DEVELOPING A MODEL OF EDUCATION SUPPORT FOR THE ‡KHOMANI SAN SCHOOL COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

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In 2004, the South African Human Rights Commission launched an inquiry into human rights abuses that were allegedly perpetrated against the ‡Khomani San, a group of indigenous San people who was resettled on their ancestral land in the southern Kalahari region of South Africa in 1999. As an employee of the Northern Cape Department of Education, I was involved in the Department's response to the Human Rights Commission. This inquiry, and the responses to it, brought to the fore issues regarding education support to the ‡Khomani San school community. These issues motivated my interest to do formal research into the delivery of education support services to this community.

The aim of the research was to establish the factors relevant to the delivery of education support to the ‡Khomani San school community, and to propose a model for appropriate education support to the ‡Khomani San school community.

In order to reach this aim I strove to answer the following questions: What ethics need to be considered to guide research with this indigenous community? What are the key policy guidelines for education support services in South Africa? Is there a link between community psychology and education support services in the South African context?

How are education support services understood and currently delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community? What suggestions can be proposed for relevant education support services delivery to the ǂKhomani San school community?

Using a theoretical framework provided by critical community psychology, a qualitative research approach was followed. The data collection strategies employed in this study included a document analysis of 28 documents, and semi-structured interviews with 24 participants. Thematic analysis was performed on the data. Trustworthiness was ensured through substantial engagement with participants, peer involvement, critical self-reflection and member checking.

Key findings include the development of ethical guidelines for research among the ǂKhomani San school community. Most of these ethical considerations can also be regarded as relevant for the delivery of education support services in this community. Another important finding from this research was the participants' inclusive understanding of education support services, including all services delivered by the Department of Education as well as other service providers (of the state and non-governmental organisations) that aim to provide relevant support for the attainment of direct or indirect educational goals through creating an enabling education environment. Another important finding was the identification of community psychology values in the policy for education support services, White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001). These values support a relevant and empowering approach to both research and practice in education support in South Africa. Other prominent findings relate to factors regarding poverty, alleged substance abuse and the need to include ǂKhomani

San indigenous knowledge and cultural practices in education support.

Finally, a model of education support for the ǂKhomani San school community was developed. This model proposes an approach towards transformative practice which is guided by a constant process of inter-relational reflexivity during the design and delivery of education support services. In the context of the theoretical framework of critical community psychology, this model has an overt focus on power and how power shapes relations between the ǂKhomani San and service providers.

DECLARATION

I declare that *Developing a model of education support for the ǂKhomani San school community* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Name: William Nico Nel

Date: .....

Signed: .....

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abet	Adult Basic Education and Training
CPA	Communal Property Association
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research of South Africa
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
DoE	Department of Education
ECD	Early Childhood Development
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICT	Information Communication Technology
NCDE	Northern Cape Department of Education
NCESS	National Committee on Education Support Services
NCSNET	National Commission on Special Needs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SASI	South African San Institute
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa is one of the Southern African countries where concentrations of San people can be found. The San people, according to DNA tests, display the most diverse genes of any population, thus strengthening their claim to be very close descendants of the first modern humans on earth (Tishkoff et al., 2009).

I was privileged to have worked among a group of San people, the ǂKhomani San, and to have them as participants in this study. This study aimed to establish the factors to be considered when education support services are rendered to the ǂKhomani San school community and, on the basis of that knowledge, to propose a model for appropriate education support to this community.

This chapter serves as an introduction to ideas and concepts expanded in the thesis. Contained in this chapter is the background to the study and the rationale behind it. In a preliminary literature review I summarise the aspects relevant to this study. In this summary there is a short exploration of aspects regarding indigenous knowledge as confirmation of my recognition of the ǂKhomani San as an indigenous people from whom still more is to be learned. In line with the focus and aims of this study, education support as a concept is introduced. The field of community psychology is also introduced as a prelude to the eventual theoretical framework of critical community psychology. As is apparent in the theoretical framework, concepts central in

critical theory and critical psychology are implicit in critical community psychology. Therefore such concepts are alluded to in this chapter. The interplay between education support and community psychology is then brought to the fore as further introduction to the theoretical framework informing this study. A summary of the theoretical framework is then presented. The research aims, objectives and questions are provided. An overview of the methodology followed in this study follows after that. Lastly, I provide short introductions to the chapters that follow after this first one.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The Kalahari forms part of the education district where I served as an educational psychologist for the Northern Cape Department of Education (NCDE) between 2001 and 2007. This area of South Africa is situated in the north-western part of the country in the north-eastern corner of the Northern Cape Province, and borders Namibia and Botswana. After a successful land claim, the first phase in 1999 and the second phase in 2002, the ǂKhomani San started resettling in the Kalahari (Chennells, 2002; 2006). There were efforts by various government departments, including the Northern Cape Department of Education, to help with the resettlement.

The ǂKhomani San were, in historical times, a N/u-speaking San group of the southern Kalahari. The N/u language is also called ǂKhomani (South African San Institute, 2009; Chennells, 2007a). The current-day ǂKhomani San is a reconstituted group of people who can trace their ancestry back to this southern Kalahari San grouping (Chennells, 2006). Given the reconstituted nature of this group of

people, I regard the issue of identity as integral to providing background about the ǂKhomani San.

When trying to define ǂKhomani San identity, I have to take cognisance of research on cultural identity (Sylvain, 2003). In her paper Sylvain tries to address current identity politics that are built around the assumptions that identity rests on an "ideal of authenticity" *and* that identities require recognition (Sylvain, 2003, p. 112). Anecdotal evidence suggests that there are no clear answers in the minds of some in the education fraternity (and maybe other government service providers) on whom to regard as ǂKhomani San. Sylvain (2003) positions such discussions as part of the "Great Kalahari Debate" (p. 112) which is about opposing views which state either (a) that an authentic San identity does not exist and that modern-day San is a constructed identity *or* (b) that San people do exist but are victims of colonisation and capitalist forces. In the first position it is argued that there are no authentic San left at all because of changing circumstances and that some people or groups are merely inventing such an identity. Such identities are considered "products of history" or "fictitious" or "myth" (Sylvain, 2003, p. 114). When a former school principal says that the Coloured children whom he taught in the Kalahari became ǂKhomani San after a certain date, one hears resonance of the side of the Kalahari debate that sees San identity as mere construction.

The second position acknowledges that the San people do exist (Sylvain, 2003). They may have lost their visibility as a distinguishable group in some geographical areas and therefore their prominence as a group has diminished. This view acknowledges the role that colonialism played in the diaspora of the San. Through colonialism and apartheid the

San were forced out of the areas where they lived to make way for colonial entities and farmers who, through title deeds, laid claim to pieces of land (Chennells, 2006). Such San communities were uprooted and subsequently absorbed into neighbouring communities, for example Afrikaans speaking Coloured communities in the Kalahari (Le Roux & White, 2004). The return of the ǂKhomani San to their ancestral land in the southern Kalahari (Chennells, 2002) has, to some extent, proven the existence of the San.

Having worked with community members who proudly proclaimed themselves to be San, I found myself positioned in the Great Kalahari Debate (Sylvain, 2003). My position in this debate is that I believe in the existence of a San identity. Literature, coupled with personal stories, has proved that the identity had mainly been forced into silence. The reasons for this silence range from self-protection against being hunted (Le Roux & White, 2004) to economic necessity, meaning that some San people assimilated into Coloured communities for the economic opportunities of employment (Chennells, 2002). I suggest that the modern-day identity of San people is not a construction out of 'thin air' but is rather a reconstruction from historical and cultural roots which they have the constitutional freedom in South Africa to reconnect with.

One cannot disregard claims made by the South African San Institute (undated) that the Khoi and San people have the oldest genetic pattern of all people (Tishkoff et al., 2009). I do not want to promote 'historical trauma' (Lazarus, 2004, p. 66) by denying people their right to have their cultural identity and rights recognised. Lazarus (2004), in her research report that focuses on lessons she learned for South Africa as part of her exploration of Native American

worldviews, cautions against the silencing of voices other than the dominant. By accepting that ‡Khomani San identity exists, I create the research space to listen and not silence their voices.

In the context of the above it should be taken into consideration that the ‡Khomani San are not to be simplistically regarded as a monolith of sameness. Although a researcher should acknowledge the coherent, distinctive identity of a community, she/he should also be aware of the inherent heterogeneity of communities (Kelly & Van der Riet, 2001).

Bradstock (2005) alerts us to the fact that there was wide dispersion of the ‡Khomani San before the successful land claim. In geographical and social terms this dispersion meant that many of the ‡Khomani San did not live in the area where their forebears dwelled. As previously indicated, many were assimilated into different communities and did not grow up as hunter-gatherers like their ancestors. Therefore their worldview will inevitably include urban, westernised views as well as more traditional viewpoints (Robins, 2001). Crawhall (2005) states that among young members of the ‡Khomani San there is also an element of alienation from their heritage.

The ‡Khomani San school community, where this research was conducted, is situated in the town of Andriesvale, approximately twenty kilometres from Askham. In Askham is the primary school that is the closest school where the ‡Khomani San community can send their children to be educated. In this research, I refer to the community of Andriesvale as the ‡Khomani San school community. There are other small towns in the Kalahari where some ‡Khomani

San members are to be found and from where they send their children to schools. However, the town of Andriesvale contains the largest concentration of members of the ǂKhomani San as this town is central to most of the farms returned in their land claim (Chennells, 2007b).
Against this background the rationale for the study is provided in the following section.

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) launched an inquiry in 2004 into alleged human rights abuses perpetrated against the ǂKhomani San (South African Government Information, 2005). Certain allegations were made against individuals and government departments, compelling the SAHRC to lead a probing inquiry (South African Human Rights Commission, 2004). The various implicated government departments, including Education, had to prepare submissions for the SAHRC in response to the allegations. Complaints implicating the Department of Education were made by members of the ǂKhomani San that their children suffered from sexual abuse by fellow learners at the school hostel. They also complained about sub-standard boarding facilities at the school where most school-going children from the ǂKhomani San community are receiving their primary education.

As member of the team preparing the submission on behalf of the district office of the Northern Cape Department of Education, I had intimate dealings with the San community, the school and the learners. Furthermore, I served as the Education District Director's representative on the inter-departmental Steering Committee co-ordinating government

interventions in the affairs of the ‡Khomani San. This steering committee was established by the Northern Cape Premier's office in response to the SAHRC inquiry.

From these experiences it became increasingly clear to me as a psychologist working in the unit for Education Support Services that more needs to be done to provide relevant education support to the ‡Khomani San learners and their school community. It also became clear that we need to learn more about and from this particular community to deliver meaningful services.

The afore-mentioned intervention in the form of the Steering Committee sparked the idea of developing a relevant system of education support responsive to the needs in this specific context. This initiative needs to be investigated as an alternative to the current response to the education needs and challenges facing that particular community. The current arrangements do not appear to satisfy the need for a complex understanding of the situation of the ‡Khomani San.

In this research project, factors relevant to the provision of education support to the ‡Khomani San school community were uncovered. On the basis of these findings, an appropriate model of education support is proposed for this community. This research will therefore contribute to improved education support service delivery in this community and it will contribute to a corpus of scientific writing about the specific context of the ‡Khomani San.

1.4 LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

In this preliminary literature review the following aspects will be covered: a short overview of indigenous knowledge and the value that authors place on indigenous knowledge systems; an overview of education support; an introduction to community psychology; and an indication of a possible link between education support and community psychology. Lastly I provide a summary of the theoretical framework which guided this study.

1.4.1 Indigenous Knowledge

The reason for the inclusion of discussions about indigenous knowledge in this study is because the ‡Khomani San is an indigenous people about whose knowledge systems much still needs to be learned. This research did not focus on their indigenous knowledge as such but, as will be seen later, participants' perceptions about the inclusion or exclusion of the ‡Khomani San's indigenous knowledge were gathered.

The World Bank (2005) definition of indigenous knowledge states that indigenous knowledge is knowledge that is localised and unique to a specific culture. Furthermore, indigenous knowledge forms part of community practices and formalised behaviour like rituals and symbolic practices. It is thus to be expected that indigenous knowledge will guide a community when decisions are made around areas such as health promotion and education.

With regards to education, some scholars (Odora Hoppers, 2000; Kunnie, 2000) argue for a restructuring of education. Such a step would intend to grow a consciousness and

respect for indigenous knowledge as part of the diversity of knowledge production and sharing systems (Odora Hoppers, 2000).

Odora Hoppers (2002) indicates that indigenous knowledge systems posit a challenge for the efforts of rebuilding and developing South Africa. Therefore, in exploring the role of education support it will be useful to take into account how education, from an indigenous knowledge perspective, is perceived in the rebuilding and development of the ǂKhomani San school community.

1.4.2 Education Support

The focus and aims of this research are about the delivery of education support to the particular school community of the ǂKhomani San. An exploration of the official South African policy position on education support seems proper. In order to enable a system-wide response to minimise the challenges affecting learners' right to learn, the Department of Education brought into being *Education White Paper 6, Special Needs Education, Building an Inclusive Education and Training System* (Department of Education, 2001). The Department of Education, through this policy and the conceptual and operational guidelines (Department of Education, 2005a-e) which followed it, acknowledges that education support services need to be strengthened in order to be effective in reducing barriers to learning. This includes dealing with the challenge of getting all units in the department to work with each other for the reduction of barriers to learning (Department of Education, 2002a).

The Department of Education (2008, p. 8) includes under the term 'barriers to learning' the following wide-ranging factors:

> socio-economic aspects (such as the lack of access to basic services, poverty and under-development); factors that place learners at risk, for example, physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, political violence, HIV/AIDS epidemic; attitudes (which are not conducive to a supporting environment); an inflexible curriculum at schools; language and communication; inaccessible and unsafe built environments; inappropriate and inadequate provision of support services; lack of parental recognition and involvement; disability; and lack of human resource development strategies.

These barriers suggest that education support service providers will inevitably have to think of moving outside of formal education structures if they are to deliver meaningful and relevant services. This means that the range of barriers officially recognised extends beyond the school's core curriculum issues (Department of Education, 2005a).

Education support therefore entails the efforts to minimise or eradicate the barriers mentioned above. The delivery of such support will have the effect of creating a sustainable, empowering environment which is conducive to learning.

The Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001) and its supporting guidelines acknowledge that learning takes place in more than the formal school setting, thus including the home and community as sites of learning. The notion of education support services therefore extends beyond the school to the broader community context or ecosystem within which learners find them in. Johnson and

Green (2007) state it clearly that in an inclusive education system, education support should not simply respond to learning problems experienced by individuals but should strive to prevent problems in its endeavour to enhance the total well-being of learners.

Given the strong community orientation in the policy on education support services (Department of Education, 2001), for me as a psychologist it is a logical step to explore the delivery of psychological services to whole communities. That is why the next section is an exploration of community psychology. The value that community psychology holds for the educational context has been argued elsewhere (Nel, 2009). The argument essentially is that community psychology provides tools of analysis and guiding principles which can be utilised in the service of educational transformation. An overview of community psychology and the promise it holds for education support services follows.

1.4.3 Community Psychology

The discipline of community psychology offers a valuable contribution to the theoretical constructs needed to explore aspects concerning a particular community. A whole community, the ǂKhomani San school community, is focussed on in this research. Community psychology concerns itself with the relationship or interaction between the individual and his/her environment or social context. The social context is acknowledged as influencing and of being influenced by the individual and the communities in which they live. Community psychology therefore is not only focussed on applying principles of psychology to the individual but also to the communities of which individuals are part. The relationship between the individual and the

environment is analysed in order to respond in such a way that the well-being of all members of that society is promoted (Lazarus, 2006). Pretorius-Heuchert and Ahmed (2001) concede that there is no single definition of community psychology. They do, however, note commonalities in the different definitions, including: a focus on whole communities, and not just individuals, as well as the promotion of well-being in a community context. This goal of health promotion can be achieved through social action. Social action is aimed at changing material conditions and socio-political policies and systems. This study is congruent with the social action approach as it is aimed at transforming the practice of education support services as it is currently delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community.

Brody (2000) asserts that community psychologists tend to focus on under-represented groups, with a particular emphasis on empowerment. In the South African context, Seedat, Cloete and Shochet (1988) and Lazarus (1988) noted that community psychology, when seen only in the context of the community mental health approach which mainly relies on individuals approaching community health centres, is still rooted in an individualist model. Some of the earliest theoretical works on community psychology in South Africa advocated a social action approach which focuses on various forms of oppression affecting whole groups and communities of people (Lazarus, 1988). A more recent reflection by Seedat, MacKenzie and Stevens (2004) on the trends in community psychology during the first decade of South African democracy, reveals that there is still a focus on communities who could be regarded as oppressed. Lazarus' (1988) argument for a social action focus in community

psychology thus still finds resonance in the current focus in community psychology in South Africa.

The choice of the ǂKhomani San as a target group in this study positions the research in the domain of community psychology. They are a community still suffering from the consequences of oppression (Le Roux & White, 2004) following the forced removal from their lands, discussed in more detail later.

When proposing a model on how relevant education support services could be rendered to the ǂKhomani San school community, the values and principles of community psychology will form the basis. These values and principles include: addressing oppression, personal and political empowerment, prevention and health promotion, developing a psychological sense of community, and cultural relativity and diversity (Lazarus, 2007). These principles have proved to have applicability outside of a strict psychology context, as can be seen in the following section.

1.4.4 Links between Education Support and Community Psychology

In this research a link between education support services as it has been developed in South Africa and community psychology in the South African context was uncovered (Nel, Lazarus & Daniels, 2010). More is written about this link in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The chairperson appointed to lead the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training and the National Committee on Education Support Services in 1996 (Department of Education, 1997) was a recognised leader in the South African community psychology field. The community psychology values and

principles, from which this person approaches her work, appears to have influenced the outcomes of the Commission and Committee. Out of the Commission and Committee's joint report, the Education White Paper 6, guiding the process of inclusive education and education support services, was formulated (Department of Education, 2001). The echoes of community psychology are therefore evident in the White Paper and its supporting documents. This hypothesis is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.4.5 Summary of Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study was drawn from critical psychology, as well as community psychology. For this theoretical framework, known as critical community psychology, I drew on the work of Lazarus (1988) and others (Fox & Prilleltensky, 2001; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Prilleltensky, 2009a,b,c; Prilleltensky 2008; Prilleltensky, 2003; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Prilleltensky, Prilleltensky & Voorhees, 2007). These scholars infused critical theory into their conceptualisation of community psychology. Concepts in critical psychology were also explored to arrive at the chosen theoretical framework. The term *critical community psychology* is a term already used by others, for example, Davidson et al. (2006), Viljoen, Pistorius and Eskell-Blokland (2007), and Orford (2008). More is said about this theoretical framework in Chapter 3. In brief, however, this approach to community psychology is influenced by a critical understanding of the social world and a commitment to transforming it into a socially just environment, particularly for those who are oppressed (Lazarus, 1988; Davidson et al., 2006). Critical community psychology subscribes to a transformative view of social change which strives towards the responsible use of power,

not to oppress others but to empower (Viljoen & Eskell-Blokland, 2007; Davidson et al., 2006).

1.5 RESEARCH AIM, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

1.5.1 Research Aim

The aim of this research is to establish the factors relevant for the delivery of appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community and, on the basis of that, to propose a model for appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community.

1.5.2 Research Objectives

Within the context of the aim outlined above, the research objectives are:

- To develop ethical guidelines to guide research with indigenous communities;
- To identify and discuss the policy of education support services in the South African context;
- To investigate the link between community psychology and education support services in the South African context;
- To explore the current implementation of education support services for the ǂKhomani San school community; and
- To propose a model for relevant education support services delivery to the ǂKhomani San school community

1.5.3 Research Questions

The following questions were formulated to guide this study:

- Which aspects of ethics need to be considered to guide research with this indigenous community?
- What are the key policy aspects of education support services in the South African context?
- Is there a link between community psychology and education support services in the South African context?
- How are education support services understood and currently delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community?
- Which suggestions for relevant education support services delivery can be proposed for the ǂKhomani San school community?

1.6 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is primarily *qualitative* in approach since it aims to make sense of the feelings and experiences of the participants as they have occurred in the real world, their world (Kelly, 2006). It furthermore takes seriously the subjective experiences of the participants (Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006). The qualitative research principles followed in this study were those of "understanding in context, and ... the researcher as primary 'instrument'" (Terre Blanche et al., 2006, p. 274). This means that I accept that meaning is always connected to a particular context. People's experiences in the environment they live in will shape their understanding. When they give expression to their knowledge, the influence of their

environment will be present in such expressions. As researcher, I interacted with the research participants in their everyday settings. These characteristics place this research project within the accepted understanding of a qualitative research approach.

The research was designed as *an exploratory survey-type study located within in a participatory framework*. A key characteristic of Participatory Action Research is that it aims to produce knowledge whilst in an active partnership with those affected by that knowledge (Bhana, 2008; Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). The purpose of such research is to improve the conditions of the participants (Bhana, 2008; Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). However, in spite of my intentions, this research cannot be described as fully participatory. In Chapter 4 the reasons for this statement are provided.

For the fieldwork a survey-type design was followed. This type of design is normally associated with quantitative approaches (Thomas, 2009). However, applying it in a study which conforms primarily to a qualitative approach is not an anomaly as in practice it is difficult to confine methods strictly to approaches (Swann & Pratt, 2003).

Ethical clearance was obtained from the university to commence with the study. Verbal consent was also given by elected leaders of the ǂKhomani San school community to continue with the research project.

Two sets of data were gathered, namely documents and responses to semi-structured interviews. This strategy was chosen to avoid an over-dependence on one set of data

(O'Hanlon, 2003) and it provided me with possibilities for triangulation.

Permission to peruse the documents was obtained from the relevant government officials with the authority to grant such permission. The documents consisted of two sets. One set of 14 documents contained minutes of the ‡Khomani San Steering Committee, an interdepartmental structure set up by the office of the Northern Cape Premier to co-ordinate government involvement with the ‡Khomani San community. The other set of 14 documents accessed from the district office of the Northern Cape Department of Education was made up of internal unit reports and submissions to the South African Human Rights Commission. The document analysis was conducted with these documents to look "for the existence of relationships between and among them" (Thomas, 2009, p. 135). These relationships revealed themselves as different themes became evident in the documents. The themes were captured as part of the findings of this research.

Following a piloting phase of the semi-structured interview schedule, a total of 24 respondents participated as key informants through semi-structured interviews to which they consented in writing. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to gather the participants' descriptions of how they experience the delivery of education support services to the ‡Khomani San. The participants in the interviews were: (a) 11 adult ‡Khomani San members and, (b) 13 Non-‡Khomani San members who included Department of Education employees,a former teacher, a social worker, a community development worker and a local government official.

These interviews were transcribed for the purposes of thematic analysis. The responses to the questions on the semi-structured interview schedule were organised into groups of similar responses and unique responses. Broad themes that arouse out of the responses were captured and organised into categories.

The findings of the research were presented to participants. One feedback workshop was held for each of three groups of participants. The first feedback workshop was scheduled for the nine government employees who participated as interviewees, and who work and stay in the Kalahari area. Five of those participants were able to attend the feedback workshop. Another feedback workshop was presented to eight out of the eleven ǂKhomani San members who participated in the semi-structured interviews, and three other ǂKhomani San community members who responded to the invitation to attend the feedback workshop. Out of the four Department of Education district officials, three attended the feedback workshop scheduled for them.

1.7 THESIS OUTLINE

Chapter 1 consists of an introduction to the study. It provides a preliminary literature review of main concepts, and presents the research aim, objectives and questions of the study. This was followed by a summary of the research methodology employed in the study.

In Chapter 2, entitled *ǂKhomani San: Context*, an historical background is provided to put this community in perspective. Colonialism and its effects are discussed. Indigenous knowledge and how it relates to the ǂKhomani San is then

presented. Lastly, a discussion follows about identity in general, and ǂKhomani San identity in particular.

The theoretical framework for this research is expanded on in Chapter 3, *Policy Imperatives and Theoretical Framework*. This framework includes a focus on education support services policy in South Africa. Community psychology and Critical Theory are dealt with in closer detail. The critical community psychology approach is then presented as a theoretical framework.

Chapter 4 provides a thorough discussion of the research methodology followed. More detail is provided on why this research is placed on a particular point on the continuum of participatory approaches. This chapter concludes with extensive notes on the ethical guidelines which were deemed relevant.

In Chapter 5 I present the findings of the empirical work concluded. These findings are presented first in detail and then summarised at the end of the chapter. Throughout the presentation of the findings definitions are provided of key terms as they arise.

Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the findings with respect to the aim, objectives and research questions of this study. The findings are interpreted through the theoretical framework provided. Additional literature is added to compare the findings against studies done elsewhere.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the model that I propose for the delivery of education support services to the ǂKhomani San school community. The model does not propose a step by step guide to interventions but rather an approach to the

design and evaluation of interventions. Theoretical considerations relevant to the model are brought to the fore, and the model is illustrated through examples.

The last chapter is dedicated to providing a summary and conclusions about this research project, and provides recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2: ‡KHOMANI SAN: CONTEXT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I provide insight into the current situation of the ‡Khomani San by expanding on contextual issues. This is a community who has been affected by colonialism, therefore colonialism is explored as a political-historical phenomenon. The psychological effects of colonialism on the colonised are also explored. Postcolonialism is described in historical terms and explored for the intellectual value that postcolonial scholars add to this study. The concept of identity is explored because of the legacy left by colonialism on the identity-formation processes of people. The concept of indigenous knowledge systems is then explored generally, and particularly how it relates to the ‡Khomani San because it featured in the empirical work done in this study.

2.2 ‡KHOMANI SAN CONTEXT

A popular mistake, dating back to early times, is to conflate the San with the Khoikhoi into a term 'Khoisan'. Although they may share common genetic ancestry (Le Roux & White, 2004), the conflation is factually inaccurate according to historians (Ki-Zerbo, 2003). The two groups differed in respect of their modes of production (Khoikhoi being farmers and the San mainly hunter-gatherers), social organisation and languages. Therefore San and Khoisan cannot be used interchangeably. The Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), a networking and advocacy group fighting for the rights of the

San (Chennells, 2007b), rejected the term Khoisan as a collective term as they perceive the term as putting the San in a subordinate position to the Khoi (South African San Institute, 2009). WIMSA recommended that research about the genetic type and language stock use the term *Khoe-San* (Chennells, 2007b). Researchers who work on the linguistic families and on the genetic make-up of the groups of San and Khoikhoi people, found genetic and linguistic similarities between the groups. WIMSA recommended to such researchers the usage of the term Khoe-San for scientific purposes. However, WIMSA insists on the collective term 'San' to refer to the people previously living as hunter-gatherers. According to the South African San Institute (2009) the San are the original people of Southern Africa with the most genetic diversity of all populations in the world (Tishkoff et al., 2009), indicating them as probably the oldest human gene pool in the world. From this scientific evidence stems the claim that the spread of humanity in all possibility began with the San.

San groupings were distinguished by the different languages that they used (Le Roux & White, 2004). They lived relatively undisturbed hunter-gatherer lives until 2500 years ago when, first, Khoikhoi herders, followed by Bantu-speaking agro-pastoralists, and then Europeans, moved to the Southern tip of Africa (South African San Institute, 2009). The San groupings receded into the mountainous areas and the desert regions, notably the arid Kalahari regions adjacent to the Orange River, of South Africa.

The N/u-speaking San of the southern Kalahari formed part of the San groups forced away from the Orange River after clashes with Khoikhoi, mixed-race Baster and Coloured groups. The N/u language is also called ǂKhomani. The

forebears of the current day ‡Khomani San groupings came from this language group (South African San Institute, 2009; Chennells, 2007a) and from other groups in the Southern Kalahari San, as anthropologists loosely termed the San groups of the Southern Kalahari.

With the formation of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (currently the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park) in 1931 the Southern Kalahari San groupings did not receive any protection or right of tenure (South African San Institute, 2009). Of these groupings the N/u-speaking ‡Khomani was the largest. They were systematically driven out of the Park and mostly became assimilated into the Afrikaans- and Nama-speaking Coloured communities from where they found work on farms.

Some ‡Khomani San were taken to a tourist resort farm, Kagga Kamma, in the Western Cape where they came into contact with Roger Chennells, a human rights lawyer, in 1995 (Chennells, 2006; 2002). This lawyer helped the patriarch of the group of ‡Khomani San at the resort, mr !Gam!gaub Regopstaan Kruiper, to formally lodge a land claim on land inside and outside of the Park. This claim was successfully settled in two parts, 1999 and 2002 (Chennells, 2004). The scattered relatives and some original inhabitants of the Southern Kalahari were traced to occupy the land restored to the ‡Khomani San.

Most of the ‡Khomani San are today settled in temporary housing structures in the town of Andriesvale. The successful land claim means, however, that they own 40 000 hectares (including six farms) outside of the Park for resettlement and development of the community. Inside the

park they own 25 000 hectares as well as symbolic rights to parts of the Park (Chennells, 2007a).

The ‡Khomani San is not a homogeneous community but rather a reconstituted community consisting of relatives of the original Southern Kalahari San evictees and San who had their origins further south than the Park area of the Kalahari but were allowed into the land claim (Chennells, 2004). This makes for an uneasy mix of people which the original claimants, the Kruiper family, refer to as a big mistake. With the signing of the first phase of the land claim in 1999, a total of 297 San people were registered on the Communal Property Association (CPA). The constitution of the Communal Property Association created a position of traditional leader which was and is still, filled by mr Dawid Kruiper, son of mr !Gam!gaup Regopstaan Kruiper, the patriarch of the ‡Khomani San group who resided on the Kagga Kamma resort in the Western Cape. The ‡Khomani San now has a democratically elected committee, the Communal Property Association, and the newly created traditional leader as their leadership (Chennells, 2004).

The organisational structure of the ‡Khomani San as described above only arose after the return to their land. As explained earlier, they were subjected to colonialism of a special kind before their return. The following section provides background to colonialism generally and discusses how it affected the ‡Khomani San specifically. In relation to this study it was necessary to unpack the concept of colonialism in order to come to a greater understanding of the historical conditions affecting the lives of the ‡Khomani San as main stakeholders in this research.

2.3 COLONIALISM

In order to understand the context against which the history of the ‡Khomani San has played out, as well as how their present and future are shaped, an analysis of colonialism is relevant and necessary. Colonialism refers to the practice of one nation's enforced dispossession of the territory of another. In most cases it happened that European nations appropriated the territories of non-European nations (Hook, 2004b). In the case of the ‡Khomani San, their territory was also dispossessed in a forcible manner by other groups of people.

Colonialism in the African context refers to that period between 1880 and 1935 when industrialised European countries partitioned, conquered and occupied nearly the whole of Africa (Adu Boahen, 2003). These actions and decisions of European countries formed the grand plan for white settlements in Africa henceforth.

There was a European presence in Africa from early times. For instance, European traders circumnavigated, with coastal stops, the continent as far back as the late fifteenth century (Ki-Zerbo, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2004). There was also trade in white slaves between Europeans and African Muslims in the seventh century (Hrbek, 2003a). The settling by Europeans on the African continent for trading purposes was not rare (Adu Boahen, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2004). Colonialism is thus not just about the coming to Africa by Europeans. It is much more specific than that. The mere presence of a foreign minority therefore does not always mean that there was a grand plan, like colonialist ideals, behind their presence. Thus, colonialism is understood in political terms as a deliberate decision by the

authorities in certain countries to occupy the land of other people.

The reasons for the geographic expansion of European power vary. Jean-Paul Sartre (2001, p. 31) states categorically that colonialism did not happen by chance or was not just "thousands of individual undertakings... but a system put in place around the middle of the nineteenth century...". Colonialism was thus a deliberate effort by European powers to obtain control over large parts of the world, including Africa.

Adu Boahen (2003) discusses the following theories that explain the economic, psychological, diplomatic and the African dimension reasons of colonialism. Economic exploitation is accepted as the driving force of colonialist urges in the late nineteenth century. This period coincided with a development towards commercial unification on the continent by African geo-economic blocs in the nineteenth century (Ade Ajayi, 2003). Colonialism put an end to this African commercial unification by driving economic development to favour the European states. According to this economic theory, European states actively sought to put an end to the potential economic, and therefore, bargaining, power that unified African geo-economic blocs would have had.

Psychological theories explain why Europeans were inclined to conquer people they regarded as inferior to them (Adu Boahen, 2003). These psychological theories mean that Europeans saw themselves as intellectually and culturally superior to Africans. The work of Charles Darwin on natural selection is believed to have provided scientific justification for an enhanced sense of superiority by Europeans.

Therefore there was little consideration for the negative effects of colonialism since the colonialists were psychologically convinced that they were part of the natural selection process through the conquest of so-called backward races. To conquer and partition Africa was seen as an "inevitable and natural process" (Adu Boahen, 2003, p. 11).

The diplomatic theories centre on national prestige, balance of European power and global strategy as reasons for the colonial undertaking (Adu Boahen, 2003). In order to preserve and attain status in the eyes of peer states, a European state had to have its presence felt by having a colony.

The African dimension theory focuses on both the external and internal pressures that made it possible for colonialism to occur so swiftly on the African continent (Adu Boahen, 2003). This theory tries to provide alternative answers to the success of colonialism by looking at the African factors that made it easier to take hold. The theory holds that indigenous African rulers, after the demise of the gold and slave trade from which they profited, wanted to maintain the economic benefits of trade (Ogot, 2003; Hrbek, 2003b). Through the gold and slave trade, a fairly balanced supply-demand economy was sustained, however perverse in the case of the slave trade. When the slave trade faltered with changed European laws, the indigenous African rulers felt the pinch. This led to them seeking other ways and means of maintaining incomes. This insistence on other fair trade ways and means by African rulers led to Europeans formalising their colonial strategies supported by military incursion.

