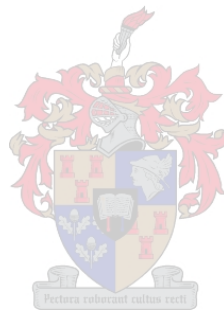# The place-making pedagogical practices of teachers in an inclusive high school

By

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Doctor of Education in the
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Supervisor: Prof. Aslam Fataar

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Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

March 2021

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Abstract

This thesis explores the place-making pedagogical practices of six high school teachers at their special-needs school. The study investigates a link between space and identity, which provides a conceptual platform to investigate how teachers go about conceptualising their place-making in their school, with a specific focus on their pedagogical practices. The investigation focuses on understanding the historical unfolding of the school's institutional culture, how teachers position themselves with respect to the dominant discourses and culture at the school, and how they 'made their place' through their pedagogical practices outside of and in their classrooms.

The theoretical framework is founded on Lefebvre's theory (1971/1991) on the production of space, which conceptualises the interaction of the physical, social and mental dimensions of space. I develop Lefebvre's theory by using Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus and Nespor's (1997) theory related to bodies in space in order to research the specific practices of the selected teachers at the school. These conceptual lenses allowed me explore the specific culture of the school within its context and the subjective pedagogical practices of the teachers.

This study is situated within the interpretivist paradigm and utilised an ethnographic research approach that produced findings based on qualitative data. Data were collected over a school year through the use of extensive participant observations as well as unstructured and semi-structured interviews.

My findings reveal that the historically unfolding institutional culture of the school positioned the school and its teachers in specific ways. The school expressed its Afrikaans, Christian, 'white tone' through the 'unwritten rules' prevalent in its daily operations and its prestige as a leading special-needs institution in South Africa. I argue that a discourse of managerialism had come to characterise the school's adapted institutional tone, made up of the managerial practices associated with the institutional functioning of the school. The school's institutional culture provided the context within which the agents (teachers) acted as active participants in the place-making processes at the school. Subsequently, as the teachers come immersed in the institutional culture, they activate facets of their accumulated dispositions and skills to establish their professional identities. Issues of class, race and age significantly impacted on each of the participating teachers' personal and professional socialising processes, situating each in different ways in the school. I argue that these teachers project and express particular professional subjectivities that resulted from how they understood their place and expressed themselves in the school. The teachers repositioned themselves vis-à-vis the institutional culture through their individualised ways of acting and living in the school. Finally, the selected teachers established their place-making pedagogical practices within the limits of the institutional culture and their specific subjectivities in making a place at the

school and in their classrooms. I argue that responding constructively to students' special educational needs depends on the ability of the teacher to establish a teacher subjectivity that would enable them to embrace the challenge to teach to the wide variety of students in this inclusive special-needs school.

Keywords

Teacher subjectivity; pedagogy; place-making; spatial theory; institutional/school culture; special-needs education, inclusive education; high school

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die pedagogiese praktyk van plekinruiming van ses hoërskoolonderwysers by hul skool vir spesiale leerbehoeftes. Die studie ondersoek 'n verband tussen ruimte en identiteit, wat 'n konseptuele platform bied vir 'n ondersoek na hoe onderwysers te werk gaan om hul plekinruiming in hul skool te konseptualiseer, met die klem spesifiek op hul pedagogiese praktyke. Die ondersoek fokus op insig in die historiese ontvouing van die skool se institusionele kultuur, hoe onderwysers hul posisioneer ten opsigte van die dominante diskoerse en kultuur by die skool, en hoe hulle "hul plek inruim" aan die hand van hul pedagogiese praktyke buite en binne die klaskamer.

Die teoretiese raamwerk is gegrond op Lefebvre se teorie (1971/1991) oor die produksie van ruimte, wat die interaksie van die fisiese, sosiale en geestelike dimensies van ruimte konseptualiseer. Ek ontwikkel Lefebvre se teorie deur gebruik te maak van Bourdieu (1977) se idee van habitus en Nespor (1997) se teorie wat met liggame in ruimtes verband hou om die geselekteerde onderwysers se spesifieke praktyke by die skool na te vors. Hierdie konseptuele lense stel my in staat om die spesifieke skoolkultuur binne die konteks van die skool en die subjektiewe pedagogiese praktyke van die onderwysers te ondersoek.

Die studie word binne die interpretivistiese paradigma geplaas en gebruik 'n etnografiese navorsingsbenadering, wat bevindings gebaseer op kwalitatiewe gegewens lewer. Data is vir 'n volle skooljaar deur middel van uitgebreide deelnemerwaarnemings, asook ongestruktureerde en semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude versamel.

My bevindinge toon dat die skool se histories ontvouende institusionele kultuur die skool en die onderwysers op spesifieke wyses posisioneer. Die skool se Afrikaanse, Christelike "wit toon" kom in die "ongeskrewe reëls" wat algemeen vir die skool se daaglikse bedrywighede geld en deur dié se aansien as 'n toonaangewende instelling vir spesiale behoeftes in Suid-Afrika tot uiting. Ek voer aan dat 'n bestuursdiskoers kenmerkend is van die skool se aangepaste institusionele toon, welke diskoers deur die bestuurspraktyke betreffende die institusionele funksionering van die skool tot stand gekom het. Die skool se institusionele kultuur verskaf die konteks waarbinne die agente (onderwysers) as aktiewe deelnemers in die plekinruimingsprosesse by die skool optree. Namate die onderwysers gevolglik in die institusionele kultuur verdiep raak, aktiveer hulle fasette van hul geakkumuleerde ingesteldhede en vaardighede om hul professionele identiteite te vestig. Kwessies rakende klas, ras en ouderdom het 'n beduidende uitwerking op elkeen van die deelnemende onderwysers se persoonlike en professionele sosialiseringsprosesse, en posisioneer elkeen op verskillende wyses in die skool. Ek voer aan dat hierdie onderwysers spesifieke professionele subjektiwiteite projekteer en uiter, wat die gevolg is van hoe hulle hul plek verstaan en hul binne

die skool uitdruk. Die onderwysers herposisioneer hul wat die institusionele kultuur betref deur die geïndividualiseerde wyses waarop hulle by die skool optree en leef. Laastens vestig die geselekteerde onderwysers hul pedagogiese praktyk van plekinruiming binne die beperkings van die institusionele kultuur en hul spesifieke subjektiwiteite om 'n plek in die skool en in hul klaskamers in te ruim. Ek voer aan dat die vermoë om konstruktief op leerders se spesiale opvoedingsbehoeftes te kan reageer, afhang van die onderwysers se vermoë om 'n onderwysersubjektiwiteit te vestig, wat hulle in staat stel om die uitdaging te omarm om 'n wye verskeidenheid leerders in dié inklusiewe skool vir spesiale behoeftes te onderrig.

Sleutelwoorde

Onderwysersubjektiwiteit; pedagogiek; plekinruiming; ruimtelike teorie; institusionele/skoolkultuur; spesiale-onderrigbehoeftes, inklusiewe onderwys; hoërskool

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God, Jesus and The Holy Spirit – I actually made it. You guided me every step of the way, providing insight and sustenance through all kinds of means. Life goals have been achieved, for which only You are truly to be praised.

Dedication

I dedicate this research study and dissertation to my father, Kenny Rinquest, who, as a proud alumnus, would have loved to share my journey with Stellenbosch University. His passing in 2012 propelled me on my postgraduate endeavours and the memories of his love and support sustained me on the way.

I am grateful for that in you which you imparted to me ♥

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a general orientation to this study that focuses on six teachers' pedagogical practices as place-making activities at one special-needs high school in Cape Town.

In this study place-making is understood as the process by which teachers construct place as they engage in individual and communal interactions and practices within their school's various social spaces (Nespor, 1997; O'Donoghue 2007; Tupper et al., 2008). The pedagogical practices of teachers, I argue, is central to their personal place-making endeavours at this special-needs school.

I utilise the notion of 'pedagogical practices' in a particular sense in this study specifically as the teachers' spatially engaged practices. I concur with Fataar (2008:8) who explains:

> pedagogical [practices] ... are not meant to denote the narrower focus on pedagogical processes associated with learning and teaching in the classroom. Instead, it refers to the intersecting practices that arise out of the [teachers'] engagements with the spaces of their work. Pedagogical thus refers to the ways their professional reflexivities have been constructed in a creative intersection with the social dynamics of the [school].

In this chapter, I present the background and rationale for this study, followed by a statement of the research question and sub-questions, the objectives of this study, the aim and significance of the study, the parameters of the study and its limitations. I conclude the chapter by providing an overview of each chapter, broadly outlining the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Background and Rationale

For the past 12 years I have been teaching at various public, mainstream and special-needs schools in Cape Town. After graduating from Stellenbosch University in 2007 with a Bachelors in Education degree I started working as a primary school mathematics teacher. For the first few years I worked in contract posts at four different primary schools in and around Cape Town, after which I started my first teaching position at a special-needs schools in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town in 2012. Coincidently, my post-graduate studies coincided with my journey in special-needs education, both commencing in 2012/2013. Since, I have been employed as a head of department (Grades 4 to 7) at a special-needs school in the southern suburbs of Cape Town where I first encountered a type of special-needs schooling, that seemed to me, at that time, as the ultimate example of an excellent inclusive school. Learners with an array of learning barriers and disabilities, who were taught the National Curriculum (CAPS). My pedagogical adaptations and

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personal learning at this school prompted my interest in how such inclusive educational spaces are created and the role of teachers in this process of 'making place'. I instantly knew that it was the type of school at which to conduct my PhD research study and, while orientating myself in my new position in this southern suburbs school, I took my time to formulate the research problem which drew my immediate attention.

Recollections of first observations at this relates to teacher preparedness to deliver special needs or inclusive education. None of the teachers I had contact with initially were explicitly trained to teach learners with special needs. Coming from a special needs background, with no specific training myself, I was surprised to see that a school with a strong special needs reputation appointed novice teachers without specific special needs training or even experience. My first thought was "How do these young teachers manage?" but more importantly, "How do they teach these special needs learners?" I struck up casual conversations with some of my colleagues about teaching in inclusive ways and probed their pedagogical practices to ascertain which support systems were in place and what further needs these teachers might have. Ultimately, I wanted to understand how teachers were creating inclusive learning spaces for their special-needs learners. I suspected that the broader school culture impacted on the way that these teachers went about their daily tasks and so I utilised the concept of place-making (which I was familiar with since using this construct for my Master's research project) to guide my conceptualisation of the research project.

While conceptualising this research study I approached a school, similar to the one I was then employed at, to negotiate access for doing my ethnographic research. After the proposal for this PhD research study was accepted at Stellenbosch University, the school that I proposed as the research site for this PhD study appointed me as a head of department of their senior phase (Grades 7 to 9). This posed a challenge for my researcher positionality because I would now be a teacher at this school. This appointment was an unanticipated development, which positioned me as researcher and teacher at Canaan School (the research site). I explain my researcher positionality and the processes I utilised to ensure validity and reliability of data findings in more detail in section 4.3 of the methodology chapter (Chapter 4).

I believe that schools are significant sites that can generate insights into the process of place-making as teachers 'live' in the school spaces and consequently negotiate their own emerging teacher identities in relation to the schools where they work. The link between space and identity provides the conceptual platform for the investigation of place-making at one special-needs high school.

Acknowledging context is critical in the field of social and educational research and especially in studies of an ethnographic nature. Context can be viewed as a complex coming together of various processes and features, creating intersections of physical geography, settlement history, gender,

race, language, social class, age, economy and politics (Nespor, 1997; Fataar, 2007; Soudien 2007). The context-related geographical and historical aspects of a research site are of great importance if one aims to gain an understanding at a site such as a school situated within specific borders and occupied by a particular group of people.

The post-apartheid South African context has seen issues of race, class, gender, (dis)ability and language play out in interesting and possibly unexpected ways. These issues are, in part, the consequence of overwhelming social realignments that have been taking place in this country. According to Fataar (2010), the South African political transition and its consequent social reorganisation have necessitated the country's citizens to negotiate and adapt to their ever-changing realities continually. He argues that transformation associated with this transition period forced South African teachers and students to find new ways of positioning and evaluating themselves as they are situated in a "newer, more complex terrain" (Fataar, 2010:44).

After the demise of apartheid, South African legislation and education policies were in dire need of reform. With the rise of the democratic state came a new Constitution (1996) placing at the forefront human dignity, the achievement of equity, and the advancement of human rights and freedoms as critical values for South Africa's future. The Bill of Rights entrenched the right of access to basic education, which the state, by implementing reasonable measures, has to make progressively available and accessible to all (Pasensie, 2012). These constitutional principles were especially crucial for people with disabilities and special education needs.

Today it is widely known that the history of South Africa's apartheid politics left a devastating legacy for its education system, which desperately needed transformation. The consequence of the apartheid government's tight control over education was its blatant exclusion of most of the country's population on the basis of their race, with only 'whites' receiving fully funded formal education. In reaction to apartheid legislation, church-run schools and night schools intended to provide some form of education to 'non-whites'. In 1976 the Soweto revolt, when school children protested against having apartheid education imposed on them, marked a turning point in the political struggle. The state repressed all actions taken against its laws, yet this did not stop organisations producing innovative educational support and developing expertise in providing material development for education.

Then in 1990 South Africa re-joined the highly competitive global economy while trying to transition to a democratic society, viewed as a period of "immense energies going into policy development, failures in their implementation, and serious weakening of the university and non-governmental bases for ... education thinking and action" (Aitchison, 2003: 146).

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After 1994 various critical pieces of legislation and policies were implemented to redress the dire consequences of the large-scale exclusion of marginalised South African citizens that prevented them from receiving a quality education. Section 5 of the South African Schools Act (Department of Education (DoE) 1996) states that public schools may not discriminate against any child and/or disability and is required to admit all learners and serve their educational needs.

The South African education landscape was at that time incapable of meeting these high expectations stated in the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996). Therefore, an intricate policy-making process driving transformation had to follow, which included the following pieces of legislation and policy documents: the Education White Paper 1 on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), Quality Education for All: the Report of the National Commission on Special Education Needs and Training and the National Committee for Education Support Services (DoE, 1997a), the Integrated National Disability Strategy (developed in 1997), Consultative Paper No.1 on Special Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (DoE, 1999), the Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001), the Mental Health Care Act (RSA, 2002), the Social Assistance Act (RSA, 2004), the Disability Framework for Local Government 2009-2014, the Integrated National Strategy on Support Services to Children with Disabilities (DSD, 2009), the Children's Act (RSA, 2005), and more recently the Policy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support (SIAS) (DBE, 2014).

The Education White Paper 6 (EWP6) on Special Education: *Building an Inclusive Education and Training System* (DoE, 2001) was a prominent piece of legislation in this transformation process toward achieving a more inclusive education system. Describing special-needs education at that time in South Africa, it states:

> Special needs education is a sector where the ravages of apartheid remain most evident. Here, the segregation of learners based on race extended to incorporate segregation based on disability. Apartheid special schools were thus organised according to two segregating criteria, race and disability. Under apartheid policy, schools that accommodated white disabled learners were extremely well-resourced, whilst the few schools for black disabled learners were systematically under-resourced. (DoE, 2001:9)

A culture of segregation and exclusion has characterised the South African education space for over a century and the transition to a more socially just system had to seek to abolish many barriers and break down many walls, not only in terms of physical school spaces, but especially in the conceptual space, in the minds of the South African people, the students, teachers, school managers and parents.

The focus of this research study is to understand how teachers at a special-needs high school turn their classroom spaces into particular places for their diverse student body. The study investigates the school culture in the place-making process and offers the 'actors' a constitutive backdrop for their 'acting'. As a study in the sociology of inclusive schools, it primarily focuses on understanding the teacher participants' place-making inside of their respective classrooms, with a specific focus on their pedagogical practices. The process of place-making implies that places are created and recreated by the people who live in them. In employing an ethnographic approach to my research, I deliberately positioned myself in these teachers' school-world to understand and gain novel insights into how special-needs high school teachers turn classroom space into inclusive places. The study aims to acquire a fine-grained reading and understanding of the subjectivities of the participants as well as the school's institutional culture and its unique special-needs context to understand how teachers are engaged in the process of place-making.

I conducted this research study at a particular type of school in a particular environment. The school is a function of its sociological and historical realities operating in the current-day modern world. Therefore, my interest in the notion of place-making starts with an understanding of the various dimensions that constitute the existing culture at a special-needs high school, with a specific focus on inclusivity.

School culture is made up of multi-dimensional network interaction, something 'unquestioned and unconscious' (Schein 1992 in Prosser, 2007). The dominant discourses and culture of a school are an expression of how the place of school is imagined and conceived and "directly related to the construction of workplace philosophies, ideologies, practices and regimes" (Frelin & Grannäs, 2014:137).

School is ultimately a *social* establishment. The authority of the school culture in creating parameters inside of its social space should be acknowledged. Zhu, Devos and Li (2011) emphasise school culture as an essential dimension that influences teachers' behaviour and attitudes, which guides their interactions and is crucial for innovation and student achievement.

In schools where the primary goal is to accommodate students with special educational needs, the creation of a positive, inclusive culture is vital if the aim is to integrate a diversified student body into the schooling system and to ensure academic success. Teachers' daily practices and their professional (as well as personal) identities and emotions affect the formation of their classroom spaces, as well as the broader school culture. Inside of classrooms, the possibilities for creating inclusively integrated spaces would be more likely only if this were facilitated by teachers and their conscious and careful utilisation of their pedagogical practices.

The pedagogical practices of teachers are viewed as the primary place-making device inside of their classrooms. As explained above, the school space is an active participant in this place-making process and becomes the 'visible, but hidden curriculum' (Prosser, 2007) that influences and guides its inhabitants' daily activities at school. Although the school exists as a particular place sociologically and historically 'made' by people, it continues to be made and remade by its inhabitants.

Schools and classrooms are overwhelmingly social, and classrooms are viewed as something *lived* and as such "the outcome of a spatial dialectic: the imbrications of physical space, representational space, and spatial representation" (Fataar, 2009:1). A classroom as a 'lived space' "focuses on what people become when engaging their geographies, appropriating space, and inventing new practices" (Fataar, 2009:1). In classrooms, specific assemblages are formed, incorporating objects, technologies, language, values and ways of doing things (McGregor, 2004). Here teachers and students "are dialectically constituted by social relations and network ties, [and] pedagogy becomes an accomplishment of a network rather than an individual" (McGregor, 2004:348). The lived experience takes place, and meaning is created inter-subjectively (Frelin & Grannäs, 2014:141). Teachers' and students' lived experiences of school is therefore intimately connected to how they construct, negotiate and occupy the various spaces (Tupper et al., 2008:1088).

Inside of classrooms, teachers construct particular places which are encountered by their students, but each individual now remakes this place (embedded in history) on various dimensions. When teachers enter the school and their classrooms, they bring their personal, political, emotional, and professional identities into that space (Jansen, 2001) and recreate it through their practices.

Gruenewald (2008: 43) contends that "[p]laces, and our relationships to them, are worthy of our attention because places are powerfully pedagogical". Watkins and Mortimore (1999:3) assert that pedagogy is "any conscious activity by one person designed to enhance learning in another". Inside of the classroom my research interest is explicitly focused on how teachers' (conscious *and* unconscious) pedagogical practices act as a place-making device.

The place is made broadly and generally, but teachers in classrooms primarily make place through their subjectivities, identifications and pedagogical practices. If 'who you are' guides 'what you do' and 'why you would do it', then an understanding of teachers' identities, actions, beliefs and emotions are the main components that could lead to understanding how pedagogy acts as a place-making practice and the types of places we create, specifically, inside of inclusive classrooms.

1.3 Research question

How do teachers make place through their pedagogical practices in a special-needs high school?

Sub-questions

1.3.1 What are the various dimensions that constitute the school culture at a special-needs high school?

1.3.2 What are the subjective complexities that constitute teachers' place-making and pedagogical practices?

1.3.3 What is the nature and the extent of teachers' place-making practices inside their special-needs high school?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Understanding the institutional culture of a special-needs high school.

1.4.2 Examining the experiences of the teachers in the light of their school's institutional culture.

1.4.3 Analysing the place-based identifications and identity projections of teachers.

1.4.4 Exploring teachers' articulations of their 'teacher subjectivity'.

1.4.5 Exploring teachers' personal and interpersonal practices inside of their classrooms.

1.4.6 Understanding how teachers' pedagogical habitus influences and guides their (place-making) pedagogical practices.

1.5 Aim of the study

This study aims to explore and understand the complex ways teachers 'make place' inside of their respective classrooms, through mediating and establishing their teacher subjectivities in the light of their school's institutional culture.

1.6 Significance of the study

The purpose of the study was to present and describe the pedagogical practices of a specific group of teachers within a particular educational setting to understand how they engage in the process of place-making. This small-scale study focuses on six teachers at one special-needs high school. Therefore, the findings cannot be readily generalisable, in particular, because the study emphasises the importance of recognising the specific context as guiding the actions of the participants.

Limited research has been conducted on how teachers create classroom subcultures through their pedagogical practices in South African schools. Therefore, this study contributes to the emerging literature on the sociology of inclusive education.

I believe that teachers' stories describing their life trajectories, their socialisation processes and their pedagogical practices are seldom heard from their perspective. Findings and conclusions in this

study will provide an understanding of the multiple realities experienced by teachers who are expected to teach the CAPS curriculum to a diverse range of students, in inclusive classroom spaces, be it at a mainstream or special-needs school.

1.7 Parameters of this study

I conducted this qualitative ethnographic study with a diverse group of six high school teachers from a special-needs school situated in a suburb of Cape Town. The research extended over one school year, i.e. approximately ten months. The purpose of the study was to generate an understanding of and facilitate a participatory exploration of teachers' subjectivities, their school's institutional culture, their pedagogical practices and how these practices contribute to the making of a particular place inside of their classrooms.

1.8 Limitations

This study is limited to researching the experiences of six high school teachers at one special-needs school. The focus was on understanding their pedagogical practices inside of their classrooms, the school's institutional culture, and their teacher subjectivities and how these inform their place-making, Thus, the research study is limited to a selection of teachers who represent less than 10% of the staff working at the specific school. The study is also limited to the experiences and practices of these teachers at one specific school. This particular school, a special-needs high school offering the national CAPS curriculum, is one of only five such schools in Cape Town.

1.9 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of eight chapters that respond to my main research question and sub-questions. I present each successive chapter of this thesis in a systematic sequence in order to give shape to this study.

In this introductory chapter I introduce and locate the study and provide a rationale and background for this particular research process, focused on the place-making pedagogical practices of the six teacher participants.

Chapter Two offers a detailed overview of the literature relevant to my research focus, addressing various concepts related to this study. I include literature related to global perspectives on inclusion in education and the development of an inclusive education system in South Africa. I also include literature discussing the institutional implementation of inclusive education focused on the nature of an inclusive school culture, principals as leaders of inclusion, teachers' implementation of inclusive education policies and practices, teachers' identity shifts, and teachers' training, support and wellbeing, and finally, I review literature discussing inclusive pedagogy. The literature review aids

in positioning of this study in relation to the relevant literature and also indicates gaps in the literature, since I position my study as focused on teachers' place-making and pedagogical practices in the context of inclusive education in South Africa.

Chapter Three provides a discussion of the theoretical framework and analytical premises that underpin the study. I discuss how the three dimensions of space (physical, social and mental), as described by Lefebvre (1991), work together to create a particular school culture. Secondly, I present the conceptual lenses that enable me to describe teacher subjectivities, focused on Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus and Nespor's (1997) theory related to bodies in space. Finally, I present the theory of place-making focused on pedagogy as the primary place-making device for my study. These conceptual lenses provide a theoretical basis for explaining teachers' place-making pedagogical practices. The broad conceptualisation is that the school space (and culture) and each teacher's subjectivity interact in place-making processes where pedagogy is the primary device for creating a particular sense of place inside of each teacher's classroom.

In Chapter Four, I discuss the methodological aspects relevant to this research study. This chapter provides a rationale for the utilisation of an interpretive, qualitative methodological approach, to respond to the study's main research question and sub-questions. In this chapter I describe my research design as being based on a qualitative ethnographic research approach, present my data-collection methods and procedures, and explain how I went about interpreting and analysing the data. I addressed the questions of validity and reliability, and concluded the chapter with a discussion of the various ethical aspects relevant to this study.

The data are presented and discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, which focus on institutional culture, teacher subjectivities, and teachers' place-making pedagogical practices, respectively.

Chapter Five shows how the teachers are positioned in relation to the dominant discourses and culture at Canaan School (pseudonym). Chapter Five paves the way for the next two chapters, where the subjectivity of the teachers and their pedagogical practices are the primary focal points of my analysis. The institutional culture at Canaan School, described in this chapter, operates as the context within which these teacher subjectivities and pedagogical practices are enacted.

The second data chapter, Chapter Six, shows that teachers' professional socialisation and their socio-cultural dispositions and practices situate them within and in relation to the school culture. I argue that these teachers project and express particular subjectivities resulting from the culmination of how they understand themselves vis-à-vis the school space based on their experience. This chapter, therefore, lays the foundation for understanding these teachers' consequent pedagogical place-making practices.

The final data presentation and analysis chapter, Chapter Seven, presents the six teacher participants' place-making pedagogical practices. The discussion is underpinned by the premise that the school culture provides the context within which the agents (teachers) act as active participants in the place-making processes at the school. I present and discuss the data thematically, moving from the teachers' practices through their out-of-classroom spaces, where after I focus on their classroom practices, and finally on to how they deliver the curriculum (CAPS) to students who have been diagnosed with various barriers to learning.

Chapter Eight presents the conclusions of the study and offers some recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This study investigates how a group of diverse high school teachers negotiates their teacher subjectivities while actively 'making place' through their pedagogical practices in their special-needs high school classrooms. I unpack this topic with the help of the relevant literature that informs the conceptualisation of such a research project. My study is positioned within the broader context of inclusive education.

This literature review starts by situating the study in the global context of the implementation inclusive education. This is followed by a short introduction to the history of apartheid South Africa and the post-apartheid legislative shifts toward a singular inclusive education system. These two sections portray the milieu within which the special-needs school in Cape Town is situated. The final two sections present a variety of research studies conducted locally and internationally that describe how inclusive policy is enacted in schools and how these institutions respond to inclusion. Here the literature highlights two main themes: (i) an inclusive school culture, and (ii) leadership and management, especially principals' actions. Finally, I discuss literature dealing with teachers' hands-on implementation of processes of inclusion. The main themes for this section include teacher identity shifts, teacher training, support and wellbeing, and an inclusive pedagogy.

2.2 Global perspectives on inclusion in education

With the release of the Salamanca statement in 1994, UNESCO aimed at furthering the objective of Education for All by declaring that "fundamental policy shifts [were] required to promote the approach of inclusive education, namely enabling schools to serve all children, particularly those with special educational needs". The statement refers to 'schools for all', which are defined as "institutions which include everybody, celebrate differences, support learning, and respond to individual needs" (UNESCO, 1994: iii). More recently, UNESCO's Assistant Director-General for Education, Qian Tang, acknowledged that:

> [i]ncluding all learners and ensuring that each individual has an equal and personalized opportunity for educational progress is still a challenge in almost every country. Despite commendable progress made over the past two decades to expand access to basic education, further efforts are needed to minimize barriers to learning and to ensure that all learners in schools and other learning settings experience a genuine inclusive environment. (UNESCO, 2017: 3)

Armstrong, Armstrong, and Spandagou (2011: 29) argue that "[i]nclusion is contested within and across educational systems and its implementation is problematic both in the countries of the North

and of the South". My understanding is that inclusion is an ideal that we strive towards, not a quick fix imposed to rectify past inequalities, and therefore education systems can only move progressively towards its realisation. It took the Swedish education system thirteen years to "gradually move from a differentiation perspective to an integration perspective, i.e. from one that isolates to one that includes" (Brodin and Lindstrand, 2007: 133). This describes a philosophical, even practical, position but does not provide much insight into how this perspective had been playing out in their classroom spaces. The book *Rethinking inclusive education: The philosophers of difference in practice*, edited by Julie Allan (2008: 3), notes in visceral terms that the practice of inclusion in schools in Scotland was "in something of a sorry state, characterised by confusion, frustration, guilt and exhaustion". Questions regarding 'how' to achieve this 'grand' ideal still remained. It was argued that inclusion was meant to "increase participation" and "remove barriers", but in fact seemed to be more focused on "placement in mainstream schools" (Allen, 2008: 9).

Based on inclusive education in Scotland, Florian and Rouse (2009: 600) concluded that "attempts to raise standards at the same time as moving towards greater educational inclusion have been questioned by some as being incompatible policy goals. Many schools struggle with reconciling the tensions between excellence and equity in education". Then neoliberal notions became pervasive in education policies at an international level and "policies increasingly position[ed] education on the basis of business organisational principles, with claims about accountability and managerialism that distract attention from and undermine inclusive community-building. This results in an organisation emphasis in education that focuses almost exclusively on students' test performance without attention to the moral and civic purposes of education" (Curcic, Gabel, Zeitlin, Cribaro-DiFatta and Glarner, 2011: 117).

Miles and Singal (2010:7) concur with Slee (2004) that inclusive education "is showing signs of jetlag and is increasingly used to mean many different things … [and that inclusion had] … lost its original radical meaning of rejecting the medical and psychological explanations of educational difficulties". Miles and Singal (2010: 12) explain that inclusive education now "aims to promote democratic principles and a set of values and beliefs relating to equality and social justice so that all children can participate in teaching and learning". Ainscow, Booth and Dyson (2006:15) have developed a typology of six ways of thinking about inclusion: "Inclusion as a concern with disabled students and others categorised as 'having special educational needs'; Inclusion as a response to disciplinary exclusion; Inclusion in relation to all groups seen as being vulnerable to exclusion; Inclusion as developing the school for all; Inclusion as 'Education for All'; Inclusion as a principled approach to education and society". According to Allen (2008: 36): "'Inclusion' cannot simply be constructed as the opposite of 'exclusion'. Inclusion and exclusion are interrelated processes and

their interplay constantly creates new inclusive/exclusive conditions and possibilities. From this perspective, the 'grand narrative' of inclusive education is not as straightforward as it might seem when viewed superficially".

Slee (2001) argues that the initial stages of the world-wide paradigm shift towards inclusion revealed inconsistencies in the way that researchers and academics viewed the actual practice of inclusion. The legislation stipulates guidelines for change, such as the shift to an inclusive education system. When policies are rolled out, they often, if not always, set out generic aims, implying a notion that 'one size fits all'. Allen (2008) refers to inclusion policy as more of a mindset than a text; according to her, "inclusion policy is perhaps among the most problematic kind" (p. 27).

Schools are not homogenous, they are unique institutions each situated in a specific society, serving a diversity of families. Therefore, the environment establishes a context within which the particular school functions. Slee (2001) stresses schools' unique contexts and asserts that individual schools should be capacitated to meet their local needs and that at the heart of the notion of inclusion "lies a conviction that one size does not fit all and that the inclusive schooling narrative is not enlightenment writ grand. Nor is the voice of inclusion an act of special educational ventriloquism" (p. 395). Curcic, Gabel, Zeitlin, Cribaro-DiFatta and Glarner (2011) consider schools as communities that address the need for building broader inclusive societies. They argue that "[r]ather than thinking about schooling as a sit-down-restaurant filled with a 'made to order' set of opportunities tailored to local culture and student interest, schooling seems to be reduced to the Big Mac hamburger that can be ordered quickly and tastes the same regardless of which fast-food establishment you enter" (p.131). There is a concern about the discrepancy between generic policy ideals and schools' dissimilar realities. Miles and Singal (2010: 1) suggest greater collaboration between practitioners and policymakers "to narrow the gap between the imagined and the reality in more sustainable and context-appropriate policies and practices". Schools should be granted more autonomy to adapt legislation to suit their school contexts, because "concepts of special education and inclusion can only be understood in the context in which they occur" (Rouse and Kang'ethe, 2003: 75). However, the divide between policy and practice is highly problematic in the inclusive education realm. Allen (2008: 52) explains:

> The picture painted so far is a bleak one and suggests that inclusion is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. There appears to be many negative commentaries on inclusion and a sense that the cost to some is simply too great. The repetition of unjust and exclusionary effects in legislation and policy appear to be inevitable and we seem unable to stop ourselves hunting down the different and the pathological.

Slee (2013) views the existence of these special schools as a result of the failure of regular schools. He argues for the continuation of these specialised forms of schooling and states that "[t]o push kids into an unreconstructed regular school system is highly (as has been proven) problematic. We need to be asking what kind of education facilities are needed for all kids in this century who will build knowledge, skills and disposition to work in and reshape the world of the future? This is very different from trying to normalise special-education needs' children to fit an ideal type" (p. 905). Brodin and Lindstrand (2007:38) assert that there is a space for these schools as "special education is education in which regular education is not thought to be sufficient and is thus closely connected with the differences between children who are, so to speak, within the normal curves of regular education".

Slee (2001) indicated that early on into the global movement towards inclusion the question 'Can we live together?' provided the driving impetus for inclusive schooling, which translated into "think[ing] otherwise about the politics of exclusion and inclusion in schooling" (Ball 1998, p. 386). Allen (2008: 164) advocates for inclusion and quotes Caputo (1997) when he states that it should be "repeated in the quiet, steady beat of tomorrow and tomorrow". Therefore, "we can be never done with the project of inclusion and must continue to puzzle over it together with those who stand to gain most" (Allen, 2008: 164).

The above discussion of the literature indicates that the global phenomenon of inclusive education has led to many questions and poses a variety of challenges across all educational contexts. I now turn to literature discussing the introduction and development of South Africa's inclusive education system.

2.3 Building an inclusive education system in South Africa

Considerable research has been conducted on the impact of inclusive policies, especially Education White Paper 6, on the South African education system. Key findings reveal complex schooling realities and associated implementation issues. Although some studies indicate that progress and successful implementation of inclusion are possible, success with inclusive education has been restricted to specific environments. Importantly, I could not locate substantial research that dealt with inclusion in special needs schools with an academic stream that offer the CAPS curriculum. This omission indicates a sizeable gap in the literature dealing with inclusive practices. Inclusion is regarded as a 'grand and elusive' (Slee, 2001; Ainscow, 1999) concept that education systems all over the globe continue to strive toward implementing. In the South African context, "whilst there is enough reason to be highly optimistic about the future of inclusive education … the caveat is not to underestimate the challenges and complexities of developing a single education system for all

learners" (Naicker, 2006: 1). Below I offer a brief overview of the systemic transformation from the exclusive apartheid system to one that promotes inclusion, followed by implications for the future.

It is widely known that apartheid politics has left a devastating legacy on the country's education system that demands transformation as it still find itself on its knees. The apartheid government's tight control over education had lasting consequences. The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 clearly stated that it was an "imprisonable offence to provide any education to black people unless it was in a government registered school" (Aitchison, 2003: 130). The Soweto Uprising, when school children protested against the language policy of apartheid education, marked a turning point in South Africa's political struggle. In 1979 the Education and Training Act replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Aitchison, 2003).

By 1990 South Africa had re-joined the highly competitive global economy, while navigating its way towards a democratic dispensation. This was a period of "immense energies going into policy development, failures in their implementation, and a serious weakening of the university and non-governmental bases for ... education thinking and action" (Aitchison, 2003: 146). At the demise of apartheid, South African legislation and education policies were in dire need of reform. With the rise of the democratic state came a new Constitution (1996) placing human dignity, the achievement of equity, and the advancement of human rights and freedoms as key values for South Africa's future. The Bill of Rights entrenched the right of access to basic education, which the state had to make progressively available and accessible to all, through implementing reasonable measures (Pasensie, 2012). This constitutional principle was especially important for people with disabilities and special education needs.

