

# **A critical realist exploration of the implementation of a new curriculum in Swaziland**

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## Abstract

This study offers an in-depth exploration of the conditions from which the implementation of a curriculum called the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE), later localised into Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education (SGCSE), emerged and the constraining and enabling conditions for the implementation of the new I/SGCSE curriculum. It derives its theoretical foundation from Roy Bhaskar's critical realism and Margaret Archer's concept of analytical separability. The study therefore offers explanations about the curriculum change and its implementation that are based on how *structural*, *cultural*, and *agential* mechanisms operating at a deeper level of reality (the intransitive layer of reality or the domain of the *real*) and existing independently of what we see, know or believe of them (the transitive layer of reality or domains of the *actual* and *empirical*) interacted to condition the emergence of I/SGCSE and the way it is implemented. I conduct a critical discourse analysis of relevant literature, I/SGCSE documents and interview data in order to identify those mechanisms that were cultural and also those that were structural and agential. Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing are used to analyse observation data in order to explore the influence of these mechanisms on the teaching practices of the teachers who took part in the study.

Analysis of the data suggests that the change from General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-level) to I/SGCSE was conditioned by inconsistencies between the cultural and structural mechanisms of the Swazi context. Many of the cultural elements of the Swazi context such as the discourses of *good citizens*, of *competitive advantage*, and of *quality education* draw from global discourses which view relations between people from a postmodernist position and therefore support weakly classified and framed pedagogic practices. In contrast, the *discourse of morality* and many of the structural elements of the Swazi context, such as the *pre2006 education system* and the *Tinkhundla government system*, all view reality from a modernist position, therefore supporting strong relations of power and control. The cultural system therefore exerted more influence in conditioning the change from the strongly classified and framed GCE O-level curriculum to the weakly classified and framed I/SGCSE curriculum. Furthermore, the analysis of interview and observation data suggests that inconsistencies between the global discourses and the discourses and structures that teachers confront in their day-to-day lives, together with the decisions teachers made in

response to structural constraints, created constraining conditions for the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

The study adds to knowledge on curriculum change and implementation through insights into the enabling and constraining effects of mechanisms operating at a deeper level of reality on curriculum-change decisions and on the ability of teachers to implement curriculum changes. The focus on the deeper level of reality may therefore contribute towards emancipatory knowledge which could be used not only by the Ministry of Education and Training and teachers in Swaziland but also elsewhere to inform future planning, decision making, and practice in relation to curriculum change and implementation.

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## **List of acronyms**

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIE	Cambridge International Examinations
GCE O-Level	General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level
ID	Instructional Discourse
IGCSE	International General Certificate of Secondary Education
IMF	International Monetary Fund
I/SGCSE	International/Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education
JMB	Joint Matriculation Board
MOET	Ministry of Education and Training
NDP	National Development Plan
NLS	New Literacy Studies
ORF	Official Recontextualising Field
PRF	Pedagogic Recontextualising Field
RD	Regulative Discourse
SGCSE	Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education
TOT	Teachers of Teachers
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund (formerly United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund)

# Chapter 1

Education systems of the world are constantly under microscopic examination and analysis to ascertain the extent to which they satisfy national educational needs and aspirations. In this regard, Swaziland cannot be an exception (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: Foreword).

## 1.1 Introduction

This study is located in the field of education, specifically focused on curriculum change and implementation. It is underpinned by a critical and social realist philosophy. My interest in this study arose from my work as a teacher educator at the University of Swaziland for the secondary school Accounting teachers in Swaziland. Swaziland is situated in Southern Africa. It is considered a lower middle-income country (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] 2006-2010). In 2011 the growth rate in gross domestic product was estimated at 2.1% and per capita income at U\$5200 (World Fact Book, 2012). It has a population of about 1.3 million of which about 97% of the population are Africans with the majority of them being native and only about 3% being of European origin (ibid). About 69% of the population live below the poverty line (ibid). This implies that the majority of the learners in Swazi public schools come from poor families. According to the National Development Plan of 2009/10-2011/12 the government of Swaziland believes the economy of Swaziland could be transformed if its people are appropriately educated.

In 2006, the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) in Swaziland changed the secondary school curriculum from the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-level) to the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). The latter was later localised into the Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education (SGCSE). As a teacher educator these changes challenged me and I felt that I needed to know and understand the new curriculum better in order to be effective and efficient in my work.

The MOET involved me in several implementation programmes for the new International/Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education (I/SGCSE) curriculum which they organised especially for teachers involved in the subject of Accounting. For example, I was

involved in the drafting of the SGCSE Accounting syllabus, a process that was closely monitored by Cambridge International Examinations (CIE) Accounting specialists. I was trained by the CIE to set and mark the SGCSE Accounting examination and also to supervise the marking process. In addition, I facilitated a range of regional workshops that were aimed at introducing Accounting teachers to the new curriculum. In retrospect, I realise that all these initiatives only equipped me with technical skills and technical understanding of the new programme: they did not help me to understand exactly what the I/SGCSE curriculum is and why it was introduced in Swaziland. I would speculate that I was not the only teacher educator or teacher in Swaziland who did not understand the new curriculum or understand why it was necessary to change the curriculum. If teachers lack understanding of this new curriculum, I believe their ability to implement it is compromised and this may affect the quality of education Swazi children receive. All these concerns motivated me to embark on this study.

In my doctoral journey I was introduced to a number of philosophical and theoretical approaches. Through intensive reading I came to the conclusion that critical realism and social realism would help me achieve my aim of obtaining a deeper understanding of the new curriculum. This is because critical realism and social realism are underpinned by a depth ontology. They are based on the assumption that there are real generative mechanisms underlying the events of the world and our experiences of it. Critical/social realists therefore base their explanations of how people experience a phenomenon on mechanisms that operate at deeper levels of reality. In addition, Margaret Archer's (1995, 1996) understanding of the social world as consisting of three analytically separate dimensions, namely the cultural, structural, and agential, provided me with an even deeper understanding of the influence of mechanisms on events and experiences. As I read more about critical and social realism and engaged with literature related to curriculum and curriculum change, I felt that a study underpinned by critical and social realism would give me a nuanced understanding of underlying mechanisms responsible for the decision to change from GCE O-level to the new I/SGCSE curriculum system and for the way teachers in Swaziland implement the curriculum.

My interest in this study was further motivated by the fact that I was unable to find evidence of any research on curriculum/educational change in the context of Swaziland or that focused particularly on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. Studies done on curriculum-

change experiences of other countries such as Portugal (Neves and Morais, 2001), America (Beck and Young, 2005; Barrett, 2009), Botswana (Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, and 2009), Malawi (Mtika and Gates, 2010), Namibia (Nyambe and Wilmot, 2006), and Uganda (Altinyelken, 2010) are useful to draw on, but they provide limited insights into why things are the way they are in Swaziland's education system. As Trowler and Knight (2001:21) argue “. . . attempts to import solutions that have worked elsewhere will lack both a sense of ownership as well as the contextually specific sets of meanings and practices associated with it that have evolved in that other context”. Critical realism also makes us aware that teaching and learning environments are open systems in the sense of responding to both internal and external factors (Brown, 2009). Therefore the reality that underpins one country's curriculum-change experience may not be the reality of another's.

## **1.2 The context of the study**

The secondary education system of Swaziland has undergone three phases since the introduction of mass education in the 1940s. During the colonial period Swaziland followed a South African based curriculum that was designed by the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB). According to the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET), this curriculum was purposefully designed to “perpetuate apartheid elements which promoted white superiority” (Ministry of Education and Training, 2008: 2). It therefore did not enable a lot of Swazis to qualify for further education and training (ibid). This was a problem for Swaziland, in particular after independence in 1968. In this period, Swaziland's priority was to educate and train local people to fill vacancies left by colonial people, and to meet the needs of localisation and economic development (Dlamini, 1972; National Development Plan 1973–1977). For example, in 1971 about 79% of skilled jobs in the private sector and about 32% in the public sector were held by non-citizens (ibid) because there were too few skilled Swazi people to do the jobs. In the late 1960s Swaziland changed from the JMB curriculum to a British-based curriculum called the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-level). According to the MOET, this system enabled a lot of Swazis to qualify for further education and training and therefore it was able to address the human resource needs of Swaziland (Ministry of Education and Training, 2008).

In 2004, Swaziland was informed by the University of Cambridge International Examinations (CIE), the designers of GCE O-level, that they were phasing out GCE O-level (Ministry of

Education and Training, 2008). According to the MOET, this was because many countries around the world had stopped using GCE O-level and therefore it was now costly for CIE to run the programme (ibid). The CIE offered an alternative which was the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). In 2006 Swaziland changed from GCE O-level to IGCSE which was then adapted to become the Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education (SGCSE). At the time of my study (2008–2011) the adaptation process was still in progress, which meant that some subjects were still using IGCSE whereas others were using SGCSE. In this study I therefore refer to I/SGCSE.

For the purposes of this study I did not feel it was necessary to separate the two curricula (IGCSE and SGCSE) because the SGCSE curriculum is a localised version of the IGCSE curriculum. As indicated in the introduction, the localisation process was closely monitored by the CIE. Locals were trained to draft SGCSE syllabuses, and to set and mark SGCSE examinations. When I tried to explore the differences between the two curricula the MOET's response was that they are the same. For example:

I would say there is absolutely no difference because one might mention that the SGCSE programme was benchmarked using the IGCSE. So basically most of the content and the way things or the teaching is going to be done is almost similar (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

Not much [ . . . ]. It's more or less the same. (*Umehluko sengukutsi we have eh....ema local examples*) The only difference is that we have eh . . . some local examples (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

Teaching approaches the same. Content the same. The difference is that the content will have local flavour (MOET interview 4; 24 July, 2009).

The IGCSE programme, according to the MOET, was adapted to become SGCSE in order for Swaziland to have a curriculum specifically suited to the local context and for Swaziland to be able to control its own resources, to resist being dictated to by outsiders, and to reduce the cost of education (MOET interview 4). It was therefore not my intention in this study to examine in any depth the differences and similarities between IGCSE and SGCSE. Rather, this study was concerned with the shift from GCE O-level to the adoption of IGCSE which was eventually adapted to SGCSE. This is another reason why I use the abbreviation I/SGCSE in the study.



To help teachers adapt to the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE the MOET conducted workshops and developed learners' textbooks and teachers' guides for many subjects. In addition they produced IGCSE handbooks which contained IGCSE past examination papers and information on I/SGCSE. These were all meant to guide teachers on how they are expected to teach and assess learners. Despite all this effort it seems the goals of the new curriculum are not being realised. For example, in a progress report on IGCSE implementation addressed to parliamentarians, the MOET reported that teachers were still holding on to their old ways of teaching (Ministry of Education and Training, 2008). Preliminary interviews with inspectors also indicate that teachers have not changed their old ways of teaching (MOET interview 1 and 2; 13 July, 2009). In this study I therefore explored the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE with the aim of providing an in-depth explanation of what led to the change and why teachers fail to teach in the manner intended in the new curriculum. The research, underpinned by critical and social realism, thus entailed exploring and developing an explanation of the curriculum change in Swaziland.

### **1.3 The goals and research questions guiding the study**

The goals of the study were:

- To gain a more complex understanding of the factors influencing Swaziland's decision to introduce a new curriculum
- To explain why change has not taken place in Swazi schools in the ways anticipated.

The research questions which guided the study were:

- What were the conditions from which the implementation of I/SGCSE emerged in the secondary education system of Swaziland?
- What are the enabling and constraining conditions for the implementation of the new curriculum in the secondary schools of Swaziland?

### **1.4 Significance of the study**

The results of the study will hopefully contribute to an understanding of the effects of mechanisms operating at a deeper level of reality on curriculum change practices and experiences. At a practical level it is hoped that the study will have important epistemological

and pedagogical implications for classroom teaching, teacher education, and the in-service training of teachers. It is therefore possible that the findings of the study will be of most benefit to teachers, the MOET, and teacher educators in Swaziland. However, people in other parts of the world, based on how they interpret the Swazi context in relation to their own, may also experience the findings as useful in understanding curriculum change and implementation in their contexts. It is also hoped that at an individual level the focus on deeper levels of reality will have emancipatory potential for Swaziland as it may encourage questioning of the taken-for-granted world of beliefs and values in relation to pedagogic practices.

## **1.5 Outline of chapters**

The thesis is organised as follows:

In **chapter 1** I provide an overview of the context of the research, and explain my interest in the research questions and ways in which the study may be useful to all relevant stakeholders in Swaziland.

In **chapter 2** I outline the theories which informed the way I conducted this study. In particular I discuss critical realism as the broad meta-theory which informed my approach to the study, the methods I used to collect information, and the analytical tools I used to explore generative mechanisms. I also discuss analytical dualism as the framework for analysing data in my study. Substantive theories I discuss include New Literacy Studies (NLS), Bernstein's concepts of horizontal/vertical discourses, classification/framing concepts, and visible/invisible pedagogies.

In **chapter 3** I discuss the approach, methods, and analytical tools I chose to use in the study. In chapter 3 I also outline how I ensured the validity and reliability of the findings of the study.

In **chapter 4** I address in particular the first question, namely, what were the conditions from which the implementation of I/SGCSE emerged in Swaziland? I explore literature with the aim of identifying cultural and structural mechanisms that operate at the global and national levels which contributed towards enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

In **chapter 5** I analyse I/SGCSE documents with the aim of exploring in depth the nature of the I/SGCSE curriculum. I identify and discuss cultural and structural mechanisms which are responsible for the way the I/SGCSE curriculum is designed. Chapters 4 and 5 provide answers to the first question: What were the conditions from which the implementation of I/SGCSE emerged in the secondary education system of Swaziland? They are also the first step towards explaining how and why the change is constrained at school level.

In **chapter 6** I analyse interview data with the aim of exploring how teachers who took part in the study understood this new curriculum. I identify and discuss cultural and structural mechanisms which are responsible for the way teachers construct the new curriculum. This chapter explains how and why the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE may be constrained at school level.

In **chapter 7** I analyse classroom observation data. I explore the teaching practices that emerged as a consequence of the interaction of some cultural and structural mechanisms explored in chapters 4, 5, and 6. I explore how the pedagogic practices of the teachers who took part in the study either reproduced or transformed the old curriculum system. Therefore, while chapters 4, 5 and 6 focus on culture and structure, chapter 7 focuses on agency.

Finally, **chapter 8** is the concluding chapter in which I synthesise the findings, present assumptions, recommendations, review of the theoretical framework, and suggestions for further research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Framework**

Since theories are propositions containing concepts and since all concepts have their referents (pick out features held to belong to social reality), then there can be no social theory without an accompanying social ontology (implicit or explicit) (Archer, 1996:12).

#### **2.1 Introduction**

As I have already indicated, in this study I was concerned with offering an explanation for why Swaziland changed its curriculum from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and why the change has not happened as anticipated at the classroom level. The purpose of the study is therefore not just to describe the change but to also to explain it. As such, the research theories that I chose to work with were those that enabled me to explore in depth the curriculum change in order to explain the change or lack thereof. Carter and New believe that “empirical social research is . . . more effective in yielding good descriptions and explanation of the social world when its design deliberately follows realist principles” (2004b: 1-2). This study is framed within a critical and social realist philosophy, in particular Roy Bhaskar’s and Margaret Archer’s philosophies. Critical and social realists focus on identifying hidden causal mechanisms, how they work, whether they are active or not, and the conditions under which they become active (Sayer, 2000). The purpose of this chapter is to describe these meta-theories and the substantive theories which underpin this study. I start this chapter by discussing critical realism. I then discuss Archer’s concept of analytical dualism (1995, 1996) as it provided me with the analytical tools for arriving at a more in-depth understanding of the curriculum change experience in Swaziland. Among the substantive theories, I discuss Bernstein’s concepts of classification and framing (2000) which I also use as an analytical tool, particularly for the discussion in chapter 7 and discourse theories from New Literacy Studies and Curriculum Studies.

## **2.2 Critical realism**

Science is a social activity whose aim is the production of knowledge of the kinds and ways of acting of independently existing and active things (Bhaskar, 1975:24).

### **2.2.1 What is critical realism and why critical realism?**

When exploring various ontological and epistemological assumptions, I found that positivist and idealist philosophies could not help me achieve the aim of acquiring a deeper understanding of why Swaziland changed its curriculum and why the change is not happening as intended at school level. This is because idealists regard the object of knowledge as human constructs imposed upon the phenomenon and positivists rely on a sequence of events in accounting for the world (Bhaskar, 1978). Therefore, using positivists' and idealists' assumptions to "under labor" (Sayer, 2000), this study could have yielded an explanation of the curriculum change that is based on what teachers think, know, and see or on what I as a researcher observe, thus reducing the reality of the curriculum change to our knowledge of it (Roberts, 2001) or as Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen and Karlsson, put it, collapsing ontology with epistemology (2002). This "flat ontology" (ibid, 2002: 8) is rejected by critical realism and Bhaskar (the founder of critical realism) refers to the "epistemic fallacy" (1978: 16; ibid). According to Bhaskar, the "epistemic fallacy" refers to the mistake of analysing questions of being (ontology) in terms of our knowledge of being (epistemology) (1978). Critical realism provides a comprehensive alternative to positivism and idealism (Bhaskar, 1978; Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson, and Norrie, 1997). Its conception of theory is non-reductionist. It separates what happens and what is experienced from what is (ibid). I opted for critical realism because its philosophical assumptions promised ontological depth which seemed capable of helping me achieve my objectives for this study.

For critical realists, the surface appearance of things is "potentially misleading as to their true character" (Benton and Craib, 2001: 120). At times we may not even experience or observe some of the things that exist but that does not mean the things do not exist (ibid). Quite often we also perceive and experience the same phenomenon differently (Mingers, 2000). Our knowledge of reality is therefore unstable and unreliable, thus fallible and subject to change. This is why critical realists dismiss empiricism and idealism. The purpose of critical realists is to understand and explain the world behind the misleading appearances (ibid).

Critical realism is based on the assumption that there is an external world that exists independently of our experiences of it (Bhaskar, 1978, 1991, 1998). What that world is and what it is like is not affected by our experiences, our feelings, our perceptions of it, our beliefs about it, and our desires of it (ibid). Critical realists thus base their description of the social world on this deep and relatively stable knowledge (Sayer, 2000, Danermark et al, 2002). This external world does not only exist independently of our knowledge of it but it also quite often resists our attempts to understand and change it (Benton and Craib, 2001). This ontological assumption is grounded on the concept of a differentiated and stratified reality and it is through this understanding of reality that critical realism is different from other philosophies such as positivism and idealism (Davidsen, 2005).

### **2.2.2 A differentiated and stratified reality**

The concept of a *differentiated and layered reality* ensures that the enduring causal mechanisms of the world are not conflated with the events and experiences they generate (Mingers, 2000). The concept of a stratified reality was influenced by Marx. According to Bhaskar, “. . .Marx somewhere observed that the whole of science would be pointless unless there was a possibility of a distinction between essence and appearance – unless there was the possibility that what we thought about natural reality or any other form of reality was wrong” (Norris, 1999: 4). From this idea Bhaskar developed the concept of *stratification*. Stratification takes two forms (Mingers, 2000). The first relates to the belief that reality is differentiated and layered into three levels; the *real*, the *actual*, and the *empirical*. The second relates to the concept of *emergence*; that one layer is emergent from the one below it (ibid; Bhaskar, 1975).

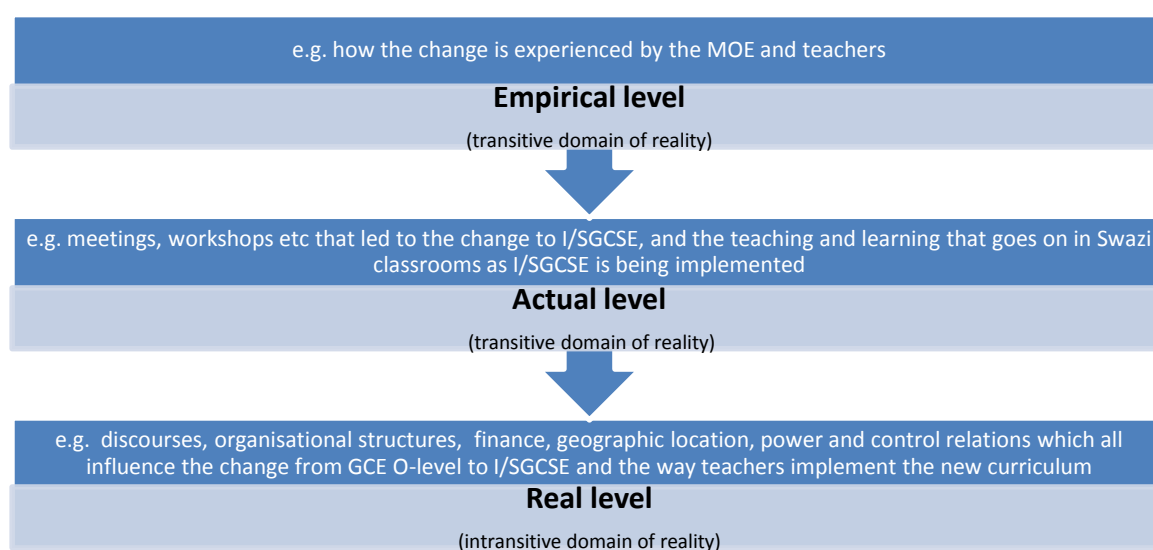
The *empirical* is the layer of reality that is most accessible to us. It refers to our observations and experiences of the world. This layer, according to Danermark et al (2002), contains our data or facts and these facts are always mediated by our theoretical conceptions (ibid). Since theory changes, the *empirical* world consists of knowledge that is unstable and thus fallible. In the case of my study, *empirical* knowledge consists of what CIE and MOET describe in documents as I/SGCSE. It also consists of teachers’ conceptions of their roles as teachers, of their understanding of the learners, and of the curriculum and curriculum change in Swaziland. It is knowledge at this level that relativists rely on when they explain reality. Critical realists reject this reliance on only empirical knowledge as it does not account for

reality that exists independently of human knowledge of it (Bhaskar, 1975). Critical realists believe that empirical knowledge can be explored further to uncover what is responsible for people's experiences and observations of the world. This entails exploring the layers of reality below this level which are the *level of the actual* and the *level of the real*.

The *actual* is the layer of reality which consists of the events of the world. It refers to the events of the world whether they are experienced by people or not (Danermark et al, 2002). Events depend on specific conditions and cannot be reduced to what is observed at the *empirical* level (ibid). Examples of events from my study include the decision made by Ministry of Education and Training to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and the actual learning and teaching that goes on in classrooms. Positivists rely on knowledge derived at this level of reality. Knowledge about this level of reality and about the empirical world is accessed through our senses and is therefore context dependent (Danermark et al, 2002; Sayer, 2000). For critical realists, the empirical and actual worlds generate unstable and unreliable knowledge which they call *transitive knowledge* (Bhaskar, 1975).

The events at *the level of the actual* are generated by the complex interaction of structures and mechanisms at the *level of the real*. Explanations of social phenomena therefore cannot be derived from how regularly these events occur, as positivists assume, but deeper meaning and explanation needs to be sought (Bhaskar, 1975). The *level of the real* is the deepest level of reality. Reality at this level is relatively stable, hence Bhaskar refers to this domain as the *intransitive* dimension of reality. The *real* refers to anything that exists, be it natural or social, which has power to cause events and experiences at the *level of the actual* and *empirical* respectively (Sayer, 2000). In the natural sciences this is what was not made by men, but is natural, while in the social sciences this is what was socially constructed by others in the past, which we are born into and which is thus not of our own making (Carter and New, 2004a, 2004b; Archer, 1995, 1996). It refers to those underlying structures that have properties and mechanisms which, when they combine in sometimes complex ways, cause events at the *level of the actual* (Houston, 2001). Houston thus refers to the level of the *real* as the "causal level" (ibid: 850). The aim of critical realist research is to "arrive at knowledge of the content of the causal processes" (Ekstrom, 1992: 114) in order to understand what it is that generates particular events and experiences. It is this level of reality that my study attempted to access. My study was focused on exploring the *generative mechanisms* at the *level of the real* responsible for the curriculum-change events and experiences at the *levels of the actual*

and *empirical*. Globalisation and democracy, in my case study, are examples of mechanisms at the *level of the real* which contributed to exerting an influence on the decision by the MOET to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE (see chapter 4). Finance, geographic location of schools and teachers' discourses (see chapter 6 and 7) are examples from my study of mechanisms which contributed towards constraining teachers' ability to implement I/SGCSE in the way intended by CIE and MOET. Figure 2-1 below represents a summary of the three layers of reality as I have interpreted them in my study.



**Figure 2-1 The three layers of reality: adapted from Bhaskar (1978)**

The second form of *stratification* indicates that the level of the *real* is consequential and therefore social reality can be better explained in terms of the mechanisms that are at play. This form of *stratification* is based on the concept of *emergence*. Carter and New define *emergence* as “the way in which particular combinations of things, processes and practices in social life frequently give rise to new emergent properties” (2004a:7). Structures and mechanisms at the level of the *real* have powers to cause events and experiences at the level of the *actual and empirical*. For example, in my study the *discourses* teachers subscribed to conditioned “inappropriate” teaching events at the level of the actual. It may happen, however, that the powers are not exercised at a particular time, or that they are triggered but they do not become manifest as events because of other generative mechanisms that operate in a counteracting way (Mingers, 2000). For example, in my study *funding* (a structure at the *level of the real*) was available in some schools to enable teachers to purchase what was needed for them to adopt learner-centred strategies, but this power was not exercised by all schools because the teachers in my study subscribed to *discourses* which contradicted



learner-centred ideologies and beliefs. Mechanisms, according to Bhaskar, “combine to generate the flux of phenomena that constitute the actual states and happenings of the world” (1975:47). This form of stratification therefore suggests that each of the two layers in the transitive domain emerges from the layer below it (Mingers, 2000). That is, the *empirical* emerges from the *actual*, and the *actual* emerges from the *real*, therefore both the *actual* and *empirical* emerge from the *real*. See Table 2-1 below.

	Domain of the real	Domain of the actual	Domain of empirical
<b>Mechanisms</b>	X		
<b>Events</b>	X	X	
<b>Experiences</b>	X	X	X

**Table 2-1 Demonstrating emergence: adapted from Bhaskar (1978:13)**

This, however, does not suggest that reality at all three levels is the same because, according to the concept of emergence, the combination of things gives rise to *new* emergent properties. The concept of emergent properties therefore requires us to understand that mechanisms *do not predict outcomes* but produce *tendencies* (Houston, 2001). Critical realists argue against determinism (ibid).

Outcomes can only be predicted in closed systems, but not in open systems. In open systems, more than one mechanism operates at any point in time (ibid) because a social phenomenon has “many different socially important qualities” (Danermark et al, 2002: 161). For example, teachers are not just teachers in their respective classrooms, they are also mothers/fathers, daughters/sons, church members, community members, members of teacher associations, and many more. In addition, they are reflexive actors (Archer, 1995, 1996). They make deliberate decisions and act with intent (ibid). Cause-effect relationships therefore do not apply in social sciences but only exist in the natural sciences (Houston, 2001) where natural phenomena cannot think, react and exert external influences on the experiment. To adopt a deterministic view is to conflate the worlds or realities; it is to reduce the level of events (*actual*) and experiences (*empirical*) to the level of the *real*. In other words, it is to conflate

the system with people's lives in the system, which the transformational model of human activity rejects.

### **2.2.3 The transformational model of human activity**

The layered ontology suggests that critical realists recognise human agency while at the same time taking cognisance of the effects of structures on people's actions (Houston, 2001). Critical realists therefore reject what Hammersley (1992) refers to as "naïve realism" (making the world similar to our experiences of it). This rejection is embedded in the transformational model of human activity.

The transformational model, founded on Bhaskar's work, is derived from the structuration model of human activity (Danermark et al, 2002:180). Structuration does not see structure and agency as separate entities, rather they are seen as constitutive of one another (central conflation in Archer's terms) (ibid). This is in contrast to the social fact paradigm which merges agency with structure, giving recognition to structure as an object of study (downward conflation in Archer's terms), and the agency paradigm which merges structure with agency, giving recognition to agency as an object of study (upward conflation in Archer's terms) (ibid). The transformational model rejects all these types of conflation. In this model, social structures and agency are regarded as two separate phenomena with different powers and properties (ibid). Table 2-2 provides a detailed description with examples of the different types of conflation.

Movement	Type of conflation	Description of conflation	Taking being a teacher as an example
Social fact paradigm	<p>Downward conflation</p> <p>Agency is collapsed with structure giving recognition to structure.</p> <p>Individuals and small groups are taken as simple expressions of larger societal structures.</p>	Being a teacher is possible only if the teacher is placed or situated in a set of institutional relations, which exist prior to and independently of their actions.	For someone to be a teacher there has to be an education system, schools, students, books, chalkboard, assessment, etc, but also they have to be located in that system as having passed primary and secondary education, gone to college or university, have taken an education course, acquired a teaching certificate, and be specialist in a particular subject area etc.
Agency paradigm	<p>Upward conflation</p> <p>Structure is collapsed with agency giving recognition to agency.</p> <p>Structural arrangements are reduced to the actions of individuals and small groups.</p>	<p>Institutions do not exist independently of the activities of people, but on the contrary are nothing but regularities in the aggregate patterning of those activities.</p> <p>Elision of "meaning" with "use"</p>	Without individual people and their activities there could be no such thing as education system, schools, chalkboards, students, assessment etc.
Structuration	<p>Central conflation</p> <p>Structure and agency are regarded as constitutive of one another</p>	Society is an outcome of individual agency, which then reacts back upon individuals.	There can be no schools without teachers and no teachers without schools.
Critical/social realisms	<p>Rejects all conflation</p> <p>Structure and agency are distinct levels</p>	Social structures are both <i>conditions</i> and <i>outcomes</i> of human agency; and people are both <i>products of</i> and <i>conditions of</i> possibility of social structures.	Social structures such as the education system, schools, chalkboards, assessments, etc produce teachers and condition their actions. However, the teacher's day-to-day activity is the condition of the possibility of the education system, and through their teaching act the education system is either reproduced or transformed.

**Table 2-2 A description of the different types of conflation; Source: Adapted from the work of Benton and Craib (2001: 132), Grant (2004: 55) and Archer (1995, 1996).**

Social realist, Margaret Archer, expanded the transformational model to claim that ontological depth is achieved if structure, culture, and agency are analysed separately.

Before going on to discuss Archer's concepts of structure, culture, and agency, it is important to note that this study is firmly grounded in critical realism and therefore it potentially suffers from all the limitations of a critical realist study. Critical realism is a meta-theory rather than a method of study (Dannemark et al, 2002; Sayer, 2000). It has thus been criticised mainly on those grounds. For example, Callinicos argues that, ". . . what critical realism did was to articulate best practice in critical social theory rather than offer a philosopher's stone that allows us to resolve a whole series of anomalies, tensions and crises in particular disciplines" (Bhaskar and Callinicos, 2003: 91). To bridge this methodological gap, I have brought in Archer's principle of analytical dualism to serve as an analytical tool for data analysis. I have also made use of substantive theories such as Bernstein's concepts of framing and classification to gain insights into the workings of structures and mechanisms implicated in curriculum change and change implementation in Swaziland.

### **2.3 Archer's analytical dualism**

Archer extended the transformation model (Danermark et al, 2002) by developing an analytical principle that recognises the differences of structure and agency and the unique powers that each possesses, which she calls *analytical dualism*. Analytical dualism is a method that recognises that the entities of social life, the "parts and people", are "analytically separable" (Archer, 1996: xvi; 1995). The "parts" refers to structure and culture. Archer therefore extended the transformation model to argue for analytical separability not just of structure and agency but also of structure and culture, hence culture and agency.

According to Archer (1995, 1996), social reality consists of three elements:

- Culture – the ideational aspects of social life such as values, beliefs, theories, etc
- Structure – the material aspects of social life such as resources, positions, roles, etc
- Agency – the human aspect of social life, that is, who is doing what to whom.

Archer emphasises that these elements in real life are not separable. They are intertwined, simultaneously influencing each other. However, Archer advises that for analytical purposes these elements should be separated, because they are fundamentally different in form and

each possesses unique properties and powers. Separating them would help achieve a deeper understanding of their differences and influences on social reality. A study which conflates these elements commits what Archer calls the “fallacy of conflation” (1996: xv). Following the concept of analytical dualism, I explored each of these elements of social reality within a critical realist framework. This allowed me to uncover their properties and powers and to understand which had a greater influence in enabling and constraining curriculum change in Swaziland at different times and in different places.

### **2.3.1 Separating structure and culture**

From Archer’s perspective, understanding the problem of conflation is broader than just the conflation of structure and agency, that is, conflation of the “parts” with the “people”. The “parts” refers to conditions that human beings as social agents confront in their everyday lives, conditions that are not of their making and which they are unable to avoid (Archer, 1995, 1996; Carter and New, 2004a, 2004b). These conditions are structural and cultural in nature. Arguments that were offered in the past for the separation of structure and agency conflated culture with structure (Archer, 1995, 1996). Archer argues for the separation of structure and culture.

Culture, according to Archer, refers to the ideational aspect of social reality while structure refers to the material aspects (1995, 1996). Archer argues that these are different domains of social life and they are relatively autonomous from one another. She emphasises that it is imperative to recognise structure and culture as two separate and different aspects of social life. According to Archer, not respecting and capturing their differences may result in two problems. First, the material and the ideational aspects of social life will be “clamped together in a conceptual vice” (1996: xi). Secondly, we may not be able to understand social life as the interplay and interconnectivity between interests and ideas (ibid). When culture and structure are understood as different we may then be able to research separately the relationship between structure and agency and between culture and agency.

### **2.3.2 Separating culture and agency**

According to Archer, the role of culture in sociological analysis has never been entirely clear. It has not been clear what culture is (descriptive level of culture) and what it does (explanatory level). This was due to beliefs held about culture. Culture was believed to be a

perfectly integrated system (ibid). Its elements were viewed as coherently interdependent of each other (ibid). Archer (1995, 1996) calls this the “Myth of Cultural Integration”. This Myth implied “a *cultural pattern* with underlying unity and a fundamental coherence” therefore *uniform action* among the cultural actors (ibid: 4). Hence, the Myth confuses two things: logical consistency and causal consensus (ibid). Logical consistency, termed by Archer (for applicability in the morphogenetic cycle<sup>1</sup>) as Cultural System integration (CS), concerns “our attempts to impose ideational order on experiential chaos” (ibid: 4). Causal consensus, which Archer termed Socio-Cultural integration (S-C), concerns “the success of attempts to order other people” (ibid: 4). The former belongs to the world of ideas while the latter to people (ibid). Early cultural theorists therefore, much like structural theorists, conflated the “parts” with “people”, that is, culture with cultural actors. Archer rejects this conflation and proposes “that the two are logically and empirically distinct, hence they can vary independently of one another” (ibid: 4).

According to Archer, it is possible that the same social unit may be high in terms of social coherence but low in terms of causal consensus. For example, cultural norms may be imposed by those in authority (e.g. the elite, government, management, the MOET, etc) but people may still behave differently, resulting in the absence of social uniformity (ibid). But it is also possible that in a social unit causal consensus may be high while there is low logical consistency, that is, people may display a high degree of social uniformity in their behaviour while the cultural package imposed upon them is greatly inconsistent. Archer argues that “successful imposition [causal consensus] does not require high coherence of the cultural package imposed [logical consistency]” (ibid: 5).

According to Archer, the cultural domain is the interplay between the cultural systems and socio-cultural life and these two “do not exist or operate independently of one another, they overlap, intertwine and are mutually influential” (1996: xix). For analytical purposes, however, culture and agency need to be separated in order to get a deeper understanding of their influences upon social reality and hence a deeper understanding of how and why things are the way they are in any study of social reality. According to Archer, the “prime interest in the Cultural System lies precisely in its two-fold relationship with human agency; that is with

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<sup>1</sup> The morphogenetic cycle is an analytical tool that Archer developed which respects the difference and autonomy of structure and culture. It is a tool for exploring separately, but using the same tool, the interplay and interconnectedness of structure and culture, structure and agency, and culture and agency.

its effects upon us (those logical properties which affect people) and our effects on it (how people form and transform its logical properties)” (1996: 143).

### **2.3.3 Separating structure, culture, and agency**

I now discuss what the analysis of each of these elements of social life entails in social/critical realist studies.

#### **2.3.3.1 Culture**

The domain of culture focuses on ideas and beliefs of society from which events at the level of the *actual* and experiences at the level of the *empirical* emerge. Analysis at this level requires an understanding that the cultural system “has an objective existence and autonomous relations amongst its components (theories, beliefs, values, arguments . . .) in the sense that these are independent of anyone’s claim to know, to believe, to assert or to assent to them” (Archer, 1996: 107). In this study, therefore, I am interested in examining the causal mechanisms in the domain of culture at the level of the *real*.

Analysing culture is aimed at two things. The first is to understand what “thought-processes” (ideas, beliefs, theories, attitudes, etc) are contained in the society’s “propositional register” (ibid: 105). The cultural system consists of *impositions* from those in power. It imposes constraints on the actions of people. Implicated in impositions therefore are power relations (ibid). According to Archer power relations are causal elements in that they influence behaviour (cultural consensus) *but they do not guarantee behavioural conformity*. Instead, they can provoke any kind of behaviour within the causal consensus continuum; from “ritualistic acceptance to outright rejection of the culture imposed” (ibid: 5). It is important therefore to understand that the cultural domain consists of *propositions* about the behaviour of people for society to be the way it is proposed. That is, it consists of the things held to be true or false in society at any given time or place (ibid). It does not mean that this is the way people actually behave in society. According to Archer (1996), the cultural system refers to “all things capable of being grasped, deciphered, understood or known by someone” (1996: 104). Issues of whether people are “willing or able to grasp, know or understand them” belong to the domain of agency (ibid: 104).

Historically, the cultural system is man-made (ibid). It is the product of people's past practices. It is continuously transformed through people's actions. Because it *emerges* from the interaction that occurs between existing cultures (formed through previous practices of people) and the people who encounter these cultures in their daily lives, it has properties and powers of its own (ibid).

The second aim in the analysis of cultural systems is understanding the power that cultural properties have in conditioning people's actions. Analysis entails "specifying which systemic relationships condition action, how they do so and the range of possible reactions to such constraints" (ibid: 144). This level of analysis is thus concerned with "the effects of holding theories or beliefs which stand in particular logical relationships to other theories or beliefs" (ibid: 144). That is, whether these beliefs are contradictory or complementary will indicate the kind of influence the properties of the cultural system have "on those who uphold ideas possessing them" (ibid: 144). According to Archer:

The CS<sup>2</sup> contains *constraints* (like the things that can and cannot be said in a particular natural language), it embodies *new possibilities* (such as technical applications undreamed of in the pure theory on which they are based), and it introduces *new problems* through the relationships between the emergent entities themselves (the clash of theories), between these and the physical environment (mastery and ruin), between these and human actors . . . (ibid, 1996: 107 emphasis and footnote added).

Relations (consistency, contradiction, or independence), therefore, are explored between the elements of the cultural system, between culture and structure, and between culture and agency. According to Archer, consistency and contradiction are most important because they are both vital elements in accounting for cultural change and stability. The contradictory or complementary relations of the systemic properties of people's beliefs condition their actions. It is thus important to understand what beliefs people hold and what behaviour is possible when such beliefs are held, and therefore what problems or possibilities could result from holding such beliefs.

In the case of my study, at this level of analysis I explore discourses imposed on teachers through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme and how these discourses relate to one another (logical coherence or contradiction) (see chapter 5). Discourses within a critical realist

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<sup>2</sup> CS refers to cultural system



framework can be seen to exist as mechanisms with emergent powers in the domain of culture at the *level of the real* (see 2.4). I also explore the discourses which teachers in my study subscribe to, whether these discourses are consistent with or contradictory to those imposed on them through I/SGCSE, and the teaching event that is "possible" at the *level of the actual* as a result of subscribing to those discourses (the power of discourse in conditioning behaviour) (see chapter 6). Note that I have used "possible" here because at this level of analysis I was not concerned with how teachers responded to cultural constraints (agency) but I was only identifying the cultural system and its powers on the actions of teachers at the level of the actual. How teachers in my study responded to the cultural system is explored in chapter 7. This analysis enabled me to understand if the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE was enabled or constrained at the cultural level.

### **2.3.3.2 Structure**

According to Archer, the way structural mechanisms are explored is not different from the way cultural mechanisms are explored. Although they are significantly different they are both important parts of social reality, and both exert (though uniquely) conditioning influences on people's actions. While analysis at the cultural level entails exploring the kind of ideas operating in society, their relationships, and the powers they have over the actions of people, analysis at the structural level entails the identification of material resources, both physical and human, their relationships, and the powers they have over the actions of people. Just as in the cultural domain, structural properties are explored independently of social interactions because they exist independently of what people know, think, or feel about them.

Structure, like culture, has three important characteristics which have a bearing on how it should be analysed. These are autonomy, anterior, and causal influence (Archer 1995: 176). First, structures have an autonomous existence. Autonomy means they are different from culture and people (though they are entwined and influence each other) and therefore when analysed they should not be conflated with culture and agency. Secondly, they pre-exist people in that people are born into them and "their prior existence frequently constrains the meanings which can be imposed or made to stick" (ibid: 176). Therefore, when analysed, they are taken as given and analysed independently of responses to them (ibid). Lastly, they exert causal influence on people's actions. In other words, the structural domain is an exploration of causal powers of the elements of structure. The causal powers may be

exercised, unexercised, or “exercised but obscured at the level of events” as people exercise their reflexive, innovative, and creative powers (Archer, 1995: 174). The relationship between structure and agency is thus contingent because “the two can exist on their own for they are existentially independent” (Archer, 1995: 174). Thus, like culture, structure possesses contingent powers as opposed to deterministic powers over people. Structure is seen as structurally conditioning and not as structurally determining the actions of people (ibid). These characteristics indicate that structures should not be confused with our sense knowledge of them.

According to Archer, when analysing structure one can either focus on positional levels, roles, or institutional structures. A study that is interested in institutional structures explores the internal relations of various institutions that make up a social system. Focusing on positional levels entails exploring the way society is structured because of differential distribution of resources. People’s circumstances are such that they are either privileged or underprivileged. A privileged structural position gives people interest in maintaining their position while an underprivileged structural position gives people interest in improving their situation (ibid). In the case of my study, what emerged from the data as a result of positional levels were mechanisms such as *finance* (which depended on the economic situation of schools as a result of the kind of economic background the learners at the school come from) and the *geographic location* of schools, which influenced the maintenance of the use of old teaching practices by many of the rural school teachers who took part in the study.

A role as a structural mechanism has constraining and enabling powers through role expectations (the dos and don’ts) and through penalties and promotions established to encourage compliance (ibid). These, however, are not deterministic because people interpret the roles differently. Roles therefore do not necessarily programme the behaviour of their incumbents; people personify these roles in different ways (ibid). For example, the teaching role is performed differently by people who interpret teaching in different ways. Teachers do not all teach in the same way, hence there are different kinds of teachers. According to Archer, it helps to think of people as *personifying* roles as it enables one to differentiate between two sets of emergent properties, namely “the role itself (that is a prior definition of obligations, sanctions and interests) and the personal qualities an actor brings to it” (ibid: 187). Roles relate to structure while occupants relate to agency.

As mentioned previously, the analysis of cultural and structural elements and their relations do not take into consideration how people respond to them. I now discuss the level of analysis that is concerned with people's responses to culture and structure

### **2.3.3.3 Agency**

This level of analysis rejects the conflation of people with structure or culture. It recognises and incorporates the power that people have in shaping social reality. Agency refers to the reflexive, creative, innovative, and purposeful actions of people (Archer 1995, 1996). It refers to the choices that people make in their daily lives which either reinforce existing structures and cultures or transform them (ibid).

People are not passive beings whose actions are automatically triggered by the forces of structure and culture. According to Archer, even though structural and cultural systems impose constraints on the actions of people, it is important to understand that people are reflexive actors. They choose what they like and dislike, what they agree with and disagree with, what they prefer and do not prefer, whether to be loyal, to be chauvinists, etc (ibid). The actions of people therefore can be significantly different from the socio-cultural system imposed upon them, not only because of discrepancies between imposed ideas and ideas held by individual actors but also because people think and make their own decisions about things. Archer therefore maintains that the actions of people do not mirror the cultural system but "can show a significant degree of independent variation" (1996: 185). Such deviations are crucial because they account for change or stability of structure and culture (ibid).

The way people behave in the present may either reinforce or transform existing structures and cultures in the long run. These transformed structures and cultures "are held to exert a causal influence upon subsequent interaction" (Archer, 1995: 90). According to Archer, "they do so by shaping the situations in which later 'generations' of actors find themselves and by endowing various agents with different vested interests according to the positions they occupy in the structures they inherit" (ibid, 90). People therefore have their own emergent powers which cannot be reduced to those of structure and culture. Their agency is thus *real* because it has power to shape society, often in unintended ways, and it exists independently of our wishes for what society should be like. In the case of my study, the imposition of I/SGCSE indicates the school world desired by the MOET and CIE (see chapter 5). But this

desired world is also dependent on the agential power of teachers, among others, for its realisation because teachers as people, based on their beliefs, what they know, or their circumstances, can choose to accept or decline some or all of these impositions.

To facilitate in the analysis of the contribution people make in the process of changing the structure or culture of society (i.e. the influence people exert upon existing structures and cultures), Archer differentiates between Social Agents and Social Actors. This is not to say that Social Agents and Social Actors are different people because they are not (ibid). “The distinction is temporal and analytical” (ibid: 280). “We become Agents *before* we become Actors” (ibid: 277).

According to Archer, everyone is an Agent but not everyone is an Actor. The concept of Social Agent relates to the understanding that we are born into a home and socio-cultural system that is not of our choice. Archer thus defines Social Agents as “collectivities sharing the same life chances” (ibid: 257) and Social Agency as being “only concerned with action in or as part of a collectivity” (ibid: 276). We do not choose to belong to these social groups or collectivities; we belong involuntarily. We derive our personal identities from these social systems. From them we acquire involuntarily our differential positions in society; those of being privileged or underprivileged in the stratified distribution of societal resources (ibid). Hence, as Social Agents we have interests. Our interests arise from our privileged or underprivileged positions. The advantaged want to maintain the *status quo* while the disadvantaged want to improve their circumstances. Our participation in the system or our reaction to our circumstances has an effect that either reinforces or transforms the system.

The circumstances of people also profoundly influence the type of Actor they can choose to become (ibid). An Actor, according to Archer, is someone who chooses to identify with a particular role and who actively personifies<sup>3</sup> it in particular ways (ibid). From the role, Actors acquire social identities such as being a teacher, a nurse, an accountant, etc. They also acquire interests which come with the role. But people who are Actors are also Agents. As Agents, they have interests which are external to roles but which could be pursued through the Actor interest (ibid), such as taking a teaching job in order to earn money for a living. Agency (action in or as part of a collectivity), therefore, will “supply activity with a purpose” (ibid:

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<sup>3</sup> Archer argues that roles need to be understood as being personified by Actors because they do not have determining power but conditioning power over Actors. They are not deterministic because they are open to multiple interpretations by the various Actors who personify the role.

256). It mediates between people as Agents and people as Actors. Hence the concept of Agency is important because, according to Archer:

Real actors bring their own ideals and objectives, skills and incompetencies, dedication or distancing, inflexibility or creativeness to the roles they occupy. All such features are not formed by the job (though they may be positively or negatively reinforced in doing it and undergo transformation through learning); otherwise we would be committed to the undesirable image of robotic executors . . . . Only by examining the interplay between a role and its occupants is it possible to account for why some roles are personified in routinised ways whilst others can be cumulatively transformed in the hands of their incumbents (Archer, 1995: 187).

Agency therefore is a necessary concept to look at when a researcher aims at understanding why people in their respective activities do what they do when the role does not require them to do it (ibid). It is specifically important in this study because my aim is to understand why teachers teach in the way they do when the MOET expects them to teach in particular ways as I/SGCSE teachers.

It is not difficult to see the relevance of these concepts to my study. Teachers, who are the focus of this study, are, for example, both Social Agents and Social Actors. They are Social Actors because they occupy the teaching role (I/SGCSE teaching in the case of my study) which they personify in their respective subject areas. From their I/SGCSE teaching role, for example, they acquire interests attached to the role such as developing in learners' skills through the use of learner-centred approaches. But teachers are Social Agents because teachers as people are born into communities characterised by particular structural and cultural systems which influence their choices of action (ibid; Carter and New, 2004a, 2004b). That is, the inherited socio-cultural system influences their understanding of what is right and wrong. Hence, they bring to their teaching role the values and beliefs which they have acquired from their inherited socio-cultural system which then influences what they do in their respective classrooms. What they do may either maintain or transform the education system of Swaziland. I therefore explore in chapter 7 what the teachers who took part in my study do in their respective classrooms (teaching events at the *level of the actual*) in order to explore the effect of their actions (agency) in the maintenance or transformation of the education system of Swaziland.

In summary, a deeper understanding of social reality requires that culture, structure, and agency be explored separately in order to capture their unique and autonomous properties and powers in influencing the lives of people. This enables a researcher to theorise about conditioning mechanisms (the *real* domain) without giving primacy to one element of it (be it structure, culture or agency). Structure, culture and agency have power to influence the lives of people because they have an objective existence. They exist “independent of anyone’s claim to know, to believe, to assert or to assent to them” (Archer, 1996: 107). Following my grounding of this research project on a critical and social realist philosophical framework my analysis of data was as indicated in Table 2-3 below.

School case	Rural/urban		
<b>Empirical</b>	Accounts of people about curriculum, the teacher, and the learner: the international community, the Swazi national community, the MOET and CIE, and teachers who took part in the study.		
<b>Actual</b>	The decision to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE; teaching and learning that goes on in schools		
<b>Real</b>	<i>Cultural mechanisms</i> (exploring the discourses operating at the global and Swazi national levels; the discourses constructing the I/SGCSE curriculum; and the discourses teachers subscribe to which impacted on curriculum change).	<i>Structural mechanisms</i> (exploring the way society is organised at global, Swazi national, and school levels which impact on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE)	<i>Agential mechanisms</i> (exploring the way teachers in the study responded to structural and cultural constraints and how their responses impact on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE)

**Table 2-3 Guide to analysis of my data**

## 2.4 Substantive theories

In addition to critical realist and social realist philosophies, I have drawn on other theories to build a conceptual framework for explaining why Swaziland changed from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and why teachers fail to teach it in the way intended by the MOET and CIE. I have

mainly drawn on Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing and on discourse theories from New Literacy Studies and Curriculum Studies.

#### **2.4.1 New Literacy Studies (NLS)**

New literacy studies (NLS) refers to a line of research that adopts a socio-cultural view of literacy. Work developed by Street (1984, 2006), Scollon and Scollon (1981), Heath (1983), and Gee (1996, 1999) amongst others may be placed in this category. At the heart of NLS is the idea that literacy is a social practice, not just a set of skills that can be acquired only if an individual has the capacity and will to learn (Heath, 1983; Street, 1984, 2003, 2006; Gee, 1996, 1999). Street (1984, 2006) thus suggests two models that depict the two views of literacy which he calls an *ideological* model and an *autonomous* model respectively. These two views of literacy can be applied to help develop an understanding of why teachers in Swaziland teach in the way they do regardless of the efforts of the MOET to implement change from old teaching practices to the new teaching practices associated with the I/SGCSE curriculum.

The autonomous model is the traditional view of literacy which is underpinned by the view that literacy knowledge is "autonomous" and "neutral" and therefore not affected by specific contexts of social practices (Street, 1984, 2005; Lankshear, 1999). As an autonomous and neutral variable, literacy knowledge is also seen as having inherent power to produce effects in its own right (ibid). For example, the modernisation discourse which was dominant in the 1930s to the 1980s (see 4.2.1.1) privileged this view of literacy in its assumption that "introducing literacy to poor, 'illiterate' people, villages, urban youth, etc. will have the effect of enhancing their cognitive skills, improving their economic prospects, making them better citizens, regardless of the social and economic conditions that accounted for their 'illiteracy' in the first place" (Street, 2003: 77). The learning of literacy in this approach is understood as something that happens independently of the social and cultural context of practice, hence "as an act which is dependent on factors inherent to the individual such as intelligence, aptitude, cognition, motivation and the availability of various 'skills' . . ." (Boughey, 2009: 2). Someone who holds an autonomous view of literacy is therefore likely to explain learning problems using deficit theories (ibid) such as an IQ deficit theory and a cultural deficit theory (Villegas, 1991). Deficit theories base the problem of poor performance squarely on the intellectual capacity of the learners (IQ deficit) and their home environments (cultural deficit)

(ibid). In such a view of literacy the child and his/her home are held responsible for the problems he/she encounters in the classroom (ibid). According to Villegas “[t]his premise leads to the conclusion that schools can do little, other than to provide a ‘compensatory education’ for the purpose of ‘correcting’ the children’s generic and/or cultural deficiencies” (1991:2). Some teachers in my study seemed to explain problems they encounter in the implementation of I/SGCSE using deficit theories. They cited in particular the learners’ poor homes and their poor primary schooling as the problems which made it difficult for them to adopt learner-centred approaches to teaching (see chapter 6). This was not surprising considering that they subscribed to discourses about curriculum that seemed to be predominantly underpinned by an autonomous model of literacy (see chapter 6).

New Literacy Studies (NLS) challenges this conception of literacy as just a set of technical skills to be learnt in school. Rather, as indicated earlier, proponents adopt an *ideological* model of literacy which assumes that literacy is a “social practice embedded in specific contexts, discourses and positions” (Street, 1996:1). They therefore explain problems of learning literacy differently from those who subscribe to the autonomous view of literacy. Unlike the autonomous model, which locates learning problems outside the school, they see problems of learning as arising from inconsistencies and incompatibilities between the socio-cultural system of the child’s home and that of the school. This is because, from the NLS perspective, “literacy” involves much more than reading and writing. It is a way of being (Gee, 1990). They therefore argue for the role of discourse in enabling and constraining successful participation of some learners in school. Discourse in this context refers to sets of ideas, values, and beliefs which people acquire from their everyday ways of life and which influence how people think, talk, and behave (Scollon and Scollon, 1981; Kress, 1988). Several studies have been undertaken which illustrate this. In the following sections I describe four studies conducted by Heath, Scollon and Scollon, Gee, and Bernstein respectively. I used the findings from these studies in my study to help me to explain better what teachers do when they teach.

#### **2.4.1.1 Heath (1983)**

According to Dickie and McDonald, Heath’s work is “part of a shift from the common belief that schools are the main cause of population literacy levels to acknowledgement of the influence of everyday literacy on learners” (2011: 26). Heath studied ways in which children



from two working class communities she called "Trackton" and "Roadville" and one mainstream middle class community she called "townspeople" were introduced to literacy. The main question in her study was "What were the effects of preschool home and community environments on the learning of those language structures and uses which were needed in classrooms and job settings?" (1983: 2). It was an ethnographic study that involved teachers and learners. She found that mainstream language values and skills were the expected norm in schools. Children of townspeople therefore brought to school language values and skills that were recognised in school while those brought by children from Roadville and Trackton were different and not recognised. Heath argued that the privileging of mainstream language values and skills in school facilitated the success of many children of townspeople in school while it constrained the success of many children of Trackton and Roadville. According to Heath, ". . . unless the boundaries between classrooms and communities can be broken, and the flow of cultural patterns between them encouraged, the schools will continue to legitimate and reproduce communities of townspeople who control and limit the potential progress of other communities and who themselves remain untouched by other values and ways of life" (1983: 369). Heath's argument is consistent with studies of "culturally responsive pedagogy" such as those conducted by Villegas (1991), Nguyen, Terlouw, and Pilot (2006), and many others. These studies suggest that it is better not to impose mainstream values and skills on the disadvantaged child but rather to make use of the knowledge and skills the child brings to school to enhance his/her understanding of school knowledge. In explaining a culturally responsive pedagogy, Richards, Brown and Forde assert that:

For many students, the kinds of behaviours required in school (e.g. sitting in one's seat and only speaking when called on) and types of discourse (e.g., "Class, what is the title of this book?") contrast with home cultural and linguistic practices. To increase student success, it is imperative that teachers help students bridge this discontinuity between home and school. . . . Moreover, a culturally responsive instructional environment minimizes the students' alienation as they attempt to adjust to the different "world" of school . . . (2007: 64).

Culturally responsive pedagogy therefore "recognizes and utilizes the students' culture and language in instruction, and ultimately respects the students' personal and community identities" (ibid: 66).

Commenting on Heath's work, Gee (2008) notes that, according to Heath, the production of desired learning events and experiences at school requires that the non-mainstream child acquire the foundation of mainstream literacy, and that when the home has not provided that foundation "it can be acquired by apprenticing the individual to a school-based literate person" (Gee, 2008: 88). According to Gee, this suggestion was in line with Street's ideological approach to literacy because it seemed to claim that:

. . . individuals who have not been socialized into the discourse practices that constitute mainstream school-based literacy must eventually be socialized into them if they are ever to acquire them. The component skills of this form of literacy must be practiced, and one cannot practice a skill one has not been exposed to, cannot engage in a social practice one has not been socialized into, which is what most non-mainstream children are expected to do in school (ibid: 88).

