fundamental change in all aspects of human life, socially, economically and politically. Policies, legislature and human rights were aligned with that of a South African democratic state. The existence of various ideologies thus created divisions within society as political and those that did not believe in them questioned the principles. The existence of various dominant ideologies then created a setting by which there could not be one dominant ideology and the ideologies were forced to co-exists in society.

In South Africa, the principles driving the Nationalist Party during apartheid were that of maintaining racial segregation and the oppression of the inferior race, which consisted of African people. The manner in which these principles were upheld was through the formation and implementation of national policies. In chapter two, I have highlighted some of the acts that were promulgated to entrench the apartheid regime in all social and government institutions. At the centre of these injustices was the way in which education policies were employed, that perpetuated the discourse of policy implementation. These forms of segregation (the ideology of divide and rule) advantaged the Nationalist government and further divided the South African society as it perpetuated deep-rooted radicalised identities and caused severe impacts on South African's post-apartheid. The post-apartheid South Africa that came into being in 1994, was focused on doing away with the apartheid ideology and introducing a democratic state that would seek racial integration, equality among all races and a redistribution of wealth to the previously disadvantaged races.

The national policies that were formed by the current ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), stemmed from the Freedom Charter of 1955, which was drawn up years before the ANC came into rule. The policies sought to address all the challenges of oppression, inequality and discrimination which were inflicted on the African people by the then considered superior race comprised of the White and Afrikaner group (DoE, 2005). The tools used to draw up the policies were the ANC's

principles, aims and goals that re-assured the South African citizens of the ruling party's devotion to the people, especially those that were affected by the former apartheid regime.

The manner in which the ANC mobilised people to fight against oppression and apartheid was through mobilising the masses, thus the ANC was known as a mass democratic movement, this was a highly 'bottom-up' ideological technique whereby the masses felt important and needed to provide a concrete input in South African politics. When it came to the instatement of the new ANC-led democratic government in 1994, there was then pressure to put the communicated pedagogy of liberation to the people into action within government. At the time of the first elected democratic government in South Africa, the ANC had limited experience in running a country. Thus, it is yet to be analysed if the policies drawn such as that of the education sector, came to be implemented in line with or in contrast to the democratic principles espoused by the ruling party.

The philosophical understanding of Marx's materialist conception of history lays down the foundation of an ideology. It elaborates on the materialistic value of individuals and groups and how this narrative can be developed into a claim of truth that many come to accept thus making it in existence. According to Marx (1845),

History does not end by being resolved into "self-consciousness as spirit of the spirit," but that in it at each stage there is found a material result: a sum of productive forces, an historically created relation of individuals to nature and to one another, which is handed down to each generation from its predecessor; a mass of productive forces, capital funds and conditions, which, on the one hand, is indeed modified by the new generation, but also on the other prescribes for it its conditions of life and gives it a definite development, a special character. It shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances.

Thus, in South Africa, where citizens were oppressed and marginalised, it follows that when they are offered hope of a radical change of liberation, freedom, and

equality, it thus becomes a truth to the masses and provides the ruling party fighting for this liberation movement to hold much power. This ideology as well as the tangible power allows for that a certain truth to be perpetuated.

However, an ideology is not only confined to the community but also in private organisations, civil society and also government. Since the government “is the exercise of control within society through the making and enforcement of collective decisions.” (Bismark in Heywood, 2002, p.5), government thus becomes the entity through which the collective ideas are implemented. The ruling political party in a country has major influence on the government and its branches, thus having influence on policy formulation and its implementation. This influence is driven through the party dominance that exerts authority and power using a political ideology.

3.2.1 Political Ideology

According to Heywood (2002, p.42) a political ideology is more or less a “coherent set of ideas that provide a basis for organised political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing power system”. This determination of establishing an ideology based on aspects of political, social, and economic emancipation from apartheid rule encouraged the ANC to introduce policies that would transform the South African state. The introduction of an elected democratic regime was one of the first actions aimed to establish a platform for citizens’ public participation in government and decision-making in policies as well as encouraging human rights in South Africa. Education was one of the mandatory spheres targeted to transform in order to support the perpetuation of ideas and principles that was shared by the government and the majority of people in South Africa. This conflict of ideology between the South African apartheid regime and the post-apartheid elected democratic regime shows the transitional process of one ideology to another and the cause and effect as a result of that conflict. According to Marx and Engels approach

to ideology in their theory of the German Ideology (1845) in Dino (2002) “ideology functions as the superstructure of a civilisation: the conventions and culture that make up the dominant ideas of a society”. The dominant ideas of the ruling party are thus considered the shared ideas of the public and this relationship allows for the perpetuation of the ruling party’s ideas and influence on the public. Marx and Engels believe "the ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas... therefore, and the ideas of their dominance"(Dino, 2002). Thus even in context of a universal notion such as Christianity, it shows how religion by a certain group has expanded and has been perpetuated to many spheres of human belief and interaction, so much so that Christianity has been accepted as the truth and norm. Christianity itself is a domain of influence perpetuated by the Church thus having an ideology that underpins it. An example of this would be the right an individual has to choose the religion they want to follow and if they choose a religion outside of their cultural domain, it should be allowed as an individual has a right to choose their religion. Thus, the notion of human rights in and by itself is a form of ideology as one feel empowered to choose what they believe is true, but the entities such as government that uphold human rights and encourage citizens to be individualistic in character are using a form of strategy to perpetuate their own ideology.

3.3 POWER

The concept of power is inseparable to these dominant ideas in the process of transformation in South Africa, as power re-enforces authority and subsequently dominance of the ruling party. Foucault (1998, 63) views power as a “regime of truth that pervades society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation... [he uses] the term power/ knowledge to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and truth”. Power has become a form of influence that is unstructured; it is present everywhere and has a tendency to radiate

authority and dominance thus economic exploitation as well as ideological manipulation can be regarded as strategies of power. According to Gaventa (2003), “Foucault’s approach to power is that it transcends politics and sees power as an everyday, socialised and embodied phenomenon”. Thus, power cannot be detached from the strategy of the ruling party to influence its ideology in the process of regime transformation especially if the majority of the public is receiving the transformation and the ruling party optimistically. It is then left to the interpretation of whether the support of the majority to the ruling party allows the ruling party to channel the positive energy in creating policies and implement them in ways that benefit the public, or instead use this massive support to their discretion and perpetuate their ideologies further through national and educational policies. The ways in which this power is used is shown through the strategies and techniques used by the ruling party and implemented via government policies. Foucault (1988, p.19) argues that “we must distinguish the relationships of power as strategic games between liberties, strategic games that result in the fact that some people try to determine the conduct of others, and the states of domination, which are what we ordinarily call power. And, between the two; the games of power and the states of domination, you have governmental technologies”. Thus, state governmentality emerges as a form of art, which is pursued to contain individuals in terms of making them believe that the principles and values of government are the truth and thus hold the utmost right and authority to influence their principles and ideology into society. In the following subsection, I discuss the concept of governmentality.

3.4 GOVERNMENTALITY

Governmentality which was developed in the 1950s by Roland Barthes and was coined by Foucault in 1991 (in Lemke, 2010, p.1) where he elaborated on three analytical dimensions of how Foucault’s governmentality,

Presents a nominalist account that stresses the central importance of knowledge and political discourses in the constitution of the state...[how] an analytics of government uses a broad concept of technology that encompasses not only material but also symbolic devices, including political technologies as well as technologies of the self... [and] it conceives of the state as an instrument and effect of political strategies that define the external borders between the public and the private and the state and civil society, and define the internal structure of political institutions and state apparatuses.

Governmentality thus is the usage of power in various forms and in various strategies to influence society this can be through policies, legislature, laws, and legitimate institutions that implement their influences through these aspects.

Foucault (1997, 67) “coins the concept of governmentality as a guideline for the analysis he offers by way of historical reconstructions embracing a period starting from Ancient Greece through to modern neo-liberalism”. Foucault links the art of governing with that of modes of thought arguing that it is not possible to study technologies of power without an analysis of the political rationality that underpins the technologies of power. According to Lemke (2010,2-3) “Foucault is able to show that up until well into the 18th century the problem of government was placed in a more general context, whereby the government was seen as an entity of governing others as well as governing itself..[and] Foucault endeavors to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other's emergence.” According to Keenan in Lemke (2010, p.3),

[Governmentality] plays a decisive role in the analytics of power in several regards; it offers a view on power beyond a perspective that centers either on consensus or on violence; it links technologies of the self with technologies of domination, the constitution of the subject to the formation of the state; finally, it helps to differentiate between power and domination.

Thus Foucault reveals that the technologies of dominance of individuals over one another takes shape within structures of coercion and dominance, thus ones interests is easily notable in the agenda they pursue within political parties.

Dominant political parties thus do not have to be authoritarian to exert overt dominance but they can be liberal or democratic as the technique to exert their dominance. They thus carry out their dominance through different techniques of power and strategies within government. According to Heywood (2002, p.400), the...policies...are “a plan of action adopted by an individual, group, business or government....Therefore a public policy would be a formal decision of government bodies better understood as the linkage between intentions, actions and results.” Thus the formulation of policies that adhere to the dominant political party is easily perpetuated in government as the dominant political party has an ideology and a course of action ready to be fulfilled through the policies. The manner of the policy formulation is top-down as it avoids public participation in policy formulation so as to maintain the political party’s own agenda and interests and securing that the public does not conflict the governments interests. The policy implementation process also takes on a top-down approach as the policies are formulated by the elite in government and are intended to be implemented by civil servants. The policies implemented are rigid which hinder the masses, as the people are the ones often affected by the policies that they have no opinion in forming. The top-down approach of policy implementation thus serves as a policy implementation strategy that reveals the ideology of the ruling party; I discuss the top-down approach theory in the next subsection.

3.5 TOP-DOWN APPROACH

The top-down implementation approach is a straightforward system of command and control, from the government to the project, which concerns the people. The top-down approach to policy implementation usually requires a street level bureaucrat (a middle man) to implement the policy for the government and provide a service delivery to the people. It has had far-reaching implications for policy process, which lies on how it is implemented and received by those who it affects. Many policies that

have been formed in the education system come from a top-down approach. According to Matland (1995, p.146), “top-down implementation is the carrying out of a policy decision, by statute, executive order, or court decision; whereas the authoritative decisions are centrally located by actors who seek to produce the desired effects.” Matland (1995) mentions four characteristics that the top down theory performs:

- (1) Clear and consistent goals articulated at the top of the hierarchical environment;
- (2) knowledge of pertinent cause and effects,
- (3) clear hierarchy of authority,
- (4) rules established at the top and policy is aligned with the rules,
- (5) resources / capacity to carry out the commands from the top.

As much as this is a rigid form of policy formation and implementation, it is not inclusive of the public participation and the issues that the policy intends to address as the policy is assumed best from the elite minority at the top (government) for the people at the ground (people). In such an approach, no opportunity exists for consultation with the people on ground on what may be best for them.

The process of policy formation to its implementation shows a clear form of hierarchy as it divides authority and roles between the government, street level bureaucrats and the people that are affected by the policy. According to Trowler (2003, pp.123-124), “education policies are formulated in a variety of locales: in central government, in national bodies associated with government, in local authorities or in educational institutions. However, they are always implemented by individuals and groups within organisations: schools, colleges and universities”. In the context of the research study, the ruling party and its principles are aligned and are perpetuated into society via the policies they form. The government thus has the resources in terms of capital and means of production to see through the process of policy implementation. The ideas, principles and rules of the ruling party easily influence the public as there is presence of dominance and authority, thus revealing the approach of which power is employed in government by the ruling party.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed the concepts, and the theory that are relevant to the study. I discussed that the concepts of ideology, power, and governmentality have influence on what drives a policy and its implementation process in governments. I also discussed the top-down-approach as a theory relevant to the study. In my discussion, I showed that the concepts and theory present coherence with one another and thus serve as the theoretical framework.