After 1994 various key pieces of legislation and policies were implemented as redress for the overwhelming exclusion of marginalised South African citizens, and for building a quality education system. Section 5 of the South African Schools Act (1996) states that public schools may not discriminate against any child and/or disability, and are required to admit all learners and serve their educational needs. The legislation is firmly situated within the broad human rights agenda which can be traced back to the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994). The South African Department of Basic Education (DBE) maintained that it was its 'special responsibility' to implement the Constitutional values (Act 108 of 1996) of 'human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms (Section 1a)' for all learners with and without disabilities, to pursue their learning potential to the fullest.

The literature discussing the shift to a singular inclusive education system draws attention to various implementation dilemmas resulting from policy prescriptions and their implementation by schools. In her PhD dissertation Laauwen (2004) utilises a case study to explain the development

trajectory of special needs education policy in South Africa and seeks to establish if this reform trajectory could be explained as "non-reform" in special needs education. She interviewed a diverse range of education officials and relevant stakeholders involved in the policy-making process before and after 1994. Her research found that a delay between policy formulation and policy adoption created a policy vacuum which, she argues, impacted systemically on the progress of inclusion. She found that the "policy lag" was situated in the paradigm shift during the restructuring of special needs education from the medically-based model to the eco-systemic model.

The South African education landscape was incapable of executing the high expectations stated in the South African Schools Act (SASA, 1996). Therefore, an intricate policy-making process driving transformation followed, which included several policies and pieces of legislation: the Education White Paper 1 on Education and Training (RSA, 1995); Quality Education for All: the Report of the National Commission on Special Education Needs and Training and the National Committee for Education Support Services (Dept of Education, 1997a); the White Paper: Integrated National Disability Strategy (RSA, 1997); Consultative Paper No.1 on Special Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (Dept of Education, 1999); the Education White Paper 6 (2001); the Mental Health Care Act (2002); the Social Assistance Act (2004); the Disability Framework for Local Government 2009–2014; the Integrated National Strategy on Support Services to Children with Disabilities (2009); the Children's Act (2010); and, more recently, the Policy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support (SIAS) (2014). These policies aimed to put the structures in place for the successful transformation process with the aim of full implementation of inclusive education by 2021.

A key policy document, Education White Paper 6 (EWP6) on Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (DoE, 2001), set out to establish guidelines for a single education system for all learners within a twenty-year period (Naicker, 2006). Daniels (2010) offers insights into these policy-making processes as she reflects on her experiences as a task-team member who reported on their findings while field testing the recommendations for an inclusive education policy. The implementation of EWP6 was tested in "a district with diverse contexts, the emerging promising practice, and the implications for specialised support professionals, in particular the role of school psychologists" (p. 631). Findings included that most learners with barriers to learning were being excluded from mainstream schools 'by default', and that there was a serious shortage of specialised and skilled professionals to support the initiative, especially in rural areas.

The Education White Paper 6 (EWP6) acknowledges the inequality within special-needs education delivery in South Africa and state that:

> Special-needs education is a sector where the ravages of apartheid remain most evident. Here, the segregation of learners on the basis of race was extended to incorporate segregation on the basis of disability. Apartheid special schools were thus organised according to two segregating criteria, race and disability. In accordance with apartheid policy, schools that accommodated white disabled learners were extremely well-resourced, whilst the few schools for black disabled learners were systematically under-resourced. (DoE, 2001: 9).

The South African education landscape had been characterised by a culture of segregation and exclusion for decades and the transition to a more socially just system had to break through many barriers, not only in terms of the provision of physical school spaces and access, but in the minds of the South African people, its teachers, school managers, parents and students. Therefore, the shift from a dual-system to a singular inclusive education system led to a highly complex transformation process. According to Slee (2001), the initial motivation should not be to move the special education sector into mainstream schooling to 'overcome' exclusion. The agenda of inclusion should be to interrogate "the formation of regular and segregated schooling as a first step towards a different educational settlement, the inclusive or democratised school" (p. 388).

To comprehend 'inclusive education' it is necessary to broaden our understanding inclusion which focuses on addressing learners' special needs and disabilities to include all potential forms of marginalisation. Swart and Oswald (2008) explain that such an understanding of inclusion encompasses all forms of discrimination, including discrimination based on gender, poverty, religion, class, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity and family background. They go on to state that "a commonality between the various definitions of the term [inclusion] include ideas of building a more just society and equitable education system" (p. 92). Such an approach emphasises "learning how to live with difference and learning how to learn from difference ... [where] diversity is assumed, even welcomed, and viewed as a rich resource, and not as a problem" (*ibid.*). Clarifying some of these concepts such as inclusion, integration and mainstreaming is essential to understand these debates.

EWP6 distinguishes between 'mainstreaming or integration' and 'inclusion' and describes the main difference as a shift in focus from the learner to the system. It describes 'mainstreaming' or 'integration' as "getting learners to 'fit into' a particular kind of system or integrating them into this existing system", whereas "inclusion is about recognising and respecting the differences among all learners and building on the similarities" (DoE, 2001:17). Efforts were made to support and sustain the agenda of inclusion as the EWP6 introduced new concepts to the education system, such as 'full-service schools' and 'district-based support teams'. For clarity: a full-service school is an ordinary

school which is specially equipped to assist students with barriers to learning within the mainstream school system. A district-based support team is meant to introduce strategies and interventions that will assist educators in the mainstream school system to cope with a diversity of learning and teaching needs.

Since the release of EWP6 and related policies, various studies have investigated issues related to their implementation and highlight systemic barriers causing concerns about the progress of inclusive education in South Africa. Engelbrecht, Nel, Smit and Van Deventer (2016) focus their research efforts on the development of policy guidelines for the implementation of inclusive education. They collected qualitative data through observations, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, parents and principals regarding their perceptions of the transformation of their schools into full-service schools. They argue that the implementation of inclusive policies in South African schools created a number of dilemmas and constraints within the complex realities of schooling. They argue this pointed to "a tension between the contents of policies, systemic realities including funding constraints and the personal interpretations of the people who work in this full-service school" (p.530).

In their study, Donohue and Bornman (2014) argue that the "policy confusion" is a result of a lack of clarity and ambiguity of goals and means to achieve such goals, which lead to the issues around poor implementation. They appeal to the South African Department of Education to actively re-evaluate school-level barriers to inclusion, cultural-level barriers to inclusion and top-down approaches to policy implementation as the main obstacles for the implementation of the (ambiguous) EWP6.

In further scrutiny of EWP6, Walton and Lloyd (2011) utilise qualitative methods drawing on Schmitt's (2005) systematic analysis of metaphor to identify metaphors that are embedded in EWP6 in order to address possible implications for inclusive practice. Walton and Lloyd's findings emphasise conceptual limitations in EWP6 that may affect the way in which inclusion is practised in South Africa. These include ideas that inclusive education is a goal; something to be built; a process; hospitality. They discuss these metaphors in more detail and conclude that new metaphors are needed that are more aggressive, demanding and urgent. They call for attention to metaphors in the way we "talk and write about inclusion, because these metaphors influence the way we think about inclusion, and ultimately, help to determine if and how we include" (p. 21). Even though policy legislates change, the task of implementation ultimately lies with the institutions, their interpretation of the actions that are to be taken, the availability of resources, support systems and so forth. The literature discussing the institutional response to inclusive policy is the next layer in understanding policy enactment.

2.4 The institutional implementation of inclusive education

The institutional implementation of inclusive education policy has been researched in various contexts all over the world. Themes that arise from research studies, determining the success of inclusive policy as it is enacted inside of schools, mainly deal with *inclusive school culture* and the *role of principals* and their leadership and management skills. Both of these themes are interrelated and integral in shaping the institution for delivery of inclusive education, as the discussion of the literature will show.

2.4.1 Inclusive school culture

School culture is an integral feature in the inclusion movement and the literature consider constraints and suggest shifts in the ways schools conceptualise inclusive education. Research studies investigating institutional culture predominantly provide qualitative evidence collected in longitudinal studies or studies of an ethnographic nature utilising methods such as in-depth observations, interviews, focus group discussions as well as document analysis.

For clarity, I will briefly distinguish between the concepts of 'institutional culture' and 'institutional climate', two distinct, but related constructs. Glisson and James (2002) and Glisson and Green (2006) have defined culture as the norms and expectations that exist in an organisation. The term 'culture' involves human behaviour as the collective property of a group of people expressed in a 'shared way of life'. Zhu, Devos and Li (2011) argue that the interaction of school culture with the actions of the inhabitants are crucial. They emphasise that the culture of an institution influences the social behaviour and interests of its inhabitants, which in turn guides their interactions. According to Dressel (2010) "[t]hese shared views and beliefs about behavior may result from underlying individual values and assumptions and exert a powerful influence on psychological well-being" (p.7). Dressel (2010) explain that the term institutional 'climate' refers to "how an organization's environment affects an individual's sense of psychological safety, and the degree to which the environment promotes a sense of accomplishment and competence" (p.8). She adds that "[f]or students, school climate may be viewed as the way school culture affects a child's sense of safety and acceptance, and consequently is a critical determinant of their ability to focus on the task of learning" (p.8). These sense of culture and climate are important aspects in understanding what constitutes the overall educational environment, where teachers work and students learn.

The cultural qualities of the educational setting are integral to establishing and sustaining inclusion as this setting does not merely function as the backdrop to the teachers' work, but is 'active' in the creation of the particular school and the ways in which it functions. Burstein, Sears, Wilcoxen, Cabello and Spagna (2004) explain that effective inclusive practices should be facilitated and

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supported through a process of 'reculturing' (see Fullan, 2001), where the school culture must be transformed through introducing new inclusive practices. They stress the importance of addressing each learner's individual needs, which means that specialised interventions must be formulated and implemented. According to Swart and Oswald (2008), the quality of the learning experience of learners with special educational needs is inseparable from the successful formation and maintenance of a school culture that promotes the ideal of inclusion, an inclusive school culture, aligned with corresponding policies and curricula, for the promotion of inclusive educational spaces. They argue that if the school culture, policies and curricula are correctly aligned with the mission of inclusion, it could "provide the potential for optimising learner achievement" (p. 92).

In a longitudinal study, Ainscow (2005) provides evidence of research conducted over a 20-year period after the Salamanca conference that consider actions that could sustain the progress of inclusion at that time. He considers the "'levers' that can move education systems in an inclusive direction" (p. 6) and places the school at the centre of his analysis. He concludes that "[t]he development of inclusive practice is not about adopting new technologies of the sort described in much of the existing literature ... rather it involves social learning processes within a given workplace that influence people's action and, indeed, the thinking that informs their actions" (p.9). Ainscow (2005) continues and state that "the barriers experienced by learners arise from existing ways of thinking" (p. 17). He suggests that strategies should involve interrupting these ways of thinking "to encourage 'insiders' to explore overlooked possibilities for moving practice forward" (*ibid.*). These insights lead to an examination of school culture and its impact on the promotion of inclusion and the organisational shifts that have to be made.

In another study, Artiles and Kozleski (2007), examine thinking about inclusive education to inform the transformation process by discussing three core issues, namely: (a) the cultural-historical dimension of inclusive education; (b) the nature of community and participation; and (c) the need for a transformative agenda in inclusive education. The following statement encapsulate the heart of their argument (2007:361):

> As classroom cultures and the curriculum are negotiated and as students enter inclusive contexts, attention must always be given to the margins. If inclusive education is concerned with access, participation, and the achievement of outcomes for students whose identities have been constructed under oppressive conditions, then continued vigilance and action are needed to ensure that students who are thrust to the margins are brought into the school community.

Artiles and Kozleski advocate for a critical analysis of the assumptions of those who are to provide inclusive education and encourage educators and the surrounding community to seek a deeper

understanding of the students whom they serve (2007: 359). Accordingly, Dessel (2010) discusses the findings of a research study focused on improving inclusive school culture through prejudice-reduction approaches. She asserts that teachers are not prepared for the diverse student body that enters their classrooms and argue that teachers must acknowledge "the diversity in class, linguistic groups, sexual orientation, and other sociocultural backgrounds" (p. 7) of their students. She calls for interventions that influence school culture and climate, and suggest that this can be attained through careful attention to the use of language and curriculum, and that these offer opportunities to teach students "about the diversity that exist among themselves and the norms and expectations about how they should accept such differences" (p. 7). Crucially, "creating an inclusive culture requires an inclusive leader, a vision of shared language and values, and a participatory community approach to change" (p. 14). Dyson, Gallannaugh and Millward (2003) identify critical factors in the creation of inclusive cultures in their findings from a three-year study discussing attempts by 25 schools to develop more inclusive practices. They identify critical factors which impacted on where spaces could be opened up and actions could be carried through. These factors included: "the nature of school culture and, particularly, of leadership within the school" (p. 239) as well as focused teacher training for inclusion.

Schools that prioritise practices such as teamwork and collaboration have been found to support teachers in accomplishing best practices and in so doing supporting the development of inclusive practices. One such study by Busher (2005) considers the possible nature and membership of learning communities in schools and presents empirical evidence from a small-scale study in England, UK. Their findings establish the use of power as a major constructive factor of collaborative cultures, and identify the roles that middle managers play as central to the development of learning communities. They argue that a school culture of collaboration among teachers was "predicated on shared and communitarian social and educational values, rather than on market-oriented individualistic and competitive ones" (p. 18). Fisher, Frey and Thousand (2003) also identify collaborative teaming and teaching as one of five high-priority focus areas to support inclusion. Other focus areas that they identified were "curricular and instructional modifications and accommodations, personal supports, assistive technology, and positive behavioral supports" (p. 46). Extending on their findings, Schoeman (2012) present what, in her opinion, should be the key features of an inclusive school. She conceives of such a school as being welcoming of all learners, which celebrates diversity; these schools should demonstrate best practices in inclusive education; and they can ensure an accessible curriculum to all learners through their pedagogical practices. She further suggests that these schools should provide support to all learners through various creative means as well as referrals to specialists, if need be. According to Schoeman, inclusive schools should be fundamentally team orientated with networks amongst teachers, parents and in

relationships with other schools and members of their community. Additionally, inclusive schools must be advocates for learners at risk and should take every possible measure to accommodate and provide access to all learners, regardless of learning barrier or disability.

Sayed and Motala (2012) reflect on research carried out in South African schools focusing on physical access and learning. They review numerous policies and strategies employed for the restructuring of the education system towards inclusion. Based on this, they argued that meaningful learning experiences for the marginalised and those with barriers to learning remain the greatest challenge for the South African education system. Access itself was not the major educational problem, but instead pedagogical practices and the lack of active parental involvement was hampering progress towards greater inclusion. They argue that "whilst they [policy ideals] are persuasive and appealing, they fall short in providing a holistic and coherent approach to education transformation" and conclude that "what is needed is a far more explicit, proactive and equity-driven approach that prioritises the neediest and the most marginalised" (p. 116). Similarly, Geldenhuys and Wevers (2013) employed a qualitative approach and phenomenological strategy to focus on the ecological aspects influencing the implementation of inclusive education in mainstream primary schools in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. They conducted semi-structured interviews with 28 participants from seven schools and conclude that "IE [inclusive education] has been seriously hampered by a lack of structured cohesiveness in terms of the preparedness of role players at different levels of the education system, the non-functioning or unavailability of support structures as a result of inappropriate training, and the reluctance of role players to embrace IE within the different layers of the ecological system" (p. 14). If the objective of inclusion is to make education available to all and envision each learners' academic success, then we need to understand why some learners cannot succeed in mainstream schools.

Farooq (2013) explores causes of dropout by children in primary schools in Pakistan and illuminates the contextual challenges that implicate exterior influences in hampering the progress of school success. He employed four instruments developed to survey these causes; they were administered to teachers, children who dropped out, and their parents. He finds that "the leading causes which forced a child to leave school were parental carelessness, poor parental economic condition, grade retention, student's out of school companionship, truancy, difficulty in learning, student's preference for child labour over studies, inability to continue learning, psychological problems, illiteracy of parents, and student's poor health" (p. 47). He suggests a list of requirements to intervene and facilitate success at school, which include community involvement, parental participation, research assistance for quality initiatives, teachers' professional development for inclusive schooling, curriculum development for inclusive classrooms, child-responsive schools,

instructional adaptation, flexible evaluation system, early identification and intervention for children with special needs. The preparedness of school leaders and classroom teachers as the main role players in implementing these strategies is of great concern to researchers in studies conducted in various countries. Importantly, context-specific interventions are needed and will vary as specifications of these contexts do. The discussion below indicates the central role that school principals play in the processes toward creating inclusive schools.

2.4.2 Principals as leaders of inclusion

My literature search on implementing inclusion identified many research studies focused on the function of principals. Most studies aimed at understanding principals' perceptions, beliefs and knowledge about inclusion. Findings were predominantly based on qualitative data and almost always tended to produce lists of qualities and suggests 'good' inclusive leadership practices. I highlight some of these studies below.

Gous, Eloff and Moen (2014) investigate the pivotal role of school principals in the transformation process toward inclusive education. They use narrative research as methodology for this qualitative research study with eight principals. Their major findings show that for these principals inclusion was pragmatic and personal, that it entailed action, humanity, emotion and generosity of spirit. Specht and Young (2019) assert the importance of management-teacher relationships and the influential position of school leaders to positively create and maintain supportive inclusive environments. They maintain that "[t]o provide the support and encouragement adolescents require, teachers and staff must feel supported and encouraged by their school administrators" (p. 3). Furthermore, positive and supportive relationships are crucial for the creation of inclusive environments where students and their parents feel valued.

Graham and Spandagou (2011) interviewed 13 principals in New South Wales, Australia, with the main objective of understanding their views on the act of "being inclusive" and of "including". They find that "being inclusive" was perceived as an issue of culture and pedagogy, and "including" as entailing perceptions of student deficits, their level of support needed and funding. They discuss how principals' attitudes toward inclusive education was affected by their own conceptions of what it entailed and emphasise the gap between vision and reality. They argue that "the many different understandings and discourses of 'inclusion' that co-exist at the level of policy and between parallel organisational structures in effect work to sustain the gap between the vision of inclusive education and the reality that we find in some schools" (p. 12). In response to these contending discourses, Bargerhuff's (2001) research identified five critical aspects of an inclusive school: (1) they cannot be based on traditional forms of leadership, bureaucratic power positions and masculinist traits of competition and confrontation; (2) principals should allow teachers time to

collaborate; (3) principals should be the resource providers; (4) successful inclusion requires ongoing dialogue between general educators and the intervention specialists; and crucially, (5) principals' primary responsibility is the development of a shared vision. Bargerhuff's (2001) organised his qualitative study utilising a conceptual framework based on relational leadership, including attributes of caring, collaboration, courage, vision and intuition. Relational leadership was found to be a necessity for leading an inclusive school community. The principals in his study were found to "make collaborative, proactive leadership by teachers and others a fundamental part of their school renewal efforts" (p. 12).

In line with these findings, Gavaldá and Qinyi (2012) argue that principals should facilitate collaboration of school-based working groups; foster a climate that embraces success and achievement of all its students; establish procedures for increasing parental involvement; and ensure "intervention must be early and intensive, high family involvement, specialized professional training, continuous assessment of student progress and consistent application of the curriculum through planned teaching" (p. 4075).

Another theme in 'leading for inclusion' entailed principals' and school management teams' taking into the appropriate facilities and assistive technologies. Although there is ample literature on disability-specific resources, devices and interventions, there is limited research on the reconceptualisation of the physical spaces that will assist inclusion. McGregor (2004a) argues that we must consider the physicality, the built environment of schools, and states that schools are built and organised to produce particular social interactions; therefore, the physical space becomes integral to the specifics of the social relations that occur. Hirst and Vadeboncoeur (2006) find that material spaces become "active … rather than remaining passive décor or background" (p. 205). The physical structure, including the aesthetics of the school buildings, "contributes to the many ways in which students and teachers move through, occupy, and feel about particular school spaces" (Tupper et al., 2008: 1067).

Burger and Fataar's (2017) research deals with principals' utilisation of their leadership and spatial practices and how they are used to establish productive learning environments at their schools. They argue that "the schools' architecture, gardens, furniture, lay-out, classroom semiotics, use of colour and various uses of physical space play an important role in enhancing the quality of human relationships in these environments ... the utilisation of space is therefore deemed as crucial in establishing conducive educational milieus" (p. 1). Correspondingly, Erkilik and Durak (2013) focus on the design of physical environments to support the idea of inclusion. They consider legislation regarding inclusive education and argue that regulations mostly focus on accessibility modifications, "rather than identifying the peculiarities of IE environments" (p. 469). They argue

that legislation promotes social and organisational changes, but neglects the physical requirements that will encourage and support inclusion. They advocate for the spatial organisation lead by school principals that would represent the essence of inclusive education, "which includes such concepts as participation, diversity, equal opportunity and individualised education in a shared inclusive environment" (p. 470).

The literature presented thus far indicates that inclusion is a complex, whole-system endeavour that infiltrates all aspects of the provision of education. Top-down as well as bottom-up approaches seem to be needed in order to sustain progress toward the successful inclusion of all learners. At grassroots level, teachers are at the receiving end of these policy changes and are ultimately responsible for the successful execution of what they understand as inclusive education.

2.4.3 Teachers' implementation of inclusive education

Teachers face an overwhelming task in their classrooms when they are expected to be able to accommodate learners with a variety of barriers to learning while ensuring the goal of academic success is achieved. The implementation of inclusive education has required teachers to adapt in various ways: in their approaches to teaching and learning, in their preparation of lessons and adaptations to curriculum, as well as on deeper levels. The literature dealing with teacher preparedness and attitudes toward inclusion highlights themes related to teacher identity shifts; teacher training, support and concerns regarding their wellbeing; and most essential, modifications to their pedagogical approaches and practices.

2.4.3.1 Teacher identity shifts

In post-apartheid South Africa, policy reform has given rise to imagined teacher identities (or roles) that have changed dramatically over time. Jansen (2001) considers policy expectations and 'images' as interrelated with teachers' personal identities and the politics around education. According to Jansen's research, the policy images of teachers transformed from viewing the teacher as 'liberator' (1990–1994) to 'facilitator' (Curriculum 2005) to the present-day 'performer' (CAPS). He describes the implementation dilemma that exists in policy reform as creating an identity conflict for teachers as 'policy images' of teachers make demands that conflict with their 'personal identities'. He asserts that teacher identities encompass "their sense of self as well as their knowledge and beliefs, dispositions, interests, and orientations towards work and change" (Jansen, 2001:242). The mismatch between the 'policy image' and the teachers' 'personal identities' creates a distance between education policy and the practice of teaching. According to Carrim (2001), the notion of 'the educator' projected in policy continues to homogenise teachers and teaching, therefore lacking knowledge of the specific realities experienced by teachers or their complex

professional identifications. The projected expectation, if not the actual expectation in practice, is therefore that 'the educators' will all teach in the same way to all students (who are also all the same) and, if this is the case, the practice should yield the desired results.

Policy expectations, as stipulated in the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS, 2003) performance standards and described in the South African Schools Act (1996) in terms of the seven roles of teachers, expect 'the educator' to be a learning programme designer; a learning area/subject specialist; contribute to school development; provide pastoral care; continuously participate in professional development and lifelong learning; be involved in extra-mural/-curricular activities; create a positive learning environment; organise and manage their classroom; *incorporate inclusion practices*; vary their instructional approach; develop assessments and analyse achievements; do lesson planning; deliver presentations; and fulfil leadership, management and administration roles (also see Carl, 2005). The challenge for teachers is to incorporate all the above policy expectation into their daily tasks and in the movement toward inclusion, but the literature reveals the immense complexity of navigating these expectations.

Based on Jansen's (2001) perspective, the professional aspects of their 'teacher identity' refer to what teachers as professional actors believe about their *capacity* to implement what policy defines as their role, which, according to Jansen, "means the ways in which teachers understand their capacity to teach as a result of, inter alia, subject matter competence, levels of training and preparation, and formal qualifications" (p. 242). The emotional aspect of their subjectivity refers to how teachers, as emotional actors, feel about and *respond* to particular images of themselves. Jansen explains that "this means the ways in which teachers understand their capacity to handle the emotional demands made on them by a new policy in the context of existing stresses and pressures" (p. 242). The political aspect of teacher subjectivity signifies how teachers as political actors understand and act on their teacher *authority* or withhold action with respect to policy expectations made of them; Jansen suggests this refers to "the ways in which teachers understand and act on their value commitments, personal backgrounds and professional interests in the context of change demand" (p. 243).

The agenda of inclusion implies a major shift in the ways teachers think about their roles and, accordingly, their identities as teachers. Artiles and Kozleski (2007) argue for a critical awareness of the complexity of identity formation and teachers' practices in inclusive classrooms. Various studies have been conducted with the objective of understanding the attitudes and perceptions of teachers (pre-service and in-service) regarding the notion of inclusion. In their autobiographical research study Sikes, Lawson and Parker (2007) found that there were frequently contradictory

elements in the teachers' thinking, supporting the ideals of inclusion but simultaneously expressing ambivalence on the topic. Sikes et al. believe that "the personal views and stories told about inclusion inform us about the reality of inclusion on the ground and illuminate 'the ambiguities of policy as practice'" (p. 366). Policy did not translate into practice in schools in Ghana where Agbenyega (2007) examined teachers' concerns and attitudes toward inclusive education of students with disabilities. Four factors were identified as concerns regarding inclusion: behavioural issues, student needs, resource issues and professional competency. Agbenyega found that attitudes toward inclusion was evident in "inappropriate school practices, such as rejection of students with disabilities by regular teachers, inappropriate resources, and lack of provision of generic support and training services" (p. 53). He argues that support and intervention were needed to influence the attitudes, beliefs, values and habits of teachers and that "teachers should be involved in all stages of policy development and decision making that affect them in their classrooms" (p. 54).

The importance of the careful facilitation of change is highlighted in the research findings of Burstein, Sears, Wilcoxen, Cabello and Spagna (2004). They argue that a shift to inclusion should entail facilitation of developing confidence and competence of teachers. They suggest "caution in implementing inclusion until the requisite attitudes, accommodations, and adaptations for students with disabilities are in place" (p. 113). In their large-scale study that stretched over three years at nine schools in California, Burstein et al. emphasise the need for developing a common understanding and a shared vision among teachers and other staff members.

The literature indicates that the enactment of inclusive policy has led to major challenges for teachers and their fundamental identities as educators. Researchers strongly suggest adaptations in approaches accompanied and facilitated by training and support initiatives.

2.4.3.2 Teacher training, support and wellbeing

The training, support and wellbeing of teachers are major concerns for the implementation of inclusive education. Various studies indicate that sufficient training, ongoing support and the appropriate resources are needed for inclusion to succeed in classrooms. The focus of a large number of studies conducted with teachers is on their attitudes and perceptions of inclusion. These types of investigations have been conducted in a diversity of contexts in smaller samples (utilising qualitative data) as well as in large-scale studies (utilising quantitative methods).

In South Africa, Smith and Mpya (2011) examined how six Grade 5 educators viewed inclusion in the classroom and assessed the problems they experienced. The teachers in their study identified training, support, resources, understanding and an inflexible curriculum as barriers to inclusion. In Stofile's (2007) qualitative doctoral study investigating the challenges of implementing inclusive

education in one Khayelitsha mainstream school, the findings show that although some successes were achieved with the implementation of inclusive education, school commitments and teacher workloads were identified as challenges that hampered the effectiveness of learning support efforts and sustaining them for the future. Challenges that emerged relate to "teachers feeling unprepared or lacking in certain skills, limited parental involvement, language (especially as a medium of instruction), poverty and unemployment as well as a shortage of adequate learning and teaching resources" (p. ii). In another study, Eloff, Swart and Engelbrecht (2002) investigated stress factors among teachers of mainstream classroom that included learners with physical disabilities; 52 Grade R to 12 teachers from two provinces (Gauteng and Western Cape) participated in the study. Their study provides insight into the concerns about communication between the school and parents as well as teachers' concerns about the lack of pre-service training on inclusion.

The empowerment of teachers through training and support is a central theme in these research studies. In another context, Ahmmed and Mullick (2014) report on three doctoral studies investigating issues related to the implementation of inclusive education in Bangladesh and found that successful implementation required a decentralised approach by the hierarchical management structure to increase the empowerment of each individual school and its community. One of the doctoral studies found that the sense of inadequacy among teachers in inclusive schools was associated with insufficient exposure to learners with disabilities and barriers to learning, their exposure to regular training i.e. limited training on dealing with disability, and lack of knowledge of legislation pertaining to inclusion. Another doctoral study they refer to suggested that the implementation of inclusion suffered as teachers and managers were not participating optimally in the recruitment of specialised teachers and were not actively involved in curriculum development. These findings ring true for many education sites in the South African context.

The importance of teacher training for inclusion is reiterated by Flem, Moen, Gudmundsdottir (2004) in their findings. They assert that "teacher education is one of the first steps in achievement of inclusive education" (p. 95). They maintain that for teachers to meet the needs of all children, they should have access to specialist assistance as well as ongoing support structures. Importantly, they explain that there is no one-size-fits-all solution, but that "[e]ach solution is tailored to a local situation" (p. 97). As inclusion is a context-related and student needs-related practice, Bouillet's (2013) research on inclusive educational practice in Croatian schools reveals that *collaboration* should be a key strategy in promoting and sharing best practice. Findings show that teachers were seeking more specific advice and concrete assistance in educating learners with disabilities in mainstream classrooms. Accordingly, Burstein et al. (2004) argue that "teachers need systematic and intensive training that includes research-based best practices in inclusive schools. Moreover,

critical to sustained change is staff development that is ongoing and participatory, for example, establishing study groups, teacher collaboratives, and long-term partnerships" (p. 105).

Collaboration and teamwork between general teachers and special education teachers were found to be the most important factors in advancing student achievement in General, Gebhardt, Schwab and Krammer's (2015) large-scale study, which included 191 general teachers and 130 special education teachers. Their findings also indicate that school administrators should encourage collaboration and foster a supportive climate. Although their findings indicated success at primary school level, they did find that several problems were experienced at a secondary school level. Reasons were related to curriculum and assessment pressures, workload and time constraints. It appears that interventions and practices based on the principle of teamwork and collaboration create structures for support, not only in terms of workload, but emotionally, sharing concerns and alleviating stressors through collaborative problem solving and case discussions.

Teachers' emotional, mental health and general wellbeing is the primary finding in Allen's (2008) study. She argues that "politicians are happy to sign up to and pay lip service to" the future of inclusion, but don't acknowledge that it "comes at a price" (p. 1). The price, of course, is the survival of the teacher. She found that teachers were willing to work themselves to a state of burnout "through their own strong work cultures and considerable loyalty and dedication to the education service". Of course, teachers in special-needs schools are expected to deliver a mainstream curriculum in vastly complex circumstances, hence they "fear … inspection and [develop] an obsession with meeting centrally set targets so that the balance of the curriculum is not disrupted and education can become the incessant process of preparing for the tests and being tested" (p. 14). If supportive structures are not in place for teachers aiming to include learners with special educational needs, the potential damage would be focused on the teachers well-being and their students' academic success.

However bleak the prospects and huge the task indicated above, there has been research that identified successes with the implementation of inclusion. These studies were few and far between; however, progress had been made in the independent education sector in South Africa. In their study, Walton, Nel, Hugo and Muller (2009) focused on the progress of, and the practices, that facilitate inclusion in independent schools. Through a quantitative study utilising questionnaires Walton et al. analysed the responses of 120 principals. Most independent schools were including learners with various learning barriers successfully by implementing specific inclusive practices through the "provision of on-site specialist personnel, support for teachers, building modifications to ensure access by persons using wheelchairs and various instructional practices and assessment adaptations" (p. 105). Although these findings indicate success in terms of structural modification,

Walton et al. did not report on the activity of inclusion inside of classrooms and how these structures facilitate and ensure inclusion practically. Also, the use of surveys and interpretation of quantitative data samples give respondents the opportunity of paying lip service to the researchers' aims. I suggest triangulating these findings with qualitative data from teachers and stuidents to expound on the intricacies of inclusion. However, the practices listed in the findings are aspects shown in the literature as crucial for success, especially support for teachers. Hodkinson and Devarakonda (2011) found that in schools where inclusion had been most successful the level of training was high and the ethos was positive and supportive of this important educational initiative.

Appropriate initial teacher training is an essential measure for future progress of inclusive education. Florian and Linklater (2010) argue that the question is not whether teachers have the necessary knowledge and skills to teach in inclusive classrooms, but *how to make best use of what they already know* when learners experience difficulty. The implementation of inclusionary practices entails dealing with many variables; the major role players, most certainly, are the teachers and what they do in their classrooms to facilitate learning for all.

2.4.3.3 Inclusive pedagogy

I understand teachers' pedagogy as the 'what, how and why' of their practice in classrooms. Categories used to describe the notion of pedagogy in the following research studies include articulations of teachers' professional skills and knowledge, their emotional capacities, as well as their political orientations and utilisation of authority in the classroom.

In special-needs and inclusive classrooms, pedagogy cannot be conceptualised as being similar to or resembling the practices of teachers in ordinary classrooms. I refer to Allen's (2008) work in *Rethinking Inclusive Education: The Philosophers of Difference in Practice*. In Chapter One, titled *Territories of Failure*, Allen emphasises the ambiguity of inclusive pedagogy and the creation of inclusive classrooms. She feels that the existing 'advice' about how to accomplish effective inclusive teaching practices is "appallingly meaningless and likely to entrench the sense of failure among teachers" (p. 10). She states that debates around inclusion have "become a curious, highly emotive, and somewhat irrational space of confrontation" (p. 12). In my search for literature on inclusive pedagogy, the majority of the studies emphasise the challenges of such an approach and construct it as a complicated and demanding task.

Inside of traditional classrooms the teacher is viewed as the authority figure, making decisions about how the space is organised, who sits where and what is taught, when and how it is taught, and so forth (see Hirst and Cooper 2008). Upitis (2004: 19) describes traditional ideas of schooling as a "factory model of learning", and explains that:

It has been observed that for nearly two centuries, public schools have been built largely as a reflection of the factory model for learning: put a homogeneous group of children in a confined space (called a classroom), process them for a year (fill them with knowledge), make sure they have learned the set and predictable curriculum (test them according to established standards), move them to the next processing container (another classroom), and continue the cycle until they have reached the age at which they are deemed ready to leave (and enter the workplace).

Power relations are prominent in schools and in classrooms. According to McGregor's (2004) research, teaching and learning assemblages are formed inside of classrooms by incorporating objects, technologies, language, values and ways of 'doing things'. She refers to classrooms as regulated by timetables, policy documents, varying functions, task descriptions and curricula, and argues that these aspects create boundaries and parameters for interaction between teachers and students that impact on the pedagogical encounter. Education policy is implied in these traditional ways of thinking about schooling, but the research indicates that these approaches will not suffice for inclusive education.

The translation of inclusive policy to inclusive practice calls for supporting students in achieving success, rather than focussing on curriculum delivery, according to Carrington and Elkins's (2002) findings. Their study compares two secondary schools, one utilising a traditional approach to education and another employing an inclusive approach. Their main findings indicate that in inclusive classrooms teachers accepted their responsibility to all the students in their classrooms, that staff worked together as colleagues and with students to ensure that best practices were implemented, and teachers often modified and adapted the curriculum for each grade level.

Regarding curriculum and practice, policy and history culminate to create complex education landscapes, such as in South African classrooms. Naicker (2006) argues that the apartheid education's authoritarian control has "impacted on thinking, teaching and practice in classrooms" (p. 1). His concern is that the South African system could be running the risk of reproducing the status quo and argues (2006:5):

For inclusive education to take hold in South Africa, the curriculum is the single most important vehicle since it was the traditional curriculum that alienated learners from mainstream classes.