At the risk of alienating more radical thinkers, Adu Boahen (2003) concedes that, of all the theories, the African dimension theory may offer a more balanced theory for colonialism than the theories purely focussing on European instincts. Nevertheless, whatever the true reasons behind colonialism, it was a fact of life for most of Africa. The particular form it took in Southern Africa slightly differed from the rest of the continent.

In Southern Africa, particularly, formal colonisation took place long after settler colonialism and missionary Christianity already expanded European influence. Adu Boahen (2003, p. 94) states unequivocally that "European settlers in Southern Africa, unlike their counterparts in the rest of Africa, were from the beginning interested in establishing permanent homes" in this part of the world. Therefore the indigenous people of Southern Africa had, from very early on, skirmishes with the relentless European intruders who pushed ever deeper into the interior of this southern tip of the continent (Keegan, 1996). By the time formal colonisation was attained by Britain in 1902, with the Peace of Vereeniging (Adu Boahen, 2003), large parts of South Africa had already experienced foreign rule by various European groups like the Dutch and European descended groups like the Afrikaner.

There is no doubt that colonialism was an immensely successful undertaking for most of the colonial powers given the access that they gained to resources. Bulhan (1985) gives the following figures that illustrate the massive gain in terms of territorial control. By 1914 Britain's empire was 140 times the size of Britain itself, Belgium's 80 times, Holland's 60 times and France's 20 times. Territorial power of such large dimensions could not have left the psyche of

coloniser and colonised untouched. The next section delves into this effect of colonialism.

2.4 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM

This study is about education support which includes support for the mental well-being of people. Therefore a discussion about colonialism would be incomplete if due attention is not paid to the effect that colonialism has had on the mental health of people who experienced it. In this section I explore, through literature, the psychological effects of colonialism.

Colonialism had a profound effect on people (Duran & Duran, 1995). Philosophers and psychologists have tried to unravel this effect. Bulhan (1985, p. 43) puts it very clearly when he says that colonialism had "profound consequences for human psychology and particularly the relationship between people of European descent and the rest of humanity". The reasons behind human behaviour during colonialism, and the relationships forged between people of European descent and the rest of the world during colonialism, were influenced by people's perceptions of colonialism, be it positive, negative or falsely neutral (Hamber, Masilela & Terre Blanche, 2003).

In the context of Algeria as a French colony, the philosopher Sartre (2001, p. 44) sums up the effect of colonialism when he states: "For the colonist is fabricated like the native; he is made by his function and his interests". This means that the system of colonialism divided people into two classes, the colonist from outside the occupied territory and the native from the occupied territory. The colonial system had

a deep effect on the way people looked at themselves in relation to their world. In the colonial system people were cast in set roles that served the interest of colonialism. The relationship could also be equated to a master/slave relationship because of the long history of slavery preceding the official start of colonialism. The colonist was in the colony to advance the interest of the colonial power, doing everything to satisfy its needs. Therefore colonists practised double standards regarding issues like universal suffrage and racism (Sartre, 2001). For instance, France's republic was founded on freedom and equality. In their colonies, however, the French colonists did not practice those values in relation to the local populace, or in the words of Hrbek (2003b, p. 133), it was "a lesson on how a colonial administration, while solemnly adhering to democratic principles, can at the same time circumvent them". The reason for that was to maintain superiority over the local population. The identity of the French citizen in the colonies differed from those in France. This means that the French citizen supported the liberal values of voting rights and anti-racism, but only when in France, not when in the colonies. This explains Sartre's (2001) assertion that the colonist is a fabricated person. The so-called native was also cast in a particular role, namely that of the submissive and grateful person. This disposition was not a natural trait of colonised people but an expected demeanour that was to serve the colonial power.

Frantz Fanon (1970, p. 50), a psychiatrist, earlier stated that "there is no occupation of territory on the one hand, and independence of persons on the other". He argued that people's identities were changed as a result of colonisation, echoing Sartre (2001). Where people's territories were occupied, the psychological space of people was also

occupied. Thus, the notion of territorial lordship by the colonist over the colonised extended to the psyche of the colonist and the colonised, that is, the colonist saw himself also in charge of the life processes of the colonised. Fanon (1993, p. 18) defined colonised people as "every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality". Colonisation hurt people in the sense that they were not allowed to freely practice their cultural lives under the gaze of the colonial master, or, where they did, without the consent of the master.

Feelings of inferiority are but one form of hurt inflicted upon the colonised. The feeling of having lost power over their own destiny created a sense of hopelessness or despair in people who have been colonised (Duran & Duran, 1995). To complicate matters further, colonisation has had the effect of subverting the occupied people's values into a secret existence. Colonised people were not expected to display their true feelings about colonisation. Fanon (1970, p. 50) observed that "every contact between the occupied and the occupier is a falsehood". Much of what was written about the colonised people by the colonisers could therefore not be the full truth. The very notions of acceptance of the power of the colonist were a lie as colonised people were not free to express their true perspectives about colonisation. Living a lie thus became the norm for most colonised people.

Duran and Duran (1995) coined the term 'soul wounds' to describe the psychological damage done to a people colonised. It means that the pain caused by colonialism left its mark on the psyche of the people, even after colonialism was abolished. Lazarus, Ratele, Seedat, Suffla and Paulse (2009) provided an overview of the kinds of soul wounds

that have resulted through colonialism. They argued that the colonised was prone to imitating the coloniser. It means that the colonised may even display the same violent behaviour toward fellow colonised people that the coloniser displayed against him/her. They could be susceptible to reproducing the actions and discourses of the coloniser, and, therefore, become agents of their own oppression. Due to the limited options for expressions of frustration, passion and longings for freedom, the colonised could easily submit to compromise or acquiescence. Although confrontation is an option, it is an option rarely exercised because of the severe punishments meted out for confrontational behaviour. Much of the frustrations have been internalised and have led to self-destructive behaviours by the colonised (Lazarus et al., 2009). These behaviours include substance abuse, crime, self-directed violence like suicide and violence against others.

The unbearable position that colonialism put the colonised into led inevitably to a longing for freedom. It became a steady urge for decolonisation among colonised people. Fanon (1973, p. 27) put it bluntly that there was a yearning for the replacement of "a certain 'species' of men by another 'species' of men". Following the argument that colonialism created a psychologically different and undesirable type of person, the colonist and the native, it came as no surprise that revolutionary thoughts started brewing. The colonised wanted to throw off the yoke of oppression that consumed more than their land and natural resources but also their psychological make-up as human beings. The following statement was made by Fanon (1973, p. 68) in defence of the argument for the throwing-off of colonial repression: "The colonised man finds his freedom in and through violence". It may seem like a radical statement but measured against

the economic, military and psychological tyranny of colonialism, violent overthrow of the colonial power is a response that can be understood. Far from being controversial, Fanon was just open and honest in his reasoning for the use of violence.

In the South African context our special kind of colonialism also prompted violent responses right up to the dawn of the historic 1994 election, for example the July 1993 St James Church attack by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Ministry of Education, 2004). This attack symbolised the frustration caused by the apartheid system and was also an expression of the deep yearning for freedom from oppression. Lazarus et al. (2009) argued that colonisation and apartheid can be linked to certain violent behaviours in the current South African context. This link can be made because of the deep negative impact that those two systems of oppression had and still have on the psyche of the oppressed and the oppressor.

2.5 POSTCOLONIALISM

The term *postcolonial* is a concept that generally indicates the historical facts after formal colonisation ended and independence from a colonial power was attained (Young, 2001). It also indicates the new realities faced by nations who were newly sovereign in a world of difficult economic and political conditions. The economic conditions prevalent in countries emerging from colonialism are those of impoverishment and lack of skills to manage the economic processes of the liberated country. Colonial powers were interested in exporting the wealth of their colonies and not to create sustainable industries on which the indigenous

populations could build thriving economies when the colonial powers withdrew. The political challenges facing the previous colonies were mostly concerned with the absence of experience in governing a country (Young, 2001). Again it was not in the interest of the colonial powers to involve the local populations with the intricacies of governing a state. Apart from the economic and political challenges, the postcolonial state had to forge a new postcolonial culture different from the ethos and ideologies of the colonial state. The economic, material and cultural conditions of people after colonialism are generally studied in postcolonial studies (Young, 2001).

As a historical point of reference, at the end of 1960 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1960). In this document the United Nations proclaimed the necessity of ending colonialism in all forms and manifestations. It recognised that the denial or impediment of people's right to independence was a threat to world peace. Therefore the United Nations declared that alien subjugation and domination were denials of human rights and that all repressive efforts shall cease.

The year 1960 is significant in Africa's history since it was the year in which the single largest number of African states attained their independence from colonial rule. Before and after 1960 there were other African states declaring independence (Mazrui, 2003). Ghana attained its independence from Britain in 1957 but before that there were other African states like Liberia (1847), Egypt (1922), Libya (1951), parts of Ethiopia (1952,1955), Sudan (1956), Tunisia (1956) and Morocco (1956) that became independent.

Ghana's independence was a symbolic moment looked up to by the rest of sub-Saharan Africa until Namibia's independence from South African rule in 1990. South Africa gained independence from Britain in 1910 but the white-minority rule up to 1994 had other negative consequences for black people in South Africa as the struggle against apartheid attests.

In their assessment of colonialism, Sow and Abdulaziz (2003) assert that colonial powers embarked on linguistic, educational and cultural assimilation policies that were varied in approaches, from the straightforward to the subtle. These policies had an influence in the ex-colonies even after colonialism ended formally. During colonisation tension arose among the indigenous populations between those who were assimilated and those who either resisted or were not given the opportunities to assimilate the coloniser's language, education and culture. To quote Sow and Abdulaziz (2003, p. 523), "the new ambitions of the colonised subjects took the form of wanting to live like the colonialists, dress like them, eat and drink like them, speak and be housed like them, and laugh and get angry like them, in short to have the same religious, moral and cultural yardsticks". The same authors lament the fact that no permanent effort was made to encourage and promote African languages and cultures during colonialism. After the end of colonialism it seems as if the colonised were poorer than before. This is a legacy that was very hard to root out since "with very few exceptions, the former practices of the colonial powers were merely taken over wholesale, often without the slightest alteration" (Sow & Abdulaziz, 2003, p. 528). Such a state of affairs did not bode well for the postcolonial state.

The inequalities characteristic of colonialism did not cease when the United Nations declared an end to colonialism. Material inequalities between the lifestyles of the colonisers and the colonised are examples of how colonialism benefited some and not others. Much of the historical struggles against colonialism could actually be described as wars (Mazrui, 2003). After the end of colonialism the stark inequalities between the colonisers and the colonised made for uneasy peace, as "peace cannot exist without equality", as Edward Said (2004, p. 142), the great postcolonial writer and activist, put it. It is this uneasy peace after colonialism that still makes it relevant to refer back to the era of colonialism when trying to understand the postcolonial state. Said (2004) held that crucial elements within the peace processes were actually determined by the powerful, in this case, the former colonial powers.

Postcolonial scholars are critical of certain developments in their field. Some of them see the increasing institutionalising like formal courses or conferences or academic positions as a threat to the moral significance that the postcolonial voice occupied (Seshadri-Crooks, 2000). By allowing postcolonial studies to become part of mainstream academic life, these studies run the risk of becoming just another mainstream approach to research and critique. This self-critique, however, does not diminish the contribution that postcolonial studies can make in trying to understand and explain our world as colonialism altered the world's make-up significantly.

As a researcher I cannot allow my "conscience to look away or fall asleep" (Said, 2004, p. 142) when I am researching the ǂKhomani San. The present history of the ǂKhomani San is beset with problems not of their own making but what can

be ascribed to postcolonial ills. The system of apartheid played a significant part in justifying the denial of land rights to the ǂKhomani San (Chennells, 2004). Another consequence of colonialism for the ǂKhomani San is their forced assimilation into other communities, which had negative effects on their language and culture preservation (South African San Institute, undated).

As demonstrated above, colonialism impacted on how people perceive themselves. It was not merely a geopolitical strategy that was fought in the boardrooms and parliaments of the world. Colonialism had an impact on people's identity (Sarte, 2001; Fanon, 1970). Zegeye (2001, p. 3) contends that South African society has as historical consequence the "identity-assigning" legacy of colonialism. In the South African context this means that the colonial powers, and the apartheid regime following that, decided to assign identities to groups of people, not leaving much room for choice. This assigning of identities to indigenous people served the colonial powers and those who benefited from colonialism. People then were allocated group labels that they may not have chosen for themselves. It is important, therefore, that colonialism and identity be studied side by side.

2.6 IDENTITY

Invariably the terms by which "newcomers" (Le Roux & White, 2004, p. 4) tried to label the San, were negative. Dutch colonists acknowledged the presence of the San but as people from the Bush, 'Bosjesman'. In the eyes of the Dutch colonialists they were a form of lower life "hardly indistinguishable from apes" (Krüger, 2007, p. 27). The Tswana denoted them as people who do not have cattle and

the Khoikhoi referred to them as people who forage (Krüger, 2007; Le Roux & White, 2004). Although there was recognition of the San as people who are different to the newcomer it would be difficult to acknowledge such recognition as respectful and supportive of the identity of the San.

In the last two decades of the twentieth century a common identity has emerged from the various San groupings. They proclaim themselves currently as being San and the term "has been accepted by a large number of representatives of several surviving groups of First People as being the least derogatory in meaning and history" (Le Roux & White, 2004, p. 4). The term, San, means 'those who forage' in the Nama language (Le Roux & White, 2004, p. 6) or 'gatherers' (Krüger, 2007, p. 27). Some San people identify themselves as Bushmen (*Boesman,* in Afrikaans) without making an issue out of the negative connotation associated with the term (Krüger, 2007). The term, San, will be used throughout this research to refer to these First Peoples of southern Africa.

In Chapter 1, and in the preceding paragraphs, there has been much mention made of the concept *identity*. When analysing the term *identity* it is found that there are two types embedded in the concept: a social or public identity and a personal identity or self (Kelly & Millward, 2004). Maree (2007) asserts that the identity of a person is created in relation to other people, institutions, society and culture. Therefore identity is not a simple concept, but rather multidimentional. The following paragraphs will distinguish personal identity from the social or public identity because it is with the latter that I will work in this research.

Personal Identity

The concept of a personal identity refers to the deeply personal image that one has of oneself and specifically one's awareness of personal abilities, beliefs, knowledge and drives (Woolfolk, 1995). Much of the work regarding personal identity stem from Erikson's theory of psychosocial development and derive from his unpacking of the adolescent's developmental crisis of identity versus role confusion (Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana, 2004). Although the notion of comparison with other people (public identity) is part and parcel of the adolescent's development tasks, I will focus here on the personal side of identity. The big questions in the formation of personal identity are: Who am I? and, Where am I going?. In this stage of life deliberate choices are to be made, for instance, regarding vocation, sexual orientation, special interests and even a philosophy of life in order to answer these questions (Donald et al., 2004; Woolfolk, 1995). Kiguwa (2004) rightly challenges the notion that the individual self or personal identity is a fixed notion. Rather it is conceptualised as able to change and able to be adopted. The essentialist view of personal identity, as a fixed entity, has therefore made way for the broader understanding as "a conditional, contingent and dynamic construction" (Laubscher, 2005, p. 310). Personal identity therefore gives a person a sense of who he/she is and changes as the person progresses through life as he/she aquires new competencies, interests and philosophies.

As discussed earlier, identity is a multifaceted construct which is not confined to the personal. I will now explain the concept of *public* identity in the following paragraphs.

Public Identity

Public or social identity is the type of identity that is relevant for this research in the sense that it is through *that* lens that I will explore culture and indigenous knowledge. The assessment of others is the key to understanding the concept of public identity because in assuming a public identity a person compares him/herself with others. Through that perception of otherness or sameness a person conforms to or rejects a particular notion of group or social identity. How people thus think about themselves as a people and what they think others think about *them* form the core of an understanding of what public or social identity entails (Kidd, 2002).

Identities are not neutral (Kidd, 2002) because they are influenced by values. Values in themselves arise out of a particular worldview. Therefore, identity is susceptible to political influence. Duran and Duran (1995) warn against a Western hegemony which can invade the notions of identity held by previously colonised people. By that it is understood that the media dominance of Western values should not obfuscate the fact that indigenous values are also worthy of influencing identity-formation. Fanon is adamant that the Third World should not define itself in terms of European values (Fanon, 1973; Hook, 2004b). This means that, when inhabitants of the underdeveloped and developing world define themselves, they should look to their own context for identity-formation.

Bulhan (1985), as part of his analysis of the work of Fanon, developed a three-stage model of identity development in the person living in an oppressive condition. The first stage is capitulation. In this stage the person increasingly becomes

assimilated into the aggressor's culture whilst rejecting his/her own culture. The second stage, revitalisation, is characterised by a repudiation of the dominant culture and a romanticised re-adoption of the indigenous culture. In the third stage, radicalisation, synthesis between the cultures takes place and a commitment towards radical change arises within the person.

In the context of South Africa there are many factors that can influence identity-formation. The legacy of colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism are prevalent factors identified by Zegeye and Liebenberg (2001). These legacies have an effect on the formation of identity by the previously oppressed. Jacobs (2003) takes this view further when he argues that identity and cultural transformation cannot be seen as separate from material factors and historical legacies. Material factors and historical legacies form part of the life experience of people. Therefore, when they assess others and themselves against others, people may tend to use their life experience as guidelines or standards in such assessments. The public or social identities thus formed will have distinctive characteristics of the historical and material legacies so integrally part of people's lives.

Dondolo (2005) asserts that identity and recognition are intertwined. When one considers the history of colonialism, the issue of recognition is a particular relevant aspect. When a people's identity is respectfully recognised, such recognition gives rise to a sense of pride in that people. Colonial powers, it can be argued, were not interested in recognising people's identities if it did not serve the powers' interest. Therefore, in the context of this research, it can be argued that the colonial powers in South Africa (and the regimes following them until 1994) did not do much

to recognise San identity in a respectful way. In Le Roux and White (2004) there are testimonies by San people themselves about this issue of non-recognition and how it affected them negatively as a people.

Cultural Identity

Culture is understood to encompass "the values, understandings, norms, beliefs and traditions of a group of people" (Donald et al., 2004, p. 374). The definition by Kidd (2002) has broadly the same semantic load where it is stated that culture means a group of people's way of life and their patterns of social organisation. The usage of the term, culture, is sometimes problematic. As pointed out by Lifschitz and Oosthuizen (2003), the term frequently takes on a racial denotation when used in South African contexts. This means that in South Africa certain cultural practices came to be associated with certain racial groups. In certain respects *culture* is sometimes used to refer to black Africans' practices only, as if white or mixed-race Africans do not have cultural practices! It is also sometimes used in an absolute sense that leaves no space for individual interpretation of what culture means to an individual within such a group. Lifschitz and Oosthuizen (2003) acknowledge the understanding of culture as posed by Donald et al. (2004) but they broaden it to encompass a constructivist notion. They see culture as collective ways of accentuating differences and also similarities between people as they interact. Culture is therefore an ever-evolving concept because people are forever interacting with each other in cross-cultural ways.

A less politically loaded understanding of the notion of culture is that it helps us to organise our knowledge of the

world and its people. The notion of culture becomes complicated and open for abuse when other connotations of power and privilege are attached to the concept. By taking Marxist analysis into consideration (Hamber et al., 2003), I am aware of the power of relations and the relations of power in culture. Culture can be abused to entrench certain power relations that benefit some but which are at the same time to the detriment of others. The issue of polygamy comes to mind as such a cultural practice. For the males practising polygamy the benefits of having many wives are, for example, to be found at the level of variety in sexual partners and numerous off-spring. The women in such relationships have to contend with the affections of the shared sexual partner, and they have to carry the burden of raising the children, usually by themselves. In this cultural practice of polygamy the issues of power, empowerment and disempowerment are certainly open for debate.

This research is done in a context of a marginalised group of people for whom culture is still a contentious issue, where culture is used as a determining factor regarding access to particular areas of land (Chennells, 2006). In the ǂKhomani San context, Chennells (2006) found that members of the community who regard themselves as farmers tend to lay claim over certain pieces of land that are more suitable to farming activities. Others who proclaim to aspire to return to a traditional way of life tend to block the aspirations of the farmers because they, the traditionalists, argue that they cannot co-exist as farmers and traditionalists. This is another example of how power relations can be used in the assertion of cultural rights.

Cultural identity is a term that fuses together the loaded concepts of culture and identity. The components making up

cultural identity include: ethnicity, race, language, acculturation, religious and spiritual beliefs (Chen, 2005). These components show that cultural identity does not come from nowhere. It is produced, continually, from historical experiences, traditions, as well as from lost and marginalised languages (Hall, 2001).

Chen (2005, p. 12) defines cultural identity as a "self-perception of one's position in different dimensions of life, such as race, social class, gender, religion, age, sexual orientation, and physical and mental ability" This definition takes into account the various markers of diversity found among human beings. It further acknowledges that the person her/himself has a perception about her/his cultural identity. What is not contained in that definition is the perception that other people may have of the cultural identity of a particular person. How others perceive another person's cultural identity is also a determining factor for the assertion or imposition of cultural identity.

Cultural identity can then further be defined as *identity intertwined with the notion of culture*. This definition, which is my own, also recognises the fact that cultural identity is a product of the interplay, psychologically and socially, between identity and culture. Also, my understanding is that there is no hierarchy between the two terms nor can it be assumed that one preceded the other in the formation of cultural identity.

Cultural identity depends on formal and existential recognition (Hulme, 2001). Formal recognition is understood as the official recognition by authorities, for example in the case of the San where their cultural identity is formalised by certain recognised structures like the South

African San Institute or the San Council. Existential recognition of cultural identity is understood to be the recognition of the bona fide existence of a particular cultural identity, even if there is no institutional recognition (Hulme, 2001).

Cultural identity may also be linked to a people's particular systems of knowledge that they produced within their cultural contexts. Therefore, in recognition of the ǂKhomani San as an indigenous group, the knowledge system of indigenous people is further explored.

2.7 INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

In the empirical part of this study questions were posed to determine if the indigenous knowledge of the ǂKhomani San is taken into account in the delivery of education support services to that school community. For the sake of enhancing understanding, the concept *indigenous knowledge* is explored in depth.

Nel (2006, p. 99) gives a comprehensive definition of Indigenous Knowledge Systems as "the knowledge and practices of indigenous communities constitutive of their meaning and belief systems, as well as the substantive dimension of their practices and customs". Thus, indigenous knowledge is forged in the life conditions and environment within which people live. Given that societies are adaptive in their nature, indigenous knowledge also adapts and changes accordingly in order to allow people to live within the changing circumstances. It is noteworthy that Nel (2006) includes values, ways of knowing and sharing that enabled communities to survive for centuries, as well as

their holistic spirituality. Therefore indigenous knowledge is not just about tangible products and technologies that result from such knowledge.

Some people, because of the changes in society like urbanisation, may be tempted to use indigenous knowledge as a means to assert their cultural identity which may have been lost or obscured. However, there is a danger in the tendency to use indigenous knowledge to reclaim identity in an essentialist manner (Nel, 2006). The danger is that indigenous knowledge can lose its inherent notion of adaptability and fluidity. Then it erroneously becomes a fixed entity in the service of othering and exclusion. Indigenous knowledge, Nel (2006) holds, has always been reshaping survival strategies and fostered social and environmental health.

On this same theme of caution of how indigenous knowledge is used, Loubser (2005) distinguishes between a politically loaded South African understanding and use of the term versus an international understanding and use. In the South African context he understands the use of the term to be based on the yearning by South Africans to move away from the apartheid past and to embrace an all-inclusive kind of restitution process. The danger of an essentialist and exclusionary notion is contained in such an understanding of indigenous knowledge. Loubser (2005) interprets this broad definition to be within the spirit of the Freedom Charter, a political-historical document particular to certain sections of South Africa's anti-apartheid movements' struggle against apartheid but widely influential in the policy-formulation of the current government. In such linking of indigenous knowledge with a particular political project the danger of a narrow understanding of indigenous knowledge as the

preserve of only a section of South African community, namely, black African people, lurks.

Indigenous knowledge, as understood by the World Bank (2005), is an inclusive concept acknowledging localised knowledge that is unique to a particular culture. It therefore includes all cultures as having some form of indigenous knowledge. Using indigenous knowledge to exclude others is conceptually wrong.

The definition of the World Bank may seem uncomplicated, and probably was meant to be uncomplicated. However, the understanding of indigenous knowledge by different parties sometimes poses a problem, as Smith (2003) found in a study about a land claim by indigenous Australians. He found that there were particular understandings about indigenous knowledge held by whites and Aborigines that hindered the processes involved in a land claim. In this instance the whites referred to the provisions in the Aboriginal Land Act that served as legislative framework against which the claims to land by Aborigines were governed. This act upheld a distinction between traditional affiliation and historical association, with more weight attached to traditional affiliation. Whites focused on this distinction when they had to defend their land against claims. For the Aborigines there was no distinction possible. They understood their traditional ties to have been formed in their historical association with the land.

This case illustrates how complex the relatively simple definition of indigenous knowledge as *unique to a particular culture* can become. It furthermore illustrates how people from different sides of the debate, about land restitution as compensation for denial of indigenous rights, can use the

same definition to either try to obtain land or try to prevent claimants from claiming. Thus, the innocuous definition of *indigenous knowledge* as knowledge particular to a location and/or culture is deceptively simple in its complexity.

The United Nations adopted a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples at its 2007 plenary meeting (United Nations, 2008) as a standard of achievement regarding progress in respect of the rights of indigenous peoples. This document is an important milestone in that it binds member states to advance the official recognition of indigenous peoples and their knowledge systems. In the declaration the 31st article deals specifically with states' obligation to recognise and protect indigenous knowledge systems. This declaration is a very significant development in that it sets a framework within which indigenous peoples can develop and adapt their indigenous knowledge systems. The declaration can be regarded as a definitive break with colonialist notions of indigenous peoples and their knowledge systems.

In the postcolonial era the discourses on indigenous knowledge differ from those of previous eras. In colonial thought, indigenous knowledge was understood to be bounded technical expertise that was divorced from matters regarding rights and values (Pottier, 2003). Now it is understood that issues of rights and power relations are inherent in debates around indigenous knowledge, as demonstrated by Sillitoe and Wilson's (2003) study on mining practices in Papua New Guinea; Ntsoane's (2007) description of harvesting practices of medicinal plants in the North-West province of South Africa; and Boesen and Rukuni's (2000) discussion on agricultural growth and management of natural resources in Africa. In all the examples noted above, the indigenous communities had to

assert their rights to the economic benefits of the indigenous knowledge that they had about particularly profitable endeavours.

Knowledge production, of which indigenous knowledge is a product, is embedded in social and cultural processes (Pottier, 2003). These processes are replete with aspects of power relations, social struggle and negotiation. Therefore any discussion about indigenous knowledge should bear in mind that indigenous knowledge, like knowledge in general, is infused with notions of inclusion and exclusion and thus to be treated very carefully.

When notions of community development are brought into play regarding the utility of indigenous knowledge, the economic and political dimensions should be studied as well. Mkabela (2006) contends that indigenous knowledge is more than just knowledge for knowledge's sake; it is a valuable resource for the development of communities. Best practices regarding indigenous knowledge in communities can be built on for the further development of such communities.

Postcolonial and post-apartheid South Africa demands nuanced approaches in respect of previously dispossessed peoples and their knowledges. These nuanced approaches have to balance titular rights to land and indigenous claims to exercise rights on land. The apartheid government's non-recognition of indigenous rights has to be kept in mind when the current government is asked to deal with matters concerning previously oppressed South Africans' claims to rights regarding indigenous knowledge.

In South Africa there is a formal government policy process about indigenous knowledge systems (Mosimege, 2007).

Mosimege (2007) traces the origins of the policy process back to 1996. A decision was taken by the parliamentary portfolio committee on Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, together with the Counsel for Scientific and Industrial Research, to commission a survey of indigenous technologies in the provinces of Limpopo and Mpumalanga. The findings of the survey served as basis for the roll-out of a national audit of indigenous technologies in South Africa. This national audit significantly contributed to raising the levels of awareness about indigenous knowledge systems broadly in the country.

South Africa also took part in the international movement towards recognition of indigenous knowledge systems and so raised the profile of indigenous knowledge systems as a system of knowledge at home. The post-apartheid government therefore provides legitimacy to indigenous knowledge systems as the government formulated policy around it. The then Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology mentioned in 2003 that a bill will be finalised and which will provide the legal framework for the protection of indigenous knowledge in South Africa (Ngubane, 2003).

A Policy on Indigenous Knowledge Systems was adopted by cabinet in 2004 and announced by the Department of Science and Technology (2005). In this policy government affirms its commitment to recognise, promote, develop, protect and affirm indigenous knowledge systems. The policy spells out measures for the development of services provided by indigenous knowledge holders and practitioners. There is a definite focus on traditional medicine, agricultural practices, indigenous languages and folklore. In order to synergise indigenous knowledge with modern technology and

governance structures, there are specific legislative provisions, institutions and their functions contained in this policy.

The policy makes provision for the establishment of a National Office on Indigenous Knowledge Systems which will be advised by an Advisory Committee, announced by the then Minister of Science and Technology (Mangena, 2008). This committee includes experts, scientists, international scholars, holders and practitioners of indigenous knowledge. Furthermore the Policy on Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Department of Science and Technology, 2005) adopts a development function regarding research, development and innovation in indigenous knowledge systems. In this regard there are already measures taken which include the design of a degree in indigenous knowledge systems (Departement of Science and Technology, 2008). The recording, codification and dissemination of indigenous knowledge systems are done by a centre which was set up for this purpose at the University of Zululand.

Another measure that serves to establish research into indigenous knowledge systems is the setting up of research chairs; the first one being instituted at the Nelson Mandela School of Medicine in the Eastern Cape (Department of Science and Technology, 2008). This research chair will lead the production of academic knowledge on traditional medicines. National indigenous knowledge expos are also held to raise public awareness of indigenous knowledge as such, as well as about the on-going research into indigenous knowledge systems (Pandor, 2009).

The South African policy (Department of Science and Technology, 2005) is linked to national policies of other

government departments such as Trade and Industry, Arts and Culture, Education, Health and Agriculture. By doing this, the policy infuses indigenous knowledge systems as knowledge systems to be recognised in all other spheres of government.

An example of government's willingness to provide legitimacy to indigenous knowledge systems in Education is the acknowledgment of the role that indigenous healers can play in education support provision (Department of Education, 2005a). In the policy on education support services (Department of Education, 2001) and its supporting documents (Department of Education, 2005a) traditional healing practices are given equal status with other types of supportive practices in which a support provider can be engaged in.

The ‡Khomani San's rights to practice their indigenous knowledge systems are covered under the United Nation's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2008). South Africa's government is a signatory to the declaration. Therefore, under South African law, the ‡Khomani San may protect their indigenous knowledge system against exploitation and abuse (Department of Science and Technology, 2005).

This issue of protection of indigenous knowledge systems was demonstrated by the ‡Khomani San's involvement in the well-publicised case surrounding the Hoodia plant (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the South African San Council, 2003). The Hoodia plant has been used by the San for many centuries as a suppressant of appetite. In 1932 this property of the plant was reported and in 1963 the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) started

doing research on it, proving beyond doubt that the Hoodia indeed suppressed appetite (Maharaj, Senabe & Horak, 2008). The absence of sophisticated equipment led to the research being postponed until the 1980's when it was resumed until the current day. Advances in equipment allowed scientists of the CSIR to isolate certain active chemical compounds in the Hoodia which are responsible for suppressing appetite. Despite these technological advances, the issue of recognition of the San's right to claim ownership of that indigenous knowledge was treated in a disrespectful manner. The San was never recognised as indigenous holders of this knowledge about the Hoodia. It was only in 2003 when the CSIR entered into a benefit-sharing agreement with the South African San Council (CSIR and the South African San Council, 2003) that the San's right as holders of this indigenous knowledge was fully recognised. Under this agreement the two parties announced that they will share the anticipated benefits that may be accrued from the potential commercial success of the beneficiation process of the Hoodia's appetite suppressant properties. This agreement is even lauded in the Policy on Indigenous Knowledge Systems as ground-breaking and precedent-setting regarding the intricate legal framework negotiated (Department of Science and Technology, 2005). The agreement set the standard for future agreements of this nature which will be for the protection of rights to indigenous knowledge and of mutual benefit to the holders of such knowledge and the scientific community.

I now continue to provide other examples of indigenous knowledge associated with the San, under whom the ‡Khomani is also included.

Woodhouse (1992) dedicated a book about the San's association with rain-making rituals. According to this source the San traditional diviners have been known from very early on as powerful callers for rain. The wide array of rock paintings dedicated to the subject of rain and rain-making attests to this ability of the San (Woodhouse, 1992). Le Roux and White (2004) wrote down many testimonies from older San about the rain-making abilities of the San as they remembered. An example of this is where one San elder narrated that his "grandfather would take a powder, which was red and kept in a skin bag, go away from us, and hang it up in a tree. The rain would then come" (Le Roux & White, 2004, p. 134). This metaphysical ability of the San was revered and sought after by other groups, as the following extract attests:

> The Hambukushu bought rain from my father. They came to my father and said, 'Please, will you help us with rain where we stay, because it is too far and we are tired of coming to you every year asking for rain' (Le Roux & White, 2004, p. 135).

Apart from this metaphysical ability of the San, the adult San people agree that they are very skilled in the use of natural material for healing purposes (Le Roux & White, 2004; Crawhall, undated). A wide range of plants and plant material are utilised to treat different illnesses. Some animal parts are also used medicinally for physical and metaphysical purposes (Esau & Nel, 2005). A symbiotic relationship between the San and their environment developed over centuries. This relationship was beneficial to the San because of the food and medicines that they could get from the veld.