Chapter Four

THE EXPLICATION OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research methodologies that were used to study, collect, and analyse information that led to the findings for this study. In the chapter, I discuss the research design and approach, the sampling framework, study population, the data generation and analysis methods. I also explain the ethical considerations, validity and trustworthiness as well as delimitations and limitations relating to the study.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH

The research design for this research project is a qualitative case study as the study specifically focuses on a detailed study of teacher education policies in KwaZulu-Natal only. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that,

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus; involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Creswell (2003) further defines qualitative research as “an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem.: He further states that in qualitative research, the researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting”. Thus, qualitative research often attempts to study human action from the insider perspective; where the research is focused on describing and understanding human behavior (Terre Blanche,

Durrheim and Painter, 2006). According to Woods (2006) “a great deal of qualitative material comes from talking with people whether it is through formal interviews or casual conversations, if interviews are going to tap into the depths of reality of the situation and discover [participant’s] meanings and understanding”. A qualitative research approach is suitable for the research study as opposed to a quantitative approach, since the study sought to engage with participants’ experiences that may have multiple meanings. According to Creswell (2003, p.18) a quantitative approach “employs strategies of inquiry such as experiments and surveys, and collects data on predetermined instruments that yield statistical data.”, and this study did not use such methodologies. The qualitative data that I generated and interpreted led to themes that emerged. This qualitative approach was effective in determining if there is an ideology or a common driving force in the ANC ruling party that may have influenced the teacher-education policy implementation process at KZN.

This qualitative research adopted an interpretivist paradigm, which developed in 1996 as a critique of (post)positivism in the social sciences (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). The positivist paradigm took a notion of upholding a belief on the existence of an absolute truth; which truth could be discovered (positivism) or could nearly be discovered (postpositivism), to understand commonly in relation to studying humans. In the interpretivist paradigm, the existence of an absolute truth is unrealistic as the actions and behaviour of humans vary and thus cannot be made absolute (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). Regarding the nature of knowing and believing, interpretivists work within a relativist ontology that “assumes that reality as we know it is constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially” (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). Therefore, within this tradition, there is not one truth, but many truths and meanings that exist and in qualitative research, each truth, and meaning is equally significant. Therefore, research within this paradigm seeks to understand phenomena from the participants’ perspectives. This epistemology assumes that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know.

According to Cohen and Crabtree (2006) “the investigator and the object of investigation are linked such that who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves, others and the world”. The research project took a qualitative approach and this allowed for a detailed understanding of the phenomenon under study. In other words, the study sought to understand the ruling party’s ideology; and how that ideology influenced the process of implementing teacher-education policy. In the following subsection, I discuss the research strategy that I followed.

4.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

In order to collect data, I intended to approach participants; that is, teacher education personnel such as senior management, academics, and teacher unions that were working and active in teacher education colleges before and during their closure. I sought to contact as many people as possible. The task of tracing potential participants became difficult because of the number of years (almost 20 years back) that have passed since colleges were closed. The contact details of previous college educators were provided by Universities in KZN such as the University of Zululand, the University of KwaZulu-Natal and Durban University of Technology that were involved in the incorporation of teacher education programmes during the closure of colleges. However, it was not easy for me to get hold of the previous college staff because some previous college staff had retired, some have relocated and emigrated, some have experienced various career changes, and this made it difficult to trace many. Some college Rectors had passed away. The internet search for contact details was also not useful as contact numbers provided were inactive. I then used the snowballing method to get hold of potential participants, and those that were traced were able to provide the contact details of other college staff they knew.

4.4 SAMPLING FRAMEWORK AND STUDY POPULATION

The sampling framework seeks to determine the researchers population interest, thus the participants in this study were selected as key informants because of the role they played in teacher colleges, and allowing those informants to inform us of other potential participants. This was effective in identifying key participants to collect data from sources who played active roles during the transition from closing down teacher education colleges and their incorporation into higher education institutions. In this way, the data were collected from participants who could share their experiences and provide information that at times was not available from official documents. Terre Blanche et al (2006), hold that the technique of sampling depends on not only the availability and willingness to participate, but on cases that are typical of the population. This sampling process was not easy as I encountered some inactive phone numbers and some of the email addresses provided reached dead ends. However, I was able to get a sample of 14 participants spanning across different levels from senior management to academic staff. I discuss the profile of the participants in the next subsection.

According to the information obtained from the archives of the KZN Department of Education at Dokkies in Durban, there were 16 Colleges of Education that existed in KZN and they are listed in table seven below.

Table 7: KZN Teacher Education Colleges pre-1994 in South Africa (DOE Archives, Dokkies 2013)

KZN Teacher Education Colleges pre-1994 in South Africa		Target Group according to race
1	Adams College of Education	African
2	Appelsbosch College of Education	African
3	Bechet College of Education	Information not available
4	Durban College of Education (Dokkies)	White (Afrikaans)
5	Edgewood College of Education	White (English)
6	Eshowe College of Education	African
7	Esikhawini College of Education (ESCOLED)	African

8	Ezakheni College of Education	African
9	Gamalakhe College of Education	African
10	Indumiso College of Education	African
11	Madadeni College of Education	African
12	Natal College of Education	Information not available
13	Springfield College of Education	Indian
14	Umbumbulu College of Education	African
15	Ntuzuma College of Education	African
16	Gqikazi College of Education	African

In my study, I was able to have 14 participants who had worked in seven of these previous Colleges of Education, mainly Colleges that were designated for Africans and Whites (both English and Afrikaans). The senior management participants consisted of seven former members of staff; one DOE Official, two Rectors, and four Senior HODs. The profile of participants is displayed in table eight below.

Table 8: Profile of participants according to rank, race, and gender³

Staff category		AM	AF	CM	CF	IM	IF	WM	WF	Sub-total	Grand-total
Senior Management	Key DOE Official	1								1	7
	Rectors	1						1		2	
	SHODs	4								4	
Academic staff	Lecturers		3					1	3	7	7
Grandtotal		6	3	0	0	0	0	2	3	15	14

As is shown in table eight, the seven academic staff consisted of two White English females and one African female from a White English College, one White Afrikaner female from an Afrikaans College, two African females from an African College and one Afrikaner male from an Afrikaans College. Thus, in the next subsection I discuss the data generation methods that I used in the study.

³ AM= African Male; AF= African Female; CM= Coloured Male; CF= Coloured Female; IM= Indian Male; IF= Indian Female; WM= White Male; WF= White Female

4.5 DATA GENERATION METHODS

In this study, I used interviews as well as desktop review as methods of data generation. These methods are appropriate for a qualitative research study (Babbie, 2007) and (Mouton, 2001). The participants were engaged through contact sessions; that is, semi-structured interviews that allowed the researcher and the participants to engage in conversations with follow up questions to create clarity for interpretation purposes. The semi-structured interviews were recorded through a mobile audio recorder subject to participant consent of which facilitated for precise note taking and capturing holistic participant meaning. This further strengthened the research study design through an interpretive approach to the study. The desktop review consisted of document search and analysis as well as telephonic conversations with key people in the KZN DOE. I discuss both data generation methods in the next subsections below, starting with the semi-structured interviews.

4.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews

I collected data by conducting semi-structured interview sessions that I arranged prior and at the convenience of each participant, at their residence, public malls, or work offices. I then arranged interviews based on the nature of the participants work schedule. Some participants were in high rankings of the KZN Department of Education and had busy schedules and time constraints, in such instances I sent the interview questions and consent letters via email, and they used email to respond. This helped those participants to have ample time to recall and they were thus able to send me thoroughly thought and insightful responses. Where I needed some clarifications, I was able to send follow up emails and they responded.

For participants who were available for face-to-face interviews, I arranged for these by setting up suitable dates, times and locations (venues for interview meetings) that were convenient to the participant. The interview schedule had different participants

interviewed on different days, and this allowed for better preparation of framing follow-up questions. Interview questions were semi-structured and follow up questions were used for gaining clarity. The interview sessions each took approximately between 45 minutes to an hour and the interviews took place in participant's homes, offices, and public malls. I recorded the interviews; however, if the participant felt uncomfortable with recordings, notes were taken during the interview sessions. I had various experiences in contact interviews, as there were at times emotional aspects revealed by participants; where some showed signs of anger whilst others were relaxed and at ease. Besides, interviews I also conducted a desktop review as a method of generating data that I needed for analysis. I therefore discuss the desktop review process below.

4.5.2 Desktop Review

A desktop review was used as a method to collect data; both internal and external desk research was used. The internal desk research included library books from the university library, school theses and scholarly articles. According to Anon. (2008) "internal desk research can be treated as the most reasonable starting point of research for any organisation". Whereas the external desk research provided the flexibility of browsing internet articles, documents, policies, online newspaper articles and relevant literature. According to Anon. (2008) "external desk research involves research done outside the organisational boundaries and collecting relevant information". The type of information collected was selectively gathered and it dealt immensely with document analysis of literature reviews, document reviews and educational policies.

The documents that I collected for analysis were policies, reviews, national statistics, journals, dissertations and thesis, as well as online newspaper articles. Search engines that I used to collect these documents were Google Scholar, Bing, Mozilla Firefox, the UKZN website, UKZN libraries and the Department of Education website. I

obtained the KZN Provincial statistics from the archives of the Department of Education in KZN that are located at Dokkies, which was also one of the former colleges of Education at KZN. I went to Dokkies once, where two employees were assigned to assist me with the information I required. We then also exchanged contact details and I was able to communicate with them for further information via email and phone calls. In the following subsection, I then discuss the data analysis method that I followed in the study.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

As alluded to earlier on, this study is a qualitative case study and I thus present the results from interviews in themes that were identified through the data analysis. In analysing data, I identified patterns and similarities, and these were coded using open coding. Later I did re-coding and categorisation of codes until themes emerged. The thematic analysis helped me with coding and re-coding as to identify categories and develop themes. According to Ibrahim (2012, p.40),

Thematic analysis is considered the most appropriate [method] for any study that seeks to discover using interpretations. It provides a systematic element to data analysis, [thus making thematic analysis the most suitable method to analysing data that is based on the interpretivist paradigm]. It allows the researcher to associate an analysis of the frequency of a theme with one of the whole content.

The use of thematic analysis did not only show emergent themes but also showed the effect each theme has. As Terreblanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006, p.338) state, "...some forms of qualitative analysis...can be a useful way...to show how subjects and objects are constructed in the text, and to interrogate the effects of these constructions." In this way coding does not only emerge current themes but it also reveals the constructions of those themes and the causes of the emergent themes.

The data sources that I analysed were:

- 1) Government documents such as the Higher Education Act, National Qualification Framework for Higher Education, South African Schools Act, No-Fee School Policy, Norms and Standards for Funding Policy, South African Qualifications Act, Council for Higher Education and other relevant documents.
- 2) Interview transcripts
- 3) Field notes

All research has to follow the established good practice, and in the following subsection, I therefore discuss the ethical considerations for this study.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In line with good practice in research, I applied for the Ethical Clearance Certificate, which I obtained from the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee. I obtained permission from the KZN DOE to obtain documents from the archives of the department. I provided all participants with the informed consent letters, which they signed before interviews took place. The informed consent letters emphasised voluntary participation and co-operation. As alluded to earlier in this chapter, the participants had an option to consent or not consent to the interview being recorded.

To ensure anonymity and protect identities of participants from being revealed, data and reporting about data was not linked to the names and surnames of participants; as well as to the former colleges where they worked. In this thesis, I use the pseudonyms for colleges and created codes for evidence from the participants' utterances. The colleges of Education Pseudo names are the following:

Table 9: Colleges of Education Pseudonyms

College Type	Pseudo Name
African College	Orchid
White Afrikaner College	Bluebell
White English College	Blossom
African College	Clover
African College	Baobab
African College	Sunflower
African College	Rose

I ranked and labelled the participants in terms of their previous employment positions in teacher education colleges. The rankings that I used were DOE officials, Rectors, Senior HOD's and Lecturers. The participants' labels or identifications that I used were as follows:

- KZNDOE
- Rectors: Rec1, Rec2, and Rec3
- Senior HOD's: SHoD1, SHoD2, SHoD3 and SHoD4
- Lecturers: Lect1, Lect2, Lect3, Lect4, Lect5, Lect6 and Lect7.