This legacy of colonialism, and of oppression, has left other education systems fighting similar battles toward the realisation of inclusion. In their study, Agbenyega and Deku (2011) view pedagogical practices in relation to inclusive education at schools in Ghana. They use a critical

post-colonial discursive framework to problematise existing pedagogical practices, which were intensely oppressive. They found that pedagogical practices were prescriptive, mechanistic and did not value student diversity and different learning styles. The inclusive education agenda is particularly focused on dismantling such practices; however, the legacy of many countries' complex histories will require more effort, more time and transformation on all levels.

Lani Florian (University of Edinburgh) conducted extensive research on inclusive pedagogies and teacher training for inclusion. In a 2010 publication, Florian and Linklater suggest practical pedagogical principles that are associated with transformability and find that there are four core changes that teachers need to make: find new ways of thinking about teaching; respond to individuals and offer choices; take risks in adapting the curriculum, and being surprised; and establish new ways of working with others. Their research findings indicate that "introducing students to pedagogic practice that seeks to challenge notions of fixed ability sometimes created conflict with other practices the students encountered when working in schools where existing practice relied on standardised curricula and assessment tools" (Florian & Linklater, 2010: 382). Importantly, students must also be guided in the process of change to adopt more inclusive practices.

In another study Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011) emphasise the complexity of inclusive pedagogy and argue that teachers in inclusive classrooms face a challenge that "sets a high standard for inclusive practice because extending what is ordinarily available to all learners is a complex pedagogical endeavor" (p. 814). The complexity of an inclusive pedagogy is explained:

> It requires a shift in teaching and learning from an approach that works for most learners existing alongside something 'additional' or 'different' for those (some) who experience difficulties, towards one that involves the development of a rich learning community characterised by learning opportunities that are sufficiently made available for everyone, so that all learners are able to participate in classroom life.

Literature that indicates successful inclusive practices explain it as a collaborative effort where teachers work in teams. Burstein, Sears, Wilcoxen, Cabello and Spagna's (2004) findings show that at schools where inclusive education was effective, teachers shared caseloads, modified services, received increased support in general classrooms and some utilised pull-out and pull-aside services for students with more specific needs. Teachers in ordinary classrooms have also been found to successfully include learners with special educational needs, such as in Flem, Moen and Gudmundsdottir's (2004) study indicating that inclusion was attained through devoting attention to concepts of caring, dialogue, scaffolding, other-regulation and self-regulation. Artiles and Kozleski (2007) assert the importance of teachers' responsiveness and appeal for "a deep knowledge of

content on the part of teachers that allows multiple points of access to help students make meaning and connect their lives to the content being explored" (p. 362). In the opinions of parents and students, principals should actively take up the leading role "in modelling inclusive attitudes and behaviours... [and] teachers need to ensure that they have the knowledge and skills to adapt their teaching to include all children and the willingness to learn about the experiences of children with disabilities" (Pivik, McComas, & Laflamme, 2002: 105).

Schoeman (2012) proposed imperatives for teachers in responding to diversity. She suggests that teachers should recognise bias and or stereotypes directed against certain learners; treat and respect each learner as an individual; avoid biased language; refrain from making assumptions; consider unique needs; constantly re-evaluate teaching methods and assessments; vary approaches, methodologies and strategies; and create opportunities for all learners to be able to participate in the learning process. She argues that curriculum differentiation is a key strategy for responding to diversity and that teachers should work in teams to find solutions through joint problem solving to succeed in inclusive education.

Inclusive pedagogical practices should be approached in research as a multifaceted, complex concept that, in my opinion, can only be understood through in-depth, ethnographic investigation. Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011) find that the construction of inclusive classroom environments is difficult to observe, as it occur while teachers are also "doing other things". They argue that "observers lack knowledge about the detailed context of teachers' actions underpinning their decision (e.g. planning, prior knowledge and experience etc.); and if observers focus on teachers' responses to differences between different groups of learners, it is not easy for them to discern when teachers are extending what is ordinarily available in classrooms" (p.815).

I conclude from the above literature survey that inclusive pedagogy entails teachers having to undergo a paradigm shift from adopting traditional ideas of the authoritarian teacher as instructor, to the teacher as careful observer and learning facilitator through differentiation practices. Inclusive pedagogy embraces collaboration and values multidisciplinary teamwork and requires specific knowledge, attitudes and beliefs about learning and learners.

2.5 Conclusion

The literature review has shown that inclusion involves a complex interaction between policy, context, culture, leadership, identity and pedagogy. Findings indicate that inclusive education has been implemented with various degrees of success and complexity around the world. Locally, the South African education system has issued many policies to ensure the establishment of an inclusive education system. Schools face various challenges when responding to inclusive education policy prescriptions. These include challenges related to facilities, resources, knowledge

and skills, but the literature predominantly finds that it is the leadership and management by principals and the school culture that determine the success or failure of inclusionary practices. Finally, classroom teachers are the decisive, and arguably, the most significant implementers of inclusion. Research shows that inclusion in classrooms depends on the ability of the teacher to shift their teacher identity to one that embraces inclusion through acquiring the relevant knowledge, attitudes and beliefs. In summary, the construct of 'teacher identity' and consequent pedagogical practices dynamically interacts with the culture of the school in the creation of particular spaces for learning. My interest is in understanding how these spaces are constructed and obtaining insight into what guides and sustains their creation, and how the creation of classroom spaces differs from teacher to teacher.

The challenge is to bring all these elements together in an explanation of how teachers 'make place' inside of their special-needs classrooms as a result of who they are, the broader institutional culture, and how they approach teaching and learning within their given environment. An important observation that Ainscow (2005) makes is that schools with specialist knowledge fostering inclusive cultures, such as special-needs schools, rarely discuss their institutional practices as these are largely taken-for-granted actions.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical foundation for this research study is based on a multi-layered construction that brings together notions of space, identity and pedagogy. To investigate these complex concepts as they apply *in classrooms*, I specifically focus on the school space, teacher identity and pedagogical place-making.

These theoretical concepts offer a language by means of which to interpret the findings and respond to each of the research aims, namely to investigate:

- the various dimensions that construct a school culture;
- the nature and extent of teachers' place-making practices in inclusive classrooms;
- the subjective complexities that constitute these teachers' pedagogical practices; and
- how they deliver inclusive education to learners with special educational needs through their specific place-making pedagogical practices.

These theoretical concepts enable me to respond to the main research question guiding the study: How do teachers 'make place' through their pedagogical practices in an inclusive high school?

School space and the consequent *school culture* are understood in the light of Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad: physical space, mental space and social space. First, I discuss each of the three dimensions of space and then apply them to the construction of the school culture. Secondly, I discuss *teacher identity* in terms of Bourdieu's theory of habitus; and Jan Nespor's notion of 'bodies in space'; Thirdly, I present the theory of *place-making* by drawing on various theorists' ideas of how places 'are made', once again with reference to Lefebvre's spatial triad. Finally, after presenting the theoretical foundations of place-making, I present the theory underpinning the way that I specifically investigate *pedagogy as a place-making device*.

3.2 The production of space

Space is profoundly social. It is made and remade over time. The creation of space involves people, behaviour, buildings, objects, movement, language as well as emotion, and is a consequence of the interaction of all these elements in creating lived experiences and creating meaning (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005; Hirst & Vadeboncoeur, 2006; Frelin & Grannäs, 2014). Space is fundamental in our daily lives. Soja (1996: 46) draws on Lefebvre's spatial theory and states that:

> ...all social relations become real and concrete, a part of our lived existence, only when they are spatially 'inscribed', that is concretely represented in the social production of space. Social reality is not just coincidentally spatial, existing in space, it is presuppositionally and

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ontologically spatial. There is no unspatialized social reality. There is no a-spatial social process. Even in the realm of pure abstraction ... there is a pervasive and pertinent, if often hidden, spatial dimension.

In his book, *The Production of Space* (1991), Henri Lefebvre argues for the need for a theory of space, which he propounds as his spatial triad, and explains it as follow:

> The theory we need, which fails to come together because the necessary critical moment does not occur, and which therefore falls back into the state of mere bits and pieces of knowledge, might well be called, by analogy, a 'unitary theory'. In essence, the aim is to discover or construct a theoretical unity between 'fields' which are apprehended separately, just as molecular, electromagnetic and gravitational forces are in physics. The fields we are concerned with are, first the physical – nature, the Cosmos; secondly, the mental, including logical and formal abstractions; and, thirdly, the social. In other words, we are concerned with logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias. (p. 11)

Middleton (2014:177) writes about Lefebvre's view on everyday life and its social relationships with space and states that:

> The spatial, the historical, the conceptual and the experiential are studied as one: from the point of view of their fusion in everyday experience. We must start, Lefebvre insists, not in the abstract writings of theorists, but from the point of view of ordinary people going about their daily activities.

Lefebvre (1991: 53) argues for this grounded/ bottom-up construction of spatial theory, where the production of space is situated in the actions of the communities which appropriate it. His 'spatial triad' bridges the gap between theory and practice, imagination and experience, philosophy and reality; this view offers a powerful antidote to the sterile theory of space as something abstract. Lefebvre (1991: 49) states that

> … abstract space took over from historical space … as substratum or underpinning of representational spaces [social space] … abstract space functions 'objectively', as a set of things/signs and their formal relationships: glass and stone, concrete and steel, angles and curves, full and empty. Formal and quantitative, it erases distinctions, as much those which derive from nature and (historical) time as those which originate in the body (age, sex, ethnicity).

The Production of Space is Lefebvre's attempt to establish a unified theory that brings together the physical, mental and social elements that, he argues, produce space.

3.2.1 Lefebvre's spatial triad

Henri Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad of spatial practices provides my study with a lens through which to understand the construction of school space. Lefebvre's spatial triad describes the interaction between physical space (perceived), mental space (conceived), and social space (lived). Lefebvre seeks not only to conceptualise space through identifying the mutual connections between physical, mental and social space, but simultaneously aims to distinguish between these three fields of space. Space, according to Lefebvre, is incomplete, hence continuously produced and infinitely bound to time (Lefebvre, 1991).

Lefebvre states that the three 'fields of space' should be viewed simultaneously as 'real' and 'imagined' rather than as independent from one another. This 'imagined space' is also referred to as 'mental space' and refers to the way that we perceive space conceptually, theoretically and ideologically (Frelin & Grannäs, 2014). 'Real space' refers to the physical and social elements or dimensions related to space as it exists around us. Lefebvre's (1991/1971) spatial theory aims to create a pathway between mental and real space as he seeks to align imagination with reality by narrowing the gap between how space is imagined and how space exists as something physical and social. Lefebvre suggests that a consideration of the various dimensions of space and their interrelatedness enables an understanding of the lived complexities of everyday life.

Lefebvre argues that spatial practices are a collection of sets of the spatial characteristics of a particular location in society. He states that "every society … produces a space … its own space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 31, 53) and that "[t]he spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it as slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38).

This 'production of space' occur in the following manner: "the experience in the perceived space will be mediated through the conceived space expectations into the lived space", which then reproduces the space and continues in this fashion (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, "[s]ocially lived space and time, socially produced, depends on physical and mental constructs" (Elden, 2004:190). These "three forms of spatiality are not, and cannot be, completely separated from each other … they are always dynamically related" (Frelin and Grannäs, 2014:137). Elden (2004:186-187) defines Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space as follows:

> Space is viewed in three ways, as perceived, conceived and lived (social): l'espace perçu, conçu and vécu … This Lefebvrian schema sees a unity (a Marxist totality) between

physical, mental and social space. The first of these takes space as a physical form, real space, space that is generated and used. The second is the space of savoir (knowledge) and logic, of maps, mathematics, of space as the instrumental space of social engineers and urban planners, of navigators and explorers, space as a mental construct, imagined space. The third sees space as produced and modified over time and through its use, spaces invested with symbolism and meaning, the space of Connaissance (less formal or more local forms of knowledge), space as real-and-imagined.

Lefebvre explains that socially produced spaces are multidimensional since the physical (perceived), mental (conceived), and social (lived) are intertwined, and each dimension constitutes an active part of that space (Lefebvre, 1991:40). An 'accurate' observation of space or a spatial event requires a cautious and balanced application of the interaction of Lefebvre's spatial triad. This triad was intended to elucidate the interactions between the various spaces and was not meant to serve as another abstract model for intellectual conjecture. Lefebvre states that "if the model cannot grasp the concrete, then its import is severely limited, amounting to no more than that of one ideological mediation among others" (1991:40). Merrifield (2000) explains that in Lefebvre's theorisation space is redefined as something organic, fluid and alive; something with a pulse that flows and collides with other spaces.

3.2.1.1 Physical space

Physical, perceived or 'real' space is "the practical basis of the perception of the outside world" (Lefebvre, 1991:page). Words used to describe this dimension of space include physical, surfaces, materialism and visual. Physical space, referred to as perceivable space, consists of everything observed by the senses; not just that which is visible, but everything that can be heard, smelt, felt and tasted (Kipfer, Saberi & Wieditz, 2013). According to Lefebvre (1991), physical space encompasses aspects that we experience through our senses and that these create the perceptions that are integral to the social practices that transpire within particular physical spaces.

An understanding of 'physical space' as one of the three aspects of space that constructs 'school space' (Lefebvre, 1971/1991), involves a consideration of the school buildings, the school grounds and the physical resources available at the school. The physical aesthetics of the buildings, grounds, objects and other physical resources become central to the analysis of 'physical space' and include features such as size, shape, colour, lighting, design and layout. 'Physical space' manifests as a result of, among other things, decisions made regarding the architectural design of the school building, the quality of the furniture, the shape and sizes of classrooms, the availability of spaces and resources for specialised services, such as science and computer laboratories, kitchens used for consumer sciences, an art room, a library, a hall as well as various sports facilities. These are all

physical aspects of schools that cannot be taken for granted and do not manifest in the precisely same way in other sites. School buildings, the existence of, or the lack of, specific spaces inside of schools allow for specific movements and interactions in and around the physical spaces, while preventing other movements and even prohibiting some types of interactions (Staiger, 2005).

3.2.1.2 Mental space

Mental space, also known as conceived space or representations of space, refers to how people imagine and reflect upon specific spaces. When Lefebvre (1991) refers to conceived space, he refers to it as 'the space of the philosopher', a dimension of space that pertains to the metaphysical and ideological. He explains:

> This [mental space] is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus, representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs. (Lefebvre, 1991: 39)

Importantly, conceived space cannot be observed before it has not been imagined. Lefebvre (ibid.) warns that: "the theoretical error is to be content to see a space without conceiving it, without concentrating discrete perceptions by means of a *mental* act, without assembling details into a whole *reality,* without apprehending contents in terms of their interrelationships within the containing forms".

This mental dimension of space is connected to "the relations of production and to the order which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and frontal relations" (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). Representations of space also refer to the mental conception of codification of space as set out in maps and architectural plans, the space of scientists, city planners and engineers, "all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Lefebvre argues that conceived space is the dominant space within society and states that "conceived space is a place for the practices of social and political power; in essence, it is these spaces that are designed to manipulate those who exist within them" (Lefebvre, 1991: 222).

Mental space, in schools, can be understood as the aspect of space that cultivates the ideas we have about the school. Frelin and Grannäs (2014:137) suggest that "mental spaces are expressed in, for example, policy documents, dominating discourses, [and] school cultures". Conceived or mental space contributes to and affects how individuals express themselves about school. The way that people think about and imagine space translates into how they interact with people, artefacts and

buildings in space. This interaction expresses the interrelatedness of the mental aspect of space with the physical and social aspects of space (Lefebvre, 1991/1971).

3.2.1.3 Lived space

The interaction between 'real' and 'imagined' space produces what Lefebvre calls lived (social) space, which is created as people find ways of being in that space (Lefebvre, 1991/1971). This notion of lived space suggests that space cannot be considered as something lifeless and devoid of human interaction. Lived space is the consequence of the activities and relations of people individually as well as collectively. It is socially constructed within numerous and interwoven social relations (Massey, 1994). Lived space is "literally made through our interactions" (McGregor, 2003:354). People are constantly interacting with each other for various reasons, on many levels, and in a variety of material spaces. Lefebvre explains:

> We are confronted not by one social space but by many – indeed by an unlimited multiplicity or an uncountable set of social spaces, which we refer to generically as 'social space'. No space disappears in the course of growth and development: the world does not abolish the local … social spaces interpenetrate one another and superimpose themselves upon one another (Lefebvre, 1991: 86).

Lefebvre argues that space is not something neutral or inert, but that it is something social that brings forth energy and action. He explains that social space is both a 'field of action' as well as a 'basis for action'. Here "space is produced and modified over time and through its use … invested with symbolism and meaning" (Elden, 2004:190). It is within lived space that binaries such as those of race, class, gender and religion jointly exist and are responded to objectively, subjectively, idealistically, liberally, simultaneously. Thus, the 'lived' emerges as a consequence of perceived and conceived dualities. It is the place where we actively experience everyday life and is crucial for the functioning of society at all levels.

> Social space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: instead, it subsumes things produced and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and (relative) disorder. (Lefebvre, 1991: 73)

Social space represents lived experience that emerges as a result of the dialectic relationship between spatial practices and the representations of space endowed with complex symbolism, coded (at times and sometimes not) and embodied. Social space does not have to abide by rules of consistency or cohesion, because it is alive.

> … it speaks. It has a kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus

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immediately implies time. Consequently, it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic. (Lefebvre, 1991: 42)

According to Lefebvre, social space is a vessel for *influence* and is anything but a passive locus of social relationships. Accordingly, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1989) state that social space tends to function as symbolic space in the sense that it influences lifestyles and status groups. Lefebvre emphasises that we should not think about participants' actions simplistically in terms of how they coordinate their activities in space or how they move through space – the questions should instead be focused on how these participants make sense of the space, produced through their activities, and which symbolic resources have to lead them to these meaning-making processes.

According to Hirst and Cooper (2008: 433): "The notion of space offers us a way of considering schools as sites, locations and spaces – both real and imaginary, where multiple and diverse communities of practice are constituted". School spaces, which managers, teachers and students inhabit, interpret and move through while generating ways of being, thus become essential sites to take into account in examining the production of organisational (school) cultures.

3.2.2. The production of school culture

The formation of a school culture entails an interaction between the physical (perceived), social (lived) and the mental (conceived) dimensions of the place. This cultural formation is a culmination of the dimensions of politics, philosophy, morals, social reality, lived experiences, identifications and levels of attachment to school. Thus, school culture is produced by a multidimensional network interaction (Schein 1992 in Prosser, 2007). The spatial-temporal or space-time dimension is central to understanding the formation of school culture. Space, continually evolving and "in the process of becoming" (McGregor, 2003:354), emphasizes the dynamic interrelation of 'space-time' in the production of space and the fluidity of institutional culture (Massey, 1999).

Recognising physical school space as an essential dimension contributing to the construction of school culture demands that we "acknowledge the 'concrete realities' of the artefact-filled world in which staff and students work" (McGregor, 2004:348). In these complex educational environments, networks of people, objects and resources shape formal (classroom) and informal spaces at school. Managers and architects are prominent as the decisive decision-makers and designers of the broader physical and visual school environment. Within this broader visual culture, teachers are allocated generic classroom spaces, and they may (or may not) have autonomy, to varying degrees, over their visual and material authenticity. Prosser (2007:27) states that "the generic visual culture of the

classroom embodies norms, rituals, traditions, and actions. Because teachers and pupils possess agency and the capacity to create, interpret, and reinterpret visual culture, they create their own unique visual classroom culture". Teachers organise and adorn the classroom with a variety of objects and visual stimuli which provide insight into their own pedagogical identity and their expectations of student behaviour in 'their space'; they are, therefore, the creators of their own unique classroom cultures.

When scrutinising the physical school structures and available resources, the specific physicality, the built environment and its organisation should not be ignored, especially the ways teachers organise their classroom space. Inside of classrooms teachers and students live "in the midst of things" (Bingham, 2001 in McGregor, 2004: 354). According to Frelin and Grannäs (2014: 137), physical spaces are 'pre-established environments' situating the spatial practices and activities of the classroom, affecting what is learnt and taught as well as how learning takes place. The organisation of school and classroom spaces "allow[s] certain movements and prohibits others, such as the timetables that prescribe the daily activities, and the arrangements of cellular spaces that impose an external structure on the body that becomes internalised" (Staiger, 2005: 568). Additionally, the aesthetics of the classroom "contributes to the many ways in which students (and teachers) move through, occupy, and feel about particular school spaces" (Tupper et al., 2008: 1067). Therefore, a relationship between the 'physical' and the 'social' is prominent in the school as a whole and in each classroom.

We should not view physical school spaces as 'innocent' or 'natural', but as a consequence of decisions made by those in power. As a result, physical school space deliberately guides and influences how people within it interact. In this regard, I refer to various school spaces, each designed for specific common uses. These could include decisions made regarding the shape, size and layout of a classroom, as well as more informal spaces such as playgrounds. The organisation of school spaces guides the movements of people in and around the school buildings. For example, the existence of communal hallways and staircases that connect classrooms can create moments where teachers and students could pass one another and consequently interact; however, the absence of such pathways preventing this type of movement will impact on interactions. This physical aspect of school space directly influences social relations as it could block or enable neighbourly interaction. 'Neighbour interaction' has been argued to be 'crucial for learning to occur' as it opens up opportunities for the cross-fertilisation of ideas and coincidental learning to take place (Upitis, 2004).

Furthermore, physical spaces such as the staff room can be positioned in such a way that students are kept apart from teachers during break times; this privatisation of an 'adult space' also

communicates messages connected to the power and privilege of adults compared to 'children'. School architectural designs and physical resources contribute to the various ways students occupy the available spaces. In this process, where physical spaces become active rather than passive sites, particular types of interactions and social relations are produced (McGregor, 2004a; Hirst & Vadeboncoeur, 2006).

Acting together with the material and physical elements of school space are operational concepts that are tied up with specific articulations of power and politics and contribute to the production of this specific space (Fataar, 2010; McGregor, 2004). These concepts are integral to the understanding of school and include choices regarding the arrangement of seats in classrooms, how and where students have to move between classes, school timetables and the availability of after-school activities that prescribe actions and arrange people in specific ways. These arrangements "impose external structures on the body that become internalised" (Staiger, 2005:568). Adult-dominated control over external spaces is often seen in classrooms in the way that teachers organise their students. Students could be grouped and separated according to age, gender or academic ability. Teachers arrange classrooms, decide where students will sit and who will be in closest proximity to them. In this way, the adults in schools assume positions of power and students become mere receivers of instruction. Consequently, the way teachers arrange, think about, place together, separate and construct students contributes to the ways students construct themselves (Hirst & Cooper, 2008).

In addition, regarding the physical and social aspects of school space, it is clear that the way physical spaces are organised and managed engenders the existence of a school's specific social culture. In schools, with their strict rules and regulations, and their clear distinctions between authority figures and students, inhabitants can become accustomed to ideas of division, exclusion, success, acceptance, diversity and hierarchical relationships of power through their encounters with the school in particular ways (Staiger, 2005).

The dominant discourses and culture of a school are an expression of the way that the place of school is imagined and conceived, and "directly related to the construction of workplace philosophies, ideologies, practices and regimes" (Frelin & Grannäs 2014: 137). In this profound dimension of space, school culture exists on differing levels. It consists of cognitive systems explaining how people think, reason and make decisions and, at its deepest level, it contains a complex set of values, assumptions and beliefs that delineate 'how things are done' (Pettigrew 1979, 1990). Sackmann's (1991) iceberg analogy positions observable behaviour at the tip of the iceberg, while the "invisible" cognitive components, such as values, beliefs and assumptions, are the substantial essence of the iceberg. Some of the critical intervening variables in the

determination of these cognitive components could be posited in demographic factors such as age, sex, length of service, and educational attainment, together with individual skills, attitudes and personality dimensions (Wallace, Hunt & Richards, 1999). In addition to these factors, Sempane et al. (2002) stress that the culture of schools exists at an emotional level. Fundamental values and belief systems are considered to give meaning to the institution through the behaviour of its inhabitants; such behaviour constitutes a culmination of the perceived, conceived and lived dimensions of space as the expression of culture (Lefebvre 1991; Pettigrew, 1979; Schein, 1985; Sackmann, 1991; Hatch, 1993).

In applying Lefebvre's three dimensions of space to illustrate the nature of school culture, they can only be demarcated or separated to some limited extent, but should not be viewed as entirely separate. The three spatial dimensions are intricately tangled up in each other. Schools, which are undoubtedly socio-spatial establishments made and remade through time (McGregor, 2003), should acknowledge the authority of the existing school culture in creating parameters within the lived dimension. If we understand the production of space as a continual dialectical process – space as constantly remade – then it is evident that behaviour influences school culture, but an existing culture in turn demarcates and influences behaviour and attitudes (Zhu, Devos & Li, 2011).

Given the collection of people at a school at a given time, a 'pattern of basic assumptions' is negotiated between the actors and becomes evident in their interactions and spatial practices. According to Sempane, Rieger and Roodt (2002:24), "These 'valid' behaviours are therefore taught to new members as the 'correct way' to perceive, think and feel concerning problems, issues and decisions". The behaviour of managers, teachers, students and others in the institution is, therefore, a manifestation of this inherent culture and should, therefore, be the dominant resource for data collection in order to identify a school's key cultural components.

Focusing on the place-making pedagogical practices of teachers, I argue that places are 'made' through a specific interaction between the school culture (as explained above) and each individual's particular identity; in this study the focus is on the professional identities of teachers within the institutional culture of an inclusive school, an aspect that I discuss next.

3.3 Teacher identity

The construction of teacher identity is integral to understanding the dispositions and interactions of teachers within demarcated classroom spaces. I conceptualise teacher identity construction based on a post-structuralist and social constructionist approach, which emphasises identity as socially constructed, multiple and fluid. The post-structuralist view on identity formation "opens up a space

between self-consciousness and the interrogation of the discursive and affective conditions of a claim to identity ... Identity is formed in this shifting space where narratives of subjectivity meet the narratives of culture" (Zembylas, 2003: 221). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), identity is continuously 'becoming', i.e. always in process and continuously re-defined. Zembylas (2003: 221) maintains that "the use of the term 'becoming' suggests the incompleteness of identity and dynamic identity construction, one that involves a non-linear, unstable process (i.e. new features emerge always) by which an individual confirms or problematizes whom she/he is/becomes".

A teacher identity is a layer of an individual's identity and involves how he/she negotiates his/her specific identifications that relate to teaching and school. These individuals are thus engaged in becoming specific teachers they are through a process whereby they make sense of themselves within their school space. Teacher identity is an example of a place-based identity where people-environment relationships are emphasised, and intricate patterns of cognition forged with specific 'places'. Such patterns of cognition include "conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, meanings, and behavioural tendencies" (Marcouyeux & Fleury-Bahi, 2011: 345).

To investigate and interpret the construction of the identities of teachers, I offer a conceptual lens focusing on the primary habitus (the teachers' biographies and assemblages) and teachers' bodies in space.

3.3.1 Bourdieu's theory of habitus

Pierre Bourdieu (1977) describes the reciprocal interaction between the individual and the social world through his theoretical concept of *habitus*. He explains habitus as a system of resilient, transposable patterns of socio-cultural dispositions and practices invested in an individual through his/her cultural history, which continue to operate in the individual across various life contexts. Bourdieu (1990a) believes that socio-cultural experiences, primarily during early childhood, subconsciously condition an individual and create particular parameters for acting and responding. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) view habitus as a concept that captures the complex interaction of the past, the present, the individual and society, and describe it as "a socialized subjectivity" (p.127), an embodiment of the social. Simply put, habitus describes how individuals carry their history and how that history is enacted in their daily lives (Grenfell, 2008). An essential facet of habitus is that it is embodied and operates at various levels as a whole-body experience. It presents in an individual's thoughts, use of language, actions, behaviour and reactions, and incorporates the individual's embodiment of prior experiences relating to structures and relations (Reay, 2004; Shilling, 2004; Nolan, 2012).

Habitus operates as a 'cultural agent' that determines and produces the nature and extent of an individual's social relations. Bourdieu (1977) explains that an individual, in his/her earliest life stages, and partly unconsciously, absorbs cultural values and dispositions which could act as 'subconscious rules' and influence action. Bourdieu describes habitus as a cultural agent as "the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, [which] produces practices" (p. 78). Therefore, exposure to specific values, attitudes and ways of behaving and responding, which are internalised as 'rules' or structures subsequently influence an individual's actions and behaviour. These structures or rules operate as "human nature" or "civilised behaviour" (Webb *et al.*, 2002:39) in and through each individual.

Bourdieu distinguishes between primary and secondary habitus, or secondary assimilations of habitus. He argues that early life contexts and conditions construct the primary habitus and are dependent on family position in economic class and other structural power relations. Primary habitus consists of a set of dispositions acquired in early life through a process where "[r]epetitive patterns of practice, interaction and time-space organization are internalised in the formation of core dispositions for perceiving and acting in social sites and relations" (Zipin & Brennan, 2006: 334). Bourdieu explains that dispositions, which have formed over time, provide a "strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (Bourdieu, 1977:72), creating both possibilities and limitations. Consequently, the primary habitus, acquired in early life, "prefigures how a self takes in and responds to conditions and relations in school and other institutional sites of an evolving life trajectory" (Zipin & Brennan, 2006: 335). During their childhood life context, individuals are socialised into their primary habitus. Thus, working-class children will acquire a working-class primary habitus, and middle-class children will acquire a middle-class primary habitus. Habitus is a composite of multiple dispositions embodying 'codes' for "sensing familiar identity with certain 'like' positions, in distinction from less familiar 'others'" (Zipin & Brennan, 2006: 335). Therefore, this familiar versus unfamiliar dynamic functions as a crucial factor when children move from their home base to mass institutional settings such as schools. The available cultural and social resources that construct the primary habitus predispose and position the individual in particular ways (Reay, 2004).

Various stages during an individual's lifetime will expose them to sites that offer opportunities for acquiring new dispositions. When an individual reaches school-going age, the school site provides a secondary space which exposes the individual to a multitude of new and different cultural positions and social encounters. It becomes the first crucial site away from the familial lifeworld, where new dispositions (and a secondary habitus) are acquired. Individuals are exposed to many other significant sites as they move through their different life stages, such as their place(s) of work.

In this study each participant's socialisation in the primary habitus and their secondary socialisation, as school students themselves, are particularly important aspects which I consider to be integral to the construction of each teacher participant's formation of their teacher subjectivity. For teachers, schools (their places of work) become crucial secondary sites for the creation of new cultural and social assemblages. In their classrooms teachers' pedagogical practices are their central expression of dispositions and their embodied identifications.

To understand their pedagogical practices, one must therefore consider their pedagogical habitus (Fataar & Feldman, 2016) as influencing the *nature and quality* of what teachers do at school. Similar to the construction of a primary habitus, a pedagogical habitus forms over time and is subject to the "socio-cultural practices within the various educational fields they have encountered" (Feldman, 2015). Bourdieu states that social action and experiences can transform one's habitus and continues "from restructuring to restructuring" (Bourdieu, 1977:87).

In summary, habitus is "a system of cognitive and motivating structures" or "dispositions" that function "as principles that generate and organise practices" (Bourdieu, 1990b:53). A teacher's pedagogical habitus positions him/her as a particular type of teacher, utilising particular types of pedagogical practices. Feldman (2015) therefore suggests that "a teacher's pedagogical habitus constitutes the teachers' dispositions, cognitive, attitudinal and corporeal, that they bring to their teaching contexts given the educational spaces that they have inhabited" (p. 22). Importantly, as teachers move through different educational fields, they incorporate into their habitus values and imperatives of those fields, which in turn produces, among other things, the teacher's body and his/her bodily dispositions (Webb et al., 2002).

3.3.2 Bodies in space

Our bodies are visual displays of our histories, our social encounters and our accumulated dispositions. According to Bourdieu, our bodily dispositions mediate the link between the subjective, personal, cultural and social worlds into which we were born, and those we share with others (Jenkins, 1992). Bourdieu (2000) argues that an individual's body is a product of their habitus:

> This body which indisputably functions as the principle of individuation … [is] open to the world, and therefore exposed to the world, and so capable of being conditioned by the world, shaped by the material and cultural conditions of existence in which it is placed from the beginning, it is subject to a process of socialization of which individuation is itself the product, with the singularity of the 'self' being fashioned in and by social relations. (pp.133-4)

Bodily behaviours reflect the culture, class, race, gender, etc. inscribed in the individual body. These inscriptions are embodied and displayed through bodily movements and behaviours (Nespor, 1997). An essential piece of research that informs this study is Jan Nespor's (1997) book: *Intersections of Bodies and Spaces at School*. In Chapter Four Nespor focuses on bodies. He describes bodies' relationships to space and the implications of this for the construction of both space and identity. He asserts that "they [bodies] are 'made' ... rather than born" (1997:122), and if we want to understand the ways bodies act, move, interact, negotiate, improvise, etc., we must look at them up close and in depth (Nespor, 1997). Nespor insists that we know the world as we know it through our bodies and that our bodies are not merely objects, but that they are:

> inscribed with complex social markers like gender, race, and social class, and the meanings of such inscriptions often change as bodies age and also affect how bodies age. Economic and political forces, along with organizational fields, shape bodies, instil in them certain dispositions, and most important, situate them in 'flows of activity' that move them physically in specific ways and connect them to distant activities spread across space and time (Nespor, 1997: 119).

Nespor challenges the idea that our bodies are where we are most 'individual' or distinct and argues that our bodies are "the material form of the body politics, the class body, the racial body, and the body of gender" (Nespor, 1997:119).

In this study I take 'the body' to be a *visual display* of teachers' relation to the space of the school. Nespor (1997: 121) references Lefebvre (1991) and explains that "'spaces of the body' – people's actual ways of moving through the world – are replaced by the 'body in space' – the body rendered as a visual display or text readable to an outsider's gaze". Similarly, Bourdieu (1977, 1990) refers to 'bodily hexis', where bodies become the visual texts of our habitus, a collection of our dispositions, that meet a specific 'field' and respond within and through the body and its functions. Bourdieu (1977) explains that these bodily functions include "a way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech" (p. 87). *Bodily hexis* incorporates a relationship between social structures (or social fields) and one's habitus and "is a political mythology realized, *embodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking" (Bourdieu, 1990b:70; italics in original).

According to Nespor (1997), it is the qualities of our bodily experiences that shape our everyday life, therefore "[i]n order to understand life as experienced through the body, then, we must look at the processes – some of them at least – that organize people in space and time" (p. 119). My interest in Nespor's work is his focus on bodily experiences within and related to school. He considers

schools as fundamental spaces for the transformation of identities, which include the qualities of our bodily experiences. He states that school allows for certain behaviours as restricts others, and concludes that school "tries to suppress bodily movement and expression and to define appropriate bodily orientations. It helps to *code bodies* as having gender, race, beauty, grace, ugliness, and stink" (Nespor, 1997: 122). The school acts as an institution for *civilising bodies* through regulating and controlling bodily movements and expressions. He refers to a *schooled body* and describes it as "one that stays silent, walks in line, keeps its hands to itself, and does not get out of its chair and walk around the room" (Nespor, 1997: 131). I contend that we should also view teacher's bodies as bodies regulated and controlled by codes of conduct, legislation, timetables, the school bell, prescribed curriculum, available resources, etc.

Classrooms become the individualised space of the teacher, a space where the teacher has "exclusive control of a bounded physical space [which] is an important part of a teacher's identity within the school" (Nespor, 1997: 122). Here the body of the teacher opposes the bodies of the students and responds to the behaviours and attributes of student bodies. Therefore teachers' 'frames of reference' or 'spaces of their practice' extend beyond the mere physical classroom to incorporates students' bodies, "considered as bounded containers of attributes and behaviours" (Nespor, 197: 123). There is a 'hierarchy' of identities in classrooms which are "represented by actual, visible bodies" and which "creates a 'politics of identity' that privileges some identities and marginalizes others" (Young, 1990a: 39). The 'politics of identity' is a complex interplay amongst the particular identities residing in space at a particular time and implies a time-sensitive, person-place or body-space interaction.