Gee, however, warns that schools, as they are currently, are good places to practise mainstream literacy but not good places to acquire its foundation (ibid).

#### ***2.4.1.2 Scollon and Scollon (1981)***

In another example, Scollon and Scollon contrast two world views which they call "modern consciousness" and "bush consciousness" in order to understand problems of miscommunication that occurred between two groups of people they call English speakers and Athabaskans. They call the Athabaskans' world view "bush consciousness" and that of the English speakers "modern consciousness". According to their analysis, modern consciousness is based on the discourse system of modern bureaucratic and technological societies. Bush consciousness, on the other hand, is founded on the discourse system about how to survive in the bush, which was the way of life of the Athabaskan people. The Canadian and American schools that children of English speakers and Athabaskan communities attended adopted essayist literacy which was closely related to modern consciousness as their model of language. According to Scollon and Scollon, the English-speaking child is therefore much more literate from an early age than is the case with Athabaskan children. They argue that this was because the modern consciousness the English-speaking child acquired from home prepared the child for the essayist literacy practised in school while the bush consciousness the Athabaskan child brought to school conflicted with the essayist tradition. Writing, reading, and speaking are therefore most often

easy for the English-speaking child in school but difficult for the Athabaskan child. Scollon and Scollon then argue that for the Athabaskan children to read, speak, and write in the manner expected in school, learning of mainstream literacy practices is required. And this means learning values, practices, and ways of knowing which conflict with the norms of the Athabaskan people. Scollon and Scollon warn that if a change is suggested it does not only refer to a change in discourse patterns but also to a change in a person's identity. That is, the person "should identify less with his/her own culture and more with another", hence that he/she "should change in personal identity and cultural identity" (ibid: 37). This may not be easy considering that literacy is acquired after a long and intense process of socialisation into the accepted ways of being in the world. Once the literacy is acquired, the discourses associated with it become a normal and taken-for-granted way of life and behaviour become spontaneous and unconscious. It then becomes very difficult to change to a new way of behaving. According to Scollon and Scollon, "even where someone learns to speak a new language later in life, it is very likely that he will speak it using the discourse patterns of his early language training" (1981: 28).

#### **2.4.1.3 James Paul Gee (1996, 1999)**

Gee's explanation of why some learners fail in school while others do not is based on a different conception of discourse, though not very much different from the general view of discourse, as sets of ideas, values, and beliefs which people acquire from their everyday ways of life. Gee refers to two meanings of discourse which he differentiates between by the use of big "D" and little "d". Little "d" discourse is a linguistic construction meaning a stretch of text or our use of language in different contexts. Big "D" Discourse "includes much more than language" (Gee, 1996: viii). It includes also what is non-language, such as ways of interacting, behaving, valuing, thinking, speaking, reading, and writing that particular groups of people accept as "instantiations of particular roles (or types of people)" (ibid: viii). It (Discourse) is therefore socially constructed because its form is shaped by the group's needs, values, interests, ideas, and beliefs. Hence, Discourse is constructed through *discourse*. Each Discourse type constructs in particular ways who is "inside" or "outside" the Discourse. It defines what "insiders" can/cannot do (i.e. how people talk, behave, dress, etc). For example, one may be seen by others as a "normal" person or "insider" when one behaves in a manner judged as "appropriate" by members participating in the Discourse. He/she may also be seen

as "abnormal" or an "outsider" when he/she behaves in a manner judged as "inappropriate" by the insiders.

Gee views people as participating in a primary Discourse and various secondary Discourses of which the primary Discourse, quite often together with other internalised secondary Discourses, primarily constrains engagement with a *new* secondary Discourse. Primary Discourses are the ways of life of our homes. Every individual is born into a home Discourse, therefore every person participates in a primary Discourse and acquires a primary literacy (ibid). However, people do not only play their home roles. They also belong to other secondary Discourses such as the church, the school, sports clubs, etc where they acquire other roles such as the student/teacher role, coach/player role, etc. People therefore belong to multiple Discourses and have multiple literacies (ibid): they slip in and out of roles. However, most often, these Discourses are not consistent and compatible with each other (Gee, 1996). They consist of conflicting sets of values and beliefs (conflicting discourses). People, therefore, in their everyday lives experience these conflicts. "Each of us lives and breathes these conflicts as we act out our various Discourses" (ibid: ix). Hence, every person brings to a *new* secondary Discourse values, beliefs, and behaviours from home and from other secondary Discourses which may or may not be consistent with each other.

According to Gee, the most significant conflict is between the home-based Discourse of many children and the school-based Discourses. Gee claims that some children are better prepared for school than others through the literacy practices of their homes. The values and skills some children acquire from home "are a basis of school success not because they mean the child is more intelligent, but because these are the skills schools reward" (Gee 1996: 24). But for many children, the values and skills they acquire from home are not rewarded at school. Hence ". . . the values of many school-based Discourses treat [these children] as 'other' and their social practices as 'deviant' and 'non-standard'" (ibid: ix). Therefore, for these children to succeed in school they need to acquire the values and skills privileged in the school Discourse. However, Gee and others in the New Literacy movement caution that literacy is acquired after a long and intense process of socialisation into the accepted ways of being in a Discourse. Once the literacy is acquired the Discourse becomes a normal and taken-for-granted way of life and behaviour becomes spontaneous and unconscious. It then becomes very difficult to change to a new way of behaving. As Boughey explains:

Membership of secondary Discourses and mastery of secondary literacies are . . . acquired (not taught) over time. The extent to which one can acquire membership of a secondary Discourse and mastery of a secondary literacy is then dependent on factors such as exposure to the target Discourse and on the "distance" between the primary Discourse and the target Discourse (2009: 7).

Gee also warns that “[i]n becoming a full member of school Discourses, [these children] run the risk of becoming complicit with values that denigrate and damage their home-based Discourse and identity” (1996: ix). This argument is consistent with studies on culturally relevant pedagogy which call for the respect of learners’ cultural knowledge and skills. They hold the view that this knowledge can be employed in enhancing the learning of school knowledge.

#### **2.4.1.4 Basil Bernstein (1999, 2000)**

Bernstein’s work on horizontal and vertical discourses provides another way of explaining why some learners succeed in school while others do not which is consistent with the ideological model of literacy. Bernstein understands discourse to be what is transmitted and acquired in pedagogic practices (1999). His concepts of horizontal and vertical discourse are closely related to Gee’s concepts of primary and secondary Discourse. He uses the concepts *horizontal discourse* and *vertical discourse* to differentiate between the values and practices of informal local contexts such as those of the home, and formal contexts such as those of the school. In some cases these discourses are polarised, representing widely differing contexts of social practice, so that, in their interaction, one is seen as constraining the acquisition of the other (ibid). However, in some cases the two discourses closely resemble each other so that the horizontal discourse may be seen as allowing access to and success of mastery of vertical discourses.

Horizontal discourse refers to a form of knowledge typified as everyday or *commonsense* knowledge (Bernstein, 1999, 2000). It is “common because all, potentially or actually, have access to it, common because it applies to all, and common because it has a common history in the sense of arising out of common problems of living and dying” (Bernstein, 1999: 159). This kind of knowledge is produced and reproduced in informal contexts such as the home or community. However, different homes or communities produce and reproduce different everyday or commonsense knowledges (segmented discourses). Hence, horizontal discourse is a segmentally organised discourse (ibid). The segments or sites of realisation of the

horizontal discourse are culturally specialised or contextually differentiated, hence the knowledge produced or reproduced is segmentally differentiated (Bernstein, 1999, 2000). Horizontal discourse is thus characterised as “context dependent and specific, tacit, multi-layered, and contradictory across but not within contexts” (ibid, 1999: 159). As such “what is acquired in one segment or context, and how it is acquired may bear no relation to what is acquired in another segment or context” (ibid: 160).

As opposed to the context dependence of horizontal discourse, *vertical discourse* “takes the form of a coherent, explicit and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organized or [taking] the form of a series of specialized languages” (Bernstein, 1999: 159; 2000: 157). It is in formal schooling institutions that vertical discourse is transmitted or reproduced (Sawyer, 2006). Hence the school curriculum, such as I/SGCSE in the case of my study, is “composed of a collection of scientific discourses” (Ivinson, 2007: 205). Bernstein uses discourses to refer to school subjects such as the sciences and arts (ibid). His understanding of school subjects as discourses was influenced by Foucault (ibid). The Accounting subject as a discourse, for example, is concerned with communicating knowledge about Accounting that will enable the learner to participate in Accounting discourse that is understood by the general Accounting community. This Accounting discourse is an abstraction of everyday commonsense knowledge of the financial practices of the world of business. Accountants take from everyday financial business practices knowledge which they transform into a system of symbols that is abstract and highly structured. For example, the everyday act of making payments for things we buy, in vertical discourse, is symbolically represented by c-r-e-d-i-t, hence making a credit entry in a book called c-a-s-h-b-o-o-k simply transforms the act of taking out money to pay for something purchased into symbols. Vertical discourse is highly structured, and becomes increasingly complex. It relates in abstract ways to the everyday mundane world. The school, then, functions to move people out of horizontal ways of thinking to vertical ways of thinking (Bernstein, 2000). There is, however, difficulty in this transition from horizontal to vertical discourse for some children whose horizontal discourses do not bear features of the vertical discourse of schooling. For example, children raised in subsistence economies or economies based on barter could be expected to have more difficulty in accessing the abstract world of the Accounting discourse.

Everybody has access to the horizontal discourses because they are the world of commonsense but some children will have access to the vertical discourses more readily and

easily than others because of consistencies between their horizontal discourses and the vertical discourses of the school. As already indicated, some homes (typically middle class educated homes) transmit values, attitudes, and knowledge which allow their children access to, and guarantee them success in, the mastery of vertical discourses. The studies done by Heath (see 2.4.1.1) and Scollon and Scollon (see 2.4.1.2) illustrate this. Part of the Scollons' study entailed exploring how their two-year-old daughter, Rachel, on the one hand and how the children of Fort Chipewyan (on Lake Athabasca) on the other were socialised to literacy (reading and writing). The study showed that the home life of their daughter supported her literacy development while the home life of children from the Athabaskan community did not help them develop the literacy of school. At the age of two, Rachel owned books and letter blocks, and knew the ABC song. She knew stories in her books because they were read to her many times, she "wrote" stories (through scribbling letters and squiggles on paper) and narrated them to her parents, and she asked to be read to. In Rachel's home it was appropriate for children to display their abilities to adults and also appropriate for a child to listen to older people read. For Rachel, therefore, reading and writing were an important attribute and activity of human life and a natural part of the home (Solá, 1983). This was not the case for children from the Athabaskan community. To the Athabaskan child, reading and writing was socially located within the church and school, but not within the home (ibid).

Scollon and Scollon's study illustrates that the distance between home life and school life for some children is wide while for others it is insignificant. It also illustrates that some children have access to vertical discourses from birth because of the close resemblance of their horizontal discourses to the vertical discourses of schooling. For such children, the acquisition of the vertical discourse and mastery of the school literacy is not difficult in the way it is for those children whose everyday worlds are opposed rather than complementary to the vertical discourse of schooling.

#### ***2.4.1.5 What all this means to my study***

The studies explored here make us aware that social practices, which include curriculum practices, are not value neutral but are influenced socially, culturally, and historically by life around us. They give us insights into why change may be enabled or constrained and they may also help us to understand better curriculum change in specific contexts of implementation. In each of the studies cited earlier, the theorists are critical of the role of

discourse (however they define discourse) and the way it influences the way people behave in social life. They also indicate how people's actions are most often an instantiation of, and hence a reinforcement of, established socio-cultural systems. In this section I highlight how I see the relevance of these studies to my study.

Traditional views of curriculum make the assumption that curriculum is a product that is transmitted to and received by learners from the teacher. This view of curriculum draws more on an autonomous position in that it treats curriculum as a neutral and independent phenomenon that is not affected by the learning and teaching environment. My framing of this study within a critical/social realist philosophy implies that I cannot view curriculum from an autonomous position. According to Archer, "to the social realist there is no 'isolated' micro-world – no *lebenswelt* 'insulated' from the socio-cultural system in the sense of being unconditioned by it, nor a hermetically sealed domain whose day-to-day doings are guaranteed to be of no systemic 'import'" (Archer, 1995: 10). This is because critical/social realists view social events and experiences, such as curriculum practices, as emerging from mechanisms at the level of the *real*. From this point of view, curriculum should not be seen as disconnected from everyday life; rather it requires that it be understood as both a social practice and process (Grundy, 1987; Fairclough, 1989; Kelly, 1989). To view curriculum as both a social practice and process is to acknowledge that it is a part of society and not something external to it and that it is socially conditioned by other parts of society (*ibid*). It would therefore have been inappropriate in my study to explore and explain from an autonomous position why the curriculum change in Swaziland is not happening as anticipated by its designers at school level. Rather, the field of New Literacy Studies (NLS) which acknowledges the influence of factors external to teaching and learning environments is most appropriate in my study. NLS fits well with critical/social realism, and therefore with my study, in that it focuses on the exploration of mechanisms and discourses (which in a critical realist framework could be located in the domain of the *real*) which influence the way people think, act, and experience reality at the levels of the *actual* and *empirical*.

In my study I employ critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see chapter 3) to help me uncover the discourses and mechanisms at play in the level of the *real* as indicated in the following analytical framework. I drew the meaning of discourse from Kress (1988) who views discourse as ways in which social groups give expression to meaning and values.



<b>School case</b>	<b>Rural/urban</b>		
<b>Empirical</b>	Accounts of people about curriculum and curriculum change: the international community, the Swazi national community, the MOET, and teachers.		
<b>Actual</b>	Teaching and learning processes going on in schools		
<b>Real</b>	Discourses	Mechanisms	Mechanisms
	<i><b>Culture</b></i> (how societal ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes influence how teachers think and teach)	<i><b>Structure</b></i> (how the way society is organised at global, Swazi national, and school levels shapes and influences the way teachers think and teach in schools)	<i><b>Agency</b></i> (how the way teachers teach either reinforces or transforms the education system of Swaziland)

**Table 2-4 Guide to analysis**

The socio-cultural theories are useful in providing insights into the working of underlying cultural and structural mechanisms in enabling or constraining change. However, since I am exploring the implementation of a new curriculum programme it is important also to apply theories in curriculum practice. This enabled me to gain insight into cultural and structural influences on the curriculum mandated through I/SGCSE and the curriculum as practised in the classrooms I observed. I therefore employ Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse, in particular his concepts of visible and invisible pedagogy and classification and framing. These concepts enable me to connect the *level of the real* (the macro level of socio-cultural influences) with the *levels of the actual and empirical* (the micro level of actual teaching and learning events and experiences) in the curriculum change I am exploring. Bernstein's theory of how discourse is moved from one site to another (theory of pedagogic discourse) explains why particular discourses and practices take shapes that are different from the ones intended for transmission. It therefore further provides insight into why curriculum change is most often constrained.

### 2.4.2 Pedagogic discourse

Bernstein defines pedagogic discourse as a principle through which a discourse is moved from one site to another (2000). He further refers to this movement of discourse from one site to another as *recontextualisation*. Hence, according to Bernstein, pedagogic discourse is a recontextualising principle. When vertical discourses are produced through abstracting everyday commonsense knowledge (horizontal discourse) (see 2.4.1.4) they are often not in a form that is readily accessible to schools. The knowledge produced is expert knowledge that “is encoded in highly complex symbolic forms [that] must be coded or translated (pedagogised) in order to be accessible to those outside the specialist domains” (Singh, 2002: 575). Expert knowledge thus undergoes *recontextualisation* as it is being transformed into school knowledge appropriate for particular levels of schooling. This is where pedagogic discourse comes into play. When the discourse is moved, in this case from its original site (site of production) to the official site of recontextualisation which Bernstein calls the official recontextualising field (ORF), it is ideologically transformed into a new discourse which is different from the one it has originally recontextualised (ibid). Pedagogic discourse thus “selectively creates *imaginary subjects*” or imaginary discourses (ibid: 33). For example, Accounting as a discourse practised in the real world of work (actual/real discourse or *outside* pedagogy in Bernstein’s terms) is transformed into an imaginary discourse (*inside* pedagogy) which is a school subject called Accounting. This transformation takes place because, as discourse moves from one site to another, a space which Bernstein calls a “discursive gap” is created where ideology can come into play (ibid). According to Bernstein, the recontextualisation function is thus a “means whereby a specific pedagogic discourse is created” (ibid: 33). The discursive gap therefore could be said to create room for change to take place (Neves and Morais, 2001; Bernstein, 2000; Apple, 2002); it provides opportunities for the formation of new ideas, new behaviours, new attitudes, new feelings, new values, etc. As such outside pedagogy, school pedagogy, and actual classroom practice quite often differ.

Official pedagogic devices such as syllabuses and curriculum programmes are a result of a recontextualisation process at the level of the ORF. According to Bernstein, “the pedagogic device provides the intrinsic grammar of pedagogic discourse” (2000: 28). Pedagogic discourse, according to Bernstein, consists of two discourses; the *regulative discourse* and *instructional discourse*. The regulative discourse is concerned with the transmission of conduct, character, and manner (moral order, or rules of social order, or expressive order) and

the instructional discourse is concerned with the transmission of skills of various kinds and their relations to one another (instrumental order) (ibid). Underpinning the regulative discourse are rules of hierarchy, while instructional discourse is underpinned by the rules of selection, sequencing, pacing, and evaluation (ibid). Bernstein argues that the regulative discourse not only tells learners what to do and where to go but it also produces the order in the instructional discourse hence “the whole order within pedagogic discourse is constituted by the regulative discourse” (ibid: 34).

Official pedagogic discourse as constituted in pedagogic devices undergoes a further recontextualising process as teachers transform it into pedagogy suitable for the target group of learners. As such, according to Bernstein, what is officially mandated through the official pedagogic device most often is different from the imaginary discourse produced by the teacher in the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF). The discursive space between the ORF and the PRF or the recontextualisation process allows for this change. It allows other discourses (e.g. horizontal discourses) to come into play thus giving rise to multiple interpretations of the curriculum at the level of the PRF. New Literacy Studies discussed in 2.4.1 have the potential to explain what teachers do in significant ways in the process of recontextualisation.

The form of pedagogic discourse created at the level of the ORF and PRF during the recontextualisation process takes different shapes. Bernstein then develops the concepts of classification and framing to typify the discourse mandated and transmitted in schools (Sawyer, 2006).

#### ***2.4.2.1 Classification and framing***

Classification refers to the degree to which boundaries between categories such as agents, discourses, practices, and contexts are maintained (Bernstein, 2000). According to Bernstein, it is power that maintains boundaries between things. Therefore, classification refers to power relations between categories. Classification can either be weak (C-) or strong (C+). Weak classification occurs when things are kept together in such a way that the boundaries between categories are not so clear. Strong classification occurs when things are separated in such a way that the boundaries between categories are very clear. In weak classification, therefore, the power relations between categories appear as if they are equal, while the power relations

in strong classification are very much unequal. Classification therefore creates what Bernstein calls *recognition rules*. Recognition rules, according to Bernstein, determine what the categories demand and therefore “regulate what meanings are relevant” (ibid: 18). They are therefore a means by which individuals recognise what behaviours are appropriate or inappropriate. Without these, “contextually legitimate communication is not possible” (ibid: 17). A strong classification makes it possible for one to recognise how one category is different from another. For example, one could easily tell how a teacher is different from a learner and therefore what is appropriate or inappropriate for a teacher to do or not to do. This is because each category is clearly separated from the other in such a way that “each category has its unique identity, its unique voice, its own specialized rules of internal relations” (ibid: 7). The vagueness of weakly classified categories, on the other hand, makes it difficult for one to recognise a category. Here things are not clearly spelt out to enable differences to be seen but one is given more room to figure out what the category entails (Nyambe and Wilmot, 2006).

While classification, weak or strong, provides the distinguishing features of a context and what is expected and legitimate in that context, Bernstein asserts that:

. . . the principle of the framing regulates the transmission of appropriate practice *within* a context . . . [It] regulates the pedagogic practice which relays a category of discourse. In this way framing regulates specific *realization rules* for producing contextually specific texts/practices (2000: 105).

Furthermore, Bernstein asserts that “recognition rules regulate *what* meanings are relevant and realization rules regulate *how* the meanings are put together to create the legitimate text” (ibid: 18; emphasis added). Thus Bernstein argues that the acquisition of both rules is a necessary condition for the production of legitimate text or practice. Text in Bernstein terms is “anything which attracts evaluation” (ibid: 18), such as the teaching act which could be evaluated in particular contexts as appropriate/inappropriate, good/bad, relevant/irrelevant, etc. Different pedagogic practices are created in different learning and teaching environments depending on the nature of the control relations between the teacher and the learner. Bernstein refers to control relations as *framing*. Framing as the regulator of pedagogic practice is concerned with how discourse (e.g. Accounting) is transmitted and acquired in pedagogic practice (ibid). In the case of the relations between teachers and learners it relates to who, between the teacher and the learner, is in control over conduct and “the selection,

organization, sequencing, pacing and evaluation of what constitutes legitimate knowledge” (Sawyer, 2006: 456). The framing strength may either be weak or strong. It is *strong* when the teacher has explicit control and *weak* when the learner has "apparent" control over his/her conduct and learning of school knowledge. Bernstein uses "apparent" in weak framing to indicate that the teacher always has control over the communication and its social base but relaxes his/her control to allow the learner to take charge. In a strongly framed learning and teaching environment learners are seen as attentive, conscientious, careful, and receptive while in a weakly framed learning and teaching environment they attempt to be creative, to be interactive, and to make their own mark (Bernstein, 2000).

On the basis of whether classification and framing are strong or weak Bernstein is able to generate two concepts around the form of pedagogic practice which he calls a visible and an invisible pedagogic practice.

#### ***2.4.2.2 Visible and invisible pedagogy***

According to Bernstein, visible pedagogy occurs when the learning and teaching environment is characterised by strong classification and strong framing and invisible pedagogy occurs when the environment is characterised by weak classification and weak framing (Bernstein, 2000). Visible pedagogic practice, therefore, is a form of learning and teaching in which the hierarchical relations between the teacher and the learner, the rules of organisation (sequencing and pacing), and the criteria are made explicit and therefore known to the learners (Bernstein, 2000). Invisible pedagogic practice on the other hand is a form of learning and teaching in which these rules are implicit and therefore not made explicit to the learner. There is therefore less domination and control of the learner in an invisible pedagogic practice than there is in a visible pedagogic practice. According to Bernstein, “[i]n the case of an invisible pedagogic practice it is as if the pupil is the author of the practice and even the authority, whereas in the case of visible practices it clearly is the teacher who is author and authority” (2000: 110). It is not surprising then that Bernstein further argues that visible forms of pedagogy are regarded as conservative and invisible forms as progressive (ibid).

Progressive modes of pedagogic practice have gained popularity in the curriculum reforms of many countries (Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009). They assumed dominant positions in British schools in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Bernstein, 2000). It is therefore not surprising that

in my analysis of the British-based I/SGCSE curriculum system in chapter 5 the system seems to take the shape of an invisible pedagogy and to be underpinned by discourses that draw more on progressivist ideas and beliefs. Progressive modes of pedagogic practice are emancipatory with respect to repressive forms of authority (ibid). According to Bernstein, progressive modes are an example of competence models of pedagogy which are underpinned by the following ideas and beliefs (ibid: 43):

- all are inherently competent and all possess common procedures therefore competence not deficit should be the focus
- all are active and creative in the construction of a valid world of meanings and practice therefore difference not deficit should be the focus
- subjects self-regulate a benign development; a development or expansion that is not advanced by formal instructions because acquisition of the procedures for development is a tacit, invisible act not subject to public regulation
- hierarchical relations could not be trusted in facilitating development therefore the socialisers' function should not go beyond facilitation, accommodation, and context management
- the relevant time arises out of the point of realization of the competence, for it is this point which reveals the past and adumbrates the future.

In conclusion, in my study I use the concepts of classification and framing to explain the kind of pedagogic practice mandated by the MOET and CIE through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme (see chapter 5). I also use the concepts of classification and framing to explore power and control relations in actual classroom practices in order to understand the kind of pedagogic practice produced by the teachers in my study when they implement the new I/SFCSE curriculum programme. This has enabled me to see contradictions and consistencies between what is mandated (the ORF) and what is practised (the PRF). It is important to note that classification and framing only enabled me to examine the kind of pedagogic practice mandated and practised but these principles were not able to provide me with knowledge about underlying mechanisms responsible for such practices. The theories I have explored in other sections have then been employed to explain why the change was either enabled or constrained.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter I have explicated the theories I have drawn on in helping me achieve the aims of the study. Critical realism provides the ontological base of the study. To analyse data I employ Archer's concepts of structure, culture, and agency and Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing. New literacy Studies including Bernstein's concept of vertical and

horizontal discourses are used as explanatory tools. In the next chapter I discuss how I conducted the research.

## Chapter 3

### Research methods and design

Critical realism does not claim to develop a new method for social science. On the contrary, it criticises any ambition to develop a specific method for scientific work. There is no such thing as the method of critical realism. On the other hand, critical realism offers guidelines for social science research and starting points for the evaluation of already established methods (Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen, Karlsson, 2002: 73).

#### 3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I stated that critical realism provided the broad framework for this study. Of central importance to critical realism is the exposition of underlying causal mechanisms that are responsible for what happens and what is experienced in everyday life. These mechanisms are not open to direct perception (Houston, 2001), hence it requires work to unveil them. This is what this chapter is about: how I identified underlying structural mechanisms at the *level of the real*. As the quotation at the beginning of this chapter notes, critical realism is not a research method, rather “it is a philosophical argument about the ontology of reality” (Yeung, 1997: 54). In the past, critics have misinterpreted critical realism as a method for conducting research and as a result they have argued against it on those grounds (ibid). According to Yeung, although methods are important they need to be underpinned by “strong philosophical claims at the ontological and epistemological levels” (ibid: 55). As such, as indicated in the opening quotation to this chapter, critical realism does not prescribe a method but only provides guidelines for existing methods (Danermark et al, 2002; Yeung, 1997).

Unlike empiricism and interpretivism, critical realism is compatible with a wide range of research methods (Sayer, 2000; Danermark et al, 2002). According to Sayer, the method(s) a researcher decides to use depend(s) on “the nature of the object of study and what one wants to learn about it” (2000:19). Basically, all critical realist studies are concerned with exploring deep-seated causes of events and experiences. My study is concerned with explaining the



curriculum change experienced in Swaziland by exploring the deep-seated causes underpinning (i) the decision of the MOET to change from GCE O-level to IGCSE and (ii) the lack of change in Swazi schools in the ways anticipated. I wanted to understand “what must the world be like for this to occur” (Mingers, 2000: 1260). I was concerned with exploring the *level of the real*. The methods I chose to use were therefore ones that enabled me to obtain a better understanding of the workings of underlying causal mechanisms at the level of the *real*. In the sections that follow, I provide details of the specific methods I used in the research. I begin by discussing the approach I took in carrying out this study.

### **3.2 The intensive approach**

To think about curriculum is to think about how a group of people act and interact in certain situations. It is not to describe and analyse an element which exists apart from human interaction (Grundy, 1987: 6).

Critical realists avoid talking about *qualitative* and *quantitative* approaches because they are dichotomised in the literature in such a way that it appears as if it is an "either/or" situation (Danermark et al, 2002; Sayer, 1984, 2000). Instead, critical realists talk of intensive and extensive approaches. This enables critical realists to argue for the usefulness and meaningfulness of both approaches. Critical realists accept that both approaches, in different ways, can be useful and meaningful in the search for generative mechanisms and in how these mechanisms manifest themselves in various social contexts (ibid).

According to Sayer, “extensive research shows us mainly how extensive certain phenomena and patterns are in a population, while intensive research is primarily concerned with what makes things happen in specific cases” (2000: 20). An intensive approach is most suited for the detection of causal mechanisms (Danermark et al, 2002). It tries to *explain* “demi-regularities” (ibid, 2002: 167) by looking for mechanisms that *account* for the phenomena in question (ibid; Sayer, 1984). As such, according to Sayer, research questions best answered through an intensive approach include “What produces a certain change? What did the agents actually do?” (1984: 222). The intensive approach best suited my study as I was mostly concerned with understanding and explaining what conditioned the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and understanding why teachers teach the new curriculum in the way they do.

Elements of data collection and analysis contained in an intensive approach are of a qualitative kind while those of a quantitative kind are contained in an extensive approach (Danermark et al, 2002). The intensive approach is inherently qualitative and mostly concerned with the meanings people attach to things in their lives and how they think and act in their daily lives (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). It therefore allows for “an in-depth study of one or a few cases focusing on specific circumstances” (Danermark et al, 2002: 167). In the context of my study I have undertaken two case studies within the broad case of Swaziland which I now discuss.

### **3.3 Case study approach**

A case study approach most appropriately enabled me to access knowledge at the *transitive level* (see 2.2.2) in the curriculum change experienced in Swaziland. It is from this transitive knowledge that I was able to explore further the level of generative mechanisms. A case study approach as a form of qualitative research is a data-gathering technique (Yin, 2009), hence a way of knowing about the empirical world (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). The case study method of research is best suited for *how* and *why* questions (Yin, 2009). *How* and *why* questions are more explanatory (ibid). The use of case studies allows for an intensive investigation; they allow for a deeper understanding that leads to rich interpretations (ibid; Denscombe, 2007).

Because I was interested in understanding and explaining *how* and *why* the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE was not happening as planned by the MOET it was important for me to study the implementation of I/SGCSE in the classroom setting. Talking to the teachers and observing them teach in their different classroom settings, particularly the rural and urban classroom settings, was a crucial step towards developing a critical explanation of the workings of generative mechanisms in enabling or constraining the implementation of I/SGCSE. The case study I undertook is a *collective* (Stake, 2000) or *multiple-case* study (Yin, 2009; Duff, 2008) because I studied two separate cases: a rural school case and an urban school case. Within each case study I collected data from two schools making a total of four schools. I will discuss the basis on which I chose my cases in the next subsection.

Collective or multiple-case designs refer to two or more cases that are researched in order to facilitate an understanding of something (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2009). In the case of my study, my two cases were chosen in order to help me understand why teachers in Swaziland teach in

the ways they do. According to Yin (2009), multiple- or collective-case designs are preferred over single-case design (a "one case" case study) because they greatly strengthen your findings compared to those from a single case. In my study I used a multiple-case study because the two contexts, "rural" and "urban" schools, are different and I believed needed to be explored separately.

Frame (2003: 21) asserts that, "while there is no doubt that much can be learnt about the curriculum from studying its documents, such a study might be limited by an unquestioning acceptance of the stated intentions, coupled with a failure to consider the contradictions between the documented curriculum and how it exists in practice in a variety of contexts". Frame's observation accords with Bernstein's (2000) ideas about recontextualisation discussed above. The use of the collective case study approach was therefore helpful in determining contradictions between the mandated curriculum and the actual curriculum, particularly as it unfolds in the different school contexts of Swaziland. It is important to note that the documented or mandated curriculum is only a manifestation of the views of those who seem to have power over education matters (Bernstein, 2000; Frame, 2003) in Swaziland such as CIE, the MOET, the Swaziland government, education experts, etc. Going further to explore curriculum in its natural setting is to reject the view that "curriculum is independent of its context or the site at which it is implemented, and is free of the values and beliefs of teachers and learners" (ibid: 22).

### **3.3.1 Selecting schools**

Swaziland is the overarching case in this study. Within this are two case studies which I have called a rural school case and an urban school case. Each case consists of two schools, so four schools in total were involved in my study. A critical purposeful selection and convenience method (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 1997; Maxwell, 2005) was used in the selection of the schools.

I purposefully selected the schools on the basis of their location and the availability of resources. The urban school case was characterised as resourced and made up of children from more affluent and more educated families. The rural schools, on the other hand, were under resourced and made up of children who were mostly from poor and uneducated families. Selecting the cases on the basis of resources enabled me to obtain a broader understanding of the curriculum change, which took into account how things are in both the

disadvantaged and less-disadvantaged schools. I have used "less-disadvantaged" instead of "advantaged" because I was focusing on public schools which are, in most cases in Swaziland, never fully resourced. The two cases were compared in order to determine the structural, cultural, and agential conditions which were common and those which were contingent. Danermark et al assert that "comparison provides an empirical foundation for retrodution, a foundation to sort out contingent differences in order to arrive at the common and more universal" (2002: 105). Also, studying these two quite different cases helped ensure that conclusions adequately represent the range of variation typical in the Swazi school setting hence coming closer to representing the Swazi school system.

In addition, the choice of the schools was also dependent on whether or not I was able to get permission to conduct the study in those settings. Luckily, none of the schools that I approached refused to be part of the study. Travelling ease, travelling expenses, and distance were some of the factors I considered in selecting the schools, particularly the rural schools. Though the sampling was based on convenience, I tried to include most of the regions of the country so the sample consisted of schools from three of the four regions of Swaziland.

### **3.3.2 Selecting participants**

In each school I had to decide which and how many subject teachers would participate in the study. A critical purposeful selection and convenience method (Saunders et al, 1997; Maxwell, 2005) was used in the selection of participants. My intention was to work with teachers of business subjects, that is, teachers teaching Accounting, Economics, and Business Studies. However, the rural schools I had access to offered only Accounting and Business Studies; they did not offer Economics. In both schools, coincidentally, Economics was substituted with Physics. In each of the four schools I purposefully chose to work with three teachers, making a total of twelve teachers. The teachers of Accounting, Business Studies and Economics subjects were deliberately selected to be part of the study because they teach subjects that I understand. Accounting, Business Studies and Economics are my area of specialisation, hence my knowledge about and insights into the subjects enabled an easier and more accurate interpretation of data than if other subjects had been chosen.

Other participants in the study included four inspectors in the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET). The involvement of these participants was useful in giving a broad picture of how the change was being experienced not just at school level but also at the national level

(MOET level). A critical purposive sampling technique (Saunders et al, 1997) was used to select these participants. This sampling technique enables the researcher to use his/her judgement based on how informative and important that population is in answering the research questions (ibid). These research participants were selected because their offices were responsible for the implementation of I/SGCSE. They therefore held important information with regard to the everyday experience of the change. I also chose them on the basis of convenience in terms of travel and willingness to partake in the study.

In order to keep the scope of the study manageable, I decided not to focus on learners. I acknowledge that this is a limitation of this study, which does not explore how learners experience the change or their contribution to the change experience as key agents. This is an area that can be explored by other researchers (see chapter 8).

In the next sections I discuss how data was collected. In the critical realist framework, collection of data relates to the accessing of *transitive knowledge* which could either be at the *level of the empirical* or the *level of the actual*. I start with the *level of the empirical*.

### **3.4 The level of the empirical**

Whenever we speak something about the world, whenever we have a set of beliefs, embodied in that speech or those beliefs are presuppositions about the nature of the world (Bhaskar and Callinicos, 2003: 98).

Empirical knowledge refers to the knowledge that is most accessible to us. It refers to people's accounts of things. That is, what they know, think, feel, and observe. This stage of the research journey was crucial because it provided me with the base from which to explore the causal processes which contributed to the way things are in the secondary education system of Swaziland. From a critical realist perspective, people are agents and as agents they act with intent and purpose and assign meaning to things (Danermark et al, 2002; Archer, 1995, 1996). People's accounts of the world are thus important in critical realist understandings and serve as the starting point for exploring the *real* world. The accounts can be written or verbal such as in literature, documents, or interviews.

The case study method I adopted allowed me to collect empirical data using various data collection tools (Denscombe, 2007) which enable a researcher "to see the same thing in different perspectives and thus to be able to confirm or challenge the findings of one method

with those of another” (Laws, 2003: 281 in Bell, 2010: 118). Below, I discuss the data-collection tools that enabled me to access knowledge about the empirical world in the curriculum change experience in Swaziland. These consist of a literature review, document analysis, and interviews with representatives of the MOET and teachers.

### **3.4.1 Literature review**

Di Gregorio (2000: 2) argues that literature reviews:

. . . are usually overlooked as a form of qualitative analysis. Yet the processes involved in building an argument from a body of literature are similar to processes involved in analysing qualitative data. The processes involved include: reading and reflecting; interacting with the literature/data and commenting on it; identifying key themes and coding for them; extracting from the codes "gold dust" quotes to be used when writing up; linking similar ideas from different articles/transcripts; identifying contradictions in arguments; comparing dissimilarities in articles/transcripts; building one's own argument/analysis with links to supporting evidence in the data/literature.

The major purpose of analysing literature in this study was to explore the influence of the global environment on the curriculum change experience in Swaziland. In the analysis I was looking for global ideas, beliefs, theories, values, and so on (discourses) as well as societal arrangements (structural mechanisms) promoted or discouraged by the global society. I was exploring the conditioning influence of such discourses and structures on education systems of countries the world over. A review of relevant, selected literature therefore provided empirical data from which I explored global discourses and structures (the level of the *real*) which may possibly have conditioned the decision by the MOET to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

I consider literature as constituting empirical knowledge because it is written text from which we can further explore the meanings behind the words and statements. Text, according to Fairclough (1989), is a *product* rather than a process. Language is one important element in the production of written text. And language is socially determined; it is a part of society, hence when people write “they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects” (ibid: 23). The social effects of language in written text could be that they enable the maintenance or transformation of the status quo (ibid). In this study I view literature as written text and therefore a resource through which language-use may be studied in order to

understand how the world external to the classroom impacts on the practices of teachers and learners in the classroom.

It is important to analyse the language in literature because, according to Fairclough, “language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society” (ibid: 22). The formal properties of text may therefore be regarded as *traces* of those non-linguistic aspects in the production of the text (ibid). According to Gee, we may learn about six things or areas of reality by studying the way people use language when they write, namely (i) the meanings and values of aspects of the material world; (ii) activities people are engaged in; (iii) identities and relationships; (iv) politics (the distribution of social goods); (v) connections; and (vi) semiotics (what and how different symbol systems and different forms of knowledge “count”) (1999: 12).

In reviewing the literature I undertook a broad discourse analysis of the texts (see 3.6.3 for further discussion on discourse analysis).

### **3.4.2 Document analysis**

Document analysis was undertaken in this study for two reasons: to understand national influences on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE (chapter 4); and to understand what conceptions of curriculum and curriculum practice are privileged by the MOET through the adoption of I/SGCSE in Swaziland (chapter 5). There are various kinds of documents that exist (Bell, 2010) but in this study I used written documents. These include documents produced by the Swaziland government, by the MOET, and by CIE. These documents were sourced for two reasons. First, it was important in this study that I verified and supplemented information obtained through interviews with inspectors at the Ministry of Education and Training. Secondly, access to some people who could have been important research participants such as top government officials and CIE (the designers of IGCSE adopted and adapted by Swaziland) was difficult and in some cases almost impossible. Document analysis was thus a valuable alternative source of information (Bell, 2010).

In this study I relied on genuine and authentic documents (Bell, 2010; Yin, 2009), viewed as such because they are produced by the institutions themselves (Bell, 2010), which include Swaziland government documents (e.g. national development plans), and I/SGCSE documents produced by CIE and the MOET. In the analysis of government documents I was

interested in identifying what Swaziland privileges and how that impacts on the education system of Swaziland. I/SGCSE documents were analysed in order to understand how the designers of the programme view curriculum and curriculum practice and how those views relate to the global and national views about curriculum and curriculum practice. As Moore (1982: 52) in Ross and Munn (2008: 257) argue, formal curriculum documents are worthy of study because the text of these documents “represents some kind of social consensus about what students are entitled to experience in school, and that it expresses what is valued for one reason or another in society”. In studying I/SGCSE documents I was interested in identifying what was being mandated in Swazi schools and where those ideas came from (i.e. the global and national forces in the construction of I/SGCSE). Table 3-1 below provides a summary of the documents I analysed:

EXPLORING NATIONAL INFLUENCES ON THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF SWAZILAND (CHAPTER 4)			EXPLORING WHAT THE MOET PRIVILEGES IN SWAZI SCHOOLS THROUGH THE ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION OF IGCSE (CHAPTER 5)		
<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
National Development Plan	1973-1977	Government of Swaziland	International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) Consultative Document	2005	MOET
National Development Plan	1998/99-2000/01	Government of Swaziland	(H)IGCSE Implementation and Localisation in Swaziland: Question and Answers	Nov 2005	MOET
National Development Plan	2009/10-2011/12	Government of Swaziland	Briefing Paper for US Admissions Counsellors: A Rapidly Expanding Pre-University Programme	Nov 2007	CIE
MOET parliamentary report on I/SGCSE	2008	MOET	Briefing Paper for University Admissions Staff Worldwide: General Qualifications	Feb 2007	CIE
National Policy Statement on Education	1998	MOET	Recognition & Equivalency Help Pack	Sept 2008	CIE
	1985	MOET	University of	2010	<a href="http://www.cie.org.uk">www.cie.org.uk</a>



National Education Review Commission (NERCOM) Report	Cambridge International Examinations: Cambridge Secondary 2
IGCSE Brochure      2010 <a href="http://www.cie.org.uk">www.cie.org.uk</a>	

**Table 3-1 Documents analysed in the study**

As with the literature review, I take the contents of documents to be empirical knowledge because they give accounts of what institutions (the Swazi government, MOET, and CIE in the case of this study) have done or/and have planned for their departments. Hence, they are accounts of what their authors know, think, feel, believe, and value. Using appropriate analytical approaches such as critical discourse analysis (see 3.6.3), it is possible to take a deeper look into what is responsible for what is said by people in documents. Document analysis, through the use of appropriate analytical and explanatory tools (and in conjunction with other sources of data), can lead to the unveiling of underlying causal mechanisms responsible for events and experiences of people in everyday life.

### **3.4.3 Guided/focused interviews**

As noted in the introductory section, people's accounts of things are a crucial starting point for the exploration of the level of the *real*. Through the use of interviews I obtained verbal accounts of how participants in the study understand the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. Because I was soliciting their views pertaining to the new curriculum it was important that the research participants be given the freedom to talk about it in their own time (Bell, 2010). However, in the interests of time and in an attempt to control the collection of data that may not be relevant to the study, I decided to adopt a *guided interview* approach (Bell, 2010). I designed questions which served to focus the interviews (see appendix C for copies of interview guides). This approach still gave interviewees the freedom to talk as the interviews did not follow rigid lines of enquiry (ibid; Yin, 2009). Throughout the interviews I was careful that my questioning was friendly and non-threatening (Yin, 2009), not just for ethical considerations but also because some of the participants were not very comfortable with being interviewed.

There are several ways in which interview data can be captured. I decided to audio record all the interviews I conducted. Prior to interviews I sought and was granted interviewees'

permission for recording the interviews (see 3.8 and appendix A). These I later transcribed because I prefer to work with written text rather than listening to spoken text. Recording the interview data enabled me to focus on the conversation without having to worry about noting down important information (Bell, 2010). I was also able to capture the exact wording of statements made by participants during the process of transcription which allowed me to record accurate quotations from the interviews (ibid). The recording was particularly helpful because two of the sixteen participants chose to respond in siSwati hence a translation process from siSwati to English was necessary. The transcripts were shown to the participants who confirmed that they were accurate (see 3.7).

Interview participants consisted of twelve teachers (three from each of the four schools) and four subject inspectors. As seen in 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 and, these participants were key stakeholders in the implementation of I/SGCSE, hence they held important information with regard to the everyday reality of the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. In the first phase of data collection, which was also a pilot stage, I interviewed the first six teachers from two schools (one urban and one rural) twice making a total of twelve interviews. The initial plan was to interview the relevant classroom teacher before I observed his/her lesson (see 3.5 for a discussion of the observation method) because I wanted to understand the teacher's intentions before observing his/her actions. However, time did not always permit for this arrangement, hence interviews were either before or after the lessons. When analysing this data I realised that one interview per teacher was sufficient as the interviews tended to be repetitive. I then conducted a total of six interviews (one per teacher) with the last six teachers, making a total of eighteen interviews. After the pilot stage I realised there were some gaps in the data. I then improved my interview guide and conducted six follow-up interviews with the first six teachers. At the analysis stage, I conducted a further three follow-up interviews, bringing the total to twenty-seven teacher interviews. Because I have two cases my data consisted of rural school data and urban school data. The interview data is summarised in Table 3-2.

Interviews with the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET)		Interviews with Teachers			
Inspectors	4	Rural school interview data		Urban school interview data	
		Pilot stage (3 teachers by 2 interviews)	6	Pilot stage (3 teachers by 2 interviews)	6
		Phase two (3 teachers by 1 interview)	3	Phase two (3 teachers by 1 interview)	3
		Follow-up interviews	3	Followup interviews	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>		<b>15</b>

**Table 3-2 Interview summary**

Interviews with the MOET were undertaken in order to understand better what ideas, beliefs and values about curriculum and curriculum practice were being promoted through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. The MOET interviews were mainly to supplement and verify data obtained from I/SGCSE documents and also to verify if the MOET and the designers of IGCSE hold the same beliefs and values. The consistency or contradiction of ideas is crucial for explaining why things are the way they are.

According to Sikes (1992), implementation of change is influenced by the body of ideas which teachers hold about education, teaching, the schooling process, and life in general. Understanding what ideas the teachers held was important in explaining why teachers teach in the ways they do. The interview data therefore served as a starting point for exploring the underlying mechanisms that influenced the adoption of I/SGCSE and the reasons why teachers teach in the way they do. I had to understand the ideas teachers held in order to be able to explore how their ideas stand in relation to the ideas promoted by the MOET through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. As Archer explains, such cultural relationships (complementary or contradictory) “respectively constrain or facilitate cultural agents – thus exerting a causal influence on their later actions” (1996: 148).

For reliability and validity purposes (see 3.7 for a further discussion of this), I had to take into consideration my position in relation to some of the participants. I have taught some of my research participants in my position as a lecturer responsible for training Accounting teachers at the University of Swaziland. I have also facilitated I/SGCSE workshops organised by the

MOET which almost all my participants attended. It is possible that my lecturer/facilitator roles may have compromised my ability to access reliable and valid interview data with some of my participants. Some of the participants may not have succeeded in separating my researcher role from my lecturer or workshop-facilitator role despite the effort I made to explain the difference (see 3.7). Some of the participants may have attempted to say things which they thought would please me rather than telling me what they really believe or think. Hence observation as a data collection method was crucial in supplementing and validating my interview data.

In the next section I discuss the observation of classroom practices as a way of obtaining knowledge about reality at the level of the *actual*.

### **3.5 The level of the actual – classroom observations**

I used classroom *observations* as a method of collecting data about what was happening in reality as I/SGCSE was being implemented by teachers in their respective classrooms. As I have explained in chapter 2, in research social realists argue against conflating systems with people's lives in the systems. They argue for a separate examination of the system and the actions of people in the system in order to see how the "parts" and "people" impact on one another and which has the dominant influence. Therefore the intention of conducting classroom observations was to explore the interplay between the "parts" (the cultural and structural system imposed on teachers through I/SGCSE and the one in which teachers are born into) and "people" (the way teachers teach in the I/SGCSE curriculum system). I was exploring how teachers practically participated in the new I/SGCSE teaching and learning system.

Also the theories I was working with required me to determine the *say-do-value* combination (Gee, 1999) in order to be able to explain why teachers teach in the ways they do. For example, according to Gee (1999) and Bernstein (2000), it is possible that what the teachers say is their belief or idea contradicts what they do. In such a case the teacher has not acquired the literacy practice (in Gee's terms) or realisation rules (in Bernstein terms) of the new teaching system. Going further than just what they say to the observation of their actual teaching practices was therefore an important step in understanding and explaining why teachers taught in the ways they did. Bell explains, "Observation can be useful in discovering whether people do what they say they do, or behave in the way they claim to behave" (2010:

191). The use of classroom observations therefore enabled me to collect data about reality at the *level of the actual* which I used to further explore the underlying mechanisms (*level of the real*) responsible for the way they teach.

I observed six rural school teachers and six urban school teachers in two lessons each making a total of twenty-four classroom observations. These were teachers of Accounting, Business Studies, Economics, and Physics (see 3.3.2 for sampling technique). All classroom observations were video recorded and later transcribed. In observations, particularly if they are recorded, there is always the potential risk of what Denscombe (2007) calls *observer effect*, which could affect the validity and reliability of the data. To minimise the effect of my presence and the presence of the camera I initially observed and recorded two lessons in each class which did not form part of my data set. I hoped that this would familiarise the participants with my presence for when I was collecting data.

In the following section, I discuss the strategies through which knowledge of underlying causal mechanisms responsible for the levels of the *actual* and *empirical* was derived. Throughout the data-analysis process I noted consistencies and contradictions both within and between contexts (societal–global and Swazi national; institutional–policy construction; and situational–classroom contexts). According to Archer (1995, 1996) such contradictions and consistencies impact on the change process.

### **3.6 Exploring the level of the real**

Exploring the level of the *real* requires work because such knowledge is hidden and not easily accessible to us. In this section I describe how I analysed the data collected at the *empirical* and *actual* levels of reality in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of the causes of the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and of the persistence of teacher-centred approaches in Swazi classrooms regardless of the effected change.

#### **3.6.1 Data analysis**

Data collected was analysed within the overarching framework of critical realism. The level of the *empirical* and *actual* provided transitive knowledge that served as a base for exploring the level of the *real*. I have drawn on Margaret Archer's principle of analytical dualism (see 2.3) to understand and explore the underlying causal mechanisms that have shaped the way

things are in the secondary education system of Swaziland. Archer's use of the concepts of structure, culture and agency offered an analytical tool that enabled access to the ontological depth of the mechanisms that constrained or enabled the emergence of I/SGCSE and its implementation at classroom level. As described in 2.3, culture refers to the ideas, theories, beliefs, and values held by people at the global level, Swazi national level, and classroom level, which had power to condition the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. I used structure to refer to the material aspect of things such as resources and the way people and things are socially organised at the global, national, policy development, and classroom levels. Agency was used to refer to the choices teachers made when they were implementing the new curriculum, which resulted in either a change of practice or the reproduction of old practices. This separation was effected for analytical purposes so as to gain a better understanding of the influence each one had and which one had more influence on the change. In real life (in the decision to shift from GCE O-level and in classroom practice in the case of my study) these mechanisms work together, not in isolation from one another.

To facilitate identifying the cultural, structural, and agential mechanisms, that is, to move from the level of the *empirical* and *actual* to the acquisition of knowledge about the level of the *real*, I used two important modes of inference, namely abduction and retroduction.

### **3.6.2 Abduction and retroduction**

Induction and deduction may not be relied upon in a critical realist study because they involve "drawing conclusions about all from knowledge about a few, without leaving the empirical level" (Danermark et al, 2002: 77). Critical realists believe there is a need to go beyond these two modes to the application of abductive and retroductive thought processes. According to Danermark et al (2002) abduction and retroduction are the most important forms of inference when the aim of the research is to explain events and processes. This is because

. . . [t]o explain something implies (from the perspective of critical realism) first describing and conceptualizing the properties and causal mechanisms generating and enabling events, making things happen . . . and then describing how different mechanisms manifest themselves under specific conditions (Danermark et al, 2002: 74).

Abduction is when data are interpreted and recontextualised “within a conceptual framework or a set of ideas” (ibid: 80). According to Danermark et al (2002: 93), it is a creative reasoning process that requires the researcher to have the ability to (i) form associations, (ii) detect relations and connections that are not so evident or obvious, (iii) think about something in a different context, and (iv) see something as something else. It therefore allows a researcher to see what he/she has not been able to see before (Bertilsson, 2003). In the case of my study I had several conceptual frameworks. Archer’s concept of analytical dualism (see 2.3) served as the broad conceptual framework. Her ideas of structure, culture, and agency as having power to condition social life provided me with an analytical tool through which I was able to look at the data in a new way. I was able to examine the structural, cultural, and agential conditions that influenced the emergence of I/SGCSE in Swaziland and the persistence of teacher-centred lessons in the implementation of the new curriculum programme. Furthermore, the explanatory power of the substantive theories (for example, those suggested by theorists such as Street, Gee, Scollon and Scollon, Bernstein, described in 2.4) also provided me with a language for re-describing what I read from the documents, what I heard from the interviews, and what I observed in the classrooms as practices of teachers. The D/discourse concepts of Gee and Bernstein, for example, enabled me to look at the data in terms of how the teachers’ everyday environments impacted on their ability to implement the new curriculum. I have used extensively Bernstein’s principles of classification and framing (see 2.4.2) to explain the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE, hence I discuss how I used these principles in 3.6.4 below.

These theories and concepts enabled me to provide a different perspective on the curriculum change, assisting me to look deeper into the situation; moving from what is known and felt (transitive knowledge) to what is responsible for the situation (intransitive knowledge). They enabled me to relate and connect the level of the *empirical* and *actual* with the level of *real*. The abduction process, therefore, enabled my study to come closer to reality “for we cannot form any judgement at all if it were not for the power of abduction” (Bertilsson, 2003: 6).

To advance from the level of experiences and events to the level of the *real* also requires the process of *retroduction* (Danermark et al, 2000). Retroduction “is about advancing from one thing (empirical observation of events) and arriving at something different (a conceptualization of transfactual conditions)” (ibid: 96). Retroduction is thus like the other modes of inference (induction, deduction, and abduction). However, unlike these,

retroduction is not a formalised mode of inference (ibid). Rather than focusing on the constant conjunction of events as assumed by Hume's empiricism, retroduction takes the process further to an understanding of the continuous process by which these events are produced (ibid; Sayer, 1992; Ayers, 2010).

The process of retroduction entails asking questions about the possibility of any phenomenon being what it is (ibid). Such questions would include: how is the emergence of I/SGCSE possible? What properties must exist to make the emergence of I/SGCSE possible? How and why do teachers teach the way they do? What properties must exist to enable the teacher to teach in this way? (adapted from Danermark, et al, 2002). For critical realists retroduction is indispensable as it enables progression from the level of experiences and events to the level of structures and mechanisms responsible for those experiences and events.

Through retroduction (changing focus to deeper layers of reality) and abduction (looking through a different lens) a researcher is able to provide a critical explanation of social reality; an explanation that unveils the working of structures and mechanisms at the level of the *real* in conditioning the actual and empirical worlds. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was the most important method through which the application of retroductive processes was possible in my study.

### **3.6.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

The theoretical perspectives I discussed in chapter 2 were useful tools in helping me describe and explain why things are the way they are in the secondary education system of Swaziland. However they failed to provide me with a technique for working with text. Text, in simple terms, refers to anything that you can ascribe meaning to, be it spoken words, written words, pictures, how people behave, dress, etc. (Fairclough, 1989). In a broader sense it refers to what is produced in the process of social practice (text as a product) and what is interpreted in the process of social practice (text as a resource) (ibid). In the case of my study, text comprised what was written in the relevant literature and documents (which was data for chapter 4 and 5), what was verbally said by the MOET (data for chapter 5) and by teachers (data for chapter 6) about I/SGCSE, and how teachers acted in the classrooms as they implemented the new curriculum (data for chapter 7). The utterances, teacher behaviours, and classroom observations were transcribed – turned into written text. I used CDA to help me make sense of the way language is used in the texts. According to Phillips and Jorgensen,



discourse analysts are interested in finding out “what people really mean when they say this or that, or to discover the reality behind the discourse” (2004: 21). It reveals what is not explicitly stated in text; that is, the invisible discourses in operation (Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 1999; Paltridge, 2006).

Generally, discourses are viewed as having power to bring social objects into being (Kress, 1988; Parker, 1992; Hardy, 2004; Fairclough, 2005). According to Hardy (drawing from Hall, 2001; Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; and Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000: 1127) discourses help:

construct . . . reality by shaping the ways in which issues can be talked about, how individuals conduct themselves in relation to a particular issue, and the knowledge that is constructed about an issue . . . . By bringing into being objects of knowledge, categories of social subjects, forms of self, social relationships, and conceptual frameworks . . . , discourse acts as a powerful ordering force in organisations . . . (2004: 416).

*Critical* discourse analysis (as opposed to discourse analysis) is concerned with understanding how reality comes into being rather than only examining how people understand reality (Hardy, 2004). Critical realists are concerned with the *critical* aspect of discourse analysis, hence when they conduct a discourse analysis of text they go further than just a simple identification of sets of discourses (ways of representation), genres (ways of acting socially) and styles (ways of being – identity) which Fairclough collectively calls *orders of discourse*, but explore *relations between* these social elements (Fairclough, 2005). This is because, according to Fairclough (drawing on Harvey, 1996), realists view “objects, entities, persons, discourses, organisations and so on as socially produced ‘permanences’ which arise out of processes and relations” (2005: 923). From a critical realist perspective, discourse analysis therefore explores the relations between (i) discourse and other non-discoursal social elements, and (ii) texts (language and signs) as discoursal elements of events and “orders of discourse” (a particular combination of discourses, different genres and different styles) as discoursal elements of networks of social practices (ibid). It should be noted that from a critical realist perspective, social practices are mediating entities between social events and structures, as events and structures exist at different levels of reality (ibid). Social practices are therefore important in accounting for the relationship between events and structures (ibid). The analysis of texts using critical discourse analysis is therefore aimed at showing:

[h]ow texts articulate different discourses, genres and styles together, potentially drawing from diverse orders of discourse, and potentially showing the capacity of social agents to use existing social resources in innovative ways which, subject to certain conditions, may contribute to changing the character of and relations between social practices (Fairclough, 2005: 926).