Tracking is another one of the unique indigenous knowledges of the San (Le Roux & White, 2004). The San learned from generation to generation the skills to recognise animal tracks and relevant signs in order for them to track animals in the bush. They are renowned trackers whose skills are still in use for game hunting. Their skills were also put to use in the service of the apartheid government's South African Defense Force when a unit of San trackers was established in 1978. This unit had to assist the government in tracking down freedom fighters who fought against the apartheid regime (Le Roux & White, 2004).

The indigenous knowledge of the San should not be romanticised to the point where it is assumed that all San people have that knowledge. Due to the influence of Westernisation, and, in the case of the ǂKhomani San, their forced diaspora (Chennells, 2006), many San people do not know their indigenous knowledge system. There are, however, organisations such as the South African San Institute (2009) which help in documenting and reviving the indigenous knowledge system of the San. The South African San Institute enlists the help of older San and other people in the noble drive to preserve this valuable knowledge.

2.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter was an attempt to explore many of the pressing issues relevant to the community involved in this study. Historical background was provided so that the reader can place the ǂKhomani San in the proper context. The ǂKhomani San has direct and recent experiences of colonialism. Therefore the definition, theories and the effects of colonialism and postcolonialism were discussed

for the sake of facilitating a complex understanding of the phenomenon of colonialism. Since colonialism has had such a profound influence on how people on our continent identify themselves, and specifically how the San identify themselves today, a section was dedicated to try to unravel the concept of identity. Lastly, indigenous knowledge was explored as concept generally and specifically in relation to the ǂKhomani San.

Through this literature review I aimed to clarify some of the terms and concepts which I deemed relevant for this study. The following chapter provides an overview and discussion of the policy and theoretical imperatives relevant to this study.

CHAPTER 3: POLICY IMPERATIVES AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The research aim is to determine the factors relevant for appropriate education support for the ǂKhomani San school community. Following the establishment of these factors, a model for education support to this community is proposed. In order to fulfill the aim I have to satisfy certain objectives as set out in Chapter 1.

In this chapter the following two objectives are addressed: To identify and discuss the key policy areas of education support services in the South African context and to investigate the link between community psychology and education support services in the South African context.

An exploration and discussion of relevant policy documents regarding education support are presented. Community psychology is then discussed. Leading up to the theoretical framework adopted for this study, I provide an overview of critical theory and how it is linked to psychology by leading scholars. The chapter culminates in an explanation of critical community psychology as theoretical framework.

3.2 EDUCATION SUPPORT SERVICES IN SOUTH AFRICA

In line with the research aim on education support, this section starts with a discussion about the relevant policy

imperatives regarding education support in South Africa. A cursory international perspective is also offered by presenting examples from the US and UK policy contexts.

Mashau, Steyn, Van der Walt and Wolhuter (2008) lament the dearth of published research about education support services in South Africa. Given this supposed lack of research, it also follows that a universally agreed definition of education support services is hard to find. To illustrate, Mashau et al. (2008) arrived at a definition that emphasises the specialised nature of education support services. These authors used a definition coined by Steyn and Wolhuter (2008) which defined education support services as specialised, non-educational services that are provided to improve educational activities in terms of quality and effectiveness. The service providers in this definition are specialists in different fields.

Steyn and Wolhuter (2008) distinguish between services provided to teachers, learners and the teaching activities and structures. Support to the teacher is those non-educational services, like subject advisory services and services by teacher associations, that assist teachers to optimise their work and eliminate or lessen problems that impede the effective performance of their teaching duties. Learners are supported with services, for example, therapeutic interventions, medical services and transport services, to gain as much from the teaching-learning activities as possible. Assistance to the teaching activities and structures has as its aim the provision of effective education through, for example, examination services and educational media. An underlying implication of these three types of education support services is that the service providers are from the Department of Education not from other state

departments like Health. This implied location of service providers as being within the Department of Education is also reflected in the South African policy on whole-school development which sets guidelines and standards according to which schools can develop holistically in all areas of functioning (Department of Education, 2002b).

This policy on whole-school development (Department of Education, 2002b) defines support services as services provided by appointed officials who will, in their support function, advise, guide and assist schools. These officials will include officials in formal education support services, guidance and counselling services, and those providing remedial services. The officials responsible for oversight of a cluster of schools, the circuit managers, together with the officials responsible for advise to teachers about school subjects, the subject advisors, are also included among the support service providers. This policy definition has in common with Steyn and Wolhuter (2008) the assertion that education support services are non-teaching services provided by specialised personnel provided by the Department of Education. It thus implies that the type of support will be professional services by appropriately qualified, and in some instances, professionally registered, employees of state.

However, this narrow definition of education support services is not in accordance with the policy and supporting documents that strive to guide the South African education system towards an inclusive education and training dispensation. South Africa does not have a model of special needs education anymore, where there is a strong notion that barriers to learning are located within the learner. Support provided in a special needs education framework strives to

address these intra-learner barriers (Johnson & Green, 2007). With the institution of one curriculum for all schools, as is evident in South Africa's National Curriculum Statement (Department of Education, 2003), the notion of education support then had to change from the special needs education and mainstream education model to a single curriculum model. Support has to be provided within the parameters of this one curriculum, through the policy on inclusive education (Department of Education, 2001).

The South African policy on inclusive education, Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001), describes the political, theoretical and philosophical imperatives for the establishment of an inclusive education system that is consistent with the human rights and social justice thrusts of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996). It is not within the ambit of this thesis to describe the policy process and implementation strategies. It has been described elsewhere (Stofile, 2009; Lazarus, 2003). In this thesis a selective overview is provided of the policy and its supporting documents that try to refine and operationalise the implementation strategy for this policy. These documents include the conceptual and operational guidelines for district-based support teams (Department of Education, 2005a), full-service schools (Department of Education, 2005b), special schools as resource centres (Department of Education, 2005c), inclusive learning programmes (Department of Education, 2005e), and the strategy on screening, identification, assessment and support (Department of Education, 2005d; 2008).

In the policy and its supporting documents there are indications of what is meant by education support within the framework of inclusive education in South Africa. The inclusion of non-specialised, non-professional and non-

registered people as service providers of education support is widely welcomed and encouraged in the policy and supporting documents. In addition to professionals (for instance, teachers, managers, subject advisors) and, where needed, professionally registered employees (including, psychologists, counsellors, physiotherapists, and, in some provinces, nurses and social workers), of the Department of Education, other employees of the Department (such as administrative and cleaning staff) and other government departments are envisaged as education support service providers. The policy does not restrict education support service provision to state employees only. It includes parents, learners, as well as community members such as indigenous healers and religious leaders. This broad-based conceptualisation of education support service providers is to be understood within the social justice and human rights framework within which the policy of inclusive education is presented.

Lomofsky and Lazarus (2001) acknowledge that the joint report of the National Commission on Special Needs in Education (NCSNET) and the National Committee on Education Support Services (NCESS) (Department of Education, 1997) was ground-breaking in its social justice and human rights-infused conceptualisation on how to overcome barriers to learning and development. Lazarus (2003) describes the approach followed in the report as systemic-orientated, developmental, preventive and health-promotive, thus moving away from previous notions of individualistic, medical models of support. This report was very influential (Department of Education, 2008) in the establishment of the White Paper 6 as the policy on inclusive education in South Africa. The consultative Green Paper (Department of Education, 1999) preceding the White Paper

was based to a large extent on the recommendations of the NCSNET/NCESS report. In some respects the report was more radical in its conceptualisation of the response to address barriers to learning than the White Paper 6. An example of this radical approach is the emphatic statement that "a moratorium would be placed on the building of new specialised centres of learning. Funds would be spent on resourcing and building the capacity of all schools and other centres of learning (particularly in rural contexts) to accommodate diversity." (Department of Education, 1997, p. 57). The White Paper 6, in contrast, is consistent in its insistence to upgrade special schools and to develop full-service schools (Department of Education, 2001), thus diverting resources to those categories of schools. Full-service schools are ordinary primary schools which, after training of staff and improvements in infrastructure, can provide in the support needs of learners who need low to medium levels of intensity of support (Department of Education, 2005b). The NCSNET/NCESS report's recommendation that all schools, especially in rural areas, be resourced and their capacity built (Department of Education, 1997) have somehow been watered down in the White Paper 6.

White Paper 6 reflects an understanding that, for inclusive education to succeed, special and full-service schools have to be provided with the resources first. A very recent indication of this confused conceptualisation of inclusion is found in the North-West Department of Education (2009) where its newsletter on matters pertaining to inclusive education has an overt focus on special schools and full-services schools. In that newsletter the director, under whose directorate the inclusive education unit resides, says:

> There has been a tremendous improvement since the

> release of White Paper 6 in 2001 in a number of areas like: 1. Infrastructure (renovations and extensions), 2. Provision of transport subsidy to needy learners, 3. Procurement of assistive devices and equipment, 4. Supply of mini buses to 27 Special Schools, 5. Provision of targeted relevant Human Resource Development programmes, 6. Continuous Advocacy, 7. Strengthening Special schools and Full-service schools. The North-West Department fully understands and is aware that the areas mentioned above are key to the transformation of our system to become inclusive so that all learners can be provided with the appropriate level of support (North-West Department of Education, 2009, p. 5).

In this newsletter the reader is led to believe that inclusive education is equal to education support for learners with disabilities. However, progressive scholars on inclusive education, for example Artiles and Kozleski (2007) in the American context, remind readers that inclusive education should not be confined to a focus on ability differences. They insist that the legacies of racial oppression and stratifications should be uppermost in the minds of implementers of inclusive education, an argument very relevant to South Africa.

Although the language and recommendations of the NCSNET/NCESS report are refreshing, this policy can also be criticised for having conflicting messages around education support services. There are instances in the report where it has quite a broad understanding of support provisioning, as can be seen from the following quote: "...each section (e.g. ECD, Adult Education, Curriculum, Finance) would develop the competency to respond to the

diverse needs of the learner population..." (Department of Education, 1997, p. 58). This broad understanding of support provisioning is in contrast to the largely skills- and professional competency-based description of education support service providers earlier in the report (Department of Education, 1997, *vi*). Despite the seeming contradictions in the NCSNET/NCESS report, it nonetheless provided a strong basis from which the inclusive education policy writers could draw.

One of the most important contributions the report made was the introduction of the term *barriers to learning*. In the report barriers to learning and development are understood as factors in the system that make it difficult to accommodate diversity; factors leading to a breakdown in learning and factors that prevent learners from meaningfully accessing and participating in educational provision. The NCSNET/NCESS report (Department of Education, 1997) identifies key barriers to learning which, significantly, start with a recognition that there is a relationship between the provision of education and the existence of particular socio-economic conditions. However, in the consultative paper (Department of Education, 1999), White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001), and the guideline for district-based support teams (Department of Education, 2005a) the key aspects identified as factors leading to barriers to learning are: "Different learning needs arise from a range of factors including physical, mental, sensory, neurological and developmental impairments..." (Department of Education, 1999, p. 4); "negative attitudes and stereotyping of differences" (Department of Education, 2001, p. 18) and

> Factors relating to specific individuals. In the education system this refers specifically to learners (e.g. relating to specific learning needs and styles) and

> educators (e.g. personal factors as well as teaching approaches and attitudes), (Department of Education, 2005a, p. 13).

In contrast to the above individualised barriers, the NCSNET/NCESS report provides a broader ecosystemic understanding of where barriers are located, namely in the ecosystem of the learner. The consultative paper, White Paper 6, and the guideline documents have a different focus by locating the barriers primarily within the individuals (learners and teachers), before looking for barriers in the broader ecosystem.

In addition to socio-economic barriers, which encompass lack of access to basic services, the prevalence of poverty and underdevelopment, and social, economic and political factors which place learners at risk, the NCSNET/NCESS report (Department of Education, 1997) also adds the following barriers: attitudes, inflexible curriculum, language and communication, inaccessible and unsafe built environment, inappropriate and inadequate provision of support services, lack of enabling and protective legislation and policy, lack of parental recognition and involvement, disability, and lack of human resource development strategies. By later confirming these systemic barriers, the consultative paper (Department of Education 1999) and the White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001) can confuse readers as to what the primary focus of these policy documents is; individualised barriers or systemic barriers.

For the purposes of this thesis I was guided by how the policy, White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001), and its supporting documents, conceptualise education support services. For a comparative view the positions regarding

inclusive education in the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US) were examined.

When introducing inclusive education in the UK, Sheehy (2005) states that inclusive education emanates from a search for social justice infused with human rights. This understanding of the underlying principles for inclusive education also explains the move away from essentialist views on disability, learning difficulty and diversity that were the characteristics of research on special education in the UK. Topping and Maloney (2005) are categorical that the 21st century signifies a definitive move away from the 'special education' industry towards inclusive education in the UK. It is not to say that thoughts about inclusive education only circulated in 21st century Britain. Thomas, Walker and Webb (2005) indicate that ideas opposed to segregated education for children with disabilities were around at the beginning of the 20th century but lost out to the strong movement in favour of segregation prevalent in the UK at the time.

Copeland (2003) provides historical evidence of an awareness of the influence of social factors on learners in the UK of the late 19th century. Even then the notions of support were not restricted to support at the individual level for what was popularly conceptualised as difficulties originating only from the child. The awareness of social influences on education is thus not an invention of late 20th century UK educationists. Topping and Maloney (2005) argue that addressing social exclusion that may arise from social class, socio-economic disadvantage, race, gender and other potential markers of exclusion-inclusion, informs the kind of education support needed. It is exactly this social justice and human rights focus that provides strength to the

inclusive education movement and that prevents inclusive education from being just another fashion, so to speak (Florian, 2005).

The notion of education support that is inherent in inclusive education is thus influenced by the social justice and human rights focus. The provision of support should always keep in mind the social justice and human rights discourse. Therefore, being able to participate in educational activities is an inherent concept of inclusion (Florian, 2005). In order to participate optimally, education support needs to be provided in all its forms.

With specific reference to inclusion in the US education context, Sands, Kozleski and French (2000), like their UK counterparts, locate inclusion within the values of social justice, equity and democracy. They then go on to distinguish between formal and informal support available to families when they or their child is in need of support. Formal support includes services that can be provided by professionals from agencies and institutions that assist people with disabilities and their families. Such support services include therapy by professionals, provision of assistive devices, provision of extra learning material that will assist the learner, and advice from professionals such as teachers and other experts (Sands et al., 2000).

Informal support includes those kinds of interactions that happen without the need for the support providers to be professionals in a specific field (Sands et al., 2000). Examples of such informal support services include community support in the form of church groups, close friends, interest groups, and genuine conversations about the well-being of the affected persons. In line with the British

concepts of inclusion and support, Todd (2007) also argues that, in the US context, it is a given that a learner should be assisted to participate in the educational opportunities on offer. She further asserts that no inclusion is possible without participation by all parties that have an interest in the success of a learner experiencing barriers to learning. This participation can take the form of the formal and informal types of support alluded to earlier (Sands et al., 2000).

Following the South African policy position as well as the lessons learned from the UK and US, I formulated the following operational definition for education support services: *services and support provided by professional and lay people that have as its aim, directly or indirectly, the elimination and minimising of all barriers to learning or its impact, that may impede learners' progress in education*. This definition is consistent with the assertion by Johnson and Green (2007) that the purpose of education support in an inclusive education system is to prevent problems and to work towards the well-being and success of all learners, not just support to those who experience a specific problem. Furthermore, Johnson and Green (2007) state that support to all learners should be about the removal of barriers to participation and learning.

Education takes place in various settings. This includes formal and formalised education settings such as classrooms and lecture halls. It is also acknowledged (Department of Education, 2001) that there are many informal settings where education takes place such as in the homes of learners. In my operational definition I recognise the role that various people can play as support agents in the lives of learners. Some people can provide support by virtue of their training

in a specialised field like psychology, indigenous healing, medicine and physiotherapy. Some of these specialists may require professional registration before the training can be applied, as in the case of nurses and psychologists. There are also people who can provide support by virtue of their life experience, mere proximity in terms of blood relations, and their genuine interest in minimising barriers that may prevent someone from meaningfully accessing the value that education has to offer. In this definition of education support services, I include the role that institutions and structures can play in a support capacity. These structures and institutions include government departments, institutional-level support teams and district-based support teams, non-governmental organisations, faith-based organisations and community-based organisations (as envisaged in the White Paper 6).

The support from these individuals, agencies, structures and organisations can take many forms, informal and formal. Informal support can be understood as those types of support offered by non-professional people in settings where education takes place away from formal arrangements such as classrooms, consultation rooms and schools. Formal support can be understood as the professional and technical support provided by suitably qualified professionals in formal education and other formalised settings, including physiotherapy rooms and indigenous healer's consultation rooms. Some of the forms that formal support can take are: direct one-on-one assistance, such as in therapy and focused conversation; indirect individual assistance, such as do-it-yourself assignments; direct group assistance, such as group therapy; indirect group assistance, such as a group assignment; and direct and indirect individual and group

participation, such as partaking in in-class or out-of-class activities.

The aim of education support services, as stated in this operational definition, is to minimise the barriers to learning that negatively impact on the process of learning and teaching. By engaging in learning and teaching, the learner and those whose aspirations he/she carries, has a legitimate expectation to gain value from the educational activities provided. If there are impediments to that expectation, then the removal or minimising of the obstacles or their impact would ensure a greater chance of accessing the value.

Education support services, as a social justice endeavour, is undergirded by principles which are also found in the discipline of community psychology.

3.3 LINK BETWEEN EDUCATION SUPPORT AND COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY

When Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education 2001) and its supporting documents are looked at through a community psychology lens, there are enough indications of a link between this education support service policy and community psychology. Nel, Lazarus and Daniels (2010) found in a thorough policy analysis that all of the principles of community psychology are to be found, in one form or another, within the language and practice of the education support service policy. Professor Sandy Lazarus, who was the chairperson of the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and the National Committee on Education Support Services (Department of Education, 1997),

acknowledged that even though the report from these two bodies was not written in explicit community psychology language, it reflected a definite move away from the views held by mainstream psychology (Lazarus, 2003). This report advocated an approach that was systemic, developmental, preventive and health-promoting. That is the kind of focus which is echoed in community psychology values and assumptions as identified by Lazarus (2007). These values and assumptions are: empowerment, community participation, addressing exclusion and oppression, prevention, health promotion, intersectoral collaboration, psychological sense of community and awareness of cultural relativity and diversity.

In support of this assertion that the values and assumptions of community psychology are found in the policy on education support services, I will highlight selected aspects. In the supporting document on district-based support teams (Department of Education, 2005a) there is a clear commitment to the inclusion of community members in the training programmes offered, which speaks to the value of empowerment. The whole basis of district- and institutional-based support teams is built on wide participation by stakeholders including community members (Department of Education, 2005a; b). This policy imperative is answering to the values of community participation and intersectoral collaboration.

By striving to create the framework for addressing barriers to learning (Department of Education, 2001), the policy exudes the value of addressing exclusion and oppression. The values of prevention and health promotion are emphasised where the policy lays down the framework for the development of supportive environments which will

promote health (Department of Education, 2005a). Through the promotion of systemic analyses (Department of Education, 2008) the policy encourages stakeholders such as the school community to develop a deep understanding of themselves. This will foster a psychological sense of community as members will, through the systemic analysis, become aware of the role and contribution each can make. The notion of diversity appears explicitly in the strategy for screening, identification, assessment and support where it says that support can be seen as the activities which will help the institution to build its capacity to respond meaningfully to diversity (Department of Education, 2005d). The whole *inclusion* focus is underpinned by the principle of a positive recognition of diversity.

In the following section community psychology is explored in terms of its origins, definitions and development.

3.4 COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY

Since this research focused on a particular community, I consider it proper to fully explore community psychology for the utility value that it holds for such exploration. In the preface to his book, Cook (1970, *vii*) wrote that community psychology was "a new and exciting approach to human problems". He goes on to state that in the US in the 1960's, social science and mental health professionals had a growing interest in developing community approaches to understanding and alleviating human problems. Bennett (1970) traces the formalisation of this growing interest in the field of community psychology back to the Conference on the Education of Psychologists for Community Mental Health held in Swampscott, Massachusetts from 4-8 May

1965. This conference is alternatively known as the Boston Conference because of the involvement of the Boston University or the Swampscott Conference, after the suburb it was held in (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Chester Bennett (Bennett, 1970) was the chairperson of the conference committee who convened the conference because of growing concerns about the widening gap between training of psychologists and developments in the field. The conference quickly established that the participants had an interest in the emergent roles of and participation in community life by psychologists.

The term *community psychology* was the label that described the involvement with community mental health and other broader spectra of psychological services such as social action, social system analysis, consultation in community affairs, studying the person in relation to his/her environment (Bennett, 1970; Rappaport, 1977; Rappaport & Seidman, 2000; Trickett, 1996). The medical model of practicing psychology was rejected at this conference in favour of the *participant-conceptualizer* role (Bennett, 1970).

This *conceptualizer* role meant that community psychologists would be committed to the creation of knowledge through research from this new perspective (Bennett, 1970). Community psychologists do not subscribe to one method of research only but to many, and are often engaged in participatory, action-oriented research methods (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Furthermore, community psychologists do not just do research but participate in activities with the aim of effecting social change (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). The conference gave strong support for collaboration

with other disciplines, such as in the training of community psychologists and in joint research (Bennett, 1970).

Early on in the development of community psychology, the issue of defining the field in clear terms proved problematic (Scribner, 1970). It was not just the early writers who had difficulty in defining community psychology, later authors also experienced difficulty in providing a short crisp definition (Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2007; Naidoo, Duncan, Roos, Pillay & Bowman, 2007; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Orford, 2008; Visser, 2007). In their efforts to define community psychology these authors look at the ways in which community psychologists operate and then describe their operations.

In an attempt to make sense of what community psychologists do, Scribner (1970) categorised community psychologists into four types. She, however, did not imply that the types were watertight compartments but rather "labels of convenience" (Scribner, 1970, p. 14). The first group was called *social movement* psychologists. It referred to those psychologists who identified with the aims and aspirations of political and social movements who work for social change in a political way. In the US of the 60's and early 70's those political groups included students, civil rights or black power movements, anti-war groups and other leftist formations. The psychologists who formed part of these social movement groups were explicit in their commitment to these organised social movements as the drivers of change in their country (Scribner, 1970).

The second group, referred to as *social action* psychologists, participated as professionals in social programmes aimed at specific problems. They provided their services as

professionals without an expressed commitment to one or other political movement (Scribner, 1970).

A third group described by Scribner (1970) was the *new clinical* psychologists. These clinical psychologists did not rely on the one-to-one clinical engagement as the only mode of service. They innovated their service by, for instance, providing family therapy, applying group techniques and new crisis intervention activities.

The fourth type of community psychologist identified was the *social engineers* (Scribner, 1970). These were psychologists who explicitly tried to manipulate social systems and structures in order to facilitate social change. Such psychologists would offer advice on or serve as key administrators of policy matters and existing practices in order to influence it such that change is brought about.

Community psychology is defined by Naidoo et al. (2007, p. 12) as

> an emerging branch of applied psychology concerned with understanding people in the context of their communities, using a variety of interventions (including prevention, health promotion and social action), to facilitate change and improved mental health and social conditions for individuals, groups, organisations and communities.

In this definition the notion of *community* is strongly emphasised, even though individuals, groups and organisations are also regarded as clients.

Orford (2008) offers an expanded definition of community psychology which was submitted to the British Psychological

Society in an application for the establishment of a new division. In this broad definition the following central ideas are contained: the social context within which people function is important; central concepts in community psychology are power, empowerment and disempowerment; the issue of collaboration is important, especially with people who are marginalised and disempowered; and community psychology uses many research methods although it usually employs qualitative methods.

There is a contradiction in the term *community psychology*, namely between *community* and *psychology* (Dalton et al., 2007). The idea of a community as a group of people in a shared concern or geographical location seems at odds with the traditional idea of psychology as a field concerned with the individual. However, these authors argue that there is a paradox in the term, not a contradiction. The paradox is that *individual* and *community* are intertwined in many ways. Dalton et al. (2007, p. 15) offer the definition of community psychology as a concern regarding

> the relationships of individuals with communities and societies. By integrating research with action, it seeks to understand and enhance quality of life for individuals, communities, and societies. Community psychology is guided by its core values of individual and family wellness, a sense of community, respect for human diversity, social justice, citizen participation, collaboration and community strengths, and empirical grounding.

As in other definitions, the individual is located within the social context of a variety of communities. In taking the definition further, Dalton et al. (2007) provide examples of the variety of possible communities of which an individual

can be part, such as family, friends, place of work, place of study, voluntary associations, geographical neighbourhood and culture. Visser (2007) adds to this understanding of the concept of community by constructing *community* as: a network of social relations; a way of life or a sociopolitical organisation. The individual should be understood from his/her membership of any of these relationships, not in isolation from those relations. It is imperative in community psychology to remember that the focus is not only on the individual or only on the community but rather on the interconnectedness between them. The role of the community psychologist is conceptualised as that of an involved person who, through participation, attempts to understand and explain these processes.

Visser (2007) differentiates community psychology from other social science fields. Where social psychology studies the interaction of people with their social environment, it does not focus on the social change needed. Community processes form the pre-occupation of sociology but also not with the aim to intervene in some processes for the enhancement of well-being. Community psychology shares some characteristics with social work. One of these shared characteristics includes working towards change in the immediate conditions where people live in. However, community psychology differs from social work in community psychology's extensive focus on the promotion of the psychological well-being of people.

A slightly different nuance in defining community psychology is found in the location of the central problem with which community psychology is supposed to be concerned with, offered by Nelson & Prilleltensky (2005, p. 24): "...that of oppression, and that the central goals of CP

(community psychology) are to work in solidarity with disadvantaged people and to accompany them in their quest for liberation and well-being.". This direct indication of oppression and people negatively affected by it is not a recent inclusion in the definition of community psychology (Lazarus, 1988). It is, however, a more radical stance than taken in conventional definitions (Dalton et al., 2007; Naidoo et al., 2007; Orford, 2008;). Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) bold assertion about oppression as the main concern stands in contrast to Yen's (2007) more academic and profession-oriented assertion of the distance that community psychology still has to cover within the family of psychology streams. When community psychology is looked at from this angle, Lazarus' (1988), and Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) insistence on concerns about oppression is a shift from the relatively safe exercise that community psychology can become if it remains couched in language and practice that are less radical.

Prilleltensky (2003) describes oppression as a state of uneven power relations which is characterised by domination and subordination of one individual or group over another. The description also includes the resistance against such uneven domination and subordination. By politically excluding the group they want to dominate through deprivation of rights, as well as through violent means and psychological depreciation, the dominant group exercises its power. The consequences of such oppression for the oppressed include deprivation, discrimination, exploitation and control of culture (Prilleltensky, 2008). Oppression does not only have a political side to it but also a psychological side which co-exists with it. This psychological oppression entails a negative internalised view of the self that involves the lack of will to demand deserving

resources and the absence of will to participate in societal affairs (Prilleltensky, 2008). Resistance takes place only when the oppressed attain a certain level of conscientisation about the oppressive state they are in (Prilleltensky, 2003). Community psychology has a role to play in the processes leading to this empowered state of mind.

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) propose a conceptual framework with which to address the manifestations of oppression. They identify the types of issues and problems that concern community psychology. They list the values of community psychology, followed by the principles guiding community psychology, and they deliberate about the role of the science of community psychology in the creation of new knowledge. As indicated earlier, these authors keep the focus of community psychology on issues concerning oppression and loss of power. They unmask the standards to which practices and values are judged as "those that assert the superiority of male, white, heterosexual able-bodied people" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 29). Oppressed people are forcefully coerced into accepting these standards. Such acceptance leads people other than white, heterosexual, able-bodied males to lose power as their own standards are called into question.

The notion of power is understood from the community psychology perspective to mean that community psychologists have to work *with* the communities and not merely develop interventions *for* communities (Prilleltensky, Prilleltensky & Voorhees, 2007). Working with communities locates the actual power in the communities as far as self-determination is concerned.

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) argue that the values which provide a vision for community psychology's work are: *holism* that focuses on the whole person and the context in which the person is embedded, and *health* as defined broader than the absence of illness. Other values include caring, compassion and support for community structures. Self-determination and participation are other values. The value of social justice means that someone should have the opportunity and power to direct her/his own life, play an active role in decision making and should advocate for a fair and equitable allocation of resources. An awareness of diversity that respects and accepts unique social identities is another crucial value. In working with and for oppressed groups, community psychologists should always remain accountable to the members of such oppressed groups (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

Lazarus (2007) adds to these values from a South African perspective. Risk prevention is added as a value of community psychology. Lazarus (2007, p. 70) strongly asserts that "risk is a statement about social contexts, not people". Another contribution by Lazarus (2007) is the value of cultural relativity which implies respect for cultural difference but with a strong commitment to equitable access to societal resources for all, whatever the differences.

Promoting inclusion means that interventions have to occur at individual, relational and macro levels (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Prilleltensky et al., 2007). On the individual level, interventions should work towards the recovery of a positive identity and an awareness of sociopolitical conditions which create shame and stigma. Interventions at relational level create opportunities to share stories, to promote alternative community narratives, peer

and natural support and opportunities to contribute to the community in its broad sense. At the macro level interventions should include advocating for policies that address structural problems that face disadvantaged communities, for instance lack of decent housing, unemployment and poverty.

By being willing to share power (depowering) in the process (Prilleltensky et al., 2007), community psychologists show a tangible commitment to social change. In order to prevent theoretical, political and even ideological blind spots, the community psychologist has to develop a critical awareness that is cultivated through reflexivity (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Reflexivity refers to regular reflection on practice and on the implications of certain actions.

As a relatively new addition to the language of community psychology, Prilleltensky (2003) provided the term 'psychopolitical validity' to the field. Psychopolitical validity is "a criterion for the evaluation of understanding and action in professions dealing with oppression, liberation, and well-being" (Prilleltensky, 2007, p. 105). This criterion is used to indicate the level of attention paid to the role of power when community psychologists or other change agents explain psychological and political phenomena. Prilleltensky (2008) states the objective of psychopolitical validity as an infusion of awareness of the role that power plays in wellness, oppression and liberation. Prilleltensky (2008; 2009b) concretises the application of the concept of psychopolitical validity by proposing two measures: epistemic and transformative.

Epistemic psychopolitical validity refers to the level to which knowledge about oppression is incorporated into

research endeavours (Prilleltensky, 2003). Epistemic psychopolitical validity is achieved by keeping systematic accounts of the role that power plays in the political and psychological dynamics of a phenomenon studied. This involves critical examination of the power that role players carry under certain conditions. An example of this critical examination can be seen where an investigation of the political and psychological reasons for recent service delivery protests in South African townships show an explicit awareness of the distribution of power between municipalities and residents.

Transformative psychopolitical validity refers to the actions taken to effect socially just change (Prilleltensky, 2003). When transformative psychopolitical validity is used as a measure, it assesses the social action undertaken towards personal, relational and collective well-being. For instance, a high rating of transformative psychopolitical validity may be obtained if social action in a project enhances political empowerment by directly addressing political inequities and social injustice at various levels.

In his keynote address to the 15th Congress of Psychology of the Psychological Society of South Africa, Prilleltensky (2009a) argued for a radical shift in community psychology: from the amelioration of the situation of victims of power abuse to transformation in the sense of changing the structural make-up that makes it possible for unequal power relations to continue. Although a powerful idea, it is a notion already expressed by Lazarus (1988) about the role community psychology had to play in the South African context of the time. This notion, in turn, has its origins in the Swampscott/Boston Conference where community

psychology was formally established as a discipline (Bennett, 1970).

The appeals for a shift in community psychology to a more critical stance lead me to explore critical theory positions in the next subsection.

3.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CRITICAL COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY

This research, being a study in educational psychology, draws its theoretical guidance from a specific approach in psychology called Critical Community Psychology. In this section I explain the theoretical framework of Critical Community Psychology that served as the lens through which I undertook this research. To do this I provide an overview of the major theoretical paradigm of *critical theory* as well as a short overview of how concepts in critical theory influenced psychology. Critical psychology is then discussed as a product of this infusion of psychology with critical theory. This influence is taken into account in the development of Critical Community Psychology as the theoretical framework.

3.5.1 Critical Theory

According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2005), critical theory is distinguished from other traditional theories in that a critical theory has human emancipation in mind. In other words, critical theory wants to obtain freedom for people, from circumstances which enslave them. This practical purpose and the explicit aim to decrease

domination and to increase freedom sets it aside from other theories.

The historical origins of critical theory are traced to Germany of the 1930's (Kellner, 2001a; Rush, 2005a; Stirk, 2005) and specifically to the Institute for Social Research from the time when Max Horkheimer became the director. This institute was founded to study scientific Marxism (Stirk, 2005). The name 'Frankfurt School' was given later to the thinkers and writers attached to the institute, although not all were original members of the institute. An irony of the name given to the group is that, although the institute was associated with the University of Frankfurt, it was for a long time based in New York. The collective name belies the multiplicity of ideas and contesting ideas prevalent among the members of the Frankfurt School (Rush, 2005b).

Rush (2005a) finds that Horkheimer took the term 'critical theory' from Karl Marx's works. Due to this Marxist influence, critical theory from early on concerned itself with the instigation of social change through the exposure of social forces of domination. Indeed, “the advocates of critical theory were, to varying degrees, Marxists” (Stirk 2005, p. 31). Rush (2005a, p. 10) states it clearly that critical theory endeavours to answer to Marx's charge that “the philosophers have only interpreted the world in different ways; the point is to change it”. Notably from the early years the Frankfurt School was vocal in the public sphere in its criticism of bourgeois society (Stirk, 2005). This thrust remains within critical theory.

One particular characteristic of critical theory from early on, is the consistent self-reflexivity on one's own work through critical inquiry (Phillips, 2000). This trait explains

much of the diversity in thought within the Frankfurt School because the members critiqued others' and their own work as part of their critical brief.