3.4 Pedagogy as a place-making practice

My particular theoretical lens enables me to observe and understand the interaction between the school culture, teachers' identities and their pedagogical practices, and how these elements act together to create particular classrooms environments. The notion of *place-making* captures the essence of this investigation as it offers a way to understand the construction of lived experiences in classrooms.

In this study the participating teachers' *pedagogies* serve as the primary *place-making* practices inside of each of their school. For clarity, in this section, I introduce the concept of place-making, after which I explain how my investigation into pedagogy is constructed theoretically to demarcate how I have approached researching *place-making pedagogical practices* and the categories I will use to analyse the data gathered.

3.4.1 The theory of place-making

The notion of place-making suggests that the way we design buildings, act individually and communally inside of them, imagine them and feel about them are entangled in the process of constructing the as specific places. The making of a place entails endowing it with a particular culture and involves a dynamic interaction between Lefebvre's (1971/1991) three 'fields of space'. It entails interaction between the physical (materiality), the social (created by the inhabitants), and the mental (how each individual imagines the place). It also entails how individuals view themselves in the particular place through their identifications with it. Place-making entail the giving of a soul to a physical space, through our social practices, our thoughts and our feelings. Therefore, a place is somewhere where people connect, where people endow public space with meaning and as such, it is turned into something lived and experienced.

We should take care not to use the terms *'place'* and *'space'* interchangeably. Space refers to Lefebvre's (1991) three dimensions of space, namely, physical, mental and social space, as described earlier in this chapter. 'Place' represents the culmination of Lefebvre's three fields of space and is always subject to the meaning-making processes of each one living inside of it. The place should be understood "as a physical site (place), but as a site conceptualized and experienced by human beings (placeness). Place and its placeness … is 'dynamic and changing'" (Tupper et al. 2008: 1088). Massey (1995) maintains that the notion of place can be re-conceptualised as "a meeting-place, the location of the intersection of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influences and movements" (Massey, 1995: 59). How we construct places is dependent on the specific context, the types of people that interact with it as well as the specific physicality, allowing for particular processes to occur. I therefore conceptualise a *place* as something simultaneously physical, social and mental, which is bounded by the perceptions of the observer.

Experiences of a place, closely connected to feelings, and therefore the emotional dimension, influences the ways people encounter and construct places. To identify with a place is to imply strong feelings associated with that place and indicates that this place has been lived, sensed and experienced (Rose, 1995). We remember and recall places emotionally as a result of interactions that occurred there, which generate profoundly complex experiences. If place continues to be shaped by the people who move through it, engaging this place at any specific time will include experiencing its existing affectivity, which has been 'created' by the people whom have lived and are living inside of it.

A place is not a fixed entity with a fixed meaning; places are made through what I refer to as *place-making practices*. In this study the focus will be on teachers' pedagogical practices as their primary

place-making device. Pedagogy, as a method and practice of teaching, naturally entails social interaction. According to Watkins and Mortimore (1999:3), pedagogy is "any conscious activity by one person designed to enhance learning in another". Inside of the classroom, my research explicitly focuses on how teachers' (conscious *and* unconscious) pedagogical practices in the classroom act as a place-making device. I understand teachers' pedagogy as the 'what, how and why' of their teaching. Teachers use these pedagogical practices to establish a place. Gruenewald (2008: 43) asserts that "[p]laces, and our relationships to them, are worthy of our attention because places are powerfully pedagogical".

3.4.2 Pedagogy as a place-making device

> A choice of pedagogy inevitably communicates a conception of the learning process and the learner. Pedagogy is never innocent. It is a medium that carries its own message. (Bruner 1996: 63, cited in Curtin & Hall, 2018: 369).

Pedagogy consists of four elements, namely: teaching, learning, curriculum and assessment. Curtin and Hall (2018) argue that pedagogy is a "non-neutral messaging system" and they have developed a socio-cultural definition of pedagogy that is valuable for my study. They understand pedagogy as having three interrelated dimensions that describe the specified, enacted and experienced features of pedagogical practice. They specify that pedagogy entails the mediation of one's history, the setting and the interaction between teacher and learner.

These dimensions offer a way to demarcate the vastness of a concept such as pedagogy and enable me to tie it down to the fundamentals of how it operates as a place-making device. It is important to note that in my study the focus is on teachers' pedagogical practices as place-making devices. Therefore, I have to carefully select the dimensions of pedagogy to utilise for my analysis. Below I present the categories for investigation that I have adapted from Curtin and Hall's (2018) work on pedagogy.

Firstly, I investigate what Curtin and Hall refer to as the 'specified dimension of pedagogy'. This dimension refers to messages carried about what is assumed to be an appropriate way to teach and learn. This dimension includes official curricula (CAPS) and policies (national, provincial and school-based) that act as instruments that convey messages about what society claims as valuable teaching and learning.

Secondly, the 'enacted dimension of pedagogy' considers how individuals interpret, enact and embody pedagogy and encompass sociocultural features such as identity, histories of participation, relationships, personal judgment and pedagogical decision-making.

Thirdly, the 'experienced dimension of pedagogy' makes visible the decoding, action and interaction involved in the teachers' subjective experience of pedagogy. Here my focus will be on understanding the nature and the extent of the socio-spatial forces and processes that occur, as these are key to understanding how this place is 'made' (Nespor, 1997; Tucker & Matthews, 2001; O'Donoghue, 2007; Tupper et al., 2008). Socio-spatial forces and processes articulate certain spatial intersections and include aspects related to structures and other more personal aspects which are carried directly on the body. These socio-spatial forces and processes could be articulated through existing power relations and dominant discourses, and be influenced by personal social markers such as age, gender, race and social class (Nespor, 1997; Tucker & Matthews, 2001).

Inside of classrooms, teachers construct particular places encountered by students. Each teacher remakes the place through their place-making pedagogical practices in various dimensions. When teachers enter the school and their classrooms, they bring with them their accumulated personal, political, emotional, and professional identities into that space (Jansen, 2001) and recreate it through their practices. I argue that teachers' acting at school, through their pedagogical practices, closely related to the way that they conceive and imagine those locales. I utilise the mental dimension of Lefebvre's spatial triad as a dimension of space where teachers construct attachments (conceptually and emotionally) to their place of work. The mental dimension of space becomes the meaning-making component in the place-making process.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I described my theoretical approach to bringing the research question into view: How do teachers 'make place' through their pedagogical practices in an inclusive high school?

The broad conceptualisation is that the school space (and culture) and each teacher's identity interact in place-making processes where pedagogy is the primary device for creating a particular sense of place inside of each teacher's classroom.

I first discussed how the three dimensions of space (physical, social and mental) work together to create a particular school culture. Secondly, I presented the theory that enabled me to describe teacher identities, consisting of Bourdieu's concept of habitus (the teachers' biographies and assemblages) and teachers' bodies in space as described by Nespor (1997). Finally, I presented the theory of place-making, focusing on pedagogy as the primary place-making device for my study.

I aimed to make clear that schools are not static entities. However, physical places shaped by people and their actions are subject to the interpretations and meaning-making processes of those who inhabit them. Moreover, we should view place as "emerging from a complex web of ongoing relations (material, social and discursive) and forms of practice, which in turn participate in the

production of experiences, the composition of subjectivity and the construction of meaning in specific spaces" (Gagnon, 2014:3).

I argue that this process of constructing school as a place is dependent on the individual's perception and experience of the school's physical, social and mental dimensions, simultaneously. Importantly, the experiences of individuals in such specific moments in place are varied and dependent on how the individual is situated within the flows and frictions constructing that place (Massey, 1993).

As explained above, every dimension (physical, social and mental) of the institution of school is 'made' by its inhabitants. School space is an active participant in this place-making process and becomes the visible, but hidden curriculum (Prosser, 2007) that influences and guides its inhabitants' daily activities at school. Although the school exists as a particular place sociologically and historically 'made' by people, it continues to be made and remade by its inhabitants. The making of a place is a response to what already exists, guided by the actors' identities, dispositions, beliefs and emotions.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The chosen methodology of a study reflects the assumptions of knowledge and reality that underpin the approach of the particular research paradigm guiding the research. Methodology guides the specific choice of data-collecting methods and is concerned with why, what, where, when, and how data are collected and analysed (Scotland, 2012:9).

In this chapter I describe the research design with reference to the interpretive paradigm, qualitative research and ethnography. I then position myself as the researcher as well as the school and participating teachers in the sections dealing with researcher positionality, the research site and the research participants. Next, I discuss each of the research methods I have employed to gather data for this study. These methods include participant observations, a qualitative questionnaire, a series of semi-structured interviews and document analysis. I then discuss my approach to data analysis, which is based on a thematic approach and entails triangulation of data sources. Finally, I delve into the issues of validity, reliability and ethical considerations of the research study.

4.2 Research design

The careful construction of a research design is central to the success of any research study and allows the research study to proceed smoothly. Merriam (1998:6) describes the research design as "similar to an architectural blueprint; it is a plan for assembling, organising, and integrating information". The research design of a study is the basic plan to be followed in empirical inquiry and is dictated by "the kinds of questions particular research will ask" (Merriam, 1998:10). It includes four main components: strategy, conceptual framework, who or what will be studied, and the tools and procedure used for collecting and analysing empirical data (Punch, 2000). These four components entail specific procedures that the study adopts in collecting and analysing data based on the conceptual framework and they specify how and from whom data were collected.

4.2.1 Interpretivist paradigm

A research paradigm is described as a "set of overarching and interconnected assumptions about the nature of reality" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:4) and it provides the framework within which the research takes place. A research paradigm guides the actions and approaches of the researcher and provides the basis on which variable knowledge is built. The epistemological focus of this study is based on the interpretive paradigm, which implies that there are different perspectives on the nature of truth and reality. This paradigm is associated with methodological approaches that provide an opportunity for the voice, experiences and practices of research participants to be heard. Interpretive

studies generally aim to understand "the meaning of the experience from the perspective of the respondents" (Merriam, 1998:4). Interpretive studies also assume that people create their own subjective and intersubjective meanings as they interact with the world around them. It maintains that reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social world (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). The adoption of such an approach, therefore, provides a framework to capture research participants' meaning-making processes in their daily lives and to form interactive linkages between the lived experience of school culture, teacher identities and pedagogical practices.

4.2.2 Qualitative methodological approach

This research study utilises a qualitative methodological approach, which shares its philosophical foundation with the interpretivist paradigm. This paradigm's methodological view is that "knowledge and meaningful reality are constructed in and out of interactions between humans and their world and are developed and transmitted in a social context" (Scotland, 2012:11). Therefore, a qualitative approach to this research problem is best suited to the nature of the inquiry. A qualitative approach examines "people, words and actions in a narrative or descriptive way more closely representing the situation experienced by the respondents" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:2). Qualitative research allows for the collection and generation of detailed descriptions of experience and is flexible, yet rigorous, in terms of the procedures followed while collecting and analysing research data. Qualitative research takes the insiders' perspectives on a phenomenon as its point of departure (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:53) and involves "penetrating the frames of meaning with which [insiders' perspectives] operate" (Bryman, 1998:61).

When selecting the data-collection methods and analytical tools, I carefully considered the research questions and objectives, and selected a research approach to best suit the needs of this research study. I employed an ethnographic approach which offered me the tools to collect rich data samples of the interaction between humans (teachers) and their world (the school) as it is transmitted (pedagogical practices) in their social contexts (classrooms).

4.2.3 Ethnography

Ethnography is a research strategy often used in the field of social science research to gather empirical data on human societies and cultures to describe the nature of those who are studied. The word ethnography means "writing about people" (Somekh & Lewin, 2005:16). Ethnographic research views people as meaning makers and emphasises people's lived experiences and interactions with their world to understand how they construct this world and utilise their surroundings. Somekh and Lewin (2005) explain that "people actively collaborate in the construction and maintenance of the cultural meanings which inform their actions" and therefore a

central purpose behind ethnography "is to get involved in this or that social world, to find out how its participants see that world, and to be able as researchers to describe how its culture ticks" (p. 16). Importantly, and as is the case for this research project, "ethnographic work tends by its very ambitions and nature to focus on a limited range of cases, often only one case or social setting" (Somekh & Lewin, 2005:16). This research study is limited to one school and six teachers and their classrooms.

The goal of an ethnographic methodology is to access the less visible social world of the participants, and the researcher must be a participant-observer of these social worlds.

> ...what actually happened, the facts of the case, who said what...all that is incidental. The real truth is behind all that. The real truth may be swimming in a completely different direction...And that's what you have to get to...Forget the appearances (*The Great Outdoors*, dir. Neil McCarthy in Comaroff and Comaroff, 2003: 152).

Comaroff and Comaroff (2003) use the above quote to emphasise that "an extended spell of 'participant-observation' is still the irreducible minimum of professional credentials required in the discipline [ethnography]" (Ortner, 1997 in Comaroff & Comaroff, 2003:153). Ethnographic research methods, such as participant observation and in-depth interviewing, provide the researcher access to 'rich' details of cultural scenes, also referred to as 'thick description', through which the reader can develop a strong sense of the particular realities involved. Admittedly, it is not possible to "access 'the totality of relations' of a 'society,' or the essential workings of 'a culture,' in any one place" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2003:153).

A key feature of ethnography is that the researcher has to negotiate entering the field and gaining access to the spaces and people of interest. At this initial stage of the research project, the researcher is already expected to address 'reflexivity issues' and therefore should utilise a diary or journal, keeping reflexive field notes. Somekh and Lewin suggest that the ethnographic researcher is always 'sampling' and that early days in the field should help sharpen and/or shift the focus appropriately. They emphasise that "ethnography is a constant process of decision-making, that openness to smaller or very major changes in research design is crucial, and that data gathering and data analysis are interrelated and ongoing throughout most ethnographic research" (Somekh & Lewin, 2005:18).

Ethnography is

> a multi-dimensional exercise, a co-production of social fact and sociological imagining, a delicate engagement of the inductive with the deductive, of the real with the virtual, of the

already-known with the surprising, of verbs with nouns, processes with products, of the phenomenological with the political (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2003:173).

The primary purpose of ethnography is to provide a rich, holistic understanding of people's views and actions, as well as the nature of the space they occupy through data collection of detailed observations and interviews. Reeves, Kuper and Hodges (2008:512) argue that ethnography

- places a strong emphasis on the exploration of a specific social phenomenon rather than on the testing of a hypothesis of a specific phenomenon;
- mainly works with unstructured data, that is, data that was not coded as a closed set of analytic categories at the time it was collected;
- Examines a small number of cases in detail;
- concentrates on the analysis of data for interpretations of the meanings and functions of human actions.

In this research study I utilise a critical ethnographic approach. Critical ethnography is seen as a unique approach and came about with the emergence of interpretivist movements in anthropology and sociology with neo-Marxist and feminist theory (Anderson, 1989). Critical ethnography is more than reporting a 'truth'; it involves acknowledging and addressing various power relations within the research dynamic, including those involving the researcher. Saukko (2003) describes a 'new ethnography', an approach acknowledging the validity of the personal and emotional side of lived experience. Critical ethnography recognises that lived experiences, situated in broader social processes and structures, need additional scrutiny and acknowledgement. Thus, 'new ethnography' represents a balancing act "of being true to the lived and being aware of the commitments and limits of its 'truth'" (Saukko, 2003: 56).

Critical ethnographers are concerned with more than just reconstructing cultures and ways of living. Critical ethnography "seeks to understand the relationship of culture to social structures that largely escape the awareness of actors while influencing how they act" (Georgiou & Carspecken, 2002:689). Anderson (1989) maintains that "critical ethnographers seek research accounts sensitive to the dialectical relationship between the social structural constraints on human actors and the relative autonomy of human agency" (p. 249). A reflexive engagement with data is of central importance in critical ethnography and "involves a dialectical process among (a) the researcher's constructs, (b) the informant's common-sense constructs, (c) the research data, (d) the researcher's ideological biases, and (e) the structural and historical forces that informed the social construction under study" (Anderson, 1989:254-255).

Methodologically, a location-centred orientation to data collection, such as in the critical ethnographic approach, is essential to observe and understand the various objectives of the research study. This study investigates place, place-making practices and (place-based) teacher identities using a critical ethnographic research approach.

Pink (2008) argues that place is central to people's ways of being in the world and that people are inevitably and unavoidably 'emplaced'. For the critical ethnographer, this observation of people (teachers) in place (school and classrooms) can be used to describe the negotiations of place-based identities as well as their place-making practices (pedagogy) in order to give meaning to place. 'Place' should be understood not only as a site but as a process, something continually made and remade, and one task of the critical ethnographer is to understand these place-making processes.

Critical ethnographic research enabled me to best investigate and understand the pedagogical practices and identity negotiations of high school teachers. This approach offered me 'entry' into the complexities involved in the socio-spatial dynamics within classroom spaces. In order to deepen my understanding of the school culture and the place-making pedagogies of the teachers, I observed this phenomenon first-hand by 'living' with the teachers in the school and classroom spaces. I immersed myself in the high school activities for one school year (approximately ten months), to gain deeper insights into my research questions.

4.3 Researcher positionality

In any form of research the researcher is positioned in a particular relation to the context and the people under investigation. The researcher is a crucial 'instrument' in the qualitative research process via her observations, facilitation of interviews and interpretation of the data. Therefore, "the researcher as a 'human instrument' brings to bear (unavoidably) his or her interpretations and cultural orientations into the picture" (Somekh & Lewin, 2005:16). Comaroff and Comaroff explain that,

> Of course, the way in which we see, what we pay attention to, and how, is not empirically ordained; that, ineluctably, depends on a prior conceptual scaffolding, which, once the dialectic of discovery is set in motion, is open to reconstruction. (2003:164)

As researchers, we need to account for the "perspective implicit in our gaze and its potential to colonise those we describe" (Wise and Fine, 2000). I accept the limitations of the 'truth' as I portray them here, unavoidably subjectively, however, with great concern over the integrity of my research, data gathering processes, the reliability and validity of the data, as well as, the interpretation of my findings.

As I explained in Chapter 1, I have taught at various public, mainstream and special-needs schools in Cape Town for the past twelve years. I was positioned in the field of education as a teacher and as a post-graduate student in Education Policy Studies at Stellenbosch University for the past eight years. I was appointed a fulltime lecturer in this department from March 2020, in other words, I am no longer a teacher in a school, but a lecturer at a university.

While conceptualising this research study I approached a school, similar to the one I was then employed at, to negotiate access for doing my ethnographic research at a special-needs school delivering the CAPS curriculum. After this PhD research study was accepted at Stellenbosch University, the research site appointed me as a head of department of their senior phase (Grades 7 to 9). This appointment was an unanticipated development, which positioned me as researcher and teacher at Canaan School (the research site). As I accepted the position at Canaan School, I knew that I would have to wear two hats while employed there: one, as teacher and the other as researcher. Notably, my employment at Canaan School lasted for a two-year period during which time I settled into the school and conducted and completed my fieldwork. I resigned from the school to take up a lectureship at the university.

My Master in Education thesis investigated high school girls' school-based identities and their place-making practices through an ethnographic research study where I spent six-months at the research site as an ethnographic researcher. Although not extensive, my ethnographic research experience could, to some extent, guide my process of negotiating the various identities I had to assume at Canaan School.

I considered my positionality and as I entered the school, first as teacher, I adopted a critical participant position. I viewed the first few months at the school as a prolonged orientation and settling in period, continually pondering my anticipated researcher role. This offered me time to become an 'insider' in the particular school context while planning my fieldwork. Being a new teacher at Canaan School, I experienced the school's induction and orientation processes and participated critically in all activities expected of the teaching staff for over ten months prior to formally conducting any research there. In this way I shared in the situation in which these participants were operating and experienced their social (lived) school context personally. I conducted meetings with the school principal and Senior Management Team (SMT) to ensure that the teachers, which I would approach to partake in the research study, were not directly all under my management task as HOD at the school. In other words, I was not an HOD of the selected interviewees, which meant I avoided a potential relationship of power with them.

The aim was for the participating teachers to view me as a colleague with an interest in their pedagogical practices and reflections on their teacher identities. Teachers who did not work in close

proximity to me were approached to partake in the research study and six teachers volunteered to commit to the research study for the duration of the, then impending, 2019 school year. As an ethnographic researcher, I adopted an involved and connected observer stance as I became deeply immersed in the concrete, everyday world of these high school teachers (Hobson, 2005). In order to become an individual accepted and trusted by the teachers, I had to achieve "shared, social and situated ways of being with participants" (Hobson, 2005:127).

I acknowledge the importance of adopting a reflexive stance throughout the fieldwork as well as data analysis periods. My work at the school, as a teacher and HOD, was ongoing for the duration of time I simultaneously assumed the role as researcher. I was constantly a participant observer, noting institutional processes, sitting in on many meetings, making observation notes, carefully diarising the participating teachers' behaviour, practices and generally, their lives at school. I quickly realised that, although I was simultaneously wearing these two hats (researcher and teacher), a strict focus on my specific research questions was needed to restrict my observation notes. I engaged in many informal, unstructured conversations surrounding my research questions as a way of validating my observations and interpretations of the many things that occurred during a school day.

Apart from consciously and reflectively doing my best to stay on track, I further demarcated my teacher and researcher roles through meticulous time-planning, scheduling classroom observations in my 'off' periods and semi-structured interviews with the teacher participants during after-school hours in settings chosen by the participating teachers. Rigorous member checking and triangulation processes were employed to ensure the integrity of the data gathered. My positionality as researcher and teacher required such rigorous processes to ensure data reliability and validity, explained in more detail in section 4.7 of this chapter.

Furthermore, at two occasions throughout the 2019 school-year, I took 'study-leave' from my role as teacher and HOD and, for each of those two-week periods, attended Canaan School solely in the role as researcher. I found that, in these two instances, I needed to make a clear distinction between my two roles. These research stints were focused periods that assisted me to step out of my role as participant (simultaneously observing and participating in processes), and afforded me time to ask follow-up questions, to do member-checks with the participating teachers, all with the intention of triangulating the data that I had already gathered.

4.4 Research site

The research site, Canaan School (pseudonym), is situated in a northern suburb of Cape Town and has received various awards for efforts to bridge barriers to learning and to create inclusive academic spaces accessible to and accommodating of a diversity of students.

I believe that this specific category of school is representative of the changing phenomenon of schooling in South Africa. The classification of schools has changed structurally as well as conceptually since apartheid, especially when considering classification and access to special-needs and inclusive education. I believe this school represents these 'new', mixed, inclusive school spaces that are the result of policy reform, the post-apartheid settlement history and the school's geography.

The school was founded in 1937 by the parents of a boy with epilepsy and who needed specialised education support. With the financial support of the church, they established the school with only a few students attending. As the Dutch Reformed Church was predominantly 'whites only', the school therefore accommodated the white students who lived in the community around the school. Since the end of apartheid the specific school, situated in a community previously dominated by whites, has transformed into a space where people of all races, religions and languages live alongside each other and are creating new meaningful places together. Students who attend the school because of their specific disability are representative of upper-class, middle-class and lower-class families, people of all races and no longer defined by apartheid's racial classifications. This school, which started as a 'private' church-owned establishment, has since been re-classified as a Western Cape Education Department (public) special-needs school. I describe the school's history and culture in more detail in Chapter Five.

This specific school delivers the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) curriculum to students who have been allocated to the school through a rigorous screening process by a multidisciplinary team consisting of a school-based psychologist, officials from Specialised Learner and Educator Support (SLES) and psychologists at the District Office. Schools no longer have the authority to act autonomously when considering applications for special education services and applications now go through the District Office, after which the multidisciplinary team finalises the placement of students.

The point is that when different people come together in an open democratic space, they engage in different types of place-making practices than they did during the apartheid are. Consequently, schools such as this one changed markedly as a result of these new activities that take place inside them.

4.5 Research Participants

I selected a group of six teachers to participate in this research study. Their voluntary participation was guaranteed. The teacher participants are a diverse group of teachers in terms of age, gender, race, sexuality and their length of service at the school. Before the commencement of the formal

data-gathering process, one of the participants withdrew as a result of his workload. I then recruited another teacher who had shown a keen interest in the research project.

The objectives of the study and expectations of teacher's participation were carefully explained to each selected teacher before they made their final decision to commit to the research project. Participation in the project required the teachers to commit for a period of one school year, approximately ten months, to the research project.

The six participants were a diverse group of teachers. The participants will be introduced briefly here, but each one will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. I have provided each participating teacher with a pseudonym to preserve their anonymity.

The first participant is *Miss Mülller*. She is 27 years old, white, unmarried with no children, Christian, and from an upper-middle-class family in Cape Town. She lives in her own house in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. She had been teaching at Canaan School for four years at the time of the research and was responsible for teaching Life Sciences and Mathematical Literacy to Grade 10 to 12 learners.

The second participant is *Miss Jacobs*. She is 54 years old, coloured, unmarried with no children, Christian, and from a middle-class family from a coastal town on the Garden Route, Western Cape. She lives in a flat on the school premises, but owns her own house in her hometown. She had been teaching at Canaan School for 19 years, is a 'head of department', served on the school management team (SMT) and was responsible for teaching English First Additional and Home Language to Grade 10 to 12 learners.

The third participant is *Mr Williams*. He is 45 years old, unmarried with no children, coloured, a Christian, and from a lower middle-class family from a coastal town on the Garden Route, Western Cape. He lives in a flat on the school premises and often travels overseas to his friends abroad. He had been teaching at Canaan School for 12 years, had been the Grade 7 grade head for many years. He taught Life Orientation and Natural Sciences to Grade 7 to 9 learners.

The fourth participant is *Mr Mitchell*. He is 30 years old, coloured, married with one child, Christian, and from a middle-class family in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. He lives with his family in a house in the Northern Suburbs. He had been teaching at Canaan School for six years and taught Natural Sciences and Mathematics to Grade 7 to 9 learners.

The fifth participant is *Mr Vivier*. He is 26 years old, white, homosexual, unmarried with no children, Christian, and from a middle-class family from Wellington in the Winelands district, Western Cape. He lives in a flat on the school premises. He had been teaching at Canaan School for

two years and taught Social Sciences and Afrikaans First Additional Language to Grade 7 to 9 learners.

The sixth participant is *Mr Swanepoel*. He is 53 years old, white, married with two children, Christian, and from a middle-class family originally from the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. He lives in a house on the school premises with his family and owns other properties in the Northern Suburbs as well as a holiday home. He had been teaching at Canaan School for 26 years, is the sports coordinator for the school and taught Tourism to Grade 10 to 12 learners.

The expectation was that the participating teachers would openly share their experiences which impacted on their identities and practices as classroom teachers in a special-needs school.

4.6 Data-collection methods

I employed the interpretive method to "yield insight and understandings of behaviour, explain actions from the participant's perspective, and [did] not dominate the participants" (Scotland, 2012: 12). The aim was to collect in-depth qualitative data employing the following methods: document analysis, participant observations and a series of individual semi-structured interviews that stretched over one school year.

This approach was is in keeping with the objectives of this research study, as it "aim[ed] to acknowledge the validity of the personal, including the emotional side of lived experience ... [by fracturing] the singularity of the author's place and voice [with] the inclusion of various modes of writing and presenting material" (Tsolidis, 2008:272). The objective was to produce a research thesis, which "provides rich evidence and offers credible and justifiable accounts (internal validity/credibility)" (Scotland, 2012:12). This is accomplished by ensuring that the participants' voices are heard by providing rich accounts of their responses during interviews, which were then triangulated with observation notes, document analysis and qualitative questionnaires.

4.6.1 Participant observation

The objective of participant observation, when doing critical ethnographic research, is to gain a foothold on the social reality of the participants (Bryman, 2001). The participant-observer should be in close contact with the individuals studied to achieve insight into their social context. Participant-observation entails participation in the same kinds of activities as the members of the social setting under investigation to develop a deeper understanding of the research questions. As explained in section 4.3 of this chapter, I spent considerable time in the field before I commenced formally with the research study.

Participant observation and the keeping detailed field notes were valuable data-collection methods because "implicit features in social life are more likely to be revealed as a result of the observer's

continued presence and because of the observer's ability to observe behaviour rather than just rely on what is said" (Bryman, 2001:328). Thus participant observations were crucial for generating triangulating data as "[t]he researcher's prolonged immersion in a social setting would seem to make him or her better equipped to see as others see" (Bryman, 2001:328). I intentionally positioned myself in situations in which my continued involvement would allow me to gradually infiltrate the participating teachers' school- and classroom-based worlds. My extensive involvement in this social setting allowed me to map out the teachers' behaviour more fully as I observed them for a continuous period, in and outside of their classrooms, "so that links between behaviour and context can be forged" (Bryman, 2001: 329).

During the ten months of fieldwork at the school, I took extensive field notes which involved an account of events, records of conversations (unstructured interviews) and impressions of participants' responses to particular social events or activities inside of their classrooms, in the school space, at meetings and during interviews. The time spent in the field allowed for the formation of trusted relationships between the selected participants and me, and formed an interactive basis for further in-depth interviewing.

4.6.2 Qualitative questionnaires

A qualitative questionnaire was utilised for its practical, cost-effective, time-flexible nature to collect primary biographical data from participants. McGuirk and O'Neill (2016) believe that "[q]uestionnaires are useful for gathering original data about people, their behaviour, experiences and social interactions, attitudes and opinions, and awareness of events" (p. 10). The production of a questionnaire for qualitative research involved preparation, a critical review and reflection of the questions utilised. The content of the questionnaire relates to the broader research question as well as to concepts related to teacher identity and their pedagogical habitus.

In this study, I utilised one qualitative questionnaire (see addendum E) as a means to collect initial biographical information from the six participating teachers. Most of the questions covered in the questionnaire were followed-up in the in-depth individual interviews that followed. Questionnaires were emailed to participants, were completed electronically and emailed back to the researcher.

4.6.3 Semi-structured and unstructured interviews

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews form an integral part of ethnographic research. These methods can generate insight into the interviewees' points of view as they enable the respondent to partially set the agenda for the discussion. It should be noted that in unstructured or semi-structured qualitative interviewing, interviewers do not slavishly follow a schedule, as is done in quantitative research. What is crucial is that "the questioning allows interviewers to glean how research

participants view their social world and that there is flexibility in the conduct of the interviews" (Bryman, 2001:317). Semi-structured and unstructured interviews generate data responses to open-ended questions; this makes outcomes less predictable and dependent on the amount of information volunteered by participants. Deviations from interview schedules might also occur while exploring topics raised by the interviewees.

The use of unstructured interviews with the participants allowed me to clarify my observations and allowed me to strike up informal conversations with the participating teachers. Unstructured interviews, as a conversational style, allowed the interviewees "to respond freely, with the interviewer simply responding to points that seem worthy of being followed up" (Bryman, 2001:314). Although these interviews are similar in style to a conversation, I on occasion made use of aides-memoir, which included a brief set of prompts dealing with my chosen topic and the specific participant. Unstructured interviews occurred informally to aid in clarifying my observations. They differed in function and structure from the more 'formal', semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were viewed as the primary data gathering method, with observation and document analysis as forms of triangulation particularly when I present and discuss data pertaining to the participating teachers' subjectivities and their pedagogical practices. These semi-structured interviews were conducted in selected settings and at suitable times after school hours either at the school, in the school hostel or the participant's home. Participants were predominantly interviewed in their classrooms or offices. These interviews took on a more structured conversational format. The questioning was guided by interview schedules, which allowed the questioning to flow logically, covering the topics I wished to explore.

Over the course of the school year I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with each of the six participants. Data collection is not permitted in the fourth term of a school year and being cognisant of participants' workload and availability, I divided the interviews into manageable units, not exceeding an hour of conversation. I aimed to cover two interviews per participant per school term, therefore completing six interviews with each participant over the three school terms. Thirty-eight interviews were conducted over the school year.

The focus for each interview was aligned with my research objectives and dealt with the initial orientation to the research study, school culture (power practices, sense of belonging, teacher wellbeing, communication), biographical/historical information (familial, schooling and work history), professional practice (general background, special needs teaching, pedagogical philosophy), place-based practices (physical school and classroom space, student interaction,

discipline, parental interaction, staff interaction and collaboration), teacher identity (professional, political, emotional).

With the permission of respondents, interviews were recorded. Notes taken during the interview served as a back-up to the recordings in case of technical problems. Interviews were conducted in the participants' home language, which was Afrikaans in all the cases. Interviews were therefore transcribed in the language in which they were conducted, after which data samples, as used in the thesis, were translated into English. Each participant received the transcriptions of their interviews for comments and amendments. Each participant also corroborated translations of data samples.

4.6.4 Document analysis

Document analysis is a low-cost, unobtrusive and non-reactive data-gathering method used as a systemic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents (Bowen, 2009). As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative research studies focusing on specific contexts or case studies, such as this study, aiming to produce detailed descriptions of a single phenomenon at one organisation. Merriam (1988) emphasises that "[d]ocuments of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem" (p. 118). Additionally, documents are "social facts, which are produced, shared and used in socially organised ways" (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997:47). The neutrality of documents is valuable as documents contain text recorded without the researcher's intervention. Bowen (2009) draws on the work of Labuschagne (2003) and describes document analysis as a research method:

> The analytic procedure entails finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data contained in documents. Document analysis yields data – excerpts, quotations, or entire passages – that are then organised into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis. (Bowen, 2009:28)

Compared with other qualitative research methods, document analysis has both advantages and limitations. Advantages include that document analysis is a time-efficient, easily accessible, cost-effective method. It is also, as mentioned earlier, an 'unobtrusive' and 'non-reactive' method, unaffected by the research process. Limitations inherent in documents include their insufficient details and low retrievability, where access to some documents may be deliberately blocked. Given its efficiency and cost-effectiveness, in particular, document analysis offers advantages that outweigh the limitations (Bowen, 2009:31-32).

Document analysis was a necessary data-collection method used for gaining insight into the school culture of Canaan School and triangulating the findings from observations and interviews. I guarded against an over-reliance on documents and used document analysis primarily to provide information

and insight to understand the historical roots of the specific school and how its history has created the conditions that impact on the school culture in the present.

I have utilised various documents: numerous yearbooks, newsletters, meeting agendas, minutes of meetings, open letters from staff members to management, school policies and other general and national education policies, written communication from the private-public partner, as well as texts from the school website and Facebook page. These documents provided data on the context within which the research participants operate — "a case of text providing context" (Bowen, 2009:29).

4.7 Data analysis

Data analysis is a non-linear, continuous, yet emerging process that consists of "examining, categorising, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study" (Tellis, 1997:12). Every investigation should have a general analytical strategy that guides how the researcher chooses to analyse the data (Yin, 1994). The researcher must choose the most reliable way of presenting the information, always ensuring that researcher bias does not affect the analytical focus of the data presentation (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

The analysis of data in this research study is based on the following principles suggested by Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:12):

- Qualitative analyses were carried out throughout the data recording, process.
- The analysis of data started after the data were read repeatedly to develop a clear understanding;
- The data were then divided into smaller units;
- The units or segments were then organised into a system, backed by key concepts derived from my research questions;
- Data categories are flexible; therefore, the process allows for some changes during analysis;
- The data analysis strives to present a true reflection of the respondents' perceptions;

The following sub-sections explain how I approached and completed the analysis of the data gathered at Canaan School: thematic analysis, triangulation of data, and ensuring reliability and validity of findings.

4.7.1 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is a form of pattern recognition within the data, with emerging themes becoming the categories for analysis. The process involves a careful, more focused re-reading and reviewing of the data. The reviewer takes a closer look at the selected data and performs coding and category

construction, based on the characteristics of the data, to uncover themes pertinent to the phenomenon under study.

In my data analysis practice, I engaged in a comprehensive process of data coding and identification of themes. I then built analytical themes with reference to the research questions, as they emerged from the data.