Critical discourse analysis contributed towards enabling me to explore what must exist for the shift from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and for the persistence of teacher-centred lessons to be possible in Swaziland. The aim of critical discourse analysis in my study was to uncover discourses active at the level of the *real* and explore the complex ways in which they interacted to condition the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and the persistence of teacher-centred lessons at the level of the *actual*. I have drawn extensively on Fairclough's (2005, 1989) approach to CDA when analysing my data.

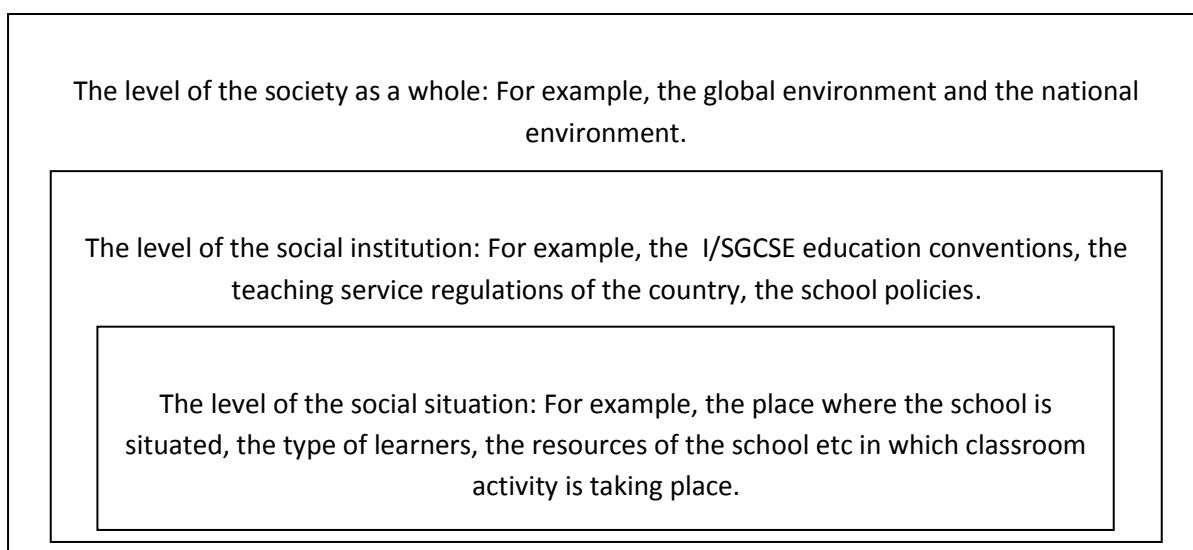
Fairclough's version of CDA enables a critical realist to avoid conflating the transitive level of reality with the intransitive, or from a social realist perspective, the "parts" with the "people". Fairclough rejects conflating the actual situation – the observable features of the physical situation and text – with the situational context (1989). The situational context is seen as more than what is observable, or heard, or written. What is seen, heard or read *signifies* reality at the *level of the real* (Gee, 1999; Mitchell, 2008). Meanings of the words and statements people use when they talk, write or read do not lie in the text but in the broader socio-cultural environment (Fairclough, 1989; 2005; Gee, 1999; Janks, 1997; Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Hence, according to Fairclough (1989: 25), "discourse involves social conditions". Influenced by Foucault, he understands actual discourse as being determined by underlying conventions of discourse which he calls *orders of discourse* (Fairclough, 1989). The language people use whenever they talk, or write, or act, therefore, is a cue to the operation of discourses (Gee, 1999) at the *level of the real*. Hence, the observable, heard, and read (the transitive layer of reality or people's experiences of things) cannot be said to be the same as what brought it into being.

Fairclough suggests three stages of CDA: first, the exploration of formal features of text (description stage); secondly, the exploration of discourses (interpretation stage); and thirdly, the exploration of social conditions (explanation stage). I followed these stages when analysing my data. Table 3-3 indicates the questions at the different stages of analysis which guided the way I undertook the discourse analysis.

Order of discourse	
Analysis stage	Discourses, genres and styles
Description – exploration of formal features of text	<p>In what ways are teachers, learners, I/SGCSE, and curriculum constructed?</p> <p>What type of teaching and learning activity is enacted through the choice of words or actions, or physical set up?</p> <p>In what ways are the role of teachers and the learner constructed? What subject positions are created?</p> <p>What is taken as good or bad in the teaching and learning practice?</p>
Interpretation stage – exploration of discourses	<p>What theories or beliefs about curriculum, knowledge and education are promoted at societal level on the one hand and I/SGCSE policy makers (CIE and MOET) on the other?</p> <p>What theories and beliefs about curriculum, knowledge and education have become commonsense knowledge among teachers in Swaziland? (horizontal discourses and primary discourses)</p> <p>Are meanings of I/SGCSE policy makers (CIE and MOET) consistent with or contradictory to meanings at societal level?</p> <p>Are teachers and I/SGCSE policy makers (CIE and MOET) drawing upon the same meanings of curriculum, knowledge and education?</p>
Explanation stage – exploration of social conditions	<p>What are the social origins of the ideas and beliefs held?</p> <p>What possible effects does holding such ideas and beliefs have on the curriculum change process in Swaziland?</p>

**Table 3-3 A guide to CDA derived from ideas in Fairclough (1989 and 2005)**

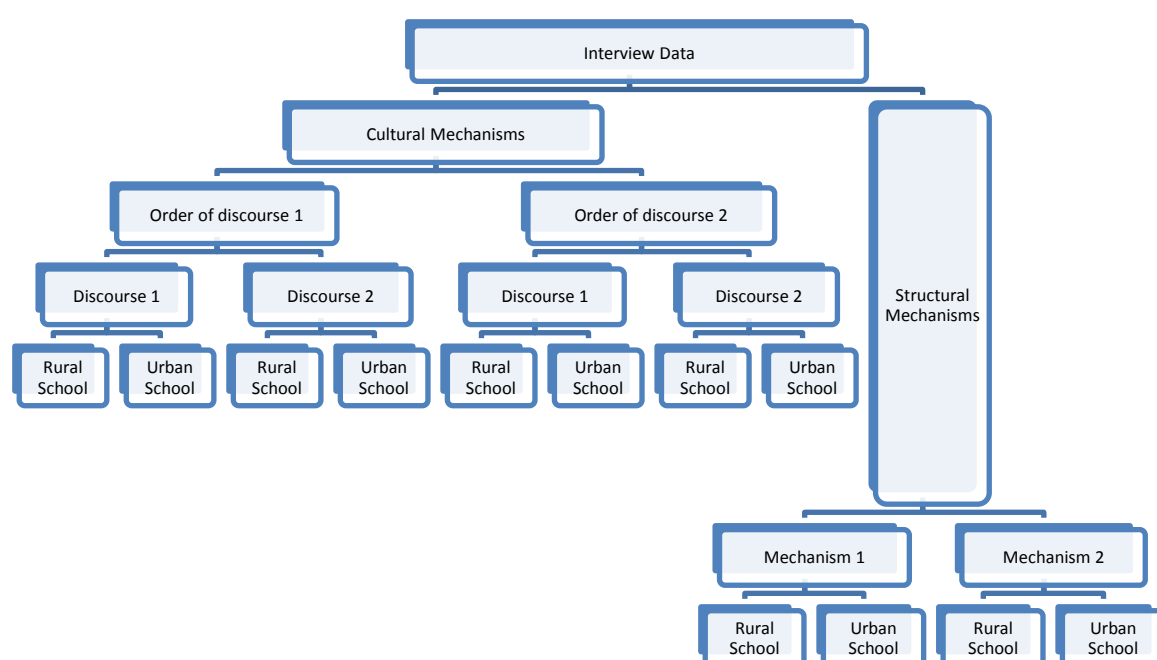
According to Fairclough, social conditions operate at three different levels which are “the level of the social situation or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of the society as a whole” (ibid: 25) (see Figure 3-1).



**Figure 3-1 Levels at which social conditions operate: derived from Fairclough (1989)**

He asserts that “these social conditions shape the MR [members’ resources such as what they know, value, believe, assume etc] people bring to production and interpretation, which in turn shape the way in which texts are produced and interpreted” (ibid: 25). Hence the MR which people draw upon to produce and interpret text have social origins even though they are in people’s heads (ibid). I used these levels of analysis to guide how I explored the conditions that led to the MOET’s decision to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and the persistence of teacher-centredness in the implementation of the new curriculum. At a broad level of society as a whole, I explored the emergence of new discourses in the field of education which conditioned change in education systems the world over and in Swaziland in particular (see chapter 4). At an institutional level I explored the distinct orders of discourse associated with the new I/SGCSE strategy for education introduced in Swaziland. That is, I explored social conditions responsible for the way the I/SGCSE curriculum is shaped (see chapter 5). At the level of the social situation I explored whether the change in discourse has led to changes in the beliefs of teachers, changes in their habits of action and changes in classroom organisation (see chapters 6 and 7). At this level of analysis, I was interested in the effects on the curriculum change that teachers in Swaziland produced through drawing on existing structures and practices; whether their actions reproduced or transformed the existing structures and practices (Fairclough, 2005). In doing this I was acknowledging the power of agency and rejecting determinism in the relationship between the “parts” and “people” (Archer, 1995, 1996).

As discussed in chapter 2, I consider discourses in my study as *cultural* mechanisms at the level of the *real* because they refer to the ideas, beliefs, values, and attitudes, which together condition what people can or cannot do in a Discourse (Gee, 1996, 1999). While I explored discourses through discourse analysis I also kept track of the structural mechanisms. Structural analysis entailed identifying material properties seen as necessary in sustaining the operation of privileged discourses such as how the world is organised at the global, national, and school or classroom level. Examples include the globalisation structure, workshops, finance, etc. Figure 3-2 below is a summary of the coding structure of interview data. I have restricted the cultural and structural mechanisms to two in the illustration because of space.



**Figure 3-2 Coding structure of teacher interview data in NVivo (see 3.7 below)**

I now turn to a discussion of how Bernstein's classification and framing principles contributed to the way I analysed data in my study.

### 3.6.4 Classification and framing analytical tools

Bernstein's principles of classification and framing are discussed in detail in 2.4.2.1 Here I will only focus on how I used these analytical tools for analysing my data. As I was undertaking CDA, I took note of power relations and control relations between teachers and learners that are represented in the text. I used the principle of classification as a language for

describing the power relations between teachers and learners, and between discourses; and that of framing as a language for describing the control relations between teachers and learners. This enabled me to identify consistencies and contradictions between the form of pedagogic practice mandated through I/SGCSE and the form of pedagogic practice produced by teachers who took part in the study when they implement I/SGCSE. This was important for describing ways in which change was enabled or constrained in the shift from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. It also assisted me to understand the I/SGCSE principles or "recognition rules" in Bernstein's terms (see 2.4.2.1) necessary for teachers to acquire for the change to take place (see chapter 5), and therefore to understand if teachers in my study had acquired or not acquired these recognition rules (see chapter 6). Lastly, I was able to explore if legitimate text was produced, that is if the "realisation rules" (see 2.4.2.1) had been acquired or not (see chapter 7). From this I was able to discern if the change was taking place (elaboration of the education system) or not taking place (maintenance of the status quo).

A strong classification in my analysis meant that the teacher was constructed as someone in a superior position over the learner and thus in control of the lesson. A weak classification, on the other hand, meant that the teacher's position was not emphasised, hence control was relaxed. The complementarity and inconsistency of the ideas held by the MOET and CIE (ORF) and those held by teachers (PRF) indicated whether teachers had acquired the recognition rules of the I/SGCSE teaching context or not. The classification principle contributed towards helping me to understand why teachers taught in ways which seemed different from the ones proposed in the new curriculum. Table 3-4 and Table 3-5 below guided my analysis in NVivo (see 3.6.5 below).

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Strong classification</b>	<b>Weak classification</b>
<b>Positions:</b> e.g. teacher, learner; adult, child	Position explicitly stated and emphasised. Teacher is in a superordinate position	Not emphasised; implicit.
<b>Spaces:</b> Arrangement of space	Specialisation of spaces.	Space arrangement not clearly demarcated.

**Table 3-4 The classification of categories: adapted from Bernstein (2000)**

<b>Classification strength</b>	<b>PRF (Chapter 6) – Weak classification</b>	<b>PRF (Chapter 6) – Strong classification</b>
<b>ORF (Chapter 5) – Weak classification</b>	(Consistency) Recognition rules acquired	(Contradiction) Recognition rules not acquired
<b>ORF (chapter 5) – Strong classification</b>	(Contradiction) Recognition rules not acquired	(Consistency) Recognition rules acquired

**Table 3-5 Acquisition and non-acquisition of recognition rules: adapted from Bernstein (2000)**

The teachers in my study may have acquired the recognition rules of the I/SGCSE teaching context but they may still not have been teaching in the expected manner. Hence, I further explored whether teachers shared the recognition rules by exploring the realisation of these power relations in actual teaching practice. In exploring whether teachers had acquired the realisation rules of the new I/SGCSE teaching context, I applied Bernstein's framing principle (see 2.4.2.1). I used framing to refer to the social order (regulative discourse) and discursive order (instructional discourse) that regulate the relations within the actual classroom practices of teachers and learners as I/SGCSE was being implemented.

Actual classroom practice can also be inclined towards a visible pedagogy or invisible pedagogy (see 2.4.2.2). A strongly-framed classroom practice, for example, may be seen as one which is inclined towards a visible pedagogy while a weakly framed classroom practice could be the more invisible one (Bernstein, 2000). Following Bernstein, in my analysis the framing was strong when classroom practice explicitly separated the teacher from the learner (regulative discourse), giving the teacher greater control over the activities of the class (instructional discourse), and weak when the relations between teacher and learner were implicit, giving learners apparent control over the activities in the classroom. The visibility or invisibility of classroom practice indicated whether the teacher had acquired the realisation rules of the I/SGCSE teaching context or not. Realisation rules were assumed to have been acquired when the teacher's actual control of the internal affairs of the classroom were consistent with the power relations proposed by CIE and the MOET through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. That is, it was assumed that when the form of pedagogy demonstrated by the teacher in the classroom is consistent with the form of pedagogy suggested in the new curriculum (OFR) then the teacher has acquired the realisation rules necessary to teach the new curriculum 'appropriately'. And if the demonstrated form of

pedagogy is contradictory to the proposed form of pedagogy then the realisation rules are assumed not to have been acquired (see table 3.8). Tables 3-6, 3-7, and 3-8 below guided the way I used the principles of framing and visible and invisible pedagogic practices in NVivo.

<b>Description</b>	<b>Strong framing / visible pedagogy</b>	<b>Weak framing / invisible pedagogy</b>
Form of hierarchical relations	Explicit	Implicit
Expectations about conduct, character, and manner	Explicit	Implicit

**Table 3-6 Framing: rules of social order/regulative discourse: adapted from Bernstein (2000)**

<b>Description</b>	<b>Control over content</b>	<b>Control over sequencing</b>	<b>Control over pacing</b>	<b>Control over evaluation</b>	<b>Form of pedagogic practice</b>
Teacher has control	F+	F+	F+	F+	Visible
Learners have control	F-	F-	F-	F-	Invisible

**Table 3-7 Framing: rules of discursive order/instructional discourse: adapted from Bernstein (2000)**

<b>Form of pedagogy</b>	<b>ORF (Chapter 5) – visible pedagogy</b>	<b>ORF (Chapter 5) – Invisible pedagogy</b>
<b>PRF (Chapter 7) – visible pedagogy</b>	(Consistency) Realisation rules acquired	(Contradiction) Realisation rules not acquired
<b>PRF (Chapter 7) – invisible pedagogy</b>	(Contradiction) Realisation rules not acquired	(Consistency) Realisation rules acquired

**Table 3-8 Acquisition and non-acquisition of realisation rules: adapted from Bernstein (2000)**

It should be noted that in my analysis of classroom practice I was not interested in measuring the extent of the classification or framing (e.g. in Hoadley, 2006; Hugo, Bertram, Green, and Naidoo, 2008) of pedagogic practice. Rather the study adopted an intensive approach (see 3.2) in which classification and framing was used to describe the *level of the actual* so as to determine the effects of underlying mechanisms such as discourses and structures on the teaching practices of the teachers who took part in the study.



The exploration of discourses, and classification and framing strengths were facilitated by the use of qualitative data analysis software called NVivo.

### **3.6.5 NVivo**

NVivo is computer assisted qualitative data analysis software with tools that help code and categorise large amounts of data (Yin, 2009). It is designed to help researchers analyse qualitative data in a more manageable and organised manner. It also allows for the uploading and storing of data. In the course of the study, I collected a large amount of data consisting of documents, interviews, and observations. NVivo helped me manage and organise the data and simplified the process of data analysis. I was able to store my data. Analysing was simplified by the fact that I could move between data and folders with ease. I was able to code and move coded text to the appropriate folder(s) (called "tree nodes" in NVivo language) and subfolders (called "child nodes" in NVivo language) without difficulty. NVivo also made it easier to organise, manage, access, and discuss the data than it would have been when working manually with large amounts of hardcopy. Not everything was analysed through NVivo though because some documents were hard copies and were too big to be scanned into NVivo. These were documents for the literature review (chapter 4) such as National Development Plans. For these documents I had to do the analysis manually. Appendix D provides summaries of coding undertaken in NVivo.

## **3.7 Ensuring reliability, validity, and generalisability of research findings**

Bell warns that, “whatever procedure for collecting data is selected, it should always be examined critically to assess to what extent it is likely to be reliable and valid” (2010: 119). Reliability refers to the extent to which the selected procedures can produce a similar picture when applied at a different time and validity refers to the extent to which the design of the research can provide credible conclusions (ibid; Joppe, 2000). In qualitative studies, reliability and validity are conceptualised as trustworthiness, rigour and quality (Muhammad, Muhammad, and Muhammad, 2008). As in all research studies, it was important that I put measures in place to ensure the trustworthiness of the results of my study. One way in which I did this was through the careful selection of the theoretical framework and the research methods. For example, I chose to work with research theories (see chapter 2) that require rigour, breadth, and depth in order to arrive at an in-depth understanding of why Swaziland

changed its curriculum and why teachers fail to teach as mandated in the new curriculum. Hence, I have chosen research approaches that I felt were rigorous enough to help me produce an authentic explanation of why Swaziland changed its curriculum and why teachers fail to implement "appropriately" the new curriculum which I have described in detail in this chapter. Other strategies I used to ensure trustworthiness of my research findings include *triangulation*, *piloting*, *member checking*, and *reflexivity*, which I discuss further below.

*Triangulation* is a method of controlling bias through the adoption of multiple data sources and/or theories (Johnson and Christensen, 2007). Three types of triangulation were used in this study, namely *methods triangulation*, *data triangulation*, and *theory triangulation* (ibid). For example, I used observations, interviews, and document analysis (*methods triangulation*) for investigating mechanisms responsible for the way things are in the secondary education system of Swaziland. It was important that I captured data that would enable me to answer my research questions, hence *piloting* of the research instruments was crucial. The interview and observation instruments were piloted to ensure that there was a link between what I asked or observed and the objectives of my study (see chapter 1). The interviews and observations were audio and video recorded respectively to ensure that I captured accurately the data, to avoid misrepresenting my research participants. The recording, especially video recording, threatened validity, hence I made attempts to minimise what Denscombe (2007) calls "observer effect" (see 3.5). Furthermore, validity of interview data was threatened as it is possible that some of the participants may not have separated my researcher role from my lecturer or workshop facilitator role (see 3.4.3). To minimise this effect I explained carefully the purpose of this research, what my role was, and what their role was in the research. This was not just in writing (see Appendix A): I also held meetings with participants at the time when I was negotiating access. In addition, I avoided limiting myself to one data source (*data triangulation*), hence the use of a multiple case study approach in which participants from rural and urban settings took part in the study. This widened the scope of the study and thus increased the chances of producing unbiased findings. Furthermore, to avoid biases I used multiple theories and perspectives (*theory triangulation*) to help me interpret and explain the data (see chapter 2). This also helped me deal with my own subjectivity as I grounded my interpretation of data on theory (*reflexivity*). I would therefore suggest that my research conduct was theoretically and methodologically guided and informed. That is, I exercised meta-theoretical, substantive, and methodological reflexivity (Lynch, 2000; Coghlan and Brannick, 2010). Exercising reflexivity is important as the researcher's potential

biases and predispositions may affect the research process and conclusions (Johnson and Christensen, 2007).

*Member checking* in my study occurred in the form of *participant review* (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006) and *peer review* (Johnson and Christensen, 2007). I used *participant review* to ensure that my data was a true representation of what transpired in the field in order to avoid coming up with conclusions that were based on false information. This was most important in my study because in some cases transcribing entailed translating interviews from siSwati to English as some interviewees chose to respond in siSwati. I therefore gave participants a chance to review and verify transcripts. I also discussed my interpretations and conclusions with colleagues who were not involved in the study (*peer review*). In addition to this my interpretations and conclusions were checked by and discussed with my supervisors.

All this effort to maximise credibility of the study was important in making it possible to generalise the findings of my study to other people, settings, and times (*external validity*). External validity in qualitative research refers to the degree to which the results of a study can be generalised (Johnson and Christensen, 2007; Golafashani, 2003). It should be noted that in qualitative studies it is often the reader who makes the generalisations based on the credibility of the findings and how similar the case is to his/her own situation (*naturalistic generalisation*) (ibid). This chapter is therefore important as it provides the details necessary for the reader to make these naturalistic generalisations (ibid). However, there are other possibilities for generalising in qualitative research. In this study I have adopted a *fuzzy generalisation* approach (ibid; Yin, 1998; Bell, 2010) because my adoption of a case study approach limits me from generalising my findings to all schools and all teachers in Swaziland, and also because critical realists caution against claiming that your truth is the absolute truth because knowledge is fallible and therefore subject to revision and change (see chapter 2). According to Bassey (1998):

A fuzzy generalisation replaces the certainty of a scientific generalisation ("it is true that . . . ") by the uncertainty, or fuzziness, of statements that contain qualifiers (" it is *sometimes* true that . . . "). [It contrasts with the statistical generalisation of quantitative empirical research (" it is true in p% of cases that . . . ")] (1998: n.p).

In the same way, I have used fuzzy statements such as *it may be, it is possible that, it is likely or unlikely that, it seems as if, in the case of my study, the teachers I interviewed/observed,*

etc. as a way of acknowledging the fallibility of my knowledge and to give room for other possibilities. I now turn to ethical considerations.

### **3.8 Ethical considerations**

Bell warns that when conducting research “what you can’t do is begin to collect data and contact participants before written approval is received” (2010: 49). In this study I needed to interview teachers and inspectors, and observe teachers teach. I therefore sought and obtained approval for conducting the research from the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET), head-teachers, heads of departments, teachers, inspectors, and parents of learners who were part of the lessons observed (see Appendix A for consent letters sent to these stakeholders). Appendix B shows a consent letter I received from the Principal Secretary of the MOET giving me permission to conduct the research in Swazi schools. I could not attach the others because to do so would have revealed the schools and my participants, hence going against my promise of anonymity.

When seeking permission to conduct the research I promised as far as possible confidentiality of information and anonymity of the schools and research participants (see the consent letters in Appendix A). I have therefore made an effort to keep to my promise. For example, in keeping participants anonymous when reporting the data I have not used their names but simply referred to them as rural/urban school teacher 1,2,3,4,5 and 6. In the case of inspectors, I did not mention which subjects they are attached to and in which regions they are stationed. When reporting the data I have simply referred to them as MOET. In keeping information confidential, I have put all electronic copies (video and audio recorded data) in one secure folder which is accessible only through a password not known by anyone else. I have kept backup DVDs and CDs in a lockable briefcase. It was not necessary to make hard copies of the data as I was analysing the data electronically using NVivo (see 3.6.5).

### **3.9 Conclusion**

The research questions for this study were:

- i) What were the conditions from which the implementation of I/SGCSE emerged in Swaziland?
- ii) What are the enabling and constraining conditions for the implementation of the new curriculum in Swaziland?

In this chapter I have described the research process that helped me find answers to these questions. In the following chapters I explore the underlying causal mechanisms responsible for the emergence and implementation of I/SGCSE in Swaziland. In the next chapter I explore mechanisms at the broader global and Swazi national level.

## Chapter 4

### **Exploring the underlying structural and cultural mechanisms that contributed to the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE in Swaziland**

To understand the meaning of any set of curriculum practices, they must be seen as both arising out of a set of historical circumstances and as being a reflection of a particular social milieu (Grundy, 1987: 6)

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, using relevant literature, I provide the historical context that will enable me to provide some explanations for why Swaziland changed from General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-level) to the International/Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education (I/SGCSE) and why the change has not taken place in Swazi schools in the ways anticipated. The chapter is most concerned with finding answers to the first research question: what were the conditions from which the implementation of I/SGCSE emerged in the secondary education system of Swaziland?

Dale (1999, 2000, 2005) in Robertson, Novelli, Dale, Tikly, Dachi, and Alphonse (2007: 4) argues that “education policy cannot be understood internally to itself but needs to be explored within a broader local, national, international and now global political economy that shapes its development”. I explore two macro contexts in this chapter; the global context and the Swazi national context. The global context is explored in order to identify underlying mechanisms (the *level of the real*) which have the power to condition curriculum reforms at the *level of the actual*. The Swazi national context is explored for two purposes: first, to understand which mechanisms may have interacted in a way that conditioned the curriculum change experienced in Swaziland and secondly, to understand the context in which teachers (who are the focus of this case study) operate, which may condition the way they teach as they implement the I/SGCSE curriculum. This is important because according to Archer “social activities between people (‘micro’) represent the *environment* in which the (‘macro’) features of systems are either reproduced or transformed” (1995:11; emphasis in original). Therefore, it is impossible to avoid the conflicts and controversies that the interaction between school knowledge and the social order can give rise to (Moore, 2000). I argue that

the societal context (i.e. the global and Swazi contexts) created conditions for the emergence of the I/SGCSE as a guiding principle for teaching and learning at secondary school level in Swaziland.

In chapter 3 I indicated that I am drawing on Archer's concept of analytical dualism as a framework for analysing data in this study. Analytical dualism emphasises the separation of culture and structure (the parts) from agency (the people) when studying social reality. This chapter focuses on exploring the "parts" rather than the "people" (see chapter 3). "People" will be explored in chapter 7. In each of the macro levels (global and Swazi contexts) I therefore have two sections: one section which explores cultural mechanisms and another one which explores structural mechanisms. This analytical distinction between culture and structure was necessary in order to explore the power each one of these components of the global and Swazi national society had in influencing the Ministry of Education and Training's (MOET) decision to change the curriculum programme of Swaziland from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. Following Archer (1995, 1996), collapsing culture and structure in analysing the curriculum change in Swaziland would have undermined the possibility of a deep and rich description that captures the unique powers culture and structure had in shaping the MOET's decision.

## **4.2 The global context**

According to Waks, "there is no greater context for educational change than that of globalisation, nor no grander way of conceptualising what educational change is about" (2003: 343). Waks' statement points to the power the global context has in influencing changes in education systems the world over. Therefore, to ignore the global world is to leave out important knowledge about what could be seen as either enabling or constraining educational change in different parts of the world. The source of data for this section is selected, relevant literature. The literature was explored in order to identify cultural and structural mechanisms operating at the global level. I start by discussing cultural mechanisms of the global context.

### **4.2.1 Cultural mechanisms operating in the global context**

At this level of analysis, I reviewed literature with the aim of exploring the emergence of new discourses (sets of ideas, beliefs, theories, values, etc.) in the field of education. I have

identified two *orders of discourse* (Fairclough, 1989; 2005) from which the educational discourses emerge. An *order of discourse* in this context refers to the underlying cluster of conventions (ideologies) which underpin educational discourses (ibid). These two orders of discourse which I call the *economic development discourse* and the *discourse of democracy* seemed, from my reading of the literature, to be dominant orders of discourse. These, I would argue, have the power to influence curriculum change. My analysis of these discourses indicates that there is high logical consistency (consistency between the discourses) within the cultural system of the global context in relation to legitimised power and control relations between the teacher and the learner. They all converge to privilege weakened relations of power and control and reduced teacher dominance and control. People who subscribe to these discourses seem to believe that strong relations of power and control constrain the development of both the individual learner and the economy. In the following sections, I discuss the *economic development order of discourse* and each of the emergent discourses related to this order of discourse.

#### **4.2.1.1 *Economic development discourse***

United Nations (UN) member countries are concerned about the extreme poverty levels in many states including African states (Robertson et al, 2007). At a UN Millennium Summit in 2000, world leaders agreed to alleviate poverty by at least half by the year 2015 (Easterly, 2009; Sachs and McArthur, 2005). They developed millennium goals as a framework for working towards economic development (ibid). There are two views held on what causes poor economic conditions and how economic conditions could be improved that I discuss in this section, namely a discourse of *modernisation* and a discourse of *international economic competitiveness* (Tabulawa, 2009). These economic development discourses have dominated (and continue to dominate) the global context at different time periods. They have contributed enabling conditions for the emergence of education systems that are opposed and dichotomised with regard to relations of power and control such that countries have seen the need to transform their education systems.

The *modernisation discourse* was dominant in the period between the late 1940s (the early post-war period) and the 1970s or early 1980s, while the *discourse of international economic competitiveness* is a more recent view that has been held since the economic crisis of the early 1970s (Robertson et al, 2007). The *modernisation discourse* is based on the belief that



economic development in poor nations will occur by modelling Western countries (Robertson et al, 2007). Embedded in this discourse is the assumption that poor nations are poor because they are not modernised and that they need to be modernised in order to develop. That is, they need to copy or adopt Western culture and practices and abandon their own culture and cultural practices if they want to develop economically. This view was largely technicist, assuming modernisation to be the only true way to economic development and applicable to all countries irrespective of the context of practice. For those who held this discourse, the world was understood as inherently ordered and predictable (Frame, 2003). The *discourse of modernisation* therefore privileged sameness and homogeneity (Kellner, 2000). The economic system was taken as closed and therefore a closed system of knowledge was applied to it (Dow, 2001). It was based on the assumption that “certain kinds of knowledge have canonical status: that some knowledge is ‘intrinsically’ worthwhile and some is not” (Edwards and Usher, 2001: 278). Knowledge therefore in a modernist or technicist paradigm exists "out there", apart from the acquirer and waiting to be discovered (Frame, 2003). At the *level of the actual*, action that came out of this assumption was the emergence of modern school systems which followed prescribed curriculum programmes (Robertson et al, 2007; Nguyen, Terlouw, and Pilot, 2006) and which focused on teaching learners the Western technical and cultural skills deemed appropriate for economic development (Robertson et al, 2007).

Western knowledge was thus considered superior to local traditional knowledge given the status of "modern standards" (Nguyen et al, 2006). Subscribing to the *modern standards discourse* created enabling conditions for the practice of importing curriculum programmes from overseas countries, particularly Britain, to many African and Asian countries (Nguyen et al, 2006; Rizvi, 2000; Robertson et al 2007; Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009). Swaziland was no exception to this: in the mid 1960s Swaziland imported the GCE O-level curriculum which was used until 2006 when it was replaced by yet another British curriculum programme, the IGCSE which was adapted into the SGCSE. The importation of Western educational programmes assumes that “what has been done successfully over *there* would produce similar outcomes *here*” (Walker and Dimmock, 2000 in Nguyen et al, 2006: 4; emphasis in original). This practice was basically technicist and premised on the assumption that:

The same curriculum, with the possibility of minor adaptations, is appropriate across any number of educational contexts, because the same laws about what to teach, how to teach, how learners learn and how to assess their learning, will apply (Frame, 2003: 20).

I would argue that what these countries imported back then was a hierarchical and authoritative education structure portraying the economic, industrial, social, and cultural system of the modernisation period (see 4.2.2.3).

In the 1970s, a new social order emerged in which the exchange of knowledge and information replaced industrial commodity production (Rust, 1991), and this required alternative modes of understanding and meaning-making because the modernist tools were no longer adequate for this new social order (Edwards and Usher, 2001). This was a period that was transcending modernism, taking it to a new level called *postmodernism*. This new social world is characterised as complex, rapidly changing, and unstable (Frame, 2003). According to Edwards and Usher, postmodernism is an aspect of a changed and changing contemporary world and is, at the same time, a way of understanding those changes (2001). According to Frame:

Rather than celebrating order and predictability, postmodern perspectives tend to celebrate complexity and multiplicity of meanings arising out of the constructions and interpretations of multiple languages, cultures and contexts. There is no single "common-sense", since common sense is derived from the multiple influences which shape our identities, our meanings and our attempts at making sense of the world. All knowledge is a human construction (2003: 30).

In contrast to the discourse of modernisation, economic development in this era of postmodernism draws from the *discourse of international economic competitiveness*. Economic competitiveness is based on the assumption that economic development will occur if countries have access to the global market (competitive advantage). Proponents of this view argue that “rather than protecting products from the world market . . . economic prosperity would emerge from more active engagement with the world market through free and unfettered trade” (Robertson et al, 2007: 38). The idea of free markets underpins the postmodernist way of operating the economy. It was also seen by Western governments as the only way in which poverty in periphery states could be overcome (Tabulawa, 2009). In poor nations, such as African states, the free market economy was promoted through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by core governments (Europe and America) and aid agencies (e.g. the World Bank and International Monetary Fund – IMF) (Robertson et al,

2007; Tabulawa, 2009). The free market economy enables the free flow of capital in the global world and is viewed as a necessary condition for attracting foreign investment, often referred to as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Tabulawa, 2009). The transition from the closed market system of modernism to the open market system of postmodernism has implications for curriculum.

According to Frame, “[w]here the curriculum is concerned, postmodernism provides important questions about, and challenges to, modernist notions of the curriculum” (2003: 30). For example, modernist concepts of curriculum, instruction, pedagogy, education, student, and teacher are queried (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004, 2009). While modernism is underpinned by a view of the world as “a knowable mechanical machine” and therefore by a view of knowledge as objective, postmodernists view the world as complex, unpredictable, emergent, fluid, chaotic, open, and interactive, and therefore knowledge as a human construction (ibid: 188; Dow, 2001; Cullenberg, Amariglio, and Ruccio, 2001; Frame, 2003). These contradictory views indicate that curricula of the modern age cannot be the same as curricula of the postmodern age, and that a curriculum underpinned by modernist principles and values may constrain the development of attitudes and values deemed necessary for a nation that is concerned with transforming its economy from a closed system to an open free market system. It is therefore not surprising that many countries are transforming their education systems in favour of education systems that draw from the principles and practices of a free market economy characterised by an invisible structure of pedagogy (weakened control and power relations between the teacher and the learner) (ibid).

Below, I discuss democracy as an order of discourse from which contemporary curriculum discourses also draw.

#### **4.2.1.2 Discourse of democracy**

In this section I discuss democracy as an order of discourse from which the curriculum discourse of *progressivism* draws and from which other contemporary curriculum discourses which emerge from progressivism, such as the discourse of *relevance* and *student-centeredness*, draw. I demonstrate that progressivist ideas of curriculum are in contradiction to traditional views of curriculum, such as discourses of *perennialism* and *essentialism*. Contemporary curriculum reforms promote the acquisition of progressivist ideas, hence they

contribute to constructions of traditional approaches to curriculum as unacceptable and not essential for the current world.

The global context is dominated by the assumption that economic development, particularly for poor nations such as African nations, is only possible if the political system of these nations has characteristics of Western democracies (Tabulawa, 2003; Robertson et al, 2007). Thus the trend in recent years for developing nations (under the influence of aid agencies such as the World Bank, IMF, UNICEF, World Vision, etc) to emphasise democratic practices could be said to be enabled by the assumption that their economy would develop only if they copy the democratic practices of core nations such as European countries and America. The *discourse of democracy* is underpinned by a belief in the freedom and autonomy of people such that it is sometimes referred to as "liberal" democracy (Tabulawa, 2003). Democracy does not allow some citizens to be under the control of others (Taylor, 2011). In a democratic society, the people are supposed to rule themselves by making joint decisions through decision-making units (ibid). "These units must not only decide together but deliberate together" (ibid: 129). Exchange with others is thus an important element of democracy.

In response to the perceived need for nations to adopt a political system that is inherently democratic, a progressive view of education emerged at the turn of the twentieth century (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004) and intensified in the 1960s and 1970s (Tabulawa, 2009). The progressive movement retreated in the 1980s but resurfaced in the 1990s (ibid). John Dewey was the most influential progressivist thinker. "Dewey claimed that democracy and education went hand in hand" (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004: 45). He "viewed the school as a miniature democratic society in which students could learn and practice the skills and tools necessary for democratic living" (ibid: 45). Progressivism views reality as constantly changing and not fixed, hence skills such as problem-solving, scientific enquiry, cooperative behaviour and self-discipline are seen as having the ability to prepare students for a changing world and for democratic living. According to Ornstein and Hunkins, "the use of democratic school procedures was considered a prelude to community and social reform" (ibid: 46). In view of a changing reality, progressive education, unlike traditional views of curriculum (see 4.2.2.3), focuses on the child as the learner rather than on the subject; that is, on *how* to think rather than *what* to think (ibid). The curricula associated with progressive education therefore tend to be interdisciplinary, allowing learners to select subjects of their choice rather than one

common curriculum for all (ibid). According to Bernstein, progressive education is characterised by weak relations of power and control therefore in progressive education the learner has apparent control over his/her conduct and the learning of school knowledge which may include control over the selection, sequencing, pacing, and evaluation of what constitutes legitimate knowledge (Bernstein, 2000; Sawyer, 2006).

Consistent with the democratic idea of joint deliberation, a progressive curriculum is weakly framed, emphasising joint planning of activities between the teacher and learner (even though the final decision lies with the teacher) and less domination of the learner by the teacher (e.g. the call for a student-centred and humanistic curriculum in the 1960s). Progressivism exhibits weakly classified boundaries between the school and the real world. For example, the emergence of the discourses of a more *relevant* curriculum and a *humanistic* curriculum which emphasised student-centredness in the 1960s and 1970s (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004, 2009) seemed to be an attempt by progressivists to weaken the boundaries between the school and everyday life of the child that existed in established school structures. The idea of a more relevant and humanistic curriculum relates to the view that the teaching should build on real-life experiences of the learner and should include topics that are of concern to learners such as drug addiction, race, sex education, etc (ibid). These views take into account the interests, needs, growth, and freedom of the learner (ibid), addressing his or her survival needs in a democratic world. These are all indicators of an interest in weakening the boundaries between, in Bernsteinian terms, the school (vertical discourse) and the everyday life of the learners (horizontal discourse). They are thus indicators of an interest in the emancipation of learners and hence a rejection of a curriculum that is hierarchically and authoritatively designed.

Indicators of the presence of the *discourse of a relevant and humanistic curriculum* (that is, evidence of strategies for weakening the boundaries between the vertical discourses of the school and the horizontal discourses of the child's everyday life) often include an interest in (i) individualising instruction through the use of teaching methods such as independent study and special projects; (ii) fostering student independence, self-direction, and acceptance of self and others; (iii) developing curricula that include topics of concern to learners such as drug abuse, sex education, race relations, etc; (iv) providing a wide enough curriculum to enable learners to choose what they want to do; (v) extending curricula beyond the walls of the classroom; and (vi) relaxation of academic and admission standards (ibid) among others.

Furthermore, the construction of the learner by progressivists as independent, active, participatory, wise, and knowledgeable, and the construction of the teacher as a facilitator, helper, or guide to student learning (ibid), indicate a concern with weakened boundaries (weak classification) between the teacher and the learner and hence weakly-framed pedagogic practice. For example, progressivists argue that the teacher's role is to guide or help learners in "their problem-solving and scientific projects" (ibid: 44). That is, he or she helps them "locate, analyse, interpret, and evaluate data – to formulate their own conclusions" (ibid: 45). Progressivism is thus an educational discourse that is focused on the child and encourages his/her active involvement through teaching methods such as experimentation, projects, debates, and cooperative group learning (methods which are boundary weakening strategies).

The views of progressivists are contradictory to the views of traditional educational thinkers such as perennialists and essentialists. For example, traditional school practices create strong boundaries between the school and the outside world, and between the teacher and the learner. These strong boundaries are conditioned by the views held by traditionalists about knowledge and curriculum which are incongruent with those held by progressivists. In contrast to progressivists' view of knowledge as socially constructed in interactions between the teacher and the learner, traditional educational thinkers construct reality or knowledge as fixed and separate from the learner and hence curricula as focused on the transmission of a fixed body of knowledge (ibid; Kelly, 1989; Grundy, 1987). They are therefore more interested in what to think as opposed to how to think (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004, 2009). They are interested in controlling and manipulating the teaching and learning environment, including the learner, rather than facilitating and creating a learning environment that helps the learner construct his or her meaning of reality (Grundy, 1987; Kelly, 1989). Holding traditional views of education is highlighted in Ornstein and Hunkins (2004: 46) as conditioning (i) an authoritarian teacher; (ii) excessive reliance on textbook methods; (iii) memorisation and regurgitation as methods of learning; (iv) the use of Socratic methods of teaching such as oral exposition, lecture, and explication; (v) an emphasis on cognitive learning and student discipline; (vi) rejection of notions of a changing world; and (vii) the isolation of education from individual experiences and social reality.

Traditionalists' ideas were criticised by progressivists as problematic and wrong for the new democratic and changing world in which children live (ibid; Kelly, 1989; Tabulawa, 2009).

Progressivists argued that conventional schooling taught learners to be docile and to conform to adult authority or established norms. Hence, according to Ornstein and Hunkins drawing from Holt (n.d.), learners were “learning to be stupid, and learning not to learn” (ibid: 47). Progressivists referred to learners under established schooling systems “as prisoners, to teachers as prison guards or dupes of systems, and to schools as essentially prisons where students are locked up intellectually and emotionally, thus restricting their free expression and democratic actions” (ibid: 47). In reaction, progressivists called for “the liberation of the child from the traditional emphasis on rote learning, lesson recitations, and textbook authority” (ibid: 46), hence the emergence of the discourses of a more *relevant* and *humanistic* curriculum and the *radical transformation* of schools in the 1960s and 1970s which I alluded to above.

Progressivists viewed a relevant and humanistic curriculum as one that is more progressive and child/learner-centred. *Child-centredness* is thus a type of pedagogic practice that is an emergent consequence of progressivism. It is influenced and shaped by underlying principles of democracy and is sometimes described as “democratic in action” (Rowell, 1995 in Tabulawa, 2009: 93). Tabulawa further describes it as “the nexus between education and the broader political principles of democracy” (ibid: 93). The interest in approaches or methods of teaching and learning such as “participatory”, “democratic”, “inquiry-based”, and “discovery” indicates the presence of the *discourse of learner-centred pedagogy*. The self-explanatory name, “child-centred”, of this pedagogic practice indicates that the child is empowered to be in charge of his or her learning. Therefore, it is an approach that employs strategies that weaken the power and control relations between the teacher and the learner. Adopting an education system that is learner-centred is thus viewed by many countries as the most appropriate way of enabling the construction of a democratic society (Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009). Teachers are therefore encouraged to adopt egalitarian teaching styles such as debates, group work, discussion, projects, etc. (Schuitema, Ten Dam, Veugelers, 2008).

A study by Tabulawa (1997) indicates that the adoption of learner-centred approaches with a view to counteracting traditional approaches that are dominant in the school system may be problematic in some contexts. For example, Botswana adopted a learner-centred curriculum in the 1980s but, up until the late 1990s when the study was conducted, actual teaching practices were still predominately authoritarian. Tabulawa demonstrates that in Botswana the authoritarian banking pedagogic style has normalised and the values and practices of the

internalised and normalised banking pedagogy conflict with the values and practices inherent to learner-centred pedagogy. This conflict became an obstacle to the changes initiated in Botswana schools. Following Heath (1983) in Street (1984), the internalised and normalised banking pedagogic style of the Botswana teachers and the mandated learner-centred style represent differences in literacy practices leading the teachers to respond differently to the educational reforms. The teachers in Botswana had been socialised into fundamentally different world views. Following Gee (1996) the study seems to show that teachers in Botswana were (at least until the late 1990s) trapped in replicating the status quo.

Young-Ihm's (2002) study, analysed by Nguyen et al (2006), of the implementation of group learning strategies (emphasised in learner-centred pedagogies) in a Confucian Heritage Cultural (CHC) context also demonstrates the difficulty of implementing learner-centred pedagogy in a context where the primary discourses of the people contradict the school discourse of learner-centred pedagogy. They conclude that Western group-learning styles were not culturally appropriate for CHC classrooms. Their findings reveal "a complex web of cultural conflicts and mismatches that are likely to happen when a Western educational methodology is applied in another context without rigorous adaptation to improve compatibility with the host culture" (ibid: 1). They therefore advocate research on how to implement culturally appropriate methodologies instead of relying on imported methodologies that do not take into account the complicated nature of local learning environments. A study by Van Niekerk (2003) also explores a range of conflicting values that possibly constrain education in general and South African education in particular. His conclusion is that often the school values are contradictory to real-life values in South African classrooms, making the task of education very difficult. According to Van Niekerk, it is critically important to be "aware of the underlying value systems and the split between the official and non-official set of values in order to bring about change" (ibid: 5).

All these studies indicate the difficulties that teachers may face in implementing new curriculum programmes. In the case of my study, it seems then that it may be problematic for Swaziland to assume that by adopting a curriculum programme that is learner-centred and skills-based, Swaziland's education system *will* transform and democratic practices *will* prevail both in schools and in the Swazi society at large. My analysis of data in chapters 5 and 6 indicates that there is a possibility that there is conflict between the values and practices that teachers in Swaziland accept as normal and expected and those that are promoted by the



CIE and the MOET through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. As a consequence, it is possible that their teaching practices have not changed.

Having identified economic development and democracy as orders of discourse from which contemporary ideas in education draw and which may have contributed to the curriculum changes experienced worldwide, I now turn to a discussion of structural conditioning properties of the global context.

#### **4.2.2 Structural mechanisms of the global context**

In keeping with Archer's idea of culture and structure being different and hence having separate powers to influence social reality, this section is concerned with analysing the unique powers of structures to influence curriculum change experienced by many nations. Archer stresses that the separation of culture and structure is for analytical purposes. In real life culture and structure are intertwined. I have identified three structural elements of the global context. These are *globalisation*, *production processes*, and *education*. Consistent with the cultural elements discussed in 4.2.1 these structural elements converge in privileging weakened relations of power and control between the teacher and the learner. I discuss each of these structural mechanisms in the following subsections.

##### **4.2.2.1 Globalisation**

Various understandings of globalisation exist. Some associate globalisation with human civilisation, others associate it with capitalism (Burbules and Torres, 2000). In this discussion I have worked with the view that associates globalisation with post-industrialism. I have therefore drawn on the meaning of globalisation as the interconnectedness and interdependence of the world (Capella, 2000; Burbules and Torres, 2000; Morrow and Torres, 2000; Stromquist and Monkman, 2000; Luke and Luke, 2000; Priestley, 2002; Singh, 2004; Rizvi, 2000; Lingard, 2000; Popkewitz, 2000; Robertson et al, 2007; Tabulawa, 2003; Nguyen et al, 2006; Pezzoli and Howe, 2001). In relation to the interconnectedness and interdependence of the world, Pezzoli and Howe (2001) define globalisation as "[. . .] cross-cutting transnational dynamics and interconnections (including sociocultural, economic, technological, environmental, or any combination of these)" (ibid: 370).

Interconnectedness and interdependence suggest that nations engage with each other either knowingly or unknowingly but they are not excluded from the rest of the world (Singh, 2004). According to Singh, people need not be present to have influence on others. The ideas and expertise of people in other locales are present and influence the way of life of people without their physical presence in those places (ibid). For example the "time-space compression", as Singh (2004:103) puts it, has led to new developments such as the use of automatic teller machines (ATMs) and cellphones, the exchange of music, films, cultures, and even the sharing and importation of curriculum ideas such as the popular progressivist ideas of learner-centeredness (Priestly, 2002; Nguyen, 2006). Furthermore, a cosmopolitan society has emerged requiring people to be able to tolerate, trust, and understand one another. The world people live in today is constantly changing and its future is unpredictable (Burbules and Torres, 2000). All this alters the way people think and live their lives. These conditions require flexibility and adaptability to the changing nature of the world, which was not the condition of life in the previous world characterised as fixed and predictable. Unlike in the past, people in a globalised environment need to learn quickly, communicate with one another, make choices (products are no longer standardised) and make quick decisions. Technological advancement has enabled this interconnectedness and interdependency of the world. It is through technology that the movement of goods, people, and ideas has been enabled.

This is the structure that education functions within. It is a structure that exists whether practitioners in the field of education acknowledge it or not. The globalised nature of the world has influenced educationists to rethink issues of curriculum. For example, a *reconstructionist* (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004) view of curriculum emerged that attempted to weaken the boundaries between the school and society. Reconstructionists in particular were concerned with problems faced by societies and wanted learners and teachers to be active in transforming their societies. Internationalists (who are a component of reconstructionism) argue that:

Interdependence among nations no longer allows . . . [nations] to remain ignorant of developments in distant countries. Educators now feel the need to place a greater emphasis on understanding other nations and cultures than they have in the past (ibid: 52; insertion added).

Internationalists are thus focused on preparing learners for living in a globalised environment. They further argue that “our gross national product, standard of living, and security are connected with the world community and influenced by global activities” therefore they advocate a “world” or “universal core” curriculum that is sensitive to global issues and that focuses on understanding the economic system of the world and world problems (ibid: 51). For internationalists it is important that each nation promotes its own cultural values and its own political and economic system, but mainly in their curriculum they are concerned with the acquisition of “knowledge and skills essential for global peace and cooperation” (ibid: 51).

The reconstructionist view of curriculum is not very new. It started as early as the 1930s and was given a new life by the economic depression of the 1970s (ibid). It emerged in reaction to progressivism (see 0). Reconstructionists argued that progressive education ignored social problems such as poverty, unemployment, racial and class discrimination, inequality, computer technology, political oppression, war, environmental pollution, diseases, hunger, AIDS, and depletion of the earth’s resources. They viewed the school as an agent of social change and as an institution of social reform (ibid). Neutrality in the classrooms or schools was seen by reconstructionists as constraining the democratic process, so teachers and students were called upon not only to take positions but to be actively involved in transforming society (ibid).

Reconstructionism as a curriculum concerned with social and economic problems faced by societies is focused on societal needs, not individual needs, and on all people, not just a certain class of people (ibid). The curriculum is one that teaches learners “. . . to appreciate life in a world of many nations” and hence it emphasises “cultural pluralism, equality, and futurism” (ibid: 50). Reconceptualists (another component of reconstructionism), for example, advocate a curriculum that will address problems of inequalities both within and outside the school (ibid). They attack traditional forms of curricular activity for perpetuating inequalities. Inequality in the reconceptualist view occurs when schooling outcomes for children of different races, backgrounds, and abilities, and from different schools are not the same (ibid). Therefore, equality, in their view, is achieved when schooling outcomes are similar for all children regardless of race, background, ability, etc (ibid). This is a view of equality that is different from the view that was held in the early twentieth century which defined equality in terms of an equal start for all children (ibid) – i.e. in liberal terms.

Like progressivists, reconceptualists view the school as an “oppressive instrument of society that controls and coerces, even oppresses, students through various customs and mores and teaching-learning practices” (ibid: 52). Hence, they agree with progressivists’ ideas of learner-centredness, relevance, and humanistic and radical school reforms (ibid). They are focused on developing attitudes and values such as self-realisation, active participation, freedom, autonomy, trust, love, self-direction, enjoyment, emancipation, and liberation of the learner (ibid). Because their curricula are concerned with community, national, and global problems, the ability to analyse, interpret, and evaluate problems is an important skill to be developed.

Reconstructionism and progressivism are seen as contemporary or modern ideas associated with curriculum. Hence, they are constructed as *modern standards* in education (Nguyen et al, 2006). They originate from the Western world, particularly the US and Europe (Nguyen et al, 2006; Pike, 2007; Robertson et al, 2007; Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004; Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009, 2011). The interconnectedness and interdependence of the world has enabled other parts of the world to access these ideas. Hence there has been a growing trend in recent years of importing such educational ideas and practices as a result of the urge to catch up with modern standards in education (ibid); a practice that Priestley (2002: 10) calls “policy migration”. As a result of policy migration there have been remarkable similarities and convergence of education policies worldwide (Priestly, 2002; Nguyen et al, 2006; Robertson et al, 2007; Rizvi, 2000; Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009, 2011).

The practice of policy migration has been described in the literature (such as in Robertson et al, 2007; Nguyen et al, 2006) as the adoption of a “one size fits all” approach. The problem with such an approach is that it “. . . does not take into account the huge differences in the economic and political contexts between countries” (Robertson et al, 2007: 180). According to Thomas (1997) in Nguyen et al (2006):

The current trend of importing educational policies, theories and practices from the West has resulted in the neglect of one’s cultural heritage. This has been the consequence of a drive to modernise educational systems. By doing this governments hope that more up-to-date teaching and learning methods will give them a competitive edge and eventually lead to greater economic success and more political control (ibid: 3).

There is evidence in literature that the imported curricular ideas often do not "fit" other nations. Quite often the actual practices of teachers have remained traditional regardless of the attempts made to reform classroom practice through new curriculum ideas (Kelly, 1989, 2009; Fullan, 2007; Sikes, 1992) as indicated in studies such as ones done by Tabulawa (1997, 2003, 2009) and Young-Ihm's (2002) in Nguyen et al (2006). Fullan (2007) asserts that teachers have used new curriculum materials or syllabuses without changing their teaching practices. These studies and the claim by Fullan indicate that the adoption of a "one-size fits all" approach or the belief that "what has been done successfully over *there* would produce similar outcomes *here*" (Nguyen et al, 2006: 4) is problematic. The socio-cultural context in which such materials or syllabuses are being implemented should be considered. According to Nguyen et al, commenting on Young-Ihm's study, the local cultural heritage clashed with the ideas promoted in the curriculum reforms. Hence there was often a large discrepancy between what teachers believed and valued and the values and beliefs inherent in the curriculum reform leading to, in Bernstein's language, a mismatch between the official recontextualising field (field of policy formation) and the pedagogic recontextualising field (field of actual classroom teaching). Walker and Dimmock (2000) in Nguyen et al claimed that "this 'cross-cultural cloning' should be questioned and that a search for more culturally relevant methods needs to take place" (ibid: 3).

In the next section I discuss how the nature of education in the past years has had a conditioning effect on contemporary attempts to transform it.

#### **4.2.2.2 Production processes**

Production processes have changed since the shift from closed economic systems to open market systems in the late 1970s (see 4.2.1.1). A Fordist production approach characterised the period between the 1940s and the late 1970s. This was the period of closed or national economies. A postFordist production process characterises the contemporary nature of open and free market economies. These production approaches are underpinned by views about the market, the world of work, and the worker which are different and opposed to one another. One of the functions of education is to produce workers that will serve the requirements of the world of work, so the nature of work processes in industries has implications for curriculum. Consequently, the shift from Fordism to postFordism has implications for curriculum change.

The period of Fordism was a time when the economy was more stable and the market more homogeneous, hence Fordism was a system of production characterised by mass production of standardised products to serve a homogeneous market (Morrow and Torres, 2000; Burbules and Torres, 2000). It referred to a work environment that was hierarchically organised with a few managers controlling masses of workers who did the same routine work repeatedly under strict supervision. A "good" worker in this environment was constructed as obedient, following instructions, and reliable (ibid). From a Marxist perspective, this is the kind of learner, worker, and citizen the Western education of the period of Fordism aimed to produce. It is the kind of worker that may be referred to as *generic* in Castells' (1997) analysis of workers. In Castells' understanding, this kind of worker can be replaced by technology or by anybody from the local, national, or international community.

In contrast to the period of Fordism, where rigidity of structures and compliance to establish structures was the norm, the changing nature and unpredictability of the current period of postFordism requires flexibility and creativity (ibid). The market is no longer homogeneous but differentiated with diverse needs and interests that change constantly. The kind of worker required in a postFordist work environment is thus different from the one required in a Fordist work environment. While the Fordist period required workers who can take instructions and do routine work, the postFordist period requires workers "who are versatile, flexible, technologically competent, predisposed to teamwork and who have problem-solving ability skills" (Tabulawa, 2009: 89). This is a worker who could be described as *self-programmable* in Castells' (1997) analysis of workers. In contrast to the generic worker, this kind of worker can programme him/herself or adapt to the ever changing demands of the world of work hence he/she is creative, relevant, ever learning, and irreplaceable (ibid). Values of compliance which characterised the Fordist period of industrial practice are seen as "unlikely to allow for the creativity of workers to be expressed" (Hartley, 2003: 84). Hence "independent work that relies on solidarity, respect, or mutual trust, is poorly served by bureaucratic structures that create authority differences" (Biggard, 1989 in Hartley 2003: 84). The current work environment is thus constrained by Fordist values and practices, hence it is constrained by curriculum practices that share similar attributes to those of Fordism such as visible pedagogies marked by bureaucratically and authoritatively structured relations of power and control (strongly classified and framed curriculum systems). For the education systems of the world, therefore, this means a change from the traditional education system of the period of modernisation and Fordism to a curriculum system that promotes values and

practices that create access to international markets (weakly classified and framed curriculum systems).