There are many great names associated with the Frankfurt School, including Walter Benjamin, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse. The influence of Jürgen Habermas is a more recent reminder of the impact of the Frankfurt School on contemporary thought in the social sciences (Phillips, 2000).

In his attempt to unravel the contribution of Walter Benjamin to critical theory, Rosen (2005, p. 44) finds that Benjamin concerned himself with the question of "what connects different areas of a culture, allowing us to see a common identity in their apparent diversity". For the historical period, pre-World War Two Germany, investigating this question was regarded as novel. Benjamin tried to explain that, at a level of experience not understood by science, similarities in culture have been transmitted between members of society without them even being aware of it. He then saw the task of social theorists as the awakening of that unwitnessed experience for the emancipation of people. However, Benjamin was castigated by some of his contemporaries for his utilisation of mystical phenomena or "non-sensible resemblances" (Rosen, 2005, p. 45) when explaining his ideas.

Max Horkheimer's contribution to critical theory was in giving a definition of critical theory as a theory that seeks human emancipation, which means liberation from oppressive circumstances (Rush, 2005b; Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2005). Through his leadership role as director

of the Institute for Social Research/Frankfurt School and as editor of the Institute's journal, *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* (Kellner, 2001b) Horkheimer ensured the relevance of the work done by the Institute.

Horkheimer published the important work *Dialectic of Enlightenment* with Theodor Adorno in 1944 (Roberts, 2005). This book was a critique of the oppression and atrocities committed by the Nazi regime in Germany. Horkheimer and Adorno expressed their concern regarding the complicity of and uncritical acceptance of Nazism by some German philosophers. Furthermore the book criticised American capitalism and the influence of Hollywood, which they typified as an "ideological dumbing-down of culture" (Roberts, 2005, p. 59).

The early critical theorists, observes Whitebook (2005), routinely used psychoanalytic theory in their works, particularly where Marxism could not provide the intellectual answer or language to their ideas. Erich Fromm, a psychoanalyst, was a member of the Institute for Social Research/Frankfurt School as well as the Psychoanalytic Institute. Fromm regularly assisted critical theorists to understand how psychoanalytic theory was to be interpreted (Whitebook, 2005). The contribution that Fromm made to critical theory is the argument that people suffer from a gap between "freedom from and freedom to" (Richardson & Fowers, 2001, p. 273). By that he meant that people have to become aware of the restrictions placed upon them in order to start working towards self-determination. Fromm's individualist interpretation of the human condition, as well as his later defence of bourgeois egoism, brought him into conflict with critical theorists (Stirk, 2005). He left the Frankfurt School in 1939 after intellectual differences began

to appear with critical theorists becoming uncomfortable with the revisionist direction psychoanalysis took. The regular utilisation of psychoanalysis in critical theory did not last beyond the 1970's, noted Whitebook (2005) and he foresees a necessary return to psychoanalytic theory in the critical theory understanding of current day religious and other types of fundamentalism.

Herbert Marcuse was another eminent member of the Frankfurt School (Kellner, 2001a). Marcuse worked from a Marxist premise and wrote extensively about the conditions and societal structure of his time which, in his reasoning, gave rise to the growing fascist state. Marcuse believed that fascism was a product of the then capitalist society of Germany (Kellner, 2001b). In his papers he exposed how unquestioned allegiance to capitalism made it easier for the fascist order, that Adolf Hitler introduced, to seamlessly take root. Like many other Marxist writers in pre-war Germany, Marcuse attracted the attention of the secret police, the Gestapo. This led to the Institute for Social Research having to move to the US in 1933 (Stirk, 2005). Marcuse was one of the most radical members of the Frankfurt School. He rejected, until the end of his life the idea that working within the existing democratic institutions could result in any transformation. This rejection by Marcuse of any transformational role by democratic institutions (Kellner, 2001b) was seated in his belief that such kinds of democracy were still bourgeois endeavours (Chambers, 2005). This radicalism of Marcuse was taken up by the American and European student movements of the 1960's and he regularly participated in many activist events. To some analysts it is puzzling that Marcuse's work could inspire student and other activists (Chambers, 2005; Kellner, 2001a). They found in his work neither practical ideas nor

clear ideals with which activists could articulate their insistence on social change.

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2007) ranks Jürgen Habermas as one of the most influential philosophers in the world. Over his long career his work can be broadly categorised into streams: his work on political issues and then his work about issues of rationality, communication and knowledge. Like many other members of the Frankfurt School, for instance Marcuse, Habermas also theorised about the fascism of pre-war Germany. In contrast to Marcuse's rejection of any potential for transformation in the democratic institutions of the day (Kellner, 2001b), Habermas envisaged reform within democratic institutions as potential for transformation (Chambers, 2005). Habermas concerned himself with proposals and strategies that could lead to political transformation during the student uprisings of the 1960's. He is credited by Chambers (2005) as the only prominent critical theorist to have developed a detailed programme for university and political reform. Chambers (2005, p. 228) summarises Habermas' frustration with some student leaders as that they "appeared to have embraced a type of actionism, that is, disruptive action for its own sake".

The work of Habermas on communicative interaction, as another dimension of societal reproduction, is explained by Stirk (2005) as having a distinct focus on interaction rather than on labour. There is rational potential in everyday speech, which means that in communication, emancipatory action can take place. When speakers address each other, Habermas sees the potential for "purposive-rational action" (McCarthy, 1984, p. 27) towards real change. Communicative action/interaction offers the possibility to

look for indicators why a speaker asserts certain points. Such knowledge, in turn, opens up opportunities for communication. Communicative action offers an alternative to the immobilising conclusions many critical theorists draw (Stirk, 2005; Whitebook, 2005).

Critical theorists are sometimes accused of not being able to offer practical solutions to societal problems. There are some criticisms raised against critical theory, especially against the strain of theory emanating from early members of the Frankfurt School, like Horkheimer and Adorno. Chambers (2005) summarises the misgivings about early critical theory's stance on politics. There is a refusal to engage directly in political activities in the form of political parties or even proposals for reform agendas (Chambers, 2005). The abstract style in which some writing was presented rendered critical theory in some instances irrelevant and useless. The pessimistic outlook on the politics of the time led to no attempts for political action, like in the work of Marcuse (Kellner, 2001a). However, most of these points of critique are taken into account by contemporary critical theorists, like Habermas. In this manner critical theory remains a very powerful philosophical and political perspective (Rush, 2005b).

Axel Honneth's contribution to critical theory is summarised by Chambers (2005) as his inclusion of *recognition* at the centre of his social theory. Honneth's social theory tries to understand social relations in the service of emancipation. This means that he theorises about the conditions recognised for healthy identity formation of the self and others. As such Honneth also describes the ways through which people misrecognise and fail to see the other as a person, for instance through violence, denial of rights and the

denigration of the chosen or forced ways of life of other. (Chambers, 2005). The essential elements for an emancipated life, in Honneth's theory, are the ability to live with personal integrity and under circumstances that do not damage development. Given his contribution, Honneth is recognised as a worthy commentator on the future of critical theory (Rush, 2005b).

Honneth (2005) locates the future of critical theory in how it deals with the concept of *emancipatory interest*. This concept, extensively discussed by Habermas (McCarthy, 1984; Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2007), refers to the vested interest that people have in overcoming the ravages of domination, dogmatism and compulsion. Honneth (2005) argues that critical theory can only survive if it concerns itself with the task of trying to find proof for emancipatory interests. Such an endeavour, finding proof for the existence of emancipatory interests, can follow the route of reflecting on the experiences, practices and needs that create people's interest in emancipation. My understanding is that, by looking for emancipatory interests, critical theory will avoid pessimistic, dead-end arguments which invariably end in a systemic conundrum where people occupy roles within systems that seem irreconcilable.

As indicated in the previous chapter, the limits that colonialism placed on the emancipatory aspirations of African and other colonised peoples were engaged with at intellectual and practical level by people in colonised communities. Hence, it is suggested that critical theory's concern with emancipation was and is present in the work of many African thinkers and practitioners (Mazrui, Ade Ajayi, Adu Boahen & Tshibangu, 2003). This suggestion is made despite the absence of even the word *Africa* in the indexes of

sources consulted on critical theory (Kellner, 2001b; McCarthy, 1984; Phillips, 2000; Rush, 2005b, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2005; Stirk, 2005). In my analysis, this absence of Africa in the sources may point to at least three problem areas, not further explored in this section: a possible inward-looking tendency of the German critical theorists (meaning a preoccupation with their own historical circumstances at the expense of other parts of the world) or overly selective reporting by the sources regarding the work of the German critical theorists or a continuation of the colonial mindset of supposed European superiority.

African historians Mazrui et al. (2003, p. 633) ask the question: "What does political subordination do to philosophy and science in a given society?". In respect of philosophy their answer to this question is that colonialism may ironically have started an enriching process in the already present cultural philosophies of Africa. For analytical purposes these authors classified philosophy in Africa since 1935 into three currents: cultural, ideological and critical. They readily admit the weakness of this classification as they acknowledge overlaps among the categories. The cultural current of African philosophy is rooted in indigenous traditions from precolonial, colonial and postcolonial times. It is this cultural philosophy that was enriched by the thoughts and ideas about the enslaving conditions of colonialism. From this enriching process the ideological and critical currents of philosophy arose in Africa. Ideological philosophy concerns itself with the political situation on the continent in mostly ideological terms before and after colonialism (Mazrui et al., 2003).

Critical philosophy in Africa is also a response to colonialism and postcolonialism but less explicit in political

terms. Mazrui et al. (2003) note a determined effort by African critical philosophy to assert itself as a discipline dedicated to emancipatory philosophy which moves away from the strangleholds of ethnology and ideology. It is then clear that critical theory is also grappled with on the continent in the different forms of philosophy aiming for the emancipation of people.

As alluded to in the end of the section on community psychology, some psychologists, for example, Lazarus (1988) and Prilleltensky (2003) are critically aware of the conditions that keep people in non-equitable relation to others. An approach to psychology has emerged from this critical awareness, known as critical psychology, which deals with issues of power, well-being and liberation (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Hook, 2004a).

3.5.2 Critical Psychology

Critical psychology is described as an approach to psychology, rather than a theory (Hook, 2004a). In that sense the critical psychology approach is to be understood as a different orientation to psychology itself, and to the practice of psychology. It is through its explicit interest in the ways that power influences action and discourse that critical psychology can be distinguished from mainstream psychology (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). The elimination of oppression, ultimately, and reduction, when total elimination fails, is the goal to which critical psychology is committed.

The critical approach to psychology brings into the field of psychology an acknowledgement of the values underlying the work of the psychologist, active promotion of the acceptance

of diversity and working towards equality through social transformation (Visser, 2007). However, a clear distinction between critical psychology and mainstream psychology is not possible because of developments in both fields. At a crude level of analysis, the perception about mainstream psychology is that it is not bound to a certain historical context. The perception further exists that mainstream psychology is not influenced by culture and that it concerns itself with scientific methods of discovering stable, psychological capacities in human beings (Blackman & Walkerdine, 2001). These distinctions are offered just for argument's sake because not all mainstream psychology approaches display such characteristics.

After describing critical psychology as a "bad attitude: a disrespect for authority, an uneasy suspicion that something is wrong", Collins (2004, p. 22) offers a set of principles in an attempt to characterise, instead of define, the broad approach of critical psychology. The first principle is that critical psychology is ethical practice that is in principle outraged at the suffering, violence and neglect in the world. Secondly, critical psychology attempts to understand people in their social and material context. That is why critical psychology operates within a transdisciplinary framework. Thirdly, critical psychology is a "sustained and systematic attempt to transform through critical analysis" (Collins, 2004, p. 23). The target of this transformation is not just the individual, like in most mainstream psychology, but also communities and whole societies.

In critical psychology the concept of power is central. Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) define power as the existence of the capacity and opportunity that the self, others or groups have to satisfy or to prevent the fulfilling

of personal, relational or collective needs. This definition implies that all persons and collectives possess power to fulfill needs, but also have power to obstruct the fulfilling of others' needs. Power is thus conceptualised as a combination of the ability and opportunity a person or group has, or does not have, to influence the course of events (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

The nature of power is such that its operations cannot always be detected. Sometimes the presence of power is explicit but in other contexts it is very subtle. For example, the internalisation of norms is one way in which power exerts its influence in subtle ways. Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 100) refer to Noam Chomsky's assertion that people do not always need to be policed by their government "because people police themselves through the internalisation of norms and regulations". Although a clear concept, the evasive nature of power makes it difficult to deal with because we can even internalise norms that are counterproductive to our own well-being and that restrict our choices.

Three uses of power are distinguished by Prilleltensky & Nelson (2002), namely: to strive for well-being, to oppress or to resist marginalisation. The context and use of power can determine whether a person or group seeks well-being, engages in oppression or resists domination.

Empowerment is a term often used when power is discussed. Empowerment refers to processes as well as outcomes; therefore empowerment is not only a product. In capturing this complex view, Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) describe empowerment as the obtaining, producing or enabling of power. The other side of the coin, disempowerment, will

then be the non-obtaining, non-producing and disenabling of power.

Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) refer to research on the processes of empowerment that indicates that emancipatory actions by individuals only follow when they have obtained a strong awareness of their own oppression and disempowerment. The task of critical psychology, in respect of this point, is then to assist as far possible in the processes of psychological and political awareness-raising.

In critical psychology there is no tension in engaging with the political and the psychological at the same time, in pursuit of the liberation of oppressed people (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). This is because the personal and the political are intertwined.

In the practice of critical psychology, practitioners should be aware of the need for *depowerment* (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). *Depowerment* means that practitioners should share their power and knowledge for the development of more equal working relationships with the oppressed people they are working with (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). It is acknowledged that people are always in relations of power. Critical psychology strives to find the balance in how power is used constructively.

Prilleltensky and Fox (2001) argue that critical psychology in certain respects is actually a return to what people want from psychology, namely to be able to express their needs in concrete terms, and to understand their situations in order to be able to move forward with a sense of control and meaning in how they relate to others. This understanding of critical psychology negates a rigid, essentialist discussion about

differences between critical and mainstream psychology, because such a discussion may turn out to be about artificial differences.

The concepts of ameliorative and transformative interventions (Fox & Prilleltensky, 2001; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005) indicate the overlaps and differences between mainstream and critical psychology. Ameliorative interventions refer to the promotion of individual and group well-being but with little or no attention to issues of power. Both critical and mainstream psychology operate at this level of assisting individuals, groups and communities to deal with difficult circumstances. Transformative interventions also have the promotion of well-being as aim but focus on the changes in power relations and societal structures needed to eliminate oppression. Again, both critical and mainstream psychology can be found to operate at the transformative level of intervention.

Painter and Terre Blanche (2004) come to the conclusion that South African psychology in the main continues to be ameliorative rather than transformative. However, they concede that in the work of some South African psychologists (for example, Lazarus, 1988; 2007; Pretorius-Heuchert & Ahmed, 2001) there are definitive movements towards the practice of transformative interventions and research.

In summary, critical psychology amplifies the political nature of the practice of psychology (Hook, 2004a). When combining such insights with community psychology, a theoretical framework offers itself.

3.6 CRITICAL COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical community psychology is not a new term, as it was used already by Davidson et al. (2006), and Viljoen et al., (2007). As early as 1988 a thorough discussion was held by a South African psychologist about the need to include tenets of critical theory in the theory, research and practice of community psychology (Lazarus, 1988). Given the social and political context of South Africa at the time, the argument for a critical community psychology was groundbreaking in many respects. Some South African psychologists continued to bring together critical theory and community psychology (Naidoo et al., 2007; Seedat et al., 1988; Seedat, Duncan & Lazarus, 2003; Seedat et al., 2004; Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004; Pretorius-Heuchert & Ahmed, 2001). Such a tendency, of infusing community psychology with critical approaches, was also noted in the work of some psychologists in other parts of the African continent such as Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Botswana (Lazarus et al., 2006; Seedat & Lazarus, 2006).

Internationally and in recent times a definitive shift towards critical psychology values, practice and research is noted in the latest work by foremost contemporary community psychologist, Isaac Prilleltensky and his co-authors (Fox & Prilleltensky, 2001; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Prilleltensky, 2009a,b,c; Prilleltensky 2008; Prilleltensky, 2003; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Prilleltensky et al., 2007). Through the creation of a criterion, *psychopolitical validity*, Prilleltensky overtly positions community psychology in the critical domain where the analysis of power and power relations are foregrounded in the work of critical community psychologists. He advocates a definitive

shift from amelioration to transformative action that works towards systemic change, not just individual wellness.

Although Prilleltensky is very prominent in the field of building critical community psychology, it is not an entirely new field. Painter and Terre Blanche (2004) and Stevens (2007) indicate that critical community psychology has been developing over quite some time in Latin American countries. In such Latin American countries, community psychology is associated with critical disciplines such as radical social psychology, liberation psychology and critical social scientific thinking. The Puerto Rican scholar, Irma Serrano-Garcia, in particular, is known for her explicit location of community psychology in social change initiatives which may be considered by some to be political involvement rather than psychological work (Serrano-Garcia, 1998; Serrano-Garcia, Lopez & Rivera-Medina, 1987; Serrano-Garcia & Lopez-Sanchez, 1991). Because of the commonalities in political and economic conditions between South Africa and many Latin American countries, Painter and Terreblanche (2004) encourage South African critical community psychologists to become more aware of the work of community psychologists in Latin America.

Critical approaches are acknowledged as providing a healthy investigative curiosity about the distribution and uses of power (Davidson et al., 2006; Viljoen & Eskell-Blokland, 2007). Critical community psychology therefore is concerned with psychosocial barriers which are analysed from a political understanding of how society functions. These barriers include poverty, inequality and unequal access to resources (Seedat & Lazarus, 2006). Such barriers are recognised as strong influences on the mental health development of communities (Lazarus et al., 2006).

Critical community psychology encourages efforts to analyse and intentionally resist sources of oppression. Social action, within a critical community psychology approach, is explicitly influenced by a drive to address injustice and to curb the abuse of unequal power relations (Prilleltensky, 2009b).

I chose to work from a critical perspective towards community psychology in this study. The reason for this choice is that this study is interested in the experiences of the ǂKhomani San school community regarding education support services. As explained earlier, this community has had a long history of dispossession and historical trauma which mirrors the history of indigenous communities elsewhere (Duran & Duran, 1995; Lazarus, 2004; Lazarus et al., 2009). The ǂKhomani San are still suffering from the effects of oppression in the form of their forced removal from their land (Chennells, 2007a). Furthermore, with most members of the ǂKhomani San school community living in dire poverty, this vulnerable position brings issues of power to the fore in the community's relations with service providers, of whom government is the main provider. Therefore *critical community psychology* offers the theoretical space and vocabulary through which to analyse this community's experience of education service provision.

I concur with Viljoen et al. (2007) in their description of critical community psychology. Critical community psychology endorses empowerment from a complex, political understanding of people and their contexts without assuming expertise and overlordship over any community. In the context of this study with the ǂKhomani San, I am aware that, although I worked in and with this community, I still cannot say that I am an expert about this community.

Communities are complex, therefore not able to be fully understood and known in full.

The aim of this study was to establish the factors that should be kept in mind when education support services are rendered to the ‡Khomani San, and to propose a model for appropriate education support to this particular community. The critical community psychology lens guided me such that I was aware of the complexity of the community as such and of the issues that they face. Furthermore, critical community psychology allowed me the theoretical space to be critical in my analysis of phenomena and to be specifically alert to the role of power in the delivery of education support services to this community.

3.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter the policy which guides the provision of education support services in South Africa was analysed and looked at in relation to international practice, in the US and UK. A link between education support service policy and community psychology was then explored. Community psychology was discussed followed by a discussion on critical theory. The combination of community psychology and critical theory formed the theoretical framework, *critical community psychology*, chosen for this study.

The following chapter deals with the methodology followed in this research.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Towards the end of Chapter 3 I explained the theoretical framework which guided this research. Critical community psychology, as theoretical framework, influenced most of the components of this study. The current chapter lays out the research methodology that was followed, within this framework.

In this chapter the qualitative research approach that was chosen for this study is explained. I also explain how a qualitative approach is acceptable within a critical community psychology framework. Given that this research was done with an indigenous community, the research approach chosen kept the sensitivities regarding such communities in mind. Although a participatory mode of research was followed within the qualitative approach, I explain why a full participatory mode was not reached.

The survey-type research design within a participatory framework is discussed. The two phases; document analysis and semi-structured interviews, through which this design went are explained. I discuss the data collection strategies and instruments used to obtain data. The data analysis strategies are also explained. The efforts at enhancing trustworthiness of the data and analysis are discussed in full.

A section is dedicated to the ethics approach followed in this research. This approach was directly influenced by the

experiences shared by researchers who also worked among indigenous people elsewhere. The University of the Western Cape's ethics statement was used as basis for the ethics statement in this chapter. I indicate how the ethics approach adhered to many principles of the Model Tribal Code preferred by Native American communities (American Indian Law Center, 1999). The chapter is concluded with my critical reflections on the research process that unfolded in this study.

4.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

In this section the discussion is held in two parts. The first part deals with the qualitative approach generally followed. Secondly the participatory approach and the extend to which this research followed it is discussed.

4.2.1 Qualitative Approach

This research describes, interprets, verifies and evaluates data, therefore it generally fits the requirements of a qualitative study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). The qualitative approach was an appropriate choice for this study because the aim of the research led me to describe and interpret the participants' understandings of factors related to education support services delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community.

The choice for a qualitative approach also comes from the realisation that by hearing directly from people about the realities of their lives, research will build the knowledge base in community psychology substantially (Orford, 2008). Stein & Mankowski (2004) express the idea that people's

voices are to be heard through qualitative research. However, this amplification of people's voices through qualitative research in critical community psychology does not mean that the researcher's power disappears. The researcher is still leading the processes of asking, witnessing, interpreting and knowing (Stein & Mankowski, 2004).

The methods of research in critical community psychology are influenced by the methods used in psychology in general (Bhana & Kanjee, 2003). The methods of mainstream psychology tend to be quantitative and reliant on statistical techniques (Orford, 2008). However, given the nature of critical community psychology, the emphasis on quantitative methods evident in mainstream psychology are not always appropriate.

Qualitative research methods are recognised as popular ways in which to do research in the field of community psychology (Orford, 2008). In fact, some scholars argue that the qualitative methods used in community psychology are not yet finite and can therefore still be expanded as the discipline develops (Bhana & Kanjee, 2003; Dalton et al., 2007; Kelly & Van der Riet, 2003; Orford, 2008; Swart & Bowman, 2007). It is clear, however, that there is a place for both qualitative and quantitative methods when doing research in community psychology (Bhana & Kanjee, 2003; Dalton et al., 2007; Orford, 2008).

4.2.2 Participatory Approach

Guba and Lincoln (2005) note that there has been a very clear movement in the social sciences towards methods that

are leaning more towards participatory, interpretive and critical approaches. This research was conceptualised and, in part, conducted while I was still involved in a direct, active education support service delivery capacity as educational psychologist to the school of the ‡Khomani San community. I therefore argue that, in line with the expectation of active partnerships with the community who will be affected by the knowledge produced through research (Bhana, 2008; Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004), this research shows that particular characteristic of a participatory approach. Furthermore, it is my contention that the knowledge produced, in particular through the suggested model for education support, will contribute towards an improvement of the conditions under which the ‡Khomani San school community live. This improvement in conditions may come about as a result of the implementation of the model from the planning stages until intervention through education support services. It is another expectation of a participatory approach that the research will contribute to an improvement in the lives of the research participants (Bhana, 2008; Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). Based on these two central characteristics I argue that the research satisfied at least some of the criteria to be characterised as participatory in approach. In choosing a participatory approach to inform this research I tried to avoid some of the criticism that research is sometimes done in a disrespectful manner in indigenous communities (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Smith, 2005).

Kelly and Van der Riet (2003) state that researchers and participants in participative research are jointly engaged in enquiry regarding a mutual interest. In this research, the delivery of education support services to the ‡Khomani San school community was the mutual interest of the researcher

and participants. Through a participatory approach, a sense of shared control over the project is conveyed (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). By allowing research participants some form of control, especially the freedom to answer in whatever manner they felt comfortable with, I strove to create conditions for emancipation, democracy and empowerment.

The notion of control figures strongly in the modes of participation described by Cornwall (2003). Cornwall (2003) talks about a continuum of participation modes. This continuum of participatory approaches starts with *functional* participation at the conservative end, followed by *instrumental* and *consultative* modes of participation. At the radical end of the continuum is *transformative* participation. The ideal movement is progressively towards the radical end, away from the conservative end of the continuum.

Functional participation occurs where people are very minimally involved in research projects. This involvement is not solicited because researchers are truly focussed on the people as true research participants, but rather because the people's involvement lends legitimacy to the project (Cornwall, 2003). In this study the functional mode of participation was in the consultations held with leaders from the ǂKhomani San community to obtain their support for the research. One of the leaders did not live in the school community of Andriesvale whilst the other one, though living in Andriesvale, did not have school-going children. None of them took part in the data collection through semi-structured interviews. However, their participation in the phase before data collection was functional because it provided legitimacy to the research project.

Cornwall (2003) describes the *instrumental* mode of participation as research where community members' contributions are included in the research aims. Some responsibilities regarding the research process are even delegated to some community members. The instrumental mode of participation in this study was pursued through the inclusion of two groups of participants as interviewees. One of the ǂKhomani San members carried responsibilities as my research assistant during the data collection phase in their community. He also had responsibilities as organiser of the community gathering for the feedback and validation phase afterwards.

The *consultative* mode of participation in research entails engagement with the community as a stakeholder in the process (Cornwall, 2003). As stakeholders the community is acknowledged as a partner for whom the outcomes of the research are equally important. The participation of the community members includes their sharing of ideas about issues affecting them but goes beyond such contributions. In the consultative mode the main outcome of research is the enhancement of the community's awareness and understanding of the issues facing them. This study displayed the consultative mode of participation in the feedback and validation exercise. The aim of that exercise was to enhance the awareness and understanding by participants regarding education support services delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community. By asking for their inputs about the findings I also recognised the participants as equal partners with a vested interest in the trustworthiness of this study.

In the *transformative* mode of participation, participants are first and foremost recognised as rights-bearing citizens.

However, Cornwall (2003), and Gaventa and Cornwall (2006) do not regard this mere recognition as the distinguishing characteristic of this mode, which is the full participation mode of research. In this mode, participants' critical consciousness is followed by the employment of their agency towards transformation. Citizen participation in the transformation of their respective communities is the hallmark of the full transformative mode of participation in research (Cornwall, 2003; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006). Participants in transformative research are active in changing from harmful modes of interaction and non-productive intervention to helpful interactions and productive interventions.

Transformation of the community within which the research is done is central in the participatory framework (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006). The outcomes of this transformation ought to be development and problem alleviating (Kelly & Van der Riet, 2003). In community-based participatory research research, action and education are interconnected goals (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). In social science research there is very rarely a final answer as to when it is safe for the community or researcher to act on the findings of the research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). This means that researchers and participants cannot always wait until the end of the research project for social action to start.

Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) acknowledge that very few research projects attain the transformative mode of participation. This study is no exception. I did not reach full participation in this research project. Participants were not yet engaged with the aim to unleash their agency towards transformation of their own and others' practices with regards to education support service provision to the

‡Khomani San school community. However, because the findings of the research were presented and discussed at the end of the research, the seeds of transformation were planted.

In terms of the continuum of participatory research described by Cornwall (2003), my study can therefore be classified as being in the conservative middle. This self-classification is made because of the strong presence of functional and instrumental modes of participation. However, I do acknowledge a slight leaning towards the progressive end with the consultative mode of participation through the feedback and validation exercise of the feedback workshops.

Eventual withdrawal by the researcher is a natural consequence of most research projects, also of participatory research (Kelly & Van der Riet, 2003). After my withdrawal the ‡Khomani San school community and its education support providers will have to take responsibility for their respective roles in education support services to this community. The model proposed in this study will therefore have to be worked through with the relevant roleplayers to enable my withdrawal in a socially just manner.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research was designed as a survey-type research within a participatory framework. Through this design, a survey was pursued in a participatory manner to establish the factors to be considered in the delivery of education support services to the ‡Khomani San school community.

Thomas (2009) describes several characteristics of a survey design. A research aim guides such a research design, like all designs do. Data are collected from more than one source by posing similar questions to the sources. The following phases of survey were followed as data collection strategies in this research: *document analysis* and *semi-structured interviews*. These two strategies were pursued simultaneously.

The use of documents as data sources has gained in popularity after a long decline (McCulloch, 2007). Documents are regarded as useful sources through which to find description of phenomena as this survey-type research set out to do (Denscombe, 2010).

The use of semi-structured interviews is a regular occurrence in survey-type research (McCulloch, 2007). These methods are further discussed under Data Collection Methods and Instruments.

4.4 ACCESSING DOCUMENTS AND RECRUITMENT OF PARTICIPANTS

In both the document analysis and semi-structured interview phases of the study, purposive and availability sampling was used to obtain relevant documents (phase 1) and participants (phase 2). Purposive sampling occurs where specified samples are drawn from potential data sources (Stake, 2005). In this research the inclusion of data sources, in the form of documents and participants, was because of their utility in relation to the research aim. Availability sampling refers to the availability of data sources in time and space (Stake, 2005). The availability of document sources in this study

stemmed from what government officials availed to me. The research participants' physical availability at times and dates set determined much of their inclusion in the research.

As summarised in the first chapter, relevant government officials were approached for consent to access the two sets of documents under their control. In the Department of Education the officials who consented were the district head of education and the unit head of education support services in that district. The chairperson of the Steering Committee for ǂKhomani San matters also gave his consent that the secretary of the Steering Committee avail the documents to me. An administrative official from the Department of Education collected the two sets of documents and posted it to me. I accepted in good faith what the officials provided to me.

For clarity regarding the purposive and availability inclusion of participants I repeat the contextual background already described in the first chapter. The ǂKhomani San participants in this research were mostly from a school community in the southern Kalahari (the town of Andriesvale some 200 kilometres from Upington, Northern Cape, South Africa). The children attend school in the town of Askham approximately 20 kilometres from Andriesvale. From the school community of Andriesvale the ǂKhomani San participants were approached based on their known status as parents to school-going children.

Other non-ǂKhomani San participants were selected because of their known involvement in the ǂKhomani San school community as salaried government officials. They were telephonically approached by me before I went to the Northern Cape for their interviews. Some logistical

arrangements, such as meetings spaces and appointment times, were made easier by administrative assistance from either participants themselves or from their administrative staff.

Table 4.1 indicate the people who were included as research participants (or consultants, as Lazarus, 2004, calls them in her study among Native American communities):

Table 4.1: Research Participants

11 ‡Khomani San community members	9 were parents with school-going children, among the parents was a traditional healer and an employee of SASI. 2 youth members of the ‡Khomani San participated. Both were employees of SASI. One of them acted as my research assistant.
13 Non-‡Khomani San participants who work closely with the ‡Khomani San school community	2 Teachers, 2 school hostel supervisors, 1 school principal, 1 social worker, 1 local government official, 1 community development worker of the local government 1 political office bearer who is a past teacher to the ‡Khomani San learners, 4 Department of Education district officials that included: 2 circuit managers, 1 psychologist,

	1 unit manager of the Education Support Services and Inclusive Education unit

I believe that these participants were able to identify, verify and describe the needs, determinants and other relevant key issues with regards to education support services rendered to the ǂKhomani San. They therefore qualified as key informants. The main reason for eliciting the views of these specific participants lies in the participatory research assertion that *actual* practices of particular people in a particular setting are studied, not abstract practices (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). In this study the participants all have experience of education support services as either providers of services or as clients of such services. Their real experiences as providers or clients give weight to their views and thus their views ought to be treated respectfully. The views of these participants were taken as authentic sources of knowledge and experience (Stein & Mankowski, 2004), thus providing rich data for in-depth analysis.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS

The methods of data collection occurred in two phases; phase 1: document analysis and phase 2: semi-structured interviews. According to McCulloch (2007) document analysis is a form of data gathering in which documents are used as sources of data. The documents can be from various origins, like the government documents used in this study. Semi-structured interviews are interviews in which participants are expected to respond to a schedule of open-ended questions (Stake, 2005).

An analysis framework (Appendix 2) was used as instrument to guide the reading of the documents. A semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 3) was the instrument used to guide the interviews with participants.

Both instruments were piloted and redrafted based on the feedback from the piloting process before application. The piloting processes and actual application of the instruments are discussed in the following sections.

4.5.1 Phase One: Document analysis

A draft of the document analysis framework, in English, was sent to three academic colleagues for their scrutiny and they declared it suitable for the purpose it was intended for.

After this piloting process and after making the relevant changes, the document analysis framework was finalised (Appendix 2). The document analysis framework was prefaced with space to indicate the kind of document that was analysed and the name of the official who granted consent. It consisted of a set of 16 questions. These questions included questions regarding the types of education support services rendered to the ǂKhomani San school community. Information about the people and institutions that provided such services was obtained through a question. The document analysis framework also tried to determine on whose request education support services were delivered. Indications of the needs of the ǂKhomani San school community were determined. Specific questions were included to determine if there were indications of the extend to which ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge was recognised or utilised in the delivery of education support services.

The application of the document analysis framework was conducted by reading each document together with the document analysis framework. One set of 14 documents consisted mainly of minutes of meetings of the ǂKhomani San Steering Committee (an interdepartmental body established by the office of the province's premier to try and co-ordinate government service delivery to the ǂKhomani San) held between October 2005 and November 2007. This set of documents was obtained from the district office of the Department of Local Government and Housing which acted as the secretariat of the Steering Committee. These documents are listed in Appendix 4.

Another set of 14 documents was obtained from the district office of the Department of Education. This set consisted of a response to the Human Rights Committee to allegations of human rights abuses, plans of interventions, reports of interventions and a report of survey research undertaken to determine the extent that learners at the school were affected by inappropriate sexual exposure and their perception of hostel life. Like the other set, this set of documents is listed in Appendix 4.