Semi-structured interviews were recorded (using a voice-recorder); each interview was transcribed and coded. Unstructured interviews were recorded, or conversational notes were taken, which were transcribed and coded. The codes used in interview transcripts were applied to the content of documents as well as my observation notes. During document analysis I determined the relevance of the documents to the aim of the research to address the research questions. I also ascertained whether the content of the documents fitted the conceptual framework of the study. It was also necessary to determine the authenticity, credibility, accuracy and representativeness of the selected documents (Bowen, 2009).

The themes I have utilised in my analysis, as recorded in Chapters five, six and seven, include:

The themes that I utilised in the analysis are addressed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Chapter Five deals with institutional culture and divides the data into themes dealing with the historical development of the school itself merged with the development of special-needs schooling in South Africa during various periods in South African history. The second theme discusses a modern-day institution (Canaan School) through a spatial lens (Lefebvre, 1991) focused on the school's positioning and how it acts in positioning the teachers, which is the focus of the next data chapter. In Chapter Six the focus is on 'teacher subjectivities' and the data are divided into themes discussing teacher habitus and teacher bodies in school space. This leads to the main data chapter (Chapter Seven) that discusses the 'place-making pedagogical practices' of the six participating teachers.

4.7.2 Triangulation

As a qualitative ethnographic researcher, I am expected to draw upon multiple sources of evidence to seek convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources and methods. Triangulation is a strategy for improving the validity of the research and evaluation of findings. Miles and Huberman (1984) state that "triangulation is supposed to support a finding by showing that independent measures of it agree with it or, at least, don't contradict it" (p. 235). Triangulation aids in eliminating researcher bias and allows the dismissal of plausible rival explanations so that a truthful proposition about some social phenomenon can be made (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). According to Patton (1990), triangulation helps the researcher guard against the accusation that a

study's findings are simply an artefact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's bias. The convergence of information from different data sources also supports the readers' confidence in the trustworthiness or credibility of the findings.

In this research study I combine data from qualitative questionnaires, a series of in-depth interviews, document analyses and my participant observations to examine the research problem I have posed. By triangulating data, I attempted to provide "a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility" (Eisner, 1991:110). By examining information collected through different methods, I could corroborate findings across data sets and reduce the impact of potential biases that could exist, ensuring the validity and trustworthiness of the findings.

4.7.3 Validity and reliability

The validity and reliability of research instruments are crucial in any qualitative study and essential for useful research. Valid and reliable research instruments ensure credibility and trustworthiness of the collected data (Maree, 2007). Methodological triangulation, described above, offers researcher confidence in the results when several data collection methods produce similar data findings (Cohen et al., 2013).

Validity in qualitative research refers to the honesty, richness and depth of the data generated (Cohen et al., 2013). Reliability of a research instrument relies on the consistent use of the instrument throughout the research process (Botes, 2003). To ensure the reliability of my research instruments, specifically semi-structured interviews, I used the same interview schedules consistently for each of the participants.

To ensure that my research instruments met the necessary validity and reliability criteria, I based all interview questions and observation schedules on the relevant literature and theoretical framework employed in my study.

4.8 Ethical consideration

It is crucial to follow proper ethical procedures when conducting qualitative research studies. Ethical procedures are employed to prevent, or at least minimise, harm to those under investigation through the application of appropriate ethical principles during the research process (Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynand, 2000). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) state that "[i]n value-free social science, codes of ethics for professional and academic associations are the conventional format for moral principles" (p. 65). At no point during the research study should researchers lose sight of their moral principles. Overarching principles of academic integrity, honesty and respect for other people in research should be applied consistently throughout the research study.

4.8.1 Ethical consent and permission to conduct research

All formal ethical procedures were followed before the commencement of fieldwork in the research study.

- Ethical consent was obtained from Stellenbosch University's ethics committee (Addendum A).
- Permission was granted by the Western Cape Education Department to conduct my research at the selected school (Addendum B).
- Permission was received from the school's governing body (SGB) to conduct the research at the particular school (Addendum C).

4.8.2 Informed consent

This research study enforced strict concern and respect for the rights of each of its participants. Participation was voluntary and consent was obtained from all participants before they took part actively in the research process (Addendum D). Participants were informed of their right of refusal and the degree of confidentiality with which the material they provided will be treated.

Importantly, the research focus was on the teachers' pedagogical practices, not on their students. For the duration of this study, there was no research conducted on students, although they were present in classes that were observed. No questioning was directed at students either formally or informally in order to collect data or gain insights.

4.8.3 Right to withdraw

Research participants were informed of the parameters of the research project. They were allowed to withdraw at any stage of the research process.

4.8.4 Privacy and confidentiality

The participants' right to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity was respected, and pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis. Geographic locations and names of institutions were changed to guarantee further anonymity.

4.8.5 Audio recordings

Audio recordings were used during all interviews. Permission to use audio recordings for interviews was obtained in the participants' consent forms. Permission was also requested at the start of each interview. Participants were also made aware of their right to express their discomfort with the audio recording(s), even after consenting, and that I would refrain from further recording the discussion or would delete the conversation in their presence. There were no such requests.

4.8.6 Storage and security of data

Recordings, transcriptions and research notes were stored in a password protected cloud-based folder to which only the researcher has access. They were stored and secured in such a way as to ensure that data cannot be misplaced, lost, accessed by unauthorized individuals, or be exposed to a situation that could lead to the divulgence of confidential information.

4.8.7 Ethics of interviewing

In the light of the ethics of the data-collection process, I kept in mind the following elements when interviewing the participating teachers (adapted from Brooker, 2001):

- Being honest and open with the participants, giving them an appropriate and truthful account of what I am trying to understand from their behaviour within their school and classroom spaces;
- Ensuring that I am not abusing power relations through my role in the interview situation and in the way I obtain my information;
- Including appropriate activities for eliciting the participants' views to enhance the validity of my findings as well as to avoid stress for my respondents;
- Recognising the importance of familiarity and as a researcher ensuring that I am seen as a trusted individual within the participants' school context before attempting to elicit information, mainly information or responses that include a personal dimension;
- Ensuring that I display a sensitivity to social class and cultural differences, as well as differences in age and status, between the researcher and respondents.

4.8.8 Integrating into the school

The 'who', 'when' and 'where' of the data-collection process were discussed with the principal and management team of the school. Teachers and other staff members were briefed regarding the researcher and the study. The teacher participants were thoroughly briefed with regards to more essential details concerning the study. The researcher requested and scheduled suitable timeslots to conduct individual interviews and classroom observations with the participating teachers.

4.8.9 Reporting

Participants received copies of the transcriptions and translations of their interviews for their approval and amendments to data excerpts were made at their request. All participants as well as the school principal and school governing body were informed that copies of the final thesis would be made available to them upon request, after it has been assessed.

4.8.10 Academic integrity

Academic integrity is applied through ensuring that the thesis is of a high academic standard and its result are not misleading. Plagiarism was avoided by acknowledging the ideas and research of others and all sources used were recorded in the bibliography. I have striven to be as neutral and unbiased as possible and avoided any discrimination in descriptions of persons, the institution or groups in my research.

According to Collins (1992), the researcher enters the research process with an open mind, but stays 'dressed' in a particular cultural background and has her own views and idiosyncrasies. As an educator, I come from a particular educational background, and from this background, I have identified a particular problem. I agree with Collins (1992) that it is therefore difficult for me as an ethnographer and researcher to completely distance myself from the research. This further implies that I have specific preconceived ideas and biases, and like any other researcher in the field, I must be careful not to lose my neutrality throughout all phases of the research study by remaining aware of potential personal bias.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the methodological aspects relevant to this research study. This chapter provides a rationale for the utilisation of a qualitative methodological approach, to respond to the study's main research question and sub-questions.

I highlighted the interpretive paradigm as the most appropriate research framework for this study. In this chapter I described my research design as being based on a qualitative ethnographic research approach, presented my data-collection methods and procedures, and explained how I went about interpreting and analysing the data. I addressed the questions of validity and reliability, and concluded the chapter with a discussion of the various ethical aspects relevant to this study.

CHAPTER 5: THE SCHOOL'S INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the institution of schooling as the function and outcome of the sociological and historical realities in contemporary South Africa. It responds to the following sub-question: What are the various dimensions that constitute the school culture at a special-needs high school?

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the institutional place-making context for the pedagogical place-making practices that I will be focusing on in Chapters Six and Seven. I more specifically aim to explain the nature of the institutional culture of the place of the school. This will lay the basis for the focus on teacher pedagogical identities (chapter six) and teachers' pedagogical place-making (chapter seven). This question will be answered by the focus on two interrelated dynamics – the institutional development of the place over time for which the notion of 'white tone' (Hunter, 2019), as it shifts over time, will be utilised and the second dimension is the theoretical application of Lefebvre's three dialectics (or trilectics) of space to understand the institutional culture currently operating the school.

The objective is to understand how a school as a place is 'made', i.e. how it is endowed with meaning and expressed in behaviours that display particular sets of values, assumptions and beliefs. These aspects make up the prevailing school culture at the specific special needs high school where I chose to do the research for this study. I refer to a particular high school in the Western Cape province that accommodates learners with a variety of special educational needs. At such schools the teachers pursue the same objective as their mainstream counterparts: preparing their students sufficiently to complete the National Certificate in Grade 12 based on the CAPS curriculum.

When I accessed the school for research purposes, I did not anticipate to find a highly functional institution. I was aware schools are intricate spaces. My research was aimed at finding a way to explain how this school navigates the everyday exigencies within which it sought to accommodate learners and educators from a diversity of demographic and 'disability' backgrounds in a space deemed as 'inclusive'. The findings of this chapter are based on data that bring to the fore decisive dimensions that impact significantly on the dynamics that make up the school's institutional culture. Identifying and explaining these dimensions that constitute the culture of this school required a finely tuned theoretical lens.

I accordingly adopted a 'socio-spatial' lens which shows that space is created through the interaction of various dimensions of space (Lefebvre, 1991). My contention is that a place is continually made and remade, influenced by aspects such as time, history, politics, power, race, gender and religion. Institutional culture consists mostly of 'invisible' attributes, such as values,

assumptions and beliefs, which are expressed in the behaviour of its inhabitants. My research was an attempt to excavate these 'invisible' dimensions based on a triangulated analysis of qualitative data gathered during one year of ethnographic research.

Data presented in this chapter were collected through participant observation and in-depth individual interviews with six of the school's staff members from demographically diverse backgrounds. Two female interviewees were long-time employees in the support services department of the school and four were high school teachers, one of whom was a white, middle-aged grade head, one a middle-aged coloured female Head of Department (HOD), and two younger white teachers in their twenties, one male and one female. The interviews were focused on each staff member's experiences of the school's institutional culture. Interview questions focused on their general experiences at school and opinions of the school's values, its vision and mission, and how these factors play out within the institution.

I start the chapter by presenting an overview-type history of Canaan School from its establishment in 1937 through to the time of my research study in 2019. I refer to the school's *institutional habitus*, which refers to a system of resilient, transposable patterns of socio-cultural dispositions and practices invested in an institution through its cultural history that continue to operate in the institution. Institutional habitus "refers to educational status, organisational practices and expressive order, expectations, conduct, character, and manners" (Çelik, 2017:12).

The discussion of the school over a roughly 70 year period is written alongside the historical periodisation presented by Mark Hunter (2019). Hunter develops the concept of 'white tone' as an analytical perspective to explain the shifting nature of schools' institutional culture in South Africa since the official implementation of apartheid in 1948. I use Hunter's (2019) term 'white tone' to explain how the institutional habitus of Canaan School operated during my time there. Hunter (2019) refer to 'white tone' as investing cultural whiteness with a type of 'prestige' at schools in South Africa.

The second theoretical dimension entails an investigation of the spatial dimension of the school culture which draws on Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad – i.e. perceived/physical space, conceived/mental space, and lived/social space. The spatially inscribed 'lived' dimensions as expressions of the school's institutional culture are discussed with reference to two core themes: managerialist practices and the positioning of the teachers in the school space and culture.

5.2 Historical construction of the school's institutional habitus

In this section I outline the establishment and development of Canaan School in terms of Mark Hunter's (2019) account of the different educational periods from pre-apartheid schooling through

to the current period he classifies as a racialised market. According to Hunter, the pre-apartheid period (1910-1948) emphasise the disparity between education delivery for Black and White children; this is later formally instituted in the period Hunter labels racial modernism (1948 – late1970s) with the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 and the state take-over of education for Blacks. Marketised assimilation (late 1970s to late 1990s) is the period that follows the 1976 Soweto Uprising and is defined by the rapid expansion of secondary schools for Black learners and the privatisation and desegregation of White schools. The last period, the racialised market (2000 to date), sees the expansion of corporate-owned private schools and intensified competition amongst public schools, which Hunter argues occurs on the basis of these schools' 'white tone'.

Through these periods I weave an account of the development of not only the school but the community, the South African context and the development of special education in South Africa. I conclude this historical narrative by situating the school within a particular institutional habitus, a concept by which the school is positioned in as a historically white, Afrikaans, Christian special needs school.

Habitus is a system of resilient, transposable patterns of socio-cultural dispositions and practices invested in an individual institution (in this case) through its cultural history, which continues to operate within the individual institution across its various historical contexts (Bourdieu, 1977). Put more simply, habitus describes how individuals carry their history and how that history is enacted in their daily lives (Grenfell, 2008). If we transfer the concept of habitus to a description of an institution such as a school, then "[i]nstitutional habitus is a set of predispositions, taken-for-granted expectations, and schemes of perceptions in which institutions, in this case, schools, are organised. It refers to the impact of a cultural group or social class on individual behaviour as it is mediated through an organisation. More concretely, institutional habitus refers to educational status, organisational practices and expressive order, expectations, conduct, character, and manners" (Çelik, 2017:12). The institutional habitus of this school is crucial as it operates as the context for the behaviour of the staff members at Canaan School.

5.2.1. Early development of the town and community

The suburb in Cape Town in which Canaan School is situated was initially a town inhabited by hunters and stock-farmers. In 1680 the area was founded as a refreshment post by white settlers. The location was appropriately placed between the Cape Town and Stellenbosch as a Company post to supply provisions and field rangers were posted here. In 1845 the first hard roads were built, which enhanced local trade. The community did not develop quickly, and when the railway line was established, it was also decided that the area would not serve as a stop for passenger trains. This decision impacted on the further development of the neighbourhood (Vermaak, 1993).

The church was prominent in the community, as it was during these years in all Afrikaner communities. In 1843 the first church and missionary school were founded in the town. The first whites-only school was founded in August 1874. French settler, Charles Mathurin Villet, initiated "a period of cultural and religious revival" (Vermaak, 1993: n.p.) during 1881 to about 1892, from which time this first white school was taken over by a pro-Afrikaner serving as headmaster from 1892 to 1905. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, various farm schools were founded in the area and towards Stellenbosch, and in 1898 stands were sold for residential development (Vermaak, 1993).

Children with disabilities were not initially included in the formal schooling system in South Africa, but some special needs schools had already been established in the country by 1863. These schools were primarily serving white children with hearing and visual impairments (Nkabinde, 1997). Non-white children with disabilities were mainly provided with some form of education by the churches. However, many children with disabilities were kept at home, as school attendance for disabled children was not compulsory. It was during the early 1900s that the Department of Education took on the responsibility for providing special education, when Act 29 of 1928, the Vocational Education and Special Education Act, was passed. Canaan School, founded in 1937, is therefore one of the first special needs schools to be established in the Cape Town area.

5.2.2 Pre-apartheid period (1910-1948)

Hunter (2019) describes this pre-apartheid period of heightened segregation as signifying the growing divide between education for white and black children. Black African children were mainly educated in state-aided mission schools, while white children received the best education on offer. This was also the case in special education delivery during this time.

Developments in the fields of medicine and psychology during the 19th century led to the clarification of categories of learning challenges, a categorisation that was recognised by governments across the world. The South African government expanded special education and hence separate schools were established for specific disabilities, including hearing and visual impairments, as well as for the deaf and the blind, and for children with epilepsy, cerebral palsy and other physical disabilities. Special schools to address the requirements for each specific disability were built, but state-owned schools enrolled only white children. Special education for black, Indian and coloured children was characterised by severe discrepancies in both the quantity and the quality of the education provided.

Canaan School was established as a home for children suffering from epilepsy, known in those days as the "falling sickness". The school was initiated by a pastor and his wife, who had lost their own son because of this medical condition. The pastor's wife worked tirelessly to raise money for the

organisation and approached influential people, such as the Education Minister, for support. In 1936 the local Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) sold a piece of church ground for the establishment of the home. To obtain state support, the education offered at the institution had to fall under the Union Education Department for it to be considered as a special school. The hostel accommodation of the learners resided under the Department of Public Health, because they were regarded as patients.

On the 4th of January, 1937, Canaan School and Home were officially opened with a single white, female learner. Two months after opening, in July 1937, there were seven children: five girls and two boys. The institution, a whites-only establishment, employed a nurse, a trainee nurse and one teacher, appointed by the Education Department.

The facilities quickly expanded. An outdoor building with three rooms was furnished. The horse stable served as a bedroom for the boys, and the Old Priesthood was enlarged with two rooms. The cow stables were turned into dormitories for the boys. The Old Priesthood housed the girls and was partially used as the office. As the school grew, accommodation continued to be a challenge and a farm was purchased in May 1939. By July 1939 there were already 37 learners and three teachers. In 1940, another adjacent farm was purchased. Funds were collected through a nationwide fundraiser. Canaan School and Home management used the funds raised, supplemented by state subsidies, to convert the racehorse stables into a school building. The current school buildings were developed on this terrain over time.

Despite financial support from the state and members of the DRC, it was no longer possible to manage the institution as a private enterprise. After negotiating with the DRC of the Cape, the Synod agreed to take over the institution in 1942. The DRC assumed the management of the institution as well as cooperation with the Department of Education. This gave rise to the establishment of the Canaan Institute, still operational today. The Canaan Institute takes responsibility for the systematic development of infrastructure and expansion of aid structures, which at the time of the research (2019), offered approximately 550 learners educational opportunities.

On the 28th of January 1942, the first school principal was appointed with the commission to move away from being a care resort and to establish the Canaan School. The aim was to offer all learners certification as for learners in mainstream schools and to follow the official education programme of the day. This shift made it possible for learners from Canaan School to transfer to other institutions, be it mainstream schools or care homes. The admission of new learners was limited to learners of school-going age. Various construction initiatives to enlarge the school facilities were undertaken from 1947 to 1950.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 promulgated the establishment of the Society of Friends of the Epileptic Child in 1949. Friends from all over South Africa and South West Africa (at that time a South African UN mandate, now Namiba), became involved with Canaan School by making donations. These contributions are acknowledged on an annual basis and the associated fundraisers serve, among other things, to bring the school to the attention of the broader public.

5.2.3 Racial modernism (1948-late1970s)

Racial segregation, which had been a feature of South African social life for decades, became the government's official policy in 1948 as the National Party came to power. This signifies the formal institution of apartheid as public policy in South Africa. Hunter (2019) labels the period from 1948 onwards to the late 1970s as 'racial modernism', a period of South African history that has had a lasting and significant impact on the education sector. The apartheid era, or racial modernist period, saw the promulgated legislation – including the Bantu Education Act in 1953 – deliberately fostering an inferior education for black children. Hunter (2019) states that mission schools for Africans were either closed down or taken over by the state. The state rapidly built primary schools of poor quality for black learners to deliver Bantu Education as black families moved from the rural areas into townships and cities. During the same time white suburbs developed, with distinct class-based differences. This period saw the peak of the racial funding gap in education, with white learners funded eighteen times higher than black African learners in 1969 (Hunter, 2019). Schooling entrenched the divide between white and black workers, as black Africans were typically employed in factories or as semi-skilled workers. In contrast, white education allowed for access to professional or business occupations and technical work (Hunter, 2019).

During the late 1960s the term 'special educational needs' came into use as a result of increasing awareness of the prevalence of learning and other difficulties affecting children's progress and adjustment in ordinary schools (Gulliford & Upton, 1994:1). Subsequently, children were classified into ten categories based on their disabilities. Arguments posited in support of this included the adverse impact of apartheid legislation in creating severe social and educational disadvantages, in turn leading to extrinsic factors influencing special educational needs and children's capacity for learning (Kriegler, 1989:165). The exclusionary apartheid education system had in itself created significant educational needs for children, as the development of necessary educational skills was delayed or denied because of a lack of access. Engelbrecht, Kriegler and Booysen (1996:25) explain that special education needs may be described along a continuum. At one end of the continuum we find those with apparently intrinsic deficits of a physical or neurological nature, whose educational needs can be catered for only with highly specialised educational resources and assistance. However, at the other end of the continuum, there are those with clear extrinsically created socio-

economic disadvantages. According to Naicker (2000:1), "the socio-economic and educational disparities and structural inequalities generated by apartheid in South Africa have had a particularly devastating impact on the creation and reproduction of special educational needs".

During the unfolding disputes around 'special educational needs' Canaan School was expanding its own facilities and expertise. As the town developed, so did the school. In December 1950 the town attained municipal status and soon thereafter, in 1952, the school commissioned the building of houses for staff and further school buildings were erected. Sports facilities were extended to include tennis courts, netball courts, a rugby field and a swimming pool. In 1967 a major advancement was the addition of a clinic, which included a doctor's room, a therapy room, offices for psychologists and a library with reference books. The larger movements in special education in South Africa had placed pressure on Canaan School to extend its service delivery to include learners with other special educational needs. In 1969 learners with 'specific learning disabilities' were included in the school's intake. Soon after that the first speech therapist was appointed, followed by a social worker in 1971, and an occupational therapist in 1978.

At Canaan School, as a whites-only special needs school, the broader tensions around education delivery were evident in the way the school continued to expand its facilities, supported by the church and government funds. From its inception the school was exclusively a residential school and, as more accommodation became available, the number of pupils increased from 45 in 1945 to 125 by 1957. In 1958, however, learner numbers began to decline as a similar school opened in Kimberley which could accommodate children from the north of the country.

Canaan School was exclusively a white-only special school focused on serving learners diagnosed with epilepsy. Because of its exclusionary nature, the number of learners dropped to about 100 in 1965 and later in the 1970s numbers fell to about 80 enrolled learners. During this time, two reports had a significant influence on the further development of the school: *The International Classification of Epilepsy* in 1964 and *The report of the committee of investigation for the education of children with minimal brain dysfunction* in 1969. These reports showed that neurological dysfunctions in children with specific learning difficulties, manifesting in written language, perception and memory, were similar to problems in children with epilepsy. The appointment of a new school principal in 1972, a specialist in the area of neural disabilities, led to the enrolling of learners with 'specific learning difficulties' (SLD) at the school. The result was a gradual increase in the learner numbers, especially of day pupils, which led to the purchasing of the first school buses in 1976 to cater for the growing number of day pupils.

5.2.4 Marketised assimilation (late 1970s to late 1990s)

During 1976 the Soweto Uprising sparked a new era of social protests (Hunter, 2019). This marks the beginning of a process whereby black youths rejected the inferior education they received. Government responded by rapidly building secondary schools for black African learners. The youth revolt led to the African National Congress (ANC) attempting to establish new and alternative schooling. The time of People's Education came into being, as does the African National Congress school in exile, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, named after the youth activist hanged by the Pretoria regime in 1979 (see Govender and Fataar, 2015).

Apartheid education "produced a dual system of education which included a mainstream and special education component" (Naicker, 2000:1). Both components were characterised by racial disparities, while disadvantaged learners, who were the majority, were still excluded from the education system. Differences between urban and rural areas were evident, with the most privileged receiving the best education services. Special education was provided to a small percentage of white learners at schools such as Canaan School. According to Naicker (2000), "most learners with disability have either fallen outside of the system or been mainstreamed by default". The failure of the education system resulted in "massive numbers of dropouts, push-outs, and failures" (p. 2).

The changed admission criteria at Canaan School to include learners with 'specific learning disabilities' inspired another critical development, the introduction of ortho-didactic assessment (tape recordings and oral evaluation) in 1981. The continuously growing number of learners again necessitated more construction to expand the school facilities. Replanning of the school buildings was undertaken and construction began in 1983. One of the hallmarks of the architectural design of classrooms was that someone standing inside would not have a shadow. Although the classes had many windows, sunlight could never enter a room directly. Sunbeams were diverted so that if the sun shone on the porch, the beams would be reflected against the classroom ceiling, brightening the room with natural light. For this system of indirect lighting, a part of the ceiling in the classrooms was built diagonally.

Alongside these construction changes, Canaan School's principal worked to formalise the school identity. The school badge was designed in 1976 by a well-known heraldist of the time. The school uniform's style was changed in the 1980s and the colours of the school badge were adapted accordingly in 1983. There was a need for a slogan to support the school badge, and parents and staff were consulted. In 1983 the motto was compiled from different proposals. The decision in favour of both English and Afrikaans phrasing, instead of Latin, was deliberate, as the public are generally unfamiliar with Latin slogans. The school song was written in 1984 by one of Canaan School's teachers, first in Afrikaans and translated into English later that year. The school song was

officially sung for the first time at the beginning of the third quarter in 1986. The school building as it is known today was inaugurated in 1985.

A Department of Development was established in 1989 to strengthen the school's fundraising efforts, and a pastor from the DRC became the first director. Under his leadership, a network of donors was formed, a healthy Reserve Fund was established, and special annual events initiated. Throughout his term, further additions were made to the school facilities, including a library and a new language laboratory.

By 1990, South Africa had re-joined the highly competitive global economy while navigating its way to a democratic society. This was a period of "immense energies going into policy development, failures in their implementation, and a serious weakening of the university and non-governmental bases for ... education thinking and action" (Aitchison, 2003: 146). Hunter (2019) notes that white private schools desegregated slowly during the early 1990s, by selecting better-off black students. From 1991 white public schools begin to desegregate and charge fees. This period is characterised by drastic legal and policy changes in all aspects of the South African education and training sector. These included the adoption of the National Education Act (Act 27 of 1996) and the South African Schools Act (SASA, Act 84 of I996), as well as the introduction of outcomes-based education (OBE) and the National Qualification Framework (NQF). This entailed "transforming the dual system of education (special and ordinary education) to a single, inclusive OBE system" (Naicker, 2000:2). During this time the post of general manager of special schools was transferred from the Department of National Education to provincial education departments.

New subject choices could now be offered at Canaan School with an emphasis on career-oriented education. These included practical subjects such as Office Practice, Computer Practice, and Hotelkeeping and Catering. A new school principal was appointed at the school. His term as principal was characterised by curriculum development and staff training. Through his initiative certain modernisation projects were implemented, including two computer rooms and the audio and projection system added to the school hall.

Prominent managerial changes took place at Canaan School. The first School Governing Body was formed in 1996, which was composed of parents, teachers and learners as prescribed by the SASA (1996). No official record could be found that indicates when the first non-white teachers and learners entered Canaan School. However, with some research, the first non-white teacher at Canaan School could be contacted. The first non-white teacher was a coloured, female teacher, who joined the staff in 1997. She recalls that children of colour were already at the school when she arrived in 1997. It is estimated that the first non-white children enrolled in terms of post-1996 legislation.

The managerial function of the DRC was limited from 1998, and the school henceforth acted as an independent organisation under the name of Canaan Institute (pseudonym), known as the 'sponsoring body' of Canaan School. Currently, it is registered as a programme of Badisa that does the charity work on behalf of the DRC. The Institute is a "steward" that manages the assets of the DRC for the benefit of the children of Canaan School. These assets include the network of donor friends, the school's Reserve Fund and the school's properties. Out of these revenues, specific operating and capital projects are funded for at Canaan School. A cooperation agreement regulates the relationship between the school and the institute.

5.2.5 Racialised market (2000s -)

Hunter (2019) terms the period after 2000 as the 'racialised market' and emphasises the prestige of acquiring what he terms "white tone," especially "white English," as necessary to finding work. During this period a rapid growth in new private schools established by corporations is observed, and competition among public schools intensifies. Formerly white schools compete based on their "white tone", and fees among top schools rise rapidly, but schools in deprived areas become "no fee" schools (Hunter, 2019). Furthermore,

> …schools' actions are shaped by an imperative to improve their political economy and prestige within a marketised system. These logics have replaced state-imposed racial segregation as a mode of organisation. The "pencil test" is no longer used as it was by white schools in the 1950s and '60s to exclude learners with "non-white" hair. The boundaries of whiteness are no longer fortified, as they were in the 1970s and 1980s, by a national system of racial segregation… Political freedom has meant that aspects of whiteness are bought and sold and not arbitrarily imposed by the state. (p.19)

Moving into the democratic era, the South African education system is overshadowed by the legacy of the apartheid state. The perspective on special needs education changed over the last century, and there was a shift from a focus on the individual to a recognition that special needs learners must be prepared to live healthy functioning lives within their communities. In 2001 the *Education White Paper 6: Special Needs Education - Building an Inclusive Education and Training System* was published. Education White Paper 6 (EWP6) acknowledges the condition of special-needs education which prioritised an intervention and state that:

> Special-needs education is a sector where the ravages of apartheid remain most evident. Here, the segregation of learners on the basis of race was extended to incorporate segregation on the basis of disability. Apartheid special schools were thus organised according to two segregating criteria, race and disability. In accordance with apartheid policy, schools that accommodated white disabled learners were extremely well-resourced,

whilst the few schools for black disabled learners were systematically under-resourced. (DoE, 2001: 9).

According to this policy, learners with special educational needs are to be placed at schools on an all-inclusive basis. Learners with exceptional educational needs had to be given access to education and receive special support, not only at special schools, but also in 'ordinary' mainstream schools. Special education schools would help support mainstream schools and would admit learners whose needs were more specific, where higher-level intervention is needed, and where mainstream schools were not equipped for high-level needs. Consequently, the eligibility criteria for students' access to Canaan School had to change in order to accommodate a wider variety of learning difficulties among applicants.

5.2.6 The school's socio-cultural organisation

The town expanded tremendously since it attained municipal status in 1950. Today major manufacturing companies and other large enterprises are found in the area. No highways or freeways form part of the town's infrastructure, although it is easily accessed, and consequently the centre of town is relatively uncommercialised. The town does boast an upmarket shopping centre and public sporting facilities. Most of the uncultivated land in the town is utilised for real estate. There are many old church buildings, a reflection of its pastoral history. A wide variety of primary and high schools as well as two special needs schools, of which Canaan School is one, are situated in the town. The 2011 census indicates the racial make-up of the town as consisting of 53.1% Coloured, 32.6% White, 11.4% Black African, 0.9% Indian/Asian, 1.9% other. First languages of inhabitants are mainly Afrikaans (60.2%) and English (33.2%), with isiXhosa (3.2%) as the most widely spoken African language.

In 2019 Canaan School provided education to a large variety of learners experiencing a wide range of barriers to learning. Teaching is offered in both Afrikaans- and English-medium, with a ratio of 2:1 in favour of Afrikaans instruction. The racial make-up of the learner population is approximately 50% White, 40% Coloured and 10% Black African, with the majority of Coloured and Black learners in the English-medium classes. The teaching staff consist of 52 staff members, of whom the majority are white; 12 staff members are coloured and there are no black teaching staff members at Canaan School.

Unlike at the beginning of the school's history, learners with epilepsy are in the minority, making up only 8% of the learner population. Eleven per cent (11%) of learners are diagnosed with neurological and physical barriers to learning, including learners with cerebral or physical disabilities, impaired vision, hearing impairments and learners with diabetes in need of ongoing medical care. The vast majority of learners are learners with dyslexia, dyscalculia, or specific

learning difficulties with regard to reading and written expression. These learners make up 76% of the learner population at Canaan School.

The ever-growing number of learners from Grade R to Grade 12 at Canaan School proves that there is an immense need for specialisation schools in the city. Learners are placed at Canaan School in collaboration with the Education district office and on the basis of clear placement criteria. Candidates for Canaan School have to be able to follow an academic curriculum (CAPS). As a result of their specific learning barriers, they have struggled to achieve their full potential at mainstream schools. Mainstream schools struggle to support these learners with their specific educational needs; therefore, they are dependent on special education. Using focused support efforts and individualised support programmes, learners at Canaan School have the opportunity to acquire their National Senior Certificate just as learners would do in mainstream schools.

The school provides interventions such as speech, occupational and physical therapy, as well as learning support for each learner. Assistance to learners is planned after evaluation by, and on the recommendation of, the trans-professional team. On the basis of their specific needs, learners receive therapeutic interventions either individually, in a small group, or in their class group. All teachers are expected to adopt remedial principles to support learners with specific learning difficulties in their teaching strategies. In the high school an expert team of support staff members is responsible for assisting approximately 260 high school learners. A holistic and multidisciplinary team approach is followed to determine what the learners' specific learning needs are.

The skill of writing remains a considerable challenge for learners with significant reading and spelling problems, which impacts on assessment strategies. The quality of a learner's written responses during the assessment can be adversely affected due to poor spelling, motor problems, physical disability and slow working speed. In such cases, scribes are used who read the questions and write answers without any interpretation or corrections for learners. Test and examination periods, therefore, generate a great deal of excitement as well as anxiety as the school gears up to deliver a variety of alternative assessment methods which Canaan School is expected to provide for. Co-approval for alternative assessment methods has to be obtained from the Department of Education for each specific learner. The school's Centre for Alternative Assessment Learning Support is a modern and well-equipped extension to the school's facilities. The school has ongoing fundraising to ensure that there is money for maintaining the technologies and services used in this centre.

The complex composition of the learner population requires an equally complex balance of staff with expertise across a broad spectrum. In addition to the 52 classroom teachers, Canaan School also employs three learner support/ortho-didactics specialists, two nurses, four speech therapists,

three occupational therapists, two physiotherapists, two psychologists, a counsellor and a social worker. Class assistants provide a support service in every grade and residence staff take care of the approximately 70 boarders. Also, there are administrative staff, site and maintenance personnel, bus drivers and part-time scribes.

5.2.7 Institutional habitus of Canaan School

The notion 'institutional habitus' pertains to a system of resilient, transposable patterns of socio-cultural dispositions and practices invested in an institution through its cultural history, which continue to operate within the institution. Institutional habitus "refers to educational status, organisational practices and expressive order, expectations, conduct, character, and manners" (Çelik, 2017:12). I utilise Hunter's (2019) concept of 'white tone' to explain how the institutional habitus of Canaan School is situated historically and how a newer 'white tone', based on managerialism and bureaucratic authority, has reorganised the school space by the time of the research study in 2019.

Hunter (2019) refers to 'white tone' as made up of the interaction between a school's *political economy* and *prestige*. *Political economy* refers to the advantages that formerly white schools have which were "anchored in the apartheid system, namely (a) assets, including spacious buildings, computers, swimming pools, and experienced and highly qualified teachers; (b) capacity to raise money or attain other assistance from businesses, grants, ... and (c) location" (Hunter, 2019: 17). The notion of *prestige* "represents a school's place in a symbolic hierarchy" (Hunter, 2019:18). He explains that "[m]any parents and teachers at formerly white schools would say, or imply, that a school loses prestige if it 'goes black'. (p.18) and that "formerly white schools employ teachers who are familiar with the culture of the institution" (p.6).

Through the short historical mapping above, I show how Canaan School is positioned as a formerly white, Afrikaans, Christian, special needs school. The following descriptions serve to illustrate the schools 'white tone' situated in its political economy and prestige as a leading special needs institution in South Africa.

The school grounds and facilities convey the image of an institution of excellence, also referred to in this way on the school's website. The photographs of the development of the school buildings and its grounds communicate the institution's pride in its expansive facilities and services (provided in the next section). The school's 'prestige' is evident in the financial prosperity and vast financial support received from the Institute as the fundraising body, which oversees the maintenance of the buildings and facilities, i.e. the Institute has this responsibility.