#### **4.2.2.3 Education**

Education can be viewed as having the power to contribute to the development of a particular kind of society desired by the state. In the colonial period, formal education emerged in African countries from the discourse of modernisation (see 4.2.1.1). Modernisation was based on the belief that African nations were poor because they were not modernised. Through the provision of schools and the following of prescribed curriculum programmes, poor nations were to be modernised (Robertson et al, 2007; Nguyen et al, 2006). According to Smith (1974) in Robertson et al (2007), education was to create "modern" individuals and was seen as “. . . the key that unlocks the door to modernisation” (Harbison and Mysers, 1963: 3 in Robertson, 2007: 19). People holding the modernisation view saw mass education “as the pillar of a ‘developed’ society” (ibid: 19). To enable the smooth operation of modernisation programmes, education systems were centrally controlled (Van Niekerk, 2003); high investments in education were made (Robertson et al, 2007); and curriculum programmes were bought from Western countries (Nguyen et al, 2006; Robertson et al, 2007). All these structural properties were seen as necessary to enable the smooth operation of the modernisation process. More spending on the education of the people and more participation of the people in education was seen as having the power to "de-Africanise" (Bassey, 1999) the people, to make them see the world in the same way as Western people so as to increase productivity and hence economic growth (Harber, 2003). I would therefore argue that the modernisation view took an autonomous and technicist approach, one that is deterministic and ignored the socio-cultural environment in which people lived.

The kinds of skills and values inculcated through prescribed educational programmes were those of the colonial masters. Colonial education engendered Western cultural tastes and values among the colonised (Rizvi, 2000, Tabulawa, 1997). British education in particular, which was received by countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, was shaped by the assumptions the British held about manufacturing and commerce, about childhood, and about knowledge, among other things (ibid). The emergent consequence of these assumptions was a bureaucratic and authoritarian education (Tabulawa, 1997). The bureaucratic and authoritarian nature of African education systems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

(and possibly today) in countries previously colonised by Britain may therefore be partly attributed to assumptions and values of nineteenth-century Britain (ibid).

The idea held by nineteenth-century Britain was that industries needed a workforce to occupy subordinate positions in factories and offices. Education was therefore for subordination and domination, hence its hierarchical and authoritarian nature (ibid). Furthermore, the British believed that the child was incomplete, immature, and naturally immoral, hence needing control and guidance by an adult (the teacher) along a predetermined and prescribed form of behaviour (ibid). Education was seen as “a way of morally straightening children” (Tabulawa, 1997: 194). The power relations between the child and adult put the teacher in a dominant position with the flow of information taking a top-down direction (ibid). The teacher was expected to authoritatively direct all classroom activities and to correct any behaviour seen as deviant from the prescribed (ibid).

In addition to the views of the subordinate worker and the immoral child, the dominant view in Britain was of knowledge as objective, scientific, and factual (objectivist/rationalist epistemology), a view that also contributed to conditioning an authoritarian style of Western education (ibid). The belief that some kinds of knowledge are inherently more valuable and more important than others (Kelly, 1989; Tabulawa, 1997) was also dominant. According to Tabulawa, this belief about knowledge was a product of the Enlightenment, a period in which people believed there was only one true answer to a problem (one which is final and unchanging) and that problems could be solved with objective answers (ibid). Tabulawa argues that, “[i]f knowledge was perceived as objective and independent of the learner, emphasis has to be on the transmission of these mutable and incontestable facts from the knower to the novitiate, the knower being the teacher, and the novitiate being the student” (ibid: 195). Consequently, teaching and learning were simply a matter of a transmission (by the teacher) and reception (by the learner) practice (ibid). Kelly (1989) argues that an emergent consequence of such a view at societal level is the formation of a society that is stratified, with two or three classes of people within society. Hence to hold such a view makes it difficult to achieve educational equality.

Missionaries also contributed to the bureaucratic and authoritarian nature of the education system of many African countries. In many parts of Africa, education was introduced by missionaries. Missionaries were interested in the moral aspect of the person. According to Tabulawa, “generally, the missionaries saw nothing of worth in Africans and their culture”



(ibid: 197). They constructed African culture and social life as "chaotic" (Bassey, 1999) and African people as "immoral, lazy, and drunken, steeped in superstitions and witchcraft, and doomed to spiritual damnation" (Tabulawa: 1997: 197; citing Snelson, 1974 in Serpel, 1993). African life, to the missionaries, prohibited the process of spreading the Gospel (Bassey, 1999). Their education system was meant to uproot African life and culture completely (Tabulawa, 1997). Teaching in missionary schools was therefore evangelical, aimed at enabling people to read the Bible so that they could help in spreading the Gospel (ibid). Recitation and memorisation of verses from the Bible were the methods encouraged by the preaching method of teaching. Teachers were also expected to be role models for the children, and children were to learn from their teachers the good Christian life modelled by them (Muzvidziwa and Seotsanyana, 2002). It is easy to see how the ideas from nineteenth-century Britain and missionaries created the conditions for an education system that was focused on behaviour modification, for example, the requirement that teachers pre-specify the behaviour their pupils are expected to display as a consequence of the learning experiences which they as teachers plan, and the requirement that they assess if learners can display that behaviour at the end of the lesson (Kelly, 1989).

Kelly identifies a number of problems that emerged from a curriculum focused on behaviour modification, taking the form of pre-specification of behavioural objectives. Amongst those problems is:

. . . the emergence of a society which has never learned, except perhaps by accident, to value things for their own sake, a society in which utility is the sole concern, a society in which all are absorbed only by the means of existence and never by a consideration of its ends (Kelly, 1989: 66).

According to Kelly, a behavioural view of curriculum impacts on the nature of society, on its future, and on attitudes to human life and existence (ibid).

The authoritarian nature of African education systems cannot be solely attributed to Western education. To do so would be to take a deterministic view of reality which ignores the socio-cultural contexts in which Western educational programmes were implemented. For example, Tabulawa (1997) argues that the traditional education system of Botswana was authoritarian and this created an environment conducive for the hierarchical and authoritative Western education to flourish.

For many years the authoritarian and hierarchical form of education, with a specific role for teachers, has been common practice. It has been seen as "appropriate" and "normal" for the teacher to exercise the authority to control learners and the learning and teaching practice. In summary, in the last fifty years or so (since the 1930s to the 1980s in the case of many African countries) the authoritarian form of teaching (visible pedagogy in Bernstein's language) has become a significant aspect of school practice. The concern that little has changed despite efforts to transform schools (Spillane, 2008), particularly in African (Tabulawa, 1997, 2003) and Asian (Nguyen, et al, 2006) countries, and the claim that "hundreds of studies have shown how difficult it has been to get widespread use of new teaching methods or curricula" (Levin, 2008: 36), as well as the use of the word "traditional" (Goodson, 2008) to describe the old approaches of the early twentieth century, seem to indicate that the use of authoritarian and hierarchical approaches have become widely accepted and taken as "normal" ways of teaching.

In the late 1980s, this kind of education began to be challenged. In today's world of globalisation the authoritarian form of education is criticised and seen by some as inappropriate for "modern" societies (see 4.2.1.2 and 4.2.2.1). In today's societies, people are not modernised through authoritative and hierarchical forms of education. They are prepared for "modern" living through flexible and democratic practices that are consistent with the type of social and economic life characteristic of democratic and globalised societies. The teaching strategies prevalent in the modernisation period are now seen by some as being inappropriate for preparing learners for the new kind of modern living.

#### **4.2.3 Concluding the global context**

The cultural system of the global context and its structural elements indicate support for pedagogic practices that are characterised by weak relations of power and control. Strong relations of power and control are viewed as inappropriate and constraining to the development of both the child and the economy. Consistency within the cultural/structural elements and between the cultural system and the structural system according to Archer reinforces and maintains the status quo. This convergence in the support for weak relations of power and control indicates the kind of world the global context desires. The current interest in weak relations of power and control, however, is in conflict with traditional educational ideas and practices that served the interests of an industrial society characterised by Fordism. Education during the Fordist period supported pedagogic practices that were characterised by

strong relations of power and control. According to Archer, incompatibilities of the cultural and structural elements condition an elaboration of the socio-cultural system. Many countries have responded to the changes in the global context by changing their curriculum programmes from ones characterised by strong relations of power and control to ones characterised by weaker relations of power and control. I therefore argue that global discourses and structures play a major role in curriculum reforms. When curriculum changes are implemented in nation states, especially in developing countries, it is because the state is responding to changes that are happening in the economic, cultural, and political environments both outside and within the state. It is important to note that, even though the cultural and structural mechanisms discussed in this section indicate the homogenisation interest of the global world, they are mediated by local cultures, histories, and politics in an unpredictable way resulting in hybridised outcomes (Lingard, 2000). In other words, the interaction between the global interest and local interests may take different directions for different nations as their contexts differ. It would be a mistake, therefore, to assume that Swaziland changed just because of the mechanisms discussed in this section. To do so would be to take a deterministic view of the world that conflates the level of the *real* with the level of the *actual*. Taking a critical/social realist view, the structural and cultural mechanisms discussed in this section have a conditioning rather than a determining effect on countries. Swaziland as an independent state has her own interests. In the next section I discuss Swazi local influences that possibly interacted in a complex way with the global mechanisms to create enabling or constraining conditions for the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

### **4.3 The Swazi national context**

This section is concerned with the discourses (culture) and mechanisms (structure) which operate at the Swazi national level. I explore partly in this section the primary discourses (Gee, 1999) or horizontal discourses (Bernstein, 2000) (see 2.4.1) which teachers and learners may be bringing to the school Discourse (Gee, 1999) or vertical discourse (Bernstein, 2000) as the I/SGCSE curriculum is implemented. Through analysing literature on Swaziland, including official documents produced by the government of Swaziland and MOET, as well as drawing from my experiences as a Swazi, I discuss in 4.3.1 structures that are put in place to ensure the transmission and acquisition of the preferred values and practices to the young generations of Swaziland, and in 4.3.2 discourses constructing the life and operations of the Swazi people. I argue that these mechanisms have contributed towards enabling or

constraining the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and the teachers' ability to implement I/SGCSE in the Swazi classrooms. I have elected to start with the structural mechanisms in this section in order to present a coherent argument of the contradictions and consistencies which contributed towards enabling the transformation of the education structure of Swaziland.

#### **4.3.1 Structural mechanisms of the Swazi context**

In this section I explore the structures that were put in place to ensure transmission and acquisition of the preferred values and practices to the young generation of Swaziland. I will argue that the structural mechanisms identified and discussed in this section have contributed in conditioning the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and that they have the potential to constrain or enable its implementation at classroom level. These structures include *pre2006 education*, the *Tinkhundla*<sup>4</sup> *government system in Swaziland*, and Swaziland's *membership of international organisations*. These structural properties are in conflict with each other. The *Tinkhundla government system* and *pre2006 education* structural mechanisms privilege strong relations of power and control while agreements signed by Swaziland with *international organisations* privilege weak relations of power and control between the teacher and the learner. Such contradiction may have contributed in conditioning the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. I begin by describing what the education system in Swaziland was like pre2006 and in the next subsections I describe the contradictions and consistencies which enabled its elaboration or maintenance.

##### **4.3.1.1 Pre2006 education in Swaziland**

The purpose of education in Swaziland has changed as the political landscape of Swaziland transformed from one period to another. I have identified four periods in the Swazi political landscape as significant for education before the introduction of the I/SGCSE curriculum in 2006: the tribal period, the period of missionaries, the period of colonialism, and the post-independence period. For each of these periods, education served a different purpose. However, the views held about education in all these periods seem to converge in supporting strongly classified relations of power between the teacher and learner. Pedagogic practices in

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<sup>4</sup> Tinkhundla is a system of government unique to Swaziland which combines Western and Swazi traditional ways of governing a country.

all these periods in the history of Swaziland were characterised by teacher dominance and learner passivity.

Contemporary curriculum reforms introduce new pedagogic approaches that are opposed to the teacher dominance and learner passivity of pre2006. They support learner autonomy and freedom. For Swazi teachers, the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE meant discarding deeply instilled values and practices. Using ideas from New Literacy Studies and Berstenian studies (see 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), I argue that this may be problematic, as internalised discourses impact on one's ability to acquire new discourses especially if these discourses clash with traditional discourses as demonstrated in the case of this study in chapters 6 and 7.

### *The tribal period*

The tribal period refers to the period before formal schooling was introduced. I refer to the education system that existed in Swaziland before the formal schooling system as Swazi traditional education. The purpose of Swazi traditional education was to prepare individuals for living within the Swazi society in which they were born. It was focused on transmitting to younger generations Swazi traditional values and ways of living. The family was the most important institution where the education of the child took place (Kasenene, 1993). The family as a social institution was a prototype of Swazi society, representing the way things are in other Swazi organisations (ibid). The family was thus the link between the individual and the community. From the family structure children learned norms which guided them on how to behave, not just at family level, but also at community and Swazi societal level.

The family in the Swazi context did not only consist of the living but also of the dead. This is because Swazis traditionally believed in the continuity of life (ibid). Swazis believed that when a person dies he only changes form but continues to live (ibid). Ancestors therefore were a very important part of the Swazi family. They were the most respected and feared (ibid). It was believed that the ancestors were responsible for establishing Swazi culture and tradition (ibid). The Swazi family was thus hierarchically organised. The order of the hierarchy went according to how close one was to the ancestors. At the apex of the hierarchy were the ancestors and at the bottom of the hierarchy were children. All people older than the child were given superiority over the child as they were viewed as closer to the ancestors than the child. In the family, the father of the family followed the ancestors in the hierarchy while,

at national level, the leaders of the country followed the ancestors in the hierarchy. The family taught these children to be respectful and humble to adults. To disrespect older people was understood as disrespecting the ancestors and therefore was viewed as "unSwazi" (see 4.3.2.1).

Because of the hierarchical nature of the family structure, positions of power were explicitly distinguished and categorised into relations between parents/adults and children among others (ibid). Swazi traditional education strongly classified the relations between adults and children, giving power to the older generation (Patholm, 1975; Kasenene, 1993) – a practice opposed to the views of contemporary education. For example, everyday common practice of the Swazi people did not allow the child to behave in ways that suggested equality to or superiority over adults, be it in the family or in the broader Swazi community (ibid). Hence from the beginning of awareness, education for the child was focused on the inculcation of values and attributes that have the ability to counteract the occurrence of such "deviant" behaviours. Obedience and politeness of the child towards adults was the focus of Swazi traditional education (ibid).

The adult person exercised considerable influence on the education of the child. Adults in the Swazi contexts were viewed as “repositories of tradition” (Patholm, 1975: 271). They were understood as knowing what was best for the child. For this knowledge adults commanded corresponding respect (ibid). Telling and modelling were the strategies that adults used in educating children about the ways of life of the Swazi people, and children learned by listening, observing and copying the life shown to them by those who were older. Listening to adults was emphasised as it was understood as respect while going against the views and wishes of old people was not tolerated and seen as deviant behaviour and hence punishable (ibid). Generally, parents and elders were strict when it came to etiquette and character formation of children and errors in proper behaviour did not pass uncorrected (Kasenene, 1993; Patholm, 1975). For example, according to Khoza in an address on Swazi law and custom, “any citizen has the right to discipline any child who is found misbehaving, even if this means applying corporal punishment: and no charge whatsoever should arise from this kind of disciplinary action” (1973: 190).

This interest in correcting children’s conduct is consistent with the traditional British view of a delinquent child (see 4.2.2.3). Both views give the adult person dominance over the child.

The adult person controls what the child should know, think, and do, hence the ways of the adults are forced upon the child. These approaches are opposed to the discourse of autonomy and freedom (see 4.2.1.2) of the child which is central to contemporary views of education inherent in curriculum reforms. Control over the conduct of the child as Kasenene asserts, “bottles up the capacity to think, decide and act freely on the basis of one’s decision and prevents the development of the individual in his own right” (1993: 79). Such education potentially develops citizens who are unlikely to challenge existing structures and are therefore unlikely to contribute towards change in their communities.

### *The period of missionary education*

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society were the first to introduce formal education in Swaziland. They arrived in Swaziland in 1844 (Perkins, 1974; Matebese, 1975). After this, the number of missionaries in Swaziland increased and by 1914 all the major missionary groups were established (ibid). Almost all of them started primary schools and some built secondary and high schools. They also started teacher training and Bible schools (ibid).

Similar to other African countries, the purpose of education for the missionaries in Swaziland was to convert the Swazi people to Christianity (ibid). They were particularly opposed to the ancestor worship and polygamous practices of the Swazi people (Perkins, 1974). According to Matebese, by the 1970s a little under one-third of the inhabitants of Swaziland were estimated to be Christians (1975: 285). This, according to Kasenene, was mainly because of the social and economic benefits, such as school education and medical services, which they provided (1993). As discussed in 4.2.2.3, the education of missionaries was focused on behaviour modification and encouraged authoritative approaches of learning and teaching such as telling, modelling, recitation, and memorisation (Tabulawa, 1997; Muzvidziwa and Seotsanyana, 2002; Bassey, 1999). Therefore it was consistent with traditional Swazi approaches to education.

### *The period of colonial education*

While missionaries were busy with their work in Swaziland the political landscape took a different form following the Anglo-Boer War. In August 1902, Swaziland came under the control of the British government by “right of conquest” (Perkins, 1974: 409; Macartney,

1975) and became a British protectorate by “royal assent” on September 20, 1909 (ibid: 411). In the mid 1940s, the colonial government took over the control of education practices in Swaziland by introducing what they called "mass education" (The Department of Education, 1944; The Office of the King, 1944; The Government Secretary, 1944)<sup>5</sup>. Mass education in Swaziland, as in many parts of Africa, was focused on having as many Swazi children attend school as possible. The curriculum was prescribed and teachers were clearly instructed “this syllabus must be strictly followed” (Swaziland Progressive Association, 1947: 10). The people of Swaziland, including others who had an interest in African education, were not allowed a voice in matters pertaining to African education (ibid). This was because the colonial government was not bound to put into practice any advice from anywhere even from a Board of Advice on Native Education which existed in Swaziland (ibid). Colonial education therefore, consistent with the Swazi traditional education and missionary education, also took a top-down approach in which those in positions of power (colonial masters, missionaries, and seniors) determined for the Swazi child what to learn and how to learn it. Knowledge was pre-established and transferred from the masters (teachers in the case of missionary and colonial education and seniors in the case of Swazi traditional education) to children. The education system of Swaziland therefore continued to be hierarchical and authoritarian during the colonial period.

### *The period of post-independence*

In September 1968, Swaziland gained independence from the British. The Imbokodvo<sup>6</sup> National Movement, the King’s party, which had won elections in 1964, took control of Swaziland and other political parties were banned. A new model of government unique to Swaziland was formed called the Tinkhundla Government System (see 4.3.1.2). This system combines the local Swazi way of governing with the Western system. In this regard the Imbokodvo National Movement has both Western and local interests at heart. The purposes of education for the Tinkhundla government are thus meant to satisfy both local interests and selected Western interests. Of utmost interest to the Tinkhundla government is maintenance and promotion of Swazi culture and tradition. For example, one of the policies of the

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<sup>5</sup> Archived correspondence letters between the Department of Education in Swaziland, the Government Secretary, and the King of Swaziland (then Paramount Chief) referenced E/1290, 92/41, 774/32 in March, June and September 1944.

<sup>6</sup> The Imbokodvo National Movement is the ruling party in Swaziland which won elections just before independence. The Imbokodvo uses "movement" instead of "party" because it claims to be a party for ALL Swazi people (Dlamini, 1972) and other political parties were banned.



Imbokodvo National Movement is the “[e]ntrenchment of the Institution of Kingship, Swazi National Council and Chiefs” (Dlamini, 1972:10). Hence the Imbokodvo further asserts, “It is the policy of the Imbokodvo that all education shall be designed to inculcate love for our land, loyalty to our king and country, self-respect, self-discipline, respect for the law accompanied by the highest degree of knowledge and the *building of character*” (ibid: 28; emphasis added). Character building or behaviour modification consistent with the past periods is still the focus even for the Tinkhundla government. The government of Swaziland, similar to the tribal, missionary, and colonial periods, therefore still supports an education system that develops attributes of loyalty and conformity in order to maintain Swazi cultural values and practices.

The Western side of the government interest entails the need to continue with what the missionaries and colonialists have started. Hence the Imbokodvo National Movement continues to stress the importance of formal schooling and economic development. The major objective of education in this regard is “. . . the improvement of the individual to make him/her a better citizen of Swaziland” (ibid: 23). They define a *better citizen* as a participant individual. Being "participant" is understood as “participating in the continuous aggrandizement of the nation” (ibid: 23). The need for education that would produce *better citizens* is justified in relation to the human resource needs of the country. Having emerged from colonialism, Swazis needed to fill professional and technical positions left vacant by expatriates (ibid; National Development Plan, 1973–1977). Education was thus seen as key in the development of human resources and the economic development of the country (ibid).

The curriculum programme followed during the colonial period was designed by South Africa’s Joint Matriculation Board (JMB). This programme was not capable of developing the human resources Swaziland required for economic development because it was purposefully designed to prevent "natives" from succeeding in school as a way of promoting white superiority (Swaziland Progressive Association, 1947; Ministry of Education and Training, 2008). This resulted in Swaziland importing a curriculum programme from Britain called the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-level) in the mid 1960s to replace the JMB curriculum (ibid). The GCE O-level programme was bought from Cambridge International Examinations (CIE). This change was underpinned by Swaziland’s desire not just for development but also for rapid economic transformation (see 4.2.1.1). Evidence of this may be found in statements such as:

The Imbokodvo National Movement recognises and will continue to recognise the *urgent* and *vital* need for the *maximum possible rate* of economic growth and development (Dlamini, 1972: 15; emphasis added).

And section 15 (F) of the summary of the Imbokodvo National Movement policy reads, “[m]aximum Progress and Development in all fields in the *shortest* possible time” (ibid: 9; emphasis added).

In particular, it seems as if the government of Swaziland was drawing from the *modernisation* discourse (see 4.2.1.1) when deciding to import GCE O-level. What seems to be implied by the adoption of GCE O-level is that Swaziland believed that by modelling itself on Britain (the West) it would achieve economic growth, and that knowledge appropriate for Britain would also be appropriate for Swaziland. This indicates that, even in the post-independence period in Swaziland, knowledge continued to be understood as an autonomous and neutral variable (see 2.4.1). It is not surprising, therefore, that education was understood as the practice of *imparting* knowledge indicated in official documentation including the National Development Plan of 1973–1977. It is also not surprising that the education policy of the Imbokodvo National Movement seemed to be concerned with controlling what the Swazi child learns in school (Dlamini, 1972).

The GCE O-level curriculum complemented the views of the government on education. As a British-based curriculum programme that was introduced as a school curriculum in 1951 (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2007a, 2007b), it was inherently hierarchical and authoritative (see 4.2.2.3). For example, it was characterised by a common curriculum and assessment methods for all learners (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2007a, 2008; Ministry of Education and Training, 2005a, 2005b), thus treating learners as having the same needs that can be satisfied with the same knowledge and using the same methods. The curriculum was content-led, which supported the use of didactic approaches (ibid) and encouraged teacher-centredness (see 4.3.1.1). Therefore, consistent with the views of the Imbokodvo National Movement, GCE O-level also supported the control of the behaviour of the child by those in power.

From my analysis above, it would seem that the periods prior to 2006 evidence consistency in relation to the view of what education should be doing in order to serve local interests (maintenance of Swazi culture and tradition) and Western interests (the development of

human resources through formal schooling). Both interests were achievable through an education system that was hierarchical and authoritative, focused on controlling the behaviour of the child. Such consistencies ensured the maintenance and reproduction of the status quo.

Education in Swaziland, from as far back as the tribal period, strongly classified the power relations between the teacher and the learner, clearly placing the teacher in a superior position. This meant that the teacher was empowered to dominate pedagogic practice, creating a learning and teaching environment that was strongly framed. Pedagogic practice in Swaziland has always shown evidence of a visible structure, that is, one in which it is easy to tell who the teacher is and who the learner is. In this system of education, the teacher controlled what the learner should know, think, and do. The learner lacked the freedom to make independent decisions and to act in ways which he/she felt appropriate for his/her own life. Today's world of democracy and free markets reject such constraints on the child's development. It is argued that economic development is constrained when people lack the freedom to be creative and innovative, and to make independent decisions. Progressivists (see 4.2.1.2) and reconstructionists (4.2.2.1), for example, argue against pedagogic practices that strongly classify and frame the relations between the teacher and the learner. The development of attributes such as conformity, reverence, obedience, and loyalty, so much emphasised as "appropriate" in Swazi tradition, are completely rejected in today's world of democracy and freedom (4.2.1.2). Such attributes are seen as constraining the development of the child and of society as a whole. If Swaziland's education system continues to focus on the development of such attributes the country may be constrained from competing in the global market (see 4.3.2.3). The contradiction that exists between the values and practices of the pre2006 education system of Swaziland and those values and practices seen as necessary for economic development may have contributed towards creating the conditions for curriculum change in Swaziland. The shift from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE may have been an attempt to weaken the power and control relations between the learner and the teacher in order to create conditions for economic growth and development.

#### ***4.3.1.2 Tinkhundla government system***

Issues of governance relate to issues of decision-making such as who is in charge of making decisions, for whom, how, and when. The people of Swaziland are governed through a

system of governance they call a *Tinkhundla* government system. The Tinkhundla system of government took effect in 1968 after Swaziland gained independence from the British. It is a model that blends indigenous and imported governing concepts and practices (Proctor, 1975). It draws extensively from the ideologies of the Imbokodvo National Movement which was formed by the Swazi National Council in 1964 on the initiative of King Sobhuza II (ibid). The Imbokodvo National Movement has two fundamental interests to serve through the Tinkhundla way of governing. On the one hand, the Tinkhundla government wants to govern in a way in which Swazi tradition and culture will be protected and maintained and on the other, in a way in which economic growth and development can be achieved. When introduced in 1968 the hierarchical and authoritative nature of the Tinkhundla system of government was convenient for both the maintenance of Swazi culture and economic development (see also 4.2.2.3 and 4.3.2.1).

In the Tinkhundla system of government, members elected into parliament are seen as *representatives* in the Tinkhundla system and *not* delegates (Dlamini, 1972). Representation in the context of the Tinkhundla system has a special meaning, namely "trustee" and not "delegation" (ibid; Dlamini, 1972). Delegation as a principle of the Western democracy is thus rejected in the Tinkhundla system of government on the understanding that representation means doing what those in charge of the country consider best for the country (ibid). The Western democratic principle of delegation is thus seen as undesirable and constraining the practice of representation. In other words, situations where people would say *no* are undesirable because they are constraining the work of those "trusted" to be "rescuers" "rescuing" the people of Swaziland from their difficulties (Proctor, 1975). The Imbokodvo National Movement not only practises the Tinkhundla system of democracy but it also protects it through claims that it is a superior form of democracy when compared to Western forms of democracy (Dlamini, 1972). The claim is that it unites the people rather than divides them through political parties, and that it serves the interests of the entire Swazi nation rather than a section which belongs to the ruling party (ibid).

The Tinkhundla system of government is therefore underpinned by the view that people are all the same, they have similar needs and interests, and they therefore need to be provided with the same things and treated in a similar manner. It is a system of governing that takes an autonomous and technicist view of the world; one in which the dominant interest is in controlling and managing the Swazi environment through rejecting delegation in favour of

representation. It is a system that is hierarchical (concentrating power at the top) and authoritarian (imposing on the citizens).

In Swaziland therefore, using Mamdani's (1996) terms, the people operate as "subjects" as opposed to "citizens". They are a community of people deprived of a voice and the power to change their environment. Teachers and learners are part of this community. The beliefs and practices of trusting those in superior positions, waiting to be rescued, not complaining or speaking your mind, and so on may form part of their everyday knowledge (horizontal discourses) which they bring to the school. Contemporary curriculum reforms are orientated towards countering such views and beliefs. In the case of the curriculum change in Swaziland, this would mean a conflict between what teachers and learners know (their horizontal discourses) and what is expected of them in the new curriculum programme (the school discourses). Such contradictions may constrain their ability to participate effectively in the new school system or to acquire I/SGCSE literacy, or "way of being", in Gee's (1996) terms.

The concept of representation inherent in the Tinkhundla system of government is opposed to the *discourse of economic development* as understood in today's world of free markets (see 4.2.1.1). Unlike in the past, economic development today is understood as constrained by hierarchical and authoritarian forms of government. The autonomy and freedom of people is understood in this time of democracy and free markets as the answer to economic development. Such changes in the discourse of *economic development* pose challenges to the Tinkhundla government, which is orientated towards maintaining Swazi culture and tradition and improving economic development at the same time. While Swazi culture may be maintained through a hierarchical and authoritarian governing style, economic development, on the other hand, is threatened by such an approach. The adoption of democratic approaches may contribute to economic development but also threaten the stability and continuity of Swazi culture and tradition. Such a contradiction has the potential to constrain Swaziland from transforming to a democratic society. Hence it may also undermine Swaziland's ability to implement successfully a curriculum that is framed within progressivists' and reconstructionists' views. At the same time, this contradiction is a threat to the existence of the Tinkhundla system of government. The contradiction may enable a change from the Tinkhundla system to a new structure or system of government, but until that happens, the Tinkhundla system of government could be seen as a structure which may contribute towards

constraining the successful implementation of a curriculum that is characterised by weak relations of power and control between teachers and learners.

#### ***4.3.1.3 Membership of international organisations***

One of the beliefs held by the government of Swaziland is that economic development will occur if they have the ability to compete in the world market (discourse of *competitive advantage* discussed in 4.3.2.3). However, countries, especially developing countries, as individual states are constrained from penetrating the global market (Robertson, et al, 2007). This has led to the formation of a number of international organisations which have been set up by countries themselves (ibid; Priestley, 2002) and their function is to help countries respond to global pressures (ibid). Their policies are founded on neoliberalism (Capella, 2000; Tabulawa, 2003; Priestley, 2005; Robertson et al, 2007). For example, their policies draw on the principles of democracy and the free market economy, hence they influence the implementation of policies that promote liberal democratic practices such as the rights and freedom of individuals and the freedom of trade. When formulating state policies, consideration of the interests of the organisations to which the individual country is affiliated is inevitable if the country wants to remain a member and to reap the benefits of being a member state (Robertson et al, 2007).

Swaziland is a member of many international organisations including the United Nations (UN) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). These organisations promote principles of democracy and freedom of individuals. For example, Swaziland has signed conventions such as the UN's conventions on human rights, the UN's convention on children's rights, the UN's convention on the rights of women, and the ILO's conventions on rights and freedom of workers. By signing such conventions, Swaziland was not only agreeing to these conventions but was also undertaking to implement these Western concepts and principles, hence the observation by Capella (2000), who noted that a country's commitment to international organisations implies the transfer of fundamental decision-making from the state to these organisations. There is therefore international pressure on Swaziland to implement democracy in Swaziland. I argue that this pressure to transform exists because there is a contradiction between the hierarchical and authoritarian Tinkhundla system of government operating in Swaziland and the flat non-authoritarian system of liberal democracy. While the Tinkhundla system is characterised by strong relations of power and

control, liberal democracy is characterised by weak relations of power and control. As I have indicated repeatedly in this study, according to Archer (1995, 1996) contradictions allow for the elaboration of the socio-cultural system. Furthermore, drawing on discourse studies, such contradictions may constrain the acquisition of the new democratic discourse. This implies that, while Swaziland may attempt to transform the government system, its ability to transform may be constrained.

There is also an inconsistency between the democratic values and principles Swaziland agreed to implement and the pre2006 educational values and practices of dominance and control of learners (see 4.3.1.1). This contradiction may have led to the elaboration of the education system of Swaziland from GCE O-level to ISGCSE in 2006. However, from my data analysis in chapters 6 and 7, the pre2006 education system of dominance and control of the learner by the teacher may have acquired a state of normalisation (Fairclough, 1989) or commonsense knowledge (Bernstein, 2000), which may have a constraining effect on the acquisition of the new values and principles of autonomy and freedom of the learner.

#### **4.3.2 Cultural mechanisms operating in the Swazi context**

In this section I discuss the discourses that construct the Swazi way of life. These discourses are cultural because they refer to sets of ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes held by Swazi people. And they are mechanisms at the *level of the real* because they have constraining and enabling powers which impact on the ability of the people of Swaziland, including teachers and learners, to exercise agency from which different kinds of events at the *level of the actual* will emerge. They condition what the people of Swaziland can and cannot say or do as Swazis. It is therefore important to explore these discourses. My analysis of relevant literature and documents indicates that there is tension between the cultural elements of the Swazi context. The cultural elements of the Swazi context could be seen as consisting of Western orientated cultural elements and traditional Swazi orientated cultural elements. These two types of cultural elements are often in tension with each other, so that promoting one may have negative effects on the other. The cultural elements identified and discussed in this section are the *discourse of morality*, the *discourse of good citizens*, the *discourse of competitive advantage*, and the *discourse of quality education*. In particular, the tension lies between the *discourse of morality*, which is founded on Swazi tradition and culture, and all the other discourses, which are Western-based. While the *discourse of morality* privileges strong relations of power and control between the teacher and the learner, the *discourse of*

*good citizens*, the *discourse of competitive advantage*, and the *discourse of quality education* privilege weakens relations of power and control between the teacher and the learner. I discuss each of these discourses in the subsections that follow.

#### **4.3.2.1 The discourse of morality**

When we talk of morality we refer to human conduct that is regarded as proper in a particular society, at a particular time. Moral decisions are based on what society believes that members ought to do in a given situation, at a given time (Kasenene, 1993: 102).

The discourse of morality in the Swazi context is understood in relation to Swazi culture and tradition. When behaviour is consistent with Swazi culture and tradition then the behaviour is understood as moral, but when it undermines Swazi culture and tradition it is regarded as immoral (Kasenene, 1993). The terms "Swazi" and "unSwazi" denote behaviour that is regarded as moral or immoral respectively. Hence behaviour that is regarded as appropriate and acceptable is "Swazi" while behaviour that is regarded as inappropriate and unacceptable is "unSwazi". Unswazi or immoral behaviour is believed to be punishable through sickness or misfortune and behaviour that is regarded as Swazi or moral is believed to be rewarded with prosperity (Kasenene, 1993; Perkins, 1974). This is because Swazis traditionally believed that the dead (ancestors) have set most of the norms and values embedded in Swazi law and tradition. It is therefore disrespecting the dead (ancestors) to go against Swazi law and tradition and thus punishable by ancestors as well as the community (Kasenene, 1993). In the context of Swaziland, therefore, the *discourse of morality* conditions people to think and behave in ancient ways. People are seen as behaving well if they behave in the same way in which their ancestors used to behave. Swazi culture and practice are designed in such a way that they reproduce themselves. When people behave "Swazi" they are actively involved in the reproduction of the Swazi culture and tradition and Swazi culture and tradition is maintained. The discourse of *morality* in the case of Swaziland is thus antithetical to change.

An instrumental moral discourse that functions to reproduce Swazi culture and tradition is the discourse of *respect for seniors*. Seniors in Swazi contexts are all people in high positions and people who are older than the individual person. As already indicated, these people are respected because they are believed to be closer to the ancestors who are the custodians of Swazi culture and tradition. Respect is understood in the Swazi context as doing what is recommended by society (ibid). Older people are understood to hold the knowledge about



what society wants. Therefore, to be respectful of seniors “. . . involves politeness to them, listening to their advice and observing their wishes” (ibid: 105). According to Kasenene, in Swaziland:

All human relationships are controlled by this value. It regulates relationships between parents and child, husband and wife, king and subject, and royalty and ordinary people (ibid: 90).

Respect therefore begins at home and extends to the community and to the nation at large. Children are taught to respect their seniors and to keep in mind the hierarchy that exists at home, in the neighbourhood, and in the Swazi society at large (see also 4.3.1.2). The Swazi child is seen as behaving morally, and hence "Swazi", if he/she is humble, soft spoken, and submissive in relation to his/her seniors (ibid). On the other hand, it is disrespectful and improper for a Swazi child, for example, to talk in the presence of old people who are holding a conversation; to call an older person by his/her given name (*make*, meaning mother, or *babe*, meaning father, are used to address all adults even if not related to the child); to stand in the house in the presence of adults; to receive a gift or anything with one hand (they are expected to use both hands and to clap their hands as a sign of appreciation); and to complain or do something that indicates lack of willingness to comply (ibid). Such behaviours are understood as claims of equality with or superiority over the seniors (ibid). Hence, using Bernstein's language, the *discourse of respect for seniors* creates strong boundaries between adults and children (even between authorities and subjects). That is, there are clear behaviours which distinguish between a child and an adult. Adults are given power over children. This societal arrangement is "appropriate" in the context of Swaziland because it facilitates the reproduction of the ways of Swazis that were established by the ancestors many years ago. When the boundaries between adults and children, or authorities and subjects, are weakened, the powers of the adults and of those in authority are challenged, and this is regarded as a threat to the stability of the Swazi tradition. For that reason, weakened boundaries are discouraged. At the level of the home, the parent or any other adult person most often uses corporal punishment to discourage any behaviour that is regarded as claiming equality or superiority over seniors. At community level, the chief may fine the person a cow or more, or even remove him from the community (ibid) to punish undesirable behaviour. With respect to children, it is commonsense knowledge in Swaziland that a child should respect the elders by listening and conforming to their wishes, and that lack of respect is punishable. It is also commonsense that the adult has a duty to teach the child what is right or

wrong and to discipline the child who shows signs of disrespect. These are the attitudes and behaviours the Swazi child and Swazi teacher bring from home to school.

Clearly, Swazis traditionally view their world in the same way their ancestors used to. They view their world as unchanging, static, permanent, and of perfect order; and the truths and values set by their ancestors as absolute, timeless, and universal (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). This context is more concerned with maintaining Swazi culture and practice through the inculcation of attributes which have the power to condition behaviour that has a reproductive rather than an elaborative or transformative effect on tradition. Through beliefs such as Swazi custom and law having been determined by the ancestors and association of respect with prosperity and disrespect with misfortune, and through fear such as fear of punishment by displeased ancestors and elders, people are made to accept and perceive the existing structures as just thus helping maintain the status quo. *Loyalty* to Swazi custom and practice, *conformity* to set laws and tradition, and *fear* of punishment for deviant behaviour are important attributes that are promoted by the Swazi culture and tradition.

Loyalty, conformity, and fear are attributes that are in contradiction to the values and beliefs promoted at the global level. These attributes are seen in today's global world as constraining development and hence are discouraged (see 4.2.1.1). World discourses (see 4.2.1) such as democracy and freedom (see 4.2.1.2), for example, emphasise weak relations of power between people, hence they are opposed to forms of behaviour that strongly classify people, such as those which instil attributes of loyalty, conformity, and fear. Curriculum reforms promote global discourses and therefore they are in opposition to the Swazi values of loyalty, conformity and fear. This contradiction may make it difficult for a Swazi teacher and child to acquire the new global discourse embedded in curriculum reforms such as implementation of I/SGCSE. According to Gee (1996, 1999), when two Discourses (ways of being) draw from world views that are opposed to one another, people often experience difficulty in participating in the new Discourse.

#### ***4.3.2.2 The discourse of good citizens***

The production of good citizens is one of the aims of any education system. The discourse of good citizens can either take a traditional or a modern approach. A traditional approach constructs citizens as "national citizens" while a modern approach constructs citizens as

"global or world citizens" (Burbules and Torres, 2000; Enslin and White, 2003; McIntosh, 2009). These two views of citizens are underpinned by different and opposing world views, therefore education that is focused on the production of good national citizens is different and opposed to an education that focuses on global citizens. The discussion that follows indicates that Swaziland wants to produce *both* national and global citizens. I argue that the focus on global citizens may have contributed to the elaboration of the education system of Swaziland, that is, the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. But I also argue that it is not possible for an education system to produce both as these require approaches to education that are different and opposed to one another. I further argue that the Tinkhundla government system, which focuses on maintaining Swazi culture while at the same time adopting Western culture for economic development purposes (see 4.3.1.2), may have been a contributing factor in this confusion.

Traditional systems of education, such as the pre2006 education system of Swaziland, were orientated towards the production of citizens for the nation-state (Morrow and Torres, 2000). It is therefore not surprising that in 1972 the Imbokodvo National Movement stated one of their aims of education as "the improvement of the individual to make him/her a *better citizen of Swaziland*" (Dlamini, 1972: 23; emphasis added). As already indicated, in the period following independence Swaziland focused more on developing human resources for the economic development of the country. Therefore, according to the Imbokodvo National Movement, "a better citizen is one who is a participant citizen, participating in the continuous aggrandizement of the nation" (ibid: 23). Underpinning economic development in that period was the *discourse of modernisation* (see 4.2.1.1). It follows, therefore, that conceptions of citizenship were modernist, hence a better citizen of Swaziland in this period was someone who conformed to established norms. These are individuals who understand that they are part of the society but they do not believe that they are "causally important" (Ross and Munn 2008: 254). Ross and Munn claim that "the absence of a sense of agency among citizens helps the status quo to go unchallenged" (ibid: 270). Citizenship education back then therefore prepared learners to function in a stable and predictable environment. The modernist conception of a citizen is consistent with the kind of people considered as moral or "Swazi" in the context of Swaziland (see previous section). The modernist assumptions of citizenship therefore fitted well with what I will call "good" people or citizens of Swaziland as described in the previous section.

Although notions of citizenship were confined to the boundaries of Swaziland in the early 1970s, the 2005 Consultative Document seems to indicate that citizenship now extends beyond national borders:

The Secondary Education aims at enabling learners to: acquire attitudes and values develop skills and understanding to allow for the execution of rights and responsibilities as good citizens of Swaziland and the World at large (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 1).

The concern with rights and functioning beyond Swaziland indicates the grounding of this conception of citizenship on democratic principles and values (Capella, 2000) (see 4.2.2.1). It seems that Swaziland is interested in preparing learners for life in a globalised world characterised as democratic and free. The old modernist kind of citizen is unsuited for this new kind of society. Such citizens may be unable to function within a democratic environment that requires politically active citizens (Pike, 2007) who are self-responsible and self-motivated (Popkewitz, 2000), and hence citizens who are not just passive receivers of rights but ones who are also alert to the responsibilities required by those rights (Enslin and White, 2003). An education system capable of producing this kind of citizen is one framed within a progressivist (4.2.1.2) and reconstructionist (4.2.2.1) discourse. The pre2006 education system (4.3.1.1), characterised by strong relations of power and control, has little or no power to produce a citizen that can exercise democratic values. I therefore argue that the focus on world or global citizens may have contributed towards creating the conditions for the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

I further argue that the 2005 policy statement on citizenship is problematic and represents two widely differing views of citizenship particularly because Swaziland is not a democratic country (see 4.3.1.2). There is a contradiction between good citizens of Swaziland and good citizens of the world. In the previous section I demonstrated that good citizens of Swaziland are those who conform to order and to the wishes of those who are older and in superior positions, while the democratic world requires citizens who have the ability to bring about change through critiquing and challenging the status quo. The two discourses (Swazi citizen and global citizen) draw from widely differing world views: a stable and predictable world as opposed to a changing and unpredictable world, respectively. They suggest different approaches to education. It is therefore not possible to teach for the achievement of both at the same time. I argue that the Tinkhundla government system, which is founded on both

traditional and Western values and principles (see 4.3.1.2), may have contributed to this conflict. While traditional values are still the same, Western values and principles have changed and thus conflict with Swazi traditional life. Western values are no longer modernist but democratic, and thus underpinned by a view of the world as changing and unpredictable, while Swazi tradition is still underpinned by a view of the world as fixed and predictable. I argue that these two ways of life conflict therefore it may be difficult if not impossible to have them in operation at the same time.

#### **4.3.2.3 *The discourse of competitive advantage***

Competitive advantage is a discourse about how much advantage a country has in the world market compared to others. The discourse of *competitive advantage* draws extensively from the discourse of *economic development* and *free market economy* (see 4.2.1.1). Because goods and financial assets are now sold in an open global market, countries want to develop through increasing their competitiveness in the world market. Swaziland is no exception. There are indications in the National Development Plans (NDP) of Swaziland that Swaziland wants to compete in the world market. This prevalence of the *competitive advantage discourse* is evident in the statement “[g]overnment continues to enhance the investment environment in order to encourage the re-investment of earnings by existing industries, as well as to render the country a competitive hub for sustainable foreign direct investment” (National Development Plan, 2009/10–2011/12: 55). By the late 1990s, Swaziland had begun plans for creating conditions for competitive advantage which included income tax reforms, the establishment of an Investment Promotion Authority (SIPA), the development of investment code, a Trade Facilitation Bill, a Competition Bill, and a Fair Trading Bill (National Development Plan, 1998/99–2000/01).

In 4.2.1.1, I indicated that access to the global market is restricted. One of the most important conditions for access is the ability to respond quickly to market changes and the ability to develop a workforce appropriate for the new economic environment. The dominant belief is that the market in today’s world is unstable and unpredictable, therefore a flexible and decentralised government has the ability to respond quickly to these market changes. Hence hierarchically and authoritatively structured governments have a constraining effect on a country’s ability to compete in the world market. There is, therefore, tension between the discourse of competitive advantage and the Tinkhundla system of government (4.3.1.2) in

operation in Swaziland. The achievement of competitive advantage may be constrained by the existence of the Tinkhundla system of government. Swaziland's desire for competitive advantage, therefore, implies the need for Swaziland to transform from the hierarchical and authoritarian Tinkhundla government (see 4.3.2.2) to a flexible and decentralised form of government.

Furthermore, the discourse of competitive advantage implies the need to develop “. . . workers who are versatile, flexible, technologically competent, predisposed to teamwork and who have problem-solving ability skills” (Tabulawa, 2009: 89) or, in Castells' (1997) terms, a self-programmable worker. Hierarchical and authoritarian environments are not capable of producing such attributes necessary for survival in a free market economy. Hence, according to Tabulawa, “[t]he dominant view is that only nations with education systems that are attuned to the changed patterns of production are the ones that are most likely to survive in a global market place characterised by hyper-competition” (ibid: 89). These are education systems that are characterised by weak relations of power and control, such as ones framed within a progressivist (4.2.1.2) and reconstructionist (4.2.2.1) discourse. Education systems that are hierarchical and authoritative, such as the pre2006 education system (4.3.1.1) of Swaziland, are understood as having little or no ability to produce workers who have the attributes necessary to function in a hyper-competitive work environment where attributes such as flexibility, teamwork, problem-solving, decision-making, etc. are important (see 4.2.2.2). Hence the pre2006 education system of Swaziland may have been viewed as constraining the country's ability to gain access to the world market. The inconsistency between the values and practices of pre2006 education and the beliefs and values underpinning the *discourse of competitive advantage* may have enabled the overhaul of the old education system in 2006. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Ministry of Education and Training is claiming to be “. . . intensifying efforts in the implementation of equity and competitiveness driven reforms” (National Development Plan, 2009/10–2011/12: 153).

#### **4.3.2.4 The discourse of quality education**

There are two broad views related to what constitutes quality in education, namely an economist view (Barratt, Chawla-Duggan, Lowe, Nikel, and Ukpo, 2006), also called a quantitative view (Motala, 2001), and a humanist view (Barratt et al, 2006), also called a qualitative (Motala, 2001) and, sometimes, a reconceptualist view (Ornstein and Hunkins,

2004). The humanist view places emphasis on educational processes that occur in schools and in the classroom (see also 4.2.2.1), while the economist view “is macro in focus” (Motala, 2001: 62), measuring educational quality in relation to the extent to which it is able to serve economic sector needs (Lotz-Sisitka, 2010; Barratt et al, 2006; Motala, 2001). These views have implications for the type of curriculum seen as “appropriate” for learners. Taking a humanist view of quality education privileges a curriculum characterised by weak relations of power and control while taking an economist view privileges a curriculum characterised by strong relations of power and control between the teacher and the learner (Lotz-Sisitka, 2010). A shift from one view to another, therefore, may condition curriculum reforms. The government of Swaziland in the early 1970s subscribed to an economist view of quality education (National Development Plan, 1973–1977). Their view has since shifted to an understanding of quality education that draws more from a humanist position (National Development Plan, 2009/10–2011/12; Ministry of Education and Training, 1998). This shift in the way in which the government understands quality education may have contributed towards creating the enabling circumstance for the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

Swaziland is faced with a number of problems. For example, the unemployment rate increased from 22% in 1997 to 31% in 2004 (Country Programme Action Plan – CPAP 2006–2010), the poverty level in 2005 was at 69% (ibid), and HIV and AIDS prevalence rates in 2004 were at 42.6% (ibid). These socio-economic problems have implications for education and are a cause for concern for the Ministry of Education and Training. For example, the Ministry of Education and Training claims that “a particular concern is the large numbers of students who graduate from high school but have no wage employment to go into thus the great concern about relevance and quality of education” (Ministry of Education and Training, 1998: 5). Socio-economic problems also impact on participation in education, causing education to discriminate against poor students and favour affluent students. The problems of unemployment, poverty, HIV and AIDS, and other socio-economic difficulties that Swaziland is facing according to the National Development Plan (NDP) 2009/10–2011/12, threaten the right of the child to education. Many children from poor socioeconomic backgrounds where parents are poorly paid, unemployed, sick, or dead from HIV/AIDS are at high risk of not accessing education in Swaziland (National Development Plan, 2009/10–2011/12; Country Programme Action Plan 2006–2010). Rural schools have insufficient funds to run their schools and they have very low enrolments (ibid). According to the NDP, 2009/10–2011/12, “the revenue collected from such schools is . . . comparatively low to

enable them to operate efficiently and provide quality education . . . .” (ibid: 155). This problem has been worsened by the low economic performance of the country, which has compromised the government’s ability to support educational endeavours (ibid). Urban and peri-urban schools, on the other hand, often enrol learners from high income families with better standards of living (ibid). Because parents can afford to pay fees, the schools have better educational facilities and opportunities (ibid). However, despite this, their classes “are relatively overcrowded, with average class sizes exceeding the national standards of 35 at secondary and 40 at primary” (ibid: 155). According to the government of Swaziland, all the problems faced by the rural, urban and peri-urban schools impact on the quality of education in the country (National Development Plan, 2009/10–2011/12).

The stratified nature of Swazi society, as described above, creates a situation in which inclusion in or exclusion from education becomes a consequence of income levels and geographic locations, where those children from families with good income levels and those in urban areas are better placed to receive sufficient benefit from the education system of Swaziland while those that are from poor families and living in rural areas are at risk of being denied not just access to a good education but access to any education.

In an attempt to redress this situation, the government of Swaziland asserts that “. . . the main objective is expansion of participation, ensuring that all pupils irrespective of their social and economic classification have access to quality education” (ibid: 153). This is complemented in the National Education Policy Statement where the MOET asserts that, “the Ministry of Education and Training shall develop an integrated system of education that provides equal opportunities to all irrespective of sex, religion, geographical location, special needs, political or other factor” (Ministry of Education and Training, 1998: 4). The approach to quality education the government of Swaziland draws from is thus humanist/*progressive* (Barratt et al, 2006) or *qualitative* (Motala, 2001) since it is embedded in the discourse of *equity* (equal expectation for success and opportunity to learn regardless of differences). Equity is a discourse that exhibits a belief “. . . in the individual and the benefits of allowing individuals to have personal freedom and individual expression” (ibid: 139). It is thus a discourse that rejects notions of conformity, authority, and control. Building in an equity discourse into the quality discourse therefore strengthens its humanist or progressive interest. The belief in the freedom and expression of individuals embedded in the humanist/progressive view of quality education therefore creates conditions for a curriculum in which learners are involved, learn



in groups, and are allowed to express their views (Lotz-Sisitka, 2010). It therefore privileges weak relations of power and control between the teacher and the learner. This is in contrast to the *economist/quantitative* discourse (Barratt et al, 2006; Motala, 2001) that Swaziland subscribed to in the early 1970s.

Since the 1970s, education in Swaziland has been seen as lacking in relevance. The concern with relevance was justified by high repetition and dropout rates of children both at primary and secondary school level, high rates of illiteracy, and poor performances in Maths and Science subjects (National Development Plan, 1973–1977). Taking an *economist* (Barratt et al, 2006), and hence a technicist approach, the problem of lack of relevance was explained as being caused by inadequacy of facilities, shortages of teachers, low qualifications of teachers, heavy reliance on expatriates in the Maths/Science fields, and the highly academic orientation of the GCE O-level curriculum (ibid). According to the NDP, to redress these problems “. . . the school system must be restructured, raising the quality of education offered and radically changing its orientation . . . .” (National Development Plan 1973–1977: 152). Restructuring entailed introducing new practically orientated subjects such as agriculture, technical skills, home economics and commerce; revising syllabuses in order to make *their content* more appropriate to the local situation; and training teachers in more modern and effective methods of teaching (ibid). For the government of Swaziland, therefore, quality resided in the content of what was taught in schools. The discourse of quality was underpinned by a view of curriculum as content which supports Motala’s (2001) claim that the *economist/quantitative discourse* of quality education draws from the modernisation discourse (see 4.2.1.1) and that it supports a technicist policy discourse. The government of Swaziland seemed to have assumed that introducing practical subjects, revising the content, and training teachers would automatically lead to improved performance and hence reduce failure and dropout rates. What the government of Swaziland ignored was that the socio-cultural systems in which teachers and learners operate have enabling and constraining effects on classroom practice and on performance. In contrast to the *humanist/progressive discourse* of educational quality, therefore, a curriculum framed within an economist view of quality teaches to, and values, technical efficiency and mastery of content (Lotz-Sisitka, 2010). In this kind of curriculum the teacher dominates and the learner is passive, playing by the rules of the teacher. The prevalence of an economist view of quality was therefore consistent with the education system of pre2006 (4.3.1.1) which supports strong relations of power and control between the teacher and the learner. However, the shift to a progressive or humanist position

of quality in the 1990s created conflict with the pre2006 education of Swaziland (weak relations of power and control versus strong relations of power and control), hence the claim by the MOET in their 1998 policy statement that the GCE O-level system of education “has not fully addressed the problems of relevance, quality and accessibility” (Ministry of Education and Training, 1998: 2). Therefore this change from an *economist discourse* of quality education to the *progressive/humanist discourse* has arguably contributed towards enabling conditions for the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

My analysis of the Swazi national context indicates that there are more contradictions than there are consistencies within the cultural elements of Swazi society. Many of the cultural elements of the Swazi context such as the *discourse of good citizens*, of *competitive advantage*, and of *quality* draw from the global discourses which support pedagogic practices characterised by weak relations of power and control. However, weak relations of power and control are in conflict with the traditional discourse of education within which the pre2006 education system of Swaziland is framed. Traditional views of education embedded in pre2006 education support pedagogic practices characterised by strong relations of power and control. This contradiction may have conditioned the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. According to Archer, contradictions enable change while consistencies keep things the same.

The structural analysis of the Swazi context, on the other hand, indicates more consistencies than contradictions. *Pre2006 education* and the *Tinkhundla system of government*, for example, converge in privileging strong relations of power and control, while agreements signed with international organisations strongly oppose strong relations of power and control. It is possible, therefore, to argue that, based on my analysis of the literature reviewed in this chapter, in Swaziland the cultural system exerted more influence than the structural system on the change from the strongly classified and framed GCE O-level curriculum to the weakly classified and framed I/SGSCE curriculum.

Table 4-1 provides a summary of the structural and cultural mechanisms identified in this chapter as having contributed in conditioning the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

<b>Empirical</b>	Likelihood of teachers' experiences of confusion	
<b>Actual</b>	The decision by MOET and CIE in 2006 to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE in Swazi schools	
<b>Real</b>	<b>Structural</b>	<b>Cultural</b>
	Globalisation, Production processes, Education, <i>Pre2006 education, Tinkhundla government system, Membership of international organisations.</i>	Economic development, Democracy, Morality, Good citizens, <i>Competitive advantage, Quality education</i>

**Table 4-1 Cultural and structural mechanisms responsible for the emergence of I/SGCSE in Swaziland: Key: *Swazi national level*; Global level**

In the next chapter I explore the I/SGCSE curriculum in order to determine the extent to which it conforms to the preferences of the global and Swazi contexts of a curriculum characterised by weak relations of power and control.

## Chapter 5

### Exploring the cultural and structural system mandated by the CIE and MOET through the introduction of I/SGCSE in Swaziland

The formal curriculum is worthy of study. [. . .] its text represents some kind of social consensus about what students are entitled to experience in school, and that it expresses what is valued for one reason or another in society [Moore 1982: 53 in Ross and Munn, 2008: 257).

#### 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter indicated that curricula are not neutral but embody societal values which shape school knowledge and practices in particular ways (Ross and Munn, 2008; Bernstein, 1971, 2000). I have discussed in 4.2 three broad curriculum views which underpin curriculum discourses. These are the traditionalist, progressivist and reconstructionist views. People holding these positions view the world in a particular way and therefore construct knowledge, teaching, the teacher, and the learner in particular ways (see 4.2). Depending on how the curriculum designers perceive the world, curriculum designs are often underpinned by one or more of these views (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004, 2009). This chapter is concerned with understanding how the I/SGCSE curriculum programme is constructed by its designers, who are the MOET and CIE, in order to explore further the mechanisms responsible for the decision to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and to understand the kind of teaching and learning *events* and *experiences* that CIE and MOET mandates at the *actual and empirical levels*.