The aim of the document analysis was to look for indicators that would point towards how relevant education support services could be rendered and to see what the needs of the ǂKhomani San school community appear to be. The document analysis also alerted me to key issues (educational needs of and education support received by the ǂKhomani San school community) that formed the basis for the interviews in the second phase.

4.5.2 Phase Two: Semi-Structured Interviews

Drafts of the semi-structured interview protocol, information sheet and consent form (all in Afrikaans) were given to two principals of rural schools with parent communities very similar to the ǂKhomani San community in respect of education and levels of poverty. These two principals, four of their teachers and three parents gave their comments about the suitability of language and concepts used. After the documents were returned by post, I effected the changes suggested. These changes entailed the use of less formal language, the minimal use of academic jargon and the inclusion of some descriptive phrases.

After making the relevant changes, following the piloting phase, the information sheet and consent form were printed and bound as one document (Appendix 1). Two copies of the consent form were attached to the information sheet. One copy of the consent form was to be kept by the participant with the information sheet attached and the other copy, duly completed, was to be detached by me after obtaining written consent from participants.

The interview schedule (Appendix 3) had a section with space for the participant's details which included the group of participants he/she could be classified into. Included in the twelve questions was one in which the participant had to indicate examples of the kinds of services she/he regarded as education support services. This question appeared just after the introduction and explanation of the term *education support.* The aim was to obtain an idea of participants' understandings of the concept in concrete terms. Many questions were similar to the questions on the document analysis framework. Participants were asked to indicate

their perceptions of successful and less successful education support interventions. These questions were included to get an indication about the ideal kinds of education support services as perceived by participants. I expected that responses to those questions would point towards modes of delivery or types of services to replicate, adapt or even avoid in future.

The semi-structured interviews were held with a wide range of stakeholders, including: ǂKhomani San community members (healer, adults, youth), government officials working with the community, and non-governmental organisations (NGO) representatives who work in the San community (participants are anonymously listed as Appendix 5). The interviews focused on further exploring the indicators for relevant education support. A ǂKhomani San youth, who also happened to be an employee of SASI, was contracted by me to walk with and introduce me to potential ǂKhomani San participants in the community where they live.

Data collection that involves human participants can only be done within the confines of money and time (Denscombe, 2010). My specific time and financial determinants for this phase of data collection were leave obtained from my place of work, and money available for travel.

All twenty-four interviews were conducted one to one in Afrikaans. The interviewees were grouped into three according to their location. The first group consisted of eight government employees living and working in the Kalahari, as well as one former teacher of the school at Askham. At the time of the interview she was a political party employee. The second group consisted of four district

officials of the Department of Education. In the last group, eleven ǂKhomani San participants living in Andriesvale were interviewed.

With the information sheet, consent form and interview schedule in hand I approached each participant individually. Participants, even those with whom I had fixed appointments, were familiarised with the study through the information sheet. The consent form (Appendix 1) was explained as well as my use of a digital voice recorder. Consent was obtained in writing. Following the signing of the form, I kept the signed consent form. I then handed the information sheet and other copy of the consent form to the participant.

The thirteen non-ǂKhomani San participants were all interviewed in offices at their respective places of work. The eleven ǂKhomani San participants were approached on foot at their homes (eight) and their place of work (three South African San Institute officials) where the interviews were conducted.

Nearly all interviews, (22), were guided by the questions on the semi-structured protocol and the participants responded in the sequence of the questions. In the ǂKhomani San village I randomly identified homes where there were visible signs of occupants present and the research assistant took me to those homes. The reason for this mode of operation was that I used my unfamiliarity with most of the community members to the advantage of the sampling process. I furthermore argued that the research assistant's familiarity with his fellow community members could have led to *him* choosing some and omitting others for personal reasons.

The research assistant introduced me to the potential participant. I described the purpose of the visit, obtained consent and conducted the interview. The semi-structured interview schedule was applied.

The last two ǂKhomani San participants, out of their own volition, responded in their own narrative-based fashion. They were the traditional healer and a woman working for SASI. With these last two participants I did not need to guide the interviews with the schedule. They gave responses that answered to the items on the schedule. I only needed to probe for clarity and, in both cases, I had to ask the questions about their perception regarding the inclusion of ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge in the delivery of education support services.

The possible reasons for this state of affairs, that is, narrative-based responses as opposed to schedule-driven responses, are that these two participants used their positions of power to assert control in the interview situation. Furthermore I suspect that these two participants may simply have trusted me enough to engage in the informal narrative-based responses. The fact that I obtained three unique themes from their transcripts may be regarded as proof of the existence of trust. Those three themes gave more in-depth perceptions about the ǂKhomani San community. More about these themes are revealed in the findings and discussions.

4.5.3 Feedback workshops

After the data analysis was done and findings made, I conducted three separate feedback workshops. One workshop was held with each of the following groups of participants:

the Department of Education district officials, the government employees who live and work in the Kalahari, and the ǂKhomani San school community. From the original four Department of Education district official participants three attended; one circuit manager, the psychologist and the unit manager. The group of Kalahari-based government employees had five attendees out of the nine participants; the school hostel supervisor, two teachers, the social worker and the community development worker. In the workshop with the ǂKhomani San school community, eight of the original eleven participants were present and another three members also attended although they did not participate.

The format of the workshops were the same. I shared the findings which was written out on large sheets of paper. Each finding was introduced and the attendees were invited to comment about the specific finding.

In the following section the data analysis strategies are discussed.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

The strategies followed in the document analysis, the analysis of the semi-structured interviews and the feedback obtained during the workshops are outlined in this section.

4.6.1 Phase One: Document Analysis

Documents were selected on the basis of their relevance to the research topic. Therefore, the documents had to be documentations of work done among and with the ǂKhomani San. The documents were then listed in a chronological

table that did not indicate a specific hierarchy of importance (Appendix 4).

The document analysis followed a simplified form of classification (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2005) where the documents were scrutinised with the guidance of the document analysis framework. At a first level of analysis I read the documents repeatedly and underlined similar words and phrases that appeared in the documents. Two broad themes that are connected to the aim of this research were focussed on: (1) indications of the educational support needs *of*, and, (2) indications of the educational support received *by* the ǂKhomani San school community. These two themes were marked as they appeared in the documents. A process of further scrutiny was followed with the document analysis framework where I worked with the documenters' own evaluations of the success, relevance and suitability of the education support rendered. As an additional strategy I counted the numbers of times that themes came up in the documents. This strategy also helped to handle the information in the documents as sources of data. When all the questions on the document analysis framework were exhausted, I drafted a report of the findings.

4.6.2 Phase Two: Analysis of the semi-structured interviews

A thematic analysis of the transcripts of the interviews was followed (Johnson, 2005). This type of analysis organises the raw data by breaking large bodies of text down to smaller bits such as sentences, stories or even words. Transcriptions of the voice-recorded interviews were made, verbatim. These transcriptions were used as representations

of the data. The data was read several times. I made notes on the transcriptions as well as underlining and highlighting prominent comments of participants. As the reading was intensified, possible categories and interpretations were noted. The identification of general categories or themes and patterns was done before integration and summary of the data were done (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). The research aim and research questions provided the broad frame for the analysis.

The use of two sets of data gave me the opportunity for method triangulation. Triangulation is "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatibility of an observation and interpretation" (Stake, 2005, p. 454). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) further build on that understanding of triangulation in stating that it is the display of more than one reality or more than one way in which something is represented. In line with the qualitative nature of this research my interpretations were informed by the repetition of content by different participants or/and in different documents. When the same information was stated by more than one participant, and/or where it appeared in more than one document, I considered the information to be important enough to include in the findings. However, this method of analysis did not exclude useful information that was stated even by a single participant or a single document. Through the inclusion of such data I acknowledge the richness of the data accumulated.

4.6.3 Analysis of data obtained in the feedback workshops

During the feedback workshops the comments from the workshop participants were recorded by me as insertions at

relevant spaces on the sheets of paper prepared for the workshops. In short, workshop participants agreed with the findings, except for one case. This disagreement occurred where the ǂKhomani San workshop participants refuted their own assertion that their indigenous knowledge is taken into consideration when education support services are delivered to them. After provided with the documents' assertion that the ǂKhomani San's indigenous knowledge is not recognised in the delivery of education support services, the ǂKhomani San workshop participants agreed with the documents. They provided an explanation, discussed later, that they are prone to tell an outsider what they thought the outsider wanted to hear.

4.7 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE DATA

Mertens (2009) reports the following strategies to be followed when trying to ensure the trustworthiness of data and research methods. Substantial engagement with participants is one of the strategies. The involvement of peers in certain stages of the research is another strategy. By using self-reflection during the research process, researchers keep themselves awake to the pitfalls. The last strategy is where participants' opinions about the trustworthiness of findings are obtained.

In compliance with the trustworthiness principle of *substantial engagement,* I can confirm that, three years before the formal commencement of the study, I was closely involved in this community as education service provider of the Department of Education. Following that period, I continued in this role during the research proposal formulation and research process for another three years

before taking up employment elsewhere. For the rest of the period of study, two and a half years, I again visited that community between once and three times a year. In this study I spent as much time with participants as I could, given the constraints of leave from my new place of work. During the eventual data collection stage of interviewing I took care not to rush any of the participants. As earlier indicated, I previously worked as a provider of education support to the area where the ǂKhomani San reside. I therefore had more than a passing familiarity with the geographical area and some participants.

The principle of reflexivity made me realise that this familiarity could be both a negative and a positive factor. One negative side to this familiarity could be that I may not have been as observant as a novice to the area probably would have been and thus may have missed valuable clues. On the positive side I have gained entry and permission where others may have struggled. Furthermore, the literature sensitised me to be careful in my engagement with the members of this school community. The psychological effects of colonialism on the ǂKhomani San school community had to be respectfully negotiated so that my work as researcher did not become an imposition on participants.

The principle of peer involvement was especially adhered to during the data analysis process. I consulted my research supervisor regularly during the analysis process. She received different versions of the analysis reports and advised me. In particular, she advised that ever deeper levels of analysis be followed. After the data analysis process with the supervisor, I gave the findings to a senior university colleague unacquainted with my study. He also had the use of the file of transcripts and the files of

documents used in the document analysis. The purpose of his involvement was to look at the findings and raw data to alert me to mismatches between findings and data. This colleague did not disagree with my findings and the quotes of raw data used to substantiate it. By doing this I tried to subscribe to Mertens' (2009) notion of peer involvement.

Lastly, I presented the findings to the three groups of participants during the feedback workshops. This member checking validated nearly all of the findings except for the finding about the ‡Khomani San school community members' disagreement with their earlier perception about the recognition of their indigenous knowledge. As indicated earlier, they eventually agreed with the documents that their indigenous knowledge is not considered when education support services are delivered to the school community. I regarded the feedback session not just as enhancement of trustworthiness but also as an ethical approach.

4.8 ETHICS

In this section I explain the approach to the research ethics followed in this study. This approach took into account the indigenous status of the ‡Khomani San by drawing from literature on other indigenous groups. The ethics statement which guided this research is fully outlined. The Model Tribal Research Code preferred by Native American groups (American Indian Law Center, 1999) is also related to my research.

4.8.1 Approach to research ethics

Guba and Lincoln (2005) argue that in social sciences there has been a shift away from research approaches that put control solely in the hands of the researcher. The approaches grounded in positivist and postpositivist paradigms are mostly guilty of that. As explained above, a participatory framework was used in this research. The implication was that control could not only be my preserve as researcher. I had to attempt to share control with the participants of the research project. Furthermore, some of the research inquiry touched upon issues that participants may have deemed to be sacred; in terms of this specific community's cultural beliefs. These issues or "sacred spaces" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 200) were in the control of the community participants as they could determine how much to let me, the outsider, know.

This brought the issue of research ethics into sharp focus. Within the participatory framework, the issue of ethical conduct is a largely intrinsic process, located within the participants and researchers as co-creators of the unfolding research project. Guba and Lincoln (2005, p. 196) state that ethics in a participatory framework "tilt toward revelation" rather than "deception". This explicit statement about the nature of ethics in this approach had an influence on my approach in this study, as evidenced in the ethical statement formulated. I thus chose not to deceive participants into believing that I was looking for other information than the information stated in the consent document and information sheet. Although expected of all research, I state this commitment to transparency explicitly because of my awareness of the vulnerabilities of the community involved.

Research with indigenous communities sharply highlights areas of contention between the researcher and research participants (Bishop, 2005), more so than with other participants. One particular area concerns the initiation of research, namely questions about the initiator of the research. The issue about the benefits of the research is also raised, together with accountability. As a researcher in this indigenous community I also had to be strongly aware that this research will have to give an adequate depiction of the social realities of the ǂKhomani San.

The theoretical framework guiding this study, critical community psychology, made me further aware of the power relations between me and the ǂKhomani San school community. This power relation was positively biased towards me as outsider. It means that, in terms of the research project, I had the most power as the one who initiated the research. My powerful position is further accentuated by the fact that I stand to gain possible academic benefits from the project for which my accountability lies with a university unknown to most participants. The ethical use of this uneven power lies in my awareness and willingness to depict the social realities of the ǂKhomani San school community as fairly as possible.

Given the postcolonial context of the ǂKhomani San, I looked for guidance from researchers in other postcolonial communities. Therefore, in addition to the ethical principles in my profession as psychologist, I consulted the research code preferred by Native Americans when research is done in those communities (American Indian Law Center, 1999). The rationale for this was that I had to embed myself in a research mode that was always respectful of the indigenous people's collective and individual experiences and

knowledge. The Model Tribal Research Code recognises that many mistakes were made when research was undertaken in Native American communities. Issues raised in this code concern the lack of professional ethics, failure to apply courtesy and failure to show sufficient respect for human dignity. Out of these negative experiences, the Model Tribal Research Code was developed to give Native Americans full control over how they expect researchers to conduct themselves. They assume the fundamental responsibility for their governance and protection. This research code is part of the efforts to protect themselves against potential harmful and hurtful research practices (American Indian Law Center, 1999).

The ǂKhomani San is a community with a particular hurtful past and present. I therefore thought it appropriate to consult the Model Tribal Research Code. The issue of obtaining consent (the Model Tribal Research Code states that a permit must be obtained in their context) is one very clear expression of respect and I abided by it by obtaining verbal consent from elected leaders in the ǂKhomani San community. The information that the code prescribes to be included in a consent application stresses the transparent nature of ethics (Guba & Lincoln, 2005) to be adhered to as part of a participatory research approach.

The Model Tribal Research Code (American Indian Law Center, 1999) expects the following main aspects in a consent application: a description of the nature of the research, the type of information sought, justification of why the research should be undertaken, expected benefits of the research, ownership status of data and specimens, opportunities for explanation of the research, opportunities to respond to such explanations, and, very explicitly, where

employment opportunities arise as part of the research, tribal members must have first priority to be chosen. This code reflects a commitment to a participatory approach when research is conducted in an indigenous community (Lazarus, 2004; 2006).

As part of the requirements of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape, my research proposal first had to be scrutinised by the Ethics committee of the Faculty. The necessary ethical clearance was obtained in August 2006. The ethics statement contained in the proposal and in this chapter was also largely based on the Faculty's guidelines for students (Faculty of Education, 2006).

This ethics statement and the Model Tribal Research Code guided me in the design of the consent form and information letter that I discussed with each participant. In addition, I consulted the following documents: Lazarus' invitation to Native American participants in her Fullbright research project (Lazarus, 2004) and, consent forms and information sheets used by University of Western Cape researchers in various projects (Collett, 2008; Struthers, 2008).
In the following section I provide the actual ethics statement which guided this research.

4.8.2 Ethics statement

The following ethics statement is primarily based on the guidelines issued by the UWC Faculty of Education (2006).

Consent

Everyone participating in this research was asked to engage in the research voluntarily. The invitation to participate

provided detailed information about the aims, importance and methodology of the research. In this way I ensured that participants' consent was informed. In addition, the consent form was in Afrikaans, the dominant language among the ‡Khomani San and other participants.

Right to withdraw

Participants were informed that they could withdraw from participation at any time without giving an explanation. I would have respected the rights of those who could have indicated their withdrawal verbally or non-verbally. However, not one person approached for participation refused or, after taking part, withdrew from participation research.

Vulnerable participants

I took special care to protect the ‡Khomani San participants from any harm because of their status as an indigenous community emerging from a history of dispossession. In order to achieve that aim I refrained from posing questions or making statements that were judgemental or insensitive to their cultural values.

Privacy and confidentiality

The participants' right to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were respected. Therefore no-one was identified and no-one expressed the need to be identified by name.

Recording

Audio tape and digital voice recordings were used in the interviews and for the use of which permission was obtained from the participant. No participant expressed discomfort with the audio recording. After the research is completed and assessed, the tapes and digital audio files will be erased.

Storage and security

The data, in the form of tapes, audio files and transcripts are stored in such a way that it will not get lost, fall into the hands of unauthorised people nor be put in a position that it might divulge confidential information. Ownership of the data rests, for practical storage purposes, with me. Intellectual ownership is understood to belong to the university.

Disclosure

All participants were informed of their right to refusal as well as to the degree of confidentiality with which the material they provided would be handled.

Reporting

The elected representatives of the ǂKhomani San participants, the Communal Property Association, and the South African San Council will be provided with copies of any reports or publications arising from their participation in this research.

Integrity

I attempted to conduct this research to the highest standard. Care was taken not to discriminate based on sex, age, race, religion, status, educational background or physical abilities.

4.8.3 Adherence to the Model Tribal Code Principles

In this study I applied the principles of the Model Tribal research Code (American Indian Law Center, 1999) in the following way. The leaders were fully briefed about the nature of the research, its aims and rationale. It was made clear how I would benefit as a student but also how the report of the research can be used to the benefit of relevant stakeholders like the community, as well as support providers. I made undertakings to return to the community with the findings to enable them to refute or confirm some of the findings. Participants were verbally briefed and provided with a printed information sheet that contained all the information verbally explained. During the research I hired the services of a ‡Khomani San member to act as research assistant and key informant. I held three feedback sessions with the three groups of participants who took part. The feedback session with the ‡Khomani San school community was advertised as an open opportunity which resulted in some other members attending than just the previous participants. Finally, the participatory approach, albeit not optimally or fully pursued, reflects my commitment to the need for research in this context to be inclusive and democratic in nature.

4.9 CRITICAL REFLECTION ON RESEARCH PROCESS

Participatory research designs can be placed on a continuum (Cornwall, 2003). As indicated earlier, there will be a conservative end on the left and a transformative end on the right. After completion of this research project I concede that the project was not on the transformative, full participatory side of the continuum. The conceptualisation of the topic for research arose as a result of my previous employment position that necessitated close working with the ǂKhomani San community. The broad formulation of the research topic was my own work and later shaped by the ethics committee of the Faculty. Similarly, I designed the research project with inputs from my research supervisor. I then obtained agreement from three leaders in the ǂKhomani San community to proceed with the research project. All people approached to participate consented to take part in the research as participants with intimate knowledge of their particular settings, be it government service delivery or as members of the ǂKhomani San community. A member of the ǂKhomani San community acted as research assistant introducing me to people and taking me from dwelling to dwelling for the interviews.

Although regarded as normal duties of the researcher (Stein & Mankowski, 2004), the fact that *I* did the data analysis and interpretation of findings confirms the power advantage that I had. By obtaining feedback about the findings from participants themselves in the feedback sessions with the three groups of participants, their power was also asserted.

The project design and execution can, in summary, be classified as a conservative participatory research approach. However, some elements of the project, such as the leaders'

oral blessing, my more than average familiarity with participants, the use of a ǂKhomani San assistant, and the feedback sessions, drew the project towards the centre of the continuum. I am conscious that most of the power, in the final analysis, remained with me, the researcher.

Although I would have preferred to pursue a more transformative participatory approach, practical challenges made this difficult to achieve. These challenges included lack of time, physical distances and lack of money to buy out more time from work. Literature, however, assured me that full participation by all parties and true transformative actions by all parties are hard to achieve (Cornwall, 2003; Denscombe, 2010; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006; Mertens, 2009; Van der Riet, 2008; Van der Riet & Boettiger, 2009; Von Maltzahn & Van der Riet, 2006).

4.10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter I provided an overview of the research approach, design, process and analysis. A discussion on the approach to ethics and the ethics statement that guided the project rounded off the chapter. The chapter ended with a critical reflection on the research design followed. In summary, this study was qualitative. It followed a survey-type design that was executed in a conservative participatory framework. Useful data was obtained to analise and logical findings, to which a peer agreed, were made. In the following chapter these findings are shared.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This research was pursued as a survey-type research within a conservative participatory framework. The aim was to establish the factors relevant for appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community and, on the basis of that, to propose a model for appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community. In order to reach that aim the following objectives were pursued. The key policy aspects of education support services in the South African context were identified and discussed. A link between community psychology and education support services in the South African context was investigated and found. The implementation of education support services for the ǂKhomani San school community was empirically explored through document analysis and semi-structured interviews. Key government informants responsible for the provision of education support, as well as members of ǂKhomani San school community, participated in these interviews. Within this context, ethical guidelines were formulated to take into account the nature of research in indigenous communities. And finally, in Chapter 6, a model for relevant education support services delivery to the ǂKhomani San school community is proposed.

This chapter presents the findings that were obtained after thematic analysis of the documents and transcripts of the semi-structured interviews. As mentioned in Chapter 4 a total of 28 documents were analysed and 24 people were interviewed. The documents consisted of two sets; one set contained documents (reports, letters and submissions) of

the Department of Education, while the other set contained minutes and reports of the Steering Committee for the ‡Khomani San. The interviewees included 11 members of the ‡Khomani San school community and 13 non-‡Khomani San participants, who in their employment responsibilities, worked with the ‡Khomani San community.

5.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings are presented in a format which is based on the order of questions in the document analysis framework and the semi-structured interview protocol. Where appropriate, findings are illustrated with numbers which indicate frequency and/or percentage of occurrence. Selected quotes from the documents and participant transcripts are provided as substantiation for the findings made.

The first section of findings concerns perceptions of education support services delivered to the ‡Khomani San school community. Still located within this first group of findings are the types of education support already delivered, and the types of education support that participants ideally expected. A second section of findings depicts the agency shown by participants, as well as their awareness of others' agency, in requesting education support services. The third section of findings indicates the perceived needs of the ‡Khomani San school community which should ideally lead to the delivery of education support. Fourthly, I report on the participants' perceptions of successful and unsuccessful education support endeavours. The last section of findings concerns views about the location of ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge in the delivery of education support.

5.2.1 Education support services: Definitions by participants, indications, and perceptions about delivery

Participants understood education support services as all services delivered by the Department of Education, but not excluding other service providers (of the state and non-governmental organisations), that aim to provide relevant support for the attainment of direct or indirect educational goals, to create an enabling education environment.

The documents indicated unequivocally that education support services, in various forms and with varying levels of success, have been delivered to the ‡Khomani San school community. A majority of participants (75%, or 18 out of 24) also agreed that education support services are delivered to the ‡Khomani San. A break-down of the numbers who did not indicate agreement to the perceived delivery of education support services reveals that two ‡Khomani San participants disagreed and a further three ‡Khomani San participants did not directly respond to the question. One non-‡Khomani San participant also did not directly indicate a perception about the delivery, or not, of education support services to the ‡Khomani San school community.

In both data sets, namely the documents analysed and the participants' interview transcripts, a wide variety of services was linked to the participant-derived definition of education support services. I first provide the types of services discerned from the documents and then from the interview transcripts.

In documents from the Department of Education (internal unit reports and reports to the Steering Committee) as well

as from the Steering Committee minutes there was clear mention of the Department's handling of allegations of sexual abuse allegedly perpetrated at the school hostel against ‡Khomani San school learners. These allegations were some of the troubling reasons why the Human Rights Committee set up an inquiry into the violations of the rights of the ‡Khomani San. The Department of Education engaged in research to establish learners' indications of the extent of the alleged sexual abuse. This research concluded that the majority of learners were not exposed to sexual abuse. The following quote taken from the research report (document E12, refer to Appendix 4) serves as evidence:

> *Conclusion is drawn that the majority of learners are not exposed to improper sexual manifestations, the feeling among hostel residents is that they are safe and happy and that they can trust their supervisors.*

Support was provided to learners in the form of curative and preventative interventions (documents E9 and E10):

> *The acting principal was informed that, apart from support to alleged victims of sexual abuse, a disciplinary process against the alleged perpetrators should also be started; a session was held with the group of victims; the following projects were agreed to: training of hostel prefects and learner representatives on the School Governing Body, Life Skills curriculum trained with teachers, First Aid training for teachers, Lay counselling skills for teachers.*

The Department also had other attempts at providing education support which included career exposure (document

E3).

In response to the Human Rights Commission's concern about the state of the school and hostel, the Department of Education made improvements to the school and hostel infrastructure (document E1):

> *School infrastructure improvements, i.e. hostel facilities, school infrastructure, ICT facilities, already the ICT of the school has been upgraded to the amount of R130 000 that include: 37 computers; Already R6 326.75 was spent for the first three quarters on private boarding allowances, R292 500 on hostel bursaries and an additional R132 578.71 as a special allocation; total: R431 405.46*

Parents indicated their wish for safe transportation of learners on a commuting basis from home to school as an addition to the accommodation in the school hostel (document SC6): *A meeting was held with the parents to discuss the problem that exist with the current private transport for pupils.* This need featured very prominently in the Department of Education's participation in the Steering Committee activities. The Department reported regularly on its efforts to institute state-funded scholar transport in response to the ‡Khomani San parents' need for an alternative to hostel accommodation for their children (documents SC8, SC10).

The Department also held meetings to improve the liaison between the school and the ‡Khomani San community (document E1):

The mandate was performed by holding meetings with the school management team and some San learners at the

school as well as meeting parents at the place where most of the ǂKhomani San stay.

In its efforts to address the weaknesses in the management of the school and hostel, the Department intervened directly by implementing a school management strategy involving direct supervision of the principal by his circuit manager/school inspector (document E7). A new management structure was instituted at the hostel in an attempt to create better supervision of learners (document E10):

> *Discussions were held with the hostel supervisors to get their feedback about the current state of affairs after the leadership change in which the deputy principal was appointed as direct hostel head and the principal ceded that responsibility.*

Other role players' interventions to create enabling education environments were acknowledged. The social worker of the Department of Social Services provided direct support to learners and parents (document SC9):

> *The representative of Social Services reported that there was a back to school campaign, there has been various weekend programmes for the youth, a programme to help solve the problem of the misuse of alcohol was rolled out.*

The South African San Institute (SASI) is also acknowledged as a valued service provider (document SC2):

> *SASI is there to play a supporting role in the communities, it is there for cultural enhancement and empowerment, involved in development.*

The evidence of the education support services mentioned above was obtained from the document analysis. In the following paragraphs the research participants' perceptions about the types of education support services, elicited through the semi-structured interviews are reported.

The education support services provided by the school and the Department of Education are acknowledged by participants. For example, a former teacher mentioned the provision of scholar transport:

> "So is daar transport verskaf sodat hulle op en af elke dag kan ry sodat hulle kan skoolgaan vanuit die gemeenskap waarin hulle bly"/*So, transport is provided to enable learners to travel daily back and from in order for them to go to school from the community where they live.*

A district official of the Department of Education noted their effort to build the school's internal support structures:

> "By 'n ander geleentheid het ons gepraat oor die Institutional-level Support Team se funksionering, wat intervensie behels en hoe hulle die kinders kan ondersteun"/*At another occasion we talked about the Institutional-Level Support Team's functioning, which involves intervention and how to support learners.*

Some participants saw the services provided by other government departments as necessary for the creation of conducive environments within which education can meaningfully take place. A local government official

captured this broadened idea of education support services as:

> "As ons al hierdie infrastruktuur in plek kan kry, dan sal ons die uitkomste sien by die onderwys. Plaaslike regering is vir my die effektor vir hierdie uitkomste, daai basiese atmosfeer soos kind slaap warm en droog, daar's elektriese lig vir saans huiswerk doen, televisie vir opvoedkundige programme"/*When we get all this infrastructure in place, we'll see the outcomes in education. Local government for me, is the effector to these outcomes like sleeping warm and dry, having electrical light in which to do homework at night, television for educational programmes".*

In line with the broad definition of education support services a community development worker mentioned her involvement with a poverty alleviation programme:

> "Soos Departement Maatskaplike Dienste waar ek gehelp het om komberse uit te deel en kospakkies"/*Like the Department of Social Services where I assisted to distribute blankets and food parcels.*

An employee of the South African San Institute (SASI) indicated:

> "Want ons (SASI) het baie projekte in die gemeenskap en ons betrek baie van die gemeenskap se mense om die werk te verrig. En so word daar meer en meer mense opgelei"/*Because we as SASI have many projects in the community and we involve many community members in the work. And so are more and more people trained.*

The services above indicated types of services received and delivered as education support. In addition, participants expressed themselves about the services they ideally *expect* from education service providers. These services range from direct, educational activities to indirect general support activities which, with some argumentation, can be linked to education.

Services that deal with direct educational support include support provided by the school and the Department of Education's different units. Nine responses were received to indicate this expectation of direct support by the school and the Department of Education. Three of these responses were from ‡Khomani San participants, and six from other participants. Participants referred to work relating to literacy and numeracy offered by the school and departmental units; skills training; professional services by departmental officials; and support for the need for further and higher education. A ‡Khomani San participant who was also an employee of SASI said:

> "Eerstens probeer ons om die Abet te leer, want daar is baie van hulle wat nie kan lees en skryf nie. Dis die belangrikste ding voor jy dit kan implementeer in die huis sodat jy vir jou kind 'n voorbeeld kan stel dat hulle weet geletterdheid kom eerste in die lewe"/ *Firstly we try to do Abet because there are many who cannot read and write. That is the most important thing to implement in the home so as to set an example to children that literacy comes first in life*".

A district official of the Department of Education stated:

> "Onderwyshulpdienste behels 'n verskeidenheid dienste van ons eenheid se kant af. Hier praat ek spesifiek van

sielkundige dienste, maatskaplike dienste. Ons beskik ook oor ‘n arbeidsterapeut wat ook hulp kan verleen aan leerders met verskillende uitvalle. In ons eenheid het ons ook leerderondersteuningspesialiste wat spesifiek werk met leergeremdhede.”/ *Education support services include a number of services by our unit. Here I talk about psychological services, social services. We also have an occupational therapist who can assist learners with different barriers. In our unit we also have learner support specialists who can work specifically with learning barriers.*

A ǂKhomani San parent said that:

> “My kind het ‘n gehoorprobleem, en kan nie goed lees nie, hy misgis die letters met mekaar. Ek verwag ondersteuning in die aspek wat ek en die skool van bewus is”./ *My child has a hearing problem and can’t read well; he confuses the letters. I expect support in the aspect that myself and the school are aware of.*

The most frequently expected service requested was services dealing with poverty. Thirty-five responses were counted, of which 17 came from ǂKhomani San participants, and 18 from other participants. Poverty in this context was defined as the absence of minimum services and commodities as evidenced by the following quotes.

A school hostel supervisor said:

> “Ons kinders word vasgevang in ‘n geweldige stryd van armoede, veral ons ǂKhomani San kinders”/*Our children are caught up in a fierce struggle against poverty, especially our ǂKhomani San children;*

A senior district official from the Department of Education supported this observation when he stated: "ons praat hier van 'n vreeslike verarmde gemeenskap"/ *we're talking here about a severely impoverished community*.

Most participants referred to different indicators of poverty which, in the respondents' terms, prevent progress regarding education and educational opportunities. These indicators of poverty include the lack of proper food as indicated by one teacher:

> "Dit mag miskien vreemd of wreed klink, maar baie van hierdie kinders sien uit na hierdie maaltyd omdat dit die enigste ordentlike maaltyd is wat hulle kry"/ *It might sound strange or brutal but many of these children look forward to this meal (referring to the school food security programme) as it is the only decent meal that they will get*.

A ‡Khomani San participant said: "Jy kan nou in my huis 'n foto gaan neem, kos het ek nie"/ *You can take a photo in my house now, I don't have food*.

A lack of proper housing and infrastructure also featured as indicators of poor circumstances. A community development worker put it this way:

> "hulle (leerders) sal miskien koud wees, want is mos maar grashuise waarin hulle bly"/ *they (the learners) will probably be cold because they live in mere grass huts*.

The lament by a ‡Khomani San female adult that:

> "As ek beter dak en huis gehad het, sou my kinders kon in die skool gewees het"/ *If I had a better roof and house, my children could have been in the school* (in the evening prior to this interview rain fell in the area and this participant's husband was fixing their grass hut's roof during the interview).

The problems with scholar transport also relate to problems associated with poverty, as expressed by a ǂKhomani San participant:

> "Hulle klim nou taxi. En as die kleintjie nou vir die ander groter een wat kan in die koshuis bly, sê sit mooi of so, dan word hy geslaan daardeur. Ek het rêrig daar 'n probleem. Jou kind moet vroeg skool toe gaan en jy ma sit by die huis"/ *They get onto the taxi (a minibus contracted by the Department of Education to transport the Foundation Phase learners from the ǂKhomani San village to school on a daily basis whilst the older learners stay in the school hostel). And when the smaller one asks the bigger one who could stay in the hostel to sit better, the smaller one is hit about it. I really have a problem there. Your child goes to school early and you, the mother, stays at home".*

Another participant also illustrated this problem:

> "my kinders op Witdraai plaas bly amper 'n kilometer ver en hulle moet kom stap na die cross om die skoolbussie te haal. Dis gevaarlike toestande"/*My children at Witdraai farm live almost a kilometre (from the road) and they have to walk to*

the crossing to get the school bus. Those are dangerous conditions.