During data generation process, I did not ask any sensitive questions during interviews but for particularly two of the participants the thought of the process of the closure of colleges of Education seemed to evoke strong emotions. In chapter five, I elaborate on this point when I discuss the findings for this study. In the following subsection, I discuss the validity and trustworthiness of the study.

4.8 VALIDITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS

Validity and trustworthiness assure a participant's ability to contribute as truthfully and confidently as possible; it allows for a genuine and honest response from the participant as anonymity is assured. Methodological triangulation engages the use of

numerous qualitative methods from document analysis to conducting interviews to establish validity. Triangulation according to Creswell & Miller (2000, p. 3) is “a validity procedure where researchers look for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study”. Triangulation was used to establish the validity through analysing the various responses from participants who were asked the same interview questions to findings that were gathered through document analysis. Document analysis and interviews assured that a holistic understanding of the research study was achieved. The interviews were not all scheduled for one day, thus allowing for an efficient process of preparation for following interview sessions. Senior Management participants provided significant responses with ease, allowing for an in-depth interpretation of the research findings.

4.9 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Before discussing the limitations of the study, I would like to delimit the study first. In the study I sought to determine the ideology of the ruling party in South Africa and how the ruling party’s principles and ideology influences education policy implementation, but more especially teacher education policies. The study thus focused on aspects of teacher education policies within higher education. The study did not focus on curriculum policies for schools and/or education policies holistically, but focused on teacher education policies as well as ideology of the ruling party as it relates to teacher-education policy implementation process. The study is also confined to teacher supply and the pre-service teacher education and it does not include in-service teacher training and development.

According to Niaz (2006, 429) “most qualitative researchers do not recommend generalisation from qualitative studies, as this research is not based on random samples and statistical controls.” Similarly, as this research is not based on quantitative facts and randomised sampling, the results cannot be generalised to other

provinces in South Africa. This is also a limitation of the study because the results are applicable to only one province.

4.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed the research methodologies that I used to generate and analyse data, and which led to the findings in the research study. I discussed the research design that took a form of a qualitative case study of KwaZulu-Natal within the interpretivist paradigm. In my discussion of the research strategy, I explained the framework undertaken to obtain participants and the processes followed in eliciting relevant data and analysing it. In the chapter, I also highlighted the Ethical issues that were considered to align this research to good practice; and thereafter I showed the limitations and delimitations applicable to the study. Towards the end of the chapter, I also discussed the concepts of validity and reliability as they relate to my study. In the following chapter, I discuss the findings of the study.

Chapter Five

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY AND THE INTEPRETATION OF RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses research findings of the study that critically analysed the post-1994 implementation process of teacher-education policy in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The analysis was done on the following data sources: interview transcripts, field notes, email responses to interview questions and documents (mainly government documents). In this chapter, the discussion presents the themes that emerged from the data that was analysed and which reflect the subjective experiences of staff that were part of the specific KZN colleges of Education. As discussed in the research methodology chapter (chapter four), staff members who participated in the study ranged from former KZN DoE official, Senior Management of the colleges of Education (Rectors, and Senior Heads of Departments), and academic staff (Senior Lecturers and Lecturers). The participants were from six former colleges of Education inclusive of African and White (both Afrikaans and English) colleges of Education.

The three themes that emerged through the analysis of the above-mentioned data sources were:

Theme1: Politically contextualised decision and the state of colleges

Theme 2: Radical policy change and impact on teacher education

Theme 3: Implementation process and consequences for staff and students

These themes have sub-themes that are further used to explore and expand on the research findings. Below is a table containing the major themes and the sub-themes that emerged from the data sources.

Table 10: Table containing the major themes and sub-themes

Major Themes	Sub- themes
1. Politically contextualised decision and the state of Colleges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The political context ➤ The state of Colleges and the closure decision
2. Radical policy change and impact on teacher education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Positive impact on teacher education ➤ Negative impact on teacher education
3. Implementation process and consequences for staff and students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Decision communication ➤ Arrangements for staff and staff attitudes ➤ Impact on students

In the following sub-sections of this chapter, each theme and its subthemes is discussed and where appropriate, a chain of evidence from documentation and from data is provided to substantiate the arguments.

5.2 THE POLITICALLY CONTEXTUALISED DECISION AND THE STATE OF COLLEGES

As discussed in Chapter Two, the colleges of Education that existed pre-1994 in South Africa were race-based and were thus offering unequal education to the different South African racial groups. Given the differential allocation of funds to colleges that was unequal according to the racialised hierarchy established by the apartheid government, where Whites benefited the most, and Africans benefited the least, the state of teacher education offered in many of the African colleges of Education was unacceptably poor. This necessitated urgent action on the part of the post-1994 newly formed ANC-led democratic government whose mission was to deal with, among other things, the prevailing educational inequalities. In this vein, the

decision to close down all colleges of Education that perpetuated the unequal teacher education was necessary to correct the inequalities that disadvantaged mainly the African communities. A theme running through the data attested that the decision to close down the colleges of Education was justified based on the poor state of many of the Colleges. The following participants stated,

The quality of other colleges in ...left much to be desired and therefore rather than pick and choose, every college was painted with the same brush. Some were seen as bastions of Afrikanerdom...Infrastructure in some colleges were even inferior to ex-model C high schools or primary schools; e.g. sports fields were non-existent, [also] libraries, micro-teaching equipment not there, boardrooms, and senate rooms [as well] (KZN DoE).

There were some colleges, that I won't mention, that were not producing good teachers and they lacked resources and funds. And they were wasting the little funds, which they were given. So, closing them down made sense, but that did not mean other facilities that were better planned couldn't be put in place (SHoD1).

Our college was not performing well due to inadequate resources and we knew that if they were keeping some colleges open ours wouldn't make it. The separate funding of colleges and the racial segregation that came with it was reasoning enough to close colleges (Lect4).

Well, the college was not properly maintained; we were struggling to produce good teachers as we lacked much resources to make this possible, other colleges like the White Afrikaner ones had better access to funds and resources it was unreasonable (Lect3).

However, the political context of the time that was mired with a clash of ideologies between different political parties, as well as the eagerness to implement radicalised change on the part of the then government that was intent to eradicate all institutions of the apartheid government, might have affected the way in which the decision was made, communicated and implemented. In all eagerness to replace the educational structures established to perpetuate the segregationist policy of apartheid, the principles of democracy, such as participation of all stakeholders who would be

affected by the decision, were overlooked in the decision to close the colleges of Education. In the following subsection, the political context of the time is discussed.

5.2.1 The political context

The decision to close down colleges of Education and the implementation of that decision occurred at the time in South Africa when the situation was highly political. The apartheid ideology that had driven the Nationalist Party government for years had just ended, and a new party (the ANC) that had been framed as terrorist was going to be leading the government; when on the other hand other parties also wanted their views to be represented in the new government. The CODESA conference of 1991 that was alluded to in Chapter Two, marked the first official meeting after the end of apartheid rule, intended to discuss the way forward regarding the transformation from an apartheid regime to a democratic South Africa. The conference included representatives of various political parties with different political ideologies and more racially based groups that needed to discuss the future changes within South Africa and provide a smooth transition process for an equal South Africa. Education was one of the key aspects to be discussed, the others being the health, the socio-economic and the political aspects.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the education administrative bodies under the apartheid regime were racially organised, under the 'own affairs' dogma, into the House of Assembly for White Education administration, House of Delegates for Indian education administration, House of Representatives for Coloured education administration and the Department of Education and Training (DET) for African education administration (Thatcher, 1995, p. 26). KwaZulu-Natal was part of the four Homelands that were also under the Department of Education and Training for African education administration, specifically because they depended on the DET for resource allocation. Besides the segregated education administrative bodies in the country, as the way forward was negotiated, CODESA had to also deal with different

ideologies from the many political parties that had different histories, backgrounds and interests, forming part of the CODESA delegation.

As highlighted in chapter two, the IFP, which started as a camouflage of the ANC, as the Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement, that later became a political party, Inkatha Freedom Party, was driven by an ideology based on characteristics of a federal system of government (Kock, 1986), whereby the IFP would maintain hegemony over KwaZulu-Natal. This IFP ideology that accepted activity; for example, the KwaZulu-Government (that was 'self-governing', however, within a setting of a segregated government (Kock, 1986) which in a way, resembling that of the apartheid regime which was in contrast to the ANC ideology that sought to eradicate all forms of racial division (ANC, 1994).

As discussed in chapter two, the formation of Homeland Governments (known as Bantustans) in South Africa was a means for traditional chiefs to claim independence from South Africa and enabled these states to govern themselves within traditional structures of government. Four Bantustans became independent, namely, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei which were referred to as the 'TBVC States' (Khunou, 2009). KwaZulu-Natal did not take independence, probably mainly due to the small land scale as well as inadequate capital and means for self-government. However, it maintained a certain degree of 'self-government' known as the KwaZulu Government (ZG) within the limitations of apartheid government and its state provisions under the racial profiles. The 'self-government' of KwaZulu-Natal administration was a government led by the leader of the IFP, within the conditions of the apartheid government. Thus, the education that was provided for Africans even within ZG was limited to the boundaries and meagre resources allocated for the ZG Department of Education and Culture. The kind of education received by Africans was grossly inferior in comparison to the education for the Whites under the House of Assembly. Within this segregated provision of education, the quality of teacher training for African students was also inferior; I further discuss this point in the next

subsection. This is highlighted by the low qualifications for the African students that enabled them to be accepted to become teachers. African learners could leave school in grade 10 and enter teacher training for two years to fulfill the requirements for the Primary Teachers' Certificate, and to qualify to teach in primary schools (Wassermann and Bryan, 2013).

The ZG administration sought to improve the state of Teacher Education in KZN by building new colleges of Education; such as the Oak, Clover and Protea colleges of Education. These colleges were much improved in terms of resources and infrastructure compared to the colleges of Education that were built by the apartheid government for the Africans. However, this improved state of the newly built colleges of Education was limited due to the limited resources that the ZG administration received from the apartheid state. In addition, these colleges of Education were built without a clear national plan for their growth, development and sustainability. According to the DBE Technical Report (2011, p.19),

Many new Colleges were built, but with little national planning, quality assurance or accountability, a multiplicity of curricula and qualifications, and vast differences in per capita costs.

This situation also perpetuated inequalities of education that had to be addressed within the CODESA discussions, Interim Government of Unity (1993) and subsequently the elected ANC-led government (1994). The ANC was intent to address the social, economic, and political inequality of education by eradicating the previous educational system from its roots up. Through the radical transformation process of removing every pillar of apartheid, the ANC would subsequently annihilate inequality and pave way for a new democratic system that would cease the pseudo-independence of Homelands or Bantustans (the TBVC States) and the quasi-self-government of the KwaZulu Government (ZG).

The CODESA negotiations involved multi-political parties that brought about different demands of the form in which democracy should take in South Africa, and their demands were based on each participating group's background and interests. The Nationalist Party sought to keep as much apartheid structures as possible through their reform, such as the All-White Referendum (1992) that caused much support as most Afrikaners joined the Conservative Party that was right wing. In sharp contrast to this, the ANC, sought to do away with the past inequalities and any socio-economic and political structures that infringed on equality. The IFP, was absent for much of the CODESA negotiations and subsequently ended up not signing the Declaration of Intent (1991) alongside the Bophuthatswana government, as these self-governed 'states' each in their right, did not agree to a united democratic government that would exercise authority over the whole of South Africa. One of the IFP demands was that of maintaining a Zulu Monarchy in KZN, and this was not considered until April 1994, before the first national democratic elections (O'Malley, 1994). The ideologies of the NP, ANC and IFP proved to clash, as these political organisations each sought various forms of government within the new dispensation. Within these political differences, the form of education was a highly contested issue that needed change in many aspects. While the different parties agreed that education needed to be transformed, the differences of political ideologies meant that education related decisions could not easily be democratically agreed upon.