As indicated in chapter 1, for the purpose of this study I am treating IGCSE and SGCSE as similar, as possessing more or less the same characteristics, for two reasons. First, they both represent the curriculum that replaced GCE O-level. Secondly, SGCSE developed from IGCSE.

Data for this chapter was derived from seven I/SGCSE policy documents produced by CIE and the MOET and four interviews with inspectors in the MOET. Table 5-1 below shows details of the documents and their sources.

Name of document	Source	Year of publication
(H)IGCSE Implementation and Localisation in Swaziland: Question and Answer	MOET	November 2005
University of Cambridge International Examinations: Cambridge Secondary 2	www.cie.org.uk	2010
IGCSE Brochure	www.cie.org.uk	2010
International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) Consultative Document	MOET	2005
Recognition & Equivalency help pack	CIE	September 2008
Briefing paper for university admissions staff worldwide: General qualifications	CIE	February 2007
Briefing paper for US Admissions Counsellors: a rapidly expanding pre-university programme	CIE	November 2007

**Table 5-1 A list of I/SGCSE documents analysed in this chapter**

The data was analysed using critical discourse analysis (CDA) because I was interested in going beyond what is written in the documents or said by the inspectors in the interviews (both of which can be seen to exist at Bhaskar's (1978) levels of the actual and the empirical) to gaining a more in-depth knowledge of the conditions responsible for what the CIE and the MOET say in the documents and interviews respectively. I explored closely the words and statements that the designers of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme chose to use in the documents and interview texts because, according to Fairclough (2005, 1989), they are indications of discourses in operation. Drawing on Kress (1988), by discourse I mean sets of statements that give expression to what is valued and practised in the I/SGCSE system of education. Language use is one way in which discourses are manifested (Gee, 1996, 1999), hence the use of CDA. Discourses within a critical realist framework can be seen to exist as mechanisms with emergent powers in the domain of "culture" (Archer, 1995, 1996) at the *level of the real*.

In carrying out the analysis of the data I maintained the separation of structure and culture (Archer, 1996). I focused on identifying cultural and structural mechanisms that conditioned

the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and hence there are two sections to this chapter. The cultural aspect of my analysis entailed identifying discourses that underpin the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. Structural analysis entailed identifying material properties seen as necessary in order to enable teachers (and learners) to adopt the I/SGCSE way of learning and teaching such as workshops, finance, and teacher support. A summary of the analysis is presented in Appendix D-1.

It is important to note that in this chapter I was only concerned with what is mandated by the MOET and CIE through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme as appropriate teaching practice, and not how teachers teach or implement the new programme. The MOET and CIE, as designers of the I/SGCSE curriculum system, are agents who operate in the official recontextualising field (ORF) while teachers are agents who operate in the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF) (Bernstein, 2000). In this chapter, therefore, I explore the ORF. The PRF is explored in the next two chapters. It was important for me to analyse these two fields separately because, following the critical realist concept of a differentiated world and social realists' concept of non-conflation, these two fields are not the same. What is mandated (official curriculum) may not be what is practised and experienced at the *levels of the actual and empirical* (actual curriculum), because the interplay of structures and mechanisms at the level of the real may lead to the emergence of practices and experiences which are other to those constructed in official documents. The recontextualisation process makes the two fields (ORF and PRF) different (see 2.4.1). I now turn to the analysis of cultural mechanisms.

## **5.2 Cultural mechanisms underlying the I/SGCSE curriculum system**

As part of the process of finding answers to my research questions which are: (i) what were the conditions from which the implementation of I/SGCSE emerged in Swaziland and (ii) what are the enabling and constraining conditions for the implementation of I/SGCSE in Swaziland, as already indicated, I undertook a CDA analysis of the data with the aim of understanding the kind of school world that the MOET and CIE privilege in Swaziland through the introduction of I/SGCSE. The retroduction process (see chapter 3) was a major part of the CDA. Questions that helped focus the process of CDA include: (i) how do the CIE and MOET construct curriculum, the teacher, and the learner and (ii) what conditions must exist for such constructions to be possible? These questions enabled me to go beyond the words and statements used in the data (knowledge at the *level of the empirical*) to knowledge

of meanings and values expressed by those words and statements: that is, knowledge about underlying mechanisms responsible for what is said in the documents and interviews. I then identified four orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1989, 2005) which, based on my readings on curriculum theories and through member checking, I named the *discourse of I/SGCSE as a paradigm shift*, the *discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis*, the *discourse of learners as knowledgeable*, and the *discourse of teachers as facilitators*. Each of these will be discussed in turn in this section. I have based this part of the chapter on the assumption that the discourses exist and have power to allow the emergence of events and experiences at the *level of the actual and empirical*, therefore they are *real*. It is important to note that, in keeping with the intensive approach of this study (see chapter 3), it was not important exactly how many times a particular discourse was coded as represented in the analysed texts. Where I do refer to the frequency of a discourse, this is for descriptive purposes only. The presence of a discourse, whether strongly or weakly represented in the texts, provided insight into how the MOET and CIE, as developers of I/SGCSE, construct the I/SGCSE world of learning and teaching.

### **5.2.1 The discourse of I/SGCSE as a paradigm shift**

In my analysis of the data, I identified a tendency by CIE to refer to IGCSE as a *replacement* for GCE O-level (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2007a, 2007b). The MOET refer to this replacement as a *paradigm shift* (MOET, Interview 1; 13 July, 2009); Ministry of Education and Training, 2005a: 6) and I/SGCSE as a new paradigm (MOET, Interview 2; 13 July, 2009). I thus named this construction the *discourse of I/SGCSE as a paradigm shift*. This order of discourse also seemed to be manifested through another construction of I/SGCSE which I called the *discourse of modern standards*.

According to Frame, citing Guba and Lincoln (1989), paradigms are “basic belief systems” (2003: 18). They are also defined by Tabulawa (1997) as ways of looking at the world. According to Tabulawa, “practitioners operating within the same paradigm share an entire constellation of values, beliefs and techniques” (1997: 191), therefore they view the world in the same way. In terms of critical realism, the “basic belief systems” noted by Guba and Lincoln would be understood as discursively constructed. To construct the shift from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE as a paradigm shift, therefore, is to claim that the two curriculum programmes (GCE O-level and I/SGCSE) draw from different belief systems and that they represent different ways of looking at the world of learning and teaching.

In England, where the two curriculum programmes originate, this paradigm shift occurred in 1988 (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2007a, 2007b). The 1980s was a time when theorisation about curriculum was influenced by postmodern thought (Frame, 2003). The discourses of a free market economy and democracy discussed in 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.2 respectively are notions associated with postmodernism. Postmodernist world views take an anti-positivist view of the world and thus they are opposed to a modernist view as discussed in 4.2.1.1. Postmodernists view the world as complex, rapidly changing, and unstable, in contrast to a view of the world as fixed and unchanging which characterised the modernisation period.

GCE O-level was developed in 1951 (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2007a), so is clearly a product of the age of modernity. In Swaziland it was introduced in the mid 1960s. The IGCSE, on the other hand, was developed in the 1980s (ibid). It would seem then that the two curriculum programmes are founded on different pedagogical paradigms, and that they embody assumptions about the social world, about the nature of reality, and about the learner which are entirely opposed to one another (Tabulawa, 1997). While the 1950s curriculum celebrated order and predictability, the broader social and economic environment of the 1980s required that curriculum be based on a view of the world as complex, rapidly changing, and unstable (Frame, 2003). There is also evidence in the data that suggests that the I/SGCSE curriculum system is underpinned by a postmodern view of the world. The following statements from the data seem to indicate a belief in a changing world as opposed to a fixed and predictable world:

It develops in line with changing needs, and is regularly updated and extended (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010b: n.p).

Education is continually changing. CIE keeps ahead by updating the entire Cambridge IGCSE suite regularly. Schools tell us they want a balance: between thoroughly revising syllabuses so they adapt to changes in the world, and adjusting them year-on-year so they remain relevant to students and stable for teachers (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p).

According to Frame, reality underpinning a postmodern curriculum:

. . . is not presented as somehow operating according to universal laws. Rather, it is understood as being constituted through the multiple experiences of various human subjects in a variety of contexts, who make sense of reality through their own cultures, languages, etc. (2003: 31).



Frame's statement suggests that a postmodern curriculum allows the "teacher and learner to negotiate the space between students' real life experiences and the disciplinary knowledge that comprises cultural capital" (Sawyer, 2006). In Bernsteinian language, such curricula are concerned with weakening the boundaries that exist between horizontal discourses (home discourses) and vertical discourses (school discourses). Postmodern curricula therefore require a mode of regulation that is not "visible" as in the case of modernism but one that is "implicit" (Hartley, 2003); one underpinned by a view of knowledge "as a product of social interaction" (Tabulawa, 2003: 9). It is therefore not surprising that a distinction between GCE O-level and IGCSE (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b) indicates that the two curriculum programmes emphasise different modes of regulation. For example, the IGCSE focuses on learner-centred approaches (see 4.2.2.1), mixed-ability classes, and differentiated assessment that suit individual learners, while GCE O-level emphasises didactic, content-led, and common approaches (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b). The CIE, therefore, also drew on the *discourse of modern standards* in constructing IGCSE, suggesting that it promotes new or modern views of curriculum which operate within a postmodernist paradigm as opposed to a modernist paradigm.

Explicit modes of regulation, characterising a modernist curriculum and underpinned by a view of knowledge "as a commodity whose existence is independent of the learner" (Tabulawa, 1997: 191), are believed to be limiting of variety, debates, and difference and therefore not capable of releasing the creativity and innovativeness (Hartley, 2003) which the new world of free markets and democracy requires. Traditional approaches to curriculum such as explicit whole-class instruction (Hartley, 2003), teacher-centredness, and objectivism in which the teacher deductively and authoritatively transmits knowledge to the learner are thus rejected in postmodernist thinking in favour of approaches that are postmodernist such as progressivism, learner-centredness, and reconstructionism (see 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.2.1).

The visibility of the mode of regulation suggested in the old curriculum seemed to be seen by the MOET as not having the ability to develop skills in learners which are needed for survival in the new economy, hence the need to replace GCE O-level with IGCSE as suggested in the statement below:

In my view what led to the change I think it is that many of our children were just doing the old way . . . or old style of teaching. (*Nguloku regurgitator leinformation uphindze uyibuyise injalo*) It is the regurgitation of information

and reproducing it. So (*nyalo like ngishito kutsi labantfwana bebanga . . . bebanga fithi kahle into the field of work*) now like I said before the children were not fitting quite well into the world of work (*Uyabona, abanama skills. Nalama life skills nje kute*) because they don't have skills not even life skills. (*But ke with the IGCSE uyawabona lama skills a in place*) But with IGCSE the skills are clearly developed (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

This statement also suggests that traditional approaches to teaching, which draw from the view of knowledge as fixed and unchanging, constitute the taken-for-granted classroom world of Swazi teachers. The paradigm shift therefore could be said to be representing a shift from normalised ways of teaching to new and unfamiliar ways of teaching, as suggested in the following statements:

It's what I can define as, you know, just a shift from what we knew very well to what was modified to something new (MOET interview 1; 13 July, 2009).

I was saying there are so much demands of the IGCSE as compared to the old syllabus where teachers were used to . . . you know teaching using the old methods. [. . .] the teachers were so much used to the old methods [. . .]. But you know education being a dynamic thing we were really compelled to introduce it [I/SGCSE] (MOET interview 1; 13 July, 2009; insertion added).

You see, in my view they haven't quite shed the old style of teaching, that is the lecture, question and answer etc. (*Kutsi bantfwana babentise bo ma project nje in general uyabona. Babentise letintfo. Basengakaphumi kahle.*) But others are trying. (*But kusasala*) They have not yet adjusted to the practical nature of IGCSE, such as making them do projects. Even though others are trying but it is still lacking somehow (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

The assumption that teachers will simply change their teaching practice is unrealistic. As Tabulawa explains, when referring to the case of Botswana, to ask teachers to shift from one paradigm to another is to ask them to change their views about knowledge, the learner, their role, and the organisation of the classroom in general (1997). This may be difficult, hence Tabulawa argues:

But this [shifting from one view to another] also necessarily calls for the disintegration of the reigning paradigm, thus of the practitioner's taken-for-granted classroom world. For the practitioners (i.e. teachers and students) such an experience might be anomic since it might lead to the disruption of the existing cognitive order leading to a possible deskilling effect. The result of this might be the practitioners' rejection or subversion of the proposed pedagogical innovation (1997: 192; insertion added).

This assumption arguably holds true for Swaziland, which is still a traditional society holding on to its traditions. It is a country that believes in a static and unchanging world. Pedagogy<sup>7</sup> (Bernstein, 2000) in Swazi homes, community and government is thus "visible" (see 4.3.2.1, 4.3.1.1, 4.3.1.2) while the view of a complex and dynamic world underpinning I/SGCSE requires an "invisible" pedagogy.

This contradiction between what the Swazi teachers know from home and what the new I/SGCSE curriculum mandates may contribute in exerting a constraining effect on the change from GCE O-level and I/SGCSE. Drawing on Gee (1996, 1999), this is because the home life of the Swazi teacher and learner apparently does not transmit values, attitudes, and knowledge which allow them access to, and guarantee them success in, the mastery of invisible forms of pedagogy.

### **5.2.2 The discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis**

According to Grundy (1987), curriculum as practice and praxis is underpinned by a view of curriculum as socially constructed in interactions (curriculum as practice) and activities (curriculum as praxis). This order of discourse is in contrast to traditional curriculum discourses which view curricula as something separate from the experiences of learners. The order of discourse *curriculum as practice and praxis* was represented in a number of discourses which I called the *discourse of understanding*, the *discourse of emancipation*, the *discourse of curriculum as learner-centred*, the *discourse of curriculum as skills-based*, the *discourse of equality and fairness*, and the *discourse of curriculum as subject-based*.

One way in which this order of discourse became evident in the data was clearly through the privileging of the *understanding* and *emancipation* of learners. The MOET claims that, “[i]n the IGCSE examination, recall knowledge is not a goal in itself. Far more important, is the development of learners’ understanding” (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005a: 7).

According to Grundy, the *discourse of understanding* emphasises making meaning of situations through the act of interpretation (ibid, 1987). Grundy further claims that establishing meaning is a crucial process because every learner brings into the classroom predispositions and fore-meanings hence:

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<sup>7</sup> Bernstein refers to any context where an expert and a novice interacts as a pedagogic context.

The process of understanding or interpretation of text is the process of allowing our own prejudices (pre-judgements) to interact with the meaning that the author of the text intended so that the text becomes "meaningful" (Grundy, 1987: 67).

It seems, therefore, that the meaning-making process conditions learning and teaching practice at the *level of the actual* which allows the knowledge and experiences the learner brings from home to be used to enhance learning. That is, it calls for the weakening of the boundaries between home discourses and school discourses. Furthermore, it requires that learners and teachers work together through deliberations in establishing meaning. It is therefore not surprising that in my analysis "interaction" between the teacher and the learner and between learners is emphasised in all the data. Deliberation or "human interaction" (ibid: 68) occurs when curriculum is seen as a practical matter rather than a directive, and where all participants, regardless of differences, are regarded as subjects not objects (ibid; Kelly, 1989). It would seem, therefore, that deliberations are constrained when the power and control relations between the teacher and the learner are strong, such as in the case of the pre2006 education system of Swaziland. The implication of emphasising understanding is that in the new I/SGCSE curriculum it is not a product but a practice (Grundy, 1987; Kelly, 1989; Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009) (see 2.4). The designers of the new curriculum construct curriculum from an ideological position rather than from a position which sees it as autonomous from social contexts. They see curriculum as a social practice in which the teacher and learner are actively involved in making meaning of the world, as opposed to the transmission of a "thing" that exists "outside and prior to human experience" (Grundy, 1987: 5). The change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE may thus be enabled if teachers in Swaziland also view curriculum in this way but may be constrained if their view of curriculum draws more from an autonomous position of curriculum as a product.

The discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis is also underpinned by an interest in the emancipation of the learner. It is therefore not surprising that there seemed to be a tendency in the data to use words such as "interaction", "action", "critique", and "reflection" when describing the I/SGCSE curriculum. Such words signal an interest in emancipation. Emancipation in Habermas' understanding means "independence from all that is outside the individual" (Habermas, 1971 in Grundy 1987: 16). In Bernstein's (2000) terms, it means freedom from all repressive forms of authority. Grundy views curriculum informed by an emancipatory interest as concerned with empowering learners with the ability to take control

of their own lives in autonomous and responsible ways (Grundy, 1987: 19). A few examples are provided below:

The Cambridge curriculum now offers the opportunity for the addition of cross-curricular dimensions in the form of new, interdisciplinary, Cambridge IGCSEs. They encourage creativity, provoke reflection and promote joined-up thinking (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p).

Values clarification helps learners to: . . . [u]se both rational thinking and emotional awareness to examine their personal feelings, values and behaviour patterns (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 8).

Eh the child, any child any where should understand, be critical, should be able to analyse and be able to be innovative. You see in other words, we are not innovative because we are simply, as I said; we are picking what my grandfather used to learn. My father learned the same. It is brought to me, I learn the same. So we cannot develop. We cannot change. In other words we are simply going round and round the same thing. We cannot invent anything. Look around this room and see if there is anything that a Swazi child has contributed in designing and making. Nothing. Everything that is here is something that was done by someone before and our Swazi child has simply followed and also says ok you take this piece of wood, you put glue, and you do this and he has not been given an opportunity to say you don't necessarily need to use glue. He could think and find something else that can be used in place of glue. And use something else (MOET, interview 4; 24 July, 2009).

Each of the extracts above seems to indicate various aspects of the *discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis* (see also 2.4.1). First, they suggest a teaching and learning environment that is interactive rather than authoritative such as in the use of “joined-up thinking” in the first extract and the rejection of practices that do not give students the opportunity to say what they think as indicated in the last extract. Secondly, the extracts also indicate the importance of being critical of all knowledge, and the need to reflect on that knowledge in the process of meaning-making. The second and last extracts clearly indicate this. Being critical means school knowledge is not passively received but critically considered and if need be challenged in order to come up with something new. Thirdly, the last part of the last extract which reads, “And use something else”, also indicates the importance of autonomous action, that is, giving learners the opportunity to do things in their own ways so that they become active participants in the construction of their own knowledge. The MOET's and CIE's concern with autonomy and freedom of the learner thus suggests that they reject imposition on, and control of, the learner.

The statements above seem to indicate that the CIE and MOET believe that engaging learners in the process or practice of interaction, critique, and reflection may possibly lead to the development of attributes such as creativity, innovativeness, and the ability to challenge and take independent action. These are attributes that are seen as needing to be developed in order for countries to be democratic and hence to be able to participate in the world market as discussed in 4.2. This is not surprising considering that IGCSE was developed in a country that is seen as democratic and developed. The adoption and adaptation of IGCSE therefore could be understood as intended to facilitate a transition from hierarchical and authoritative practices to democratic practices. This transition is important for Swaziland since it has signed agreements with international organisations that necessitate this transition (see 4.3.1.3), and also because Swaziland seems to hold the assumption that economic development will occur if they acquire a share in the global market (see 4.3.2.3). To acquire that share in the world market it is assumed that a workforce that possesses these attributes is necessary. It is therefore not surprising that the MOET and CIE also constructed I/SGCSE as concerned with the development of skills needed for work and study which I called the *discourse of curriculum as skills-based* such as in the examples below:

Cambridge IGCSE helps schools build a curriculum to develop the knowledge and understanding that universities and employers look for. And to develop the skills and dispositions which bring students success in further study and in work (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p).

IGCSE prepares for progression to employment, or to further study (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2008: 9).

So (*nyalo like ngishito kutsi labantfwana bebanga...bebanga fithi kahle into the field of work*) now like I said before the children were not fitting quite well into the world of work (*Uyabona, abanama skills. Nalama life skills nje kute*) because they don't have skills not even life skills. (*But ke with the IGCSE uyawabona lama skills a in place*) But with IGCSE the skills are clearly developed. [. . .]. But (*sizatfu bekungutsi bekubukeka le IGCSE icishe the product ye IGCSE incono ku world market kune product ya O-level*) the reason was that the IGCSE product is much better preferred in the world market than the O-level product in terms of skills (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

When the IGCSE was developed in 1988, the world of work had changed (see 4.2) requiring a new type of worker who, as I have already noted, Castells (1997, 2009) calls a self-programmable worker as opposed to a generic worker. In 4.2.2.2 I indicated that work practices have changed since the 1970s from the production of similar products to serve a similar market to the production of products that are varied to serve the needs of a complex

and changing market. Self-programmable workers can function in the new work environment, characterised as complex and changing, while generic workers are rigid, compliant, and unchallenging, and therefore suitable for the old fixed and predictable work environment. A relevant curriculum in the 1980s, therefore, was one that was able to produce the kind of worker needed in the new industrial world. It would seem then that since IGCSE was developed in 1988, the IGCSE curriculum system aims at preparing learners to function in a work environment characterised as changing and unpredictable as opposed to a stable and predictable world of work, hence the assertion that “Cambridge IGCSE develops learner knowledge, understanding and skills in: . . . flexibility and responsiveness to change” (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p). It would seem therefore that the I/SGCSE curriculum programme aims at producing self-programmable workers.

Flexibility and creativity are important attributes for survival in a changing and complex world (Hartley, 2003; Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009). It is not just flexibility and creativity that are necessary but all other attributes that can enable learners as future workers to adapt to the changing work environment and to contribute to new innovations as the needs of the market change: these include decision-making, team-work, innovativeness, problem-solving, and autonomy (see 4.2.1.2 and 4.2.2.2). I identified twenty-one statements in the data that indicate the type of skills needed for survival in a changing and complex world. Two examples are cited below:

Cambridge IGCSE . . . develops learners' skills in creative thinking, enquiry and problem solving, giving learners excellent preparation for the next stage in their education (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010b: n.p).

The fundamental principles of this curriculum assessment and examination system are;

- . . . the development of oral and practical skills, an investigative approach;
- Use of initiative to solve problems;
- Application of skills, knowledge and understanding, the ability to undertake individual projects and to work in collaboration with other partners or as a team.

(Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 2).

The promotion of such attributes does not require classroom environments that are authoritative and hierarchical, like the pre2006 educational environment. Such environments

are believed to produce attributes of obedience and conformity which are attributes that are viewed as undesirable, constraining productivity, and unsuitable for the new work order (Hartley, 2003; Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009; Ross and Munn, 2008; Castells, 1997). It requires a shift from explicit, direct, whole-class teaching (visible pedagogy in Bernstein's terms) to generic modes of pedagogic practice (Bernstein, 2000) (see 2.4.2.2) Generic modes are based on a new concept of "work and life", one which Bernstein calls "short-termism" (2000: 59) because it is premised on a view of the world as changing and unreliable, as opposed to a fixed and predictable world. Generic modes are concerned with the acquisition of "a set of general skills underlying a range of specific performances which give rise to flexible performances that are directly linked to activities of the market" (ibid, 2000: 55). They are concerned with weakening the boundaries that exist between the world of work and what goes on in school. They operate within an invisible form of pedagogy (ibid) in which learners are free to challenge, voice their opinions, make decisions, and act in ways they think are appropriate.

It is not surprising then that my analysis of the data also indicated the presence of the *discourse of curriculum as learner-centredness*. Learner-centred curriculum practice actively engages learners. The discourse of learner-centredness was strongly represented in all the documents and interview transcripts. Two examples are provided below:

IGCSE places more emphasis on . . . learner-centred education (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005a: 3)

Cambridge IGCSE encourages learner-centred and enquiry-based approaches to learning (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010b: n.p)

Learner-centredness (see 4.2.2.1) is an emergent property of the discourse of progressivism and is founded on social constructivism (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004, 2009; Tabulawa, 2003; Mohammed, 2008). It is underpinned by the belief that learners should be the focus when planning curricula (ibid). It emphasises that individual learners should be actively engaged in the construction of their own knowledge (ibid). It follows then that IGCSE, hence SGCSE, draws on the *discourse of learner-centredness*, considering that it was developed in the 1980s. As seen in 5.2.1 the 1980s was a time when theorisation about curriculum was influenced by postmodern thought (Frame, 2003). Postmodern thought drew on the discourses of a free market economy and democracy, discussed in 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.2. As a progressive approach, learner-centredness is viewed as congruent with democratic values and



practices (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004, 2009; Tabulawa, 1997, 2003, 2009). Tabulawa, for example, argues that learner-centred pedagogy “is a nexus between education and the broader political principles of democracy” (2009: 93). Democratic principles reject the dominance of control of people, hence curriculum practices that strongly classify and frame people are opposed to learner-centred pedagogy. In a learner-centred curriculum the learner is not passive or dominated but rather is empowered and has a voice. Therefore, the *discourse of learner-centredness* is in contradiction to the pre2006 education system of Swaziland, which was inherently hierarchical and authoritative. To privilege learner-centredness is thus to express an interest in democratic values and principles. The change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE could therefore be viewed as an attempt to introduce democratic principles and values. As mentioned earlier, this is to be expected because Swaziland aspires to produce good citizens, to improve the quality of education, and to gain competitive advantage in the world market, and has agreed to introduce democratic practices through agreements signed with international organisations such as the UN and ILO (see 4.3.1.3). Pedagogic practices, in which the learner is dominated and controlled, as practised in pre2006 education, are viewed as having constraining rather than enabling effects on the production of democratic values and principles. It is, therefore, unsurprising that Swaziland changed from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

In addition to the *discourses of curriculum as skills-based and learner-centred*, the *discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis* also emerged through the *discourse of equality and fairness*. The data seemed to indicate that the MOET and CIE also constructed curriculum as a practice that accommodates *all* learners irrespective of their language, race, country of origin, cultural background, and ability. It would seem, therefore, that they were drawing on a humanist view of equality in which equality is seen as similar schooling outcomes for all learners whether these learners are from disadvantaged or advantaged backgrounds, as opposed to the traditional view of equality which emphasised increased enrolment and provision of schooling facilities and materials (see 4.3.2.4). A few examples are provided below:

IGCSE and HIGCSE are offered through the medium of English which, as an international language, helps to promote ideals of equality and understanding between people of diverse backgrounds (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005a: 3).

The syllabuses use international examples and avoid terminology only used in one country. Non-native speakers of English are always treated fairly (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p).

And then it was discriminating in the sense that it was meant for the top 20% of the school population. So they wanted a broader curriculum in the United Kingdom, which could accommodate all children about 60% of children that are in the school system (MOET interview 1; 13 July, 2009).

These statements seem to make several assumptions. The MOET in the first statement seems to assume that classrooms consist of learners who speak different languages either because they are of different ethnic and racial groups or because they are from different countries. The CIE in the second statement seems to assume that some groups, especially non-native speakers of English, are "disadvantaged" while others, especially native speakers of English, are in an "advantaged" position at school. The MOET in the last statement seems to assume that some learners have the ability to learn while others are constrained. What these statements seem to indicate is that learners are different and have different needs and that *all* learners regardless of their differences deserve a chance to learn in school. This is consistent with the view in the National Development Plan of 2009/10–2011/12 that Swaziland at the moment is faced with a problem of differentiated access to school (see 4.3). I have mentioned in 4.3.2.4 that equality does not necessarily mean that *all* learners will achieve the same, but it means ALL should be given a fair and equal chance to learn in the classroom. This implies the I/SGCSE curriculum promotes the adoption of pedagogic practices that allow all learners that fair and equal chance. Culturally responsive pedagogy (see also 2.4.1.1) is based on a belief in catering for all learners. According to Richards, Brown, and Forde:

Culturally responsive pedagogy facilitates and supports the achievement of all students. In a culturally responsive classroom, effective teaching and learning occur in a culturally supported, learner-centred context, whereby the strengths students bring to school are identified, nurtured, and utilized to promote student achievement (2007: 64).

This statement seems to imply that strongly classified and framed classroom environments are less likely to facilitate and support the achievement of all students. Such classroom practices discriminate against some students whose discourse systems are opposed to the school discourses. According to Weinstein, Curran, and Tomlinson-Clarke (2003), "such discrimination occurs when teachers do not recognise that behaviour is culturally influenced; when they devalue, censure, and punish the behaviour of non-mainstream groups; and when

they fail to see that their management practices alienate and marginalise some students, while privileging others” (ibid: 270). In contrast to strongly classified and framed classrooms, equal access to learning is believed to be enhanced when the classroom environment helps students close the gap between school and home (Richards et al, 2007). According to Grundy (1987), to be concerned with issues of equality and fairness is to be informed by an emancipatory interest. Emancipation rejects notions of conformity, authority, and control (ibid). As opposed to teacher-dominated lessons, equal access to learning is enhanced when the teacher uses “the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students . . .” (Gay 2000: 29 in Howard, 2003: 196). Such classrooms are interactive, allowing sharing of ideas and materials, and working together (Weinstein et al, 2003). It seems, therefore, that the *discourse of equality and fairness* is consistent with the *discourse of learner-centredness*.

Another way in which the *discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis* emerged was through the *discourse of curriculum as subject-focused*. The following data extracts indicate the presence of this discourse:

These Cambridge IGCSE subjects introduce students to the theory and concepts that underpin the subjects (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p).

Cambridge IGCSE develops learner knowledge, understanding and skills in: subject content ... (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010b: n.p).

A focus on subject content is usually associated with a technicist kind of pedagogic practice in which the teacher transmits content knowledge to learners who are seen as empty vessels needing to be filled with knowledge. The second extract, however, seems to suggest that the CIE approach to the mastery of the subject knowledge is not through transmission but through understanding. There is further evidence in the texts that a subject-based approach to curriculum is viewed in a much broader way by CIE; one in which mastery of the content knowledge is seen as a base for the development of higher-order skills as indicated in the extracts below:

Subject-based syllabuses allow for much more than the transmission of knowledge necessary for further study or work. They promote meaningful engagement in real problems, and help develop high-level skills that students can apply in unfamiliar situations (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p).

Using the "discipline" and approach of an individual subject, thinking about the world can be rigorous and demanding. The world looks very different to a biologist than it does to a historian (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p).

My analysis of the texts revealed that, for the CIE, a subject-focused approach is also a means through which the varying needs of learners are catered for in the programme. For example:

Schools can offer any combination of subjects. Each subject is certificated separately. Over 70 subjects are available, including more than 30 language courses, offering a variety of routes for learners of different abilities (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010b: n.p).

It seems, therefore, that the beliefs underpinning the *discourse of curriculum as subject-focused* are influenced by global discourses of learner-centredness which are embedded in progressivism, such as the belief that learner achievement is possible if the learner is motivated and interested in the learning task (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). The provision of educational alternatives seems for the CIE to be one way in which curriculum is made relevant and sensitive to learner differences (ibid) as indicated in the following statements:

Many schools want to individualise learning, and maximise student engagement and motivation. They want to engage students across the ability range. *They want to put students at the centre, and give them real choice – to choose their own pathways and learn in a style that suits them.* We make sure the full range of students can achieve at Cambridge IGCSE (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p; emphasis added).

How do Cambridge schools use the flexibility of Cambridge IGCSE to build a curriculum to suit their needs? Here are just some of the different models:

- Create a curriculum framework offering students the widest possible range of choices. They can build their learning around their emerging interests.

(University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010a: n.p.)

Seemingly, a focus on subjects, in the view of CIE, is not about the domination and control of the learner as it is traditionally believed but is a strategy through which an educational environment which promotes the freedom of the learner and stimulates learner interest could be achieved. It is also a strategy that contributes to the achievement of equal and fair access to school. Therefore, in my analysis of the data, this discourse is consistent with the other discourses discussed above in that the focus is on the learner rather than the content or

subject. Like all the other discourses discussed previously, it promotes the adoption of new ways of viewing the world of teaching and learning which are in contradiction with the traditional approaches constructing the pre2006 education system of Swaziland.

From the discussion in this section it appears that the I/SGCSE system of education operates with an invisible form of pedagogy in which the power and control relationships between the teacher and the learner are weakly classified and framed, respectively, allowing the learner a chance to actively engage in the construction of knowledge. This is a context that is different and opposed to the pre2006 system of education which was hierarchical and authoritative. The implication of the introduction of I/SGCSE for teachers in Swaziland, therefore, is that they should adopt new ways of thinking about curriculum, knowledge, and the learner; ways that for many contradict the ways they were socialised in the pre2006 system of education.

### **5.2.3 The discourse of learners as knowledgeable**

The *discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis* suggests that learners are not empty vessels into which a teacher pours knowledge but rather that learners possess knowledge and skills which could be used in the classroom to enhance their understanding of school knowledge. I have therefore referred to this view of learners as drawing from an order of discourse which I called the *discourse of learners as knowledgeable*. This order of discourse emerged in the data through discourses which I named the *discourse of learners as active and creative* and the *discourse of learner diversity*.

Emerging from my data texts is the belief that learners are diverse. This discourse is underpinned by the belief that learners bring into the classroom differences in terms of culture, language, gender, race, ability, learning style, etc. These factors, and many others, affect the way learners respond to classroom environments and instructional practices (Felder and Brent, 2005). The following data extracts show an awareness of a range of different ways in which learners are diverse:

Over 70 subjects are available, including more than 30 language courses, offering a variety of routes for learners of different abilities (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2010b: n.p).

The content of IGCSE subjects is tailored to the multi-cultural, multi-lingual audience they serve (University of Cambridge International Examinations, 2008: 6).

It is very important to recognise that in a classroom or in a school setting we are not going to have only the able students, if I may put it that way. In a classroom you have a mixture of candidates. If you take the old system it assumed that all students are able. But IGCSE eh . . . it's cognisant of the fact that the candidates of the students are not of the same ability hence the core and the extended idea to say . . . let us not frustrate those students who are less able with what we know is very difficult. Let them do what they are capable of doing. If they feel they are capable of going a step further than the core they can also register for HIGCSE because it was . . . decided that it was the parent and the students who decide whether to sit for core or to sit for extended. So, one of the reasons was that it caters for the differing abilities of the candidates (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

It emerges from the above extracts that classrooms are believed by the MOET and CIE to be consisting of learners who are different culturally, linguistically, and in ability amongst others. Even though all classroom environments have diverse learners, due to globalisation diversity seems to be increasing (Nguyen, Terlouw, and Pilot, 2006; Villegas, 1991). Diversity brings challenges in the classroom. Studies highlight two main problems associated with diversity. First, a problem arises when teachers have to teach learners who share neither the language nor the culture of some of the students he/she teaches (Gutierrez, 2000; Barnes, 2006). Secondly, a problem arises when educational policies are imported from the West to be implemented in a culturally different environment (Nguyen et al, 2006). Both instances limit the opportunities for learners with a culture that is different from that of their teacher, or if the learners' culture (inherited beliefs, values, and practices) is different from the school's socio-cultural norms (Gutierrez, 2000; Weinstein et al, 2003). Such learners often fail to produce the "texts" required by the teacher or the school, hence they often fail in school while their counterparts whose cultural heritage is consistent with that of the teacher or the school are recognised as "able" and then pass in school (Gee, 1996, 1999; Bernstein, 2000) (see 2.4.1.3 and 2.4.1.4). Learner diversity, therefore, often results in inequality in educational opportunities. This discourse is consistent with the *discourse of equality and fairness* discussed in the previous section. It would seem that because the MOET and CIE view learners as diverse, curriculum has to address the diversity which has the potential of resulting in unequal opportunities for learners.

Culturally relevant pedagogy highlighted in the previous section requires that teachers do not see the differences in learners as a problem but rather as a resource for enhancing their understanding of school knowledge (Gutierrez, 2000; Nguyen et al, 2006; Howard, 2003; Weinstein et al, 2003; Barnes, 2006; Richards et al, 2007). It requires that learners' diverse

knowledge and skills be recognised, respected, and utilised in the classroom to complement, supplement, and develop understanding of school knowledge, thus creating opportunities for all to succeed (ibid). Teachers use as a resource the learners' horizontal (everyday/commonsense) ways of thinking and behaving (Bernstein, 2000) in harnessing opportunities for understanding and participation in school. According to Richards et al, the teacher "recognizes and utilizes the students' culture and language in instruction, and ultimately respects the students' personal and community identities" (ibid: 66). The *discourse of learner diversity* therefore requires that teachers view learners as bringing to the school knowledge and skills which they acquired from home and through life experiences, not as empty vessels. It also requires that teachers view knowledge as socially constructed, involving the learners, rather than as something that is passively received by learners. Unsurprisingly, my analysis of the data also indicates the presence of the *discourse of learners as active and creative* as indicated in the following data extracts:

By their very nature learners are creative, imaginative, knowledgeable, skills oriented, inquisitive, curious and have different learning styles (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 6).

Project work derives from the conviction that a pupil is an active and creative individual who has the will and potential to seek knowledge and self-development (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 7).

Although this view of the learner was not always explicitly stated as in the two statements above, it was implied in almost all the documents and interviews analysed. Viewing the learner as creative and active is opposed to viewing the learner as a passive recipient of knowledge. The latter view is based on the assumption that the learner knows nothing and therefore needs to be filled with knowledge. This assumption dominated traditional views of education such as the pre2006 education system of Swaziland and it is strongly opposed by contemporary ideas where learners are seen as active and creative. The *discourse of learners as creative and active* stems from learner-centred approaches (Muller, 2001) discussed in 4.2.2.1 and it is based on the assumption that the learner brings into the classroom background knowledge and skills which can be used as a resource for his/her learning. *Creativity* is explained by Seltzer and Bentley (1999) in Hartley as "the ability to make, rather than to take, problems; and to be able to apply knowledge across contexts" (2003: 85). It is therefore enhanced in a democratic environment, or in progressive modes of pedagogic practice, where the individual is free to act and challenge without fear of intimidation (ibid;

Bernstein, 2000). It seems, therefore, that the *discourse of learners as active and creative* is postmodernist, underpinned by the *discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis* (see previous section), in contrast to curriculum as transmission of predetermined knowledge which underpins previous systems of education in Swaziland. Hence it is consistent with the *discourse of curriculum as learner-centred* which is founded on progressivism (Muller, 2001) (see 5.2.2 and 4.2.1.2).

It appears, therefore, that, while the old systems of education in Swaziland conditioned pedagogic practice in which the teacher dominated and controlled the learning and teaching environment, the orders of *discourse* discussed so far (*learners as knowledgeable* and *curriculum as practice and practice*) which seem to underpin the new I/SGCSE system of education require classroom practices in which the teacher relinquishes his/her power and control to allow the learner to contribute, to challenge, and to act freely in his/her own ways. To teach "appropriately", therefore, in this new I/SGCSE teaching environment, for many Swazi teachers means adopting new ways of viewing knowledge, the curriculum, and the learner.

#### **5.2.4 The discourse of teacher as facilitator**

There are basic ways in which the teacher could be viewed: as a director or as a facilitator. When a teacher directs s/he dominates and controls the learning and teaching process. On the other hand when a teacher facilitates s/he makes it possible for learners to engage actively in their own learning. My analysis of the documents and interview data indicates that in the I/SGCSE curriculum system teachers are constructed as facilitators showing that the MOET and CIE subscribe to a discourse which I named the *discourse of teacher as facilitator*. Even though there were only two explicit references to this, the teacher in the new I/SGCSE curriculum system is expected to be a facilitator. I argue that the way I/SGCSE (5.2.1), the curriculum (5.2.2), and the learner (5.2.3) are constructed in the analysed texts all subscribe to the *discourse of teacher as facilitator*. In the two instances this is how facilitation was described:

Unlike with IGCSE where you would have to probe information from the students, let students contribute what they know, what they think about the topic and then you guide them into their learning. Because IGCSE is saying that the teacher should be a facilitator rather than somebody who has come to tell the students . . . everything (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).



But they are no longer the kind of teachers that would just go there . . . put grammar into the heads of the children and so on and so forth. Now they facilitate. They start something. They let the students discuss, and they let students participate, come out with some of the questions and answers, answer them among themselves. Then the teacher facilitates (MOET interview 4; 24 July, 2009).

The way the MOET explained facilitation in the two statements above, and also the way it is implied through the other discourses discussed in earlier sections, indicates that curriculum is viewed as a social process in which the teacher and the learners interact in the construction of knowledge. They therefore understand curriculum from an ideological position and reject practices in which the teacher “would just go there . . . put grammar into the heads of the children” (MOET interview 4; 24 July, 2009) or “come to tell the students” (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009). The MOET therefore rejects autonomous views of curriculum that are based on a view of knowledge as something that can be transmitted from the teacher to the learner, such as was the case in the pre2006 education system of Swaziland.

This is to be expected because the *discourse of a teacher as facilitator* is a discourse that is inherently learner-centred (Gonzalez, 2009) and progressive (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004, 2009). It (the discourse) assumes that all learners can learn if they are provided with an environment that supports their development. That environment is assumed to be one in which the teacher relinquishes his/her power and control over the learning and teaching process to give the learner an opportunity to construct his/her own meaning and understanding of school knowledge. Progressivists reject visible forms of pedagogy in which the teacher makes all the decisions with regard to content, sequencing, pacing, and evaluation. When such decisions are in the power of the teacher, the learner is dominated and controlled and thus made to see the world in the teacher’s way. They argue that learner development and democracy are constrained when the teacher assumes such authoritarian positions (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). And reconstructionists argue that assuming such hierarchical and authoritarian positions perpetuates inequalities both within and outside the school (ibid) (see 4.3.1.3 and 4.2.1.1).

This discourse, therefore, converges with the other discourses discussed in the previous sections of this chapter in creating a new teaching environment for the teachers of Swaziland. For these teachers to teach “appropriately” they need to change from what they are used to

and see themselves as facilitators rather than directors in the learning and teaching process as was the case in the previous systems of education in Swaziland.

### **5.2.5 Summarising the cultural aspect of the I/SGCSE curriculum**

It appears that there is consistency within the cultural system of the I/SGCSE curriculum. In addition, the discourses forming the cultural system seem to be consistent with global discourses such as the discourse of democracy and freedom, and also consistent with the demands of the new globalisation structure (see 4.2). Discourses such as the *discourse of curriculum as skills-based*, the *discourse of curriculum as learner-centred*, the *discourse of equality and fairness*, and the *discourse of learner diversity*, are school discourses which emerge from global discourses and structures such as *democracy*, the *free market economy*, *economic development*, and *globalisation* (see 4.2). They are underpinned by a view of the world as changing, complex, and unpredictable. It would seem, therefore, that the emergence of an I/SGCSE curriculum programme is influenced by global structural and cultural mechanisms at the *level of the real*. It is thus shaped by the underlying principles of democracy. The discourses exert pressure on teaching and learning events and experiences at the *levels of the actual and empirical* towards invisible forms of pedagogic practice in which the power relations between the teacher and learners are weak. Such pedagogic practice is understood to have the ability to develop and maintain democratic principles (see 4.2). I argue, therefore, that the embedding of these discourses in the I/SGCSE curriculum is a structuring mechanism for the privileging of weak power relations that are seen as able to harness the possibility for (i) the transformation of the Swazi society to a democratic society, (ii) accessing the global market, (iii) improving chances that all learners in the classroom access school discourses, and (iv) improving the economic situation of Swaziland (see 4.3).

It would seem then that the I/SGCSE curriculum prepares Swazi children for a life in a democratic world. However, I have demonstrated in 4.3 that Swaziland is not a democratic society. While the I/SGCSE curriculum draws from a view of the world as complex, changing, and unpredictable, Swazi life is underpinned by a view of the world as fixed and unchanging. It would seem therefore that the home of the Swazi teacher and learner does not prepare them for participation and success in the new school system. Such contradiction in the way the world is perceived may exert a constraining power on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. I now turn to structural mechanisms.

### 5.3 Structural mechanisms underlying the I/SGCSE curriculum system

According to Gee (1990), one of the factors that influences the extent to which one can acquire membership of a new Discourse and mastery of literacy is exposure to the target Discourse. The overall purpose of this section is to explore the structures that enable or constrain the reproduction and sustainability of the discourses privileged in the new I/SGCSE curriculum system (see 5.2 above).

#### 5.3.1 Small class sizes

The official teacher-pupil ratio for secondary schools in Swaziland is 1:35. However, classes in some schools, especially in urban schools, exceed thirty-five (NDP<sup>8</sup> 2009/10–2011/12). In the light of the introduction of I/SGCSE, the MOET acknowledged that there is a need to revisit class size (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b). This concern with class size is not surprising as the discourses underpinning the I/SGCSE curriculum system seem to privilege invisible forms of pedagogic practice. Bernstein argues that a small class size is a condition for invisible forms of pedagogic practice:

The invisible pedagogy presupposes a particular form of maternal primary socialization *and* a small class of pupils *and* a particular architecture. Where these are absent, the teacher may well find great difficulty. Ideally the invisible pedagogy frees the teacher so that time is available for ameliorating the difficulties of any one child, but if the class is large, the socialization, from the point of view of the school, inadequate, the architecture inappropriate, then such individual assistance becomes infrequent and problematic. Here we see that such a pedagogy, if it is to be successfully implemented in its own terms, necessarily requires minimally the same physical conditions of the middle-class school. It is an *expensive* pedagogy because it is derived from an expensive class: the middle class (Bernstein, 1975: 129, original emphases).

It would seem, therefore, that in the context of I/SGCSE implementation small class sizes may have an enabling effect on the ability of teachers to adopt invisible pedagogic practices while a big class size may have a constraining effect. Thus the size of classes has conditioning power over the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. It follows, therefore, that the MOET should be concerned about it.

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<sup>8</sup> NDP - National Development Plan

### 5.3.2 Participatory teaching and diverse assessment strategies

The I/SGCSE curriculum system privileges the adoption of active participatory teaching strategies and a wide range of assessment techniques (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b) at the level of actual teaching practice. For example, the following data extract highlights the nature of teaching associated with the new I/SGCSE teaching context:

. . . active participatory teaching methods, techniques and activities are of great significance in the (H)IGCSE Programme (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005a: 7).

These active participatory approaches are listed in the consultative document as including field work, project or research work, debate, group work, resource persons, role-play or drama, and values clarification (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005a). Hence, according to an MOET research participant, learners in this new programme:

. . . are involved in the sense that they have to do RESEARCH, they have to THINK, they have to be involved in PROJECTS. They must know how to formulate the . . . you know . . . how to develop knowledge for themselves (MOET Interview 1; 13 July, 2009).

The privileging of active participatory approaches therefore seems to be underpinned by the view of knowledge as socially constructed rather than as something passively received by learners. These approaches, according to the MOET, emphasise problem-solving methods and active participation (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b). The privileging of these approaches seems to be consistent with the *discourses of curriculum as practice and praxis*, the *discourse of learners as knowledgeable*, and the *discourse of the teacher as facilitator* underpinning the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. In the same way, using a wide range of assessment techniques to test a variety of skills including initiative and problem solving, application, knowledge, and understanding (ibid) seems to be consistent with these discourses and in particular with the belief that learners are different with respect to needs and interests and learning preferences. It seems, therefore, that such teaching and assessment techniques support the cultural system discussed earlier. However, its power can only be exercised if adopted by teachers at the level of actual teaching practice. It seems that the MOET and CIE exercised their agency to facilitate the adoption of these techniques by organising staff development programmes for teachers. Staff development is defined by the MOET as:

. . . those activities that are designed to enhance the capacity of the teacher to effectively deliver the educational programme (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 12).

Four different levels of staff development were planned by the MOET. First, staff development was to occur at the school level:

It is expected that there will be staff development at school level, with or without external assistance (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 12).

Heads of department as well as nominal heads need to be appointed to help the subject teachers with materials and teaching methods (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 14).

Staff development was also planned to occur at school cluster level:

Schools can form clusters where subject teachers could share knowledge and expertise on best practices. In this case external resources could also be utilized to enrich the practising teachers who are used as resource persons (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 12).

. . . we organised what we called clusters. Schools that are close to each other had to form cluster where they would then come together to discuss this new shift. Then they would be assigned one of the TOT<sup>9</sup>s to go and assist (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009; Footnote added).

Staff development was also planned at regional and national level through workshops and in-service programmes offered by the MOET:

Another strategy for staff development is teacher attendance and participation in workshops organized by the inspectorate (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 13).

There is need to in-service teachers on new teaching strategies to be carried out by the inspectorate (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 14).

According to the interviewees, these workshops were held a number of times in all four regions of Swaziland:

Workshops were held. That is, a number of workshops were held (MOET interview 1; 13 July, 2009).

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<sup>9</sup> TOT refers to Teachers of Teachers

The Ministry also organised its workshops regionally as you would know that the country has four regions so we were visiting the regions inviting all the teachers to the workshops and these facilitators were used. Eh . . . that is the TOTs to assist the teachers in understanding what has happened with the subjects (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

The role of the TOTs was to train other teachers at national workshops held by the MOET and in cluster workshops organised by teachers.

Our aim here was to use the cascading model where these teachers would then go out, organise workshops, teach the other teachers. Or, if the Ministry is one that has organised the workshops would then use these as facilitators of the workshops (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

It seems that it was so important for the MOET that teachers were adequately trained. For that reason, the workshop facilitators were trained by the designers of IGCSE programme:

*(We had ema....kutsiwa yini...ema TOTs, to start with)* In the first place we had TOTs. *(Kutfolakale umuntfu lotoba trainer from Cambridge loyi subject specialist)* We got subject specialists from CIE to train the TOTs (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

With the workshops what happened is that a group of teachers let's say 25 teachers were brought together and were trained by specialists, in the teaching of the subjects and assessing of the subjects, from Cambridge in England to come and teach what we call TOTs, that is, Teachers of Teachers (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

Drawing from my experience as a participant in and sometimes a facilitator of the workshops, these workshops were two-day workshops that were held once at the beginning of each year. The focus of the workshops was described by two MOET research participants as follows:

OK. *(Kwekucala kwabangulokutsi here is a new syllabus, kubenta babe aware of le...le syllabus.)* First it was to make them aware of the new syllabus; *(Sibente bakhone kuyi interpreter le syllabus)* making them able to interpret the syllabus; *(Batsi bangayi interpreter sibahlomise ngema teaching strategies lamele bawasebentise ku addresser lama topics lakhona laka IGCSE)* providing them with teaching strategies that address topics in the IGCSE syllabus; *(Nekubaniketa ke kutsi eh....which books can they use kuze kutsi bakhone ku addresser lama topics lakhona la ku syllabus)* providing them with a list of recommended text books; *(nekutsi sibabonise kutsi i assessment ke nyalo yale nangu . . . seyishintjile. Ayisanolandzela the old style uyabona yaka O-level. But i assessment nyalo seyitawubuka naku, nanaku nanaku)* and to

make them aware that assessment will no longer follow the old O-level style but will also change (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

So the syllabus was infused through workshops and other workshops were carried out to look at how assessing the subject and how assessment instruments could be prepared when teaching using the IGCSE method (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

The focus of the workshops was to help the teachers acquire the ways of teaching recognised by the CIE and MOET as legitimate I/SGCSE teaching practice. The MOET research participants described these workshops as practical and participatory.

*(Lalabanye ke bothishela they were actually in a workshop because baya . . . baya presenter labanye baya interrogator loku. Bayabuketa le syllabus, they ask questions eh . . . yini lokunye . . . sibanikete batsatse ema list aletincwadzi.)* The other teachers were actually in a workshop because they presented, some interrogating this and that, critically going through the syllabus, asking question eh . . . what else? . . . taking the list of recommended textbooks. *(Seyini lenye labebayenta? Yah, bebabukeka bangema active participants nje kule workshop babuta nemibuzo labangeva khona. Yes)* What else were they doing? Yah, they looked like active participants in the workshop, asking question where they needed clarity (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

We normally conduct workshops. Like in January, February we had workshops whereby we go and have discussions with the teachers. We have some, you know, PRACTICALS (*emphasis*) with the teachers. They get involved, they do some of these things. Like marking or positive marking. Some of them, you know, act the role of a student, do the work. The others mark. They change over the roles and things like that. Some of them take the role of teaching. They teach. Others criticise, and so on and on. So that at the end of the day they are learning something that you know some of them are not very much conversant with so, you know, such exercises, such activities help them to change. It is quite a number of them of course change (MOET interview 4; 24 July, 2009).

Lastly, the MOET expected staff development initiatives at the level of the individual teacher:

The fourth strategy is personal/individualized development where upon teachers continually research around their subject, using library resources, Information Technology facilities etc. This could closely relate to teacher registration with institutions of higher education and training. Where possible registration of teachers with institution of higher learning is also encouraged (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 13).

There is no doubt that the MOET put some effort into ensuring that teachers acquire the new ways of teaching appropriate for the new system of education. However, despite these efforts there is no guarantee that teachers can now produce the legitimate teaching practice. Bernstein's concept of horizontal and vertical discourses (see 2.4.1.4) and Gee's concepts of primary and secondary discourses (see 2.4.1.3) assist us to understand better why it may be that it is more difficult or easier for some people (teachers in this case) to acquire new discourses. Ornstein and Hunkins assert that "curriculum workers can turn to many sources, but no matter how many sources they draw on or how many authorities they may read or listen to, the decision is theirs to accept or reject the explanations and truths presented" (2004: 31). What Ornstein and Hunkins are implying is that teachers as people are conditioned by the socio-cultural system, not determined by it (see 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.3). Consistent with Ornstein's and Hunkins' view, Archer claims that people are reflexive actors. They choose what they like and dislike, what they agree with and disagree with, what they prefer and do not prefer, whether to be loyal, to be chauvinists, etc (1995, 1996). Their decisions are influenced by the values, attitudes, and beliefs that they have developed through their life experiences (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004; Archer, 1995, 1996). Archer therefore claims that people (teachers in this case) have agential power because their decisions or actions may either reinforce or transform existing structures and cultures. It seems, then, that capacity-building programmes such as the ones planned by the MOET, with all their good intentions, do not have deterministic power to transform the actions of teachers but may only condition their actions.

### **5.3.3 Finance**

What emerges from the data texts is that the implementation of I/SGCSE requires financial resources for it to take place in the expected manner. This is because I/SGCSE seems to require the availability of infrastructure and teaching resources which are not available in many schools in Swaziland. According to the MOET, the implementation of I/SGCSE requires that the infrastructure and resourcing at schools be developed in order to meet the needs of the I/SGCSE programme (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b). This includes well-resourced libraries and laboratories (ibid):

There is need for well recourse [typing error – resourced] libraries and laboratories such as science, computer and language laboratories (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 14; explanation added).



The needed teaching resources also include teaching materials:

Teaching materials are an integral part of the learning process. These can be in the form of books, videos, CD ROMs, charts, maps, instruments, solids, tools, trundle wheel, computers etc. Some teaching aids can be made by teachers and learners designed for a particular topic. The teaching materials, which are core, will be available from bookshops and Macmillan, Heinemann, Longman, Oxford University Press and others publish these (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 11).

Such requirements for the improvements in resources are consistent with the active participatory teaching approaches mandated in the new I/SGCSE programme, discussed in the previous section. Resources such as libraries, computers, internet connection, books, etc may be crucial for the adoption of these mandated participatory approaches. This is not to claim that the provision of these resources will lead to participatory teaching, as critical/social realists through the layered ontology indicate that structures at the *level of the real* do not determine the actions and experiences of people at the *level of actual and empirical* but only condition them. Therefore, given this view, it would seem that there is often little relationship between the provision of resources and change in teaching. But it is only to acknowledge the power it may have amongst others in constraining teachers from adopting the participatory approaches.

Though resources seem to be important for the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE, the data analysis seems to indicate that Swaziland does not have the money to finance these resource requirements:

The concern was there (*but sengilokutsi nje vele phela being Swaziland as we are, uyabona, akukho letintfo but we want to move*) it's just that as Swaziland we don't have the resources but we do want to change (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

This is not a problem unique to Swaziland. Many developing countries face the same problem. Under the worsening economic conditions in Swaziland, teachers, both in rural and urban schools, may be expected to practise participatory teaching with very few resources.

There is evidence in the data that, despite the lack of money to support this educational initiative, there have been efforts made to support teachers in order to meet the challenges of implementing the new curriculum programme:

The support was there. One was that . . . we had prepared a document which was explaining how teachers should teach. There was also another document which had past exam papers showing how scripts were assessed in Cambridge. And some that were not marked which they could use as reference to see how the assessment is going to be carried out in the end (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

In addition to the provision of the I/SGCSE documents mentioned in the above quote, the CIE also provided teachers with access to a CIE teacher support website:

CIE which is the Cambridge Examination Board in England also allowed our teachers to have access to what they call a "teacher support" website where teachers would have a chance of interacting with one another. Where you would place whatever problem you have and then a number of teachers through that website would comment on the . . . providing assistance to those teachers. But what we don't know is whether teachers were using that or not (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

However, further probing revealed that access to the CIE website was not possible for some teachers especially those in disadvantaged schools such as rural schools.

Yes, most teachers were aware. They were told. Probably the problem would have been that maybe some schools do not have access to the internet (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009).