Unemployment was another indicator of poverty among the ǂKhomani San as one ǂKhomani San participant indicated:

> "Werkloosheid is groot. Die hele jongmense werk nie"/*Unemployment is rife. All of the youth are unemployed".*

Services dealing with substance abuse was a further area of support expected as response to the education support needs of the ǂKhomani San school community. One ǂKhomani San participant indicated substance abuse as a need for which support is needed and four other participants concurred. One teacher indicated that:

> "ǂKhomani San kinders is blootgestel aan alkoholmisbruik wat mos maar tipies van ons gemeenskap is om hulle probleme hierdeur baie keer mee weg te doen. Daarom vergryp hulle maar vir hulle gewoonlik baie keer aan drank juis om nie hulle omstandighede so direk in die gesig te staar nie"./ *The ǂKhomani San children are exposed to alcohol abuse which is typical of our community to escape from their problems. That is why they abuse alcohol, not to face their circumstances directly.*

Another ǂKhomani San participant expressed herself in the following way:

> "Dis verskriklik. Ons jongmense suip hulle dood. Jy kry niks uit hulle nie. Net vir hierdie week het my kinders my crafts verkoop en verkwis net op drank. Ons

> jongmense het oop verstande, maar hulle wil net drink. Ons dood net van hartseer; die kinders vertrap vir ons. As die jongmense net meer kan werk, sal hulle verantwoordelik raak”/ *It is terrible. Our young people drink themselves to death. You get nothing out of them. For this week my children sold my crafts and wasted the money on alcohol. Our young people have open minds but they just want to drink. We die only of sadness. The children trample us underfoot. If the young people can just work more then they will become more responsible.*

Another interesting expectation regarding education support services relates to what one ǂKhomani San participant and three other participants said about services that deal with ǂKhomani San cultural heritage, indigenous knowledge and language. This interesting finding is that fewer ǂKhomani San participants mentioned that they expected services regarding their indigenous knowledge, than other participants. A community development worker said:

> “hulle eie taal sal moet ingebring word om daai kultuur van hulle uit te brei”./*Their language could be brought in to expand their culture.*

A ǂKhomani San participant noted: “die projekwerk wat in SASI is soos die spoorsnyprojek”/ *The projects in SASI like the tracking project.* One teacher also said:

> “Op ‘n stadium het die departement persone gehad wat hulle taal vir hulle kom aangeleer het. As die befondsing kon aangehou het, sou dit iets besonders gewees het”/ *At one stage the department had people*

who taught them their language. If the funding could continue it would have been something special.

A few participants, two ‡Khomani San and one other participant indicated that they expected services dealing with the provision of recreational activities: "Ontspanningsgeriewe; Sport, Kuns en Kultuur help ons vir sportaktiwiteite, asseblief" / *Recreational facilities; Sport, Arts and Culture help us to obtain sports activities, please;* asked one ‡Khomani San participant. A social worker said:

> "Ontspanningaktiwiteite na skool, daar's niks nie. By die ‡Khomani San mense is daar niks nie. Dis 'n ledigheid, dis 'n ledigheid wat baie kommerwekkend is"/*There is no recreational activities after school. There's nothing. At the ǂKhomani San people there is nothing. It is an idleness, it is an idleness which is very worrying.*

Two participants who are not ‡Khomani San indicated that services dealing with family structure should also be instituted. For example, one district official of the Department of Education said: "ek sien dat familielewe daar ontbreek"/*I see that family life lacks there.* Another official stated: "ons lewer ook dienste soos parent effectiveness training"/*we also deliver services like parent effectiveness training.*

5.2.2 Agency shown by participants, as well as their awareness of others' agency, in requesting education support services

Eight interview respondents indicated that they had *not* requested the delivery of education support services to the

‡Khomani San school community. Six of those respondents were ‡Khomani San members and two were not ‡Khomani San members. Few participants offered reasons for not requesting services but indicated that they were now aware and will in future request services. One ‡Khomani San participant said that he preferred to talk to leaders in the community:

> "Ek is baie meer gemaklik om met die leiers te praat dat van hulle kant af hulle dit (dienste aanvra) kan doen"/*I am more comfortable speaking to the leaders so that they request services.*

An official in the Department of Education's unit for Education Support Services and Inclusive Education based her reason for not directly requesting education support services for the ‡Khomani San school community on the fact that she raised the matter of improved service delivery in the broader context of *all* school communities not just for the ‡Khomani San:

> "Ons het dit (dienslewering) hier bespreek en vorentoe gevat na die Direktoraat toe, maar nie spesifiek net vir die ‡Khomani San nie, maar vir die breë skoolgemeenskap"/*We discussed the issue of service delivery and took it to the Directorate but not specifically in relation to the ‡Khomani San, rather for the broader school community.*

Thirteen respondents indicated that they *have* previously requested the delivery of education support services. Only three were ‡Khomani San members, and the other ten were not.

The reasons given for the request for services varied. Teachers at the school indicated, for example, that their concern for the N/u language compelled them to liaise with a Khoi and San language expert from the University of Namibia. For the same reason the school, for some time, offered basic classes to Foundation phase learners in the N/u language, as taught by a ǂKhomani San elder and a youth speaker of the language.

Out of concern for the socio-economic conditions which impact on ǂKhomani San learners' scholastic achievement, a social worker and a community development worker facilitated intersectoral collaboration on issues such as teenage pregnancy, early school drop-out and adult illiteracy. A ǂKhomani San parent said she had spoken many times to the social worker about support to her brain-damaged son and about food support to her household. Another ǂKhomani San parent dealt with Home Affairs, the school and Social Services about her own children's needs.

The Department of Education officials delivered services as part of their official functions including ensuring daily scholar transport for learners. As part of his duties a senior Department of Education official also arranged for the professional development of the pre-school teachers in order to enhance pre-school education in the ǂKhomani San community.

Six respondents (three ǂKhomani San, and three other participants) were not aware of other people who requested education support services for the ǂKhomani San school community. Fourteen respondents (five ǂKhomani San and nine others) declared their awareness of other people

requesting education support services for the ‡Khomani San school community. These other people requested education support services either directly from the service providers, or through structures like the Communal Property Association, or different units in the Department of Education. Respondents were aware of a wide array of other people who requested services. Among those people were parents and guardians who requested services for their children from the school. Furthermore, the Department of Education officials requested services from the nearby Kgalagadi Park to build children's awareness of environmental issues.

In the documents there are also indications of how and by whom education support services were obtained. For example, the Human Rights Commission (document E5) announced an inquiry into alleged human rights abuses against the ‡Khomani San:

> "*It appeared government was failing in its duty to provide services and to support the community in the resettlement progress, therefore the Commission aims to contribute towards alleviating the ‡Khomani San's situation by identifying the human rights challenges in the community and charting a way forward".*

The Steering Committee served as a formal structure through which the ‡Khomani San could solicit support:

> "T*he representative of the ‡Khomani San mentioned that they have problems with the machine on one of their farms in the provisioning of water. The representative of the local municipality said that he will take the matter*

up with officials from the district municipality office to see how they (district municipality) can solve the problem" (document SC4).

In the Steering Committee, services were requested by members, who are representatives of government departments, NGOs and the ‡Khomani San Communal Property Association (CPA),

"T*he chairperson (at this meeting a representative of Land Affairs) requested that the ‡Khomani San provide the meeting with a needs analysis report for additional funding. District municipality contractors will pay over R67 000 for the pumping of water. (document SC8).*

From the interviews the following frequency perceived needs relating to education support were indicated by respondents:

Table 5.1: Frequency indication of perceived needs of the ‡Khomani San

Need	**Number of ‡Khomani San responses**	**Number of other participants' responses**
Illiteracy levels	2	10
Poverty	8	10
Substance abuse	3	6
Lack of recreational activities	3	1
Lack of assertiveness	3	0
Need for development of indigenous knowledge and language	1	5

One ‡Khomani San participant said: "Ek weet nie wat het die Boesmankind oorgekom dat hy so teruggetrokke is nie"/ *I don't know what happened to the Bushman child that*

made them so shy, to illustrate her concern about the perceived lack of assertiveness.

In the documents, the following problems were indicated. The allegations of sexual abuse as contained in the inquiry documents of the Human Rights Commission, referred to earlier, was one problem area. Furthermore, the physical conditions of the hostel infrastructure, as well as the weak management and supervision practices, were also indicated as serious needs calling for intervention:

> T*he department is currently busy with an ongoing research programme aimed at looking at the sexual offences, need to look at the infrastructure problems that exist at the boarding house and school", (document SC2).*

From the ‡Khomani San community came the need for daily scholar transport:

> "*The bad condition in which private transport for school children currently is, transport is a very big problem for the pupils to attend school, (document SC6).*

In a submission of the Department of Education the Department acknowledged receipt of allegations about sexual abuse of ‡Khomani San learners; appalling conditions in the school hostel; and discriminatory behaviour against ‡Khomani San learners and parents by teachers:

> "*The department acknowledges that the previous condition of the hostel was not up to standard; the department acknowledges that allegations of sexual*

molestation were received; the department acknowledges that such behaviour, degrading behaviour by a teacher towards a learner, was reported; the department acknowledges awareness of an incident where a parent was dismissed from a parents' meeting because of her alleged inappropriate attire, i.e. revealing traditional attire.(document E1).

5.2.3 Participants' perceptions of successful and unsuccessful education support endeavours

Both sets of documents regarded the Department of Education's research and intervention regarding alleged sexual abuse of learners as successful: "*no new cases of sexual harassment have been reported to date", (document SC1).* The interventions that included curative and preventative work around sexual abuse were declared as successful:

"The school has a heightened sensitivity regarding sexual abuse due to: survey research, curriculum response through Life Orientation and Life Skills programme, school and hostel management's diligence to consult with district office, to report and act on cases of sexual abuse speedily" (document E14).

Interventions regarding the school hostel infrastructure were also regarded as successful:

"T*he school will contribute R31 000 and the rest of the R285 000 will be paid by the department, contractors have already started with reparations", (document SC2*).

Hostel supervision improved after certain measures by the Department of Education was reported:

> "T*he social worker acts as a resident counsellor who assists the learners", (document SC3)*;
> "*4 hostel supervisors were appointed from the community in addition to 3 teachers who were already employed as supervisors", (document E13).*

Liaison with the ‡Khomani San school community also improved: "T*he ESS unit held meetings with the school management team and some KS learners at the school as well as meeting parents in the community", (document E1).*

Regular career exposure excursions for learners from the school were also indicated as successful interventions (document E8). The daily transport of younger learners to and from school was a successful response to an earlier need expressed (document E13).

The involvement of the ‡Khomani San traditional healer in the formal delivery of health services was a success: *The placement of Oom X (pseudonym) at the Health Project is a great help* (document SC3).

Interventions regarded as unsuccessful were also noted in the analysis of documents and interviews. For example, the N/u language facilitation was perceived as unsuccessful because of remuneration problems on the side of the Department of Education: "N*o progress as the facilitators were not remunerated regularly by the department*", (document SC4). The provision of a prefabricated classroom for pre-school learners also did not materialise due to

funding problems experienced by the Department of Education.

Problems with the scholar transport were indicated as leading to absenteeism by learners:

> "Hulle is nou meer afwesig as toe hulle op die hostel gebly het selfs in my graad 1-klas"/*They are more absent now than when they stayed at the hostel, even in my grade 1-class,* teacher).

Some Departmental interventions failed due to lack of sustained service delivery:

> "Ingrypings van ons eenheid se kant af was nie so suksesvol nie omdat gereelde dienslewering nie kan plaasvind nie en kan jy dan nooit bepaal welke suksesse jy behaal nie"/*Interventions from our unit's side was not very successful because regular service delivery could not take place and we could therefore not determine which successes were achieved*, Official in the unit for Education Support Services).

One high school teacher acknowledged that the school is unable to reduce the high drop-out figure: "Ons kan eerlikwaar nie se ons slaag daarin om dropout te verminder nie"/ W*e can honestly not say that we succeed in reducing school drop-out.*

According to a municipal official the communal land ownership is not working well and despite its efforts, the municipality's delivery of services and infrastructure is not working well.

Some ‡Khomani San participants do not regard some job creation and poverty alleviation ventures as successful:

> "As ons se plekke nader was, nie so in die veld nie"/*If our places were closer and not so deep in the veld, (*‡Khomani San adult).
> "Die goed is half. As die inspuiting nog daar is, is hy net half en dan breek hy af"/*The projects are incomplete. When the injection is there, it is only left halfway and then it decays*, (‡Khomani San adult).

A social worker lamented the failure of substance abuse prevention programmes:

> "Ek dink nie ons wen die stryd teen drank nie, die alkohol- en dwelmmisbruik is hoog"/*I don't think we're winning the battle against alcohol, alcohol and drug abuse is high".*

The services provided by role-players are perceived as uncoordinated:

> "Daar is 'n geweldige hoeveelheid rolspelers wat hierdie dienste lewer, maar die rolspelers word nie gekoördineer nie. Die skakeling tussen die verskillende rolspelers is nie goed nie"/*There is a big number of roleplayers delivering services but these roleplayers are not co-ordinated. The communication between the different roleplayers is not good,* (Senior Education official).

5.2.4 The location of ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge in the delivery of education support

The Human Rights Commission explicitly expressed the need to recognise ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge systems in its report after the inquiry (document E5):

> "*That the different state departments involved recognise the ‡Khomani San as an extraordinary group with unique composition and status, and consistently aim to see to the needs of the community as part of structured development plans,... that the district office of the department of Education and Educational Support Services embark on education and monitoring programmes to deal with child abuse, and ensure that such programmes take into account the needs of the and interests of the children of the ‡Khomani San; that the local schools see to the practical integration of children from different historical and cultural backgrounds, as well as to the management of their unique needs; that the social welfare of the ‡Khomani San community and those involved with the community is fortified by the implementation of programmes that address the specific social problems experienced; contact between parties should be regularised, and requires an understanding of the ‡Khomani San community*".

However in both sets of documents no indications were found that state departments implemented such recognition of ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge in their delivery of education support services. In contrast with the above finding in the documents, participants gave mixed responses about their perceptions regarding the recognition of the knowledge, culture and traditions of the ‡Khomani San. Seven participants (one ‡Khomani San, six other participants) indicated that education support services did

not really take into account ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge. A municipal official offered the following reason why he thought that service providers did not recognise the ǂKhomani San as an extraordinary community:

> "Ek dink nie die mense is sensitief genoeg dat hierdie 'n buitengewone gemeenskap is met buitengewone behoeftes nie, behalwe die universele behoeftes, dat ons met 'n meer sensitiewe oog en oor na hulle moet luister a.g.v van hulle geskiedenis"/ *I don't think people are sensitive enough that this is an extraordinary community with extraordinary needs...except the universal needs, we have to listen with more sensitivity to them because of their history.*

An Education Support Services official of the Department of Education said that they provided generic services:

> "Selfs ons eenheid se dienslewering neem nie regtig die ǂKhomani San se kultuur, kennis en tradisies in ag nie, want nie al die kinders wat by die skool ingeskryf is, is deel van die ǂKhomani San-groep nie. Dis hoekom dienste wat voorheen gelewer is, nie in diepte ingegaan het op die ǂKhomani San kultuur nie, want dit was dienste vir die hele skool en skoolgemeenskap"/E*ven our unit's service delivery does not recognise the ǂKhomani San culture, knowledge and traditions because not all children enrolled at the school are part of the ǂKhomani San group. That is why services previously provided did not go into depth into the ǂKhomani San culture as it was services provided to the whole school and school community.*

A senior official of the Department of Education thought that arrogance prevented service providers from acknowledging the ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge: "Die probleem is ons dink dat ons weet wat hulle nodig het"/*The problem is we think we know what the ǂKhomani San need.* A hostel supervisor at the high school hostel ascribed the hegemony of western culture as the main reason for the non-recognition of the ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge:

> "Daar is nog nie daai balans nie. Daar is nog die optrede asof die westerse kultuur die enigste kultuur is"/ *There is not yet a balance. There is still the behaviour as if the western culture is the only culture.*

A total of 14 participants (eight ǂKhomani San, six others) agreed that ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge was acknowledged in the delivery of education support services. The reasons why these participants agreed were because many observed opportunities for expression of culture at school, and through the SASI. For example, an official in the unit for Education Support Services and Inclusive Education said:

> "Ons eenheid het spesifieke voorstelle gemaak van hoe dit in ag geneem kan word en selfs met die nodige voorbeelde van wat gedoen kan word om hulle eie kultuur te behou"/*Our unit made specific suggestions how the ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge can be acknowledged and even made relevant examples of what can be done to preserve their own culture.*

According to a ǂKhomani San adult they are being recognised, "hulle word kop toe gevat/*they are acknowledged*".

Participants (all 20 who answered the question: eight ‡Khomani San, 12 other) agreed with the Human Rights Commission that education support services *should* take into account the knowledge, culture and traditions of the ‡Khomani San.

When education support services recognise ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge, a former teacher said said it will be "*an acknowledgement of their humanity*", ("So hulle word erken, hulle se menswaardigheid word erken"). A current school hostel supervisor said that he believed that if he knows:

> "Ek glo as jy weet wat is die kennisse en kultuur van die ‡Khomani San kind dan sal jy einde van die dag weet hoe om teen hierdie kind op te tree as daar enige probleme vorentoe kom"/*About the knowledge and culture of ǂKhomani San children I would know how to act towards such learners when problems arise*".

According to one ‡Khomani San adult, acknowledgement of the ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge will prevent ‡Khomani San culture from dying out:

> "Dit is nommer een omdat ons kultuur besig was om uit te sterf. Na hoeveel jare het ons die geleentheid gekry. En dit wat ons nou het, moet ons aan ons kinders oordra"/*It (acknowledgement) is number one because our culture was dying out. After so many years we got the opportunity and what we have now, we must carry over to our children.*

Another ‡Khomani San adult pleaded for recognition of all ‡Khomani San members, not just selective recognition of the traditional leader and his family:

> " Dis eintlik wat ons wil hê. As hier 'n film afkom, ... Op die ou einde word net die tradisionele leier se familie gebruik. Ons lewe in tweedrag"/*This actually what we want. When a film is made, at the end only the family members of the traditional leader are used. We are split.*

5.3 SUMMARY

Interview participants' understandings of education support services led me to this inclusive definition: Education support services are all services, delivered by the Department of Education but not excluding other service providers (of the state and non-governmental organisations), that aim to provide relevant support for the attainment of direct or indirect educational goals, to create an enabling education environment.

The following perceived needs and challenges of the ‡Khomani San school community were identified:

- Poverty
- Illiteracy
- Substance abuse
- Sexual abuse
- Hostel infrastructure and management practices

- Need for indigenous knowledge, culture and language to be developed
- Lack of recreational activities
- Lack of assertiveness of the ‡Khomani San

Some services were identified as *expected* services, even if some are not yet delivered:

- Services dealing with poverty by minimising:
  lack of proper food
  lack of proper housing and infrastructure
  problems with scholar transport
  unemployment
- Services dealing with substance abuse
- Services directly delivered by the school and units of the Department of Education such as adult basic education, learning support and psychosocial services
- Services dealing with ‡Khomani San cultural heritage, indigenous knowledge and language
- Services that provide recreational activities
- Services that deal with the ‡Khomani San's perceived lack of assertiveness
- Services that should deal with perceived selective advantaging of some ‡Khomani San members above others
- Services that utilise family structures

According to the document analysis and the interviews, education support services have been provided to the ‡Khomani San school community, mainly by state departments and non-governmental organisations. These service providers are listed below:

- Department of Education's school and different units (e.g. Education support services, Curriculum services,

Circuit management, Special programmes, Adult basic education and training)

- Department of Social Services and the South African Social Security Agency
- Non-Governmental Organisations, namely South African San Institute (SASI), South African National Council for Addiction and Farm Africa
- Local municipality
- Other provincial government departments; Agriculture, Regional Land Claims Commission, Local Government and Housing, Nature Conservation, Safety and Liaison, Health, Justice, Water Affairs, Home Affairs, Sport, Arts and Culture, Premier's Office
- SA Human Rights Commission
- SA Police Service
- The Community Development Worker of the Department of Local Government and Housing
- Church groups
- Individual community members

The following successful education support interventions were identified by participants and from the documents:

- Daily transport of younger learners to and from school
- Social worker's interventions at school and in the community; her live-in-hostel arrangement is highlighted in the documents as a specific success
- Some small employment creation ventures
- Department of Education's district office involvement through the research and interventions regarding sexual abuse allegations
- Career exposure excursions for ‡Khomani San youth and school learners funded by Department of Education's district office

- Improvements in school hostel accommodation infrastructure and management
- Intersectoral collaboration
- Liaison between the school and the ǂKhomani San community improved
- The fact that the school principal is from the area
- The health project with the involvement of the traditional leader

Unsuccessful education support interventions were identified by participants and from the documents as:

- The Department of Education's career exposure excursions that were not sustained
- The schools do not call for the services of the district office as it previously did. Thus the conclusion is drawn that the Department of Education's unit responsible for education support services is not proactive as it waits for the school to act
- Limited success in reducing school drop-out
- Rise in absenteeism following daily scholar transport which, according to a teacher participant, allows learners the easy option to stay at home for less than solid reasons. There are also problems associated with the transport like the minibusses being late or out of order
- The perception that learners who live at home and commute daily have high exposure to improper social behaviour by adults
- The failure of some employment creation and poverty alleviation projects, like a tourism venture, raised by the district office of DoE, which did not take off
- The failure of the N/u language facilitation
- The failure of communal land ownership

- The seeming rejection by ‡Khomani San children of hostel rules and a tendency to vandalise the hostels
- The failure of the ‡Khomani San to express themselves assertively
- Substance abuse prevention programmes not being successful
- The services by role-players seem uncoordinated

Based on the views expressed in the interviews, ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge is recognised by education support service providers, with a majority of interviewees indicating this (14 out of 21 participants). However, when this response was broken down into ‡Khomani San and non-‡Khomani San participants, an interesting pattern was detected. Non-‡Khomani San participants agreed and disagreed in equal measure that ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge is recognised when services are rendered. Only one out of nine ‡Khomani San participants did not agree that their indigenous knowledge is recognised, whilst the remainder (eight out of nine) agreed that, in education support service delivery, there is an acknowledgement of ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge. It should further be noted that the document analysis did not support the perception that ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge is recognised in education support service delivery.

During the feedback workshop the ‡Khomani San workshop attendees indicated that they agree with the finding from the document analysis that their indigenous knowledge is not recognised in the delivery of education support services. These attendees indicated that they have a tendency to tell outsiders what they think the outsiders want to hear.

Among the interviewees there were full agreement (100%, 20 out of 20) that education support services *should* take into account ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge. In contrast with that, there was no indication from the documents analysed that the Department of Education expressed the view that ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge should be taken into account when education support services are delivered. Although the Human Rights Committee has clearly expressed the wish for all state departments to acknowledge the ǂKhomani San indigenous heritage and knowledge, the minutes of the Steering Committee indicate only the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture as a department who should deal with ǂKhomani San heritage and indigenous knowledge issues. And, only the Department of Health was mentioned in the minutes of the Steering Committee where it reported the utilisation of the services of an indigenous healer from the ǂKhomani San in its primary health care programme.

During the feedback workshops participants agreed to these findings, except for the issue regarding indigenous knowledge as explained.

In the following chapter a discussion of some of the findings will be provided. This discussion will relate the findings to literature and the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The reader is reminded of the research aim and questions because it is against this aim and questions that the discussion will be based.

The main aim of this research was to establish the factors relevant to appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community and, on the basis of that, to propose a model for education support for the ǂKhomani San school community. Based on these aims the following questions guided the investigation:

- Which aspects of ethics needed to be considered to guide research with this community?
- What are the key policy aspects of education support services in the South African context?
- Is there a link between community psychology and education support services in the South African context?
- How are education support services understood and currently delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community?
- Which model for relevant education support services delivery can be proposed for the ǂKhomani San school community?

In this project I set out to try and answer these questions as evidenced by the findings reported in the previous chapter.

6.2 DISCUSSION

In order to determine the extent to which the research aim was achieved, the following discussion will be organised around the research questions. Every question will be discussed in relation to the findings, literature and the theoretical framework.

The discussion commences with a focus on the ethical aspects that were identified as relevant to research with this community. After that discussion key policy aspects are highlighted regarding education support services in South Africa as it relates to this research. The link that was established between community psychology and education support services is then discussed. A discussion is then held about the findings regarding the current delivery of education support services to the ǂKhomani San school community. Lastly all relevant aspects are drawn together in a discussion about the need for an alternative approach to education support service delivery to the ǂKhomani San school community. In Chapter 7 the alternative approach is explained as a model that can be considered when education support services are delivered to or requested by the ǂKhomani San school community.

6.2.1 Ethical aspects relevant to research with this indigenous community

The ethics statement formulated for this research was in part guided by the Model Tribal Research Code in use among Native American Indian communities (American Indian Law Center, 1999). This research code made me sensitive to the situation of the ǂKhomani San as a people among whom

research should be conducted with sensitivity. The reason for such sensitivity is that the ‡Khomani San, like their First Nations counterparts elsewhere, have experienced a painful history that speaks of their subjugation by other, more powerful groups (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Duran & Duran, 1995; Smith, 2005). Researchers should, as in all other research, follow ethical guidelines when doing research, but there are additional considerations when conducting research among the ‡Khomani San.

Specific details regarding ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge systems were not pursued in-depth in this research. In Chapter 2 there was a discussion which highlighted some specifics regarding San indigenous knowledge. The key elements that define ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge systems can be summarised as a tradition of healing and living close to nature, with intimate knowledge of the desert region passed on through generations (Kuru, 2010). However, Battiste and Henderson (2000) expressed the view that, in terms of ethics, indigenous communities should always have control over how much information they would like to divulge about such knowledge. This research project only gathered participants' *perceptions* about the inclusion of ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge in the delivery of education support services and therefore does not lay claim to a thorough investigation of the issue.

The findings presented in Chapter 5 suggest that the indigenous knowledge of the ‡Khomani San was not taken into account when education support was provided. In the initial analysis process, there appeared to be a mismatch between the perception gained from the document analysis and the perception of participants as gained through the

interviews. The documents indicated that ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge systems were not included in the delivery of education support services. Only one ǂKhomani San participant and six other participants agreed with this finding. However, eight ǂKhomani San and six other participants disagreed with the documents and indicated that they thought the ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge systems were included and considered in the delivery of education support services.

Interestingly, during the feedback workshops, all ǂKhomani San and other participants agreed with the document analysis that the indigenous knowledge systems of the ǂKhomani San were *not* recognised when education support services are delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community. The discussion on this issue in the feedback workshop highlighted that once-off contact by researchers with this community is not considered respectful. The ǂKhomani San participants indicated that they sometimes dismiss an outsider by providing him answers that they think he wants to hear. A more ethical and trustworthy option would therefore be to have multiple contacts so as to obtain data which reflect a greater amount of truth.

All participants, however, agreed that education support service delivery *should* take into account ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge. The Human Rights Commission also clearly stated that state departments should respect and take into account ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge. This finding is consistent with what is expected by Canadian First Peoples (Ottmann, 2009). They are very clear and specific about their expectations. For example, they want curricula that reflect their cultures and realities. They want

instruction in their languages and they want strong parental involvement in decision making.

The Canadian First People's expectations from their education system emerged after a critical appraisal of how education was delivered to them (Ottmann, 2009). Up to the year 1972 education did not adequately respect the needs of Canadian First Peoples. Therefore the First People's leadership declared in 1972 that they wanted education for Canadian First Peoples to "give our children a strong sense of identity with confidence in their personal worth and ability" (Ottmann, 2009, p. 106). It is interesting to note that no such strong assertion was found in the documents by any spokesperson for the ǂKhomani San. This does not mean that the ǂKhomani San are not concerned about the nature and aims of the education their children are offered. In this study, however, the research participants, ǂKhomani San and non-ǂKhomani San, in this study concurred that education support services *should* respect ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge and cultural practices.

Certain successes are recorded by the Canadian First Nations People since the Canadian government started recognising and supporting the distinctiveness and diversity of the First Nations population (Ottmann, 2009). The Canadian government abolished the controversial Indian Act at the insistence of leadership of the Canadian First Nations people. A new education act was promulgated which recognised the indigenous knowledge and culture of the First Nations by asserting their identities, and also provided education which enables them to make a good living in modern Canadian society. The effect was an increase in schools in the First Nations communities, growth in enrollment by First Nations candidates into post-secondary

education, increased numbers of First Nations teachers, and an increase in the number of youth who value speaking their languages (Ottman, 2009).

In the Australian context there is a mixed picture with regards to the Aboriginal people and formal schooling (O'Neill, 2009). There were some successes following some educational reforms which acknowledged the position of Aboriginal indigenous knowledge and culture in education. These successes mainly centre on the improved rates of participation in early childhood education and schools. There is also an increase in the enrollments of Aboriginal students in traineeships and institutions of further and higher education in Australia. Despite these developments, some of the challenges in education for Aboriginal learners are still high rates of drop-out and low achievement on school exit exams. Particular interventions have recorded successes as measured against improved scores and lower rates of dropping out (O'Neill, 2009). Some of the interventions have consisted of a two-way schooling system which consisted of bilingual education, including English and indigenous languages. There have also been interventions where local communities, schools and corporate sponsors have worked with young people on their life skills, encouraging them to complete formal schooling, to continue on to higher education, and to take advantage of job opportunities. Another initiative developed around sports and education through high level sports training and school-based sports academies (O'Neill, 2009).

Apart from the community- and corporate-funded initiatives, the government of Australia is also involved in programmes aimed at encouraging indigenous students to complete school and work towards university entrance. Such programmes,

which are usually run by experienced local teachers, provide tutors and mentors, individual education plans, supportive study environments, and regular contact with parents. The government has also funded 2500 Indigenous Education Workers who are providing support to students and families. They organise support for study skills and literacy, as well as career advice. These Indigenous Education Workers ensure that an Aboriginal perspective is prevalent across the school curriculum in Australia (O'Neill, 2009).

When one looks at the situation of the Canadian First Nations and Indigenous Australians, and compares it with the current situation of the ǂKhomani San, there is a big contrast. There is little evidence of recognition of ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge in the delivery of education support services. This is an important finding that points to an ethical dilemma regarding delivery of education support services to this community. The dilemma is that they receive services which do not fully recognise the ǂKhomani San as a community that has a wealth of indigenous knowledge and cultural richness to offer. Such context-less education support service delivery predicts future problems regarding the formal resurrection and preservation of ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge and culture. The problem is that, without state support, for instance in the form of formal curriculum efforts, the ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge and culture may not survive.

For more information regarding the ǂKhomani San's indigenous knowledge as such, the South African San Institute is a good source. According to their documents, such information appears to have been obtained in an

ethically sound way (Kuru, 2010; South African San Institute, undated and 2009).

6.2.2 Key policy aspects of education support services in the South African context

The main features of South African education support service policy are contained in the Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001) and its supporting documents. These supporting documents provide guidelines on the establishment and functioning of district-based support teams, full-service schools, special schools as resource centres, guidelines for inclusive learning programmes, and the strategy for screening, identification, assessment and support (Department of Education, 2008; 2005a,b,c,d,e). In Chapter 3 the policy and its supporting documents are discussed. In short, the main feature of the policy is the shift away from the earlier tendencies to locate problems within the learner by, for instance, linking poor performance to intellectual disability only. The ecosystemic focus prevalent in this policy advises implementers to be highly aware of the influence of learners' social systems within which they function. It means that this ecosystemic analysis looks at the barriers that prevent learning from taking place more systemically and also looks at the influence that different systems have on each other. A defining characteristic of the education support service policy in South Africa is the use of the term 'barriers to learning' which encompasses a very broad range of hindrances in the way of quality learning.

The definition of education support services, as formulated from participants' understanding, echoes the broad, inclusive

terms in which the policy defines education support. I repeat the definition:

> *Education support services are all services, delivered by the Department of Education but not excluding other service providers (of the state and non-governmental organisations), that aim to provide relevant support for the attainment of direct or indirect educational goals, to create an enabling education environment.*

This inclusive understanding of education support is both exciting and challenging.

The definition is exciting in that it indicates an integrated understanding by the participants of how education is influenced by broader societal factors. The complexity of education practices is revealed in participants' understandings of education support. This finding of a broad, inclusive definition is evidence of the theoretical concept of education support as found in the policy.

As with many complex issues, this definition poses some challenges. One specific challenge is to be found when the services encapsulating education support are to be located in one unit within, for instance, the Department of Education. Previous notions of education support as technical, specialised services narrowly focussed on teaching and learning activities (Mashau et al., 2008) made it easier to allocate such education support functions to specific officials. Thus the understanding of education support services as very broad, inclusive processes, revealed in this study, creates an organisational challenge. The challenge lies in the transdisciplinary and intersectoral responsibilities inherent in this inclusive definition.

Another challenge is directed at the specialist focus of service providers. The inclusive definition presupposes a new awareness of the role of particular service providers. Service providers from inside and outside of government are challenged to become aware of issues outside of their narrow mandates and to direct those issues to relevant support providers. Partnerships should then be built among various service providers and stakeholders in strong, organic ways.

6.2.3 The link between community psychology and education support services in the South African context

The relationship between an individual and the context within which she/he lives comes to the fore in both community psychology and education support services policy in the South African context. Interventions within community psychology and education support services are thus concerned with promoting the well-being of the community at large, through community-wide and individual transformative practices.

Several links were found between the values and assumptions of community psychology and education support services in South Africa. The implication of this finding is that these values should influence practices when education support services are delivered to the ǂKhomani San and other school communities. The values of community psychology which were found explicitly in the policy are: community participation, intersectoral collaboration, risk prevention and health promotion, empowerment, addressing exclusion and oppression, creating a psychological awareness of community and, respect for cultural relativity and diversity (Lazarus, 2007).