Canaan School expresses its Afrikaans, Christian, 'white tone' through the 'unwritten rules' prevalent in its daily operations. I offer some examples from my field observations over one school year. During the weekly assemblies the school song is sung in Afrikaans. Not once during my time there was the English version of the school song sung. The assembly was opened with a Christian message delivered either by a senior management team member or one of the DRC pastors from the Canaan Institute. This was mostly done alternating between Afrikaans and English. The school does not explicitly or primarily promote Christianity, but it also does not offer religious groups or gatherings to learners practising any other religion, or acknowledge religious days of learners who practice a religion other than Christianity.

The teacher corps consisted predominantly of Afrikaans-speaking teachers, except for two English-speaking teachers in the high school section. Concerns were raised by various English home-language parents at a parents meeting when senior management members communicated primarily in Afrikaans and the translation into English was felt to be insufficient. The 'Afrikaansness' of the school was very evident. Such occasions are characterised by poor use of spoken English by some senior management members as well as in written communications. I observed various newsflash messages posted to parents with spelling and grammatical errors. These issues were raised at multiple staff meetings by concerned staff members, with no visible improvement during my time there. It seemed that these language issues were simply not viewed as crucial to the operation of the institution by some senior members of school management.

Schools used sports that are viewed as 'white' sports codes to promote their school's whiteness or prestige (Hunter, 2019), such as rugby or athletics. At Canaan School sport is not used to promote the school or to attract learners, as learners are placed at the school. However, it does promote a particular version of 'whiteness' through considerable investment in its *tug of war* teams. Tug of war, surprisingly, is one of the school's most prominent sports codes, as it competes at a national level. This sport code is known for its close association with white, Afrikaans culture and the schools that these learners compete against are mainly agricultural colleges or schools from white farming communities.

The above descriptions illustrate how Canaan School is positioned as a formerly whites-only, Afrikaans, special needs school, partly owned and managed by the DRC. Consequently, the legacy of white Afrikaner culture and the Christian faith, its 'white tone', is prominent in its everyday operations. White tone as 'race' has been reworked or hidden from view and replaced by the institutional culture. This positioning constitutes the institutional habitus of Canaan School, which I utilise to describe the school's institutional culture through its interaction in the various spatial dimensions.

5.3 Spatial dimensions

In this section I discuss how the institutional culture at Canaan School operates through the functioning of the institutional habitus in the various spatial dimensions. I draw on Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad to discuss the spatial configurations of Canaan School: perceived/physical space, conceived/mental space, and lived/social space. The discussion illustrates how the notion of 'white tone' has remained unresolved, but has morphed into something that is not easily recognised. The space manages the tension by attempting to deracialising it and now presents itself through the lived dimension in particular ways in order to 'go to the market'.

For each of these spatial dimensions I present data to argue for the particular realisation of the institutional habitus 'in action' within each of the various spatial dimensions. I do this in an attempt to provide an explanation of the reorganisation of the concept of 'white tone' in the lived realities of Canaan School in the current period. I argue that a discourse of managerialism has come to characterise the adapted institutional tone, made up of the managerial practices associated with the institutional functioning of the school. These practices have been playing a formative reorganising role in the lived realities that the managers, teachers and learners now encounter at the school.

5.3.1 Perceived space at Canaan School

Perceived space can be regarded as referring to 'physical' or 'real' space. Words used to describe this dimension of space include physical, concrete surfaces, materialist and visual. According to Lefebvre (1991), physical space encompasses aspects that we experience through our senses and that these material aspects create perceptions that are integral to the social practices that prevail within particular physical spaces. In the light of Lefebvre's spatial triad, recognising physical school space as an essential dimension that contributes to the construction of school culture means that we need to "acknowledge the 'concrete realities' of the artefact-filled world in which staff and students work" (McGregor, 2004:348). Perceived space refers to the complex educational environments, networks of people, objects and resources that shape the formal (classroom) and informal spaces at school. The historical narrative presented in section 5.1 provides some context to understand the development of the physical or built environment of Canaan School. From the historical narrative we know that Canaan School is situated on a large piece of land and has undergone various renovations and construction projects over the years of its existence. Currently, structures include the main school buildings, hostels, a large number of houses and flats for staff occupation, ample sports facilities, including a mashie golf course, and various other outbuildings where functions are held and used as income-generating facilities. The land is owned by the DRC, not the Department of Education. The school terrain is secured by a fence and a security boom at

the main gate operated by a security guard. Miss Jacobs emphasises her need to feel safe at work and expresses her appreciation of the safe school space where she works:

> Personally, I feel the greatest worth [is] our location… I feel safe at school. I think that our children have a feeling that they are safe here … A friend of mine has been at home for three years because she felt unsafe at her school ... people shoot at their school.

The high school has many facilities, including four computer laboratories and a special lab equipped with various technological tools to meet all learners' support needs. Being a special needs school, facilities include the support services department, consisting of a physiotherapy room, as well as various other therapeutic applications for psychology, occupational therapy and speech therapy.
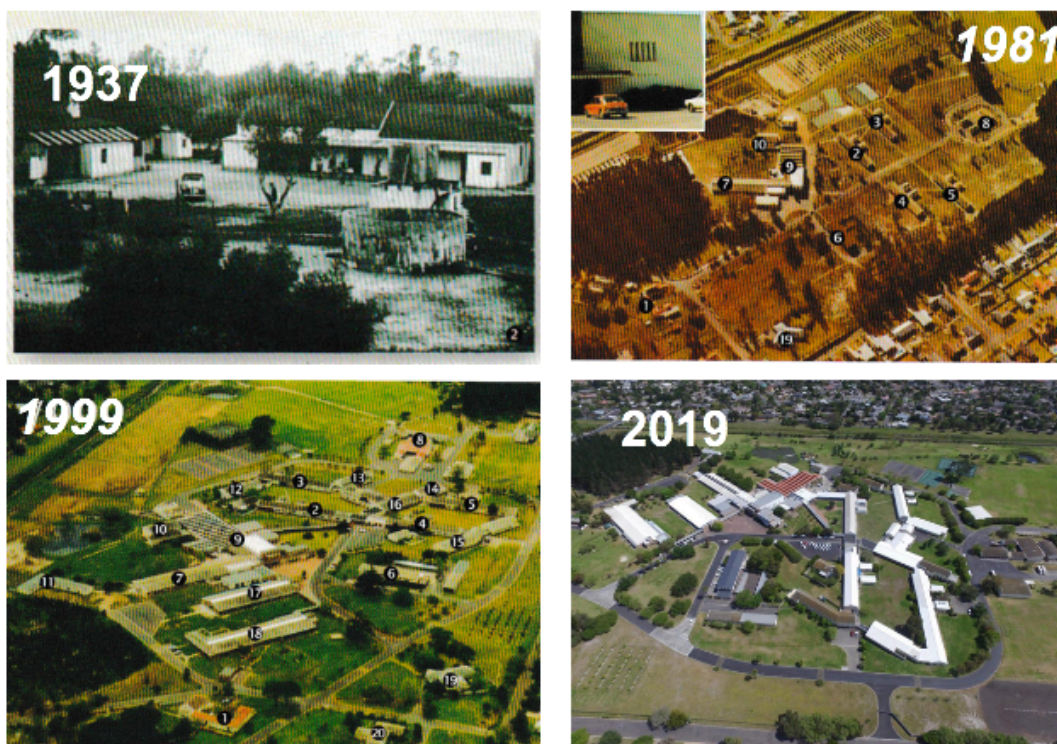
Figure 5.1: *Aerial shots of the Canaan School grounds. Marketing footage used by Canaan Institute. Source: Festival booklet (2012) and Canaan Institute Facebook page (2019).*

All major renovation and infrastructure decisions and associated finances are managed by the Canaan Institute (a non-profit organisation) run by two pastors associated with the DRC. The school itself had limited influence regarding the decisions made by the Canaan Institute and the allocation of their funds. The Canaan Institute's managers liaised solely with the principal on decisions regarding renovations and infrastructure, who then relayed these decisions to the senior management team (SMT). The renovation and marketing activities of the Canaan Institute convey

their aim to portray a 'prestigious image' to the public, which would entail that the image, i.e. the visual perception, of the school be impressive.

Outside of classrooms the school's specialised facilities provide supportive learning spaces for learners. If teachers are unable to accommodate learners' special needs inside of their classrooms for a particular task, there are various facilities available to them. They could move their whole class to the well-equipped centre for learner support, resourced with various specialised support staff as well as two computer labs, where learners with reading and writing challenges could be accommodated through the use of ICT and specialised text-to-voice and voice-to-text software. The centre has rooms where learners could be supported by scribes who worked part-time at the school. These scribes also do voice-over audio recordings of all the textbooks and notes used in classes. Learners can plug in their USB drive and download all their textbooks and notes in audio format for homework and study purposes. This centre for learner support and alternative assessment has been utilised to promoting the school's public image since the centre's inception (see section 5.1).

The physical aesthetics of the buildings, grounds, objects and other physical resources become central in the analysis of 'physical space' and include features such as size, shape, colour, lighting, design and layout. In my observation, the in-classroom physical spaces were not a priority concern for the Canaan Institute. Upkeeping of physical classrooms was consistently trumped by those larger renovation projects that promoted the schools public image. I will show how these 'priorities' impact on the positioning of teachers in the school in a later section of this chapter.

'Physical space' manifests as a result of decisions made regarding the architectural design of the school building and the availability of spaces and resources for specialised services and the quality of the furniture, as well as the shape and sizes of classrooms. Canaan School is a well-equipped school as its facilities include science and computer laboratories, various kitchens used for consumer sciences, art rooms, a library, a hall (and various other out-building facilities), as well as various sports fields, a swimming pool, tennis courts and even a mashie golf course. These are all physical aspects of schools that cannot be taken for granted and do not exist in the same way at other special-needs schools. One must consider that the existence or the lack of specific spaces inside of schools allows for specific movements and interactions, while preventing other movements and prohibiting some types of interactions (Staiger, 2005).

Canaan School's 'white tone', or rather its image of 'prestige' and 'excellence', is conveyed through its acquisition of sophisticated educational resources funded by a well-financed Institute and then used to attract future donors and further funding. These aspects are available for the school to be utilised for securing on-going renovations and development of its physical school facilities,

and thereby continuing to exhibit its 'whiteness', which is rooted in an image of excellence and sophistication.

5.3.2 Conceived space at Canaan School

Conceived space refers to how people imagine and reflect upon specific spaces. Lefebvre (1991:39) explains that mental space is 'passively experienced' and that it "overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects". Mental or conceived space can be understood as that aspect of space that generate the ideas we have about the school. Therefore, conceived space is expressed in, for example, "policy documents, dominating discourses, [and] school cultures" (Frelin & Grannäs, 2014:137). Furthermore, the dominant discourses and culture of a school are an expression of how the place of school is imagined and conceived and "directly related to the construction of workplace philosophies, ideologies, practices and regimes" (Frelin and Grannäs, 2014:137). In this dimension of space, school culture exists as a cognitive systems conveying how people think, reason and make decisions, and at its deepest level embodies a complex set of values, assumptions and beliefs that delineate 'how things are done' (Pettigrew 1979, 1990).

At Canaan School both the school's historical positioning and the policy landscape position the decision makers at the school, mainly the principal and deputy principals, which in turn impacts on the lives of the teaching staff in the lived dimension.

The positioning of Canaan School historically as a white, Afrikaans, Christian special needs school has culminated in the modern-day institution propounding an ideology of excellence and 'prestige', or what Hunter (2019) refers to as its 'white tone'. As previously stated, Canaan Institute is primarily concerned with the school's public image conveyed by the expansion, renovation and maintenance of its built environment. To collect funding for this purpose, a particular image of the school has to be conveyed which shows that funds raised are being utilised to optimise services and maintain an image of excellence. In the light of the function of the Canaan Institute, they are fulfilling the expectation that funds raised should be utilised for the upkeep of the school buildings and its specialised facilities. The major discrepancy in terms of these funding priorities is that they are dependent on the particular conceptualisation of the space by those deciding where funding should be utilised, primarily the principal and the School Governing Body (SGB). For teachers funding priorities should be earmarked differently. Teachers expressed the view that more funding could be allocated to the upkeeping of classroom interiors and resources to support the learning needs of all students inside of classrooms. As mentioned, support services, specialised knowledge and facilities exist within the school grounds, but teachers felt that what they were allocated inside of classrooms were not sufficient to optimally deliver the education they understood as 'all inclusive'.

Furthermore, I understand the conceived dimension of space to include aspects of how policy describes, and therefore, 'imagines' a special-needs school and special-needs teachers. At Canaan School the South African Schools Act (SASA, 1996) and the Personnel and Administrative Measures document (PAM) of 2003 are pieces of legislation that the principal would readily refer to. The PAM document clearly outlines the duties of educators and accords authority to the principal to manage decisions regarding timetables, workload, etc. Canaan's principal is a law-abiding leader who has been working in the special needs field for six years. With his teaching background in mainstream schooling, he in all likelihood conceived the functioning of this special needs school as being like that of any other (mainstream) school. For teachers, this approach becomes problematic, especially if the school context of special-needs education delivery is not taken into account before policy expectations are imposed.

To illustrate this point: during the first few weeks of my time in the field, in the role as researcher, the principal drew statistics from quantitative data which he had collected from teachers' timetables. He found discrepancies between the workloads of teachers at primary and high school levels. Based on these statistics, the principal instructed the two deputy principals to restructure and rearrange timetable weightings (in accordance with the policy prescriptions) in order for primary school and high school teachers' workload to be equal. For the majority of high school teachers this meant that subjects and contact time increased. Implications related to subject content, assessment types, preparation time, administrative duties and extramural expectations were not taken into consideration, which led the high school teaching staff to question and oppose management.

The point of contestation was that primary school teachers' and high school teachers' workloads could not be compared in a one-dimensional statistical analysis. Over some weeks some teachers wrote open letters to the principal, while others were calling meetings where they could express their concerns. The principal's main response was that he was following the regulations prescribed in the PAM document. The teachers concerns regarding the quality of their teaching and related services outweighed their desire to adhere to policy prescriptions. However, the principal maintained that he was expected to follow the policy prescriptions, and that was the law.

Importantly, Lefebvre argues that conceived space is the dominant space within a school and he adds that "conceived space is a place for the practices of social and political power; in essence, it is these spaces that are designed to manipulate those who exist within them" (Lefebvre, 1991: 222). I am not suggesting that the way in which the principal conceived the space and acted upon his beliefs in the above incident was done with malicious intent, but my observations led me to the insight that the tension between the leadership practices and the teaching staff derives from a

misrecognition by the principle of Canaan School's particular context. The teachers' main argument was that a special needs high school cannot be conceptualised in the same manner as a special needs primary school, and certainly not as a mainstream high school. Miss Jacobs recalls her shift from a mainstream school to Canaan School and how the experience differed in terms of a teacher's conceptualisation of their 'job' as a special needs teachers. She explains:

> What a culture shock ... coming from a mainstream school …You can't walk in here with your mainstream mentality. If you haven't worked at a special needs school, you cannot say that you have taught.

The teachers, consistently expressed their understanding of, and desire for, Canaan School as a place where learners should be accommodated and cared for in a space where they can feel safe and find a sense of belonging. The vision of the academic staff remained on preparing their students for academic success amidst the challenges associated with the disability barriers experienced by the students.

The teachers I interviewed expressed their moral dedication to delivering the best education for each student in their classrooms. Their actions (discussed more fully in Chapter Seven) relate to their personal "workplace philosophies, ideologies, practices and regimes" (Frelin and Grannäs, 2014:137). A grade head in the FET phase described their approach in the following way:

> Why are we here? We have children with an array of problems … we are an academic school, we take a child with different issues, and we do various things to make that guy write the same exam as any other matric student, and to get a job. We don't get academic achievement, but we get the child that keeps on trying, or the one that climbs out of his shell, broken children that get a new lease on life, a child that has been hit by life in mainstream and I think for us, it is to see how children can change. Compassion and endurance, and [who] believes and is willing to invest something of yourself in a child and to believe that it will yield results somehow. There are many disappointments, but there are enough [achievements] that make a success. We don't sit here for the salary. (Mr Swanepoel)

Miss Jacobs discusses her approach with her matric learners in the following way:

> I want to instil in the children this feeling of safety because they have to go out into the world. Our head girl from a few years ago came to school and told me: "Ma'am, I wish I wrote down all the things you said in class because I feel that I will need them now"

Mr Vivier's teaching efforts are also focused on Grade 12 and preparing the learners for their life beyond school. He explains:

> I think that mainly it is about learners with learning barriers and as a stepping-stone for their future … we are an academic school, not a school of skills. For me, it's about preparing the kids for after matric. Some teachers are here for the learners and make their lessons for kids with special needs, they develop their lessons for the kids with visual impairments, writing difficulties and more.

Teachers at Canaan School, driven by their value commitments, expressed the belief and need to create safe and inclusive spaces for their learners. For them such commitments would translate into successful teaching and learning. The institutional culture at Canaan School, mainly focused on maintaining the school's image of excellence, misrecognises the contextual realities of teaching students with special needs in order for the space to be perceived as safe and inclusive. Importantly, the perceived and conceived spatial dimensions are enacted in the lived spatial dimension.

5.3.3 Lived space at Canaan School

I start this section with the proposition that schools are socio-spatial establishments made and remade by people through time. Given the collection of people at school at a given time, a 'pattern of basic assumptions' is negotiated between the actors and becomes evident in their interactions and spatial practices. In this section I focus on how decision-making processes, the utilisation of policy prescriptions, and a certain understanding of special-needs teaching and learning context converge, with the focus on how a particular culture is created and how it positions teachers at Canaan School. I focus on how the actions of the principal and the deputy principal operate in positioning the work of the teachers at the school. The interaction of these two groups (managers and teachers) creates a particular culture within which the teachers conduct their daily tasks.

The way I represent the findings here might create an impression that the participating teachers are acting without agency; however, my focus in this chapter is to show how these teachers are positioned by the larger structures. Chapters Six and Seven will then show how the teachers respond.

5.3.3.1 *Managerial practice of power*

Canaan School had been positioned through managerialist, business-oriented notions. Managerialism "represents the organisational arm of neoliberalism. It is the mode of governance designed to realise the neoliberal project through the institutionalising of market principles in the governance of organisations. In the public sector ... it involves the prioritisation of private (for-profit) sector values of efficiency and productivity in the regulation of public bodies, on the assumption that the former is superior to the latter" (Lynch, 2014: n.p.). Most importantly, "the ethos of 'new managerialism' is stripping public services of moral and ethical values and rep[lacing

them with the market language of costs, efficiencies, profits and competition. Anything which is not easily quantified becomes undervalued or abandoned" (Lynch, 2014:n.p.). Therefore, at Canaan School the mode of governance embraces the for-profit sector's values and 'market language', focusing, as it does on aspects which are quantifiable. The school struggles to manage or respond to the qualitative complex realities of day-to-day life in its environs and classrooms.

The leadership practices of the principal and the deputy principal of the high school were catalysts that drove a particular school culture as they modelled values and delivered feedback that shaped staff behaviour. Canaan School's management structures are based on a top-down bureaucratic system that includes a school governing body (SGB), a Senior Management Team (SMT) and the staff at various post levels. There were often references to the 'line function', which operates to manage communication. At Canaan School decisions were made at the top level and communicated downwards through the line function: SGB/principal, top management, SMT, department heads (HODs), grade heads, classroom teaching staff. The SMT consists of the principal, two deputy principals (one primary school, one high school), and the manager of the support services department, who together make up the top management structure. Two primary school HODs, five high school HODs, and two senior support staff members (a school psychologist and speech therapists) complete the SMT.

Bureaucratic characteristics of hierarchy, centralised elitism and undemocratic tendencies and managerialism organised the way that the various management structures were operationalised at Canaan School. The SGB and school principal were the primary decision makers at the school. The SMT did not play a prominent role in executing the power and control over decisions that sustain the school's institutional culture. In my interview with Mrs X and Mrs Y, both SMT members, they explained their experiences:

> You stand here amid this group of people you are in the group with, even if you do not really agree. Then you seem to be part ... and if the decision was made ... as we all sit there, then it's "the leadership team made the decision", then you also made the decision ... then you can't go back to your department and say I disagree. You should now try to drive the thing in the way the decision was made. (Mrs X)…it's a very uncomfortable feeling for me ... it's a very awkward feeling (Mrs Y).

I observed that the less influential SMT members played a marginal role in decision-making processes. Key decisions were not primarily made at biweekly SMT meetings. These meetings offered opportunities for HODs to express their opinions; however, final decisions were predominantly relayed to the members of the SMT. Mrs X explains:

> A lot of the times the decision has already been made [by the principal and deputies], and then we (the SMT) have to make a pseudo decision, but actually, the decision has already been made.

Mr Swanepoel, a grade head, remembers a time where decision-making processes were more transparent and admits that

> I miss the transparency that we always had when it gets to communication … Management must be more transparent. I would not want to sit on the SMT and then be told ... here it is, stamp it.

Negative characteristics of bureaucratic authority was evident mainly pertaining to the deprivation of decision making powers of the teaching staff. Klikauer (2015) explains that "managerialism combines management's generic tools and knowledge with ideology to establish itself systemically in organizations... while depriving ... workers (organizational-economic) ... of all decision-making powers" (p. 1105). The school's teachers as 'workers' are therefore stripped of any decision-making power other than what they have some control over, which is mainly their practices inside of their classrooms, as discussed in see the next two chapters).

Canaan School's principal is an office-based manager. He is regarded by staff as someone who rigidly obeys the policies and rules that govern his principalship. The principal is mostly found in his office occupied with administrative tasks. An SMT member explains his management approach:

> Someone from outside the school once asked me if he (the principal) has come out from behind his desk … now that is his management style … you can't manage *this* school from behind your desk (Mrs X).

The principal did not adopt an open door policy, as he often reminded staff to make appointments with his secretary and not just walk into his office to talk. He viewed this as an act of disregard of his task and as disrespectful.

Translation:
Please make an appointment at the secretary before you enter the principal's office. No 'walk-ins' please.

Figure 5.2: The notice board in front of the principal's office. It stood there for a few weeks. Photographs were taken by the researcher while at the school.

Some argued that the principal's approach was an "easy way out" and that it highlights his inexperience of special-needs schooling and detachment from what really takes place at the school. Mrs X and Mrs Y had this to say:

> Some people have not worked in this environment, so if there is no understanding of the particular situation that should prevail in a school like this, then you actually have a problem (Mrs X).

> And one had hoped that he would have caught up already .... You have to feel it on your body ... you have to experience it physically (Mrs Y).

It seems that the school leader, as a result of his limited exposure to special needs education and related knowledge and skills had positioned himself, in the eyes of some participants, as an 'outsider' in this special-needs school. Furthermore, the principal did not engage in disciplinary issues that arose, except when it involved his presence at a disciplinary hearing. In cases dealing with learner discipline or disruptive or high-risk behaviour, he would refer the conflict to the deputy or the teacher who sought his support in dealing with the situation. Teacher participants refer to examples of this approach in our interviews. I witnessed a fight between two high school boys that ended up in the school foyer, with shouting and swearing between the boys and two teachers trying to calm them down; the principal walked past the conflict without saying a word and continued on his way. Miss Müller also recalls some similar incidents where she was involved:

> When there is a disciplinary problem, then you have to follow the line function. I won't even try the principal ... I have had a few incidents, I recall times where I was in distress, and a child moans and shouts, swears and scolds, or is crying, and he greets me and walks past, or he gets such a fright that he just turns around and walks away.

As manager, the principal was mainly positioned in his office and concerned himself with the administrative and financial tasks of the school. What is important here is that these practices of the principal as the main decision maker who does not get involved in actual incident management positions the teachers in complex ways.

The practices of the principal also had an impact on the positioning and work of the high school's deputy principal. New at her job, the deputy principal is in charge of all academic and disciplinary matters at the high school, which places her under immense pressure. She has been working in this position for approximately three years by the time I started my research. She had previously been an HOD at the school for many years where she worked closely with that school's previous deputy principal. According to my observations during staff meetings, she appears to struggle to portray herself as a decisive manager.

In high school staff meetings the deputy had admitted that she could not be the primary person to deal with particular situations and attempted to elicit the support of the staff to aid her in persuading the principal to become more involved in high school matters. She seemed to be easily persuaded by others in making her decisions and in her opinions. In my time at the school I observed how she had been swayed by the more dominant personalities on the teaching staff. Teachers who more aggressively voicing their opinions had their requests granted based on their assertiveness or persuasive abilities. This occurred in public or behind closed doors, but was also evident in some staff meetings when the floor was opened for the expression of views.

The deputy principal's lack of a decisive managerial style led to conflict amongst teachers. Her decisions at times resulted in an uneven distribution of classroom resources (where some teachers were favoured above others) and individual teachers' workload and class sizes (over which she had the decision-making power) lead to corridor banter, conflict amongst colleagues, and created distrust among some staff members as well as between staff members and the deputy principal.

Ineffective communication evidently affected relationships at Canaan School. The principal was rarely seen and mostly remained uninvolved in teachers' and learners' lives. The deputy principal was mainly tasked with dealing with disciplinary issues (in a special-needs school with learners with behavioural problems); she sporadically patrolled the passages. HODs were desperately trying to offer emotional and professional support to their teaching teams and grade heads were overwhelmed with administrative tasks. Mrs X explained that,

> It's a battlefield between the powerful and the powerless. Even if it's just a perception, though it may not be the reality, there are also people sitting in the supposedly powerful position that feel just as powerless, and that's the problem.

To summarise, the lack of support and access to the principal, the workings of management structures and confusion regarding lines of communication created a complex working environment for teachers. Teachers felt that their specific special-needs context had not been acknowledged in decisions impacting on teaching and learning and their day-to-day functioning at the school. This contextual misrecognition of what it entails to teach in a special-needs classroom had consequently driven a split between the top management members and the rest of the teaching staff, which in effect created a 'them' and 'us' attitude between the management and the teachers.

The above practices have been discussed in order to explain the positioning of the teachers at Canaan School. The focus of the thesis is firmly on the pedagogical place-making practices of teachers at this special-needs school, but in order to understand their practices we must first understand the lived realities in which they operate. A large amount of the data from interviews and my field observations illustrated the principal and deputy principal's practices as playing a decisive role in the positioning of teachers and their responsibilities at Canaan School. Given the impact of these managers in constructing the functional parameters of the school, the teachers developed their pedagogical identity and agency inside of their classrooms.

5.3.3.2 Teacher positioning

Canaan School is set-up to operate as a distinctive kind of place for the teachers. All three spatial dimension operate to situate or position the teachers in their classrooms.

Firstly, funding priorities impact on the positioning of teachers in the school. Predominantly, they situate teachers as the sole proprietor of their classroom space. It is the opinion of one teacher participant that the decisions on spending of funding are taken solely for the sake of upholding the school's 'white tone' in the public gaze, mainly to attract future donors, and at times at the cost of the daily operations of teachers and learners at school. Mr Vivier explained:

> They want to portray an image to the outside, for people to say that … this is an amazing school. It's about what is posted in newsletters and on social media, the outside image. I think for the school a lot is focused on money … If you think about the fundraisers, the Institute just wants to use the disabled kids to promote the school for money ... Teachers are left here to keep the real show on the go … I don't feel this [image of prestige] materialises inside of classrooms (Mr Vivier).

It became clear to me that, although there are many facilities and services at the school for learner support, inside of classrooms teachers received what could have been in any classroom in any school, but were tasked with the responsibility of delivering specialised education. Teachers felt that it is the specialised facilities, teaching resources and the maintenance of the interiors of

classrooms, etc. that were especially important as they extend or inhibit the possibilities for their daily teaching task inside of their classrooms.

Secondly, staff expressed their concern about the lack of support from top management and the repercussions on the staff's general wellbeing. Additionally, communication seemed to be a problem, primarily regarding decision-making processes which impacted on teachers' lives at school. Poor communication compounded feelings of isolation or remoteness. Backing for the values that teachers held close to their hearts was jeopardised by the lack of support and the collapse of compassionate management and leadership practices. This lack of collaboration trickled down to affect some staff relationships. Mr Swanepoel suggested that

> Sometimes it just feels like each person is on their own rock ... But it's also because of the layout of the school. Teachers lose face time with each other; now we send emails, instead of walking to each other. There are enough people here to support each other … there is a lot of knowledge in these offices and classrooms.

Miss Jacobs remembers a time in the recent past at Canaan School when the culture amongst the staff was different:

> The last few years it has been bad for me. I think to myself that we are not supposed to be fighting with each other, and that type of thing … I don't know if it is a power struggle, I can't put my finger on it. As a staff we always went out together and went to the theatre together, and we just did these things, and you felt like this is my family … but now, I don't know…

The lack of a culture of collaboration among management and teaching staff tends to isolates teachers inside of their classrooms. In combination with assuming the role of 'landlord' of their classrooms, they are also left to their own devices to ensure their personal mental and physical wellbeing. The emotional and mental health and general wellbeing of teachers working in specialised education has been found to be a major concern (Allen, 2008). At Canaan School teachers are willing to work themselves to a state of burnout "through their own strong work cultures and considerable loyalty and dedication to the education service" (Allen, 2008:14). Even though teachers are positioned as 'vulnerable' in respect of the lack of support structures, their positioning creates a space where teachers formulate pedagogical practices to survive and strive to succeed in their task.

What I have shown above is that the school culture opens up particular spaces for teachers where they can assert their identities, because they are given autonomy in their classroom space, over their mental and physical wellbeing, over communication practices and issues of collegiality, and mostly

their pedagogical practices. My interest is what the practices entail by which teachers create classrooms in the light of their school's context and culture. This paves the way for the next two chapters where teacher subjectivity and pedagogical practices are the primary focus of my analysis.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter responds to the study's sub-question: What are the dimensions that constitute the school culture at an inclusive high school? I have shown that the school culture at Canaan School has been constructed through its historical development, which is then reconfigured inside the various spatial dimensions through the people who interact with it.

The making of a place entails endowing it with a particular culture and involves a dynamic interaction between Lefebvre's (1971/1991) three 'fields of space'. As the chapter illustrates, the space-time dimensions are central to understanding the formation of a school culture. I showed in the historical discussion in the first section of the chapter how Canaan School was founded and functioned as a whites-only, Afrikaans, special-needs school, partly owned and managed by the DRC.

I presented data to argue for the particular realisation of the institutional habitus 'in action' in terms of the three spatial dimensions. I did this in an attempt to provide an explanation of the reorganisation of the concept of 'white tone' in the lived realities of Canaan School in the current period. I argue that it is a discourse of managerialism that has come to characterise the adapted institutional tone, made up by the managerial practices associated with the neoliberal institutional functioning of the school. These practices have been playing a formative reorganising role in the lived realities that the managers, teachers and learners encountered at the school.

I discussed how both the school's historical positioning and the policy landscape positions the decision makers at Canaan School, mainly focusing on the principal and deputy principals and how their actions impact on the lives of the teaching staff in the lived dimension. My aim is to lay the foundation for understanding how teachers have embodied specific values, assumptions and beliefs through what they understand as their 'function' at Canaan School.

I have shown how the power practices of the principal, utilising policies and other forms of legislation to substantiate decisions, highlighted a tension between policy and the lived realities of the participating teachers that are not particularly sensitive to special-needs classrooms. The teachers' main argument is that a special-needs high school cannot be conceptualised in the same way as a special-needs primary school and especially not as a mainstream high school.

I showed how the managerialist culture at Canaan School misrecognises the contextual realities of teaching learners with special needs. Such a culture positions the teachers as isolated inside of their

classrooms, left to their own devices. I focused on how decision-making processes, the utilisation of policy prescriptions, and the understanding of special needs teaching and learning context converge. I explained how the actions of the principal and the deputy principal operated in positioning the work of the teachers at the school. The interaction of these two groups (managers and teachers) created a particular culture within which the teachers conducted their daily tasks.

The teachers felt that their specific special-needs context had not been acknowledged in decisions impacting on teaching and learning and their day-to-day functioning at the school. This contextual misrecognition of what it entails to teach in a special-needs classroom had consequently created a divide between the top management members and the rest of the teaching staff, which in effect created a 'they' and 'us' attitude between the management and the teachers.

The focus of the thesis is firmly on the pedagogical place-making practices of teachers at this special-needs school, but in order to understand their practices we must first understand the lived realities in which they operate. This chapter showed how the teachers are positioned in relation to the dominant discourses and culture at Canaan School. This paves the way for the next two chapters, where the identity of the teachers and their pedagogical practices are the primary focal points of my analysis. The institutional culture at Canaan School, described in this chapter operates as the context within which these teacher subjectivities and pedagogical practices ensue.

CHAPTER 6: TEACHER SUBJECTIVITIES

6.1 Introduction

In this second data presentation and analysis chapter I respond to the sub-question: How do teachers' subjective complexities position them for their place-making and pedagogical practices? The focus of Chapter Five was on the institutional culture at Canaan School with respect to the way in which the school positioned the professional practices of the teachers. In this chapter the focus is on how the teachers establish their 'habitus' (how they are positioned) and subjectivities (their positioning), which provide the basis for their pedagogical practices in the classroom. This chapter thus examines how they, as agents, go about positioning themselves and their practices in the school. This lays the basis for the focus on their actual pedagogies in the next chapter (Chapter Seven).

To clarify, 'subjectivity' is the condition of being a person and the process by which we become a person; in other words, subjectivity is concerned with how we are constituted as cultural subjects and how we experience ourselves (Weeks, 1990). According to Fataar (2009), subjectivity is "an actor's perceptions of herself in interaction with the social world" (p. 15). The concept of subjectivity thus provides one way of understanding how teachers are 'subjectivised', how they come into being in their interaction with their school space (Fataar, 2010).

I portray teacher subjectivities through a spatio-temporal lens (space-time) by exploring the teachers' socialisation in the various fields of their life trajectories and how these position the teachers in relation to the school culture, and consequently how they express their teacher-self at Canaan School.

I describe and discuss the data in each section of this chapter thematically. Firstly, I discuss the personal and professional backgrounds of the selected teachers in a section labelled *teacher professional socialisation*. Here I emphasise the teachers' personal backgrounds, domestic socialisation, schooling and tertiary education spaces, and their professionalisation, *before* their entry into Canaan School. Secondly, I present a discussion of the ways in which the selected teachers go on to construct their 'habitus' in contact with Canaan School's particular institutional culture. Teacher 'habitus' refers to the deeply layered socio-cultural dispositions of the teachers. I focus on what the teachers do to position themselves when they come into contact with the dominant school culture. The third section focuses on how the teachers 'speak back' in response to the school culture and their assertion of their own agency via their embodied practices. I label this section as *subjective place-making*. Place-making refers to the practices and behaviours of the

teachers as they 'give meaning' to the place. Overall, this chapter offers a discussion of how the teachers are positioned and go on to reposition themselves at the school.

6.2 The selected teachers' professional socialisation

In this section I discuss the data pertaining to the six teacher participants' location of their teacher habitus through their 'teacherly becoming' in three lived spaces or 'spaces of becoming', based on ideas adapted from the work of Bourdieu (1977) and Fataar (2012). Firstly, I will discuss the spaces of their domestic socialisation; secondly, their schooling and tertiary education spaces; thirdly, their professional career paths before entry to Canaan School.

6.2.1 Domestic socialisation

The race/class binary divide the various teacher participants' domestic socialisations. The three white Afrikaans-speaking teacher participants – Mr Vivier, Miss Müller and Mr Swanepoel – were all brought up in middle-class domestic environments. These participants grew up in affluent suburbs in and around Cape Town; Mr Swanepoel in Kuils River during the 1970s and 1980s, when the town consisted predominantly of white neighbourhoods; Miss Müller in Durbanville, known for its vineyards and white, upper-middle-class neighbourhoods; and Mr Vivier in Wellington, a predominantly white, Afrikaans town in the Boland. Each of these participants described their immediate families as "close" (Mr Swanepoel), "close knit" (Mr Vivier) and "quite tight" (Miss Müller). Mr Swanepoel and Miss Müller grew up with a stay-at-home mother and working father. Miss Müller's father was a successful entrepreneur and Mr Swanepoel's father worked at a well-known insurance company. Mr Swanepoel describe his formative years as "happy and carefree" and Miss Müller describes her formative years as being "comfortable". Mr Vivier's parents were both in the police force, but when his father passed away, when he was 16 years old, his mother became the sole breadwinner. His teenage years therefore became more challenging financially.