Further investigation also revealed that "some schools" meant "a majority of schools because most schools are in the rural areas" (MOET interview 2; 13 July, 2009). The problem of internet connectivity is not unique to Swaziland. Robertson et al (2007) noted that while developed countries, such as Britain where IGSCSE comes from, have connected almost all their schools to the internet, in Africa fewer than 1% of schools were connected to the internet. It is not clear if those teachers who have access to the internet were able to make use of the CIE website or even to make use of computers in their teaching because it seems as if some, if not many, teachers in Swaziland are not able to use computers. The following data extract indicates this possibility.

Well it could be due to lack of . . . teachers' knowing ICT and teaching the children how to use eh . . . you know computers (MOET interview 1; 13 July, 2009).

Drawing from my own experience, in addition to the aforementioned forms of support, teachers also received a learner's book and a teacher's guide which the MOET produced for

some subject areas. The teacher's guide provides step by step instructions on how to conduct lessons per topic found in the learner's book. This kind of teacher support, with all its good intentions, may, however, be problematic. It seems to indicate an interest in controlling the practice of teachers. Therefore, it seems to be driven by a technical interest and to be drawing on a view of curriculum as something packaged and ready to be used in the classroom (autonomous position). It thus has the potential to deprive teachers "of the opportunity to think creatively about how they teach or what it is that should be taught . . ." (Purple and Shapiro, 1995: 109 in Tabulawa, 2009: 101). The creativity, innovativeness, critical thinking, decision-making, etc, that I/SGCSE seeks to develop in learners, may be constrained if teachers themselves are not given the opportunity to develop these attributes. According to Tabulawa, some degree of student and teacher autonomy is a prerequisite for the development of these attributes.

Furthermore, the analysis of the data revealed that, even though the MOET could not afford to provide the necessary infrastructure, they made an effort to improvise so as to help teachers teach in ways required in the new curriculum. For example:

We are supposed to have, for example . . . we were dreaming of having language labs for English, Siswati and French. And those are very expensive. We have seen that that's expensive; no, we'll just need a tape recorder. I mean a system that can record and so on. That will suffice. So we are looking at resources positively in that way. That's not the best but that is something that we can afford. But in other countries, those developed countries, may be when they talk of resources they will think of building, you know, laboratories for every school. We don't have those means (MOET interview 4; 24 July, 2009).

It is clear therefore that the MOET has made an effort but still teachers in Swaziland are faced with a big challenge in implementing I/SGCSE with inadequate resources. This is a problem that was acknowledged by one of the MOET research participants:

But coming to the work environment the necessary resource materials are not there. (*Aba supporteki kahle in terms of...eh...yini ema teaching whatever*) They are not well supported in terms of teaching resources. (*Like kutsiwa bantfwana ababenaletincwadzi kutsi bangakhona ku researcher. Kute ema library, angitsi uyabona sesifaka bo research, kufakwa nalokwa nalokwa. Kufakwa kuya kuma field trips. Kute timali kahle kubatali kule si . . . kule i economic situation lesesiphila kuyo nyalo*) For example learners are supposed to carryout research and go on field trips but they don't have books, schools don't have libraries and under this economic situation parents don't have money! Yes (MOET interview 3; 13 July, 2009).

It is clear, therefore, that this lack of resources has the potential to constrain teachers from effectively implementing the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. It is important to note that it does not mean that because Swaziland has poor resources teachers are definitely going to fail to implement the new curriculum "appropriately". It also does not mean that if Swaziland had the resources teachers would be able to implement the new programme in the prescribed manner. The power of structural mechanisms only conditions the practice of teachers but does not determine it.

#### **5.3.4 Summarising the structural mechanisms**

The exploration of cultural mechanisms underpinning the I/SGCSE curriculum system indicated that the new curriculum privileges the freedom and autonomy of the learner. This implies that the dominance and control of the learner is "inappropriate" in this new system of education. The CIE and MOET, who are designers of the I/SGCSE, seem therefore to be privileging invisible forms of pedagogy as opposed to visible pedagogy. However, it appears that the transition from visible forms of pedagogy to the new invisible forms of pedagogy is not receiving sufficient structural support in Swaziland. For example, it seems that Swaziland lacks money to finance the teaching resources and infrastructure necessary to enable the adoption of invisible forms of pedagogy. However, there are structural efforts that have been made to support this change. For example, while there is no money to offer training in relation to the new pedagogic practice, some workshops have been conducted, books have been produced, and past exam papers provided to help teachers produce legitimate I/SGCSE teaching practice. However, some of the structural support seems to conflict with the cultural system. For example, the provision of teachers' guides seems to be based on a view of curriculum as something packaged and ready for use which conflicts with the views of curriculum as a process of knowledge construction which underpin the new I/SGCSE curriculum.

### **5.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter I was mainly concerned with what the MOET and CIE, as agents operating in the official recontextualising field (ORF), mandate as "appropriate" pedagogy through the new I/SGCSE curriculum system. The analysis reveals that the I/SGCSE curriculum is underpinned by cultural and structural mechanisms that privilege the freedom and autonomy of the learner. These are mechanisms that seem to be consistent with all the global discourses

and structures identified and discussed in this research (see 4.2). They are also consistent with some of the Swazi discourses and structures identified and discussed in this research such as the *discourse of competitive advantage*, the *discourse of quality education*, and the *membership of international organisations*. However, they are also in contradiction with some Swazi discourses and structures such as the *discourse of morality*, the *Tinkhundla government system*, and the *pre2006 education system*. It seems, therefore, that global structural and cultural mechanisms exerted more influence in conditioning the emergence of I/SGCSE in Swaziland than Swazi discourses and mechanisms did.

Table 5-2 below provides a summary of the mechanisms identified in this study as having interacted in a way that conditioned the decision to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

<b>Empirical</b>	Teachers told to teach I/SGCSE in Swazi schools	
<b>Actual</b>	The emergence of an I/SGCSE curriculum system in Swaziland	
<b>Real</b>	<b>Structural</b>	<b>Cultural</b>
	<i>Pre2006 education, Tinkhundla government system, Membership of international organisations, Small class size, Finance, Participatory teaching and wide assessment strategies, Globalisation, Production processes, Education</i>	<i>Morality, Good citizens, Competitive advantage, Quality education, <b>Paradigm shift, Learners as knowledgeable, Teacher as facilitator, Curriculum as practice and praxis, Economic development, Democracy,</b></i>

**Table 5-2 Cultural and Structural mechanisms responsible for the emergence of I/SGCSE in Swaziland:**  
**Key:** *Swazi national level*; **level of the ORF**; Global level

The cultural and structural mechanisms explored in this chapter relate to the level of the ORF (that is, formal curriculum) not the PRF (that is, actual curriculum). This study is a case study, therefore it goes beyond what is mandated by the MOET and CIE, who operate in the ORF, to how teachers who took part in this study experience this new curriculum programme in their actual places of practice. In the next two chapters I explore how teachers in my study construct and implement the I/SGCSE curriculum system. The next two chapters therefore explore the PRF.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Exploring the underlying mechanisms responsible for the way teachers construct the new I/SGCSE curriculum system**

Implementation of change is influenced by the teacher's ideologies: in other words, by the beliefs and values, the body of ideas which they hold about education, teaching, the schooling process in particular and life in general (Sikes, 1992: 38).

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter and the next chapter are in keeping with the critical realist transformational model of human activity (2.2.3) and Archer's concept of analytical dualism (see 2.3). Throughout this chapter and the next chapter I attempt to separate the "people" from the "parts" (Archer, 1995; 1996). Critical and social realists understand these two levels of reality to be different. I base this chapter on the assumption that the teachers in my study are independent beings with powers and properties that are different from and exist independently of the socio-cultural system that is imposed on them through the introduction of the I/SGCSE curricula. Therefore, the cultural and structural systems explored in chapter 4 and chapter 5 (the intransitive domain of reality) cannot be reduced to how teachers experience and practise (the transitive domain of reality) the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme. That is, what is imposed on the teachers through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme only conditions but does not determine how the teachers think and teach in their respective classrooms.

In this chapter, I am concerned with how the teachers in my study, as Social Agents and Social Actors (Archer, 1995, 1996) with powers of their own (Agency), respond to the socio-cultural system imposed on them through the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. I explore how their circumstances (cultural and structural) contribute in either enabling or constraining their ability to adopt the mandated invisible forms of pedagogic practices. I also explore how they respond to these circumstances (agency).

Teachers are agents who operate in the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF), while the I/SGCSE curriculum programme is a pedagogic device that comes from the official

recontextualising field (ORF) which teachers interpret and transform into actual learning and teaching experiences. In between the ORF and the PRF there is a "discursive gap" which gives room for the emergence of experiences and practices at the *levels of the actual and the empirical* that are different from those prescribed (Bernstein, 2000). Many research studies have shown that the PRF, which represents the actual curriculum of implementation, often does not match the ORF, which represents what is mandated through official curricula (Bernstein, 2000; Kelly, 1989; Grundy, 1987; Sikes, 1992; Levin, 2008). It was therefore important that I separate the PRF from the ORF as they represent different levels of reality in the education system and can be different from one another. They can be different because teachers too have agential power to influence curriculum change (Archer, 1996). Their decisions and practices can either reinforce existing structures and cultures or transform them. The previous chapter was concerned with the ORF and this chapter and the next are concerned with the PRF.

As already indicated in chapter 3, data for this chapter consisted of twenty-seven interviews which were conducted in four schools (two rural and two urban) with twelve teachers (three in each school). In the first phase of data collection, which was also a pilot stage, I interviewed the first six teachers from two schools (one urban and one rural) twice, making a total of twelve interviews. Having realised the repetitive nature of the process, I decided to interview the other six teachers once in the next stage of data collection, making a total of eighteen interviews. During the data analysis phase I conducted nine follow-up interviews, bringing the total to twenty-seven interviews. I divided the data into rural school data and urban school data because initially, as it will be explained later, I had planned to discuss the two cases separately.

This chapter has three sections. In the first section I explore discourses underpinning the way teachers in my study construct the new I/SGCSE school system. In other words, I explore whether teachers have acquired the recognition rules (Bernstein, 2000) of the new I/SGCSE school context. I have called this section *cultural mechanisms constraining or enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE* because I explore the discourses that are held by teachers, which have power to either reproduce or transform the existing teacher-dominated education structures. In the second section of the chapter I explore structural influences on the curriculum change, which I have called *structural mechanisms constraining or enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE*. I use structure in this context to refer to the

material aspect of the school environment which teachers in my study confront in their daily teaching practices and which exert either a constraining or enabling influence on their ability to produce the mandated learner-centred teaching events. In the third section of the chapter I explore how teachers in my study responded to the conditioning influences of the structures they confronted. I have called this section *agential mechanisms constraining or enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE*. I use agency in this section to refer to the decisions teachers take with regard to their teaching practices (in their response to the structures they confront) which contribute either to the maintenance or the transformation of the old system of education.

Because the first part of the chapter is concerned with exploring discourses held by teachers, the analysis of the interview data was undertaken using critical discourse analysis. Even though the qualitative nature of the study did not necessarily require me to concentrate on frequencies, because of space I have concentrated more on those discourses which had a strong presence in the interview data because many of the teachers in my study subscribe to them. I felt that when more teachers in my study engage with a discourse, they are creating or reinforcing that discourse in the education system of Swaziland, while at the same time the discourse creates who they are by conditioning the way they teach. Therefore, in my understanding, the dominant discourses have more influence and impact on the change than when it is only one or two teachers who subscribe to the discourse. However, the analysis of the data revealed that, in most cases, teachers from both rural and urban schools seemed to draw on the same discourses. I therefore diverted from my initial plan of having two discussions, one for the rural school case and the other for the urban school case. I decided to combine the two cases in order to avoid repeating myself. In conducting the critical discourse analysis I also took note of structural and agential aspects raised by the teachers, which formed part of the second and third sections. I used the NVivo qualitative data analysis software to code data into relevant categories (see chapter 3). A summary of the coding undertaken in the analysis of the interview data is presented in appendix D-2.

## **6.2 Cultural mechanisms constraining or enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE**

In the previous chapter I argued that the designers of I/SGCSE drew extensively on discourses that privilege the freedom and autonomy of the learner. They drew on views about learning and teaching which privilege implicit or invisible forms of pedagogy in which the



teachers' power and control are masked by practices which give the learner apparent control over his or her learning. In this chapter I explore whether teachers in rural and urban schools of Swaziland subscribe to the same discourses as those imposed on them through the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme. At the time, when I was conducting the interviews, I explored how the teachers in my study understand, experience, and interpret the new I/SGCSE school world (the *empirical level of reality*). My focus in this section of the chapter is to go beyond the *empirical level* to reality at the *level of the real* by exploring the underlying mechanisms from which the interpretations and experiences of the teachers emerge and the implications these have for their ability to teach in the ways prescribed by the I/SGCSE designers. These mechanisms I explored are the *discourses* which shape the way they see and experience the I/SGCSE system of education.

It is important, however, to note that in this section I only concentrate on how teachers construct the new I/SGCSE curriculum system and investigate further the discourses from which their constructions emerge. I have not focused on how they actually implement the new curriculum programme. Their actual teaching practice is analysed in the next chapter. This separation is made in order to explore the interplay between the discourses they hold and the teaching practices that emerge at the *level of the actual* as a consequence of holding those discourses.

I undertook a close analysis of the interview data. Because part of the purpose of this study is to explain why teachers in Swaziland fail to teach in the ways planned by the designers of the new I/SGCSE programme, four broad questions emerged in the process: how does the teacher construct I/SGCSE? How does the teacher construct his/her role as a teacher? How does the teacher construct the learner? And how does the teacher construct teaching? These questions provided me with knowledge at the *level of the empirical* which served as a base for exploring further why teachers construct I/SGCSE, the learner, the teacher, and teaching in the ways they do and what implications these therefore have for their ability to teach in the ways mandated in the new curriculum system on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. I then identified four orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1989) which, based on my readings on curriculum theories and member checking, I named the *discourse of conflation*, the *discourse of teachers as source of knowledge*, the *discourse of learners as empty vessels*, and the *discourse of teaching as transmission of knowledge*. Each of these will be discussed in turn in this section.

### 6.2.1 The discourse of conflation

While the MOET claimed I/SGCSE to be a paradigm shift from authoritarian pedagogic practices to learner-centred and skills-based democratic approaches (see 5.2.1), there was evidence in my data that the teachers from both rural and urban schools did not all share this view. These teachers seemed to believe that the boundaries between the two curriculum systems (GCE O-level and I/SGCSE) are blurred to the point that they were unable to see any substantive differences between them. Seven of the twelve teachers interviewed explicitly expressed the opinion that there are no differences between the GCE O-level curriculum and the new I/SGCSE curriculum. I have thus named this view the *discourse of conflation*. Some of the teachers seemed to believe that even before I/SGCSE was introduced they had been teaching in ways congruent with the ones legitimatised in the new I/SGCSE curriculum. Below are a few illustrations from the interview data:

This new programme, actually there's not much as far as I'm concerned that has changed. There's a saying, you can change the label but not the beer (Rural School Teacher 5 Interview 1; 30 Sept, 2010).

In the subject I'm teaching I think I didn't see any difference because that is how I've been teaching them. So *kimi ngiva kungatsi* (for me, I feel like) in the Accounting part there was no much difference (Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

It would seem therefore that for some teachers the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE has not resulted in significant change in their teaching approaches. This does not mean, however, that these teachers were completely unaware of the differences between the two curriculum systems. The teachers did recognise some differences. But they seemed not to recognise these differences as mandating a change from the use of old approaches to learning and teaching to the adoption of learner-centred approaches. For example, speaking in the context of Science subjects, this teacher recognised that I/SGCSE required more experiments than GCE O-level:

But then when it comes to some of these experiments the kids can do them. We demonstrate some and then the kids will do them. It is easy that way. But that is the same way we've been teaching science. There is not that much change. So what I think has changed in my understanding in the Science lessons is *just* that the students are now required to do more of the practicals than they used to do the last time; because in most cases they were just writing theory questions but now they are expected to do some of these practicals (Rural School Teacher 1 Interview 1; 21 July, 2009).

The emphasis on experiments rather than theory in Science subjects is consistent with the view of knowledge as constructed which underpins the I/SGCSE curriculum. Putting more emphasis on experiments rather than on theory implies that teachers need to adopt strategies in which learners discover knowledge rather than take knowledge from the teacher. Even though this teacher claims to have always been teaching in the ways required in the I/SGCSE curriculum it seems to me that the modelling or "do as I did" strategy that the teacher adopts in doing experiments does not give learners the opportunity to try things out, make independent decisions, and draw their own conclusions based on the experiment. Hence his/her interpretation of the requirements for more experiments is in contradiction to the discourse of learner-centredness underpinning the I/SGCSE curriculum.

In the following examples, speaking in the context of Accounting, these teachers recognised that in the new I/SGCSE system of education not only the practical aspect of Accounting should be taught but more theory also needs to be taught:

It's almost the same. There's not much of a difference. Except that there is a lot of terminology to be defined in this SI . . . what what . . . GSC syllabus (Urban School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 6 July, 2009).

There isn't much of a difference because the syllabus content is still the same. There isn't much that has changed, except that it's theory. We are still not teaching the children theory. We are saying, like, the common method that we used in O-Level was; prepare a profit and loss account and these children would prepare it and get all the marks. But now we say; why do we prepare an account? The children don't know. Why do we prepare a profit and loss account? The children don't know. As a result, in a question, they are able to score marks on the practical part of the question (Urban Teacher 5 Interview 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

It seems that these Accounting teachers do not interpret the emphasis on theory as a change from rote learning to learning by understanding. How these teachers interpret the emphasis on theory seems to be different from what was intended by the MOET and CIE. They seem to interpret this change as implying more explaining and defining of knowledge:

Because they might find new terms which they haven't learned before, so then . . . just introduce them to the new terms just before doing any of the . . . of the writings (meaning demonstration of how accounts are prepared). So *ke* (then) that's why we have to just define all the terms that are in the different topics that we teach (Urban School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 6 July, 2009; explanation added).

The MOET and CIE reject the use of approaches in which the teacher does the explanation and defining of content knowledge so that it is acquired by the learner. Rather the MOET and CIE emphasise the use of approaches in which content knowledge is derived not acquired by the learner. It would seem, therefore, that this interpretation of how to handle theory is contradictory to the intentions of the CIE and MOET. In the illustration that follows, the teacher recognised that the examination for the new I/SGCSE syllabus emphasises all the levels of the cognitive domain of learning:

SGCSE I think it's not different from the programme that we were used to. The only difference that I noted, it's in the way they ask questions in the Bloom's taxonomy thing. They observe the command words. It's not about the content that you give when answering the questions but it's about the command words, that . . . have you followed all of them. Yes. Otherwise in class, when you are *delivering* the subject matter, there's nothing much that has changed. They are saying we must try to involve the students more, and that is what we have been doing. Yes, *we were involving the students* before (Urban School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

It would seem that this teacher, like the others, misinterprets the requirement to observe the different levels of the cognitive domain. He/she seems not to interpret this as a requirement to change from "delivering" subject matter to adopting approaches which will enable the learner to use advanced cognitive processes such as critical analysis and evaluation. The approach of "delivering" and the approach of "involving learners" are contradictory. The former is based on a view of knowledge as fixed and predetermined while the later is based on a view of knowledge as constructed in interactions between the teacher and learners. "Delivering" develops skills of conformity and passivity which are rejected in learner-centred approaches as they are seen as disempowering and restricting the development of skills necessary for the survival in a changing world. It would seem therefore that the teacher draws the meaning of learner involvement from old practices, hence his/her view of learner involvement is different and opposed to that intended by the MOET and CIE.

It seems to me, therefore, that the tendency of teachers to draw on the *discourse of conflation* indicates that many of the teachers interviewed in my study have not acquired the principles that underpin the new I/SGCSE; they seem not to realise that the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE requires them to weaken the power and control they have always had over learners. The privileging of this discourse seems to indicate that these teachers use meanings acquired from the old system of education to interpret the new system of education. They

transfer meanings from their taken-for-granted world which are "inappropriate" for the new I/SGCSE system of education. Their practice is therefore unlikely to be of the quality expected in the new I/SGCSE curriculum. In summary, I argue that, by drawing on the *discourse of conflation*, many teachers in my study are reinforcing the old system of education and therefore they unconsciously resist the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

### **6.2.2 The discourse of an empty vessel**

This order of discourse stems from a view that learners are homogeneous beings that need to be filled with the same knowledge and is thus opposed to the *discourse of learners as active and creative* from which the *discourse of learner-centredness* underpinning the new I/SGCSE system of education is based. In my analysis of the interview data, this was evident in the way all the teachers interviewed talked about learners (6.2.2), teaching (6.2.4), and about themselves as teachers (6.2.3). In particular, I will refer to two discourses which strongly reflect the presence of this order of discourse which I have named the *discourse of learners as children* and the *discourse of learners as passive*. Further exploration of these discourses indicated a level of opposition to the *discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis* (5.2.2) and the *discourse of the learner as knowledgeable* (5.2.3) underpinning the new I/SGCSE system of education.

Ten of the twelve teachers (in seventeen interviews) interviewed in this study referred to learners as "children". Children in the context of Swaziland acquire knowledge from adults and are expected to be obedient to adults, listen to adults, and do what adults say (see 4.3). I argue that, in the context of Swaziland when teachers view learners as children, they are likely to draw on everyday commonsense knowledge about "children" which views learners as empty vessels rather than individuals who bring into the classroom diverse knowledge and skills which need to be used and developed in learning and teaching practices. They are therefore likely to expect the learners to display the traditional traits expected of children in Swaziland, namely, docility, obedience, and submissiveness such as in the following descriptions of a good learner:

Well, culturally we expect the young people to respect their elders. So, maybe in the school environment it is not that much different. But respect will also, among other things, involve listening to the teacher, doing what the teacher says. Even if maybe the child does not understand, maybe ask for clarification

in a nice way. Being cooperative would also be part of respect (Urban School Teacher 2 Follow up Interview; 15 Sept, 2010).

I consider good students to be those who, you know, *do what I say* (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

A good student in my understanding is a student who performs all the tasks with *which he is assigned* (Rural School Teacher 5 Interview 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

Expecting docility and submissiveness in learners is contrary to the discourse of learner-centredness which underpins the new I/SGCSE curriculum system. In the context of Swaziland, therefore, it would seem that a teacher who draws on the *discourse of learners as children* is likely to treat the learners as empty vessels and therefore to teach in ways which are "inappropriate" in the context of the new I/SGCSE curriculum system.

Closely linked to the *discourse of learners as children* is a *discourse of learners as passive*. There was also a strong feeling among many teachers interviewed in the study that Swazi learners are unable and unwilling to participate in class, which I called the *discourse of learners as passive*. This discourse was strongly evident in various ways in the interview data of both urban and rural school teachers and was explicitly referred to by seven of the twelve teachers interviewed in the study. A few examples are provided below:

They don't want to do the work. They always come to class and listen to the teacher. If you have not said they have to write, they just keep quiet and look at you. Not unless you tell them *kutsi* (that) they have to write. Then, even if you tell them to write, some will not write if you don't write anything on the board. So it looks like *lokuba* (being) child-centred *lakibo kusengakabangeni kahle* (is not yet in them). But I believe *kutsi* (that) maybe with time *batawukhona lokutentela* (they will be able to do things on their own) (Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

Looking at the other classes I'm teaching you find that the students they don't want to give responses even on questions that are about things you think that they know. They just don't want to say anything. So it's like they are taking time to move from the older programme to the new programme, IGCSE (Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 21 July, 2009).

What is interesting in these examples is that it seems as if the concept of *learner-centredness* is understood by these teachers in the literal sense, that is, teachers coming to class to watch the learners learn on their own and to be a resource when they are needed. While the above

statements suggest that learners are not willing to participate in class, the following statement suggests that the learners are not *able* to participate:

But then what I've noticed in this [subject removed] part is just that really the students can't do on their own. They just cannot do anything. They need us a lot (Rural School Teacher 1 Interview 1; 21 July 2009; insertion added).

It seems as if asking Swazi learners to be active in the classroom is unfamiliar to them and that some teachers in the study are interpreting the response of Swazi learners to the unfamiliar demands of their active participation as "unwillingness" and "inability". The underlying implication of this seems to be that the ability of the learner to take an active role in his or her own learning is dependent on factors within the individual learner; that is, they could be active if they were willing and able. It seems, therefore, that these teachers hold an autonomous view of learning problems. An autonomous model locates learning problems within individuals, and failure to learn is explained in terms of a deficit in inherent ability (Boughey, 2009). The problem of adopting deficit models of understanding learning problems is that they tend to distance and absolve the school or the teacher from all responsibility regarding learning problems (Villegas, 1991). For instance, in the illustration that follows, the teacher seemed to blame the learners' poor mastery of the English language for their "inability" and "unwillingness" to participate in class:

A major problem which I think is causing this is the speaking of the language. Yes, I have to admit in our school we have a problem, we are not speaking the language. And it pauses those challenges for the students. You find that they know the answer but because they haven't got a grasp of the language they are unable to express themselves. And they end up keeping quiet even on things that they know (Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 21 July, 2010).

Another teacher seemed to believe lack of resources was the source of the problem:

I think it's an issue of limited resources. They are not exposed to so many things. Like our students . . . if you ask them some other things they say we don't know, we don't have access to news, we don't have access to such and such programmes. So, they've got limited information because of their resources. They don't have access to the internet so, some of them you see that they don't have much to say (Urban School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 21 July 2009).

For this teacher the problem could be explained in relation to the nature of the learners:

Some students naturally are innovative. Others maybe are laggards (Rural School Teacher 5 Interview 1; 30 Sept, 2010).

And this teacher seemed to blame the learners' primary schools as well as their home backgrounds for their inability to engage actively in class:

So, what I observed *kutsi* (is that) our kids ... I'm not sure, *noma ngulokutsi* (whether) it's the way they were taught from primary, they don't want to do the work. They always come to class and listen to the teacher.

So what I have seen, *kutsi* (is that) in most cases they are not the same. The learners are not the same. Some are having *ema* (some) problems. They are influenced from home. *Kutsi mhlaimbe* (That maybe) if the person *akasi* (is not) free to his or her mother, *uyamesaba* (is afraid of her), maybe *kumbe uyatsetsa* (she shouts) or whatever, what normally happens *kutsi nakafika laesikolweni* (is that when the learner is here at school), with the female teacher *akakhoni ku releytha kahle* (the learner fails to relate well). *Uba nalamarizeveshins* (He or she becomes reserved). *Angati noma* (I don't know whether) they view you as the mother at home or whatever.

(Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

The underlying implication of all these explanations therefore seems to be that the learner and his or her environment are to be blamed for his/her lack of active engagement in class and not the teacher. It would seem possible, therefore, that holding the *discourse of learners as passive* constrains teachers from recognising the active nature of learners and their role as facilitators of student learning. While the *discourse of learners as knowledgeable* (5.2.3) requires teachers to create an environment in which learners are able to freely participate, it seems as if some teachers in this case study distance themselves from this role. In my view, this tendency stems from a misunderstanding of the concept of *learner-centredness* as discussed earlier (5.2.2). As seen earlier, some teachers in this study seemed to interpret learner-centredness in its literal sense. They do not seem to understand themselves as key in creating an environment in which learners can participate and learn on their own. In other words, some teachers in this study seem to read the new teaching context as requiring learners to change their learning practices rather than one in which teachers change their teaching practices. I argue, therefore, that the *discourse of learners as passive* suggests that these teachers have not understood the concept of *learner-centredness* and the concept of *learners as active and creative*. Because they have misunderstood these important principles of the new I/SGCSE school system they fail to recognise the role of facilitating student



learning required of them in the new I/SGCSE school system. It is therefore most likely that the environment they create does not empower learners to initiate, challenge, critique, and make decisions, which is what is required of a facilitator. As in the previous order of discourse, by subscribing to this order of discourse, *learners as empty vessels*, the teachers in my study seem to be reinforcing the old system of education and therefore unconsciously resisting the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

### **6.2.3 The discourse of teacher as the source of knowledge**

This order of discourse is closely related to the previous discourse of an empty vessel. My analysis of the interview data indicated that many of the teachers who took part in the study seemed to understand teachers as holding the knowledge that learners need in their school and social worlds, which I called the *discourse of teacher as the source of knowledge*. This view is modernist, underpinned by a view of knowledge as something that is held by the teacher, and therefore curriculum as a practice in which knowledge is transmitted from the teacher to the learner. This order of discourse is thus founded on views about knowledge and curriculum that are different from and opposed to those underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme. Teachers in the study drew mainly on two discourses to construct the teacher which both seemed to be privileging this order of discourse. I have identified these as the *discourse of teacher as facilitator or guide* and the *discourse of the elder*. The former appears to be in opposition to the *discourse of teacher as the source of knowledge* but further exploration of the way facilitation was explained by many of the teachers indicated that these discourses are more consistent than oppositional.

My analysis of the interview data revealed that all teachers who took part in the study referred to themselves as facilitating or guiding in the process of learning and teaching, which I called the *discourse of the teacher as a facilitator or guide*. However, their understanding of facilitation or guidance seemed to be different from and contrary to the way the MOET and CIE understand this concept. While the MOET and CIE understand facilitating or guiding as creating an environment in which learners can freely challenge, contribute, express themselves, share knowledge, debate issues, and make use of their different abilities, skills, and knowledge in the process of knowledge-construction facilitation or guidance, in the context of many of the teachers I interviewed they seemed not to be informed by a view of knowledge as socially constructed but rather as fixed and held by the teacher. For example one teacher said:

The way I've planned it's relevant to IGCSE because I won't be lecturing. I'll be using the question and answer method, discussion, so in that way I am just facilitating the learning process other than being at the centre of the learning. This approach is going to put the students at the centre because they'll be the ones to tell me the information and mine is just to guide them, and maybe give them hints and clues where they . . . they are *failing maybe to give the desired response* (Urban School 2 Interview 2; 30 June 2009).

Though this understanding of facilitation has an element of learner involvement, it seems the involvement is not aimed at helping learners arrive at their own meaning of knowledge; rather they seem to be channelled to provide predetermined answers. This suggests that there are always very definite right or wrong answers. This could potentially lead to these teachers automatically rejecting all opinions and knowledge that are different from that which is expected. It has the potential to constrain debates, critique, challenge, and decision-making, which will not lead to enhanced learning by understanding for the learners. In another example, the teacher seemed to understand guidance as directing learners:

So the teacher must make sure that he guides or he helps the pupil towards achieving their goals. By guiding I mean that the children may be coming to learn. To them it is like we've been sent by parents to school to learn, yet you as a teacher and as a parent, as I have said that you're a teacher and a parent at the same time, so now you have to *remove* from the minds of the children the thinking that they have been sent just to come to school to learn the subjects. You have to *bring something* more to the pupils that is *giving them a direction* that okay children, you are here to learn but you must . . . aim at something that is beyond, you know, this school level. So that is why the children will bring to you as a teacher that oh, I wish to be this tomorrow. So this is going to guide the pupil because they will know that I have to work in class and pass and probably pass more this particular subject because it will enable me to become, probably say this (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

Accompanying this understanding of guidance seems to be a deficit view of the child; that the child lacks proper knowledge and therefore needs an adult person who possesses the "right" knowledge to correct the child, hence the adoption of the view of the teacher as "removing" things from the minds of the learners and "directing" learners. To "direct" is to point the way or to instruct, hence it is a practice that involves telling the learner what to do rather than one which encourages interaction and an exchange of views. In some cases it seems the teacher's aim is to eradicate learners' views and replace them with his or her views. This may lead to a practice in which the learner is controlled and dominated by the teacher, which is not in keeping with I/SGCSE which privileges democratic practices in which the teacher and learner

engage in dialogue and come to an understanding. In another example, guidance seemed to be viewed as telling:

And my role again is to guide. Like . . . young people are growing, sometimes they have to make decisions about their life, the way they handle themselves. If such opportunities I see them, I must exploit them as a teacher, *tell them what is right and not right* (Rural School Teacher 5 Interview 1; 30 Sept, 2010).

This view of guidance draws more on traditional child-rearing practices of the Swazi people (see 4.3). Traditionally in Swaziland, children are told by adults what is right and wrong and adults generally dominate and control children. When the teacher brings to the school such practices from home it is most likely that pedagogic practices will be visible with clear divisions between the teacher and the learner. Such practices are contrary to the practices the new I/SGCSE curriculum system requires of the teacher and the learner. The I/SGCSE curriculum system requires that the power and control of the teacher be relaxed in invisible pedagogic practices to allow the learner to develop skills such as decision-making, problem-solving, creativity, initiation, etc, which are skills needed for survival in the new world of democracy and free markets. Furthermore, some teachers viewed guidance in relation to a *discourse of teaching for examination*:

Unfortunately education is about driving at a certain goal. Teachers are there to guide students towards meeting the examination. Because without the assistance of teachers, the students *won't be able* to pass the examination. They need skills to be able to answer questions. If you just teach them without *giving them* the skills of answering questions, usually such children don't meet the requirements of the examination. That is why they fail (Urban School Teacher 5 Interview 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

Again, this understanding of guidance seems not to be consistent with the MOET's and CIE's views of guidance and facilitation. This view of guidance draws from a view of the teacher as holding the knowledge that the learner needs in order to pass the examination rather than knowledge being constructed in interactions between the teacher and learners and between the learners. I argue therefore that this view of guidance is inconsistent with the *discourse of learner diversity* discussed in 5.2.3 in that it upholds teachers' knowledge as the only correct knowledge and thus tends to be insensitive to difference and the varied needs, interests, knowledge, skills, and abilities the learners bring into the classroom.

All these views of facilitation and guidance held by the teachers in my study seem to indicate that they do not subscribe to the same meaning of guiding or facilitating student learning as that proposed by the MOET and CIE. They seem to hold views of facilitation or guidance which are antithetical to I/SGCSE which is underpinned by a view of knowledge as socially constructed rather than predetermined.

Another way the order of *discourse of teacher as source of knowledge* revealed itself was through the *discourse of the elder*. My analysis of the interview data revealed that in two rural schools and one urban school some teachers described their teacher role using statements such as “as a teacher you are also a parent” (Rural School Teacher 2 Follow up Interview; 18 July, 2011), “I represent the parents”, “you’re a teacher and a parent at the same time”, “the teacher as an adult”, “you’re the older person” (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 12 Sept, 2010), and “as adults” (Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010). I named this the *discourse of the elder*. Although the other teachers who participated in the study did not explicitly refer to themselves as parents or adults, almost all of them referred to learners as “children” (see 6.2.2), which implies that almost all of them view themselves as both a teacher and a parent (the elder) in the teaching and learning process. I argue in this discussion that this view of the teacher is problematic in the context of Swaziland. As I have indicated in chapter 4, how parents/adults and children in Swaziland relate to one another is different from how the I/SGCSE system of education conceptualises the relationship between the teacher and the learners.

I have discussed in chapter 4 and in 6.2.2 that in Swazi tradition the adult person is knowledgeable and the child lacks knowledge. Hence the relationship between adults (including parents) and children is hierarchically organised and practice is such that the adult or parent directs and the child conforms. The following extracts seem to imply this directive role of parents or adults on children:

I believe (*kutsi*) that, as an adult you have to teach the youth (*kutsi*) that this is right and that is not right so that they can be good citizens (*nabo sebakhulile*) as well when they have grown (Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

I cannot as a teacher say this is outside my scope of work, therefore . . . I cannot. So I then, you know, exercise the right of the parents of the child *by saying hey child, this is not acceptable*. If it calls *hitting* the child, I can do that.

Or punish the child, whichever method I may use (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

While the production of good and responsible citizens is an aim of education, what is problematic in these statements from the perspective of the I/SGCSE curriculum system is the approach these teachers seem to adopt in the production of good citizens. These teachers seem to draw on "home ways" of thinking based on traditional and commonsense ideas of how children should be raised. I have indicated in chapter 5 that the I/SGCSE curriculum programme is not Swazi-based but British-based and it draws more on democratic principles which are based on a view of the world as changing and unpredictable while Swazi tradition and culture draw more on a view of the world as fixed and predictable (see 4.3). The I/SGCSE curriculum system thus aims at preparing learners to function in a democratic society, which Swazi society is not. The citizens that the I/SGCSE curriculum system aim to produce are "world citizens" who have the ability to critique and challenge the status quo in order to improve life in the world, however in the context of Swazi traditional life such behaviour is "immoral" and "disrespectful" (see 4.3). Drawing on Swazi culture and tradition for the production of "good citizens" may thus not produce the kind of citizens aimed for by CIE and the MOET through the introduction of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. For example, when teachers draw on the *discourse of the elder* they are most unlikely to respect difference and to involve learners actively in the learning and teaching process because this discourse tends to privilege the dominance and control of the learner. It therefore seems to be antithetical to the *discourse of learner-centredness* and *learner-diversity* which underpins the new I/SGCSE teaching context. In the context of Swaziland, therefore, the parenting role and the teaching role may be seen as divergent roles so that privileging one may possibly constrain the acquisition or mastery of the other. I argue, therefore, that the *discourse of the elder* has a constraining rather than an enabling effect on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

The discourse of *teacher as facilitator* and the *discourse of the elder* discussed in this section all make the teacher the master of knowledge, hence they give the teachers who subscribe to them power over the learners. These discourses therefore have the power to condition teacher-centred approaches at the *level of the actual*. It would seem, therefore, that teachers who draw on these discourses may unconsciously reinforce old teaching practices and therefore unconsciously resist the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

#### 6.2.4 The discourse of teaching as transmission of knowledge

This order of discourse is consistent with the other orders of discourse discussed earlier. It is clear that a teacher who holds the *discourse of the learner as an empty vessel* and the *teacher as the source of knowledge* is also likely to hold a view of teaching as transmission of knowledge. It was not a surprise, therefore, that the interview data (nine interviewees out of twelve) showed a tendency towards a view of teaching as a process in which knowledge is transmitted from the teacher who holds the knowledge to the learner who is empty of knowledge, which I have identified as a *discourse of teaching as transmission of knowledge*. Most often, the teachers in my study described their teaching practices using terms such as "imparting", "delivering", "input", "putting", and "giving" in their descriptions of teaching. A few illustrations from the interview data are provided below:

There are things that we try *to put* to the children. So a school to me is more like a, you know, I can say it's more like a home where we are bringing students and trying *to put something to them* that is going to maybe widen their wisdom and be in a position to be good people, you know, tomorrow (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

We help them by educating them, *giving* the content under our subjects (Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

Viewing teaching as transmission of knowledge is informed by a technical interest (Tabulawa, 1997, 2003; Grundy, 1987; Kelly, 1989) rather than a practical and emancipatory interest which underpins the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme (see chapter 5). All of the discourses that the teachers in my study used to describe teaching indicated this interest in controlling the learner rather than in empowering the learner to take charge of his/her own learning. I have identified these discourses as the *discourse of behaviour modification*, the *discourse of role modelling*, and the *discourse of teaching as active engagement* which appeared to be in opposition to the other two discourses.

In Swazi tradition, the role of parents/adults is to mould the behaviour of children so that it conforms to the norms of society (see chapter 4). All adult members of the Swazi society are expected to perform this role. Teachers in their capacity as adults in Swazi society, or Social Agents in Archer's terms (1995, 1996), are also expected to perform this role. It is therefore not surprising that, when I asked the teachers about their view of teaching, some of them (six teachers out of the twelve) responded with statements that suggested this interest in shaping

the behaviour of the learners which I called the *discourse of teaching as behaviour modification*. An example is provided below:

You also have to teach the students that it's important that they respect, maybe even respect adults, greet them when they come across them because some pupils they feel like you have to greet someone you know, if you don't know that person *ah akangelani nabo* (he or she doesn't care). So you have to teach them even . . . what do I call it? Morals. *Kutsi nje nawungumuntfu* (That if you are a human being) this is what you do. Also, maybe even the way they talk, maybe even the way they laugh. Because sometimes it's not good *kutsi umuntfu ahleke nje* (that a person laughs) anyhow *kutsi lokusihleti la nawuhleka uvakale lekuboscience lab* (such that the laughter is heard from afar). *Ngicabanga kutsi* (I think that) that's another part of a teacher *lekufuna kutsi ayente* (that he/she is supposed to be doing) in school (Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

While it is the aim of education to develop the whole child, what is problematic in many of the statements given by the teachers I interviewed (also reflected in the statement above) is the approach taken in shaping the behaviour of the learners. The teachers' statements seemed to imply an imposition on the learners of what society has decided is right or wrong. These established ways of behaving seemed, in some cases, to be enforced through corporal and other forms of punishment:

If it calls hitting the child, I can do that. Or punish the child, whichever method I may use (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

It seems that the teachers in my study expect learners to conform to established norms of society rather than to engage in dialogue, debate, and critique, and come to their own conclusions about what is right or wrong. This is not wrong in the context of Swazi traditional life, as will be seen later, but it is problematic in the context of the I/SGCSE curriculum system. Role modelling was another strategy that some of these teachers (six teachers out of twelve) seemed to believe was appropriate for shaping the behaviour of learners, which I call the *discourse of teaching as role modelling*:

As a teacher I believe that my duty is not only helping the learners or imparting knowledge to the learners, but also to serve as a role model to them. I will present myself in a way that the students *will say I want to live and become a person like* [my teacher]. The way I interact with them, the way I handle myself around them. Yes. It's beyond imparting the subject matter (Urban School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 21 Sept, 2010; name of teacher removed replaced with insertion).

Well, a good teacher is one that is going to be a good example or a role model to the children. That is, representing her or himself in such a way that the pupils will . . . you know, feel like doing things like *him or her or will copy* the . . . I mean, the way maybe he/she conducts him/herself such that that teacher will become maybe a role model to most of the children (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

These teachers did not only refer to modelling of behaviour, they also associated modelling with actual teaching in the classroom through showing or demonstration strategies:

. . . what they know about teachers is that everything that is done by the teacher has to be copied or done by us as learners because we learn from the teacher. So the learners will think that if the teacher drinks, why not me because if the teacher says I must do this, this way, I follow it, I copy the way he's doing things. So it may mislead the pupils if that behaviour is exposed to the learners because they just may think it is good if it is done by teachers, so let me do it. Even on dress code, they copy and they try to emulate *eish* [siSwati expression], I want to dress like teacher so and so. So the same thing will happen even if the teacher now is doing something that is not supposed to be done by the learners. As they see the teacher doing it, then the learners will think that is the right thing to be done yet, maybe for them it is not yet time to do that but because it is done by the teacher, *they will copy it as if the teacher is continuing with his work in class, you see how am I doing it, so do it. Like when you are making demonstrations, they will copy it.* So that is why I am saying such activities . . . or fine, they may be acceptable to the teacher as an adult but he respects himself by making sure that the learners do not see him or her in those corners (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

Role modelling implies that learning happens through copying. A copy is a reproduction or duplicate of something. To learn by copying is thus to accept knowledge as is without modification or improvement. This indicates lack of interaction and input from the learner and therefore lack of respect for learners' knowledge and differences. This too is not wrong in the context of Swaziland, where teachers as adults are considered to know what is best for the child and the child must respect that knowledge and not go against it (see chapter 4). As adults, teachers are expected by society to ensure that children conform to Swazi culture and tradition so that it is maintained. However, these strategies of role modelling and imposing ways of behaving seem to be "inappropriate" in the context of the I/SGCSE system of education, which expects teachers to create opportunities for learners to challenge and debate issues rather than expecting learners to accept or conform to established norms. While child-rearing practices of the Swazi people prepare children for a stable and unchanging world, I/SGCSE prepares learners to function in a changing and complex world. I would argue that privileging Swazi traditional views of teaching has the potential to limit these teachers from



teaching in the learner-centred ways mandated in the I/SGCSE school system. I argue therefore that, by holding the *discourse of teaching as behaviour modification* and the *discourse of teaching as role modelling*, teachers are likely to teach in ways that are incommensurate with what was mandated in the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. They are likely to enact pedagogic practices in which the learner is dominated and controlled, which is a practice that maintains the old system of education rather than enables change.

In my analysis I have identified another view of teaching which I have called the *discourse of teaching as active engagement*. This view of teaching appears oppositional to the view of *teaching as transmission of knowledge*. However, further exploration of this discourse indicates that it is more consistent with than oppositional to the other discourses within this order of discourse. All the teachers in my study expressed the view that teaching must actively involve learners. However, these teachers seemed to be drawing on a meaning of active engagement or participation which is different from that of the MOET and CIE. The MOET and CIE understand active engagement as a process in which the teacher makes use of the learners' knowledge and skills to engage them in interactions and activities so as to help them develop their own meanings or understanding of school knowledge. The MOET and CIE's view of active engagement is one that requires pedagogic practice which is based on implicit power relations between the teacher and the learner. However, all the teachers in my study seemed to understand the engagement of learners differently: as doing tasks assigned by the teacher or answering questions that the teacher asks. Their views therefore suggest the privileging of explicit hierarchical power relations whereby the teacher instructs and the learner conforms. Below are a few examples of how some teachers described learner engagement:

**Interviewee:** So basically I'm going to engage the students in the discussion. We shall be using the book. We'll be reading the . . . *we'll be getting the information from the book*. Yes, and I'll just make sure that they are engaged in the discussion.

**Interviewer:** How are you going to make sure that they are engaged in the discussion?

**Interviewee:** I'll be asking questions. They'll be answering some questions orally. And eh . . . I'm going to be giving them some exercises to do during the lesson.

(Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 1; 20 July, 2009)

And you also maybe have to contribute, okay, *nasesifundza lecontent* (when we learn the content). You have to contribute in the sense of asking questions or even adding more information because it is not always the teacher who will have everything. Some students you find *kutsi* (that) they read ahead. So, if they have anything they can . . . I expect *kutsi* (that) they can add to what I have already said. *Kungabi ngimi kuphela lokhulumako* (It shouldn't be me alone talking) (Urban School Teacher 6 interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

In addition, of interest in the illustrations above is the privileging of textbook knowledge over all other ways of knowing, which also seems to exclude the knowledge that the learners bring into the classroom from their different worlds. It seems as if the engagement expected of the learner is extraction of knowledge from the book rather than challenging, critiquing, or debating the teachers' or textbook knowledge. It would seem, therefore, that teachers may be expecting conformity rather than challenge from the learners, which is contradictory to the expectations of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. Another illustration that is closely related to the above examples is given below:

**Interviewee:** So in that case it means I'll be asking them questions. Like, maybe, which are the examples of fixed assets? I'll show that in writing. Then move on to the current assets. The examples of current assets they are going to give me. Then I'll tell them, especially on the stocks. I'll tell them, you can either indicate this in a departmental form, or you can say "stocks" then you indicate that department A is so much, department B is so much, so total amount of stock is so much. Then move on to debtors, cash at bank, cash in hand, and maybe . . . other current assets. Then the difference is only the . . . maybe in the stocks.

**Interviewer:** So, how does this approach which you've just described to me relate to the SGCSE curriculum system?

**Interviewee:** Because I'll be asking them questions. Like – give the examples of maybe fixed assets. They'll just give me examples of the fixed assets as I'll be busy writing on the board. And as they give me the examples it means . . . we'll move on to current assets. So I'll be asking them questions as I'll be doing the writing.

(Urban School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 6 July, 2009)

This understanding of *active engagement* also seems to be different from and opposed to the one held by the MOET and CIE in that it seems to require learners to give the teacher certain responses rather than the teacher and learners interacting to make meaning. Observation of

the lesson referred to by the teacher in the quotation above indicated that the responses which the teacher required were in the Accounting exercise that the teacher was demonstrating. Therefore, it seems as if this teacher required knowledge that was predetermined in the sense that it was in the textbook. Learners were not required to draw on their own experiences and observations to come up with the answers to the teacher's questions but needed to look in the book to find the answer. It appears as if this kind of learner engagement is likely to produce copying, reproduction of knowledge, and conformity as opposed to helping learners develop critical thinking, initiation, and decision-making. In my view, it seems as if this view of learner engagement is not necessarily learner-centred, especially because the flow of communication seems to be one way: that is, the teacher instructs learners to provide examples and the learners respond to the instruction. It would seem, therefore, that some of the teachers interviewed in this study hold a view of learner participation that privileges the domination and control of the learners rather than their free participation in the classroom.

The following view of learner participation was closely related to the one held by the MOET and CIE in that it acknowledged the use of learner knowledge derived from their experiences and observations. However, it differed in that it focused on "correct" responses:

Because . . . when I ask them maybe the question which is going to generate the different advertising media, that . . . that is removing . . . me at the centre of the learning process, and then putting the children at the centre, because they are the ones who will kind of volunteer, bring up the information. Because mine is just to trigger them. And then guide them. *If maybe they don't give the right answers maybe I can give hints, clues.* But at the end of the day it should be them coming up with the answers. So in that way I'm making it . . . I mean, child-centred. And . . . when I ask them to draw from their own experiences, their own observations, again I am not giving them answers but they are the ones who are giving out the information. *So the involvement . . . active involvement of the student throughout the lesson, I think it's what is required under this new IGCSE* (Urban School Teacher 2 Interview 2; 1 July, 2009).

For this teacher it seems as if there is a right answer expected from the learners and the teacher seems to know the right answer. It appears, therefore, that although the teacher appeared to be involving learners, he/she drew from a view of knowledge as fixed and therefore predetermined. When knowledge is viewed as fixed it is unlikely that new or different knowledge may be accepted and used by this teacher in helping learners develop understanding of school knowledge. Hence, in my view, this understanding is subtly different from the view of learner engagement underpinning the new I/SGCSE system of education.

It would seem, therefore, that some of the teachers in my study do not share the same understanding of learner engagement as the CIE and the MOET. Their understanding seems to privilege the domination and control of learners rather than interaction and negotiation. I argue that this contradiction in the meanings of *active engagement* indicates that these teachers do not understand the I/SGCSE system of education and hence they do not seem to have a clear understanding of what their teaching role is in this new teaching context.

In conclusion, I argue that by subscribing to the *discourses of role modelling, behaviour modification, and active engagement*, thus privileging the *discourse of teaching as transmission of knowledge*, the teachers in my study are reinforcing the old system of education and therefore they unconsciously resist the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

### **6.2.5 Summarising the cultural system**

The analysis of the data in this case study has shown that teachers who participated in this study and the designers of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme interpret I/SGCSE, teaching, the learner, and the role of teachers in ways that are different from and opposed to one another. Three conclusions can be drawn about the way teachers interpret teaching, learners, and their role as teachers. First, while teachers and the designers of the I/SGCSE curriculum appear to agree on certain discourses such as the *discourse of teacher as facilitator* and the *discourse of teaching as active engagement*, they do not share the same meaning with regard to these discourses. Secondly, it seems that many teachers in this study draw a great deal from traditional ways of teaching and learning and on the Swazi traditional way of life when they interpret the new I/SGCSE system of education. However, the Swazi way of life from which they draw is different from and, in many ways, opposed to the way of life the teachers are expected to live and practise in the new I/SGCSE school system. Thirdly, while the MOET based their interpretations on a changing and unpredictable world, all the teachers in my study seemed to draw more from an autonomous position (Street, 1984) in which the world is seen as fixed and predictable. Therefore, these teachers hold discourses that give them power over the learners, hence privileging visible forms of pedagogy. However, strong relations of power and control characterising visible forms of pedagogy are discouraged and seen as "inappropriate" for the development of democratic values and practices which underpin the new I/SGCSE school system (see chapter 4). I therefore argue that the teachers in my study inherited discourses from their environment which constrain them from understanding fully the requirements of the new I/SGCSE school system.

I further argue that this contradiction in the ways the teachers and the designers of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme understand I/SGCSE, teaching, the learner, and the teacher, indicates that the teachers in my study are not able to differentiate the I/SGCSE way of teaching and learning from what they are used to. In Bernstein's (2000) terms, they have not acquired the "recognition rules" of the new curriculum system. Recognition rules enable one to interpret appropriately a new context and therefore to act appropriately within a particular context. These teachers seem to bring into the new I/SGCSE school system meanings that do not sit well with the new I/SGCSE system. They therefore seem to lack the ground rules needed for them to meaningfully recontextualise the I/SGCSE curriculum. Without the recognition rules, these teachers may not be in a position to demonstrate teaching practices that are appropriate for the new I/SGCSE school system. It appears, therefore, that the teachers in my study hold discourses that may contribute to conditioning their unconscious resistance of the change rather than enabling them to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

While undertaking the discourse analysis of the interview data I also noted evidence in the data of the structural properties of the environment in which the teachers in this study work. I therefore analysed the ways in which the teachers responded to these structural properties.

### **6.3 Structural mechanisms constraining or enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE**

There was evidence in the interview data that the environment in which teachers in this study were implementing the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme produced structural emergent properties with generative powers and causal influences that conditioned teachers to teach in ways which contributed to either reproducing the old school system or transforming it. I identified four key structures, namely, *finance*, *geographic location of schools*, *school administration*, and *time*. In some cases, the influence of these structures on the actions of teachers was different in the two contexts (rural and urban school cases) of this study. In the discussions below I indicate how these structures contribute towards enabling or constraining conditions for the implementation of the new curriculum in both contexts.

#### **6.3.1 Finance as structure**

Finance is a structure at the *level of the real* because it has the power to cause or constrain events at the *level of the actual*. The interview data revealed that in urban schools the availability of funds enabled the acquisition of resources necessary for the effective

implementation of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme such as books, libraries, internet connection, and materials for conducting experiments (see 5.3), whereas rural schools lacked the funds to acquire these resources. For example, all six rural school teachers interviewed in this study complained about lack of resources such as in the following two extracts:

In the rural schools the problems that we have is that we do not have the facilities to enable the learners to learn on their own. For example, we need to have the computers and internet if we want the learners to learn on their own so that they can try to get more information from the internet (Rural School Teacher 4 Interview 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

They don't have the books. Only a few of them have the books. So they share. You find that three of them are sharing one book or four of them are sharing just one book. So it becomes a bit of a problem (Rural School Teacher 2 Interview 2; 23 July, 2009).

The new I/SGCSE curriculum requires that teachers adopt teaching strategies which enable learners to be actively involved in their own learning. For example, the IGCSE consultative document (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b) recommended the use of research projects among others. However for learners to be able to work independently they need to have access to appropriate learning and teaching resources and materials that will enable them to access information. The interview data seemed to indicate that the severe lack of resources in rural schools limited the rural school teachers who took part in the study from practicing invisible forms of pedagogy which are required of them in the new I/SGCSE curriculum (see 6.4 on agency).

In contrast to the rural schools, all six urban school teachers reported mostly having sufficient learning and teaching materials and other resources:

We've got CDs, we've got past papers, we've got textbooks . . . . But you know this is not enough for the learner. The learner learns best by hearing, seeing, doing, sometimes feeling and eh . . . so we have some and some we don't have (Urban School Teacher 1 Interview 1; 14 July, 2009).

A lot has changed in the school. For instance, schools in general have to buy certain equipments. Because just currently now here at school they are doing oral evaluations. So we have to have microphones, the tape recorders, the what not, all the equipment. So the schools, financially schools have spent a lot. There is so much material that had to be bought. The books, had to buy new books to address this particular subject. Some additional materials. There's so much (Urban School Teacher 5 Interview 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

Our computers, they do have internet (Urban School Teacher 2 Interview 1; 30 June, 2009)

From this data it would seem that many urban school teachers are in a better position to adopt teaching strategies that encourage learners to be independent and to discover knowledge on their own. It would seem, therefore, that while the cultural system imposed on teachers and learners through the I/SGCSE curriculum conditions the emergence of weakly classified and framed learning and teaching events, the finance structure contributed in constraining the emergence of such learning and teaching events and experiences, especially in the rural schools.

I now turn to the next structure identified in the data as having influenced the ability of teachers in the study to implement effectively the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme, which I have called the *geographic location of schools*.

### **6.3.2 Geographic location of schools**

My analysis of the interview data indicated that the location of the school in an urban or rural area had an impact on the ability of teachers to adopt some of the I/SGCSE teaching strategies, in particular the use of excursions and projects as teaching methodologies. A school located in an urban area, for example, has access to facilities and different activities which are useful resources for developing understanding of school knowledge and independent learning. For example, urban areas have public libraries and include industrial and commercial areas where a variety of business activities take place, which could be used by teachers and learners for learning and teaching purposes. The rural school teachers who took part in the study felt disadvantaged by being in the rural areas away from such infrastructure and activity:

So we are not exposed to most of the things. Like saying in terms of . . . I mean exposing them to how business is run. It is very difficult because maybe those schools which are in towns they are able to take their students out maybe to the business areas. They expose them to some of the things how they are done but here you see we only have maybe grocery shops (Rural School Teacher 2 Interview 2; 23 July, 2009).

Furthermore, while urban school children often come from families which can afford to provide for the basic needs of their children, this is not usually the case for rural schools. In fact it seems that often children in rural schools come to school hungry:

Some would report that they are ill and you can actually see that they haven't taken any food. They are hungry. Then they just pretend that they are ill. You can actually see. And those who fall sick in the school when they come and report they are ill then we give them some medication, you find that the medication that we are giving to the student is one that requires some food before it can be administered to the child. And when you ask the child have you taken anything since morning the child would say no, I haven't taken anything. So we realised this is a growing problem for many of the students. They are not taking anything in the morning they just come to school. They rely on the food that is provided in the school. (Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 21 July, 2009).