Similarly, the discussion, decision to close down colleges of Education and the implementation of the decision thereof, was also a highly sensitive matter. Because the decision was made by the ANC and was not democratically arrived at, many people viewed it as a political decision of the ANC that was based on the top-down approach as many of the participants articulated,

It was a decision from government that we as Rectors were told about and did not have a say in it, which angered many of us. But there was nothing much we could do (Rec2).

The decision was made elsewhere (Lect5).

It was political (Rec2).

The decision came from National government even though we still reported to provincial government (Lect2).

This was a policy decision of the ruling party (SHoD2).

It was a government decision, made by the ANC (Lect3).

The closing of all teacher education colleges was the worst political move made for the development of education in South Africa (SHoD1).

The decision to close down colleges of Education was supported by the National Education Policy Investigation of 1992 that sought to interrogate policy options of the apartheid education framework for a better democratic movement. It based its report on the debate of socio-economic and political dispensation of education in South Africa. The National Teacher Education Audit of 1995 analysed the teacher demand and supply as a means of drawing upon future needs within teacher education, as well as evaluating teacher education institutions in order to evaluate the institutions' capacity to provide pre- and in-service training, quality of programmes, staffing and governance structures. The National Commission on Higher Education submitted a Framework for Transformation report in 1995, which outlined the major challenges within Higher Education institutions and the actions needed to address the past inequalities of the apartheid education system. This report also provided means to transform higher education by addressing the pressing national needs and to act upon new realities under a democratic society. In this way, the report laid the foundation for the Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation in 1996, which signalled the policy intentions of the Department of Higher Education with regard to the reconstruction and development of higher education within the framework of addressing past inequalities. Although the decision to close down colleges of Education was viewed as the ANC-led government's imposed decision, the state of

many of the colleges also influenced the decision. In the following subsection, I discuss the state of the colleges at the time of their closure.

5.2.2 State of Colleges

Although on the one hand, the decision to close down all colleges of Education was viewed as a political decision; apparently, on the other hand it was a rational decision based on the state of the colleges that was unequal. The inequalities within colleges ranged from the quality of education offered at the teacher education colleges and the resource allocation provided for each of the colleges. The deficiencies that characterised teacher education within the apartheid regime were that of segregation of colleges according to race, financial allocation determined on the bases of race as well as the gross socio-economic inequalities that were perpetuated by the distorted principles of the apartheid regime (DoE, 1996). Other factors that further necessitated change in the teacher education colleges was that the colleges of Education were isolated according to race and profession and this caused an impoverishing effect of the students as they were not exposed to opportunities to mix with students of other racial and ethnic groups and students studying for other careers (DBE Technical Report, 2011). In addition, teacher education colleges that existed within the apartheid regime did not fit within the new dispensation. According to the National Teacher Education Audit (1995) in the Green Paper of Higher Education Transformation (DoE, 1996, p.21),

Teacher education [was]... fragmented and increasingly diverse; that the quality of teacher education [was] generally poor despite pockets of excellence and innovation; that the system [was] inefficient as a result of high failure rates and diseconomies of scale; and that many students enrol[led] in teacher education programmes with no intention of teaching but to obtain a higher education qualification.

Under such circumstances, the National Teacher Education Audit of 1995 recommended for the restructuring of the teacher education colleges. The colleges of Education were not the only colleges that did not fit within the new dispensation; nursing colleges and Technikons also needed to transform. The tertiary structure of education needed to be altered to suit a democratic society; and this meant that these education institutions lost their relevance and effectiveness under the new dispensation. Again, the inequalities within education were not appropriate for a democratic society that espoused equality for all. One of the participants who was in the senior management in the colleges of Education stated,

Constitutionally, provinces were not mandated to have teacher education as that was a constitutional mandate of universities. When the South African Schools Act was passed (1996) and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa was passed (1996), Colleges of Education existed in limbo and had to close as directed by the then DoE (Pta). (Rec1).

[The closure of colleges] was to erase inequality within education...Well, the unequal distribution of resources and funds to colleges impacted on the success rate of the colleges. The new government was trying to make the wrongs of apartheid right...Yes, the wrongs were made right as all colleges, except those that fell under universities, were closed. The financial structure of financing colleges by provincial government was changed to benefit all students (SHoD2).

The White Colleges of Education were advantaged as they received increased state funds. Besides, the management in White colleges of Education had well resourced networks, mainly with corresponding White universities, that were willing to sponsor some of their resources to the colleges. This notion of being self-sufficient financially and the perception of good education that mainly the White colleges offered contributed to the reluctance of many White colleges staff to accept the decision to close down all colleges of Education. Some of the participants stated,

*There were great teacher education colleges such as *Bluebllell, *Blossom...and *Baobab that were producing high standard teachers (Rec2).*

[The decision to close down all colleges post 1994] ...impacted on teacher education, the allocation of resources were challenged, I was left with a dilemma in that we [in our college] were not given any funds (Rec2).

*We had good working relations with [a University] just as *Blossom college had good relations with *Crest University (Rec2).*

And truthfully speaking the best colleges were the Afrikaner and White colleges and the worst ones where the Black colleges especially the Black colleges that were newly built (Rec2).

Positive impact of the closure could be that the colleges were not properly maintained so the classes were not conducive to a teaching environment, there were windows and classes that needed to be fixed and repaired in the college, but they kept on telling us there was not enough funds to see those tasks through (Lect4).

The funding received by White and Afrikaner colleges of Education thus proved to be better, the greater government spending on their colleges made the White colleges much more comfortable than African colleges of Education. When drawing from the above statement by participant Rec2, it appears that some colleges were already linked to universities; for example, it seemed the White Afrikaans colleges were linked to the White Afrikaans universities. The separation of White English speaking from White Afrikaans speaking people and the link between Afrikaans colleges to Afrikaans universities could be traced from the days of the formation of the Union of South Africa and the mark of the apartheid system 1948. According to the DBE Technical Report (2011, p.18),

The National Convention of 1908–09, which led to the establishment of the Union of South Africa, compromised on the issue of education in order to satisfy delegates from both [English] Natal and the [Afrikaans] Orange Free State who feared the effect of central government control on their individual systems of education and the specific forms of culture that these systems were intended to preserve.

The inequalities further impacted on the state of marginalised teacher education colleges. According to the Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation (DoE, 1996, p.21) “the role, location and governance of the college sector were further complicated as many colleges were structurally located outside the education system”. The Provincial Departments of Health administrated the nursing colleges whereas the colleges of Education and technical colleges were responsibilities of Provincial Departments of Education.

The inequalities experienced in the colleges of Education system were access to higher education facilities such as racial inequalities in student’s access into colleges, as well as the courses and programmes that the students were exposed to, which varied according to their racial profiles. The teacher supply produced by African colleges of Education was mostly of African teachers that were ill-trained due to a lack of resources. Most African teachers had primary teacher certificates and with the new dispensation that required a supply of teachers for secondary schooling, only a few African colleges of Education provided teachers qualified to teach in secondary schools. The entry requirements for students who wanted to study in the colleges of Education were low (DoE, 1996, p.10-11). The closure of colleges was therefore required as the state of most colleges especially the marginalised ones was gross, and their very being perpetuated the oppression of the apartheid regime.

The decision of closing all colleges of Education and absorbing the responsibility of teacher training to universities enabled the improvement of teacher education qualification to be in line with international trends, I discuss this point in the next subsection.

This decision served the purpose of transformation in South Africa. Since Higher Education Institutions were also race based, Higher Education was going to transform its structures and programmes according to democratic principles. However, there is no evidence that African universities were offering sub-standard education even

though resources for Universities were also allocated based on race and at some point the term ‘Bush colleges’ was used to refer to such institutions. Most Universities were accrediting teacher education diplomas and degrees by the 1970s. The restructuring of Higher Education was needed to eliminate the racial inequalities of apartheid. The democratic government envisioned universities to oversee the training of teachers so as to provide better qualifications. It was hoped that university degrees and diplomas would improve teacher quality as well as the teacher education standards. The qualifications provided by universities would be internationally recognised, which was one of the objectives of the ANC government as it embarked on the transformation of the education system in order to improve the schooling system.

5.3 RADICAL POLICY CHANGE AND IMPACT ON TEACHER EDUCATION

While the decision to close down all colleges of Education was required for transformation, it was a radical and rapid process. The decision and the process of its implementation thereof had positive and negative impacts on teacher education. In the subheadings that follow below, the positive and negative consequences for the decision to close down colleges of Education are discussed.

5.3.1 Positive impacts on teacher education

In the new dispensation, universities were responsible for teacher education and the new policies of teacher education emerged. As highlighted in chapter two, the National Qualifications Framework that would be overseen by the South African Qualifications Authority (1995) was created to integrate education and training systems as well as streamlining educational qualifications. The intention was to make the qualifications offered to be internationally recognised. Qualified teachers would thus be able to teach abroad, opening up many opportunities and thus transforming

South Africa to be a democratic country where citizens have the right to choose their career destinies.

The policy on Norms and Standards for Educators of 2000, sought to bring higher education qualifications in line with the NQF and the national school curriculum. The Norms and Standards Policy document was replaced by the Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications in 2011, showing that the qualification requirements were evaluated and revised to improve the education standard. With the active involvement of the Council of Higher Education (CHE), the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) and the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), the quality assurance of qualifications has been maintained through the NQF. Students had to meet higher entrance requirements at universities. In universities the entrance requirements into teacher education programmes was / is still higher than that of the previous colleges of Education. For example, the Edgewood Prospectus (2013) of UKZN shows the entrance requirements for students as a senior certificate with endorsement; the students must have no less than 32 points to be considered for admission. Although there is an access program (extended curriculum) that gives students from disadvantaged schooling backgrounds an opportunity to become teachers by taking additional courses, these higher levels of entry requirements ensure that good students are trained to become teachers. This is a marked change from the previous system of teacher education where colleges often accepted students who had not reached the entry requirements of the college. For example one of the participants stated,

Access to higher education was via colleges for people with exemption but unable to afford university fees...Access to higher education was through colleges of Education for youngsters with school leaving certificate (through poor schooling) from rural areas unable to access university education because of poverty (Rec1).

The former South African President, H. Verwoed, believed there was no need to provide the Africans with “European education” because they would never be accepted into European jobs, thus they had to be provided with the basic education so as to teach in their own communities (Rakometsi, 2008). This apartheid idea of Africans’ education was realised in the poor teacher education institutions for Africans. According to Jaff in Chisholm (2009, p.15) “colleges in rural areas were...underperforming and problematic in terms of turning out quality teachers”. In order to provide quality teaching, student teachers had to be of a high calibre in both academic and professional components, and this was not happening in the African colleges of the apartheid regime. Participants confirmed the improvement in the quality of teacher education for all people that the democratically elected government intended through transformation. For example, the following participants stated,

The rationale was to adhere to international trends as there was a perception that universities were having better education facilities, and encouraging degree qualifications as a higher standard in education was a big deal...teaching methods had differed in the sense of teaching more theory and encouraging research (Lect2).

Teachers had to have a degree, and if all teachers had a degree, they would be better teachers (Lect5).

I think possibly, there’s a greater sense of scholarship and academic understanding in what education needs. And, there’s a less of a mechanical mode of ‘I train you; you do this’. There’s a greater reflection on what it entails and in the long run it might work out better. So, in a certain way, there’s a greater scholarly and conceptual understanding of what it means to be involved in education and what it means to be a teacher...colleges did not have [this] as they truly trained students to be teachers, putting emphasis on training as I’d say. That did not make for reflective, critical practitioners, and that is the absolute biggest change (Lect5).