The familial environments of the three coloured Afrikaans-speaking teacher participants differed vastly from those of their white counterparts' middle-class upbringing. Mr Mitchell grew up in Kraaifontein, a coloured suburb of Cape Town, known for gang-related activities. Mr Williams lived in a small coloured community on the outskirts of Knysna, and Miss Jacobs in a predominantly coloured suburb of Mossel Bay. Extended family played a large role in the construction of these teachers' immediate familial lives, with grandparents assuming the parenting and authoritative roles, while their parents worked long hours. Miss Jacobs's parents were working-class labourers as was Mr Williams's father, but his mother was unemployed and became a stay-at-home-mom. Mr Mitchell's father was a teacher, while his mother completed her studies. When Mr Mitchell was 9 years old both his parents died in a traumatic incident that also left his younger sister

paralysed from the waist down. They were then raised by their maternal grandparents. Both Mr Mitchell and Mr Williams described their formative years as "challenging". Miss Jacobs explains that during her formative years she grew up very protected under the strict authority of her grandmother and two aunts. She describes her family as "very close" and that they would "share everything". Mr Mitchell describes his family as "diverse" with family members on his mother's and father's sides having differing views of life. Mr William's father could not complete his schooling, which was made difficult during the height of the apartheid regime; his family was struggling financially, and his father was forced to drop out of school and find employment to provide for his siblings. Race – their coloured background – correlated with the working class contexts in which these teachers were raised.

There were two major similarities that I can identify in this section, which is the value of education and Christianity. The six selected participating teachers all indicated that their families valued education, which motivated them to pursue tertiary education and find secure employment. Ms Vivier's family viewed education as "an important means that open doors of opportunity in life". Miss Müller's family viewed education as "highly important and necessary for a comfortable livelihood". For the Swanepoel family education was "non-negotiable" and viewed as "the basis of life ahead ... first get your qualification, spread your wings and then broaden your horizon". Mr Mitchell's family believes that "all people should take the opportunities provided for education seriously and always move forward to improve yourself to be the best you can possibly be". Miss Jacobs' grandmother motivated her and her siblings to complete their high school diplomas and to access tertiary education and Mr Williams's parents motivated and supported him to move away from home to pursue his dream of tertiary education. Five of the six participating teachers referred to their domestic lives as situated in Christian beliefs and values. Mr Swanepoel describes his family as a "typical Dutch Reformed, God fearing, close family", while Mr Williams described his family as "close-knit, God-fearing, and strict". Miss Müller, Mr Vivier and Miss Jacobs all spoke about their Christian family upbringing and their commitment to the Christian faith as a fundamental aspect of the way they live their lives.

In these teachers' domestic socialisation spaces, aspects related to their family's position in economic class and other structural power relations, including those influenced by race, were found to be decisive in socialising these teachers into what Bourdieu refers to as their 'primary habitus'.

6.2.3 Schooling and tertiary education

Teachers moved in and out of their domestic environments and accessed education in different ways. Schools, colleges and universities were sites of further socialisation. Importantly, access to quality schooling and tertiary education for these teacher participants was framed by their *race* and

age. In the South African context the older, coloured teacher participants were exposed to various forms of segregation and racism under the apartheid state. Hailing from Coloured communities, Miss Jacobs and Mr Williams both attended their primary and high schools in their racially segregated communities during the late 1960s until the 1980s. Mr Williams remembers his years at high school as unpleasant because of the nationwide boycotts, racial segregation and general social and political turmoil in South Africa. A younger Mr Mitchell, who attended school in post-apartheid South Africa, could attend a "former model C school ... considered to be one of the more privileged schools in the Kraaifontein community".

Mr Swanepoel, a white male, attended his local whites-only, middle-class school during the 1970s. In contrast to the experiences of his coloured colleagues, he enjoyed his years at school and describe the experience as "loads of fun with friends galore and sport practice or games every single day". The two younger white teacher participants, Mr Vivier and Miss Müller, completed their schooling during the 1990s in more racially integrated schools. However, the middle-class communities where they grew up were still predominantly white and they could attend reputable primary and high schools, which exposed them to middle-class educational conditions and activities. Miss Müller attended Durbanville preparatory, primary and high schools, and explains her experiences there as "organised, disciplined and strict". This was not the case for their age contemporary coloured counterpart, Mr Mitchell. Although he attended a former model C school, the community surrounding the school had now been predominantly occupied by coloured working-class families. He describes how gang-related activities impacted on the school and how he was involved in various physical fights and altercations during his high school years.

Race defined the tertiary education opportunities and pathways available to these teacher participants. Each of the three coloured participants faced financial constraints in accessing tertiary education and training. Both Miss Jacobs and Mr Williams applied for bursaries, which were their only means of gaining access to university study. Miss Jacobs explains that during the 1980s the apartheid regime complicated access to higher education and funds were not readily available to non-white students. Miss Jacobs and her two siblings received state bursaries and could attend university. Receiving state funding that her parents would not have been able to repay placed additional pressure on their achievements and timeous completion of their degrees. Miss Jacobs attended the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Cape Town. Her wish was to attend another university; however, "during the apartheid years we were not allowed to attend 'white universities' as we were from a different race group, so we had no other option than to attend the so-called 'coloured' university (UWC)". Her first year at university had been "tough" as it was during the peak of the boycott years. They had classes from January to June in 1985, after which the university

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shut down and students had to "teach themselves ... and wrote exams in January of 1986". The following three years went by without major political disruption and Miss Jacobs completed her four-year course. She graduated with a four-year Higher Education Diploma, which is the equivalent of a bachelor's degree plus a postgraduate diploma in Education. Mr Williams attended Hewat College of Education and Cape Town College of Education. He was accepted at UWC, but he believed that teachers from teacher training colleges were better prepared for their teaching and as such preferred to attend the college and not UWC. He graduated with a diploma in education from Hewat College and a Higher Diploma in Education (HDE) from Cape Town College of Education. Access to university during the late 2000s in South Africa afforded Mr Mitchell more options, although financial affordability was still problematic for his working-class family. After Mr Mitchell graduated from high school, there were no funds or bursaries available for him to attend university. He knew that he would have to work to save money to go to university, opting to work in construction for a while. Later Mr Mitchell's family friend agreed to pay for his tertiary education at Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT, Bellville campus). Mr Mitchell enjoyed his experiences at CPUT and says that he "had amazing lecturers and friends who supported [him] throughout the four years". He completed his Bachelor of Education degree and specialised in Mathematics and Life Sciences (Grades 10 to 12).

In contrast to the above three participants, the white teacher participants accessed formerly white higher education institutions more easily and had options and financial means to complete more than one degree or diploma. After Mr Swanepoel completed his Matric year, he received a bursary to study at the College of Education in Paarl (which later closed down). He studied there for four years and graduated with a Higher Diploma in Education. Mr Swanepoel continued his studies at Stellenbosch University the following year and received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology within two years. Mr Vivier initially studied consumer studies, passing cum laude. He then worked in the food industry for a few months before deciding to enrol for his Bachelor of Education degree at CPUT, Wellington campus. He went on to pass his bachelor's in education degree cum laude and served on the Student Council as communications officer. He specialised in teaching History and Natural Sciences in the intermediate and senior phase (Grades 4 to 9). Miss Müller's family could afford to send her to Stellenbosch University for an extended period in which she completed a Bachelor of Science in Human Life Sciences with Psychology degree, a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (Life and Natural Sciences) as well as a BSc Honours degree in Psychology. She describes her tertiary education experiences as "difficult, demanding, yet intriguing".

School, college and university spaces acted as secondary socialisation sites for these teachers, exposing the participants to new social spaces within which they accumulate additional dispositions

that imprinted on them and are embodied. This is what Bourdieu refers to as 'secondary habitus' construction. These teacher participants' educational pathways have exposed them to varying expressions of schooling, pedagogy, educational spaces, etc., which were internalised and used as subjective 'resources' to draw on once they found themselves in schools and classrooms as teachers.

6.2.4 Professional career paths

An examination of the participating teachers' career paths prior to their employment at Canaan School, indicates that the more senior teachers were employed at one or two other schools before their entry at Canaan School. The three younger teachers started their teaching careers at Canaan School, making the school culture the dominant socialisation space for these novice teachers' professionalisation.

The three more senior teachers – Mr Swanepoel (53), Ms Jacobs (54), and Mr Williams (45) – had prior exposure to teaching before they came to Canaan School. Mr Swanepoel's career path started in the South African Defence Force with a reassignment to the army's Adult Basic Education and Training centre as a facilitator. Soon after that he started his career as a full-time teacher at the age of 25 at a school in a small rural town in the Overberg district, outside of Cape Town. The school was a whites-only school and he lived at the school as a hostel supervisor. Here Mr Swanepoel was exposed to teaching boys who often had behavioural challenges sent from the city to the rural town school. He enjoyed his teaching experience at this rural town school. Mr Swanepoel explained that he understood the dynamics of this school as they were similar to his own schooling experiences and as such he easily assimilated the school's culture, which was aligned with his own white, middle-class background. Mr Swanepoel left the school for an urban school to be closer to where his girlfriend was employed. This led him to take up a teaching position at Canaan School in Kuils River.

Miss Jacobs taught at a secondary school in Mossel Bay consisting only of coloured, Afrikaans-speaking colleagues and students. She taught here for almost ten years. Her experiences as a teacher were framed by the school's lack of resources, which made her teaching task immensely challenging. She also discussed her encounters with the authoritarian principal of the school as belittling and degrading for her professionally. At her lowest point in her career at this school Miss Jacobs decided to move back to Cape Town to be closer to her family. Coincidently she knew of a teacher teaching at Canaan School who wanted to move back to Mossel Bay and the two teachers swopped teaching posts – something that could be done through the Western Cape Education Department.

Mr Williams is somewhat of an outlier in the cohort as he was exposed to special needs education during his final years at university and a particular lecturer inspired him to become involved in this sector of education. His first teaching position was a contract post in Knysna at a local predominantly coloured primary school. Here he was employed as an ELSEN[1] teacher. After six months of teaching at this school, Mr Williams was laid off from the school and struggled to find another teaching position. He was forced to seek other employment and worked at a retail store for the following year. He then found employment in Cape Town at a special needs school in an underprivileged community, but did not enjoy his experience here. When a position became available at Canaan School, he applied and was accepted.

Except for Mr Williams, none of these teachers' prior teaching experiences or training had been specific to teaching learners with special educational needs. Mr Swanepoel had always been interested in special needs education and psychology, but apart from his university training in psychology and his encounters with high school boys and mild forms of behavioural difficulties, Mr Swanepoel did not have any exposure to, or training related to, special needs teaching practices. Miss Jacobs also started her teaching career at Canaan School with no prior training or experience teaching learners with special educational needs.

Two of the younger teachers, Miss Müller (27) and Mr Mitchell (29), started their teaching careers at Canaan School. After graduating from the University of Stellenbosch, Miss Müller had been searching for employment and explains that her employment at Canaan School was unintentional. She states that "it was the only job offer at that time, and I was in need of a job. It was close enough to home and sounded interesting enough. I needed the job and was willing to adapt. I like challenges so therefore took the leap without knowing too much". Mr Mitchell had also graduated and was searching for employment. His sister was the head girl at Canaan School, and when the school desperately needed a mathematics teacher, Mr Mitchell, then 23 years old, was available and has been teaching at Canaan School since then. Before starting here, he had no prior training or experience of special needs teaching, except that his sister was physically disabled and attended Canaan School. One can say that all the above teachers coincidentally 'landed' at Canaan School. Alternatively, Mr Vivier purposefully searched for employment at a special needs school. While busy with his tertiary training, Mr Vivier, enjoyed his practical teaching experiences at a special needs school and purposefully applied for positions in this sector. He applied at various schools but accepted the appointment at Canaan School, which would be his first experience of the teaching profession.

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[1] Educational tutoring services in Literacy, Special Needs, Extra lessons and Numeracy

Each of the six participating teachers was differently positioned before their entry into Canaan School. Their positioning is dependent on their prior socialisation in the teaching profession, as well as their own domestic and education experiences.

In the section above I discussed how teachers' personal and professional socialisation through their domestic histories, schooling and tertiary education spaces, and their career paths (before entry to the school) positioned them in relation to the particular school context. Importantly, issues of class, race and age have significantly impacted on each of the participating teachers' formative personal and professional processes. These situated each of them in different ways upon at the school with its distinctive institutional culture which I described in the previous chapter.

6.3 Constructing the teacher habitus in interaction with the institutional culture of the school

After joining the staff at Canaan School, the teacher participants went on to construct their teacher habitus in interaction with Canaan School's particular institutional culture. I describe the reciprocal interaction between the individual and the social world with reference to Bourdieu's (1977) theoretical concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) view habitus as a concept that captures the complex interaction of the past, the present, the individual and society, and formulates it as "a socialized subjectivity" (p.127), an embodiment of the social. Simply put, habitus describes how individuals carry their history and how that history is enacted in their daily lives (Grenfell, 2008). My use of the term 'teacher habitus' refers to the patterns of socio-cultural dispositions and practices of the teachers. Here I focus on what the teachers do to position themselves when they come into contact with the dominant school culture. As such, the particular articulations of school culture discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter Five) is integral to understanding their processes of professionalisation and assimilation into the Canaan School context.

6.3.1 Overwhelmed by the complexity

When teachers come into contact with the institutional culture of Canaan School, they have to deal with their prior socialisation and now have to figure out how to position themselves within the specific school space. They do this by engaging with Canaan School's culture as a 'new' unfamiliar social field. The data indicate that the complexity of the institutional culture is overwhelming and initially catches each of the teachers on the backfoot, as an outsider in unfamiliar territory.

A major aspect impacting on the participating teachers' processing of the school culture was the difference in teaching in the field of special education in comparison with their experience of mainstream schooling. When they referred to the 'unfamiliar' or 'different', they were generally referring to the diagnoses of the learners, ways of managing learner behaviour, the increase in the

number of after-school meetings held on an almost daily basis, the use of the jargon associated with special needs education and other foreign terms associated with the school itself and its history (such as the names given to specific sections of the school building), the expectation that they attend training in the field of special needs or subject specific training, lengthy and detailed meeting where individual learners are discussed in large groups, other smaller multidisciplinary team meetings, and the expectation of consistent and professional communication with parents.

Importantly, Canaan School teaches the national, mainstream, curriculum (CAPS) to learners diagnosed with a variety of barriers to learning. At any given time teachers have to teach a diverse combination of students in front of them diagnosed with, for example, autism spectrum disorder (ASD), severe attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), hearing loss, dyslexia, dyspraxia, dyscalculia, visual impairments, physical disabilities and many more. The expectation is that the teacher can successfully teach the CAPS curriculum in the same amount of time as set for mainstream students in this 'unfamiliar' and complex space.

On another dimension, the school's articulation of its historical whiteness continued to impact on the culture through the physical structures, the underpinning philosophy of 'excellence in special needs education' that is portrayed through the elaborate offering of support services and structures that should be understood and utilised by classroom teachers. This historical whiteness, or white tone, (understood as a kind of 'privilege' is associated with 'whiteness', especially as manifested during the apartheid years) was also evident in the extracurricular offerings at the school, which include a wide range of sporting and cultural activities, made possible through its elaborate sports facilities.

Teachers are expected to participate in these extracurricular activities, as well as do homework support at the school residences, after formal teaching time. These expectations are communicated to staff members at their initial interview and they are held to these expectations by their line managers.

All the above elements coalesce to create a complex web of cultural expectations and articulations that teachers need to confront, decipher and negotiate as they go about their teaching at the school.

6.3.2 Confronting the teacher habitus

My findings indicate that the teachers enter into a process whereby they have to confront their habitus, which is their previously acquired teacherly dispositions and abilities. They have to negotiate their adaptation of these dispositions in order to survive in the social field of the new school.

An essential facet of habitus is that it consists of socio-cultural dispositions which are embodied and operate at various levels as a whole-body experience. Importantly, as teachers move through different educational fields, they adapt to, and incorporate into their habitus, the values and imperatives of those fields which produce the teacher's body and his/her bodily dispositions (Webb et al., 2002). It involves adaptations in an individual's thoughts, use of language, actions, behaviour and reactions, and incorporates the individual's embodiment of prior experiences relating to structures and relations (Reay, 2004; Shilling, 2004; Nolan, 2012). Therefore, the participating teachers' bodies become visual displays of their histories, their social encounters and their accumulated dispositions. These teachers' socio-cultural dispositions encounter Canaan School as a new social 'field' and respond through their bodily operations, which include "a way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech" (Bourdieu, 1977: 87).

Each of the participating teachers had already been socialised as teachers in particular educational contexts, as described in the previous section of this chapter. Those that were socialised in white, middle-class environments were more closely aligned with Canaan School's articulation of its white tone. The three participants who constructed socio-cultural dispositions through their socialisation in poorer, working-class Coloured environments were confronted with an institutional culture based on white-orientated prestige and therefore had to work 'harder' to figure out their positioning in relation to Canaan School's culture.

Mr Swanepoel, Miss Müller and Mr Vivier did not seem to find their initial encounter with the culture at Canaan School much different from their previous experiences with schooling. These white, middle-class teachers easily understood the socio-cultural structures and nuances at Canaan School as these were closely aligned with their own socio-cultural background and experiences. They understood how to interact and communicate with a whites-only top-management structure and their fellow (predominantly white) teaching colleagues. However, these teachers' habitus adaptations were rooted in their trying hard to figure out what teaching at a special needs school entails, and the educational competences required for teaching learners with diverse physical and emotional challenges.

On the other hand, Mr Williams, Miss Jacobs and Mr Mitchell had limited prior interaction with socio-cultural dimensions similar to those present and operating at Canaan School. They were positioned at a distance from the school's articulation of its white tone. The coloured teacher participants were all socialised in educational contexts located in poorer communities, in comparison to Canaan School, where resources were scarce, fundraising events were not considered a priority, school safety was problematic, and the learners' came from low socio-economic

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backgrounds. These three teachers had to do additional work to come to understand Canaan School's cultural 'whiteness', whilst at the same time figuring out how to adapt their teacherly habitus to teaching at a special needs school.

The participating teachers' lack of training and exposure to special needs teaching and knowledge of the behaviours of learners with special educational needs positioned them as novices in this highly demanding special needs educational space. They all concurred that they felt the urgency of having to assimilate quickly into the school's culture and functioning in order to secure their survival in this new institution.

Canaan School became a prominent space for each of the participating teachers' professionalisation, especially in terms of their knowledge and experience of inclusivity and special needs education. Teachers were mainly classroom based and could access support services outside of their classrooms. Inside of their classrooms, teachers were left to their own devices and had to devise ways of figuring out how to accommodate, and successfully teach, such a diverse student body with special needs. The teacher participants quickly begun became involved in education and training processes to develop their special needs knowledge and skills. They were involved in school-based training, and they received help and support from senior staff members and the school support staff. Mr Swanepoel summarises the experiences of the cohort when he states that a lot of what he knows today is a result of "trial and error ... and learning from mistakes".

The culture at Canaan School is made up of complex relations and structures that operate between managers, teachers and students. These structures and relations are constantly shifting and changing, while at the same time being embodied and absorbed by both teachers and students as an expression of the values and relations of schooling (see Webb et al., 2002). The data indicate that as the teachers come to understand the institutional culture, they realise that their survival and success are dependent on their activation of facets of their own accumulated dispositions and skills that resonate with the school culture at Canaan School. Although the culture initially overwhelms the teachers, once they become immersed in the space, they enter a process of behaving in specific ways, in effect projecting adapted subjectivities in the school. Teachers have to adjust inside of this school space to negotiate a 'way of being' or living inside of the place, which I view as their subjective place-making practices. I discuss this aspect below.

6.4 Subjective place-making

In this section I focus on how the teachers live and act in Canaan School's particular context. I view the teacher's living and acting as the place-making practices that they utilise to build up or adjust their habitus. I call this subjective place-making. Place-making refers to the practices and behaviours of the teachers as they 'give meaning' to the place. I distinguish the objective of this

section, which is focused on teacher subjectivity, from the focus of the next chapter, which is pedagogy. I argue that these teachers establish their teacher subjectivity as the basis for their pedagogical place-making.

Each of the participating teachers draws on their prior socialisation in establishing the nature of their engagement with Canaan School's culture. They construct a subjectivity within which they feel confident and through which they can undertake particular pedagogical practices. They do this in varying ways, as I show in the discussion of each of the teacher participants, indicating that teachers make decisions on adopting and projecting particular identities which become available to them as their teacher bodies, student bodies, and the institutional culture, converge. Nespor (1997) refer to the 'politics of identity' as a complex interplay amongst the particular identities residing in space at a particular time and implies a time-sensitive, person-place or body-space interaction.

6.4.1 The traditionalist disciplinarian

Mr Mitchell drew on his experiences of strict, male, disciplinarian figures to construct a teacher subjectivity at Canaan School. Two prominent figures that he readily refers to in our interviews are his grandfather and his father. He admires his grandfather for his commitment to providing for his family and their future through his work ethic and accomplishment as a principal of a school. His father imprints on his teacher subjectivity through the way he remembers his experiences of his father as a very strict teacher at a reformatory school for boys who saw things in very 'black and white' terms. His father placed a lot of pressure on Mr Mitchell as the oldest brother, which also caused him suffering as a young boy, but then his attitude takes a sharp turn when his father and mother are killed. The subsequent anger and confusion led to a rebellious teenager who had to fend for himself, getting involved in physical altercations at school, being expelled from school and often getting into trouble. The third person who influenced Mr Mitchell's teacher subjectivity is one of his high school teachers. He explains that the way in which this teacher approached and communicated with him served as a form of rehabilitation for him. She found a way of getting through to him and continuously encouraged him, even though he was behaving in unacceptable ways at school. Another experience stood out as influencing the decisions Mr Mitchell makes, namely his internalisation of what it means to be a professional teacher while he did his practical teaching at an underprivileged school. The principal at this school was also a strict disciplinarian who expected the teachers to be dressed formally with a tie and that insisted that good classroom discipline was imperative. Mr Mitchell internalised this experience and stated he made a conscious decision that from that day on this would be his 'teaching style' as he calls it – if you look formal, take your job seriously, and maintain strict discipline, "then the teaching will be good". His aim becomes not to show any weakness, because he explains that when the students see a weakness,

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they will exploit it and the teacher will lose control of the class. Mr Mitchell draws on these experiences to construct and project a teacher subjectivity at Canaan School. The school culture offers him a space to live out this subjectivity as he quickly becomes the go-to teacher when discipline problems occur. Students were aware of his no-nonsense approach and Mr Mitchell never seemed to have disciplinary problems in his classroom, even from students expressing the worst forms of defiance to authority. At a school where various students have diagnoses that include problematic behaviour, Mr Mitchell's teacher subjectivity was not only easily accepted, but even appreciated.

6.4.2 The creative pedagogue and relationship builder

Miss Müller believes that she has a calling to work with and to empower youths from poorer communities. Her sense of purpose in combination with her own experiences with living with attention deficit disorder (ADD) has framed her understanding of her teacherly duty at Canaan School. Miss Müller joining the staff at Canaan School as a first-year teacher initially drew on her own experiences of schooling where structures were clearly demarcated and your behaviour as a student was seen in terms of "black and white" and students have to bear the consequences of their actions and generally felt afraid. She explains that "because of my socialisation in that type of education environment, I thought that that was how I should be with my learners. If a student does something wrong, they have to know that I am not happy, and they are bad because of what they did". She quickly realised that at Canaan School this approach would not yield the desired outcome, as the students were not similar to those who went to her middle-class, mainstream school. A prominent figure impacting on the adaptation of her teacher subjectivity was the school's previous deputy principal, who took Miss Müller 'under her wing' and oriented her in the culture of the school. She came to understand that here there is no black and white, and that the type of special needs learner, their barriers to learning, their diagnoses, their context and story were all integral to her interaction with that student. Building rapport with her students has become critical to her living and acting at Canaan School. To accomplish this rapport, Miss Müller draws on various devices to create relationships of trust and care with her students. She draws on the practice of her Biology teacher from high school, who inspired her approaches as a Life Sciences teacher through his incorporation of creativity and multi-media in his teaching, which she, as a student suffering from ADD herself, found it enjoyable and intriguing. This teacher's unconventional approach to teaching impacted on her teacher habitus construction. Her aim is to consciously incorporate this approach through the type of teacher she becomes at Canaan School. She wants to be viewed as an approachable and engaging teacher.

6.4.3 The liberated homosexual [2]

Mr Vivier frames his teacher subjectivity through his expression of his sexuality as a homosexual man in his twenties. He explains to me that his own story impacts the most on his approach to teaching and on what he as a teacher finds acceptable in his classroom. Through his expression of his gayness, he aims to project a subjectivity that is liberal and inclusive. In a school culture where inclusivity is imperative, he feels secure in the way he chooses to 'live' his sexuality through his teacher subjectivity. He is fully aware that the majority of the teaching staff at Canaan School, being predominantly older, white teachers, often make comments about learners' sexuality and that this is not always done in a positive light. However, this fuels his desire to portray himself as a successful gay man. He chooses to insert himself in spaces at the school where he feels most comfortable, such as in the kitchen with the hospitality teachers and students, and often volunteers to take charge in planning and managing fundraising events. He chooses to portray his teacher subjectivity through the extracurricular activities that he participates in with enthusiasm as he feels he can express himself through these event planning and catering activities. The particular subjectivity that Mr Vivier embodies is a product of his socialisation in combination with what he comes to find at Canaan School. He quickly locates himself as part of a particular group of teacher subjectivities at Canaan School and assimilates into the group, which includes another male homosexual teacher and other more eccentric personalities.

6.4.4 The emplaced, morally just subject

Miss Jacobs, who has taught at Canaan School for nearly twenty years, has experienced the cultural changes at the school over time. She is of the opinion that Canaan School can "swallow you" in the sense that once you get too comfortable, that you won't want to leave. Her initial promise to herself was that she would only stay for five years; however, she has found a way to embed herself in this institution. She speaks fondly of one of the school's previous principals and remembers that the way he interacted with his staff had made her find the love for teaching that she had lost at her previous school in Mossel Bay. She explains that, before he passed away, this principal had created a culture of care at Canaan School and that during her initial years at the school that she felt like the staff became her family. However, as new principals came and left, each impacted greatly on the culture of the school; currently she does not enjoy the particular culture that is focused more on paperwork than the people. Miss Jacobs's work ethic quickly earned her a managerial position at Canaan School and she is currently a head of department in the FET phase; she is also a supervisor at the girls' hostel and plays an integral role in caring for these vulnerable girls. Apart from being

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[2] Mr Vivier had insisted that the data analysis portray his homosexuality as a prominent feature of his teacher subjectivity.

an English teacher, Miss Jacobs is known for her role as invigilator for the Matric exams and head marker of Matric papers. Her daily work at Canaan School is embedded in her strong Christian beliefs whereby she approaches her students as well as colleagues. She aims to make "every child think that he or she is important enough". She believes that she instils this into her learners through her respectful interactions with them and also believes that teachers' collegial relationships should be positive examples to the students.

6.4.5 The place subjectivity of the inspiring father figure

Mr Williams draws on his primary and high school experiences to explain how he views himself as a teacher at Canaan School. He refers to growing up in a poor community with few resources and notes that during those formative years he promised himself that he would not become stuck in the small town. From our interviews and my observations, it is clear that Mr Williams has a strong sense of agency that has been the one aspect driving his life trajectory. He remembers as a young child that he made a conscious decision that his circumstances at the time would not frame his future. Mr Williams has been teaching at Canaan School for just over ten years and states that working there was a dream come true for him. His previous experiences of working with special needs students were challenging as a result of poor facilities and non-existent support structures. The worst aspect for Mr Williams was that his teaching colleagues at the special needs school in the poorer community did not care to go the extra mile for the children or to get to know them. Relationship building with the learners was for Mr Williams integral to successful teaching in the special needs sector. What he found at Canaan School was a community that supported his vision and philosophy, a well-resourced institution that strove towards excellence and this was what Mr Williams most appreciated about the culture at Canaan School. The articulation of Canaan School's 'prestige' was appealing to him as he had desired to be associated with such an institution. Mr Williams's teacher subjectivity is situated in his own struggle story from where he formed a desire to impact on his students' visions for their futures and to provide them with support and guidance into their working lives. His commitment to his students is evident in his involvement in a wide variety of activities at Canaan School, especially in his position as grade head. Mr Williams expresses his subjectivity through his bodily adaptations and he is somewhat of an eccentric character. His keen sense of fashion is always on a par with newest fashion trends and this aids in his presenting himself as the 'poor boy' who overcame his adverse circumstances. His students enjoy the fact that he "dressed in a 'cooler' way than normal teachers". As an avid world traveller, Mr Williams spends most of his school holidays with friends abroad, seeking adventure and learning about other cultures. His aim is to instil his passion for life in his students. As a single man, Mr Williams utilises a lot of his after-hours time to walk the extra mile with his students, especially

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the younger boys in the school hostel. He is a supervisor at the hostel and sees this as another opportunity to have an impact on the lives of his students. Mr Williams' agency is strong and he literally 'speaks back' to the school through sharing of his opinions, even when they may seem unpopular.

6.4.6 Morphing into a dissatisfied and disconnected teacher subjectivity

Mr Swanepoel joined Canaan School in 1994. His experience of the school at that time was that the school lacked structure and that "everything was wishy washy". When he joined as a young, enthusiastic teacher and sports coach, his aim was to help create more structure at the school. Drawing on his experiences working in the defence force, he felt that greater structure would benefit the types of students he encountered at Canaan School. His position as sports coordinator at the school enabled him to participate in policy writing and decision-making processes where he felt he could instil some structure. He recalls advice he received from a colleague during his first teaching position in the Overberg and states that it has stuck with him, impacting on his approach with the students at Canaan School. He believes that "all children, no matter what is wrong with them or who they are, want structure. They want to be disciplined, but your approach should vary from child to child and situation to situation". It seems as if Mr Swanepoel was viewed as a strict disciplinarian at Canaan School when he arrived here. Throughout his 25 years at the school, his teacher subjectivity has shifted and he has adapted to the school's culture. During his years at Canaan School he has applied for managerial positions at various times but has never been granted a promotion. These incidents have sent to Mr Swanepoel in combination with the current institutional culture has influenced the teacher subjectivity he has chosen to project. Currently Mr Swanepoel feels that the expectations and pressure placed on teachers these days are tremendous and, as a grade head with additional administrative tasks, he feels overwhelmed with his daily tasks. The teacher subjectivity that Mr Swanepoel expresses in the light of the current institutional culture is detached from the place, yet comfortable enough to understand what is expected of him to get the job done. Mr Swanepoel positions himself as a senior teacher with years of experience with special needs students at Canaan School, living in a house on the school grounds, embedded in the fabric of the school. Yet he does not convey enthusiasm about his teaching tasks or his position as sports coordinator. Mr Swanepoel has become deeply dissatisfied in his position at Canaan School.

In sum, once these teachers have worked out their positioning; they 'speak back' to the school space through their assertion of agency through their bodies and their consequent subjective place-making practices. They do this in varying ways, as I show in the discussion above.

6.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to present a discussion of the way that teachers are positioned and go on to reposition themselves within the institutional terrain of the school. I argue that it is teachers' personal and pedagogical histories that position them in particular ways in relation to the school context. Furthermore, I show that teachers act to reposition themselves vis-à-vis the institutional culture through their subjective embodiment and place-making, which positions them for their pedagogical practices.

In this chapter I discussed how issues of class, race and age significantly impact on each of the participating teachers' personal and professional socialising processes, situating each in differing ways in Canaan School and its particular institutional culture. Secondly, I have shown that when these teachers come into contact with the institutional culture of Canaan School, they enter into a process whereby they have to deal with their own socialisation and consequently have to negotiate their habitus adaptation to survive in their new social field. Thirdly, once these teachers have worked out their positioning, they 'speak back' to the school space through their assertion of agency. The teachers' place-making entails their time-space paths, indicating that teachers choose to either insert or exclude themselves from particular physical, social as well as mental spaces in the school. Here the diversity among the students whom they teach significantly influences their responses, behaviours and adaptations as they figure out how best to locate and portray their teacher subjectivity in relation to their particular school context. They do this in varying ways, as I show in the discussion indicating that teachers make decisions regarding adopting and projecting particular identities in the school.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that teachers' professional socialisation and their socio-cultural dispositions and practices situate them within and in relation to the school culture. I argue that these teachers project and express particular subjectivities resulting from the culmination of how they understand themselves in relation to the school space on the basis of their past experience. This, therefore, lays the foundation for understanding these teachers' consequent pedagogical place-making practices, which is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 7: TEACHERS' PLACE-MAKING PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES

7.1 Introduction

This third and final data presentation and analysis chapter responds to the study's sub-question: What are the nature and the extent of teachers' place-making practices inside their inclusive high school? This chapter presents how the agency-structure duality is lived and given meaning inside of Canaan School through the place-making pedagogical practices of the six participating teachers. I understand each individual teacher engages with the school and its structures as "the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces" (Biesta, 1998: 7). I aim to show how the participants navigate the tension between agency and structure and 'confront' power relations as they were uniquely present at Canaan School. To explain the actions of the participants, I utilise the term place-making pedagogical practices.

Place-making is an active, continuous process through which 'empty' or 'lifeless' physical space is transformed into something 'lived' through the presence of people and their interactions with each other (see Chapter 3, section 3.4). It is essential to distinguish between the concepts of 'space' and 'place', which are not used interchangeably in this study. Physical, social and mental space merge and culminate in the formation of a particular place (see Lefebvre, 1991). Gagnon (2014) summarises the complexity of the articulations of the place-making process by stating that 'place' "emerges from a complex web of ongoing relations (material, social and discursive) and forms of practice, which in turn participate in the production of experiences, the composition of subjectivity and the construction of meaning in specific spaces" (p. 3).

'Place-making practices' are the social activities associated with the process of making place. For this research study, the focus was on the participating teachers' pedagogical practices as the primary place-making practices for turning space into place (see Tupper et al., 2008). Importantly, I utilise 'pedagogical practices' to refer to the teachers' spatially engaged practices. I concur with Fataar (2008) when he explains that:

> pedagogical [practices] ... are not meant to denote the narrower focus on pedagogical processes associated with learning and teaching in the classroom. Instead, [they refer] to the intersecting practices that arise out of the [teachers'] engagements with the spaces of their work. Pedagogical thus refers to the ways their professional reflexivities have been constructed in a creative intersection with the social dynamics of the [school]. (Fataar, 2008: 8)

Therefore, in giving effect to a broader definition of pedagogical practices as residing in the teachers' practices inside and outside the classroom, I discuss the following three aspects in this chapter:

(1) the teachers' pedagogical place-making in out-of-classroom spaces, focusing on their time-space pathways as well as co-curricular teacher-student contact;

(2) moving into classrooms, I examine how teachers create visual classroom sub-cultures through their construction of visual classroom space, their decisions regarding organising bodies in classroom space, and the postures and discourse of teaching and learning;

(3) I focus on the delivery of the curriculum (CAPS); I present how teachers plan for inclusion, how each participant's subjectivity is enacted through their pedagogical practices, and how and to what extent assessments are adapted;

I conclude this chapter by bringing the above three aspects together in a section in which I discuss how the teachers 'make place' for inclusion through their efforts to extend what is ordinarily available at schools.