Further probing revealed that the school feeding scheme does not always operate optimally and that sometimes learners spend whole mornings trying to study on empty stomachs (ibid). One teacher expressed concern that this reduces learners' ability to learn in class (Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 21 July, 2009). So it would seem then that lack of adequate nutrition, leading to a lack of concentration (ibid), is a further constraining factor for the use of learner-centred approaches in some of the rural schools in my study. Language was reported as another factor that constrained the use of learner-centred approaches in some rural schools:

**Interviewee:** Yes, I have to admit in our school we have a problem, we are not speaking the language. And it poses those challenges for the students. You find that they know the answer but because they haven't got a grasp of the language they are unable to express themselves. And they end up keeping quiet even on things that they know. But if you were to allow them to express themselves in siSwati you find that they are capable of talking. Then you say try and put that in English then it's a problem.

The structural elements of the geographic location of schools indicate that teachers teaching in schools located in rural areas are encountering constraints which have a limiting effect on their ability to implement invisible forms of pedagogy mandated in the new I/SGCSE curriculum, while the location of schools in urban areas has enabling effects on the adoption of the mandated invisible pedagogy. The section on agency (see 6.4) explores how teachers in my study responded to some of the structural elements highlighted in this section.

### 6.3.3 School administration

From the analysis of the interview data, it seems that the way some schools are administered constrains teachers from adopting some of the learner-centred teaching strategies mandated in the I/SGCSE curriculum. In particular, five administrative strategies were identified from the



interview data as potentially constraining the change GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. These include administrative rules and procedures related to *assessment*, access to *photocopying* facilities, *access to internet*, *hostel rules*, and *teacher-student ratios*.

There are many purposes for assessing student learning. At an administrative level, assessment of student learning is used to monitor the work of teachers (Kelly, 1989). From the interview data it seems that, despite the change in curriculum in Swaziland, the administration of some schools has not adjusted their rules and regulations with regard to assessment of student learning. They still expect the assessment practices of teachers to be only in the form of written tests and examinations:

They actually told me that . . . OK, you see here, this is [name of school removed]. The only thing that is done . . . they are given reports at the end of the term. So you must have five tests per subject at least or six at most. Then you divide those subjects. That is the mark for each individual. But for the third term there are exams (Rural School Teacher 2 Interview 2; 23 July, 2009).

Actually, the mode of assessment is the traditional one I can say because we are using tests. We don't use classwork, we use tests, and we use exams. They may be internal, especially for the . . . during . . . . It is basically tests and exams (Urban School Teacher 2 Interview 1; 30 June, 2009).

It would seem that the inflexibility of the assessment practice of schools contradicts the MOET and CIE's insistence on a "wide range of assessment techniques to test a variety of skills" (Ministry of Education and Training, 2005b: 8), and hence the administrative requirement is in contradiction with the *discourse of learner diversity* which the I/SGCSE curriculum system strongly embraces. As far as assessment is concerned, the use of written tests and examinations means that other skills such as speaking, presentation, teamwork, argumentation, and so on are not assessed, hence some learners' talents and skills are not recognised and respected.

In yet another example, the interview data indicated that the administration of some schools seems to control expenditure by restricting what is photocopied:

Sometime you want to photocopy something that you are going use in class you find that . . . that service is not made available in the school. Yes, you are only expected maybe to . . . photocopy a test and if you are talking about something that you are going to use in a lesson, then you find that you don't

have access to such services (Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 21 July, 2009).

This administrative measure seems to privilege a focus on written tests and examinations. It also seems to discourage teachers from making available to learners information from other sources such as advertisements from magazines and newspapers, pictures of the latest business gargets, etc. It is therefore a policy that has the power to encourage reliance on recommended textbooks or on teacher knowledge. It would seem, therefore, that this practice promotes the adoption of traditional approaches to learning and teaching.

Internet access is also controlled so that learners are not allowed access at any other time except the during computer lessons:

We have the computer lab, but I think as a department we need computers just for these children to get into internet and look at some other issues. Like the issues that we deal with here are world issues, global issues, so the internet would be very useful but they don't have access. They only have access to the computer when it's a computer lesson and I don't want to believe that it's enough time or enough exposure for them (Urban School Teacher 2 Interview 1; 30 June, 2009).

I had a problem trying to assign them . . . and the internet is not easily available to them (Urban School Teacher 6 Follow up Interview; 18 July, 2010).

This control practice means that learners cannot access the internet for purposes of learning in all subjects. It seems, therefore, that the administration of some schools does not consider internet access as a resource for learning and teaching. This practice has power to constrain teachers from giving learners research projects that require independent search for information, which is encouraged in the I/SGCSE curriculum. It is therefore in conflict with the cultural elements of the I/SGCSE curriculum, which require the adoption of invisible forms of pedagogy.

It would also seem that the hostel management in some schools with boarding facilities works against the learning and teaching practices expected in the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme:

I had a problem trying to assign them, they told me they are having a problem at the hostel they are not allowed to go out . . . . The project would therefore mean it has been done by the day scholars only. Thus the boarders would not

learn anything from that (Urban School Teacher 6 Follow up Interview; 18 July, 2010).

Another administrative practice which seems to have a serious effect on the curriculum change is the admission of large numbers of learners. One teacher commented when justifying why he/she was not requiring learners to undertake research projects:

The other thing is that they are too many such that I may not fully concentrate on all the projects (Urban School Teacher 6 Follow up Interview; 18 July, 2010).

Class size is one aspect that the MOET acknowledged needed attention with the introduction of I/SGCSE (MOET, 2005). As I have already indicated, the official teacher-pupil ratio for secondary schools in Swaziland is 1:35. However, as noted in 4.3.2.4, urban schools in Swaziland are overcrowded, with the result that often there are many more than thirty-five learners in a class. In the classes I observed in urban schools, only two of the six classes had fewer than thirty-five learners, the largest consisting of fifty-six learners. In the rural schools, three of the six classes had more than 35 learners, the largest consisting of forty-three learners. Large class sizes have the potential to constrain teachers from adopting the I/SGCSE ways of teaching as these methods often require individualised attention as opposed to traditional approaches.

The administrative practices discussed in this section seemed to contribute to keeping things the same rather than facilitating or enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. It appears therefore that this structural mechanism (school administration) converges with the cultural system discussed in 6.2 in privileging the adoption of old teaching practices rather than the change to learner-centred approaches.

#### **6.3.4 Time constraints**

There is evidence in the interview data that some teachers in both the rural (two out of six) and urban (three out of six) cases in my study are worried about how time consuming it is to adopt learner-centred approaches. They feel that such approaches waste the time they need to finish the I/SGCSE syllabuses which they view as longer in comparison to the GCE O-level syllabuses:

So . . . I think . . . we are teaching the kids at the same time we are looking at the syllabuses. We have to finish the syllabuses. It's long. And then when you give the child ample time to do the things on their own we find ourselves lagging behind. Then we find ourselves rushing and rushing. So therefore that is the problem; the main problem (Rural School Teacher 1 Interview 1; 21 July, 2009).

. . . if you tell them to do something, when you come to class they haven't done anything. So *ke sovakungatsi* (you feel like) most of the time *nipho kwenta* (you keep on doing) one and the same thing *ukhandze kantsi* (such that in) two periods *langabe ngifundzise* (which you could have used to teach) something *awusakhoni kutwenta ngalokutsi* (you fail because) they didn't do anything. Which means, you are giving them the time again to do that so your time *ke sesiyaphela* (gets finished). At the end you may find that you don't achieve your goals (Urban School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

These extracts from the interview data seem to imply a conflict between available time and time needed to implement invisible forms of pedagogy underpinning the discourses which construct the new I/SGCSE curriculum. This conflict between available time and required time seems to have exerted a constraining rather than an enabling influence on the ability of the teachers in my study to implement learner-centred pedagogy mandated in the new curriculum. *Time* therefore seems to have contributed to the maintenance of the old system of education rather than its elaboration. However, these extracts also seem to construe time in relation to curriculum as content and product rather than as the development of understanding (Grundy, 1987; Kelly, 1989) as mandated in the new curriculum. This is discussed further in the section on agency (6.4.4).

### 6.3.5 Summarising the structural system

My analysis of the interview data indicates that, quite often, the school structures which teachers in my study confront exert a constraining influence on their ability to produce learner-centred learning and teaching events mandated in the new I/SGCSE curriculum. Rural school teachers seem to encounter more structural constraints than urban school teachers. For example *finance* and *geographic location* impact more on rural schools than urban schools, while *school administration* and *time* seem to impact on all the schools in my study whether rural or urban. In most cases, these structures provide little or no support for the adoption of invisible forms of pedagogy which the cultural system of the new I/SGCSE curriculum privilege. I argue that most of these structures contribute to the maintenance of the old system of education rather than to its elaboration; that they constrain rather than

enable the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. In the next section I discuss how teachers in my study seemed to respond to the structural and cultural constraints they were encountering in their implementation of the I/SGCSE curriculum.

#### **6.4 Agential mechanisms constraining or enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE**

Agency, according to Archer, refers to the choices that people make in their daily lives, which either reinforce existing structures and cultures or transform them (1995, 1996). In this section, I explore the ways in which teachers in my study chose to respond to some of the structural constraints they encountered. I use "agency" to refer to the effects of these choices or responses on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. My analysis of the interview data indicates that the teaching events which emerged from the decisions which teachers in my study took in response to structural constraints contributed to the maintenance of the old system of education rather than its elaboration. Even where the structures were favourable, some teachers still made decisions which constrained rather than enabled the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. Evidence of this is provided in the sections that follow.

##### **6.4.1 The decision to give notes to learners**

Rural school teachers in the study encounter a lot of structural constraints in the schools they teach. One of these includes lack of money to buy books. The interview data indicates that some rural school teachers in my study responded to the constraining condition of the lack of books by giving learners notes:

Most of them don't have textbooks. But then you make them borrow the books because they are there. There are form 4s who are not using it during the same time. Some of them are able to buy the books and they borrow because we just tell them when you come to my class everybody must have the book. And they make ends meet. But then it tells you that after school they will have no books. So they will be having nothing to do. *That is why we end up giving them notes now and again.* And then this is time wasting. And the syllabuses recommends that they themselves they have to make their own notes . . . in their own understanding. But then it doesn't happen that way. *We have to give them. Why? Because we know at the end there will be no learning* (Rural School Teacher 1 Interview 1; 21 July, 2009).

Providing notes is a strategy that is viewed in curriculum theory as a traditional approach that promotes reliance on the teacher and conformity to teachers' or textbook knowledge. It is therefore discouraged in modern curricula and seen as constraining the development of high-

level cognitive processing such as critical thinking, problem-solving, and evaluation. It would seem, therefore, that the practice of giving notes is contradictory to the discourses underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum (see chapter 5), which require that knowledge be constructed in interactions and debates rather than be given to learners. But the practice is consistent with the discourses discussed in 6.2 which many of the teachers in my study subscribe to. This practice therefore contributes to the maintenance rather than the transformation of the old system of education.

#### **6.4.2 The decision to theorise lessons and not engage learners in projects and independent study**

In 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, I highlighted the fact that many of the rural schools in my study lacked resources due to the poor financial situation in their schools and the location of their schools in places with poor infrastructure and a lack of formal business activity. In the following examples, the decisions of rural school teachers were to theorise teaching in response to the lack of resources needed for engaging learners. They felt it was not possible without the necessary resources:

Normally . . . the syllabus states that we should have these radio activity materials. Handle it. Show it to the kids. But then in this situation we don't have them. So therefore it will be just . . . it will be just something like theory. There will be no practical. They do some of the experiments. Most of them they do. But then there are those which are scarce. Just like this topic I've just introduced, radio activity, really there is nothing I can do. So therefore I'm just teaching them the theory part of it (Rural School Teacher 1 Interview 1; 21 July, 2009).

Looking at the resources that we have in the school it will not be possible for us to have that kind of teaching. The only thing that I've done . . . would be to make reference to those adverts. I would talk about them but then . . . sometimes you realise that the students need to see the adverts. If we had a television or if we had a projector we would try and show these adverts to the students. Yes, because sometimes you have to . . . I mean they have to hear the sound that is made in the advert other than just looking at the pictures (Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 21 July, 2009).

In the illustration below, the teacher responded to lack of textbooks by relying on classwork rather than giving learners homework:

Yah it's a problem. That is why *I'm restricted to giving them classwork most of the time* because once I give them homework most of them they come with a

lot of excuses, "I don't have books and can't do the homework" *so we have to do the exercises in class* (Rural School Teacher 2 Interview 2; 23 July, 2009).

Furthermore, this teacher indicated that due to the constraining conditions of their environment project work did not feature as a teaching and learning practice:

*We don't even try to give them projects* because we don't have a library. What we call a library is not a library. We don't have even internet, we don't have access to almost everything that is required, unless they go to town. So the school does not afford to buy that for us on a daily basis. It is very difficult to give the learners a research project (Rural School Teacher 6 Interview 1; 17 Sept, 2010).

The interview data seems to indicate that many rural school teachers in the study feel constrained to implement sound pedagogical practices such as project work and giving learners homework. They seem to have responded to the constraining conditions of their structural environments by restricting knowledge within the walls of the classroom: this is contrary to the discourse of curriculum as practice and praxis which encourages independent search for knowledge and the weakening of the boundaries between school and the external world, thus underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum (see 5.2). The teachers in my study seemed to respond by teaching in the same old ways, a practice which reinforces the old system of education rather than transforming it. The agency they exercised therefore seems to exert a constraining influence on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

I indicated in 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 that urban school teachers seemed to be in a better position than rural school teachers, in that their work environment had the resources which support the adoption of the mandated participatory teaching strategies, such as libraries, books, internet, and business activity. However, it is interesting to note that only one of the six urban school teachers in the study seemed to take advantage of the resources by making use of teaching strategies such as integrated projects and excursions:

I do give students research work mainly because I realise that not all can be achieved in classroom environment and also to show them that issues we address in Business Studies are practical and real; they exist in the business environment. When teaching topics such as marketing I normally give my students research work to find information on how different firms promote their products, how they apply the marketing mix and pricing strategies used. I have also asked them to find out about the organisational structure of various businesses, also to find information about trade unions, how they are organised, their purpose and role to employees and also to employers and the

general economy. At one time I assigned them to get information on the selection process of companies from when the vacancy is created in an organisation to when it is eventually closed (Urban school teacher 2 Follow Up Interview; Sept 15, 2010).

In the other five out of the six urban schools, teachers reported having decided not to employ these mandated approaches in their teaching, regardless of the enabling environment in which their schools are situated. Three of the five teachers reported not taking learners on field trips and four of the five reported not using research projects in their teaching. They cited other structural constraints which include school administration (see 6.3.3) and time (see 6.3.4) as having influenced their decision not to use projects and excursions. The teacher in the illustration that follows had no reason for not using these teaching approaches:

**Interviewer:** Do you give students research projects?

**Interviewee:** To speak the honest truth I have never given my students such a task. As a matter of fact I have never considered them. I only give students assignments to do at home and submit the following day or week.

**Interviewer:** Do you take students out on educational tours?

**Interviewee:** No. I have no concrete reason, but I think it's because when I was a student at high school and college my teachers never took Accounting students for such yet for other subjects they would from time and again take them.

(Urban School Teacher 3 Follow up Interview; 15 Sept, 2010)

It seems that the decision not to take learners on field trips and not to give them projects is an emergent consequence of the discourses discussed in 6.2 which all the teachers in the study subscribe to. These discourses privilege the transmission of knowledge rather than its construction. They privilege the use of old teacher-centred approaches over learner-centred approaches which encourage the independent construction of knowledge and the weakening of the boundaries between school and the external world. These discourses are in conflict with the discourses underpinning the new I/SGCSE, which privilege the use of approaches such as projects and excursions. This finding is in keeping with new literacy study theorists who argue that once a discourse has been internalised it becomes normal and behaviour becomes spontaneous and unconscious (see 2.4.1).



It seems then that even though one would expect urban school teachers to be able to adopt the new teaching strategies, the enabling power of their structural environment seemed not to have been exercised because of other constraining structures and cultures, and also because of the agency teachers exercised through making decisions about their teaching practices which were contradictory to the mandated practices. This is in keeping with the critical realist understanding that “mechanisms in social life, *never* work mechanistically” (Carter and New, 2004b: 27; emphasis in original). As Ayers says:

. . . mechanisms retain potential to yield effects even if that potential is not activated. Such causal powers, in other words, are transfactual. Furthermore, even when mechanisms are activated, their effects may be counteracted by other mechanisms and thus not observable. The extent to which causal mechanisms are activated, not activated, or counteracted is not assured but contingent on complex interactions among causal mechanisms (2010: 9).

This section indicated that the agency that many of the teachers exercised in response to structural constraints they encountered reinforced rather than transformed the old system of education.

#### **6.4.3 The decision to make lessons teacher-centred**

There is evidence in the data that some teachers in the study decided to use teacher-centred approaches in response to time constraints such as in the extract below and the ones cited in 6.3.4:

It is the additions in the syllabus. It is now longer. And then we have to rush. So giving the . . . pupils some time to do things on their own is *time wastage* . . . so therefore we have to cover up. That is why sometimes we then make the . . . lessons teacher-centred. Just like my lesson today (Rural School Teacher 1 Interview 1; 21 July, 2009).

It appears that some teachers in the study construe *time*, from the perspective of curriculum, as the coverage of content knowledge and the achievement of set goals (objectivism) rather than the development of understanding as advocated in learner-centred approaches. It is therefore not surprising that their response to *time* seemed to imply that involving learners is wasteful of it, and therefore the decision is sometimes to make their lessons teacher-centred. The implementation of teacher-centred lessons suggests that knowledge is predetermined not produced in interactions between the teacher and the learner, hence it is in contradiction to the I/SGCSE way of teaching. The way these teachers responded to the time constraints

therefore seems to give the teacher control over the learners. It appears, then, that the way the teachers responded to *time* constraints is consistent with the discourses underpinning the way they construct teaching, the learner, and the teacher, discussed earlier in the 6.2. I argue, therefore, that some teachers in the study draw from commonsense knowledge (horizontal discourses or primary Discourse) when responding to time constraints. I further argue that the decision to adopt teacher-centred approaches in response to *time* constraints contributes to the maintenance of the old system of education rather than its transformation.

#### **6.4.4 The decision not to allow learners to speak in the siSwati language**

Poor mastery of the English language by learners in rural schools is one of the structural constraints that are faced by rural school teachers who took part in the study (see 6.3.2). However, the way some teachers in my study responded to this constraint was inconsistent with the discourses underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum. The teachers seemed to discourage learners from using their own home language in the learning of school knowledge:

**Interviewer:** So you don't allow them to put it in siSwati?

**Interviewee:** Yah, in some cases. It's not what we encourage because they are going to write in English. So we encourage them to speak in English.

(Rural School Teacher 3 Interview 2; 21 July, 2009).

The practice of discouraging language code-switching is contradictory to the *discourse of learner diversity* underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum. The view promoted by the I/SGCSE curriculum is one which acknowledges and appreciates the cultural differences that learners bring into the classroom, and teachers are expected to embrace the cultural knowledge (including language) that the learners bring with them. From the perspective of the I/SGCSE, learners should be encouraged to use their own language and culture to develop understanding of school knowledge. The practice of preventing learners from expressing themselves in siSwati therefore does not respect and make use of the learners' knowledge of the siSwati language in helping them develop understanding of school knowledge. It appears, therefore, that the way some rural school teachers respond to this structural influence reinforces the old system of education rather than transforms it. Their decisions and actions

therefore seem to have a constraining rather than an enabling effect on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

#### **6.4.5 Subscribing to discourses which are contrary to the ones underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum**

I indicated in 6.2 that all the teachers in my study subscribe to discourses which are contrary to those underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum. The discourses they subscribe to condition the emergence of strongly classified and framed teaching and learning events and experiences in the domain of the *actual* and *empirical*, which are opposed to the weakly classified and framed teaching and learning practices mandated in the new I/SGCSE curriculum. These discourses they subscribe to draw from the orders of discourse which include the *discourse of teaching as transmission of knowledge* (6.2.4), the *discourse of an empty vessel* (6.2.2), the *discourse of teacher as the source of knowledge* (6.2.3), and the *discourse of conflation* (6.2.1). I argue that, by subscribing to discourses which draw from these orders of discourse, the teachers in my study reinforce the old system of education and therefore they unconsciously resist the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. It is not surprising that urban school teachers are still teaching using old approaches even though some of their structural environments are enabling to the use of learner-centred approaches (see 6.4.2).

### **6.5 Conclusion**

It appears that the structural and the cultural system which many of the teachers in my study confront in their daily lives and in their school environments converge to constrain their ability to teach in the learner-centred ways mandated in the new curriculum. However, by subscribing to a cultural system which is opposed to the one mandated in the I/SGCSE programme, and by responding to the structural system in ways which contradict the mandated ways, the teachers in my study also contributed to maintaining the status quo rather than to changing it. That is, the agency they exercised contributed to exerting a constraining rather than an enabling influence on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. In the next chapter I explore the influence of these mechanisms (cultural, structural, and agential) on the actual teaching practice of the teachers in my study.

## Chapter 7

### Exploring teacher agency in the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE

Without an active notion of agency, that is without being able to inquire about who is doing what to whom and why, we cannot arrive at a convincing explanation for structures at all (Carter and New, 2004b: 11).

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of the previous chapter. In the previous chapter I explored the meanings teachers in my study make of the new I/SGCSE school system; in this chapter I am concerned with how the meanings teachers make of the new school system impact on their actual teaching practice. Using Bernstein's language, in the previous chapter I was concerned with exploring whether or not teachers have acquired the *recognition rules* (2000) for discriminating between old school practices and new school practices. In this chapter I explore the extent to which teachers have acquired the *realisation rules* (ibid) of the new I/SGCSE school system. That is, I explore the extent to which they can produce the practices that are privileged in the discourses which construct the I/SGCSE curriculum.

My analysis in the previous chapter seems to indicate that teachers subscribe to discourses about teaching, the learner, and their role as teachers, which are in contradiction to the discourses underpinning the new I/SGCSE school system. The teachers subscribe to discourses that give the teacher power over the learners, therefore privileging visible forms of pedagogy as opposed to invisible forms of pedagogy. The new I/SGCSE curriculum programme mandates invisible pedagogic practices characterised by weak relations of power and control. I therefore argued that the teachers in this study seem to lack the recognition rules needed for them to recontextualise the new I/SGCSE school system meaningfully. I also argued that this may be due to the fact that their primary Discourse and other dominant secondary Discourses (Gee, 1996, 1999) transmitted values, attitudes, and knowledge which potentially deny the teachers access to the new I/SGCSE school context (see chapter 4 and 5). According to Bernstein, recognition rules enable an individual to interpret a new context "appropriately" and therefore to act "appropriately" within the context. Without these recognition rules teachers may not be in a position to demonstrate legitimate I/SGCSE

teaching practices. The findings of the previous chapters indicate that it is unlikely that the teachers in this study are able to produce legitimate I/SGCSE teaching practices. This is what is explored in this chapter: how the meanings held by teachers lead to the emergence of teaching events which are antithetical to the aims of the I/SGCSE.

Data for this chapter consists of twenty-four lesson observations undertaken in the two rural schools and two urban schools which form the two cases (rural school case and urban school case) of this study. In each of the four schools I observed three teachers in two lessons, making a total of twenty-four classroom observations – twelve in each school case (rural and urban). In the urban schools I observed Accounting, Business Studies and Economics lessons. The rural schools do not offer Economics, therefore Economics was replaced by Physics. It was not important which subjects I observed because I was not interested in what the teachers were teaching (content) but rather in how they taught. The Business subjects were chosen for convenience because they are subjects I understand and subjects I am concerned with in my work as a Lecturer in Business Studies and Accounting Curriculum Studies.

I used Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse (see 2.4.2) as a framework for analysing and interpreting the classroom observation data. Bernstein's work seemed most appropriate for this part of my study because I was interested in exploring how teachers who took part in this study taught, not what they were teaching. Researchers interested in both the social and the internal content structure of knowledge may find Bernstein's work insufficient because his focus was primarily “. . . on the social relations of knowledge, and not the epistemic relations” (Wheelahan, 2007: 637; Moore and Maton, 2001; Beck and Young, 2005). Pedagogic discourse is a recontextualising principle governing the transmission of a discourse (e.g. Accounting, Physics) from one field to another (Bernstein, 2000). In this chapter I am concerned with how teachers transform the I/SGCSE curriculum produced in the official recontextualising field (ORF) into actual learning and teaching experiences in the classroom (pedagogic recontextualising field/PRF).

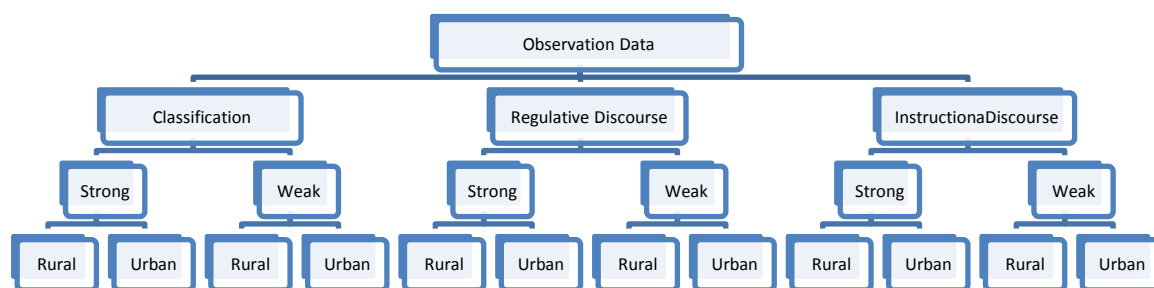
Pedagogic discourse, according to Bernstein, is concerned with the transmission of conduct, character, and manner (moral order, rules of social order, or expressive order) which he calls the regulative discourse, and the transmission of skills (instrumental order) which he calls the instructional discourse (ibid). As I have repeatedly emphasised in this thesis, the new

I/SGCSE curriculum system requires that pedagogic practice take an invisible form of pedagogy (see chapter 5). Therefore, contextually appropriate teaching practice in the case of I/SGCSE is one in which the teacher hides his/her power to allow learners to take control of their own social conduct (regulative discourse) in the classroom, and of the selection, sequencing, pacing, and evaluation (instructional discourse) of their own learning. I have analysed data in this chapter using the framing principle (see 2.4.2.1 and 3.6.4) in order to determine if teachers are able to produce the required invisible pedagogic practice: if they have acquired the realisation rules necessary for the production of the required invisible pedagogy. In this study, weak framing indicates that pedagogy is invisible and the teacher has acquired the ways of teaching required of him/her in the new I/SGCSE school system. Weak framing therefore indicates the possibility for transformation rather than the reproduction of old learning and teaching practices. Strong framing, on the other hand, indicates that pedagogy is visible, that the teacher lacks the realisation rules necessary to produce the range of behaviours the new I/SGCSE school context expects. Strong framing therefore indicates the possibility for a reproduction of old visible learning and teaching practices rather than a transformation to the new invisible pedagogic practice.

Before exploring the teaching practices of the teachers in my study, I decided to start by exploring the power relations that existed between the teacher and learners using Bernstein's (2000) principle of classification (see 2.4.2.1 and 3.6.4). Classification refers to the apartness of things or categories, which in my case are teachers and learners. According to Bernstein, it is power relations that classify things or keep things apart; and how separated things are depends on how much power one has over the other. I found it important to understand how strongly the teacher and learner positions are insulated from each other, because the extent to which they are insulated has an impact on the way the teacher and the learner behave in the classroom; that is, on the strength of framing.

There are therefore three sections in this chapter: the classification of power between the teacher and the learner, the framing of the regulative discourse, and the framing of the instructional discourse. I explore separately the framing strengths of the regulative and instructional discourses because, according to Bernstein, it is possible for the framing of the two discourses to differ (2000). However, he also acknowledges that "where there is weak framing over the instructional discourse, there must be weak framing over the regulative discourse" (2000:13). Initially I had planned to discuss the two cases (rural and urban school

cases) separately. However, there did not seem to be any significant differences between the two cases which would warrant separate discussions: the two cases closely resembled each other. For example, all the schools I visited used no form of teaching aid except the chalkboard and textbooks. In all schools, learners sat in rows facing the front of the room with the teacher standing in front. Almost all teachers in both cases used the same approach, which was predominantly the Socratic approach combined with lecture and demonstration. Only in a few instances were small group discussions incorporated. I felt that to separate the discussions would lead to repetition. As with my other data, I used the NVivo qualitative data analysis software to analyse the observation data. Figure 7-1 below is a graphical representation of how I coded the data. (See Appendix D-3 for actual coding I undertook in NVivo).



**Figure 7-0-1 Graphical representation of the Classification and Framing Analysis I undertook in NVivo**

In the next section I discuss the classification of power relations between the teacher and the learner.

## 7.2 Classification of power between the teacher and the learner

My analysis of the observation data seems to indicate that the relations of power between the teacher and the learners were strongly classified in almost all the lessons I observed. In all these lessons it was easy to differentiate between the teacher and the learner in the pedagogic practice. There were several indicators of this strong classification between the teacher and the learner: mainly the strong classification of space and the adoption of the Socratic, lecture, and demonstration methods, which seemed to classify strongly the relations between the teacher and the learner.

In all of the lessons I observed, the space in the classroom was clearly delineated and designated. There were boundaries that seemed to regulate where the teacher and learner belonged. All the classrooms had a traditional straight-row seating arrangement (Manke, 1997; Richards, 2006) which visibly distinguished between the teacher and the learner. This arrangement is understood to be suitable for large classes as it enables space and helps avoid discipline problems (ibid). Of the six classes (I observed two lessons in each class) I observed in urban schools, four consisted of more than thirty-five learners while three in rural schools had more than thirty-five learners. Only one class in the rural school had more than forty learners while three classes in the urban schools had more than fifty learners. Even though this seating arrangement at the *level of the actual* may seem to be conditioned by this structural factor at the *level of the real* (see 6.3.3), it should be noted that in the classes with fewer learners, with some having as few as seven, (Rural School Teacher 6 lesson 2; 30 Sept, 2010), the seating arrangement was still the same. This therefore indicates that there were other mechanisms at play which conditioned this kind of seating arrangement. The traditional straight-row seating arrangement tends to constrain the free flow of communication between learners, therefore it is ideal when the teacher intends to monitor and control learners in order to avoid discipline problems (ibid). I argue that this arrangement is consistent with the discourses many of the teachers hold about teaching, the teacher, and the learner, which give the teacher power over the learner (see chapter 6), therefore its emergence at the *level of the actual* may have been conditioned more by cultural than structural mechanisms. This separation of the space for the teacher and the learner was so strong that in all seven lessons in which learners were required to come to the front to present or demonstrate something the learners seemed reluctant and took time to come up to the front. Coming up to the front seemed to mean assuming a teacher role such as in the following example:

**Teacher:** So, at this point in time I will be requesting a *student teacher* now to get to the board and try to . . . So may I request someone to work out on the chalk board this exercise that we are doing. Please can someone help us? Show us how we are supposed to work out this exercise please!

**Learners:** [None of the learners volunteer to go up to the board].

**Teacher:** So you are going to assist the person. He or she is not going to work alone.

**Learners:** [A learner volunteers to go up and do the example on the board. He/she finishes and rushes to sit down].



**Teacher:** So there's nothing that you can say to us?

**Learner:** No. [Another learner stands up to work on the board]

**Teacher:** Please *teachers*, let us hear people talking. We are happy that we are seeing the answers but we would be happier if people could try to explain to us.

(Rural School Teacher 4 Lesson 1; 1 Oct, 2010)

Calling learners "teachers" when they come up to the front was clearly indicating that in this classroom the place of the teacher was at the front, and coming up front meant assuming that position. Hence the teacher seemed to expect learners to assume the responsibilities of the teacher which included "explaining" to the class. The place of the learners was clearly not in the front, and instead they were expected to seat facing the teacher unless given permission. For example, in two instances learners were called to order for facing the wrong direction (Urban School Teacher 3 Lesson 2; 9 July, 2010; Rural School Teacher 2 Lesson 1; 20 July, 2009).

In addition to space arrangements, the methods of teaching chosen by all the teachers seemed to classify strongly the relations between the teacher and the learner. All the teachers in the study combined one or two of these methods: the Socratic, lecture, and demonstration methods. These approaches prompted a talk–listen, demonstrate–copy, question–answer kind of behaviour between the teacher and the learners respectively, which effectively drew a line between the teacher and the learners. These approaches gave power to the teacher as the flow of communication was from the teacher to the learners. Evidence of this one direction flow of information could also be seen in the constant use of questions such as “Are we there?” (Urban Teacher 1), “Are you following?” (Rural Teacher 1, 2, and 6; Urban Teacher 1 and 5), “Do you understand/Do you understand me?” (Rural Teacher 1, 3, 4 and 6; Urban Teacher 3 and 6), “Are you with me?” (Rural Teacher 2 and 6), “Are we together?” (Rural teacher 1, 2 and 6; Urban teacher 1), “Is that clear/You all get that?” (Urban teacher 3), and “Do you hear me?” (Rural Teacher 1, 2 and 6). The teacher was in a dominant position while the learners were subordinated – a practice strongly discouraged in the I/SGCSE curriculum programme.

The separation or strong classification between the teacher and learner was also evident in the way communication took place in the classrooms. In all the lessons I observed, the teacher talked freely and was the one who decided who else could talk, while the learner talked only

when given permission by the teacher which he/she sought by raising a hand. The following data extracts illustrates this divide between the teacher and the learner (more will be seen in 7.3):

**Teacher:** For you to be respected first respect yourself. That is a need no one wants to be looked down upon [he/she continues giving examples and relating esteem needs to work environment for the next 5 minutes or so]. Self actualisation [moving on to the last stage of Maslow's hierarchy]. When you reach your full potential in life [he/she goes on to explain and exemplify self actualisation and relating it to work environment]. I can see people are just tired so sleepy. I'm just a preacher (class laughs). Let us turn to activity 3. I want each and every one to do activity 3 in your books using your pencils.

**Learners:** [Obediently they take their pencils and begin to do activity 3. While doing so some start talking].

**Teacher:** Did I ask people to talk?

(Urban School Teacher 5 lesson 2; 22 Sept, 2010)

If you want to contribute or ask, you do what? You raise up your hand (Urban School Teacher 1 Lesson 1; 6 July, 2009).

It was always easy to tell who the teacher was and who the learner was in almost all the classrooms as mostly the teacher talked and the learners listened. This kind of distinction between the teacher and the learner is contrary to the discourse of learner-centredness which requires a free flow of communication between the teacher and the learner.

It would seem, therefore, that in the classes I observed roles were clearly distinguishable. The teacher and the learners seemed to know their positions and what was expected and legitimate to those positions. It seemed to be commonsense knowledge that the teacher talks, the learners listen; the teacher demonstrates, the learners copy; and the teacher asks, the learners answer. It would seem, therefore, that their commonsense knowledge with regard to their positions and what is legitimate to those positions put the teacher in a superior position and the learner in a subordinate position, which seems to be consistent with the discourses they hold about the teacher and learner (see chapter 6). This practice is different and opposed to what is legitimate in the new I/SGCSE curriculum system (see chapter 5). The contradiction between what the teachers and learners know, and what the new I/SGCSE curriculum system expects of them, indicates that the teachers are not likely to produce the

legitimate I/SGCSE teaching practice. In other words, the strong classification of power dominant in the learning and teaching *events* that occur at the *level of the actual* seems to indicate that it is unlikely for framing to be weak.

### **7.3 Framing of the regulative discourse**

In this section I explore the nature of social relations produced in the pedagogic practice of teachers and learners in the classes I observed. I focus in particular on expectations about conduct in the classroom. I explore what the teacher and the learners are doing and analyse who controls the way they behave in the classroom. I also analyse the implications of these social relations for the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. The I/SGCSE curriculum requires that more control lies with the learners (see chapter 5). Therefore, strong framing would imply that the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE is constrained and weak framing would imply that change is enabled.

My analysis of the data indicates that the framing of the regulative discourse was strong in the classes I observed. There were several examples that seemed to indicate that the teachers in my study were controlling how the learners behaved in the classrooms. Exemplifying the strong framing was the tendency of many teachers to demand silence, make unilateral decisions about conduct, adopt teacher-centred approaches, and judge learners' responses as either "wrong" or "right". These are all discussed in this section. The practice of controlling and subjecting learners to conform to the authority of the teacher is inconsistent with the requirements of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme but is consistent with the discourses identified in chapter 6 as being held by many of the teachers in my study, such as the *discourse of a learner as an empty vessel*, of the *teacher as a source of knowledge*, and of *teaching as transmission of knowledge*.

The first example of strong framing is the teachers' insistence that learners keep silent in the classroom. In all the lessons I observed it was visibly clear that the teachers expected learners to keep silent and talk only when the teacher gave them permission to do so. To enforce this kind of behaviour, rules were established that regulated who talked and when. For example, in all the classrooms I observed, in order to be allowed to speak learners needed to seek permission from the teacher by raising their hands. The teacher then either granted or declined permission by pointing or not pointing at a learner. When learners attempted to

weaken this control by talking without permission they were reminded of what was deemed appropriate conduct:

**Teacher:** No! If you want to say something you raise up your hand to say “Allow me” (Rural School Teacher 1 Lesson 1; 21 July, 2009).

**Teacher:** What is wrong? What is all this talking? *[Pause]* Because I haven’t given even one individual the permission to talk *[learners keep quiet and pay attention to the teacher]* (Urban School Teacher 5 lesson 2; 22 Sept, 2010).

Because it was "inappropriate" to talk without the permission of the teacher, teachers often seemed to be angered by the learners’ attempts to weaken the control. Most often a stern look from the teacher was enough to bring back order in the classroom. In some instances the teacher threatened learners with punishment:

**Teacher:** *[Angrily asks]* Is this still my class? *Yebo* (right)? I gave you permission to talk? *[After some time teacher turns around to find one learner talking]* *Ye* [student name removed] *ngitokushaya ngemphama* (I’ll clap you on the face). *(After some time she sees others talking)* I’m going to hit you if you are not careful. Don’t think I’m your friend. Am I your friend? (Urban School Teacher 5 Lesson 2; 22 September, 2010).

**Teacher:** *[He/she sees a learner talking to someone while he/she is teaching]*. [Name of learner removed], I will chuck you out.

**Learner:** This girl is disturbing me.

**Teacher:** And I’m saying I will chuck you out.

**Learner:** Sorry.

(Rural School Teacher 2 Lesson 1; 20 July, 2009)

It would seem, therefore, that in these classrooms the teachers’ enforcement of silence limited the freedom of the learners to say what they wanted to say at the time they wanted to say it. This practice therefore contradicts the *discourse of learner-centredness* which privileges the free flow of communication between the teacher and the learners and between the learners, and which underpins the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme. The emphasis on silence is not surprising because the teachers in my study seemed to adopt teaching approaches that require learners to listen attentively and observe what the teachers say and do.

The strong framing of the regulative discourse was also evident in the way teachers taught in the classrooms. In many instances, the teachers seemed to take on the role of the expert in the classroom. For example, it seemed commonsense practice in twenty-two of the twenty-four lessons I observed that the teacher provided information to the learners and the learners listened and copied down the information. In one lesson the teacher, soon after the entering of a noisy class, said, “I’m the only one who’s talking now” (Rural School Teacher 2 Lesson 2; 23 July, 2009), which was then followed by a lecture and demonstration. In all the Accounting and Physics lessons and in two of the four Economics lessons that I observed the teachers demonstrated and the learners copied the demonstrations. And in all the Physics and Business Studies lessons teachers dictated or wrote notes on the board which learners were instructed to copy down in their books. The following illustration exemplifies this practice:

So we can define weight as a portion . . . I’m writing this definition you can copy it. [*He/she writes and learners copy*]. It’s a long definition, right? [*He/she then reads the long definition and explains*] Okay? (Rural School Teacher 5 Lesson 2; 30 Sept, 2010).

In another example, soon after providing definitions of terms the teacher said, “I think you have to write these definitions; you have to know these terms” (Rural School Teacher 1 Lesson 1; 21 July, 2009). It seemed to me that the teaching practice of these teachers is informed by the *discourse of teaching as transmission of knowledge*. In chapter 6, I indicate that almost all the teachers in my study seemed to subscribe to this discourse. This discourse is underpinned by a view of knowledge as something that can be given by the teacher and, taken by the learner rather than socially constructed in interactions. It would seem, therefore that for learning to take place in such environments the learner must be quiet and attentive so as to acquire what is transmitted. In the illustration below the teacher seemed to create a rule to enforce attentiveness:

Those who are sleeping must stand on their feet because I will beat people here. Anyone feeling sleepy must just stand on his or her feet because I won’t stand this. Must I sleep as well? [*Class laughs*] (Urban School Teacher 5 lesson 2; 22 Sept, 2010).

It appears as if the rule was imposed on the learners. There was no evidence of their involvement in its construction.

The control of the teacher over the learner was also evident in the unilateral decisions teachers seemed to make about how learners should behave in the classroom. There was no

evidence in the data of learners attempting to establish their own rules. There was also no evidence that the teachers collaborated with the learners in setting up the established rules. Quite often the teachers used “I” (said . . .) rather than “we” (said . . .) or “you” (said . . .), which seemed to indicate that the teacher was the one who established the rules without the involvement of the learners such as in the following examples:

**Teacher:** If you haven’t said anything then you are going to stand up *I think* that is the best way (Urban School Teacher 2 Lesson 1; 2 July, 2009)

**Teacher:** What did *I say* to you? *I’ve always said to you* the book is yours you can read it any time but not in my class unless I’ve told you to do so (Urban school teacher 5 lesson 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

It was common in the data (twenty lessons) to hear a teacher say “I want”, “I told you”, “I said” which seemed to be directing learners rather than collaborating and negotiating with them. Such use of words or statements seems to indicate that learners are expected to conform rather than to negotiate or challenge. In some statements the requirement for conformity was explicit such as in the following illustration:

**Teacher:** Yesterday we looked into Taylor’s scientific motivation theory. What is his view in his theory?

**Learners:** [*Page their books*]

**Teacher:** Did I give permission to anyone to open the book?

**Learners:** No [*closing their books*]

**Teacher:** I won’t talk unless all the books are closed. [*Silence for a moment, while all learners close their books. Then teacher points at one learner to answer*]

(Urban School Teacher 5 lesson 2; 22 Sept, 2010)

In another example, the teacher threatened to use corporal punishment to enforce conformity to his/her authority (Rural School Teacher 2 Lesson 2; 23 July, 2009). In all these instances the teacher was the dominant person controlling the behaviour of the learner in the classroom.

Another example of the strong framing or control of the teacher that came out of the data was a tendency among all the teachers to judge learners’ responses as either "wrong" or "correct".

While some teachers explained to the learners why their responses were "wrong", in eight lessons "wrong" responses were categorically declined without any explanation, such as in the following illustration:

**Teacher:** No no no! Not Chelsea Buns. Derived? You didn't understand what I said? *[without waiting for a response]* I said that derived demand is demand . . . people will demand this particular product because it is going to assist them produce other goods. Yes *[name of learner removed]* *[seeking response from another learner]* (Rural School Teacher 6 lesson 2; 30 Sept, 2010).

There was no evidence in the data that these teachers used this opportunity to engage learners in debates and negotiations in order to develop their understanding of why their responses were wrong or at least to give them the opportunity to express their views as to why they thought their responses were right. The practice of evaluating learners' responses as either "correct" or "wrong" seems to indicate that some teachers expect learners to accept rather than to make meaning of school knowledge through interactions and debates. The practice thus seems to be informed by a view of knowledge as fixed and predetermined. It follows, therefore, that the information taught in many of the lessons (sixteen) seemed to be directly "extracted" from the prescribed textbooks. In four lessons, from the beginning of the lesson to the end, the teachers read verbatim from the prescribed textbook, only pausing periodically to explain or exemplify the point given in the book or to ask learners a question. This practice is consistent with the discourse of *teaching as transmission of knowledge*, seeming to teach learners that knowledge found in a book is uncontested and therefore their learning practices (*events at the level of the actual*) may entail memorising and repeating what is contained in the textbook. It is therefore unsurprising that, in nineteen of the twenty-four lessons, when learners were asked a question they did not know the answer to they quickly paged through their books or notes seemingly with the intention to "extract" the "correct" response. This seems to indicate that learners are not empowered to question knowledge in books but are rather taught to conform. The pedagogic practice of many of the teachers in my study was therefore inconsistent with the *discourse of emancipation* also underpinning I/SGCSE.

So far I have demonstrated why I think the regulative discourse in the classes I observed was strongly framed (controlled by the teacher). However, this does not mean that there were no indications of weak framing in the classrooms. The observation data indicated that there were attempts made by some of these teachers to weaken their control in the classroom. For example, the adoption of the Socratic Method and group work by some teachers seems to

indicate an attempt to engage learners in the learning and teaching practice.

The teachers in twenty-three of the twenty-four lessons I observed attempted to engage learners through using the Socratic approach. The use of this approach is consistent with their claim in the previous chapter that they involve learners through the use of the question and answer method. However, my analysis of the questions used by many of these teachers indicates low engagement of the learners, as many of them (about 95% of all the questions asked by rural school teachers and about 91% of all the questions asked by urban school teachers) were closed questions. Many questions were testing if learners had learned what they were required to learn or if they were able to recall knowledge presented to them. The questions did not encourage learners to express opinions, engage in debates, or critique. In many instances, in addition to recall questions, learners were responding to questions such as “Are you following?”, “Do you understand?”, “Are you with me?”, “Right?”, “Okay?” and “Isn’t it?” which required one word responses or a few words. As such, about 76% of the responses of learners in the entire rural school data and about 60% of the responses of learners in the entire urban school data were between one and three words. To about 10% of the questions, learners from both rural and urban schools could not respond. It was only about 15% of the total responses from rural school children and about 30% of those of urban school children that were more than three words. It would seem, therefore, that the questions teachers were asking did not require learners to express their opinions, critique, debate, or challenge. Using questions that require recall rather than views, opinions, and experiences of the learners seems to be underpinned by a view of learning as resulting from memorising information rather than from meaning-making derived from interactions between the teacher and learners and between learners. Furthermore, the questioning style works to subordinate the learners rather than enable them to talk freely and contribute in the lessons. In the illustration below, not responding to the teacher’s questions seemed to be an offence that is punishable:

**Teacher:** Where are the other children because I’m getting answers from the same people? If you haven’t said anything then you are going to stand up. I think that is the best way. If you have not said anything so far then stand up. [Student name removed] should be the first one to stand up because you are right in front of me (Urban School Teacher 2 Lesson 1; 2 July, 2009).

In many instances, when none of the learners knew the answer to the question they were uncomfortable and seemed to wish someone would come up with something. It seemed,



therefore, that there were few genuine interactions between the teacher and learners where ideas were shared, disagreements embraced, and critiques made, and both teacher and learners came to an agreement about something. Hence, this practice seems to be in contradiction to the discourse of learner-centredness and learner diversity underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme, and therefore works to constrain rather than enable the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

Another attempt made by some of the teachers to weaken their control was through the adoption of the small group discussion method. This method allows learners to interact among themselves and it is listed among the methods recommended in the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme. Four teachers in six lessons that I observed used the small group discussion method. However, my observation was that the discussions were strongly controlled by the teacher. It seemed as if the teachers were deciding what learners were to discuss and where they were to obtain the information:

**Teacher:** So what I want you to do now is to go into your groups. And then each group will be given one business organisation to go and research about it. So you will be looking at the structure of that business organisation, the features, the formation, advantages and disadvantages of that given organisation. And make sure I see your presentation before you come and present here. The group leaders are supposed to submit their presentation paper first thing in the morning. Okay, first thing in the morning you submit.

**Learners:** *[Obediently go into groups and do as told. No input from the learners on this task].*

**Teacher:** *[After learners are in groups]* OK group one will be given public limited company, group two sole proprietorship . . . and then group ten nationalisation. Any questions?

**Learners:** *[Silence]*

**Teacher:** If you need more information on your topic you can go to the library and also go to the computer room. We have software there for economics. Ask permission to research. Yes, we have an encyclopaedia and another software on economics. So, first thing tomorrow morning. Okay? So you can begin your discussions.

(Urban School Teacher 4 Lesson 1; 21 Sept, 2010)

All that was required for this task was available in the learners' textbooks. It seemed to me,

therefore, that the task encouraged copying rather than critical thinking and engagement with new knowledge. Unsurprisingly, some of the groups were unable to explain some of the information they had presented when asked by some learners and the teacher (Urban School Teacher 4 Lesson 2; 22 Sept, 2010). It seemed as if the learners had just copied without understanding information from their textbooks and other sources. In another example, the learners in a Physics class failed even to read the information they had prepared (Rural School Teacher 1 Lesson 2; 23 July, 2009). It would seem, therefore, that, while group discussion is an approach that is associated by the MOET and CIE with weak control and learner-centredness (MOET, 2005), in the way it was used in some instances it was based on a view of knowledge as something out there ready to be extracted and brought into the classroom rather than on a view of knowledge as meaning making.

The data did not seem to indicate that learners attempted to establish their own rules. Most often learners seemed to conform to teachers' authority in the classroom. However, there were a few instances (only three) when learners appeared to reject this authority, hence weakening the frame. But mostly these learners did not take their arguments further as the teacher insisted and his/her view and authority was final. For example:

**Teacher:** I'll give you an example and you will come up with the type of demand that it shows. You cannot have your tea without sugar. You cannot use the other one without the other. You see? It's like socks and shoes.

**Learners:** You can wear shoes without socks.

**Teacher:** No, it's not done. If you are to wear a fully fledged shoe like the one [*student name removed*] is wearing, you have to wear socks. You hear me?

**Learners:** Yes.

(Rural School Teacher 6 lesson 2; 30 Sept, 2010)

It would seem, therefore, that the teacher in this example was dismissing the learner's idea and replacing it with his/her own idea. This practice seems to indicate that the teacher views him/herself as the source of knowledge. In another example, a learner tried to negotiate in vain with his/her teacher who was forcing him/her to shift seating positions (Rural School Teacher 2 Lesson 2; 23 July, 2009). While the teacher insisted, the learner resisted, but eventually the learner gave in as the teacher got a stick and threatened to use it. In another

example, an attempt by a learner to critique his/her teacher's authority was met with disapproval from the other pupils in the class and the teacher (Rural School Teacher 3 Lesson 1; 20 July, 2009). Other learners mumbled and complained in disapproval of the way this learner behaved. The teacher apologised to me after the lesson for the "unbecoming" behaviour of the learner which he/she described as "showing off" and "seeking attention" (Field notes; 20 July, 2009).

It would seem therefore that negotiations and agreements between the teacher and the learners were not part of the process of learning and teaching in many of the lessons I observed. This practice, like all the others discussed in this section, seems to be consistent with the *discourses of teaching as transmission of knowledge, teacher as source of knowledge, and learners as empty vessels* which many of the teachers who took part in the study subscribed to (see chapter 6). These discourses, as I have already indicated, are associated with Swazi tradition and culture, which put the teacher (as an adult) in the position of an expert and learners (as children) as the recipients of knowledge. When these discourses are held it is likely that the learners will be expected to conform to the authority of the teacher. It would seem, therefore, that these discourses (which exist as mechanisms in the domain of *culture at the level of the real*) exerted influence in conditioning the strongly framed teaching behaviour of the teachers at the *level of the actual*. By behaving in this manner, the teachers were acting inconsistently with the cultural and structural system imposed on them through the I/SGCSE programme. Their teaching actions therefore seem to reinforce the old system of education rather than transform it.

From the data presented in this section, it seems clear that in many instances teachers in my study still maintained authority in relation to how learners should behave in the classroom. This practice is opposed to the requirements of the I/SGCSE curriculum. I now turn to the framing of the instructional discourse.

#### **7.4 Framing of the instructional discourse**

In this section I explore the form of pedagogic practice produced in the observed classes. I focus on who has control over the elements of the instructional discourse which are selection, sequencing, pacing, and evaluation. I have based my analysis on the understanding that selection refers to the chosen content, sequencing refers to the order in which the content is handled, pacing refers to when to move to something else, and evaluation refers to evaluating

learners' learning or what we are more likely to call assessment. According to Bernstein it is possible for the framing strength to vary with respect to each of these elements (2000), hence these elements formed the units of analysis in this section of the study. In the context of the I/SGCSE curriculum, more control should lie with the learner than with the teacher. Therefore, strong framing of the instructional discourse would imply the change is constrained, but enabled when the framing is weak.

*Selection* and *sequencing* appeared to be strongly framed in the lessons I observed. The teachers in twenty-three of the twenty-four lessons (two lessons could not be coded because the recording started late) came to class having decided what they were going to teach the learners. The teachers also seemed to have decided what to teach first and what would follow. The decision seemed to be unilateral without any input from the learners; the illustrations below indicate this:

**Teacher:** Today I want us to look at the others. And then we are going to start with newspaper advertising (Urban School Teacher 2 Lesson 2; 2 July, 2009).

**Teacher:** *[As an introduction to the lesson the teacher explains what was done in the previous lesson]* So therefore that is the Beta particle. So today we have to go a bit further. One must be able to state the relative ionizing power. That is the ionizing power you have to state. It is in your book anyway page 158. One has to state what regulative emissions there are. OK we are going to discuss the nature but then after you know the relative ionizing effects, their relative penetrating abilities and you'll describe their deflection in electric fields, and then, magnetic fields. (Rural School Teacher 1 Lesson 2; 23 July, 2009).

It was only in one of the twenty-four lessons that the framing of *selection* seemed to be weak. Arising from concerns learners raised to the teacher about the content being difficult, the teacher came with the intention of teaching what the learners felt was worth teaching that day.

**Teachers:** What is it that was difficult?

**Learner:** Balance reconciliation

**Teacher:** Balance reconciliation is wide you start with updating the cashbook and then reconcile the statement. So where did you encounter the problems?

**Learner:** To find the unpresented cheques  
(Rural School Teacher 2 Lesson 1; 20 July, 2009)

There was no evidence of weak framing of *sequencing*. It would seem, therefore, that the teachers in my study still hold the power to control what learners should be learning and in what sequence, when the discourse of learner-centredness underpinning the new I/SGCSE curriculum programme requires that the learner should have some control of his or her own learning.

The observation data indicates that the framing strength of *pacing* varied. It seemed to be strongly framed in thirteen lessons and weakly framed in twelve of the lessons I observed. In one lesson there was evidence of both weak and strong framing of *pacing*. In the example that follows, the teacher, rather than the learner, seemed to be the one deciding when to move on to the next topic:

**Teacher:** OK I think it is enough on the advantages let us move on to disadvantages. (Urban School Teacher 2 Lesson 1; 2 July, 2009).

In the example that follows, the teacher seemed to consider the learners before deciding when to move on to the next topic:

**Teacher:** I don't want to go to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory. Let us go back to this theory, to Taylor's Scientific Management Theory. I would like you to ask me questions in as far as this theory is concerned so that before we move to the next one we are clear about this one (Urban school teacher 5 lesson 1; 21 Sept, 2010).

It would seem therefore that some teachers in my study weakened their control of *pacing* while others controlled this process of learning and teaching.

In six of the twenty-four lessons I observed there did not seem to be any indication of *evaluation* taking place whether formative or summative. However, in seventeen of these lessons the criteria for *evaluation* seemed to be decided by the teacher without the involvement of learners. In all the Accounting lessons (eight lessons), *evaluation* took the form of an exercise at the end of a chapter or subsection of a chapter which was selected by the teacher. In six lessons teachers asked oral recall questions based on what was taught in the lesson. And in three lessons, the teachers called on one learner to come up to the front and summarise what was learned. In all these activities the teachers did not seem to expect learners to critique, or debate information (which are important attributes the I/SGCSE curriculum seeks to develop in learners) but rather to produce facts learned in the lesson. It

appeared to me that evaluation for many teachers in the study seemed to focus on testing how much of the information taught the learners could remember (see illustration below). Hence some teachers carried brief notes with answers to the questions when moving around marking the work of learners. Evaluation practices in these classrooms therefore seemed to be informed by a view of learning as recall of information; a view which seems to give the teacher power to decide what and how to test. It appeared that in all these lessons the teacher decided on his/her own how to evaluate and what to evaluate. There was no evidence of the learner being involved in these decisions such as in the following example:

**Teacher:** [*Winding up the lesson*] So, in the absence of questions, let me have a question. Because you are saying you don't have questions but I have questions. So my question is, [*moves to write on the board*], 36.1 part b. That's the question I have. So I'll be moving around *checking if I'm getting the correct answers*. (Rural School Teacher 4 Lesson 1; 1 Oct, 2010).

It was only in one of the twenty-four lessons that weak framing of the *evaluation* practice was evident:

**Teacher:** Give me the reasons then why we should not discourage it.

**Learners:** *Silence*

**Teacher:** Why should we encourage it? I think this I should give you as homework. Each one of us should come up with at least five reasons.

**Learners:** *Complain*

**Teacher:** You research, yes. Why should we encourage this? Are we together? You come up with reasons. And as an economist you sit down and begin to see what people are contributing. Remember, what is economics? So as an economist remember you draw the story. You study the society isn't it? If someone is shouting in the cold early in the morning at 4 am saying "Manzini, Manzini", as an economist you should know why the person is doing this, isn't it? *So is the project fine?*

**Learners:** *Yes*

(Urban School Teacher 1 Lesson 1; 6 July, 2009)

Even though this task was decided by the teacher, the teacher weakened his/her control by seeking the approval of the learners for the task. Hence in Bernstein's terms the framing is

weak.