However, this view was not generally shared by all participants as some thought the teacher education that was offered in the colleges prepared the students for the classroom; for example, one participant stated the following,

[The closure of colleges] hindered teacher education as teacher education within colleges was more practical and hands on. Students spent long periods and time in lectures that provided them with much experience. The curriculum in colleges was relevant as it dealt specifically with what happened in classes (SHoD2).

Another participant has the following view,

So, the reason for closing were not education in itself because we constantly have teacher shortages; whereas the colleges were producing enough teachers, and we are trying to get more people to teach pre-primary and junior primary levels. And, I don't think the universities are training enough [teachers] (Lect5).

Thus the staff teaching in universities is better qualified than staff teaching at colleges. Although the decision to close down all colleges of Education had positive impacts on teacher education, it yielded negative results as well, that I discuss these in the following subsection.

5.3.2 Negative impacts on teacher education

By their nature, universities have many faculties that provide various career courses and teacher education is one of them. Due to the multi-focal nature of universities, teacher education provided in universities does not receive much attention that it used to get at the colleges of Education. The universities are not capacitated to train the same numbers of students as the colleges were. Student numbers in teacher training colleges surpassed that of university students, based on the existence of approximately 120 colleges of Education pre-1994 in comparison to 23 universities in a democratic South Africa (DBE Technical Report, 2011). Due to the incapacity of universities to teach as many teachers as the colleges did, there are currently teacher

shortages within subject areas, such as Science and Technology, Mathematics, Economic and Management Science and Languages and Arts. Teachers of the foundation and intermediate phases in the schooling system are also scarce (DoE, 2006). The theme on teacher shortages, including qualified teachers in rural areas, ran through the data that was analysed. The teacher shortages of qualified teachers result to poor teacher performance subsequently negatively affecting the quality of education. Almost all participants mentioned the problems relating to teacher supply and the required teaching skills; as the following participants stated,

This [closure of colleges] led to few teachers being trained (Rec1).

This [closure of colleges] led to few teachers being trained (Rec2).

This [closure of colleges] has led to few teachers being trained; and as some [teachers] leave through sickness, change of profession, retirement, etc.; the gap becomes bigger (Rec3).

Today, we don't find many teachers that want to go to rural areas, we lost the impetus of having a rural footprint... The skills lost when they closed colleges were colossal; the mere fact that there were about 120 colleges closed all over South Africa signifies the impact that, that [move] had on education... Everybody [academics] at a teacher training college was some way or another experienced teacher, meaning that you did not end up [working] there if you hadn't at least five years of teaching. At university, the bulk of [the] work is done by contract staff, a lot of the time you find post graduate students [as contract staff] with very little teacher education experience (Lect5).

The provincial Departments of Education withstand the worst of inadequate teacher supply in specific subject areas. Alternative initiatives have been introduced to combat the teacher shortages and one of these government initiatives is the Funza Lushaka Bursary that is attempting to train more teachers and increase teacher training. Although it has been recently introduced in 2012 by the Department of Basic Education, the full cost Funza Lushaka Bursary scheme is aimed at attracting students

from disadvantaged backgrounds to become teachers in scarce subject areas. The funding covers the student's tertiary fees, accommodation, as well as providing students with resources such as books and money for meals. The conditions attached to receiving this bursary are that the students only maintain funding based on the student's passing their courses every year they receive the bursary, and must teach in a rural area school for the number of years the DOE funded the bursary (DoE, 2013b). This initiative is targeted to making efforts to meeting the gap of teacher demand and supply, which was caused by, among other things, the rapid and radical process of the closure of colleges of Education, having a substantial impact on teacher education. However, the participants shared different views regarding whether the process of closing down colleges was sudden or not. For example, one participant stated,

The process was sudden as we were not notified in due time to prepare ourselves (SHoD1)

Another participant stated they were notified in 1999; for example,

Uhm, the process took less than two years. We were notified in 1999 [and] by early 2001 was the closure of the college (Lect2).

However, not all participants shared this view as some participants thought they were told on time that the colleges were going to be closed. For example,

I would say the positive was that we had known from about 1997, so we had ample time to seek other jobs or professions, even though when it happened it seemed sudden (Lect3).

The manner in which the process of closing down colleges of Education occurred, supposing that it was done with effective consultation with all education stakeholders on time, the decision of closing teacher education colleges could have been implemented differently; however, this is a point that will be discussed later.

5.4 IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR STAFF AND STUDENTS

The implementation of the decision to close colleges of Education inevitably had negative and positive consequences not only for teacher education and the teaching profession, but also for staff who were then working at the colleges and for students. In this subsection, I discuss the process of communicating the decision to close down colleges, and the implications the decision had on staff and students.

5.4.1 Decision Communication

As discussed in the previous sections, the state of some of the colleges of Education was poor because of the disparities in the allocation of resources by the apartheid government. Many of the colleges that served African communities could not produce quality teachers because they lacked the resources to do so as they were at the bottom end of the apartheid hierarchy or system. They thus received meager allocation of resources from the government.

Most Rectors and college academic staff were aware of the inequalities and dysfunction that existed within the college sector. There was therefore much agreement among the education stakeholders that transformation of teacher education, which could include closure of some of the colleges of Education to improve quality, was necessary. However, the decision to close all colleges of Education seemed not to have been a collective decision involving all stakeholders in teacher education. Senior Management in teacher education, including the Rectors of colleges of Education, as well as academic staff who were key people in teacher education did not have opportunities to fully participate in the processes that arrived at the decision to close down colleges. They also did not have a space to air their views in shaping how the decision could be implemented.

There is no evidence regarding the reason for lack of full communication and participation in the decision making process of closing down teacher education colleges. Existing evidence shows that information about closure of colleges was shared with Senior Management, though apparently the information was by means of merely informing and not consultation. All participants shared the same view that the process to close down Colleges of Education was a top-down approach, for example,

It was not a consulted process, it was an information process... people did ask questions why but that was just about it because it was already out that this was what was going to happen (Lect1).

Our Rector informed us in a meeting that the decision to close down colleges was finalised and it was already being implemented as we had started phasing out much of our teacher education programmes (Lect2).

The Rectors would meet but they were also notified of the decisions in the meetings (SHoD1).

[We received information] by circulars issued by the Department of Education (Pta) (Rec1).

[We were told] through the policy directive sent to MEC's of all provinces (Rec3).

All decisions were communicated from a top-down manner... [The national Department of Education] did not consult the provinces on the decisions made in national government...they [colleges] were not rightfully closed (Rec2).

Apparently, participating Rectors in the study acknowledged that the information about the decision to close colleges was communicated in the Rectors' meetings, as the Rectors were key in sharing that information with staff in their individual colleges. However, there was much unhappiness among most Rectors about the process in which the decision to close down colleges was made, communicated and implemented, even though there was a common understanding of the possible reasons for the closure. However, because the key stakeholders in teacher education were not

given a chance to share their views and opinions regarding the decision, there was much unhappiness about the closure of colleges, as the following evidence from data shows,

All we heard [were] rumbles, nothing was formal and made public knowledge... (Rec2).

We, as Rectors, were told and did not have a say in it [the decision to close colleges], which angered much of us but there was nothing much we could do... (Rec2).

The NCHE committee led by Prof Chetty (not real name) whose background was a pharmacist recommended that the teacher training colleges were straddling the divide of Higher Education and that of Bachelor of Education (Rec1).

None of the Rectors were consulted on the closing of teacher education [colleges]... (Rec2).

Although the then college Rectors might have understood the rationale behind the decision to close the colleges, they resented the process that was followed in this regard. Their unhappiness and anger might have led to Rectors not properly communicating the information about closure of colleges to academic members within their colleges. Evidence from participating college academics shows that information about the decision to close colleges was not clearly communicated to staff in the lower ranks by all Rectors, as some participants stated the following,

It was highly political as we were not even given a reason as to why the teacher training colleges were closing (SHoD1).

There must have been a meeting but I heard via word of mouth from fellow colleagues... (Lect1).

It must have been communicated via circulars to the Rectors... (Lect5).

The above excerpts from data show that most academic staff showed lack of knowledge regarding the information about the decision relating to closure of

colleges. The unhappiness was not only confined to the information of college closure but also in the different ideological positions that existed between different parties that were divided along racial lines. The White Afrikaner colleges were mostly unhappy about college closure due to the extent at which they benefited under the apartheid government. Afrikaner colleges received better funding, resource allocation, college infrastructure, and maintenance than that which was received by colleges for Africans. Whilst the colleges that served the Africans, particularly those that were in a poor state, would have less to lose, for the White colleges and those for Africans that had good infrastructure, the closure meant a great loss. There was evidence that some staff members from White Afrikaner colleges tried to challenge the decision to close colleges while evidence shows that none of the staff members from the African or Indian colleges challenged the decision or its implementation thereof. The following excerpts from data reveal this difference,

There were none [who challenged the decision] (Rec3).

No, no one did [challenge the decision] (Lect3).

Many were unhappy including myself, but nothing could be done about that (Lect3).

I was one of the people who tried to fight the closing down of colleges, especially for the colleges that were producing good teachers and had exceptional standards. I wrote to the Minister of Education and was not responded to, my efforts were crushed as I was not given a chance to be heard (Rec2).

Many staff members right up to the management staff, our Rector was also very hands on in trying to keep the college open, I recall him going to many meetings for this purpose. Ways of keeping colleges open ranged from petitions and motivation letters against the closing of the college (Lect2).

There was a business plan that was drafted to motivate why the college should have remained open and also requested to be funded. But we had already

started phasing out our core programmes as of 1998, so the fight to stay opened conflicted with the implementation of phasing out (Lect2).

Nevertheless, the efforts to challenge the decision proved to be unsuccessful.

It was not only the teachers colleges but also nursing colleges that were going through the same process...So it wasn't necessarily educationally kind of considered, the decision was made elsewhere (Lect5).

People did ask questions why but that was just about it because it was already out that this was what was going to happen (Lect1).

While the decision to close down colleges of Education was a top-down decision, there was lack of evidence that the decision was made solely on academic grounds. Similarly, no evidence shows that the then Ministers of Education were confident that the decision and its implementation were correctly made. This can be deduced from the following excerpt from data,

But years after when I met [the Minister of Education], he agreed to have been badly advised on the decision to close down colleges (Lect5).

As shown in the above discussion, some staff in the colleges were more adamant to challenge the decision of closing colleges because it marginalised key stakeholders in teacher education. Even though their attempts failed, it suggests that the manner in which the Rectors communicated that information of the closure to the staff in the colleges had ripple effects on the attitudes that staff members had regarding the closure of teacher education colleges. In the following subsection, I discuss staff attitudes towards the closure and the arrangements that were made for staff.

5.4.2 Arrangements for staff and staff attitudes

The closure of colleges was a great loss for the teacher education sector because it meant that a large source of teacher supply was closed with no equivalent alternative source (in terms of the quantity of teachers produced). However, there is lack of

evidence that individual former college staff incurred material loss at a personal level. There were arrangements made for staff as the process of closing colleges was implemented. Staff had options to apply for posts available in the Departments of Education (in districts and in schools) as well as at universities. If staff did not apply for any jobs available there was an option of a severance package (the SVP and MASP) available. The deployment of staff had various impacts on them and so their attitudes varied. However, generally evidence shows that individual staff did not feel that they were negatively affected by the closure because there were jobs available for them, as the following excerpts from data show,

No one lost their job... we could apply to Higher education, posts opened up in universities and we were encouraged to apply. We could also apply to the Provincial Department of Education to carry out office work (SHoD2).

We were offered jobs within the Department so we were not that affected (Lect4).

I still got a job and was able to carry on doing what I was doing (Lect1).

[At the colleges] Lecturers, especially women teacher educators could climb the ladder of the teaching profession via positions like Senior Lectureship, HOD'ship, Senior HOD'ship, Vice-Rectorship without the hassle (Rec1).

Everyone was guaranteed a job as posts opened in departments, Universities and in districts (Lect2).