6.2.4 Education support services rendered to the ‡Khomani San school community

In previous paragraphs in this chapter I discussed how education support services are rendered to indigenous communities internationally. I provided examples from the Aboriginal Australian context and from the Canadian First Nations People. In both instances clear legislative frameworks and government support led to successes which are measured in terms of strengthened indigenous knowledge systems, including language preservation, as well as successes in the participation of these First Peoples communities in education endeavours (Ottmann, 2009; O'Neill, 2009).

With the ‡Khomani San there is no definitive legislation in place regarding their education support. The ‡Khomani San school community is provided for under the general policy of education support in South Africa. This community does not enjoy a special dispensation under specific education policies and laws. There will definitely be debates whether a special legal dispensation should be considered at all. With the South African history of negative emphasis on and essentialising notions of diversity which was conflated with race and ethnicity (Jacobs, 2003), strong, contesting ideas regarding such a suggestion will probably be elicited.

The absence of a special legal dispensation for the ‡Khomani San can be ascribed to the South African human rights-founded Constitution which affords the same rights to all citizens (Republic of South Africa, 1996). This lack of 'special' distinction may not necessarily be a bad state of affairs given the racially and ethnically segregated legacy which our Constitution tries to address. However, the

rebuilding of the ‡Khomani San as a unique First Nations community in South Africa is, ironically, being hampered by the Constitutional provisions. As district officials from the Department of Education indicated in this study, they provided education support services to the ‡Khomani San school community as one among others, not as a special community. This kind of generic education support service delivery happened in spite of the plea by the South African Human Rights Committee to regard the ‡Khomani San as a special community. The practices and underlying assumptions of generic education support to the ‡Khomani San school community are to be subjected to constructive debate, in the critical tradition of reflexivity.

Poverty featured very strongly as a contextual factor in this research project. Participants from the ‡Khomani San and other groups clearly indicated that poverty is an aspect that needs to be considered when education support services are delivered to this community.

Two views of poverty are kept in mind in this discussion. The one view is how participants themselves described poverty in the ‡Khomani San school community, namely, as a lack of provision of basic commodities like food, housing, transport and employment. Another view of poverty is from the analysis of Amartya Sen. Sen (1995; 2008) offers an analysis of poverty which is broader than the commodity-based understanding. The capabilities theory offers the view that poverty should be understood in the context of well-being. This means that a person's well-being depends on what she/he is capable of and on the freedom the person has to pursue well-being. In this capabilities-based analysis, poverty then refers to constraints on the freedom that a person potentially has to pursue the well-being of his/her

choice. These constraints lead to a person not being fully able to exercise choices that will lead to well-being. Applied in the context of the ‡Khomani San school community, it seems that poverty curbs their freedom to pursue educational well-being.

The reality of poverty among the ‡Khomani San is consistent with the experience of the Canadian First Nations People (Ottmann, 2009). Ottmann (2009) quotes a percentage of 60% as the estimate of First Nations children under the age of six who are living in poverty. For non-Aboriginal Canadians, that number is 25%. No official statistics are available for the ‡Khomani San specifically. However, my own observations in the community suggest that close to 90% of the ‡Khomani San living in the settlement included in this research, which has the largest concentration of ‡Khomani San people, are living under conditions of poverty. The housing that I observed was mostly temporary structures constructed out of grass, wood and zink. On one of the days when I was conducting interviews, rain fell the previous evening and it still rained on that day. The huts were wet inside even as men tried to mend roofs. Clothes and bedding were wet. This is an example of the kind of conditions of poverty experienced by the ‡Khomani San.

Poverty has an impact on education. The 'Education for All' vision of the World Education Forum regards inclusion and exclusion in education from a broader outlook than previously adopted by the movement towards inclusive education (Muthukrishna, 2003). Education for All explicitly acknowledges the exclusion from education that children who live in conditions of poverty experience. In a survey on the African continent, Colclough, Al-Samarrai, Rose and Tembon (2003) found that low household assets and

low household income were strongly associated with low school attendance, just as some teacher participants found regarding the ǂKhomani San community. Colclough et al., (2003) suggest that higher household income raises the levels of school attendance with the associated positive effect on educational levels.

Wolhuter (2007) established that the levels of poverty for Sub-Saharan Africa range from 35.8% (South Africa) to 90.8% (Rwanda). These percentages indicate the percentage of the population living with an income of less than US $2 per day. The implication of this high level of poverty is that many children in Sub-Saharan Africa live in circumstances that do not facilitate their education. In the context of South African urban informal settlements, Maarman (2009) found that poverty is a definite impediment to the freedoms of intellectual well-being that education offers. Children in such informal settlements get so caught up in the daily struggles for survival that schooling moves down their list of priorities.

Regarding indigenous populations and poverty, Stromquist (2007) found that indigenous populations in Peru comprise most of the poor and extremely poor people in that country. These populations in Peru also have the largest rates of illiteracy when compared to other sectors of the population. This finding again indicates the strong link between poverty and low levels of education, but this time among indigenous populations.

Ottmann (2009) found that indigenous people in Canada generally experience poverty in greater measure that the larger population. Inadequate housing and increased health problems are associated with the higher levels of poverty

among Canadian Aboriginal people. From the above studies and my own observations, it appears that poverty among the ‡Khomani San has a detrimental effect on the education of their children.

The *distance from school* is another factor involved in the prediction of school attendance. Colclough et al. (2003) found evidence that where the distance from home to school is great, children are less likely to enroll or remain in school. In a direct correspondence with what high school teachers said about the ‡Khomani San learners, Colclough et al. (2003) determined that the absence of a high school, close to where people live, reduces the attendance rate of primary school and has a direct negative influence on the progression to high school.

This finding by Colclough et al. (2003) explains much of the reason behind ‡Khomani San parents' concerns about transport to and from school, as well as their concern for school hostel conditions. Parents expressed much discomfort with the quality, regularity and safety of scholar transport and were also concerned about the conditions their children lived under in the school hostel. If the schools (primary and high) were close to their home and not 15-50 kilometres away, these concerns would not have been as pressing as was found in my study, echoing the finding of the Human Rights Commission (South African Human Rights Commission, 2004).

I did not probe for the effects that this situation may have on the ‡Khomani San parents' perceptions about schooling as such. Therefore, at the risk of being proven wrong, I venture the opinion that some ‡Khomani San parents may sometimes turn a blind eye when their children do not attend

school. The parents may do that because they resent the notion of their children having to travel or board whilst children of other communities live within walking distance of the primary and high schools.

Substance abuse was found to be a further barrier to learning in the ‡Khomani San school community. Among First Peoples substance abuse is not uncommon, as Ottmann (2009) found among Canadian First Nations People. O'Neill (2009) had a similar finding among Australian First Peoples. This is an issue that not raised by many ‡Khomani San participants, but rather by non-‡Khomani San participants. My interpretation is that no question in the semi-structured interview asked directly about this aspect. However, it was revealing, in my opinion, that non-‡Khomani San participants mentioned substance abuse quite frequently. It was also telling that the one ‡Khomani San participant who did raise substance abuse as an issue was an employee of a non-governmental organisation delivering services to the ‡Khomani San community. It seems that the staff of service providers, governmental and non-governmental organisations, experience substance abuse by ‡Khomani San members as a stumbling block to the work that they do in that community.

The issues of near-absence of ‡Khomani San members' acknowledgment of substance abuse by fellow ‡Khomani San, and the open mentioning of substance abuse as a cause for concern by education support service providers, lead me to an analysis of the influence of power in these phenomena. Van Rooyen, Le Grange and Newmark (2004) deconstruct some of the discourses inherent in the inclusive education movement, specifically in the Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2000). In these authors' opinions

it remains sad that there has not been a shift in the power that enables the powerful *other* to define who is disadvantaged and what such a population's needs may be. From this insight I suspect that the service providers reserved their power to express their dismay about those in the ‡Khomani San school community who, in their opinion, jeopardise the efforts at upliftment as defined by the service providers. Maybe that is why it was easier for the service providers to mention the substance abuse problems that they observe in this community. To have expected the ‡Khomani San participants to mention the substance abuse problem would be to expect them to engage in a self-defeatist exercise by negatively labelling themselves in the terms of those (the service providers) from whom they expect better services. Such negative self-labeling could thus not be expected from people who are already disempowered in many ways. The avoidance of negative self-labeling by ‡Khomani San participants could be interpreted as an effort to protect them against a world, of whom the researcher could be viewed as a representative, that has not done much for this community following their re-settlement. These are my interpretations. More targeted research about these issues need to ensue.

6.2.5 The need for an alternative approach to education support service delivery to the ‡Khomani San school community.

In the discussion above, I referred to power relations in respect of some specific issues. In this section I turn the discussion about power relations to the findings about the prevalence of parties requesting education support services for the ‡Khomani San school community, to build an argument for an alternative approach to education support

delivery in this context. The South African Human Rights Commission Chairperson at the time, Mr Jodie Kollapen, at the launch of the Report On The Inquiry Into Human Rights Violations in the Khomani San Community (South African Government Information, 2005, p. 2) said:

> "The recommendations are very basic – they seek to ensure that the rights which this community is entitled to, are in fact protected and delivered in terms of what government says it will do.".

Much of the issues facing the ‡Khomani San school community are, on paper, about rights that exist, and as such affirmed by the Human Rights Commission. However, accessing these rights is not easy, as the findings of this research attest. Those that hold the means to provide education support services to this community seem not to fully utilise those means for the emancipation of this community. Therefore I interpret some of the findings in terms of power and the relations borne out of it. Such interpretations are consistent with the theoretical framework of critical community psychology informing this study.

In this study, six out of eleven ‡Khomani San participants did not request the delivery of education support services. Only three ‡Khomani San participants confirmed that they requested services. I interpret this finding from an understanding of the role that power may play in such interaction or, rather, non-interaction, with sources of power. With this I mean that ‡Khomani San school community members may not feel empowered enough to assertively request services which are due to them. This interpretation may point to a problem, but at the same time an opportunity. The problem could be that service providers

simply do not get enough or authentic community-driven indications of needs that should ideally lead to education support services. Therefore such service providers may not provide services at all or may not provide services relevant to the needs of the ‡Khomani San school community. The opportunity lies in the challenge to service providers. This challenge is that they have to engage in continuous community awareness drives about the kinds of services available, and the procedures to obtain such services.

An official of the Department of Education in this study indicated that she did not request education support services for the ‡Khomani San school community directly because she located service delivery to them in the broader context of all school communities' need for services. This understanding of the ‡Khomani San school community, as just one community among others may indicate a lack of appreciation of the ‡Khomani San as a community that the different state departments should recognise as an extraordinary group with unique composition and status, as requested by the South African Human Rights Commission (2004). Interpreted from a critical perspective, this non-recognition of the ‡Khomani San's uniqueness denies them the right to receive services specifically designed for them. Their impoverished living conditions coupled with this limiting understanding of the ‡Khomani San school community as just another community have the effect of disempowering this extraordinary community of First People.

Prominent critical scholars on inclusive education, Artiles and Kozleski (2007, p. 356), in their critique of inclusive education in the USA, pose the strong view that a central practice of inclusive education ought to be the highlighting of “the blindness, silences, and exclusions that have

permeated the histories and educational experiences of marginalized groups". The ‡Khomani San is a marginalised group in many respects. Treating them as just one among many communities, is a wrong application of power on the part of education support service providers. In the context of the ‡Khomani San this means that those who are responsible for the delivery of education support services, have to be made aware of their potentially disempowering practices in relation to this community.

My analysis of the location of the ‡Khomani San school community as 'just another community', tries to uncover such silences, blind spots and exclusions. The silence about the ‡Khomani San school community results in the community not being given a prominent place. This constitutes a blind spot in service delivery. The efforts of the Steering Committee for ‡Khomani San affairs constituted government's attempt at highlighting the issues of this community. However, it seems that the prominence this structure affords the ‡Khomani San did not permeate into the daily workings of the Department of Education as the primary service provider of education support services. As a result of this disempowering situation, this community is excluded from relevant education support services.

Service providers from government will have to grasp this challenge. This can be achieved by a process of depowerment in which such officials reflect critically on current practices and deliberately allow those perceived as less powerful to have a direct say in matters concerning their lives, and needs in relation to education support services (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). Only then will government officials as primary service providers be able to honestly start with a process to empower this community.

By uncovering this unequal power relation this research may contribute to the empowerment of the ‡Khomani San school community. By being aware of such unequal power relations the ‡Khomani San school community may understand their imperative to insist on the transformation of the relationship with providers of education support services. Prilleltensky (2008) argues that much resources are thrown at interventions which are mostly person-centred and which may ameliorate problems, but do little towards social change. In this study, social action for deep change is advocated for. Social action is defined as collective action that is aimed at the transformation of local and broad issues in a society (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009). This is a process that should ideally start with an awareness of issues around power and power relations. This awareness was referred to by Paulo Freire (quoted in Gilbert & Sliep, 2009, p. 473) as 'critical consciousness'.

It is this awareness advocated for in the model for evaluation of education support services outlined in the next chapter.

6.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I discussed the research findings in the context of the research questions. The discussions were pursued under headings which each indicated factors relevant to the delivery of education support services to the ‡Khomani San school community. Ethical aspects particular to this community were addressed and it is concluded that research among the ‡Khomani San calls for an expanded awareness of postcolonial issues that emanate from our history in South Africa. Certain South African policy issues

were then discussed and the grounded definition of education support services clarified. It was found that participants' understandings of education support services closely aligned with the policy position, creating both opportunities and challenges.

As the link that was found between community psychology and education support services, was discussed in full in Chapter 3, a summary was provided in this chapter. The values of community psychology permeate the policy on education support services in South Africa.

Aspects that are relevant to the delivery of education support services to the ǂKhomani San were then discussed. These aspects include the absence of a binding legal framework for a special dispensation for the ǂKhomani San; the effects of poverty; the distance from school, and the perceptions about substance abuse among the ǂKhomani San.

Lastly, the discussion focused on why a new way of conceiving of education support service delivery could be considered. This discussion looked specifically at the exercise of power and how it affects relations, particularly between the education support service structures and the ǂKhomani San school community. The findings and discussions indicate that an alternative way of delivery of education support services to the ǂKhomani San school community seems viable.

In the following chapter these suggestions are brought together in a model for education support to the ǂKhomani San school community.

CHAPTER 7: A MODEL OF EDUCATION SUPPORT FOR THE ‡KHOMANI SAN SCHOOL COMMUNITY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 6 the need for an alternative to current ways of education support service delivery was discussed. The role of power and its influence on relationships figured strongly in that discussion. In this chapter the discussion is extended. The theoretical foundations for a proposed alternative, in the form of a model, are laid. The actual model is then presented in the form of a recommendation. The model is illustrated with practical examples on how such a model could be applied in the context of the ‡Khomani San school community. Although the model is suggested for the ‡Khomani San school context, it is possible that it can be applicable in other contexts. This chapter is then concluded with final remarks about this study.

7.2 DEVELOPING THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE PROPOSED MODEL

Apartheid, for the ‡Khomani San, was more than just a racially based political system; it was a special form of colonialism. From being scattered over the Kalahari and other parts of the country to being returned to their ancestral land after their successful land claim (Chennells, 2007a), the history of the ‡Khomani San indicates the presence of possible soul wounds/colonial psychopolitical injury (Duran & Duran, 1995). These soul wounds could be in the form of

the effects of pejorative references (Krüger, 2007; Le Roux & White, 2004). By being denied settlement rights on their ancestral land, the ǂKhomani San could also have retained psychopolitical injury in that they could have been perceived as a people without stable settlements who lived on the grace of others (Chennells, 2006).

In a comprehensive overview of literature on the effects of colonisation and apartheid, Lazarus et al. (2009) came to the understanding that such historical trauma has definite negative influences on affected indigenous communities. By having an awareness of these soul wounds/psychopolitical injuries caused by historical trauma (Duran & Duran, 1995), agents of critical education support will be careful not to perpetuate such traumatic experiences.

In order to understand the sensitivities around historical trauma I draw on an analysis offered by Bulhan (1985), a scholar writing from a postcolonial position about the psychological effects of colonialism. The model that I eventually propose in this chapter is influenced by these and other ideas, as will be mentioned later on.

Given the historically oppressed position of the ǂKhomani San, Bulhan's (1985, p. 124) analysis that situations of oppression "violate one's space, time, energy, mobility, bonding and identity" is very relevant. This analysis is relevant because of the aspects that have to be sensitively kept in mind when education support interventions are planned for and with this community. The model that I propose tries to capture the planning process for education support interventions. In the following paragraph I explain the aspects highlighted by Bulhan (1985) in relation to

oppression and in relation to the situation of the ‡Khomani San, historically and currently.

Bulhan (1985) holds that the oppressed experience intrusions into, curtailing and even non-acknowledgement of their *space*. This space is understood to refer to physical, geographic locality as well as psychologically perceived group environments. In a situation of oppression, these notions of space are physically and psychopolitically narrowed down by the powerful group mainly for the purpose of control. The oppressed group, according to this analysis, then has very little physical and psychological room to maneuver in. Their space is taken over and controlled by the oppressor group (Bulhan, 1985).

The spatial oppression of the ‡Khomani San is evident in their diaspora following the legislation that declared large areas of their traditional land, their physical and psychopolitical space, a national park (Chennels, 2006). They were not allowed to settle on their ancestral lands and thus had to live on other people's land. As time went by, the apartheid government sanctioned land occupants stopped acknowledging the rights of the ‡Khomani San to their land. Now that the ‡Khomani San have received their land back there are still constraints, systemic and otherwise; for example, inadequate government support that prevents them from fully utilising the land. However, the ‡Khomani San are landowners now and they have to be respected as such. Any planned intervention has to be mindful of the historical violations of space that the ‡Khomani San endured. On the other hand such planning for intervention should also consider the ‡Khomani San's current situation as restored landowners.

In terms of the analysis of Bulhan (1985), violation of *time* means that the hours of the day are mostly spent in the service of the oppressor. The oppressed group does not have full control over how they want to spend their time. Their days are divided into tasks that serve the interest of the oppressor. Historically the ‡Khomani San were in the employ of other people, sometimes even on their own ancestral land. They had to tender more of their hours to the employers' than to their own needs. In this research a finding was made that there are very little recreational activities with which ‡Khomani San members can fill their leisure hours. Some indications were also given about large scale unemployment. The findings indicate that they feel they are unproductive and struggle to fill their days with activities that enhance their well-being. Therefore, even under the current dispensation of being landowners, the lack of opportunities for productive use of time is another form of continuation of the violent time-infringement of oppression (Bulhan, 1985). The ‡Khomani San do not have many opportunities for employment in the service of their own community. Due to practical arrangements regarding farming practices, they also do not have total freedom to fill their time living ancient hunter-gatherer lives. The ‡Khomani San then still have very little control over the use of their time.

In furthering the oppressor's interests, the oppressed spend much *energy* working for someone else (Bulhan, 1985). The findings of this research suggest that currently the ‡Khomani San's time and energy is claimed by an unrewarding existence, as evidenced by the calls for recreational activities by mostly ‡Khomani San participants. This is not to suggest that where people do have meaningful employment they do not want to engage in recreational activities.

Therefore, even if many of the ‡Khomani San members do not spend their energy working for someone else, they do not seem to have alternative positive ways of spending their productive and recreational energy. In Bulhan's (1985) analysis, the ‡Khomani San is then still in an oppressed condition due to the lack of choice on how to spend their energy.

Living on the property of the oppressor curtails the *mobility* of the oppressed. The oppressed have to obtain the owner's permission to move beyond the designated perimeters (Bulhan, 1985). In recent times the ‡Khomani San obtained much of their traditional land through a government-facilitated land claim (Chennells, 2007b). In terms of Bulhan's (1985) analysis, they then have their own designated perimeters which are not arbitrarily determined by an oppressive power. However, the ‡Khomani San's mobility to reach places other than their land is curtailed. These constraints can be financial or due to lack of dependable transport. Even the rules of their own property rights prohibit the traditionalists from hunting and tracking beyond the land designated for such purposes (Chennells, 2007b). Hence, in their landownership, the ‡Khomani San still experience certain conditions of oppressive bondage.

Under oppressive conditions the oppressed's *bonding* with fellow oppressed is seen as not in the interest of the oppressor (Bulhan, 1985). If the oppressed are allowed to bond with their fellow oppressed, the oppressor sees a threat in such behaviour. The oppressor fears that such bonding can lead to conspiracy against his power. In socialising with fellow oppressed people, group identity-formation occurs. Bonding opportunities create the space for such identity formation to develop. Again this process is viewed

as detrimental to the interest of the oppressor (Bulhan, 1985).

Historically, for the ǂKhomani San, the acts of bonding and identity-formation was considered dangerous (Le Roux & White, 2004). The danger was that the mere identity of being San identified them as people who could be shot for stock-theft without consequences to the farmer. However, as seen in the findings of the research, there is currently an explicit willingness to accept the bonding and identity of the ǂKhomani San. This finding is a very positive development as it affirms the identity formation of this community. This willingness is seen in the hundred percent agreement that education support services must recognise the indigenous knowledge of the ǂKhomani San. Despite this willingness, there was little evidence of such recognition in the documents analised in this research.

The analysis of Bulhan (1985) regarding the challenges to identity includes the observation that information about the oppressed is untruthful, restricted or controlled. This means that information about the oppressed was disseminated by the oppressors with the aim of strengthening their control over the oppressed. Therefore such information was manipulated and distorted to portray the oppressor in a favorable manner. The oppressed was portrayed in ways that showed them as unequal to the oppressed.

For years the ǂKhomani San were silenced to the point of an assumption of extinction (Chennells, 2004). There were very little mainstream information sources about the ǂKhomani San and thus it was assumed that they were extinct. Today, still, they have very little direct control over information-production and dissemination about their lives. They do not

own the means of production in the knowledge economy. Therefore others, like researchers, write about the lives of the ǂKhomani San. This is a situation with the potential for a continuation of oppressive practices. More powerful others control the information about the ǂKhomani San. This control may be wrongly exercised to suit the wishes and plans of those others. Therefore a sensitive, trustworthy and inclusive handling of information about the ǂKhomani San is essential.

Learning from critical scholars on education support and inclusive education such as Arzubiaga, Artiles, King and Harris-Murri (2008), it is understood that research is a cultural practice with its own assumptions and biases. Research as knowledge production is not a neutral activity that is always performed for the benefit of the community studied. These assumptions and biases need to be brought to consciousness through "epistemic reflexivity" (Arzubiaga et al., 2008, p. 323). This means that researchers, including myself, need to have an overt awareness of their own practices and biases so that they avoid harming the very people they purport to assist through research.

These biases can emanate from sources such as sociocultural markers of diversity, including social class, race and gender. Another source of bias can be found in the researcher's location within a particular academic field. This is an interesting source of bias identified by Arzubiaga et al. (2008). These authors acknowledge that certain academic fields provide researchers with a certain way of looking at the world and its people. They advocate the explicit-making of the chosen academic field's practices and biases. Lastly, Arzubiaga et al. (2008) caution against a tendency to show a bias towards withdrawing from real world issues in favour of

intellectualist pursuits. This bias has the effect of confining the researcher to thinking about the world rather than acting in it.

Knowledge producers such as researchers who work in the ǂKhomani San community have their epistemic reflexivity strongly called into action. When researchers are aware of their biases and deliberately work to avoid the practices associated with such biases, it follows that the knowledge they produce with and about the ǂKhomani San will probably not perpetuate oppression. The ways in which such knowledge is controlled will probably also not be oppressive.

As evident from the above and other discussions, the awareness of power relations and awareness of the use of power are themes that consistently surface. To me this is not surprising because I assume that the context of colonialism is always present when discussion is held about the ǂKhomani San school community. As pointed out earlier, in Chapter 2, colonialism was very much about the inequitable exercise of power by a stronger colonial authority over subjugated indigenous communities. One of the key challenges that Lazarus (2006, p. 542) identified for South Africa, following her research in the Native American context, is that "power dynamics relating to ongoing colonialism" needs to be addressed in the strive towards health promotion in education. This challenge clearly identifies power dynamics and colonialism as issues that need to be reflected on in the education context. The recurring theme of *power* in this research serves as evidence that Lazarus' (2006) challenge plays out in the field of education support provision within the context of the ǂKhomani San school community. It should be noted that

the ‡Khomani San showed exceptional agency by their institution of a land claim (Chennells, 2002). Despite the critical stance taken in this discussion, I do not assume that the ‡Khomani San is devoid of power.

Another critical discourse around the practices of education support provision is found in the theoretical work by Artiles, Harris-Murri and Rostenberg (2006). These authors interrogated the social justice views that are prevalent in discussions around Inclusive Education, in which education support is embedded. They found that, at present, two main discourses dominate the social justice views in Inclusive Education; justification and implementation discourses. The justification discourse is characterized by an individualist social justice focus on the rights of and the ethical treatment of individuals who experience barriers to learners. Included in this individualist focus are discourses about the efficacy of special education. The implementation discourses have a communitarian social justice focus. This communitarian focus draws on political and pragmatic discourses in social justice. The communitarian focus centres around the cohesion of communities of people experiencing barriers in order to advance political and pragmatic goals. However sound these social justice foci may seem, they have limitations when analysed through a critical lens.

Artiles et al. (2006) express the view that these current social justice views do not adequately recognize the social context. The provision of more open access and better distribution of resources also do not radically alter the conditions and structures that are at the root of many social inequalities that lead to under- or over-representation of certain groups experiencing barriers. Like Lazarus (2006), Artiles et al. (2006) recognize in inclusive education

discourses the lack of attention to unequal power relations and inequitable use of power which does not challenge entrenched privilege on which injustice is built. This critique of current views in inclusive education and education support scholarship and practice is strongly foregrounded by the findings in this research project.

The lack of explicit attention to unequal power relations in their delivery of education support services to the ‡Khomani San is evident in the responses by the government officials who took part in this research. There is also very little awareness of the social conditions and structures which are at the heart of many of the barriers that the ‡Khomani San school community experiences.

Therefore, an alternative way of thinking about education support services will have to include these issues of power and social justice explicitly in a transformative paradigm. Furthermore the value of reflexive conduct also needs to be included in such an alternative. The model that is proposed in the following section incorporates the awareness of power relations borne out of the colonial history of the ‡Khomani San. This model also builds on the value that reflexivity holds in this context.

7.3 PROPOSED MODEL FOR EDUCATION SUPPORT SERVICES TO THE ‡KHOMANI SAN

The model of education support that I propose is not a model for *intervention* in a particular prescribed way but rather an *approach* as to *how* services and interventions should be designed and evaluated. I propose that all efforts at

education support to the ‡Khomani San school community should be evaluated against this model.

Education support services should be evaluated to see if the services strive to adhere to the transformative principles of: strengths, prevention, empowerment and community change (Lazarus, 2007; Prilleltensky, 2009a). When education support services follow these principles in design and execution it may lead to personal, relational and collective well-being of members of a community. These principles are explained in the following paragraph.

Strengths refer to the expertise that people have about their own lives and the conditions they find themselves in (Prilleltensky et al., 2007). No-one can be regarded as more knowledgeable about others than those people themselves. People thus have to be recognized for having assets such as skills and strategies through which they navigate their lives and conditions. This acknowledgement of expertise implies that interaction with other people needs to be respectful with regards to their knowledge and skills.

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 79) define *prevention* as the attempts to "reduce the incidence or onset of a disorder in a population". Attempts to detect and intervene early when a problem has already occurred are not regarded as prevention as such. There are three approaches to prevention: universal, selective and indicated approaches (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Approaches that are characterized as universal and selective are implemented when a potential problem is identified and prevented from occurring. Indicated approaches to prevention fall outside of the technical definition because such interventions are implemented when a problem has already occurred but is in

an early stage of development. All people in a population are targeted as clients during universal prevention. People who are regarded as meeting a certain risk profile are considered clients in a selective approach to prevention. When people who already show early signs of the problem are targeted, then such approaches are called indicated approaches to prevention and early intervention. Prevention of problems, consistent with the values of community psychology (Lazarus, 2007), form one of the cornerstones of transformative education support services to which the model aspires.

Empowerment is another principle to be clarified. This principle refers to "the development of a personal sense of control over one's life as well as the political control of factors that influence one's life" (Lazarus, 2007). The notion of psychopolitical control indicates how closely linked personal, relational and collective aspects are in the social and political lives of people (Prilleltensky et al., 2007). Adequate recognition and negotiated use of people's control over their lives are the cornerstones of empowerment.

Community change refers to the promotion of social justice values and actions which will lead to the improvement of community well-being (Prilleltensky, 2009a). The community should ideally move towards a better position than before when such community change is implemented.

References to *well-being* are deceptively simple. Well-being is a complex term that refers to the personal, relational and collective aspects of health (Prilleltensky, 2009a). Health as a World Health Organisation-defined concept denotes "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and

not merely the absence of disease" (Lazarus, 2007). Well-being further indicates that the needs and aspirations of individuals and communities are mostly fulfilled (Prilleltensky, 2009b).

Interventions that aim to enhance well-being should take into account that well-being is felt on the level of the individual, in the relationships that individuals are engaged in and in the communities where people live (Prilleltensky, 2009a). Education support strategies aimed at transforming communities such as the ‡Khomani San school community, should target all three areas of well-being, individual, relational and collective, and not just focus on individual well-being.

Transformative practice is the preferred way of interventions in communities because it is wellness-enhancing in nature (Prilleltensky, 2008). With transformative practices there is a strong awareness of the psychopolitical validity of such practices in relation to communities. *Psychopolitical validity* refers to the critical consciousness of the "role of power in wellness, oppression and liberation at the personal, relational and collective domains" (Prilleltensky, 2008: 13). It is regarded as a criterion with which well-being seeking actions and their underlying theories are evaluated in how they deal with questions of oppression and liberation (Prilleltensky, 2007). Education support services should be psychopolitically valid in its delivery. This means that such services would be assessed favorably in how it enhances the psychopolitical well-being of a community.

Based on the discussion above, the findings of the research, and the theoretical framework of critical community psychology, I propose a *model of transformative practice*

which is guided by inter-relational reflexivity when education support services are designed with and delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community.

For the visual representations that assist with the explanation of the model I draw on Prilleltensky (2009a,b,c) for the figure depicting transformative practice (Figure 7.1) and on Gilbert and Sliep (2009) with their exploration of inter-relational reflexivity (Figure 7.2). The two main thrusts of the proposed model; *transformative practice* and *inter-relational reflexivity*, have an overt aim of personal, relational and collective well-being which is psychopolitically valid.

This model has implications for the roles that people will play in the design and implementation of education support interventions in the ǂKhomani San school community. In the main, these roles will shift from pure bureaucratic functionaries on the part of service providers, and from passive recipients on the part of the ǂKhomani San school community. Both these parties will have to develop into the roles of partnership makers, change makers and knowledge makers as Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) demarcated the new roles of community psychologists in a transformative framework.

The role of *partnership maker* is built on the premise that partners will help to make a change in communities (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). One of the tasks includes being an "inclusive host" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 202). This is a task which speaks to the theory and actions of both the community and its partners. In an inclusive setting, partners will play their parts in the creation of respectful and supportive environments. Another important task is to

actively seek for assets and strengths in all partners as they listen to each other. The basis of this task is in the acceptance that every partner may have something to contribute to a transformative process. In this research the participants pointed out a number of partners with whom partnerships regarding education support for the ‡Khomani San school community were already engaged in. When all parties start adopting the stance of inclusive hosts and asset seekers, the planning and implementation of future education support services may draw more benefits. One of the benefits may be the buy-in by the ‡Khomani San school community into the concept of active partnering. On the part of service providers there may, for instance, develop a greater awareness of the value that the utilization of the indigenous knowledge systems of the ‡Khomani San may add to their efforts.

The role of *change maker* has at its root the aim to prevent the reproduction of the conditions that created the need for intervention in the first instance (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Caution is expressed by these authors about the manner in which perverse collaboration is used by the powerful to protect their privilege. Change makers pose troubling questions about the role of representation, empowerment, values and eventual beneficiaries during interventions. In the context of the delivery of education support services in the ‡Khomani San school community, it is important that change making is an active role played by all parties. When the ‡Khomani San community and their partners will, for instance, start to question the lack of empowerment that some interventions leave the community with, then they will problematise the disempowering nature of some practices.

The role of *knowledge maker* entails the in-depth study of the intervention process as it unfolds (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Such an approach by partners ensures that lessons learned through mistakes and successes are adequately captured. Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 206) see this role as the nurturing of a "culture of knowledge". In the context of the ǂKhomani San the process of knowledge making is crucial given their resettlement and reconstitution process (Chennells, 2007b). During this process much knowledge is produced, rediscovered and recreated. It is then logical that the ǂKhomani San' and their partners in education support services will gain many benefits when they adopt the role of knowledge makers.

As I pointed out with the suggestions offered by Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005), the roles of the ǂKhomani San and other partners in the design and implementation of education support to this school community will change for the better when education support is a transformative process informed by inter-relational reflexivity (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009). The roles will change to those of partnership makers, change makers and knowledge makers.

A description of the two main thrusts in the proposed model is offered in the following paragraphs. First the visual representation of transformative practice (Figure 7.1) is described, followed by a description of Figure 7.2 which visually represents the processes of inter-relational reflexivity. Further discussion follows these descriptions.

Figure 7.1 consists of two axes. The horizontal axis indicates the contextual field and the vertical axis represents the affirmation field. In the contextual field two ends are indicated. The conservative left end is described as reactive

and individual; the transformative right end as proactive and collective (Prilleltensky, 2005). On the affirmation field the conservative bottom end is an orientation that is detached and deficit-oriented. The transformative top end is an approach that is strength-based and empowering. These contextual and affirmation fields intersect and create four quadrants.