It would seem, therefore, that both the regulative and the instructional discourses were more strongly framed than weakly framed, indicating that the learner is controlled and dominated by the teacher as opposed to being encouraged to be free and independent. The pedagogic practice that was produced by the teachers in my case studies was visible, with clear behavioural practices that differentiate between the teacher and the learner, as opposed to the mandated invisible pedagogic practice in which it is not easy to tell who is who doing what. The visible pedagogy that was produced by the teachers in my case studies at the *level of the actual* teaching practice is consistent with the discourses these teachers held, which privilege the dominance and control of learners in contrast to their emancipation (see chapter 6). It would seem, therefore, that the emergence of a visible pedagogic practice at the *level of the actual* is conditioned mainly by cultural rather than structural mechanisms at the *level of the real*.

## 7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated that at the *level of the actual* the teaching practice produced by the teachers who took part in my study seemed to be significantly different from, and inconsistent with, the one planned by the designers of the I/SGCSE curriculum programme. While the I/SGCSE curriculum system mandates invisible pedagogic practices in which the learner has more power and control than the teacher (weak classification and framing), the actual teaching practice of these teachers indicates that many of the teachers in my study had more power and control than the learners (strong classification and framing). The PRF therefore is different from the ORF. This indicates that many teachers in my study have not acquired the realisation rules necessary for them to produce the legitimate I/SGCSE teaching practice. This accords with the finding that these teachers have not acquired the recognition rules of the new I/SGCSE school system (see chapter 6). Recognition rules regulate what meanings are relevant while realisation rules regulate how the meanings are to be put together to create the legitimate text (Bernstein, 2000). It is clear, therefore, that if they got the meanings wrong it is unlikely that they will get the text right at the *level of the actual* teaching practice, hence the discrepancy between the PRF and the ORF. It would seem, therefore, that the Agency (Archer, 1995, 1996) that is exercised by the teachers in my study (a mechanism at the *level of the real*) exerts a constraining, rather than an enabling, influence

on the curriculum change in Swaziland. Their Agency seems to reinforce rather than transform the education system that existed prior to the introduction of I/SGCSE in 2006.



## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

#### 8.1 Summary of the study

The aim of this research was to gain a more complex understanding of the factors influencing Swaziland to introduce the new International and Swaziland General Certificate of Secondary Education (I/SGCSE) and to explain why the curriculum change has not taken place in Swazi schools in the ways anticipated. The study derives its theoretical foundation from Bhaskar's critical realism and Archer's social realism, which are founded on the view that what we observe and experience in social life emerges from mechanisms operating at a deeper level of reality, which exist independently of what we know or believe of them. The implication which logically follows from this assumption is that the decision by the MOET to change from GCE O-level to I/SGCCE and the way teachers teach at classroom level are the emergent consequences of mechanisms beyond our knowledge and experiences. The study therefore explores these mechanisms. It is guided by the questions:

1. What were the conditions from which the implementation of I/SGCSE curriculum emerged in the Swaziland secondary schooling system?
2. What are the enabling and constraining conditions for the implementation of the new I/SGCSE curriculum in Swaziland secondary schools?

To identify these mechanisms, Archer's concept of analytical separability is applied. The mechanisms are thus perceived in the study to be of a structural, cultural, and agential nature. I conduct a critical discourse analysis of relevant literature, I/SGCSE documents, and interview data in order to identify mechanisms that are cultural but also those that are structural and agential. Bernstein's concept of classification and framing are used to analyse observation data in order to explore the influence of these mechanisms on the teaching practices of the teachers who took part in the study.

My analysis of relevant literature indicates that the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE in Swaziland is conditioned by inconsistencies that exist between the cultural and structural system of the Swazi context. Many of the cultural elements of the Swazi context such as the *discourse of good citizens, of competitive advantage, and of quality education* draw from

global discourses which view relations between people from a postmodernist position, therefore supporting weakly classified and framed pedagogic practices. These discourses are in conflict with the *discourse of morality* and many of the structural elements of the Swazi context, such as the *pre2006 education system* and the *Tinkhundla government system*, which all view reality from a modernist position and therefore support strong relations of power and control. The cultural system therefore exerts more influence in conditioning the change from the strongly classified and framed GCE O-level to the weakly classified and framed I/SGCSE curriculum.

With respect to the second question, my analysis indicates that the implementation of I/SGCSE in Swaziland is more constrained than enabled. First, it is constrained by inconsistencies between the cultural system underpinning the everyday life of the Swazi people and the cultural system that underpins the British-based I/SGCSE curriculum. For example, while the I/SGCSE curriculum requires teachers to view curriculum from a postmodernist and ideological position, teachers in the study took a modernist and autonomous position (see 6.2). Secondly, it is constrained by inconsistencies between the cultural system mandated through the new I/SGCSE curriculum and the structural environment of the schools in which the teachers teach. The cultural system that constructs the I/SGCSE curriculum mandates participatory pedagogic practices characterised by weak relations of power and control between teachers and learners. However, the structural system encountered by many of the teachers in the study in their work environment constrains the adoption of participatory pedagogic practices (see 6.3). Thirdly, it is constrained by inconsistencies between the agency exercised by many teachers in the study and the cultural system imposed on them through the I/SGCSE curriculum. In response to structural constraints, teachers in the study made decisions about their teaching practices which were contrary to the mandated cultural system which privileges invisible pedagogic practices (see 6.4).

## **8.2 Assumptions**

With regard to these findings I make the following arguments about the implementation of I/SGCSE in Swaziland:

### **8.2.1 I/SGCSE is not culturally appropriate for Swazi classrooms**

The conflict that exists between the postmodernist ideas and beliefs that underpin the new I/SGCSE curriculum and the modernist ideas and beliefs underpinning the way of life of the Swazi people indicates that I/SGCSE is not compatible with Swazi culture and tradition (see 4.3 and chapter 5). That is, many Swazi teachers and learners are socialised into world views that are fundamentally different from those underpinning I/SGCSE. The introduction of I/SGCSE therefore, following Scollon and Scollon, suggests that the Swazi teacher and learner “should identify less with his/her own culture and more with another”, hence that he/she “should change in personal identity and cultural identity” (1981: 37). I would argue that, in becoming a full member of this new school Discourse, teachers and learners in Swaziland “run the risk of becoming complicit with values that denigrate and damage their home-based Discourse and identity” (Gee 1996: ix). This study is therefore consistent with many other studies such as those conducted by Robertson, Novelli, Dale, Tikly, Dachi, and Alphonse (2007); Nguyen, Terlouw, and Pilot, (2006); and Tabulawa (1997, 2003); which claim that curricula imported from the West do not “fit” all nations.

### **8.2.2 It is unlikely that the new I/SGCSE will be implemented in Swaziland in the way planned by its designers**

Due to the inconsistency between the socio-cultural systems that underpin the British-based I/SGCSE curriculum and the ones that Swazi teachers confront in their daily lives, I believe that it will be difficult for teachers to teach in the expected ways. This conflict indicates that the home life of many Swazi teachers and learners does not prepare them for the type of learning and teaching required in the new I/SGCSE curriculum. Their homes transmit values, attitudes, and knowledge which may constrain rather than enable them to develop the learning and teaching skills mandated in democratic forms of curriculum. For example, from their early years of life as Swazi people, weak relations of power and control between adults and children have been discouraged and punished as it is “inappropriate” (unSwazi) for children to assume an equal or superior position with adults (see chapter 4). Adults are expected to pass knowledge to children and to control and mould their behaviour authoritatively. This kind of relationship between adults and children is inconsistent with postmodernist ideas and beliefs of autonomy and freedom. This inconsistency between what the Swazi home transmits as “appropriate” ways of thinking, valuing, and behaving, and what the I/SGCSE requires to be practised in the schools, indicates that, for many Swazi teachers,

the production of mandated invisible forms of teaching and learning events and experiences would require them to acquire the foundation of the democratic methods of teaching and learning. In Bernsteinian terms, it would mean that teachers would need to acquire the recognition rules regulating the new invisible and democratic forms of learning and teaching. Following new literacy studies, this may not be easy considering that the Swazi teacher and learner have been socialised for many years in modernist ways of learning and teaching (see 4.3). My study indicates that they have "acquired" modernist ways of learning and teaching (strongly classified and framed) (see chapter 7). According to New Literacy Studies, once the literacy (in this case a modernist form of thinking, valuing, and acting) is acquired the discourses become a normal and taken-for-granted way of life and behaviour becomes spontaneous and unconscious. This therefore suggests that teachers must be socialised into the discourse practices that constitute the I/SGCSE ways of learning and teaching if they are ever going to acquire the new ways of learning and teaching (Street, 1984). The component skills of this new form of learning and teaching must be practised (ibid), but this is problematic because, according to Street, “. . . one cannot practise a skill one has not been exposed to, cannot engage in a social practice one has not been socialised into” (1984: 65) which is why I argue the change is unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future.

### **8.2.3 What Swaziland aims to achieve with the introduction of I/SGCSE is unlikely to be achieved**

I indicate in chapter 4 that the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE is partially influenced by the changes in the globalisation structure, agreements signed with international organisations (4.3.1.3), and the privileging of discourses such as the *discourse of quality education*, the *discourse of good citizens*, and the *discourse of competitive advantage*. These discourses and structures are underpinned by democratic ideas and beliefs which privilege the development of skills such as autonomy, creativity, decision-making, and critique through weak relations of power and control between people. This seems unlikely to happen because there is evidence in the study that the cultural and structural systems that many teachers and learners may confront in their daily lives as people of Swaziland, and teachers and learners in poor school environments, transmit and reinforce attributes of conformity and submissiveness which constrain rather than enable individual freedom and autonomy.

By presenting these arguments I am not suggesting that the change should not happen, rather the point of this thesis is to indicate that the curriculum change and implementation events

and experiences in Swaziland are not neutral but influenced culturally and historically, and therefore its outcomes may be different from what is planned.

### **8.3 Recommendations**

#### **8.3.1 The need for communication between the MOET and teachers**

The findings of this study indicate that it is possible that teachers in Swaziland do not recognise the change in the curriculum (see 6.2.1). One participant commented, “you can change the label but not the beer”. It is therefore important for the MOET to communicate with teachers and to provide a detailed explanation of why the curriculum was changed and what it is intended with the new curriculum. I believe it is not enough to say other countries have changed, therefore Swaziland also needs to change, or that Swaziland was forced to change because the CIE was no longer offering GCE O-level, which are explanations most commonly given by the MOET. One of the contributions of this research, therefore, is to offer an analysis which can be used to explain why Swaziland changed from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and what I/SGCSE means. Such knowledge about underlying influences on the change and on the design of I/SGCSE may enable agency in that it may empower teachers to make conscious decisions about their teaching practices which may contribute positively to the change. It may also help instil a positive attitude towards the change.

#### **8.3.2 The need to recognise the discontinuity between home and school**

It is important for the MOET to recognise that teachers in Swaziland may have difficulty in implementing the new I/SGCSE curriculum because, as indicated in 8.2.1, the introduction of I/SGCSE has created a significant gap between the life teachers and learners are expected to live in school and the life they live in their homes (see 4.3 and chapter 5; see also 8.2.1). In Gee’s (1996, 2008) terms, the new school Discourse is significantly opposed to rather than complementary to the home Discourse of many Swazi teachers (and learners). The Swazi home therefore transmits and reinforces learning and teaching values and practices that are not appreciated in the I/SGCSE curriculum. It may, therefore, be difficult for many Swazi teachers to acquire the new I/SGCSE ways of teaching. To enable teachers to teach “appropriately” it is imperative that the MOET recognise this inconsistency and therefore develop ways of helping teachers to bridge this discontinuity between home and school.

### **8.3.3 The need to be aware of the impact of discourses on teaching practice**

The MOET and teachers need to be aware of the impact of deeply instilled discourses on the way teachers teach. Discourses, according to Kress (1988), are sets of statements that have the power to bring something into being. In critical realist terms, discourses are mechanisms at the *level of the real* from which events at the *level of the actual* and experiences at the *level of the empirical* emerge. Discourse constructs the teacher; what the teacher can do and cannot do. Therefore discourses have power to condition particular ways of teaching. There is evidence in the research that discourses unconsciously imprisoned teachers in the study in the old system of education. They drew more on discourses they inherited from the old system of education and from their day-to-day life as Swazi people (see also 4.3) than on those associated with the new curriculum. Subscribing to these discourses conditioned teaching behaviour that deviated from behaviour that is standard in the context of the new curriculum. The discourses therefore contributed to constraining rather than enabling the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. Chapter 7 indicates that these discourses were deeply instilled so that hierarchical and authoritative relations have become a normal and taken-for-granted way of life. It is therefore important that the MOET and teachers become aware of the effects of discourses on the teaching practices of teachers, and therefore on curriculum change. Access to knowledge about dominant discourses and their powers has the potential to help teachers understand some of the frustrations and contradictions they may be experiencing as they implement the new I/SGCSE curriculum. One of the contributions of this research, therefore, is to offer an analysis which can be used to identify and explain which discourses are dominant and how they impact on teaching practice when they are privileged. Identifying and analysing discourses allows us to resist dominant ideologies, hence opening up other ways of behaving. According to Grundy (1987) classroom teachers often have little opportunity “to come into contact with ideas which have the potential to transform their work, as opposed to those which simply enhance or extend it” (1987: 3). This research provides opportunities for access to some of those empowering ideas.

### **8.3.4 The need for the acquisition of recognition rules**

Recognition rules, according to Bernstein, regulate what meanings are relevant in a particular context. They are therefore means by which individuals recognise what behaviours are appropriate or inappropriate. There is evidence in the study that the teachers who were part of the study did not differentiate between the old system of education and the new system (see

chapter 6). They interpreted important I/SGCSE concepts in ways which are different from the ones intended by the designers of I/SGCSE. In their interpretations they brought meanings they inherited from the old system of education, thus conflating the new system with the old system. For example, teachers in the study interpreted differently concepts such as learner-centredness, facilitation, and active engagement of learners. Their interpretation of meanings of teaching, the learner, and the role of the teacher was different from that intended by the designers of the I/SGCSE curriculum. They therefore did not recognise what meanings were relevant in the context of the new I/SGCSE curriculum. It is important that teachers share the same meanings as those intended in the I/SGCSE curriculum if the change is to occur, otherwise teachers will continue teaching in ways which are "inappropriate" in the context of the new curriculum. In Bernstein's terms, this may constrain their ability to acquire the "realisation rules" needed to produce "appropriate" teaching practices. Hence "deviant" teaching practices may persist and the change may not occur if teachers fail to recognise the differences between the old system of education and the new system. As suggested in the earlier sections in this study, taking a critical realist approach, I advocate for the exposure of underlying mechanisms which either constrain or enable teachers in particular contexts to recognise and therefore realise new curricula. Revealing generative mechanisms and their powers, I believe, has the potential to contribute in the recognition and realisation of new curricula. When teachers are aware of such mechanisms and their powers they may be enabled to act consciously in an effort to resist or reinforce their influences in the way they think and teach. This may be done through workshops, seminars etc and through publications in journals or magazines which Swazi teachers have easy access to.

### **8.3.5 The need to acquire legitimate I/SGCSE teaching practices**

According to Bernstein, while recognition rules regulate *what* meanings are relevant "realization rules regulate *how* the meanings are put together to create the legitimate text" (2000: 18; emphasis added). Thus Bernstein argues that the acquisition of both rules is a necessary condition for the production of legitimate text or practice. There is evidence in the research that the teachers who took part in the study had not acquired the realisation rules necessary to enable the production of learner-centred teaching practices (see chapter 7). The teachers practised literacies which are different from the "official" literacy of the I/SGCSE curriculum. The literacy they practised drew on teacher-centred transmission modes which in the context of the new I/SGCSE curriculum are "deviant" or "non-standard" (Gee, 1996). The

findings of the study indicate that this was possibly because teachers have been socialised into literacies dominant in the pre2006 education system of Swaziland which was characterised by strong relations of power and control (see 4.3). Teaching in the manner expected in the I/SGCSE curriculum requires the acquisition of post-modern learner-centred literacy practices. However, this means learning values, practices, and ways of knowing which conflict with the norms of the Swazi people. Drawing on the findings of New Literacy Studies, when ways of knowing conflict, it may not be easy for teachers to acquire new ways of teaching. However, still drawing on Bernstein, if teachers are ever going to be able to produce legitimate I/SGCSE teaching practices they need to acquire the rules or principles governing this new way of teaching. There is, therefore, a need for the MOET to develop strategies for helping teachers acquire these rules or, following Street (1984) and Heath (1983), to socialise teachers into the discourse practices that constitute the I/SGCSE ways of learning and teaching. I suggest that the MOET work hand in hand with teacher training institutions in developing pre-service and in-service training programmes focused on helping teachers distinguish between the old system of education and the new system and therefore acquire meanings (recognition rules) that may enable them to teach in ways which are relevant in the I/SGCSE system of education (realisation rules).

### **8.3.6 The need to strike a balance between Swazi traditional ways of learning and teaching and the Western-based learner-centred ways of teaching**

What the study has indicated is that the new I/SGCSE curriculum, through privileging progressive approaches to learning and teaching, prepares learners for participation in a democratic society which Swazi society is not. The question that arises, therefore, is whether the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE is relevant for Swaziland. This study is not in a position to answer this question. What the study has managed to identify is that democratic learning and teaching approaches alienate Swazi life and tradition and therefore impact on the identity of the Swazi teacher and learner (see also 8.2.1 and 8.3.2).

I propose, therefore, that there is need to strike a balance between the traditional ways of learning and teaching and the mandated Western-based learner-centred ways. But this, as Tabulawa explains, will require that we first “recognise indigenous knowledge systems as legitimate knowledge systems that have potential for enriching students’ educational experiences” (2003: 22). Consistent with Tabulawa and others such as Richards, Brown, and Forde (2007); Villegas (1991); and Nguyen et al (2006); I suggest that an alternative



culturally responsive pedagogy that respects and makes use of the cultural heritage of the Swazi people be developed to facilitate the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.

### **8.3.7 The need for resources**

There is evidence in the study that many rural schools lack resources which are necessary to facilitate the change from teaching practices that are strongly classified and framed to ones that are weakly classified and framed. For example, many rural schools do not have money to acquire an internet connection, books, libraries, and other resources needed for educational purposes. Lack of these resources makes it difficult for teachers to adopt the mandated learner-centred, participatory approaches to teaching.

The study however also indicates that even in schools with resources teachers still taught using old approaches, and that the cultural system has more influence in constraining the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. I therefore argue that the provision of resources alone cannot facilitate the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE but that other strategies such as the ones mentioned in this section should be taken into consideration. In particular, the focus should be on the conflicting ways in which the teachers and the designers of I/SGCSE view teaching, the learner, and the role of the teacher.

### **8.3.8 The need for school administrative practices to change**

I would argue, too, that the administrative practices of schools should change in relation to the changes in the learning and teaching practices mandated in the new I/SGCSE curriculum. There is evidence in the study that the administration of many schools has not changed in relation to the teaching and assessment practices mandated in the new learner-centred I/SGCSE curriculum (see 6.3.3). The findings of my study indicate that the administration of many schools considered the change from GCE to I/SGCSE as something that affected teachers only but not the way schools should be managed. As a result, many of the rules and practices of the administration constrained the change from teacher-centred to learner-centred learning and teaching practices. For example, class sizes were often very big and there were many restrictions such as on the use of internet, photocopying, etc which made it difficult for many teachers in the study to implement participatory teaching approaches. Also, many still expect assessment to be only in the form of written tests and examinations; this contradicts the new curriculum's insistence on a wide range of assessment techniques and is therefore

inconsistent with the *discourse of learners as active and diverse* privileged in the new curriculum.

### **8.3.9 The need to acknowledge teacher agency**

Agency refers to the reflexive, creative, innovative, and purposeful actions of people (Archer, 1995, 1996). It refers to the choices that people make in their daily lives which either reinforce existing structures and cultures or transform them (ibid). I have highlighted throughout this section that there are discourses and structures which the study has revealed as limiting the ability of teachers in the study from producing teaching practices characterised by weak relations of power and control. It should be acknowledged, however, that teachers as people are not passive beings whose actions are automatically triggered by the forces of structure and culture. Teachers think and make their own decisions about things, which may either constrain or enable the change. There is evidence in the study that many of the decisions that teachers in my study took in response to structural constraints contributed to the maintenance of the old system of education rather than its elaboration (see 6.4). The power they exercise thus constrains rather than enables the change. This implies, therefore, that there is a need for the MOET to acknowledge the power that teacher agency has in contributing to the change, and therefore to develop alternative ways of responding to structural and cultural constraints which may contribute positively. This may include, for example, improvisation in cases where resources are lacking and invitation of local resource persons in cases where travelling is constrained by finances or time scheduling. Furthermore, even though the teachers may not have had adequate training on learner-centred ways of teaching, either informally through socialisation processes at home or formally in school and teacher training colleges, the concept of agency indicates that teachers have the ability to forge ahead and overcome their limitations to teach successfully using the mandated learner-centred approaches. It is imperative that the MOET and school administration put in place mechanisms and structures that will enable this power to be exercised. This may include the provision of resources (see 8.3.7), the identification of constraining discourses (see 8.3.3), workshops, and many other strategies.

## **8.4 Review of the research process**

It was very difficult to penetrate Bhaskar's language and ideas, however through intensive reading of work done by other researchers who used his ideas I have been able to gain insight

into his theories. My aim in this study has been to acquire deeper understanding of why Swaziland changed from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and why the change is not happening as planned by the designers of I/SGCSE. I have found critical realism a very useful "under-labourer" (Bhaskar, 1978, 1979) for this study in the sense that it has enabled me to dig deeper into the layer of reality that consists of mechanisms which exist independently of what we see and experience at the surface of the curriculum change and implementation. I have therefore been able to acquire ontological depth instead of relying only on interview data, observation data, and literature.

In the search for ontological depth I have also found Archer's concept of analytical dualism very useful. In particular, I have used her concept of analytical reparability which has enabled me to explore the kind of mechanisms that were responsible for the change. This has then enabled me to identify and distinguish between the mechanisms that are cultural, structural, and agential. In this way I have managed to gain an even deeper insight into why Swaziland changed from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE and why the change is not happening as planned. By distinguishing between these forms of mechanisms I have been able to explore the interplay between them and how their interaction impacted on the curriculum change.

Through the adoption of critical realist and social realist approaches I have been able to show in this thesis that curriculum events and experiences in the domain of the *actual* and *empirical* do not just happen as we plan them but that, because curriculum events and experiences occur in open systems, there are a number of mechanisms in the domain of *the real* which interact in ways which may be constraining or enabling to the change. For example, in chapter 4 my analysis indicates that the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE was conditioned by a change from modernist values and practices which are viewed as constraining life in a democratic and free market economy; in chapter 5 my analysis of how I/SGCSE was designed indicates that I/SGCSE is underpinned by postmodernist values and principles; in chapter 6 I indicate the influence of Swazi culture and tradition and of the old system of education on the meanings the teachers in the study make of the I/SGCSE curriculum; and in chapter 7 I explore how Swazi culture and tradition and the old system of education interfere with the actual teaching practices of teachers in the study as they implement the new I/SGCSE curriculum. That is, the curriculum change and implementation have been affected by conditions beyond and outside the classroom. The study therefore indicates that it is important to recognise the influence of the wider social context (global and

Swazi national in the case of this study) in curriculum change and implementation and in particular on the ability of teachers to acquire new teaching practices.

The study also indicates that in the domain of the *real* there are more conflicting mechanisms in the case of the curriculum change and implementation in Swaziland than there are consistencies which condition the emergence of learning and teaching events and experiences in the domain of the *actual* and *empirical*, which are contrary to what was planned. When mechanisms, such as discourse systems, conflict, the change is often constrained, thus reproducing and maintaining old values and practices. The change is enabled when the mechanisms are more consistent. As indicated in 8.3.2, it is therefore important to be aware of such conflicts so that those who are involved in the curriculum change can understand the challenges of the change and are therefore able to make conscious efforts to address the conflicts.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has also played a very important role in this study. Understanding the concept of discourse in particular has been very challenging because there are multiple ways in which "discourse" is conceptualised. I have eventually settled for Kress's way of conceptualising discourse and used Fairclough's approach to CDA (see chapter 3), although I have also drawn on Gee's (1990) understanding of Discourse as a "way of being" in seeing how discourse in the Kressian sense works to produce events and experiences. Using CDA has enabled me to work with the data in exploring the mechanisms (cultural, structural, and agential) responsible for the curriculum change and its implementation. It has been a very rewarding tool for acquiring ontological depth. It has enabled me to identify the generative mechanisms at work in the curriculum change and its implementation. It has therefore worked in a complementary manner with critical realism and the social realist concept of analytical separability. I believe that combining these theories has enabled me to posit a more comprehensive explanation of curriculum change and implementation.

Exploring cultural mechanisms responsible for either constraining or enabling the change using CDA has also enabled, though not intentionally, an exploration of how discourses kept teachers in the study unconsciously captive in the old system of education. As indicated in 8.3.4, many of the teachers in the study interpreted the new I/SGCSE curriculum using discourses they inherited from the old system of education and from their home life and

tradition. In this way, they unconsciously resisted the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE. The study therefore, although not intentionally, also raises consciousness of the crucial role played by discourses in constraining curriculum change and implementation.

Because I wanted to explore in-depth the curriculum change and to provide adequate evidence of the generative mechanisms and their causal powers I have used different sources of data such as literature, documents, interviews, and classroom observations. It has been very challenging to work with so much data, in particular because all the data seemed to be valuable, yet, because of space, I have had to resist the temptation of providing lengthy examples of the evidence of the presence of particular generative mechanisms. I have analysed classroom observations using Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing. Using these analytical tools combined with critical discourse analysis, I have been able to explore the influence of generative mechanisms on the actual teaching practices of the teachers who took part in the study. Classification and framing have enabled me to identify inconsistencies between how teachers in the study teach and how the designers of I/SGCSE expect learning and teaching to take place. In this way I have been able to identify and explain that the change is not happening as planned. However, these theories could not help me explain *why* the change is not happening as planned, which I then explain in this chapter using New Literacy Studies (NLS).

Because of time, space, and scope I have focused only on teachers in this study. This is the biggest limitation of the study because it ignores learners, who also hold important information that could be further explored for generative mechanisms responsible for the way the new I/SGCSE curriculum is implemented at classroom level. Another limitation is that the study focuses on only two rural schools and two urban schools. A broader base of schools that covers the different regions of Swaziland would have increased reliability of the findings. However, it was not my aim to do an extensive study. I wanted to do an intensive study because I was interested in exploring the new curriculum in depth so that I could gain a deeper understanding of why the curriculum change occurred and how it has been implemented.

## **8.5 Suggestions for further research**

Emerging from the study is the need for further research on the following areas:

- A similar study that will focus on learners rather than on teachers.
- A study that will explore the impact of school policies on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE or on the ability of teachers and learners to produce learner-centred and skills-based learning and teaching events and experiences. As indicated in 8.3.8, the findings of the study indicate that some school administration and practices often exert constraining influence on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE (see 6.3.3). This study has not paid particular attention to school policies but has relied on interview data with teachers who took part in the study. There is therefore a need for a study that will look in depth at the impact of school policies in Swaziland on the change from GCE O-level to I/SGCSE.
- A study that will explore ways in which Swazi traditional ways of learning and teaching could be integrated to the mandated learner-centred and skills-based approaches. This follows the recommendation I make in 8.3.6.
- A study that will investigate the relevance of the I/SGCSE curriculum to the Swazi context.
- A similar study that will focus on SGCSE. In this study I have conflated IGCSE and SGCSE on the assumption that they are similar and because at the time the study was conducted the localisation of IGCSE into SGCSE was not yet complete.

## 8.6 Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that there is more to curriculum change and implementation than what is obvious from empirical observation. According to Brown “in critical realism it is the ontology that enables and constrains the acquisition of knowledge, that is, learning” (2009: 14). In this study, for example, a number of mechanisms have been identified as having interacted, counteracted, or remained latent (Ayers, 2010) in the domain of the *real* leading to the curriculum change event and to teaching events which constrain rather than enable the change. I argue, therefore, that understanding curriculum change and implementation requires us not only to view curriculum change and implementation as events in the domain of the *actual* that emerge from a complex interaction of mechanisms and structures in the domain of the *real*, but also as events with unique properties and powers to cause particular experiences in the domain of the *empirical*. In studying curriculum change and implementation, therefore, I argue that ontology (the domain of the *real*) should be the focus.

In conclusion, I argue that studies underpinned by the philosophy of critical realism have potential to contribute positively to curriculum change. That knowledge about generative mechanisms may be empowering. As Waks asserts:

Fortunately, identifying the major constraints to fundamental change is tantamount to specifying the conditions for fundamental change; the removal of the constraints is equivalent to the establishment of the change conditions (2003: 390).

When it is known which mechanisms constrain and which enable change, strategies for removing constraints may be established and what enables may be reinforced.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### Consent letters

##### A-1 To the Director of Education – Ministry of Education and Training (MOET)

Dear Sir,

##### CONSENT TO CONDUCT RESEARCH INTERVIEWS, OBSERVATION AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

I am a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Previously I have taught business subjects at secondary school level. I have also worked as a Teacher Leader at the National Curriculum Center before becoming a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Currently, I am on study leave **doing a PhD in Education at Rhodes University, South Africa**. My focus area is curriculum design. My research topic is “A critical realist explanation of the implementation of an IGCSE curriculum programme in Swaziland.” This study will enable readers to understand in more depth why and how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland.

My research project involves investigating the following:

- i) How IGCSE was introduced:
  - a. what the problem was with the previous curriculum programme (GCE O’Level)
  - b. what makes IGCSE a better option than GCE O’Level
  - c. how the IGCSE was introduced to stakeholders in Swaziland, especially teachers.
- ii) Challenges Swaziland is facing in the implementation of the programme.
- iii) Challenges faced by teachers as they implement the new curriculum programme.

I, therefore, kindly request your permission to:

- interview the chief inspector and senior inspectors
- observe and interview six teachers from two schools – one urban and one rural.
- interview subject associations’ representatives
- to hold a focus group discussion with 15 teachers.

The interviews and observations will cover the above mentioned issues on IGCSE. This exercise will be in two phases: the first phase will happen between **June and August** and the second phase between **October and November** 2009.

It is my wish not to interrupt classes during the data collection process hence I promise to choose days and times that will result in a very minimal time loss.

Even though information will be recorded and transcribed and that extracts may be used in the final report, I undertake to treat all information with the greatest confidentiality and promise anonymity of all informants and schools.

If you agree to this request please sign the attached document. Participants are free to withdraw or not to respond to certain questions. They will also be given an opportunity to review the transcribed data so to determine if what is recorded is a true reflection of what transpired in the lessons and interviews (please note that this information will be kept confidential and their names will not be attached to it).

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Consent form

### **A critical realist explanation of the implementation of an IGCSE programme in Swaziland**

Thank you for giving me permission to carry out this research. I assume in this study that the introduction of IGCSE in Swaziland did not just happen but there are factors that led to its implementation. Even the way it is being implemented I assume is influenced by certain factors that are not known to us but can only be known through investigations. By participating in this study you will be contributing towards understanding these factors. The purpose of my study is therefore to investigate how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland. Such knowledge has the potential of influencing the decisions and actions of implementers (teachers and MOET) and may thus lead to improved teaching and learning practices in the schools. It also has the potential to improve relationships between the MOET and teachers.

This research study is not an exercise meant to judge or evaluate the role played by the participants in the IGCSE implementation process. It is purely a research exercise that is meant to determine data for explaining the implementation of IGCSE in Swaziland. Participants have a right to withdraw from the study at any point or not to respond to certain questions. I wish to assure you that data collected will **not be shared with anyone without the participants' consent** and it will be kept in a very safe place where no one else can have access to it.

Data collected will be transcribed and used in the study but no where will it bear the name of the participants or that of their schools. I assure you that their identity will be protected. Before this research study is published I will give them the opportunity to read the report to ensure that they are satisfied with it. If there are any aspects of the report which they are not happy with, I undertake to revise or delete those aspects.

---

### **Participant's declaration**

I ....., give Liphie Pereira permission to conduct the above mentioned research with inspectors, teachers, and students in Swaziland. I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study. I understand that the participants can withdraw at any

time without prejudice and that information which might potentially identify them will not be used in published material.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### **Researcher's declaration**

I, LIPHIE PEREIRA declare to protect the identity of my research participants; to report accurately the obtained information; and to keep all information as confidential as possible.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

## **A-2 To Inspectors**

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **CONSENT TO CONDUCT RESEARCH INTERVIEW**

I am a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Previously I have taught business subjects at secondary school level. I have also worked as a Teacher Leader at the National Curriculum Center before becoming a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Currently, I am on study leave **doing a PhD in Education at Rhodes University, South Africa**. My focus area is curriculum design. My research topic is "A critical realist explanation of the introduction of an IGCSE curriculum programme in Swaziland." This study will enable readers to understand in more depth why and how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland.

My research project involves investigating the following:

- i) How IGCSE was introduced:
  - a. what the problem was with the previous curriculum programme (GCE O'Level)
  - b. what makes IGCSE a better option than GCE O'Level
  - c. how the IGCSE was introduced to stakeholders in Swaziland, especially teachers.
- ii) Challenges Swaziland is facing in the implementation of the programme.
- iii) Challenges faced by teachers as they implement the new curriculum programme.

Your position as the Senior Inspector and your active involvement in the implementation of IGCSE in Swaziland makes you a very important informant for my study. I, therefore, kindly request to have an interview with you on the above mentioned issues on any day between **June 1 and 29, 2009** (may I request to have your preferred date and time before end of May so that I can be able to determine clashes before time). I will send you the interview questions prior to the interview. I also kindly request your permission to tape-record the interview. In addition I would appreciate it if you were willing to share with me any document you may have that relates to IGCSE in Swaziland e.g. reports, meetings, letters etc.

I undertake not to use your name or the names revealed in the interview or documents. I also promise that I will not give any of the information gathered to anyone.

If you agree to this interview, please sign the attached document. Please note that even if you agree to take part in this study, which I would very much appreciate, you are free to withdraw or not to respond to certain questions. After the interview, if you so wish, I will send you a copy of the transcribed interview for you to check if what is recorded is a true reflection of what transpired in the interview (please note that this information will be kept confidential and your name will not be attached to it).

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Consent form

### **A critical realist explanation of the implementation of an IGCSE programme in Swaziland**

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research. I assume in this study that the introduction of IGCSE in Swaziland did not just happen but there are factors that led to its implementation. Even the way it is being implemented I assume is influenced by certain factors that are not known to us but can only be known through investigations. By participating in this study you will be contributing towards understanding these factors. The purpose of my study is therefore to investigate how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland. Such knowledge has the potential of influencing the decisions and actions of implementers (teachers and MOET) and may thus lead to improved teaching and learning practices in the schools. It also has the potential to improve relationships between the MOET and teachers.

This interview is not an exercise meant to judge or evaluate the role you played in the IGCSE implementation process. It is purely a research exercise that is meant to determine data for explaining the implementation of IGCSE in Swaziland. Please feel free to be yourself and not feel intimidated or overwhelmed by the exercise. Remember you have a right to withdraw from the interview at any point or not to respond to certain questions. The purpose of recording the interview is to help me capture as much data as possible. I wish to assure you that the information will **not be shared with anyone without your consent** and it will be kept in a very safe place where no one else can have access to it.

Data from this interview will be transcribed and used in the study but nowhere will it bear your name. I assure you that your identity will be protected. Before this research study is published I will give you the opportunity to read the report to ensure that you are satisfied with it. If there are any aspects of the report which you are not happy with, I undertake to revise or delete those aspects.

---

### **Participant's declaration**



I ..... agree to participate in the above mentioned study. I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study. I understand that I can withdraw at any time without prejudice and that information which might potentially identify me will not be used in published material.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### **Researcher's declaration**

I, LIPHIE PEREIRA declare to protect the identity of my research participants; to report accurately the obtained information; and to keep all information as confidential as possible.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### **A-3 To Head Teachers**

Dear Sir/Madam,

#### **CONSENT TO OBSERVE TWELVE BUSINESS EDUCATION LESSONS IN THREE BUSINESS SUBJECTS (FOUR PER SUBJECT)**

I am a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Previously I have taught business subjects at secondary school level. I have also worked as a Teacher Leader at the National Curriculum Center before becoming a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Currently, I am on study leave **doing a PhD in Education at Rhodes University, South Africa**. My focus area is curriculum design. My research topic is "A critical realist explanation of the introduction of an IGCSE curriculum programme in Swaziland." This study will enable readers to understand in more depth why and how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland.

My research project involves investigating the following:

- i) How IGCSE was introduced:
  - a. what the problem was with the previous curriculum programme (GCE O'Level)
  - b. what makes IGCSE a better option than GCE O'Level
  - c. how the IGCSE was introduced to stakeholders in Swaziland, especially teachers.
- ii) Challenges Swaziland is facing in the implementation of the programme.
- iii) Challenges faced by teachers as they implement the new curriculum programme.

I therefore seek your permission (with the consent of the teachers and students) to observe four times, three business education lessons in your school. I request to conduct the first phase of the observation between **May and July** and the second phase between **October and November 2009**. I will do three observations per subject in the first phase and one in the second phase. I also kindly request to video tape the class proceedings (with the consent of the teacher and students). I will do my best to ensure that there is minimal teaching time lost during this exercise.

Even though information will be recorded and transcribed and that extracts may be used in the final report, I undertake to treat all information with the greatest confidentiality and promise anonymity of the teachers, students and the school.

If you agree to this request please sign the attached document. The teachers are free to withdraw or not to respond to certain questions. They will also be given an opportunity to review the transcription so to determine if what is recorded is a true reflection of what transpired in the lessons and interviews (please note that this information will be kept confidential and their names, the students' names and that of the school will not be attached to it).

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Consent form

### **A critical realist explanation of the implementation of an IGCSE programme in Swaziland**

Thank you for giving me permission to carry out this research in your school. I assume in this study that the introduction of IGCSE in Swaziland did not just happen but there are factors that led to its implementation. Even the way it is being implemented I assume is influenced by certain factors that are not known to us but can only be known through investigations. By participating in this study you will be contributing towards understanding these factors. The purpose of my study is therefore to investigate how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland. Such knowledge has the potential of influencing the decisions and actions of implementers (teachers and MOET) and may thus lead to improved teaching and learning practices in the schools. It also has the potential to improve relationships between the MOET and teachers.

This research study is not an exercise meant to judge or evaluate the role played the teachers in the IGCSE implementation process. It is purely a research exercise that is meant to determine data for explaining the implementation of IGCSE in Swaziland. Participants have a right to withdraw from the interview at any point or not to respond to certain questions. I wish to assure you that data collected will **not be shared with anyone without the participants' consent** and it will be kept in a very safe place where no one else can have access to it.

Data collected will be transcribed and used in the study but no where will it bear the name of the participants or that of their schools. I assure you that their identity will be protected. Before this research study is published I will give them the opportunity to read the report to ensure that they are satisfied with it. If there are any aspects of the report which they are not happy with, I undertake to revise or delete those aspects.

---

**Participant's declaration**

I ....., give Liphie Pereira permission to conduct the above mentioned research with teachers and students in my school. I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study. I understand that the participants can withdraw at any time without prejudice and that information which might potentially identify them will not be used in published material.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### **Researcher's declaration**

I, LIPHIE PEREIRA declare to protect the identity of my research participants; to report accurately the obtained information; and to keep all information as confidential as possible.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### **A-4 To teachers**

Dear Sir/Madam,

#### **CONSENT TO OBSERVE FOUR (4) LESSONS TAUGHT BY YOU**

I am a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Previously I have taught business subjects at secondary school level. I have also worked as a Teacher Leader at the National Curriculum Center before becoming a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Currently, I am on study leave **doing a PhD in Education at Rhodes University, South Africa**. My focus area is curriculum design. My research topic is "A critical realist explanation of the introduction of an IGCSE curriculum programme in Swaziland." This study will enable readers to understand in more depth why and how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland.

My research project involves investigating the following:

- i) How IGCSE was introduced:
  - a. what the problem was with the previous curriculum programme (GCE O'Level)
  - b. what makes IGCSE a better option than GCE O'Level
  - c. how the IGCSE was introduced to stakeholders in Swaziland, especially teachers.
- ii) Challenges Swaziland is facing in the implementation of the programme.
- iii) Challenges faced by teachers as they implement the new curriculum programme.

I therefore seek your permission (with the consent of the students) to observe you teach four accounting lessons. I intend to do the first phase of the observation between **May and July** and the second phase between **October and November 2009**. I will do three observations in the first phase and one in the second phase. With your permission, I would like to conduct a follow up interview with you. I also kindly request permission to video tape the class proceedings (with the consent of the students). I will do my best to ensure that there is minimal teaching time lost during this exercise.

Even though information will be recorded and transcribed and extracts may be used in the final report, I promise that the information from the video and interview will be treated with the greatest confidentiality and that your name, the school and learners will not be used in the study and will not be given to anyone.

If you agree to this observation please sign the attached document. Please note that even if you agree to take part in this study, which I would very much appreciate, you are free to withdraw or not to respond to certain questions during the interview. After the observation and interview, if you so wish, I will send you a copy of the transcribed video and interview for you to check if what is recorded is a true reflection of what transpired in the lesson and interview (please note that this information will be kept confidential and your name will not be attached to it).

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Consent form for participation

Same as in A-2

Consent form for observation

### **A critical realist explanation of the implementation of an IGCSE programme in Swaziland**

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research. I assume in this study that the introduction of IGCSE in Swaziland did not just happen but there are factors that led to its implementation. Even the way it is being implemented I assume is influenced by certain factors that are not known to us but can only be known through investigations. By participating in this study you will be contributing towards understanding these factors. The purpose of my study is therefore to investigate how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland. Such knowledge has the potential of influencing the decisions and actions of implementers (teachers and MOET) and may thus lead to improved teaching and learning practices in the schools. It also has the potential to improve relationships between the MOET and teachers.

The purpose of these observations is to determine control relations in the classrooms. The observations, therefore, will not focus on the content but on classroom practices. I will be looking at who does what in the classroom. This entails identifying who makes decisions on the selection, sequencing, pacing and criteria of what goes on in the classroom. Your participation in the study will help me come up with an understanding of the implementation of IGCSE that may provide answers to some of the implementation issues.

The observation is not an assessment exercise meant to judge your ability to teach the subject or to carry out an IGCSE lesson. It is purely a research exercise that is meant to determine data for explaining the implementation of IGCSE in Swaziland. There is no special preparation necessary for this exercise. Please teach like you do everyday. And please feel free to be yourself and not feel intimidated or overwhelmed by the exercise. Similarly, it is important that learners are comfortable

and behave in the usual way. This is important in order to capture information that depicts the reality in the classrooms. Remember you have a right to withdraw from the interview at any point or not to respond to certain questions. The purpose of video taping the lessons is to help me capture as much data as possible. I wish to assure you that the information will **not be shared with anyone without your consent** and it will be kept in a very safe place where no one else can have access to it.

Data from this observation will be transcribed and used in the study but nowhere will it bear your name, the school's name or that of the learners. I assure you that your identity, that of the school and the learners will be protected. Before this research study is published I will give you the opportunity to read the report to ensure that you are satisfied with it. If there are aspects of the report which you are not happy with, I undertake to revise or delete those aspects.

---

### **Participant's declaration**

I ..... agree to participate in the above mentioned study. I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study. I understand that I can withdraw at any time without prejudice and that information which might potentially identify me will not be used in published material.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### **Researcher's declaration**

I, LIPHIE PEREIRA declare to protect the identity of my research participants; to report accurately the obtained information; and to keep all information as confidential as possible.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### **A-5 To parents**

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Previously I have taught business subjects at secondary school level. I have also worked as a Teacher Leader at the National Curriculum Center before becoming a lecturer at the University of Swaziland. Currently, I am **doing a PhD in Education at Rhodes University, South Africa**. For my PhD I am conducting a research study that is aimed at explaining the way things are in the implementation of IGCSE in Swaziland. My research topic is "A critical realist explanation of the introduction of an IGCSE curriculum programme in Swaziland." This study will enable readers to understand in more depth why and how IGCSE is being implemented in Swaziland. Such knowledge has the potential of influencing the decisions and actions

of implementers (teachers and MOET) and may thus lead to improved teaching and learning practices in the schools.

This research study involves observing teachers teaching accounting, economics, and business studies lessons. In these observations, I wish to study how they teach using IGCSE approaches. In particular I wish to observe the interaction that goes on in the classrooms in order to determine the kind of approaches they adopt in their teaching. To track past interactions I also need to look at learners' past activities (tests, assignments, projects, etc.). The observations will be four for each subject. Three of these observations will occur in the second term (**June to August, 2009**) and one will be done in the third term (**October to November, 2009**).

I therefore seek your permission to video tape your child being taught in these lessons in the times indicated above. The video recording is for the sole purpose of accurately recording the interactions in the classroom. Nothing is asked of your child except his or her usual attendance and participation in the lessons. I also ask for your permission to look at your child's work and make copies of some of the work. All information collected as part of this study will be kept confidential and will not bear your child's name, the school's name or that of the learners. **I promise to protect your child's identity at all times outside of the study.**

Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. Your child will **not** be affected, in any way, by your choice to have him or her participate or not participate in the study. In the case you choose not to have your child participate, I promise to make your child not visible in the video and not to look at his or her work or make copies of your child's work. The findings of this study may be published but I promise that such publications will not bear your child's name or that of his or her school.

Your child's participation in the study has no direct benefits. The possible benefit of your child's participation is improved teaching and learning in Swaziland which may accrue from the understanding of the reality of the situation in the IGCSE implementation.

If you agree to your child's participation please sign the attached document. Please note that even if you agree to your child's participation, which I would very much appreciate, you are free to withdraw your child's participation at any time.

Feel free to contact me (contact details below) if you have any questions concerning the research study or your child's participation in the study.

Yours truly,

Consent form

**PLEASE COMPLETE AND SIGN THIS FORM AFTER HAVING READ THE ATTACHED LETTER.**

I *give/do not* (circle your choice) give consent for my child \_\_\_\_\_ to participate in the study. My child *may/may not* (circle your choice) appear in the video, his or her

work *may/may not* (circle your choice) be observed and copies of his or her work *may/may not* be made.

---

Parent/Guardian Signature

---

Parent/Guardian Name (Please Print)

---

Date

## Appendix B

### MOET letter of approval to conduct the research

#### MINISTRY OF EDUCATION



Kingdom of Swaziland

P.O. Box 39  
Mbabane  
Swaziland

Phone 268 404 2491/3  
Fax 268 404 3880

08<sup>th</sup> June, 2009

Ms. Liphie Pereira  
Rhodes University  
Department of Education  
Grahamstown  
South Africa

Dear Ms Pereira,

**RE: RESEARCH INTERVIEWS, OBSERVATION AND FOCUS GROUP  
DISCUSSION.**

Your letter dated May 25, 2009 refers. The Ministry of Education and Training grants its consent to you to conduct research interviews, observations and focus group discussion in assisting you to conclude your PHD Programme.

Yours faithfully

**P.N Muir**  
Principal Secretary





## **Appendix C**

### **Interview and observation guides**

The interview guides were not necessarily followed as they are. Participants were given the freedom to express themselves without having to strictly respond to the questions. The questions mainly guided me so not to forget some of the information that is crucial in the study, particularly because I had no previous experience of conducting interviews.

I have prepared interview guides for the following participants

- The MOET – Inspectors
- Teachers

#### **C-1 Interview Guide for the MOET – Inspectors**

##### **About the nature of IGCSE and proponents of IGCSE**

1. What is IGCSE?
2. What differentiates IGCSE from GCE O'Level?
3. When was GCE O Level introduced in Swaziland?
4. Why did you change to IGCSE?
5. How did the idea of introducing IGCSE come about?
  - a. Who proposed it?
  - b. Who is that person/organization?
  - c. What is the person/organisation's interest in Swazi education?
  - d. What reasons were put forward for the introduction of IGCSE?
  - e. Who supported its introduction?
  - f. What kind of support was received?
  - g. Why did that person/organization support the introduction of IGCSE?
6. What do we stand to benefit as a nation through adopting IGCSE?
7. What is the difference between IGCSE and SGCSE?

##### **About implementation at national level of IGCSE**

8. What initiation programmes were carried out to introduce the programme to teachers?
9. Who was involved in these programmes?
10. Do you think these programmes helped teachers (specific subjects) understand what IGCSE is and their role in it? What makes you think so?
11. When localizing IGCSE to SGCSE what was the focus?
12. What exactly was changed, modified, added or subtracted?

##### **About the implementation at classroom level of IGCSE**

13. In your observation during school visits are teachers able to teach an IGCSE lesson? Why do you think so?
14. What problems, if any, are teachers facing in the implementation of the programme?
15. How do you think these problems could be solved?
16. Are there any support programmes in place for helping teachers improve practice?
17. Do you think the support programmes are achieving their goals? If yes/no, how?

18. Are there any complaints brought to the attention of MOET by teachers about IGCSE? What are they?
19. What are your views about these complaints?

## C-2 Interview guide for teachers

1. Please tell me about the lesson you will be conducting today
2. What is your view of
  - a. Teaching
  - b. The teacher
  - c. The learner
  - d. I/SGCSE
3. How do you think I/SGCSE differ from GCE O'Level?
4. What initiation programmes were carried out to introduce the programme to teachers?
5. Who was involved in these programmes?
6. Do you think these programmes helped you understand what IGCSE is and your role in this system of education? What makes you think so?
7. Do you think you are able to teach in the ways you were taught in the workshops? If not why?
8. Are there any support programmes in place for helping teachers improve practice?
9. Do you think the support programmes are achieving their goals? If yes/no, how?
10. Is there any more information on IGCSE you would like to share with me?

## C-3 Observation Guide

### A. General Information

School:	<i>Rural school / Urban school</i>
Date:	
Time:	
Number of learners:	

### B. Descriptions of resources

Community:

General description	
Availability of national library	
Home-based learner support	
Other	

School:

General description	
Availability of school library	
Computer laboratory and availability of internet	
Teaching laboratories i.e. technical, home economics, science etc	
Books and exercise books for learners and as teaching resources for teachers	
Other	

Classroom:

General description	
Resources available e.g. desks and chairs, chalkboard, notice boards, computers, etc.	
Sitting arrangement	

Congestion	
Other	

**C. Lesson observation – see Appendix D-3**

## Appendix D

### Data analysis in NVivo

#### D-1 Analysis of I/SGCSE documents for chapter 5

Free Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
Documents	0	0	2011/06/19 11:58 A
How do CIE and MOE construct curriculum	0	0	2011/05/07 10:21 A
emancipation	5	9	2011/05/07 12:07 P
equality and fairness	4	10	2011/07/26 03:32 P
learner-centred	8	25	2011/05/07 11:12 A
skill-based	8	21	2011/05/07 12:18 P
subject-centered	7	26	2011/06/08 10:35 P
understanding	3	6	2011/05/07 10:22 A
How do CIE and MOE construct good teaching	0	0	2011/05/07 11:11 A
diverse audience	8	10	2011/05/07 12:13 P
engaging	2	5	2011/06/07 11:16 A
How do CIE and MOE construct IGCSE and SGCSE	0	0	2011/05/07 11:29 A
Other	0	0	2011/07/26 03:55 P
Paradigm shift	7	9	2011/05/08 06:09 P
How do CIE and MOE construct the learner	0	0	2011/05/07 11:17 A
active and creative	5	18	2011/05/07 11:19 A
different or diverse	8	38	2011/05/07 11:19 A
How do CIE and MOE construct the role of the teach	0	0	2011/05/07 11:13 A
accommodating learner differences	1	9	2011/05/07 11:16 A
facilitation	2	3	2011/05/07 11:15 A
misconceptions	3	6	2011/05/08 11:54 A
structural	0	0	2011/05/08 02:06 F
capacity building	5	15	2011/05/08 03:39 P
laboratories and workrooms	5	8	2011/05/08 02:07 P
staffing	1	5	2011/05/08 02:12 P
teaching materials	4	9	2011/05/08 02:06 P
time or examination	1	1	2011/05/08 10:33 P
Teachers	0	0	2011/06/19 12:06 F

#### D-2 Analysis of interview data for chapter 6

## Free Nodes

Name	Sources
Observations	0
knowledge is found in the textbook	0
Interviews	0
Structural mechanisms	0
Time constraints	5
Urban	3
Rural	2
School policies and expectations not changed	7
Urban	5
Rural	3
Location of the school	7
Urban	4
Rural	4
Lack of teaching materials and facilities	16
Urban School	10
Rural School	7
Lack of knowledge	3
Cultural mechanisms	0
Instructional discourse	0
How teachers construct the school	0
HOW TEACHERS CONSTRUCT THE LEARNER	0
DISCOURSE OF AN EMPTY VESSEL	0
Passive	7
Urban	3
Rural	4
Children	17
Urban	9
Rural	8
HOW TEACHERS CONSTRUCT TEACHING	0
TEACHING AS TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE	0
Imparting knowledge	11
Urban	7
Rural	4
Exemplary or role model	6
Urban	3

## Free Nodes

Name	Sources
Rural	3
Behaviour modification	8
Urban	5
Rural	4
Active engagement (oppositional)	9
Urban	4
Rural	5
Teacher-centred	0
Reliant on textbook	7
Urban	1
Rural	6
How teachers construct learning	0
how teachers construct knowledge	0
HOW TEACHERS CONSTRUCT ISGCSE	0
Not different from GCE O-level (DISCOURSE OF CON	6
Urban	4
Rural	3
Difficult and a problem	3
How teachers construct curriculum	0
HOW TEACHER CONSTRUCT THE THEMSELVES	0
TEACHER AS MASTER OF KNOWLEDGE	0
As parent or adult	3
Urban	1
Rural	2
As a guide or facilitator	12
Urban	6
Rural	6
Knows or put things into children	11
Urban	7
Rural	4
Agential mechanisms	0
how teachers respond to time	3
how teachers respond to resources	6
How teachers respond to language	1
Documents	0

## D-3 Analysis of observation data for chapter 7

### Free Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
Documents	0	0	2011/06/19 11:58 A
Interviews	0	0	2011/06/19 12:06 P
knowledge is found in the textbook	0	0	2011/08/14 11:41 P
Observations	0	0	2011/08/02 12:09 P
Classification	0	0	2011/09/17 12:24 AM
strong	0	0	2011/09/17 09:37 PM
lecture, demonstration, socratic	0	0	2011/09/17 09:29 PM
Rural	12	59	2011/09/17 09:31 PM
Urban	12	16	2011/09/17 09:32 PM
space	0	0	2011/09/17 12:25 AM
Class sizes	0	0	2011/09/17 12:25 AM
Rural	10	10	2011/09/17 01:47 AM
Urban	10	10	2011/09/17 01:47 AM
Seating arrangement	0	0	2011/09/17 09:41 PM
rural	11	11	2011/09/17 09:41 PM
Urban	12	12	2011/09/17 09:41 PM
Weak	0	0	2011/09/17 09:37 PM
Rural	1	1	2011/09/17 09:55 PM
Urban	0	0	2011/09/17 09:55 PM
Instructional discourse	0	0	2011/08/02 12:19 PM
evaluation	0	0	2011/08/02 12:19 PM
strongly framed	0	0	2011/08/02 12:20 PM
rural	10	13	2011/08/14 09:21 PM
urban	7	8	2011/08/14 09:21 PM
weakly framed	0	0	2011/08/02 12:20 PM





### Free Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
teacher as expert	0	0	2011/08/17 11:06 AM
teacher gives learners work learners do	0	0	2011/08/14 10:32 PM
rural	4	6	2011/08/14 10:32 PM
urban	3	3	2011/08/14 10:32 PM
teacher gives notes learners copy notes	0	0	2011/08/14 10:04 PM
rural	3	6	2011/08/14 10:05 PM
urban	2	2	2011/08/14 10:05 PM
teacher giving information (indicating tha	0	0	2011/08/17 09:57 AM
rural	12	30	2011/08/14 09:32 PM
urban	7	14	2011/08/14 09:32 PM
teacher judges learners	0	0	2011/08/14 09:31 PM
rural	8	24	2011/08/14 09:32 PM
urban	2	2	2011/08/14 09:32 PM
Unilateral decisions and directives	0	0	2011/09/11 09:45 PM
rural	11	44	2011/09/11 09:45 PM
urban	9	30	2011/09/11 09:46 PM
Weak framing (learner in control)	0	0	2011/08/17 10:00 AM
facilitation	0	0	2011/08/17 09:55 AM
Learner challenges	0	0	2011/08/17 10:28 AM
Rural	3	3	2011/09/17 10:12 PM
Urban	1	1	2011/09/17 10:12 PM
research assignments	0	0	2011/08/17 10:29 AM
rural	0	0	2011/08/17 10:48 AM
urban	4	4	2011/08/17 10:48 AM
small group discussions	0	0	2011/08/17 10:09 AM

### Free Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
rural	2	3	2011/08/14 10:03 PM
urban	4	4	2011/08/14 10:00 PM