Some of the staff members in White colleges were unhappy to continue to work under the new dispensation and opted to seek work in White Universities or take the severance packages that were available to them; for example, the following participants stated,

There was no way that any of our staff members wanted to go work in the black rural areas where most of the teachers were going to be deployed (Rec2).

It [the closure] left us [with] no option besides taking a severance package ...after the closing of colleges, I took a severance package (Lect5).

I managed to deploy some of my staff to the [Afrikaans college linked to the university] where they carried on teaching (Rec2).

Most took the MASP.I personally did, because they had nothing for me...I retired in 2002 (Rec2).

The staff negative attitudes on the closure of colleges were not only influenced by their racial profiles but also by positions according to rank that they held within colleges. Some Senior HODs were unhappy to take the job options that were available for them in the DOE as they felt it was demeaning and thus they were emotional towards the closure of colleges, for example,

The job I carried out within the Department was not of the same level as in the college, in the college I was in a management position and in the Department I was in a position of no authority (SHoD2).

I was degraded in my profession...I felt as if there was no need for me in education as I was a Senior Head of Department. Then [I] was absorbed into the District and [I] became somewhat, a clerk at the circuit. I got offers to go teach at [a university] but I couldn't leave due to the distance from my family [at home]... I had a wife and kids that I still needed to take care of, the deployment to distant employment was out of the question" (SHoD1).

Clearly, participant (SHoD2) was displeased about the job he took within the District, as he felt he was like an add-on to District staff where he was also lacking the authority he had within the college. His decision to turn down the offer to teach at a university was based on the distance from the university to his home. The distance he was referring to was of about 7.2 kilometres. Interestingly, the university he claimed was far from his home is not far from the college he was working in as Senior HOD. When he was working at Clover college of Education, the distance from his home to the college was 8kilometres. It therefore appears that the participant's main source of unhappiness was not necessarily that of distance, but rather it emanates from the loss

of power and authority linked to the position he occupied as Senior HOD at the college and the lecturer position he was going to take, had he accepted an offer at the university. The process of closure of the college that took a top-down approach and marginalised senior staff at colleges contributed to the unhappiness. However, some Rectors, HODs and academic staff felt the closure worked to their benefit, as the following statements exemplify,

I was a Director at Head Office, there were other directorates open to me (Rec1).

I got promoted in 1997 (Rec3).

The closing of colleges opened up many job opportunities for us within the department (Lect4).

I applied for a job in the Department and got one... a job that I liked better than teaching, it was more organised and I enjoyed it (Lect3).

Through the closure of colleges and the opening of this faculty I got a job at the university that I'm not sure I would have otherwise have got. So financially I was happy and professionally I wasn't affected (Lect5)

Although the staff members of former colleges were not clearly informed of the closure of the colleges as well as the reasons behind the decision of closure, there was a general feeling that the implementation of the decision to close colleges could have been done differently, as the following excerpts from data show,

There were unhappy staff members, the reason being that many had been teaching there for years and had formed emotional ties with the college (SHoD2)

All in all I'm not so sure that it was a good idea to close them all (Lect2).

The college could not produce teachers at all with the closure. The universities were expensive and far. Many [students] lost the desire to become teachers, as it was expensive to be a teacher yet you were not guaranteed a job after your degree (Lect3).

The teachers [teacher educators] all disappeared as they took the severance packages or took up jobs in the department, so those teacher skills and teaching methods disappeared with the closing down of colleges (Lect5).

It is thus evident that the staff members who worked in the former colleges of Education were not as individuals affected financially as none of them lost their jobs. They utilised the options that were available to them; that is, change of career, continue career at a university or take severance packages. The following subsection briefly highlights the consequences that the closure had for students as alluded to by academic staff.

5.4.3 Impact on Students

The focus of this research is mainly on teacher education policies and the experiences of the colleges of Education staff during the process of decision-making and implementation of closure of colleges. The students of former teacher education colleges were thus not participants of the study but during the interviews the staff did mention some points about how students were affected by the closure. Many expressions emphasised the financial constraints that the students from rural areas faced with the expensive fees of university education in comparison to the cheaper fees at the teacher education colleges. Another challenge was the distance that students from rural areas had to now travel to universities, whereas one could easily find colleges of Education in rural areas; for example,

Universities were much more expensive than colleges...it was cheaper for them [students] to attend [in] those colleges near them as they had their homes near than to travel so far....(Lect5).

The scholars from the area were not happy because their parents couldn't afford to send them to university; another problem was that transport money to travel from here to University was not there. The students were very much affected as the institution to acquire a teaching qualification was miles away; many families lacked the funds to send their children to universities. It was

distressing as the future students had less hope in actually becoming teachers (Lect3).

The only issue may have been the monetary differences of fees between colleges and universities (Lect2).

According to college lecturers' point of view, the impact of the teacher education colleges' closure did not academically affect students in colleges during the closure process, as they said,

The students were not [academically] affected (Lect2).

The students weren't affected [in their studies] (Lect1).

However, this view about the students' situation was from academic staff. A proper investigation on how the students were affected by the closure of the colleges of Education could be done in a study that involves former college students as participants. That aspect of the students is beyond the scope of this thesis.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the research findings that were thematically discussed. Three themes were identified and discussed; these were 1) Politically contextualised decision, 2) Radical policy change and impact on teacher education, and 3) Implementation process. Each of the themes had sub-themes so as to further discuss and expand on issues identified in themes. Thus, the chapter has highlighted issues relating to the political context at the time the decision to close colleges was made and how that decision was communicated and implemented. The evidence show that former college staff, particularly at the Senior levels, were unhappy about the process of closure, although they understood the need for closure of some of the colleges. The chapter also discussed the consequences for the radical implementation of the decision to close the colleges.

Chapter Six

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses the findings of the research that were presented in Chapter Five. The chapter discusses the analysis integrating it with the conceptual and theoretical framework that was discussed in chapter three; and also aligning the discussion with the following research questions that were outlined in chapter one:

- What is the ideology of the ruling party?
- To what extent does the ideology of the ruling party influence teacher education policies?
- To what extent does the teacher education policy implementation process reveal coherence with the ruling party's principles/ideology?

After the discussion of the analysis of findings under each of the research questions, I then draw conclusions of the study and also provide recommendations that can be considered for future research. However, before I discuss the analysis under the research questions, I first discuss the political context at KZN in which the closure of the Colleges occurred.

6.2 POLITICAL CONFLICT UPHEAVAL AT KZN

6.2.1 The ANC-led struggle

The struggle for freedom by the oppressed masses led by the ANC against apartheid oppression in South Africa dates as far back as the 1950s with the Defiance

Campaign. The mass mobilisation of the oppressed population groups namely, Africans, Coloureds and Indians to overcome White dominance was realised through much upheaval and resistance against the policies and laws of the National Party government.

During the apartheid regime, the concept of power and its dynamics assured the superiority and dominance of the minority-led National Party in South Africa. According to Foucault (1998, p.63) power fosters a “regime of truth that pervades society”. Power is thus constituted through a general acceptance of a particular knowledge and understanding. The understanding of the minority Whites in South Africa was that of White supremacy and its rule as a divine right from God. According to The Christian National Education (CNE) Policy in Enslin (1987, p.106), the minority “...believe[d] that every nation is rooted in its own soil which is allotted to it by the Creator”. Through this belief, they had strong views that South Africa was their country. The Africans and other groups such as Indians and Coloureds were thus not afforded this right and as a result, ought to be regarded as secondary citizens and were treated as such. The rationality of this belief was confined solely to racial categorisation.

As argued in chapter three, power has become a form of influence that is unstructured, and it has a tendency to radiate authority and dominance, and uses economic and ideological manipulation as strategies of power (Foucault, 1998, p.63). In the apartheid regime, the consequences of this perceived ‘truth’ of White supremacy filtered down to all levels of human existence and activity in South Africa. The three tiers of government; namely, the executive, judiciary and legislature ensured the enforcement, existence and perpetuation of this perceived ‘truth’.

The principles of the apartheid regime were thus guided by segregation of races, and the supremacy of the White population through better living conditions, employment and education provision. The ideology of the National Party was guided by a notion

of 'divide and conquer' of population groups. Racial dynamics were thus the foundation of the apartheid ideology as mentioned by Vos and Brits (1992). As discussed in Chapter Two, the NP upheld its rule through separate development of cultural, ethnic and language groups. The Nationalist Party thus ruled within this paradigm of understanding and with legitimate administration branches of government to uphold its rule, education was a powerful tool used to expand the Nationalist Party principles on other racial groups, in South Africa, and the Africans were the most affected. Under the apartheid government, this was evident through educational segregated facilities, poor infrastructure of facilities that were for Blacks, especially for the African population groups. Schools, universities, technikons and teacher education facilities promoted the institutionalisation of White supremacy in their pedagogies and distributed these modes of thought through all educational spheres. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was one of the educational policies that ensured White rule and Black oppression. According to the CNE policy in (Enslin, 1987, p.107) education for Africans was supposed to be taught in the mother tongue, it was not to be funded at the expense of White education. It was discouraged to prepare Africans for equal participation in economic and social life; and education was to preserve the acceptance of the African community to the Nationalist principles, and was to be specifically administered by Whites.

This means that the governmentality as a concept was a strategic implementation of ways to maintain their ideology, despite apparent disapproval by the majority of South Africa. The NP national government was thus based on this racial separation to perpetuate its governmentality. Their guidelines were thoroughly made to keep people of colour subservient to white supremacy and to limit their ability to consider themselves equal to Whites.

The political unrest of the Black population groups grew stronger as apartheid strung along for decades. The ANC that was inactive from the 1930s but its return in the 1940s brought about new force of energy and a will to fight against oppression.

Through party formations, armed resistance, revolts, protests and international outcry, the ANC led mass movement was able to force the apartheid National government to rethink its policies and segregation structures. The success of the struggle against the apartheid regime was realised when the first democratic elections were held in 1994 where the new ANC-led government took over the ruling of the country.

6.2.2 The struggle evolution and other political parties in the struggle

Although the struggle to overcome apartheid dominance was mainly led by the ANC, there was strong opposition from the masses led by other parties such as the PAC and others with union and organisational affiliates. Who were coming close to realising their common vision of equality, freedom and rights. *Inkatha* Yenkululeko Yesizwe, that was formed by King Solomon Dinizulu in 1928 as a cultural movement was revived as an ANC extended branch in KwaZulu-Natal also continued the struggle when many political organisations including the ANC were banned. Later Inkatha developed its own ideas and principles and eventually converted into Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in 1987. The differences in ideas that were shared between the ANC and IFP resulted to a civil war that was brutal and most apparent in KwaZulu-Natal where the IFP had a strong hold of political and citizen support.

According to Mchunu (2013, p.9), there was no sole reason as to why South Africa faced much political violence during the 70s, 80s and 90s. He claims there were various forces driving the conflict raging from “socio-economic deprivation, urban-rural tensions, conflict between traditional and modern forms of governance [and generational tensions], as well as political rivalry between the IFP and the ANC.”

By the 1970s the African movement began to intensify as organisations such as the ANC, SACP and IFP mobilised against the apartheid government and broke down the laws in the informal settlements and in townships. The resistance against apartheid rule had heightened due to political unrest and a determination by the oppressed

masses to gain access to land, wealth and equality within South Africa. There were many organised strikes and boycotts of job wages and inequalities within South Africa. The 1953 Bantu Education Act by apartheid government later added a clause of making the language of Afrikaans as well as English compulsory as a medium of instruction in 1974. This evoked much restlessness as students became increasingly aware of the oppression they were subordinated to. They then began to mobilise themselves to fight against this clause, and student joined the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) led by Steve Biko as well as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) which former influenced the train of thought of young black South Africans as well as created a wave of mutual shared sentiments among the youth. This became a tool for the youth to fight apartheid tyranny as the student struggle linked with the liberation struggle. By 1976, a peaceful protest of about 10000 students occurred (South African History, 2012). However, it has become common knowledge that armed police officers opened teargas and live ammunition on unarmed youth protestors and this evoked much distaste and disfavour around the world. The dawn of the 1980s re-iterated the struggle for the people's power.