The first quadrant fosters "voice and choice" (Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 59) in a range of activities, like inputs into policy processes and community development initiatives. In the second quadrant some of the same activities of first quadrant may be found but the difference is that those activities are informed by the detached approach which is deficit-oriented. The third quadrant depicts a medical-type orientation under the influence of two conservative poles; the reactive, individual pole, and the detached, deficit-oriented pole. In this third quadrant people are seen as help-seekers who look towards experts for solutions. In the fourth quadrant the benefits of a strength-based, empowering approach are tempered by the conservative reactive and individual contextual modes. People are still viewed as clients who have to seek the expertise of professionals even if those experts tend to operate from a framework that allows them to acknowledge others' strengths. With the model of transformative practice, the most desired design and implementation of education support services will fall in the first quadrant of Figure 7.1 which is influenced by the positive poles of the affirmation and contextual fields (Prilleltensky, 2005).

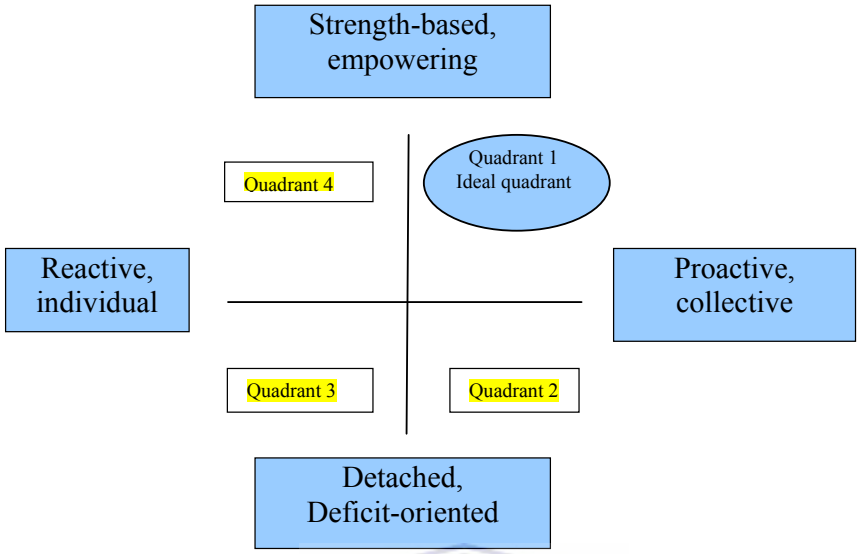

Figure 7.1: Transformative practice (derived from Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 59)

In support of the thrust of transformative practice I draw on the concept of inter-relational reflexivity by Gilbert and Sliep (2009). Figure 7.2 depicts four loops which are connected to each other. Each loop represents a process in the critical awareness- and understanding-building processes involved in inter-relational reflexivity. One loop represents the deconstruction of power that is present in the collective. Another loop depicts the process in which moral agency is determined. Yet another loop symbolizes how accountability and responsibility are negotiated in the process. The concept of positive performative actions is also represented by a loop. The connectedness among the loops indicates a dynamic, unending movement from loop to loop as the process of critical awareness-building unfolds. The figure therefore captures the non-linear and non-hierarchical processes involved in the creation of critical awareness and

understanding during social action for community change (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009).

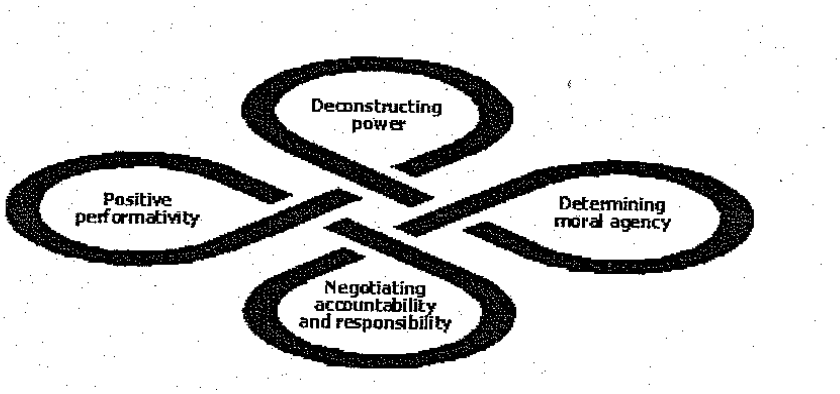

Figure 7.2: Inter-relational reflexivity (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009, p. 472)

Each of the four loops is now explained according to the theory offered by Gilbert and Sliep (2009). Inter-relational reflexivity is based on an acceptance of the central place of the relationships people engage in as they navigate their worlds. The four loops indicate different aspects that are needed to establish and maintain productive and transformative relations during the activities that lead to social action.

The loop of deconstructing power refers to a scrutiny of the differences in status and authority of stakeholders engaged in a common action. Questions that Gilbert and Sliep (2009, p. 472) typically ask when deconstructing power are: "Who in the relationship controls access to resources? Who has the power to make decisions?". By revealing the centres of power as well as the assumptions of stakeholders, space is created for the negotiation of equitable distribution of power. In relation to how education support services are designed and delivered in the context of the ǂKhomani San,

the deconstruction of power reveals an uneven pattern, as previously mentioned (Chapter 6). This pattern has the ǂKhomani San school community mostly in a recipient position rather than an equal partner position. The exercise of power clearly lies more in the hands of the providers of education support services. In terms of inter-relational reflexivity, there is a need for a co-deconstruction of power relations before, during and after the delivery of education support services. The critical awareness of the nature, patterns and exercise of the power relations may lead to alternative, more empowering ways of delivering education support services to the ǂKhomani San school community.

When stakeholders have the critical consciousness of how power operates, then a decision needs to be made about the nature of the better relations. This leads to a process in which all stakeholders negotiate the preferred positive outcomes through an agreed understanding of the moral action to be taken. This is the loop of determining moral agency (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009). The research findings in this study indicate that very little co-construction of outcomes currently occurs in the design and implementation of education support services to the ǂKhomani San school community. If moral agency is to be co-determined in a transformative process of education support, then the ǂKhomani San school community will actively participate in the design of outcomes for education support. This critical analysis does not imply that agents of education support never design interventions with the ǂKhomani San.

The moral agency determined in the previous loop has to be effected by a set of responsibilities and accountabilities (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009). Negotiations take place about this accountability and responsibility in the loop following the

determination of the course of moral social action. Accountability refers to the notion that someone has to answer for her/his actions, but still within the framework of developing relationships. Therefore, "accountability is to the group or collective rather than the individual" (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009, p. 475). Responsibility means that someone should be trusted to advance the tasks vested on her/him. With both concepts it is understood that: it is named, clearly understood and accepted by everyone involved. These accountabilities and responsibilities may evolve as social action progresses.

The findings of my research indicate very little evidence of proper negotiations about accountability and responsibility between the stakeholders in the implementation of education support in the ǂKhomani San school community. An alternative to that disempowering mode of practice would be that the roles, accountabilities and responsibilities of all parties are thoroughly and respectfully negotiated. Such an alternative practice may avoid a situation where the service providers, for instance social workers, feel overburdened and the ǂKhomani San is relegated to passive patient- or clienthood. In terms of inter-relational reflexivity the alternative is that relationships are redesigned to reflect the practical accountabilities and responsibilities of all parties (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009). Again, the critical analysis does not rule out that proper negotiations regarding accountability and responsibility do occur between providers of education support services and the ǂKhomani San school community. Evidence of such equal negotiations was found in the documents that recorded meetings between parents and the Department of Education regarding the scholar transport.

When the inter-relational processes, as described above, lead to practice, then the loop of positive performativity is set in motion (Gilbert & Sliep, 2009). Positive performativity is action rather than an intellectual, thought process. In positive performativity the critical awareness about an intervention's dimensions of power, moral agency, accountability and responsibility is converted into action informed by all these dimensions. During the action of positive performativity it is clear that dominant, disempowering discourses are disturbed. The moral agency described in a previous paragraph guides positive performativity.

In this research it became clear that much of the education support services delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community were well-meaning. Some of those services may even have been planned within a psychopolitically valid framework determining the moral agency to be followed. There is however, few indications of inter-relational reflexivity during the implementation and reporting of the interventions. This means that, measured against inter-relational reflexivity, much of the services delivered as education support to the ǂKhomani San school community lacked the depth that characterizes positive performativity. Alternative ways of implementing education support will have to show the elements of inter-relational reflexivity. For instance, partners will have to be actively reflexive about the representation of people and groups during an intervention in the ǂKhomani San school community. Records of intervention will have to be kept as processes unfold. Such records will have to reflect the critical awareness-building processes associated with inter-relational reflexivity.

In the transformative practice depiction, it is apparent that the most undesirable location of education support will be in the quadrant created by the negative ends of the two axes (Quadrant 3, Figure 7.1). In this mode, education support delivery is located within a framework where support activities are only activated when problems already occur (reactive), and where the unit of analysis is the individual (Prilleltensky, 2005). Furthermore, in this undesirable mode, the approach to education support is influenced by the negation of people's strengths and power. If education support is located in this quadrant, those who design and implement interventions are only guided by the problems and the supposed lack of assets that beset the target community. The design and implementation of education support can then occur at a detached distance from the target community.

In the context of the ǂKhomani San community such a framework echoes some of the findings from this research. There was mention of individual interventions with victims of sexual abuse at the school hostel. This sort of intervention is a classic quadrant 3-type with its reactive, individual focus and detached delivery by education support service personnel who did their professional duties and left. The data in the documents very seldom indicated explicit mention of an active search for assets and strengths within the ǂKhomani San school community. Evidence was also very scarce for proactive interventions. The delivery of education support services in this reactive, deficit-oriented mode did not seem to be very empowering or proactive. Serious inter-relational reflexivity about partners' motives and roles in execution of power relations will uncover the disempowering and reactive modes of education support delivery to the ǂKhomani San. On the other hand, inter-relational reflexivity will also uncover unhelpful

dispositions on the side of the ‡Khomani San school community, such as unwillingness to initiate preventative actions.

Due to the proximity of quadrants 2 and 4 to quadrant 1, it is difficult to have a discussion about the former two without reference to their overlapping elements with quadrant 1. I understand that quadrant 2 has in part a focus on proactive and collective practices but that its transformative potential is curtailed by the detached and deficit-oriented approach to support (Prilleltensky, 2005).

A weakness of quadrant 4 is the emphasis that interventions place on the singular efforts that individuals exercise in isolation of others (Prilleltensky, 2005). Another weakness is found in the expectation that, as in quadrant 3, people should approach professionals for help. A positive side to this mode of intervention, however, is that it recognises the strengths of people and that it aims to empower them. In the research findings mention was made of the involvement of an indigenous healer of the ‡Khomani San in the health project. From this quadrant 4-analysis, intervention can be seen as drawing on the strengths of the healer as someone very knowledgeable about the natural remedies that can augment the mainstream medicines. For the individual healer it may even have been an empowering experience to have had his/her knowledge and skills affirmed. However, individuals who were already ill would approach the health project for assistance, making the interventions reactive and individualist.

Although there is a place for delivery of similar modes of education support intervention, the ideal is still that quadrant 4-modes of intervention should not be the only

modes. Inter-relational reflexivity would show the merits and demerits of such modes of education support. In a transformative practice framework the use of the skills and knowledge of the indigenous healer would also extend into his strengths regarding the metaphysical world, for instance, to enable his facilitation of collective symbolic actions of healing.

Through an education support service model of transformative practice that is constantly engaged in inter-relational reflexivity, education support services will be delivered in such a way that it promotes the freedom to pursue educational well-being. Furthermore, the assets and strengths of the ‡Khomani San community will be thoroughly documented and utilised. Interventions will not just promote well-being for the immediate moment but will also prevent future occurrence of ill-being. Empowerment in this model will flow from the conscious efforts at depowerment by professional service providers. Depowerment of people in positions of privilege (Prilleltensky, 2009b) occurs when they minimise the impact of their powerful positions by sharing their skills and knowledge and by learning from others' skills and knowledge. Further empowerment will follow after identification of sources of oppression which can be addressed. Community change will be visible in development efforts such as participation in policy about housing, creation of recreational opportunities and quality assistance of learners. When this model of education support provision is followed, the ‡Khomani San school community will have more voice and choice (Prilleltensky, 2005) in the delivery of education support services. Hopefully their agency will be re-activated in the same way that they mobilised to reclaim their land.

7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided the answer to the research question about a model of education support for the ‡Khomani San school community. A model was presented and explained. This model proposed a framework for transformative practice within which a constant process of inter-relational reflexivity creates a critical awareness during interventions aimed at community change. The concepts in this model were illustrated by two figures and explained in full. Examples were offered to locate the possible applicability of the model in context of the ‡Khomani San school community and the design and implementation of education support services for this community.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study the research aim was to establish the factors considered to be relevant for the delivery of appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community and, on the basis of that, to propose a model for appropriate education support to this community. The objectives through which this aim was pursued included: the development of ethical guidelines to guide research with indigenous communities; understanding the policy of education support services in the South African context; identification of links between community psychology and the policy of education support service in South Africa; an exploration of the current delivery of education support services to the ǂKhomani San school community; and suggestions for alternative education support practices, in the form of a model for relevant education support service delivery to the ǂKhomani San school community.

In this chapter I reflect on the aim and objectives by summarising the findings of this research in two sections. Based on the findings of this research, I then make two forms of recommendations: around research methodology, and for education support practice. The limitations apparent in this study are subsequently described. Recommendations are then made for further research.

8.2 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Participants' perceptions of the kinds of services that support education, led to an inclusive definition of education support services, which will be repeated under the section on Key Findings in this chapter.

Participants in this study indicated that education support services have been delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community, in different forms and with different levels of success. A majority of participants reported that the different government departments and many non-governmental organisations delivered education support services. Unsurprisingly, the Department of Education stood out as the main provider of education support services. The South African San Institute (SASI) was identified as the main non-governmental organisation perceived to provide education support services.

Two of the concerns raised by the South African Human Rights Commission were addressed by the Department of Education and the Department of Social Services. One of these concerns was about allegations of sexual abuse of ǂKhomani San children at the school. The findings indicate that this concern was addressed through responses that included psychological interventions, and through the live-in-hostel arrangement of a social worker who provides preventative and curative interventions. The other concern was about the physical conditions and management of the school hostel infrastructure. The findings in this regard are that the Department of Education intervened in the management of the hostel by appointing another member of the school staff as supervisor, and appointed community members as co-supervisors in addition to the teachers who

co-supervise the learners. The Department of Education also started to maintain and repair the school hostel infrastructure. The Department of Education contracted transport providers so that ǂKhomani San parents have the option to allow their children to either commute or board at the school.

Several perceived needs and challenges relating to the ǂKhomani San school community were identified. Poverty was prominent among these perceived needs and challenges. Participants highlighted the lack of food, absence of proper housing and infrastructure, problems with learners' transport to and from school, and unemployment, as major indicators of poverty. Other needs and challenges highlighted include illiteracy, substance abuse and an absence of recreational activities.

A majority of participants displayed their agency by indicating that they requested various forms of education support services for themselves, their own children or for other people. The services were delivered with different forms of success.

It appears that the liaison between the school and the ǂKhomani San school community has improved. Other successful outcomes of the delivery of education support services include the drastic reduction in complaints about sexual abuse and about the conditions at the school hostel. Furthermore, the involvement of a traditional healer in a health project stood out as a successful merging of indigenous knowledge and education support services. Although it has been discontinued, the provision of regular career exposure excursions by the Department of Education

for senior learners at the school was regarded as a successful form of education support service.

Among the interventions regarded as unsuccessful, the Department of Education's perceived failure to sufficiently support the facilitation of the ‡Khomani San's language, N/u, stands out. Secondly, some teachers perceived that there had been a growth in absenteeism among ‡Khomani San learners who commute between their homes and the school. At the high school, some teachers also perceived that there was a higher early school leaving tendency among the ‡Khomani San learners. Thirdly, a social worker's perception was that substance abuse programmes were not successful. Lastly, the lack of coordination between services and stakeholders was considered to be a weakness in the education support system.

The need for recognition of the ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge and language was strongly expressed by participants. This echoes the South African Human Rights Commission's recommendation for recognition of the ‡Khomani San as an extraordinary group. There was acknowledgement by officials from the Department of Education that they did not adequately recognise the ‡Khomani San's indigenous knowledge. Their service delivery does not single out the ‡Khomani San school community as a particular case; they are treated as just another community.

An interesting finding, as expressed by two ‡Khomani San participants, was their perception that the ‡Khomani San display a lack of assertiveness, revealed through their perceived tendency to easily agree to statements and decisions made by outsiders. This finding relates closely to

another finding highlighted from an analysis of the ǂKhomani San feedback workshop held at the conclusion of the study: that the ǂKhomani San seem to provide outsiders with responses that they think the outsiders want to hear.

In the following section I highlight what I consider to be the most significant findings emerging from this study.

8.3 KEY FINDINGS

One of the main findings from this research was in relation to the ethical considerations that need to be kept in mind when research is conducted among the ǂKhomani San school community. Most of these ethical considerations can also be regarded as relevant for the delivery of education support services in this community.

Another important finding from this research is the inclusive understanding of education support services as revealed by the research participants. I repeat the definition here:

> *Education support services are all services, delivered by the Department of Education but not excluding other service providers (of the state and non-governmental organisations), that aim to provide relevant support for the attainment of direct or indirect educational goals, to create an enabling education environment.*

This definition correlates with the South African policy's understanding of education support. This definition creates the prospect to strive towards the values of intersectoral collaboration and community empowerment, among other values prevalent in community psychology (Lazarus, 2007).

However, such a broad definition also creates difficulties in terms of organisational allocation of duties in the Department of Education.

As evident in the definition above, the policy of education support services (White Paper 6, Department of Education, 2001) has a progressive thrust. Key community psychology values were uncovered in the analysis of this policy. I conclude that the policy is very appropriate for the context of the ‡Khomani San school community.

Other prominent findings relate to poverty, alleged substance abuse and the need to include ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge and cultural practices in education support. All these factors indicate the complex nature of this community which should be considered when education support services are planned and delivered.

A model of education support for the ‡Khomani San school community was developed. In summary, this model proposes an approach towards transformative practice which is guided by a constant process of inter-relational reflexivity during the design and delivery of education support services. True to the theoretical framework of critical community psychology, this model has an overt focus on power and how power shapes relations between the ‡Khomani San and service providers.

From these findings certain recommendations are proposed.

8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The theoretical framework of critical community psychology highlights the need to consider how one approaches research with indigenous communities, specifically, and other communities, in general. I recommend that prospective researchers with interests in working with indigenous and other communities consider how they should approach certain research activities before they gather data. Such pre-entry activities should be designed to help determine the nature of power relations. The distribution of power among community members can be investigated in terms of their membership of, participation in, and perceptions about community structures and organisations. Furthermore, the role that power plays in the relationship between the community and the researcher should also be explored before the researcher enters the community for research purposes. The research relationship may also be influenced by community members' past good and bad experiences with research and researchers. In addition to ethical considerations, an awareness of the distribution of power and other relevant factors may help in refining the research design so that barriers to maximum honesty in participants' data provision can be avoided or minimised.

Another methodological recommendation is that future research in the ǂKhomani San school community consider designs which utilise the full spectrum of participation on the continuum of participatory research (Cornwall, 2003). Also, it is important to consider moving towards the transformative end of the continuum, although this may prove difficult to attain (Mertens, 2009; Von Maltzahn & Van der Riet, 2006). However, it is important to note that transformative participation may produce deeper knowledge

in research. Furthermore, such transformative participation may set in motion community-driven initiatives towards social change.

The reasons behind the perceived successes and failures of certain education support interventions highlighted in this study should be explored. Such exploration may uncover conditions and systems that can be replicated or avoided when education support is provided to the ǂKhomani San school community.

Indigenous communities are among the most impoverished groups in their countries (Hall & Patrinos, 2005; O'Neill, 2009; Ottmann, 2009; Stromquist, 2007). Poverty leads to different forms of vulnerability (Colclough et al., 2003; Maarman, 2009; Muthukrishna, 2003; Wolhuter, 2007). I therefore recommend that all forms of education support designed for indigenous communities, specifically, and other impoverished communities, in general, take strong cognizance of the effects that poverty may have in creating barriers to learning. I concur with Stofile (2009, p. 219) where she recommends that a "differentiated inclusive education guide" be developed in an effort to meaningfully include learners who are vulnerable to barriers created by their conditions of poverty. Such an approach with a bias towards alleviating the effects of poverty will not be contrary to education support policy as the White Paper 6 displays a strong awareness of the barriers created by poverty (Department of Education, 2001).

With regards to South African indigenous communities such as the ǂKhomani San, I recommend targeted projects to determine their specific developmental needs. A targeted study about the conditions of indigenous communities has

been conducted in five Latin American countries; Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru (Hall & Patrinos, 2005). Although this Latin American study found that there were no differentiated policies favouring indigenous communities in particular, it still yielded very useful information for policy and planning in the countries concerned. My argument is that similar studies in the South African context may also provide crucial information, with which targeted intervention towards specific developmental goals for indigenous communities such as the ‡Khomani San can be planned and implemented.

Without disregarding the importance of all the challenges faced by the ‡Khomani San school community, I recommend that education support practitioners take into account the fact that this community also has assets. An asset-based view of education support services may yield more complex possibilities for alternative support initiatives in poor rural communities such as the ‡Khomani San school community (Siegel & Alwang, 1999). Education support service initiatives can also be driven by the need to uncover and utilise the social and psychological assets prevalent in such communities.

I recommend that conscious efforts be made to incorporate ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge and cultural practices in the delivery of education support to this school community. Serious efforts should be made to return the facilitation of the N/u language to the school curriculum. Another simple strategy is to ask ‡Khomani San members to share their ideas on how a particular intervention could be enhanced by drawing on their indigenous knowledge. The service providers should negotiate with the ‡Khomani San about the best way to recognise and include such indigenous

knowledge in all aspects of education, and education support.

A model of education support for the ‡Khomani San school community is suggested and thoroughly discussed in this research. Although developed as an outcome of this study in the particular context of the ‡Khomani San school community, this model may also be applicable in other contexts. I therefore recommend the application of the model in the ‡Khomani San school community but also in other communities.

8.5 LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

The main limitation of this study is its particular context, namely a rural and recently returned tract of land with a resettled community of indigenous people, the ‡Khomani San. The particularity of this community may limit the extent to which the findings and outcomes of the study can be generalised to other populations and communities.

The constraints of time, resources and availability, limited the number of participants to 24 in this study. This limited number can also be viewed as a limitation of the study. Although not an objective of this study, the lack of a comparison of participants' responses to the various questions could be regarded as a limitation.

Furthermore, as earlier explained, this research can be placed in the middle of the continuum of participation. This is a limitation within the context of participatory action research, although realistic conditions often make it impossible to achieve full participation in this kind of

research. Despite this limitation, the feedback workshop held at the end of the research process could be regarded as planting a seed towards transformative social actions in this community.

Areas for further research are mentioned in the following section.

8.6 FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research could be pursued in the following areas that were under-explored in this study:

Quantitative research could be undertaken to further document the social conditions of the ‡Khomani San school community. The information obtained in this manner may provide additional information with which to further influence education support policy and practice.

Indigenous knowledge notions of education support services in the ‡Khomani San context could be further explored.

Community practices which support education in this context could be identified through further research. My experience in this and other similar research has alerted me to the potential of the theoretical framework of *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2005). I suggest, therefore, that research could be conducted using this framework. Research through the theoretical lens of community cultural wealth may highlight more productive alternatives to deficit thinking about, for instance, the ‡Khomani San school community with its many challenges.

The model proposed in this study could be piloted in this context, and in other contexts.

8.7 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Through this study I conclude that, even though education support services *are* delivered to the ǂKhomani San school community, there is still more that can be done to make the delivery even more relevant and successful. This study showed that there *are* good practices which were successfully performed. There are, however, also practices which call for critical reflection by providers and recipients of education support services in the context of this study.

By reflecting on the particular ethical sensibilities relevant to this study, I wished to make a considered effort to be sensitive to the historical pain (Duran & Duran, 1995; Lazarus et al., 2009) caused to this indigenous community by their colonial experiences. One way of preventing further abuse of indigenous people is by consciously interrogating our thoughts and practices relating to how we engage with fellow South Africans.

A gap between intentions and practices regarding the recognition of ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge, was indicated in this research. All participants agreed that ǂKhomani San indigenous knowledge *should* be recognised but the reports about the delivery of education support showed a glaring absence of such recognition. I believe that providers and recipients of education support services in South Africa should *think* about the value that indigenous knowledge may add, and also *do* what they can to convert such progressive thoughts into sensitive practice.

The model suggested at the conclusion of this study indicates that continuous inter-relational reflexivity is a cornerstone of good practice in the delivery of education support services. This means that practices, whether successful or not, should always be critically interrogated to ensure equitable distribution of power for the optimal design and delivery of education support with and to the ǂKhomani San school community.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

INFORMATON SHEET AND INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I am a doctoral (PhD) student in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape, under the supervision of Professor Sandy Lazarus.

The title of the research is *Developing a model of education support for the ǂKhomani San school community*. The aim of this research is to establish the factors relevant to appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community and, on the basis of that, to propose a model for appropriate education support to the ǂKhomani San school community.

This research is of a survey-type. I will analyse relevant documents and will interview key informants. The significance of the research is that the determinants for relevant and responsive education support to the ǂKhomani San school community will be uncovered. On the basis of this, an appropriate model of education support will be developed with this specific community in mind. Furthermore this research will contribute to a growing corpus of scientific writing about the context of the ǂKhomani San. There are no known risks associated with participation in this research.

Participation in this research is anonymous, voluntary and participants can withdraw at any stage. Also, confidentiality will be protected as far as possible in this research.

As is the nature of research, the findings will be shared with audiences in different communities through publishing and/or presentations.

APPENDIX 1 (continued)

CONSENT FORM/RESEARCH AGREEMENT

Title of research: *Developing a model of education support for the ǂKhomani San school community.*

I have been duly informed about the research in a language that I understand. By signing this document , I:

- agree to voluntarily participate in the research,
- agree that I will not be identified in any way that will reveal my personal details,
- understand that I may withdraw at any moment without negative effect,
- understand that the findings of this research will be shared with relevant communities, including our own, and may even be published.

Participant's name: .....

Participant's signature: .....

Researcher's signature: .....

Date signed:.....

Researcher's contact information:

Willy Nel
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APPENDIX 2: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS INSTRUMENT

Source of document:……..
Type of document:……
Consent agreement signed: Yes/No
Name and Position of person who consented to use of document: …….

Were, or are education support services provided to the ‡Khomani San?

What types of education support were and are provided?

Are services rendered by Education authorities differentiated from services by other service providers and how?

Who provided education support services?

What were and are considered successful education support interventions (relevant, well-timed, with sustained momentum and long-term impact)?

What were and are considered unsuccessful education support interventions (irrelevant, ill-timed, with no sustainability, with little impact)?

Are there any remarks/notes in the documents that point to ideal types of education support services or good practice?

How was education support solicited?

By whom was education support solicited?

Are there indications that the ‡Khomani San community themselves expressed needs that could or did lead to education support services?

Are there indications that other people or agencies expressed needs that could lead to education support services?

Which expressed needs actually led to education support services?

Which needs were expressed that should ideally have led to education support services?

Are there indications that education support services recognise ‡Khomani indigenous knowledge systems?

Are there any needs expressed for education support services to recognise ‡Khomani indigenous knowledge systems?

Are ‡Khomani San indigenous knowledge systems utilised in the delivery of education support services?

APPENDIX 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SECTION A: Demographic data
Date of interview: …….
Place of interview: ……..
Interviewee's name (person can prefer to be anonymous): .....
Consent given on form: Yes/No
Gender: Male/Female
Designated group:

‡Khomani school learner/Youth/Adult/Elder/Healer/Other: ……..
NGO member (name of NGO): ……
CPA member
Government Official: Municipal/Department of Education/Teacher/Other: …
Other group: …….

SECTION B: Items
Education support is about the prevention and eradicating of barriers to learning.

1. Which kinds of services do you consider to be providing education support?

2. Have education support services been rendered to the ‡Khomani San? YES/NO. If YES, what types of education support were and are rendered to the ‡Khomani San?

3. Who renders education support services to the ‡Khomani San?

4. Who do you think should render education support services to the ‡Khomani San?

5. Have you previously requested education support services to be rendered to the ‡Khomani San? YES/NO. If YES, how and why did you request these services?

6. Have other people previously requested education support services to be rendered to the ‡Khomani San? YES/NO. If YES, how and why did they request these services?

7. Which needs of the ‡Khomani San should lead to the delivery of education support services?

8. Give examples of what you consider to be successful education support interventions rendered to the ‡Khomani San (relevant, well-timed, with sustained momentum and long-term impact).

9. Give examples of what you consider to be unsuccessful education support interventions rendered to the ‡Khomani San (irrelevant, ill-timed, with no sustainability, with little impact).

10. Give your ideas of ideal types of education support services that should be rendered to the ‡Khomani San.

11. Are there indications that education support services recognise the knowledge, culture and traditions of the ‡Khomani San? YES/NO. Why?

12. Do you think that education support services should take into account the knowledge, culture and traditions of the ‡Khomani San? YES/NO. If YES, how? If NO, why?

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANALYZED

Source of documents: Northern Cape Department of Local Government and Housing serving as the Secretariat of the ‡Khomani San Steering Committee, an initiative of the Premier's office

Type of documents: Minutes of Steering Committee meetings from 25 October 2005-15 November 2007 , in total 14 documents were analysed.

Consent agreement signed: Yes

Position of person who consented to use of document:
Secretary of the Steering Committee as mandated by the chairperson of the Steering Committee

Document code	Document description
SC 1	Minutes, 25 Oct 2005
SC 2	Minutes, 06 Dec 2005
SC 3	Minutes, 15 Feb 2006
SC 4	Minutes, 23 March 2006
SC 5	Minutes, 20 Apr 2006
SC 6	Minutes, 25 May 2006
SC 7	Minutes, 28 June 2006
SC 8	Minutes, 31 Aug 2006
SC 9	Minutes, 26 Oct 2006
SC 10	Minutes, 13 March 2007
SC 11	Minutes, 8 May 2007
SC 12	Minutes, 17 July 2007
SC 13	Project status report, Sep 2007
SC 14	Minutes, 15 Nov 2007

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANALYZED

(continued)

Source of document: Northern Cape Department of Education (NCDE), Siyanda District Office

Types of documents: A total of 12 documents, including: Reports about support, response letters to the Human Rights Commission, Support programmes, Survey research report

Consent agreement signed: Yes

Position of person who consented to use of documents:
District Director of NCDE; and the Unit manager of
Education Support Services and Inclusive Education

Document code	Document description
E1	NCDE response to Human Rights Commission, 28 Oct 2004, reprint 22 Aug 2008
E2	Task list and report of visit, 2 Sep 2004
E3	Programme of career exposure day, 17 Sep 2004
E4	Submission of ESS involvement, 13 Oct 2004
E5	PowerPoint of HRC letter, Nov 2004
E6	PowerPoint: Draft support plan, Nov 2004
E7	Support plan, Nov-Dec 2004
E8	Progress report, support plan, 9-19 Nov 2004
E9	Report of visit, 4 May 2005
E10	Report of visit, 24 May 2005
E11	Request to Social Services, 30 May 2005
E12	Survey results, May 2005
E13	Report to KS Steering Committee, 28 June 2005
E14	Report on matters pertaining the KS, 15 May 2006

APPENDIX 5: LIST OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS, CODED

TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS = 24

‡Khomani San participants = 11	**Non-‡Khomani San participants = 13**
Allocated numbers: 5,7,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,24	**Allocated numbers: 1,2,3,4,6,8,9,10,11,20,21,22,23**
5. SASI Kalahari co-ordinator, also a ‡Khomani San youth, male	1. Informed party-political office-bearer, also resident in area where ‡Khomani San lives, former teacher at the primary school where most ‡Khomani San children go to school, female
7. ‡Khomani San adult, parent of schoolgoing child, female	2. Head of school hostel and senior teacher at the primary school where most ‡Khomani San children go to school, male
12. ‡Khomani San adult, parent of schoolgoing child, female	3. Social worker of Dept Social Services, lives and has her office in the school hostel at the primary school where most ‡Khomani San children go to school, female
13. ‡Khomani San adult, guardian of schoolgoing child, female	4. Community Development Worker of Dept of Housing and Local Government. This CDW is not officially designated to Andriesval (the settlement of the ‡Khomani San) but delivers service in the interim whilst the CDW vacancy of Andriesvale still exists. She lives in the area where most of the ‡Khomani San live, female.
14. ‡Khomani San adult, parent of schoolgoing child, female	6. Municipal manager, male
15. ‡Khomani San adult, healer (tradisional massager), female (This interview was recorded as a free-flowing conversation. The respondent preferred to speak freely without the format of set interview questions).	8. Dept of Education official, district unit manager in unit for Education Support Services and Inclusive education, female
16. ‡Khomani San adult, parent of schoolgoing child, female	9. Dept of Education official, psychologist in the unit for Education Support Services and Inclusive Education, male
17. ‡Khomani San adult, parent of a schoolgoing child, female	10. Dept of Education official, circuit manager of the Kalahari circuit in which the KS area falls, male
18. ‡Khomani San youth, SASI employee, tour guide, male He was also my research assistant	11. Dept of Education official, circuit manager (who was principal of the school at Askham where majority of KS learners attend school), male
19. ‡Khomani San adult, SASI employee, tour guide, female	20. Hostel father at the high school where many ‡Khomani San children go to complete schooling, male

24. ‡Khomani San adult, male	21. Principal of high school where ‡Khomani San learners go to, male
	22. Teacher at primary school where ‡Khomani San learners go to, also resident in school hostel, female
	23. Teacher at primary school where ‡Khomani San learners go to, female