The struggle to fight the apartheid regime and its domination was fought in all aspects of life, the workplace, communities, and schools. The apartheid regime sent out the police force and military troops to deal with this upheaval but it was met with greater resistance. There was a rise of mass armed struggles to break down the apartheid administration within townships and rural areas in South Africa. In 1985, a state of emergency was called on many parts in South Africa and the police force and troops became more visible in areas occupied by Africans, mainly townships, and they were violent and hostile. According to the ANC in South African History Online (2012) "the State forces detained over 3000 000 people, children among them and banned the United Democratic Front and its affiliates as well as restricting COSATU from political activity."

The Zulu dominated the population in KwaZulu-Natal as far back as South African Colonisation. The Zulu people were under the hegemony of a Zulu Kingdom. The IFP that was formed in 1975 upheld Zulu domination within KwaZulu-Natal. According to Global Security Org (2012), “Inkatha...played an important role in national politics. In 1977 it was the largest legal black movement in the country, having an estimated 120,000 members; by the late 1980s, its leaders estimated their membership at 1.5 million”. By 1990, the ANC and other organisations were unbanned; the apartheid regime was willing to negotiate peacefully with the oppressed organisations.

The ANC used this opportunity to expand its organisation by forming regional and branch structures of its members. The ANC re-iterated its aim to unite South Africa and lead the country to free and democratic elections. The ANC strategically expanded its reach of influence to the middle class and educated in the KwaZulu-Natal urban areas. The IFP felt threatened by this as the IFP had a strong support base from the Zulu citizens living in the rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal, and did not want to debilitate its hegemonic domination and political control within KZN. The fight for political power between the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu-Natal grew gruesome and gross, as there was unprecedented civil war and massacres. According to Becker (1992, p.6), “the conflict that has become endemic in South African society since the mid-seventies appears to be a struggle about access to and control of political power.” KZN was highly divided amongst party members and supporters in various areas among KZN; namely Vulindlela, Midlands and other townships such as Umlazi, KwaMashu and Hammarsdale. According to Becker (1992, p.6), “official statistics suggest that more than 86 000 incidents of civil unrest occurred during the eight-year period September 1984 to September 1992.”

The administrative unit of KwaZulu Government (ZG) that was discussed in chapter two was in Ulundi municipality in Zululand district and thus getting political control over the municipality was a way to guarantee the ANC dominance over KwaZulu-

Natal. The IFP was firmly determined to maintain rule in KZN to maintain political control. The ANC was known to be left wing as they were pro-communism as it worked closely with the SACP, and sought a democratic nation that would benefit all those that lived in South Africa. The IFP was right wing in that they were known to be pro-Zulu nationalist, anti-communist and sought a federal state so as to maintain its hegemony over KwaZulu-Natal. The existence of two ideologies was the most contested issue between the ANC and IFP.

These deep-rooted contrasts in ideological principles heightened the surfacing realisation that common ground for the two parties to meet had deemed non-existent. The IFP and ANC were no longer alliances to fighting apartheid oppression in KZN and nationally but were now fighting over power politics within KZN. According to Becker (1992, p.6), “more than 20 000 individuals were injured and 10 206 people died in incidents of civil unrest during this period. From January to September 1992 more than 6 800 incidents were recorded. The number of individuals injured came to 2 142 and 1 746 lost their lives.” This period marked salient unpalatable civil conflict in KwaZulu-Natal, in which divided the ANC and IFP supporters to territorial sectors. The fact that the IFP started as the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement (ICLM) and was a branch of the ANC when the ANC was experiencing conservative leadership due to the suppressing apartheid government had reformed so much that it evolved into a political party in 1975. The understanding of IFP being a branch to ANC was lost in the differences of ideology that had evolved. Thus, the decision to transform education, and particularly teacher education, made by the ANC occurred in the context of political upheaval and conflict, heightened in KZN. In addition, the ANC ideology not only clashed with the NP ideology of apartheid but also with that of other political organisations such as the IFP.

6.3 What is the ideology of the ruling party?

The victory of the ANC with 62.65% votes in comparison to IFPs 10.54% votes in 1994, meant that the ANC had succeeded the Nationalist Party. The realisation of a dawn of immense change in all spheres of human activity was about to be realised. The elected Democratic Party, ANC, ensured transformation into a new South Africa that would be guided by the vision of the Freedom Charter of 1953. On one hand, the ANC was confronted with the strategic planning, implementation and transition of a new dispensation that would address the social, economic, and political ills of the previously disadvantaged within the country. On the other hand, the ANC sought to promote policies that would advocate for economic and social growth; and equality within the country and through interaction and trade with international powers as this was not the case under a highly conservative apartheid regime. In light of the policies and laws constituted under the apartheid regime, change in the policies and laws was mandatory, especially in respect of those related to oppression and the infringement of equality in aspects of human life. The process was needed to demonstrate a possibility of an achievable change and adaptation into policies and laws that would rectify past disparity. A process that would put presidency on the empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups and simultaneously foster peace and forgiveness between all racial groups, with the hope to live in a democratic South Africa that ensured harmony between all those that lived in it.

Transformation was critical to the transition from one government to another; that is, the extreme opposite values of both the Nationalist Party and that of the ANC meant change would have to come from a grass root level. I draw from Foucault's concept of Governmentality that is understood to be the implementation of political rationality through technologies of power that guides the decisions and strategies that those in the position of power can utilise. The government being a body through which ordered rule is maintained infers that the principles and agenda of the dominant party

in rule is able to manipulate the technologies of power to serve its own interests or that of the citizens interests.

Under the apartheid regime, the government was structured to serve the interests of the minority, whilst under the democratic regime the government was structured to serve the interests of the masses by proposing public participation in decision-making processes as well as public rights and freedom of expression. As much as the ANC came to government through the mobilisation and support of the masses, it resumed authority in government to make decisions that it believed to be for the greater good of the people. Mechanisms such as the judiciary and legislature ensure that the decisions made are passed into laws and policies, which then have to be adhered to by the public.

In the context of education post-1994, the creation of one National Department of Education responsible for nine provinces meant that provincial autonomy did no longer exist. The notions of a federal state (rather, Bantustans) that existed under apartheid rule was eradicated. As much as this reveals the ideology of the ANC, it also reveals that if the decision to close down Colleges of Education in KwaZulu-Natal was necessarily a political decision it is evident that it was made within the background of political upheaval in KwaZulu-Natal.

6.4 To what extent does the ideology of the ruling party influence teacher education policies?

The state plays a central role and responsibility in the provision of education and training, the ANC's national principle was to centralise authority through a national Department of Education and the provincial departments in nine provinces that all adhere to the National Department. This structure provided that finer lines for accountability and the provision of education were thus planned along the lines of economic, social and human developmental strategies that aim to realise a democratic society. The ideology of the ANC did away with infrastructures that perpetuated

inequality under the apartheid regime, the poor colleges of Education that produced poorly skilled teachers due to the lack of resource provision by the province were closed down so as to form a unitary education system that would equally distribute funding, infrastructure as well resources where needed. The education and training policy and practice was governed by the principle of democracy which is the ideology of the ANC. The decision to close down colleges did not fully reflect this principle in so far as involving the participation of teachers, college staff, students or the broader community. The decision in democratic situations would follow five steps, shown in figure one below.

Figure 1: Policy implementation process

There is no evidence that there was consultation about the closing of teacher education colleges. Only a procedure of information sharing existed through circulars in which the Rectors of teacher education colleges would receive to deliver to their college staff. The process of ensuring education and training for all races to redress the inequalities of historically disadvantaged groups was provided by government funding in higher education and that sought to provide educational opportunities equally to all disadvantaged students; such funding is the Funza Lushaka bursary elaborated in Chapters One and Two. The assurance of mechanisms of flexibility and mobility of access between educational institutions was met; the Department of Higher Education and Training teaming up with private higher teacher education colleges to ensure other mechanisms to provide teacher education was achieved. In KwaZulu-Natal such projects are; Natal Moses Kotane Institute, Embury Institute for Teacher Education and SANTS Higher Private Institution. The upgrading and merging of techikons such as M L Sultan and Durban Techikon in KwaZulu-Natal to being Institutes of Technology and later Universities of Technology aided towards bettering the educational structures and diploma qualification provision. The down

side is that these institutes are placed within urban areas and this does not benefit students living in rural areas, who cannot afford travel expenses and do not get full funding to pay for their school fees, resident fees, text book fees and food.

The accreditation of qualifications is recognised by a national board. The Norms and Standards for Educators policy of 2000, was the first teacher education policy that established a framework for teacher education qualifications. Later replaced by the Policy on Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications in 2011 that is set on a National Qualifications Framework, this permits a teacher qualification to be recognised internationally. Through this the South African government achieves its aim to be in line with international trends and standards. The international qualifications recognition allows for migration of qualified teachers to teach abroad. As much as this benefits teachers in the form of receiving increased salaries than they would under South African currency, it hinders the South Africans teacher supply source as we face a shortage of teachers in scarce subject areas. The teacher production numbers continue to decrease, making the gap of teacher supply and demand bigger.

6.5 To what extent does the teacher-education policy implementation process reveal coherence with the ruling party's principles/ ideology?

The decision to close down colleges of Education was intended to overhaul teacher education and allow a single system of teacher education. This was coherent with the ideology of the ANC to create equal opportunities for all South African citizens. However, the teacher-education policy implementation process to close down teacher education colleges did not reveal coherence with the ANC ruling party's principles. The ANC's ideology is centred on constitutional democratic principles; the main foundation of democratic principles stem from equality, freedom rights, and participation of citizens in decision making and policy formation, especially if the policy is bound to affect those citizens. The closing down of colleges had a direct

impact on teacher education, teacher education skills, as well as teacher educators. All South African citizens were aware of the transformation process taking place to suit a democratic nation, thus should have been involved in the decision making and consultation process of policy development. The lack of provision for consultation opportunities before the decision was made reveals that the decision was communicated from a top-down manner. There was a conscious process of command and control exerted by government from the decision making process to the implementation process. The desired principle of the ANC, of eradicating unequal teacher education structures had deep negative effects to the educational system that the National government was unaware of, as it fostered its political visions. The availability of resources, capacity of power and capital that the ANC held in government enabled for the successful closure of teacher education Colleges as intended by government. The absorption of some of the colleges of Education that were endorsed to remain active but under university administration was also made possible through the approvals of the national government. Much disregard was put on pertinent causes and effects of this decision, especially of teacher education stakeholders. As in a top-down approach to policy implementation, the policy formation to close down colleges was carried out within a rigid process that assumed the best for teacher education without any form of consultation. The vertical manner of implementation revealed a clear form of hierarchy that exerted dominance, authority and influence that left the affected staff members without a platform to make recommendations on the decision, let alone challenge the decision.

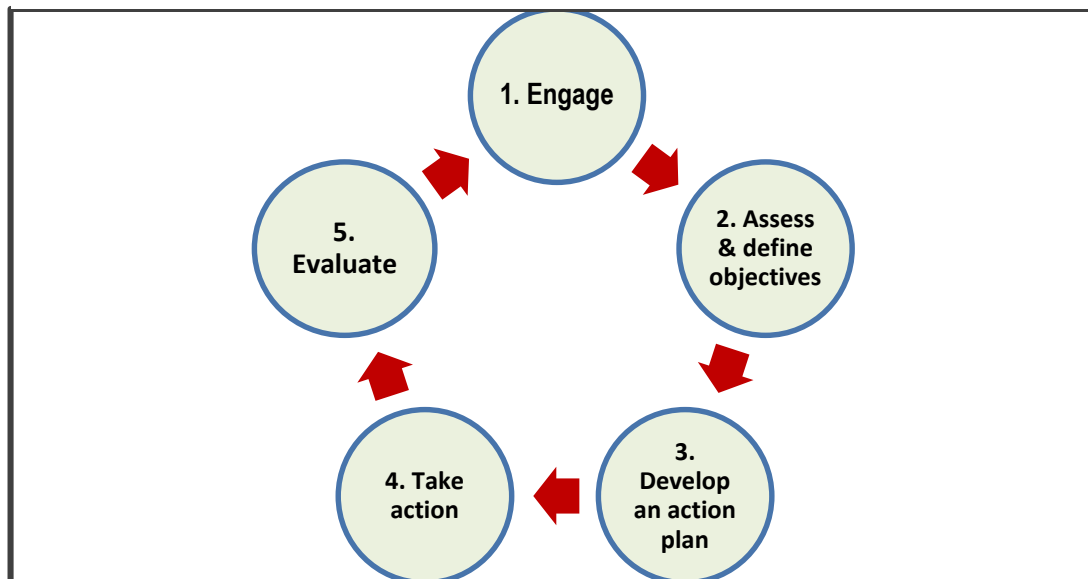
The decision further revealed the manipulation of power by the ruling party within government. This misuse of power allowed for the decision to be delivered to the staff members affected via notifying and informing through circulars; and this allowing for the government to avoid any challenges to the decision to close down teacher education colleges. As stated by a reliable senior management source (Rec1) stated that the decision to close down colleges came from,

The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) committee led by Prof. Chetty (not real name) whose background was a pharmacist, recommended that the teacher training colleges were straddling the divide of Higher Education and...,therefore would need to fall into line.

The decision to close down was influenced by persons who were not college staff members, thus could not have known the dynamics within teacher education skills and teaching education colleges. The recommendation of such an important political, social and economic decision that would impact on South African teacher education was recommended by a pharmacist, without consultation with college staff or any educational personnel who had reliable experience and thus knowledge and background in teacher education, discloses pronounced misconduct of power.

Below is an implementation process model that sets out the stages to a successful implementation process.

Figure 2: Policy implementation process. Source: Implementation Handbook (ECDC Technical Report, 2005)



The 1st step in figure two, suggests a communicative engagement between stakeholders with respect to determining whether the decision to close down colleges of Education would be to the greater benefit to the education system, and if not, are there any other ways in which to go about closing colleges and benefiting the education system as well as affected stakeholders.

The National Teacher Education Audit of 1995 made the consultation about the advantages and disadvantages of absorbing colleges of Education within universities as well as looking into possible mechanisms that would be needed to make for a successful transition. However, it emphasised much attention to the in-service training of teachers and to a lesser extent on the pre-service education of teachers, leading to a decline in pre-service teacher education training.

The 2nd step in figure two, suggests the assessment and definition of objectives. This would entail the gathering of information that would make for a solid analysis of whether there is a need to close down colleges of Education. This would also review the factors that affect compliance in current teacher education colleges and the challenges in producing successful output of qualified teachers. The National Commission on Higher Education submitted a Framework for Transformation report

in 1996, which made solid arguments for the reasons to close down colleges of Education. The report concluded that the fragmentation, inequality and inefficiency of the higher education system would challenge the goals, reconstruction and development of a post-apartheid South African society (DoE, 1996).

The 3rd step suggests the development of an action plan that would be built and drafted on the assessment made in a holistically well researched and consultation body. That would include national government, educational stakeholders (senior and middle management as well as street level bureaucrats) and citizens that would be affected by this action plan and further ensure feedback in the process. There was no evidence of this step, as discussed in chapter five, the interviewed participants , emphasised the lack of consultation and involvement in the decision making process.

The 4th step suggests action, of implementing the closing of colleges of Education, but first implementing the mechanisms needed to facilitate successful closure. Such as the support of specific teacher education programmes/ courses that would have to be preserved to maintain successful teacher education skills within teacher education. Because stakeholder consultation was absent, there were no highlighted programmes/ courses that could have been carried over into the university teacher education programmes. Having major impacts on teacher education as mentioned in chapter two and supported by interviews with participants in Chapter Five that colleges of Education had a ‘hands on approach’ that encouraged more practical experience, whilst universities were more theoretical and encouraged a ‘research culture’.

The 5th stage suggests the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation process and the evaluation of the outcomes, for example, providing feedback that would review the successful number of qualified teachers provided over a year and whether the teacher supply provided by universities is in line with the demand of teachers. And mechanisms needed to improve teacher supply such as university infrastructure increase, expanding teacher education programmes and focus in providing teachers in

scarce subject areas. This would make for evaluative feedback that would look into successful processes and what would be needed to make improvements to the current process to provide effective teacher education. The monitoring and evaluation of the policy implementation process was absent as there was an initial discourse in the implementation process of closing down colleges of Education, which has been highlighted in this chapter.

The implementation process shows the stages that could have been taken by national government to ensure a successful closure of colleges of Education with the reservation of teacher education skills for the benefit of future generations. It also points out the ways in which communication could have avoided the current challenges faced in teacher education. The process could have argued the discourse of the implementation process and made noticeable the future challenges that teacher education would encounter.

6.6 CONCLUSIONS

The ideology of the ANC is that of equality, freedom and an upliftment of human rights, drawn from the Freedom Charter of 1953 and shaped within the boundaries of a Democratic Constitution. South Africa's transformation occurred rapidly and happened within tense political pressure. The ideology of the ruling party is the vision longed for by the previously disadvantaged population groups, especially the Black population group. The ideology of the ruling party is that of the masses (people) enjoying equality and freedom. The extent to which the ideology of the ruling party impacted on the teacher education policies, is evident in the decision taken by the ANC led-government to close down teacher education colleges as the colleges perpetuated poor teacher education. The poor infrastructure and resources that were not provided for in African, Indian and Coloured colleges also led to the ANC government's decision to close colleges down. The governmentality of the ANC was shaped by the redress of past inequalities, the political stance of the ANC was clear to

all and there was much urgency put the transformation process to a democratic country. The ANC did not see practical reasoning in keeping these unequal colleges of Education active as it would require much of state budget to rebuild and renovate the colleges, state finances to keep the colleges open and more state administrative bodies to administer them, proving to be expensive. In the back drop of state budget towards building more high schools for all children alongside the phasing in of ECD foundation phase for children in schools in 1995. The allocation of finances to a segregation product of the apartheid regime proved irrelevant. The rationale to close colleges was made within a rational framework. The extent to which the teacher-education implementation process is coherent with the ANC ideology is not consistent. This is provided by the discussion of each stage provided by the diagram of policy implementation process. The policy implementation process of closing down colleges of Education lacked the fundamental bases of constitutional democratic principles, which is citizen participation and stakeholder participation in the decision making process of public policies. The Government as an authoritative body to carry out public policies and activities, proved to be a legitimate and authoritative structure that was strategically used to influence the desired political interests of the ruling party that was not coherent with the ruling party's principles. As a result, the lack of coherence of the ANC's ideology in the policy implementation process in this respect is seen in the shortages of teacher supply in scarce subject areas, implications of migrating teachers abroad and the weakened ability to attract pupils into the teacher education profession.

6.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

- A focus and regulation should be created to ensure the continuous performance on the Council on Higher Education is in place to regulate policies and appropriately advice on policies, through functioning

independently of government, ensuring that implemented policies are monitored and evaluated and produce continuous feedback for improvement.

- Better initiatives to create more teachers such as the rebuilding of teacher education colleges that will be situated where needed the most, especially in rural areas; these could be linked to universities or re-built as new universities.
- Some initiatives are already established as according to Higher Education and Training Minister, Blade Nzimande, in South African Government News Agency (2012) one has opened in Mpumalanga, where the former Ndebele college of Education was situated, and two more are set to be re-opened in KwaZulu-Natal and in Eastern Cape; however, more such initiatives are urgently required to address the teacher shortages in the country.
- More research is needed to monitor the government processes relating to policy formulation implementation and evaluation.
- The dignity of teacher education must be restored so as to reinstate the integrity and pride of an educator profession as a means to attracting more pupils to become teachers, and this can be possible through the guarantee of finding a job after obtaining a degree, much like the Funza Lushaka bursary provides.

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Appendix A: Gatekeeper Consent Letter



To whom it may Concern

This is a Masters Research in Social Science (Public Policy). This research is based on the topic *Governmentalities and the politics of transformation: A critique of the post-1994 South African teacher education policy implementation process, a case of KwaZulu Natal province*. This research study is based on teacher education implementation process in relation to ruling party influences. The study seeks to determine ideology and principles that drove the newly elected Democratic Party (ANC) in 1994 as it supported change, equality and equal distribution of wealth and drew many of its ideas from the Freedom Charter of 1953. It seeks to determine the extent to which those principles and ideology influence education policies post- 1994, with particular reference to teacher education policies. Furthermore, the study seeks to determine whether teacher education policy implementation process reveals coherence with the ruling party's principles/ideology.

This letter is to ensure that the school committee, professional education organizations/unions chosen for this research will be afforded anonymity if it so wishes; not only of the names of the participants that will be participating but the organizations name. Pseudo-names will be used to ensure anonymity.

The school committee, education organization/union was chosen because of its proximity.

Project Researcher

Zandile Ndhlovu

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Appendix B: Informed Consent Letter for Participants

Dear Research Participant

I am a student currently completing Masters Degree in Social Sciences(Public Policy) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College. My research is based on the *TOPIC*:

Governmentalities and the politics of transformation: A critique of the post-1994 South African teacher education policy implementation process, a case of KwaZulu Natal province.

You have been identified as an individual that may make an important contribution to this study through the honest and accurate answers you may provide during the questioning session of this interview. The information you provide will not be used for any purposes other than those of the study intended. Hence, I wish to assure you that all information provided will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. We will also provide secrecy, if requested (the information provided will not be used in the study unless provided by a third party).

Your participation is voluntary and no payment or any benefit will be given to you for your participation in this study. If you feel uncomfortable at any time during the conversational interview, you are free to withdraw from the study.

Thank you for your time and assistance. Your information is greatly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely

Researcher
Zandile Ndhlovu
0768956021

Project Supervisor Details

(School of Education: Project Supervisor)
Prof. Thabisile Buthelezi
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.....

DECLARATION

I..... (Full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this letter and the nature of this research project, and I consent to participating voluntarily in this research project. I understand that I have freedom to withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE.....

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

- 1) What was your job title within teacher education?
- 2) Were you aware of the closing down of teacher education colleges?
- 3) What impact do you think their closing down had on teacher education?
- 4) Were you personally affected by the closing of teacher education? ... if yes, How so?
- 5) Do you think the state of division of teacher education system was as a result of Apartheid rule?
- 6) Do you think the ANC influenced the decision of closing down teacher education colleges post-apartheid? If yes, to what extent?
- 7) Does the ideology and influence of the ANC affect how teacher education policies are implemented?
- 8) Does the ideology of the ANC manifest in the current teacher education policies that are in place?
- 9) Is the re-introduction of teacher education colleges a good idea for South Africa...If yes/no, Why?
- 10) Considering that South Africa faces shortages of qualified and skilled teachers. Is there any other initiative that can be introduced to attract teachers in scarce subject areas besides the Funza Lushaka Bursary?

Appendix D: Ethical Clearance Certificate

 **UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

28 January 2014

Miss ZNE Ndhlovu 208519752
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Miss Ndhlovu

Protocol reference number: HSS/0025/014M
Project title: **Govern mentalities and the politics of transformation: A critique of the post- 1994 South African Teacher Education Policy implementation process, a case of KwaZulu-Natal province**

Retrospective – Expedited Approval

With regards to your response received on our letter dated 22 January 2014. The documents submitted have been accepted by the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee and **FULL APPROVAL** for the protocol has been granted.

Any further violation of the UKZN Code of Ethical Conduct will result in a disciplinary process.

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.

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

Yours faithfully


.....
Dr Sheshuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor Professor Thabisile M Buthelez
cc Academic leader Professor Sabine Marshall
cc School Admin. Mr N Memele

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