7.2 Pedagogical place-making in out-of-classroom spaces

Teachers move through various school spaces during a school day. My research indicates that the participating teachers were engaging in pedagogical practices outside of their formal classroom spaces when in contact with students; in other words, they extend their place-making pedagogical practices to all corners of the school space. Prosser (2007) labels "areas of schools where no formal teaching takes place" (p.16), as 'non-teaching spaces', but I argue that these spaces should instead be viewed as informal teaching spaces. Importantly, these informal teaching spaces "constitute elements of hidden curricula and how 'organisations work when no one is looking'... [as they are] taken-for-granted and deeply embedded in the teaching and learning behaviours of generations of teachers and pupils" (Prosser, 2007: 16). In this section, I emphasise teachers' time-space pathways at school as well as co-curricular teacher-student contacts, which occur outside of formal classroom spaces, to show how the six teacher participants 'made place' in the out-of-classroom spaces at their school.

7.2.1. Teachers' time-space pathways at school

Place-making entails the behaviour and actions of people in various spaces that create a particular place. In this section, I want to show how the teacher subjectivities are enacted through their bodily movements and behaviours as these are "linked with complex interconnections across space and through time, or rather space time" (McGregor, 2003: 355). The social geographer Doreen Massey

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(1993) suggests that time and space form a four-dimensional space-time, consisting of three-dimensional space and one-dimensional time.

Exposed to the constant gaze of students and colleagues, teachers' out-of-classroom behaviours provide insights into the scope of their place-making pedagogical practices. My data presentation and analysis follow Holland, Gordon and Lahelma's (2007) approach and focus on how teachers move through the school day as they enter into different school spaces.

The school day commences at 07:30 with a meeting in the staffroom – a space which can be seen as teachers' "collective private space" (Holland et al., 2007: 225). The staffroom was not a student-friendly space as "students were kept at bay, spatially, physically and aurally" (Holland et al., 2007: 225). Once the meeting adjourned, often after the bell indicated the start of the first period, teachers leave the staffroom and enter the school's corridors and classrooms. From this point, teachers are in constant contact with students until the end of the school day.

The physical layout of the school building and positioning of classrooms guided teachers' pathways. In the corridors, the teacher participants either chose to interact informally with students or chose routes to their classrooms that were devoid of students as far as possible. One teacher participant indicated that he preferred that his day did not start with conflict early in the morning and walking in the corridors often entailed that teachers assert authoritative control, which was often met with smug remarks from students. He, therefore, preferred a route around the building to get to his classroom in the mornings. My observations indicated that most teachers chose to walk through crowded corridors, sidestepping students, focused on getting to their classrooms without much interaction with the students. I observed that Mr Williams, a grade head, used these seemingly chaotic moments, while students waited for teachers before entering their classrooms, to scan student behaviour and flag potential at-risk behaviours to intervene before a conflict situation could arise. In the conversation around these observations, he explains that students diagnosed with ASD as well as ADHD often struggled to integrate into the school day and needed what the school refers to as 'launching'. He explains 'launching' as the offering of a safe and secure space with a trusted adult that would help prepare these students for their day inside of their various classrooms.

Therefore, Mr Williams utilises these 'non-teaching' moments to teach potential at-risk students how to manage their anxieties or hyperactivity, organise themselves, gather their books, pack their lockers, work through the sequence of their timetable and settle them safely into their first class. I have to mention that grade heads (such as Mr Williams), and HODs did not have class groups allocated to them during the first period, which abled them to manage these types of incidents and other administrative responsibilities, but not everyone chose to proactively engage in these practices

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as Mr Williams did. His behaviour is understood through his subjectivity, which positioned him as a 'caring father figure' and is evident in these pedagogical practices.

Once in front of their classroom doors, teachers' entry and exit rituals differed. Holland et al. (2007: 226) state that these forms of control are "an example of the construction of space by teachers that demonstrates authority and dominance". Some participants had strong views about this initial interaction with students. Mr Mitchell, Mr Vivier and Mr Swanepoel indicated that students would not be permitted to enter their classrooms until they stand quietly in a straight line in front of the classroom. Only once the teachers were happy with their control, would they allow the students entry. Mr Vivier would not start teaching unless he could acquire this initial control. He explained that "the class has to line up outside, then they walk in. If they talk when they walk in, they go out … we'll do that the whole day if they don't behave. Then they come in, greet and sit and they know to take out their books" (Mr Vivier).

Their female counterparts, Miss Müller and Miss Jacobs preferred that the students entered the classroom and settled down once they were inside. They state that the corridors were too noisy and disorganised for them to be able to gain control in such a 'public' space. These teachers preferred getting their students into *their* spaces and then to assert their authority. Miss Jacobs explains her approach:

> When the bell rings, I am ready and in front of the room. The students can't line up outside of the classroom because they are too many and the corridors are too busy, they have to just come inside … When they come inside, I ask them: Why are you here? Why is that book not out? Books out and textbook out and ready … when they come in, they don't need to stand. They have to sit and get their books out … it's quicker … when I walk in then they are ready, and we can start. It works for me; I'm not saying that it works like that for everyone. (Miss Jacobs)

Another prominent out-of-classroom space where some teachers actively engaged in place-making pedagogical practices were on playgrounds during break times. While all participants indicated that they viewed break times as "periods of freedom and peace in the busy and noisy time-space paths of the school day" (Holland et al., 2007: 229), they were expected to supervise students during break times once a week. My observations indicate that teachers on break duty often congregated with the other teachers on duty while keeping an eye open for problematic behaviour and intervening when needed. These short 20-minute breaks were also filled with responsibilities. Miss Müller indicates that she often used break times to meet with students, either to discuss work they did not grasp or, in some cases she would ask a student whom she had flagged as needing attention earlier in class to discuss their behaviour or change in attitude. She explains that many things happen to students at

home or on their way to school, as many of the students live and travel through high-risk areas where they are exposed to various forms of violence or parental neglect. When she picks up on behavioural changes, she prefers to intervene before the situation becomes worse. Other participants either utilised the time for a quick smoke break or for administrative tasks, such as photocopying, planning lessons, organising events, making phone calls to parents, or joining subject or phase meetings.

Mr Williams chose to make himself available for library duty during break times, again demonstrating the extent to which he desired to create safe spaces for at-risk students. During the first break he would be met with the same small group of students seeking the peace and quiet of the library. He viewed this duty as a responsibility to those students. He explains that he would encourage students who struggled to socialise or with high levels of anxiety to join him in the library where he could offer them a safe space during noisy and chaotic break times. He emphasises the diversity of diagnoses at Canaan School and explains that some students' hyperactive or defiant behaviours became triggers for other students who suffer from high levels of anxiety, mostly students with ASD. Those who struggled with impulse control would react, and conflict and physical fights would often ensue. Mr Williams utilised the library as a space for pedagogical interactions with these students – engaging with them on their interests, helping them to choose books in their field of interest, supporting them with school projects, or some form of remedial teaching. In this way Mr Williams had engaged in place-making through his pedagogical interactions with these students. Through his utilisation of the library space, he had created a safe and peaceful place for these students.

Out-of-classroom teacher-student contact also occurred during co-curricular activities where teachers' pedagogical interactions were framed by the particular activity.

7.2.2 Co-curricular teacher-student contact

Sports activities, cultural activities and responsibilities at the school's hostels predominantly made up the co-curricular duties of teachers at Canaan School. Each member of the teaching staff was expected to coach or administer a sports code and participate in a cultural activity. In addition to this, all teaching staff (except for HODs) were expected to supervise study time at one of the school's hostels in the afternoons.

Structures at school afforded some teachers further contact with students outside of their classrooms, such as those who had been selected by top management as heads of hostels. These selections were based on the post level of the teachers or years in service at the school. Specific criteria were not made available to me, but it should be noted that these teachers received

remuneration for their services. Three of the six teacher participants were appointed as heads of hostels: Mr Swanepoel at the senior boys' hostel, Miss Jacobs at the girls' hostel, and Mr Williams at the junior boys' hostel. Mr Mitchell was appointed as a teacher on duty once a week (from 07:00 to 21:00) at one of the boys' hostels. Mr Vivier and Miss Müller joined at the hostels once a week for an hour of homework support. Notably, access to students in the hostel did not necessarily translate into pedagogical contact for all the participants.

Miss Jacobs and Mr Williams, in particular, made an immense effort to continue in their education task outside of their classrooms. These two teachers were assuming parenting-type roles when at their hostels. Mr Williams spent considerable time checking in with his students at the junior boys' hostel. He taught these younger boys essential life skills, specifically focusing on hygiene and self-care. Miss Jacobs was involved in the care of the many physically disabled girls in her hostel. Many of these students were in wheelchairs and in need of high levels of support.

Mr Swanepoel assumed the role of head of sport at Canaan School, a position that he embraced enthusiastically when he joined the staff at Canaan School twenty-five years ago. When he wrote the school's sports policy, the very first point he made was that "sport makes equal", because he believes that when a child runs out on a sports field it does not matter what background they came from. Based on my observations, I noted that while Mr Swanepoel actively administered the various sports codes (twenty-five years later), he was not always visible at sports activities, did not coach any sports codes, and did not engage in co-curricular pedagogical contact with the students.

Mr Vivier coached and umpired the netball team and Miss Müller coached athletics and cross-country. Both these teachers were more invested in their other cultural activities: Mr Vivier in the kitchen as co-supervisor at hospitality practical classes, and Miss Müller as the founder and organiser of the photography club. Both of these teachers engaged in teaching their students valuable knowledge and skills in each of these more creative disciplines. They were both professionals in their respective fields and engaged passionately with their students.

I found that teachers' movements or mobility created opportunities for valuable non-curricular pedagogical interaction with students, but that the physical layout of the school largely guided the extent to which teachers could access students. Additionally, teachers also made conscious decisions regarding their movements – investing in or excluding themselves from particular physical and social (even mental) spaces. This was determined by their own personal agency as teachers and the choices that they made to occupy spaces at the school in a particular way.

7.3. Creating visual classroom subcultures

Power, performativity and pedagogy come together at school, embodied and expressed inside of classrooms (Schmidt, 2013). Among teachers and their students, the creation of inclusive classroom space and culture is dependent on the powerful interplay between the 'actors'. As classroom space is regulated by teachers, they become the place-making agents of a particular classroom subculture. Multiple meanings are therefore attached to specific teachers' classrooms and behaviour in it is affected accordingly.

I found that classroom subcultures represented the enacted views, values and beliefs of the particular teacher. The teacher establishes his or her pedagogical 'lives' inside of a specific dominant school culture. Importantly, these subcultures manifest in the material classroom environment, the social curricula and pedagogical practices as well as discourse and language. Prosser (2007: 13) refers to 'visual subcultures', which include what he labels the "postures of teaching and learning".

Within the broader visual school culture, teachers are allocated generic classroom spaces, which they may (or may not), to varying degrees, have autonomy over visually. Prosser (2007:27) states that

> the generic visual culture of the classroom embodies norms, rituals, traditions, and actions. Because teachers and pupils possess agency and the capacity to create, interpret, and reinterpret visual culture, they create their own unique visual classroom culture.

The participating teachers organised and adorned their classrooms with a variety of objects and visual stimuli, which provide insight into their place-making and their expectations of student behaviour in 'their space'; they, therefore, are the creators of their own unique classroom cultures.

7.3.1 Visual classroom spaces

When I engage with teachers' place-making, I acknowledge the extent to which teachers' decisions regarding the visual classroom space impact on the social dimension in that classroom. All six participants noted that for special-needs classrooms, the walls should not be too busy and explained to me that most students became easily distracted and overwhelmed. Three of the six teacher participants – Miss Müller, Mr Vivier, and Miss Jacobs – indicated that they made a specific effort to structure their visual classroom spaces.

Miss Müller, in particular, had a set opinion of, and took pride in, her physical classroom organisation. When she explained this to me in an interview, it became clear that she understood her classroom organisation as forming an integral part of her assertion of discipline and control. She states that:

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Classrooms have to be organised and clean, it is important. It must be structured and well taken care of, because then the students will see that you take it seriously and then they will take you seriously. If they (the students) walk in and see a neat and clean environment, they will understand that I take my subjects seriously and that I take my teaching seriously and hopefully that will translate to them taking it seriously too, or at least respect my space and me as the teacher. I believe this, I feel this, I know this. (Miss Müller)

She draws on her own schooling experiences in this regard:

The classrooms, when I was at school, were always well organised and structured. The teachers that did not have their 'stuff' together, their classrooms would be disorganised and dirty, etc. There was no sense of discipline in there. The people who had good discipline had neatly structured classrooms. If you have self-respect, they (the students) will respect you. (Miss Müller)

Miss Müller transformed an empty, lifeless room into a vibrant and creative life sciences classroom. She believes that her classroom should inspire learning, and she, therefore, provided stimulating visuals that she hoped would encourage students to want to know more about the subject. She used colours to help organise the information for the students, which included word walls. In front of her classroom, she had a collection of inspirational posters that she used to encourage independent thinking. She explains that "I use these visuals and refer to them as part of my practice … I use the science models a lot too, so, I have lots of those in my class". Interestingly, she said that "As I change as a teacher, I change the visuals, I constantly think about what I am transmitting through these (visuals) to the students. If something doesn't help or work, then I take it off. I am particular about my space". Through this comment, Miss Müller demonstrates her reflexivity as a young and enthusiastic teacher who seeks to continually reflect upon and improve her practice.

Mr Vivier also focused on creating a visual culture that reflected the subjects he taught. He divided the classroom walls into two sections: "when they enter the room, they can see what I teach – it is a Social Science class, but it is also an Afrikaans second language class. I use everything on the walls, the maps, the historical figures … it applies to my classes. Everything has a function and serves it". At the back of his classroom, he created a 'reading corner' with a bookshelf and a small couch where students could sit and read when they completed their day's work.

Classroom rules were placed at the front of Miss Jacobs's classroom, and she often referred to them by pointing to a specific rule, when applicable. On the one side wall, she displayed summaries of the short stories that her Matric class were reading. While she explained her visual structure to me, she made an interesting comment: "I put the summaries up so that when the students come in at the break, then they can quickly check." She follows this up by suggesting that "most of them can't

even read, but yes". Miss Jacobs adds that "earlier I had a brag wall, but here (Canaan School) you can't have that, because then those (students) that struggle academically, become demotivated. At the back of her classroom was a 'wall of fame' where she displayed articles and photographs of past students. She did this "so the students can see that here we invest in each other and here we don't just do academics, we do many other things". This speaks to her particular teacher subjectivity that invests in her students' futures and continues to support many past students as they go on to access tertiary education and training, or enter the workplace.

The other three participants – Mr Mitchell, Mr Swanepoel and Mr Williams – in contrast to their fellow participants, did not elaborate much on the visual culture of their classrooms and did not have particularly stimulating visuals or posters up on their walls. In their interviews, they expressed an understanding of the value of such visuals but did not apply this in practice. Although Mr Williams did not pay much attention to his classroom walls or his 'teacher space', which was often disorganised, he paid particular attention to how his desks and the students were organised in the classroom. His focus was firmly on managing students' behaviour and wellbeing, rather than on creating an academically stimulating visual classroom environment.

7.3.2 Organising bodies in classroom space

All teachers were expected to be particularly careful in placing students. The students' diverse special needs had to be taken into consideration. For each class group entering a classroom, teachers were to identify students with hearing deficiencies and visual impairments and seat them in the front of the classroom, facing the teacher, so they could see their faces, read their lips and be close to the board. This practice was implemented by each of the participating teachers. How the rest of the students were organised varied from teacher to teacher. Different teachers arranged and organised students and desks differently. The choices the participating teachers made about their desk arrangements communicate their assertion of control as well as the academic behaviours they encouraged and expected from their students.

Mr Mitchell and Mr Swanepoel organised their students' desks in what could be referred to as a traditional classroom layout: single desks in straight lines, all facing the front where the teacher stands and teaches. This reflects their somewhat authoritarian teaching and classroom management style. Although both indicated that they give students the freedom to choose their own seats, what they ultimately communicate to their students, with this particular desk arrangement, is their control and authority as the focal point of the classroom and the teaching and learning process.

Mr Vivier, Mr Williams and Miss Jacobs organised their desks in ways that created options for the students and were cognisant of the diverse needs in the classroom. Their desk arrangements varied

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somewhat, but each included a line with single desks, another with two desks together and spaces where three desks were grouped together for students who could work together in groups. Even though group work is encouraged in the CAPS outcomes, "some have to work alone, that cannot work with others because of their behaviour or anxiety or specific diagnosis, especially students with ASD" (Mr Vivier).

Miss Jacobs elaborates on her approach:

> You have to structure your class in such a way as to accommodate the students you have. There is no specific structure if you look at it, but the way it is organised works for my students. I have to have the wheelchairs in the middle of the room, so they can see the whole board … those that sit at the window must face towards the classroom and must not be able to look out the window, because then they will be distracted the whole period and will daydream … So, two lines face forward and one into the classroom. They choose their own space the moment they walk into my classroom in Grade 10, but if I move you the day, then you have to move. Only when it influences your academics. Also, if you choose to sit somewhere, you cannot move around. You chose that seat. (Miss Jacobs)

Mr Williams incorporated a 'calm-down corner' into his classroom structure. He used room dividers to create an isolated corner at the back of his classroom. In this corner he placed a single-seater couch, a blanket, books, drawing paper and stress balls (that students could squeeze), and he encouraged students who needed time-out or to calm down to listen to music on their cell phones with headphones when in the corner.

Miss Müller often thought about her classroom space and changed it regularly "to make it more efficient and practical" (Miss Müller). Her choice of desk arrangement differed significantly from that of the other participants. She explains:

> My desks are arranged as in a tutorial class, in a U-shape, to encourage conversations, and discussions. It creates a collaborative environment where they work together and can see each other and do problem-solving together. In both my subjects (Life Sciences and Mathematical Literacy), we solve problems most of the time, and problem-solving is never something that you do alone. Therefore, this encourages collaborative teaching and learning to take place. I also want these particular students to get used to using a 'buddy system' where they can support each other, and that encourages independent and critical thinking, as opposed to just asking the teacher, without trying to figure it out yourself. (Miss Müller)

Interestingly, two of the younger teacher participants, Mr Vivier and Miss Müller, demarcated their 'teacher space' with explicit physical boundaries utilising their desk arrangement and even a

physical line on the floor to indicate the boundary between their personal, teacher space and the rest of the classroom. The explicit physical boundary seems to indicate their struggle to secure a safe space for themselves inside of their classrooms, as well as the need to explicitly communicate their authority as they claim a particular section of the classroom for themselves.

7.3.3 Postures of teaching and learning

Teachers' bodily behaviours transmit valuable pedagogical signals to their students and in particular communicate each individual's beliefs, dispositions and values regarding teaching and learning, which in turn impact on students' academic 'behaviour'.

Nespor's (1997) research indicates that "teachers' frames of reference, the 'spaces' of their practice, were not just their physical classrooms, but also their students' bodies, considered as bounded containers of attributes and behaviours" (Nespor, 1997: 123). Inside of classrooms students' bodies significantly influence the bodily behaviours and adaptations of the teachers as they figure out how best to locate and portray their teacher subjectivity in response to the particular type of students they teach. Classrooms become the individualised space of the teacher, a space where the teacher has "exclusive control of a bounded physical space [which] is an important part of a teacher's identity within the school" (Nespor, 1997: 122). Here the body of the teacher is distinguished from the bodies of the students and responds to the behaviours and attributes of student bodies.

The diversity of disablement among the students at Canaan School, ranging from mental to physical disablement, created complex classroom spaces. Each of the participating teachers approached and responded to this complexity in different ways depending on their distinctive individual subjectivity and agency.

Mr Mitchell's body language exuded power and confidence. His posture was upright and he spoke with control and assertiveness. He exerted robust control over his classroom space and the students with few outward physical gestures and movements. He identifies 'discipline' as his most vital attribute which helped him to "get them somewhere to be able to teach them" (Mr Mitchell). The general climate in his classroom was calm and quiet, even when he was teaching classes that included students renowned for their defiant behaviour. In response to this, he explains: "My children know that I am not Mr Who-and-Who, I am Mr Mitchell, and no one else can be like me … they know exactly what to expect of me. School should primarily be a space for teaching and learning – that's what it should be" (Mr Mitchell).

In the following excerpt from an interview with Mr Mitchell, it is clear that he has adopted authoritarian postures and behaviours which he says he inherited from his father's disciplining of him and his siblings as young children. Mr Mitchell explains that:

The kids can feel when I am not in a good mood or if I am in a good mood. When you are in a good mood, they can exploit it and use it to their benefit. They will talk more and ask to go to the bathroom, ask random questions, etc. Or they pick up when I'm not in a good mood – they can also use this to their benefit. Then they push your buttons. So, you get to a point where you don't want to explain the work, etc. Most days, I'm in an okay mood. I tell them when I'm not in a good mood, that could be unprofessional, but I will tell them, and then I'll give them the benefit of the doubt and stay calm and hope that we don't get into each other's face. My students respect this of me … they take it when I tell them this. If they are going to make my day bad, then I'll make their day bad. I make them feel that they are a family – a messed-up family, but that's how families are – a diverse family. Then when one gets hurt, all will get hurt. They accept it like that. (Mr Mitchell)

In contrast, the female participants' classrooms conveyed more caring and empathetic postures of teaching and learning. Miss Müller used her body when teaching. She was expressive and used gestures drawing her students' attention to her. Her open body position signalled an invitation to the students to engage with her. She praised her students by using her body – nodding her head, sharing high-fives or thumbs-up, and raising her hands in excitement. These teaching postures encouraged her students to participate, and as the year went on, I (as an outsider) observed their growing confidence. She would allow students who struggled to sit quietly for extended periods to move around or to lie down on the carpet with their books, as long as they were participating in the class. Miss Müller sees her role as the facilitator of learning:

Special-needs students can easily get stuck in a space where everyone else does everything for them and don't utilise their own 'resources'. I want to facilitate, so space is set up so I can move between them, and that I am not the only focus of the classroom. I don't want them to get into a space where the teacher tells all. My desk is on the side, and the focus is on the board, and everyone can see everyone else in the class. I don't sit at my desk, I teach, and I move around, and I sit with them at their desks. And the one rule is that they should at all times be able to see their fellow students and me and I should be able to see each of their faces. I think this helps the engagement. Then no one can hide. They hide for various reasons – shy, don't know answers, don't want to participate, but I want to encourage them to explore their thoughts and build their knowledge in this way. (Miss Müller)

I want to emphasise the differentiated approaches of these two teachers. Mr Mitchell acted in ways that disciplined and contained the bodies and behaviours of his students for him to be able to teach them. This approach, what Nespor (1997) describes as 'civilising of bodies', meant that he rendered his student relatively immobile and silent in his classroom. On the other hand, Miss Müller utilised

her classroom space and her own bodily gestures and movement to engage her students in learning based on active discussion. This is a case of two distinctive approaches, creating two different classroom subcultures within the school, and this was dependent on the embodied behaviour of each of the teachers.

Another teacher, Mr Vivier, was always aware of his interactions with students in his classroom. He expressed the view that he took care for his behaviour not to be misinterpreted by his students. His sexual orientation, as a gay man, exposed him to comments and power struggles with some students, predominantly boys. He recalls an incident where a Grade 9 boy asked him if he wanted to kiss him. This was meant as a challenge to Mr Vivier's authority in the class. Even though such incidents had been upsetting and unsettling, Mr Vivier adopted an engaging and enthusiastic posture when teaching. He did, however, locate himself in his teacher space behind his desk and computer, which he demarcated as not accessible to students. In this way he created a safe distance between him and his students and thereby signalling his teacher authority via a physical boundary.

From the above discussion it is clear that teachers send valuable pedagogical signals to their students and in particular communicate their individual beliefs, dispositions and values regarding their teaching and learning dispositions and styles, which in turn impact on their students' academic behaviour in the classroom.

7.4 Curriculum (CAPS) delivery in inclusive, special -needs classrooms

Students who are placed at Canaan School experience barriers to their development and learning. Specific barriers to learning may manifest or include the following significant impediments: language development (comprehension and/or verbal expression, reading, spelling and/or written language); numeracy (dyscalculia); the inability to maintain concentration and complete tasks because of a short attention span and/or hyperactivity; learning needs that cannot be addressed adequately in mainstream education; sensory constrictions (visual or auditory) that can be addressed by the correct pair of glasses or appropriate hearing aid or device; and medical or physical conditions such as epilepsy and physical disability. The challenge for teachers at Canaan School is to deliver the CAPS curriculum to students with these types of challenges. The overarching outcomes of the CAPS curriculum are

- identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking;
- work effectively as individuals and with others as members of a team;
- organise and manage themselves and their activities responsibly and effectively;
- collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information;
- communicate effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes;

- use science and technology effectively and critically showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others; and

- demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation. (DBE, 2011:5)

7.4.1 Planning for inclusion

At Canaan School curriculum inclusivity is a central part of the institution, the teachers' lesson planning and their teaching methodologies. As a Special School and Resource Centre, Canaan School's staff was trained to identify and address their students' barriers to learning. Importantly, teachers at special-needs schools form part of a multidisciplinary team, where they work in consultation with the school's support services department consisting of speech therapists, occupational therapists, physiotherapists, social workers and psychologists.

At Canaan School the school culture positioned teachers as isolated, to some extent, inside of their classrooms. This multi-disciplinary team existed a support service which teachers had access to, but mostly could not find the time for thorough discussions regarding each student's particular needs. This left teachers to their own devices and ways of figuring out which pedagogical approaches worked best for them.

The following six aspects were emphasised by the teacher interview participants as a crucial part of their planning for inclusion: knowing your students and their diagnoses, problems with retaining knowledge, reading difficulties and using visuals, integrating technology and support services, and adapting texts and worksheets, and the need to teach one concept at a time.

7.4.1.1 Know your students

The participating teachers all noted that one of the most vital aspects of planning for their classes was knowing their students and their diagnoses. During his first year of teaching at school, Mr Vivier quickly realised the importance of knowing each of his students' stories. He explains that,

> I have a book that I put everything in (planning). I know the students, as such, I know which resources I need to use. This is not something that you know to do, or that anyone teaches you in a course … I learnt this here, through experience. The challenge with special needs is to know each student's story, you need to know their diagnosis and how to approach or handle that specific student. (Mr Vivier)

Knowing and understanding each students' medical diagnosis was an important aspect of teachers' intervention strategies. Intimately knowing each student took time and continuous conversations, something Miss Jacobs emphasises as an almost impossible tasks in mainstream schools where classes are over-populated. She elaborates that

The way to success here is that you have to watch the class, every student, and their behaviour, you must be ready to intervene before a meltdown occurs. If you wonder about a students' behaviour, you have to go to their file and read up on their history and their diagnosis, you learn something new about your students every day. Where in the mainstream school can you do this? There are too many students, they come in for the lesson, and you teach the lesson. (Miss Jacobs)

7.4.1.2 Retaining knowledge

Memory retention by the students seemed to be problematic and posed various challenges for the teachers. Mr Mitchell explains: "These special needs kids can't retain knowledge. If you teach them a concept in Grade 8, then in Grade 9, when they see it again, they have no idea what it is. A year later, most of them have forgotten the concept" (Mr Mitchell).

During Mr Williams's lesson planning he always assumed that his students knew nothing of the topic: "I treat them as if they know nothing of the topic and I incorporate many guiding questions to facilitate their thinking, all the time. I assume the 'don't know' position and build up the lesson slowly to what they need to know. Your planning must build connections with previous lessons and specifically include concrete resources and lots of visuals" (Mr Williams).

Miss Müller utilised her classroom visuals as reminders of work done and essential concepts, which she could easily and quickly refer to during her lessons. She created these as the year went on, and the curriculum developed. Miss Jacobs also made use of visual reminders: "You cannot rely on their prior knowledge, but because I use PowerPoint presentations, I can quickly walk through these again before I start the new lesson" (Miss Jacobs).

7.4.1.3 Reading difficulties and incorporating visuals

Another barrier experienced by the majority of students was that they could not read well or with good comprehension. This meant that the participating teachers could not provide long reading texts or math word sums without additional visuals or incorporating technological support. Mr Mitchell poses essential questions in this regard:

How are you going to make maths suitable to our kids if they can't read? How will they do mathematical literacy, which is mostly word sums? They can't read the word "geyser" and understand what it means to understand the word 'sum'. If they can't read that, how will they know what they are supposed to do? I have asked the kids to draw a picture of the word 'sum', but most of them can't do that at the high school level. They can't even create a picture for themselves or visualize it. We (teachers) have to provide the visuals; otherwise, they will be lost. You have to plan in detail for this. (Mr Mitchell)

Miss Jacobs explained to me that in their language classes they have over the years used various audio formats to support students. These include audio tapes, later CDs, followed by mp3 recordings. Although audio versions of textbooks and prescribed books were available, Miss Jacobs continued to read for her classes:

> One thing mainstream schooling did prepare me for was that I was a language teacher, and I have always read everything to my students. Here you *have* to read for them because they can't. I need to make sure that the students know what it is going on in, for example, the play we are doing, otherwise they are lost. (Miss Jacobs)

7.4.1.4 Integrating technology and utilising support services

Teachers had to be creative in their planning for inclusion and had to utilise a variety of teaching methodologies and resources to reach every child (see DBE, 2010: 58). The most prominent resources available to teachers is technology. The integration of technology into classrooms has been costly; every classroom at Canaan School was equipped with a computer and a projector; therefore, teachers mostly used PowerPoint presentations which they prepared and videos that they download from the internet to augment their teaching. Miss Jacobs explains her approach: "I don't write on the board. Typed text works much better than handwriting on the board for students with barriers to learning. I have to adapt my PowerPoint slides by using bigger fonts and less information on a slide" (Miss Jacobs).

There were other resources available to teachers at Canaan School which they could use when explicitly planned for and reserved in advance. These included reader pens,[3] tablets loaded with various software products, such as ClaroRead[4] and other text-to-voice applications. Teachers could also make appointments with a speech therapist to support hearing-impaired students with specific tasks as well as a computer lab with an occupational therapist at hand to support students to use the computer.

7.4.1.5 Adapting texts and worksheets

Students struggled to navigate their textbooks. They were often overwhelmed with the overload of information, pictures and diagrams in textbooks. Therefore, teachers preferred to make their own summaries and worksheets, which included visuals as reading support. Mr Vivier explained that he

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[3] Reader pens are portable devices that scan the line of text you are trying to read, and it will read it aloud for you, in a human-sounding voice. It uses optical character recognition (OCR).

[4] ClaroRead© is a simple, easy-to-use and flexible software program that helps you to read and write. You can read any on-screen text out loud and improve your writing in Microsoft Word. ClaroRead Plus© and Pro© also let you read aloud scanned paper books and documents.

had to "make summaries, and add lots of photos and pictures so that if they don't understand the question or some of the words, then the pictures can help them" (Mr Vivier).

Ms Jacobs pointed out that,

> A textbook on its own does not work for these students – I have them, but then I have made another book, that we bind, with all the questions on the stories etc. I make them resources and guidelines for writing that summarize the various structures of writing pieces. Then you don't have to search through the textbook, because they struggle to understand the index and how to go find what they are looking for. Everything must be ordered and structured for them.

I observed that the participating teachers would use textbooks for homework activities, but in their classrooms, as part of their pedagogical planning, they would adapt the content to suit the needs of their diverse student body. Various adaptations included bigger font sizes, less information per page, short and concise sentences, and conscious use of unambiguous language to avoid confusion with instructions.

7.4.1.6 Teach one concept at a time

All of the above aspects culminate in the key curriculum activity, which is the teaching of new concepts. At Canaan School teachers understood the necessity of teaching slowly, with repetition, mostly one concept at a time, to these students with barriers to learning. This is emphasised by all the teacher participants. Mr Vivier explains:

> You can't do more than one concept with these students at a time. Only one topic in one day. Some days you teach, and in 10 mins you teach the concept, and the students do the activity, but when there is time left, I can't do another concept, because then they'll just become confused (Mr Vivier).

Miss Müller is acutely aware of her students' levels of functioning and the pace they can work at. She emphasises the need to teach small sections of content at a time:

> I quickly recognise when I have to break the work into smaller sections, and I know my classes, so I know which modalities to use for which classes, or groups of students. I go on their feedback – do you get it? Okay, what do you get? Then based on that feedback, I can plan the next lesson. (Miss Müller)

A support staff member explained to me that these students have to navigate a variety of learning challenges during a lesson which could include not being able to hear well amidst the classroom noise; some struggle to concentrate for more than 10 minutes at a time, others' anxiety levels peak

and they shut down, or they cannot read, or they struggle with higher-order thinking, and many others. If the teacher then moves too quickly through concepts or deals with more than one concept in one lesson, these students fall behind, their anxiety levels increase, which demotivates the already struggling students them further. Keeping this situation in mind, the teachers plan the curriculum content and pace their teaching carefully.

7.4.2 Subjective pedagogical approaches in the classroom

Each of the participating teachers' specific pedagogical approaches served as place-making practices turning their classrooms into particular places experienced by their students. Acting within the prescriptions of the CAPS curriculum and school structures, policies, and expectations, they each approached their pedagogical task in diverse ways. Their own personal subjective capacities and teaching orientations played a role in their pedagogies.

7.4.2.1 Mr Mitchell: The traditionalist disciplinarian

Inside of his quiet and calm classroom space, Mr Mitchell was in control. His mode of instruction was predominantly talk-and-chalk, with a strong traditionalist approach to teaching. He did not use PowerPoint presentations, or videos, or give students hand-outs. He wrote on the whiteboard and expected students to write the work from the board and to mark their own books as he worked through examples and homework activities.

He believed in "levelling the playground" at the start of the year to be able to assert his particular pedagogical approach:

> Children with a variety of barriers and circumstances. No matter what their circumstances my aim is to bring everyone to a point where they realize that we are all expected to do the same things - to respect each other so I can do my job as an educator, which is to teach, and the main reason they are here, which is to learn. To me, these circumstances don't really affect my success, because I can get over these obstacles to get everyone on neutral ground in my class. You might have a maths or reading problem, but the fact is, according to CAPS, you have to get through this (curriculum content) to do the next grade. (Mr Mitchell)

Mr Mitchell often expressed his dissatisfaction with external pressure from education authorities and the heavily loaded curriculum, which suggests his desire to be able to attend more specifically to his students' needs. He explained that

> We need to teach hard here, from the concrete to the abstract. You have to literally go and backtrack. If it is a Grade 9 student that can't do the work, I have to backtrack to Grade 7 or Grade 8. My argument is – what do you want? (referring to the education authorities) That the child knows 100% nothing or at least 30/40% of the work? Do you want me to ignore

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the gap? Because I can continue with my curriculum, I have taught it, but is that teaching? What is my role as a teacher? Getting through the curriculum or actually teaching my students something? If we just do the curriculum, we are not solving the problem, we will get nowhere, we are recreating the problem. But also, if I don't do all my curriculum work, then other teachers will look at me and ask me why? What can we do? These kids need a lot of practice in maths, not just 4 sums, they need a lot of practice to be able to remember it. Unless they have dyscalculia, that we understand (Mr Mitchell).

He was aware of the need for differentiation in his teaching approach and felt that he was successfully incorporating such strategies:

Kids take longer to write from the board and to catch concepts, but you can't withhold 15 because three are very slow. I quickly identify these high-risk students. I don't need to ask my stronger students to help my slower students. I make sure with my teaching style to give enough examples easy, middle, difficult, to explain to all of them. When I write on the board – they don't write – they have to listen. When I am explaining, they have to stay with me – the moment they are not with me, they have to indicate. What I do is – I would pick it up when I give them the activity. Once I have done the homework on the board – I ask them to indicate which they did not understand and then we indicate which – at this point, I can use this info to see where the specific student is. I also ask them in between if they know where I am – but I never call out my students. Unless they are comfortable to talk in class or do sums on the board. When I see one that is behind – I identify and then I'll zoom in to that child and go through the work with them individually. (Mr Mitchell)

A Mathematics teacher, Mr Mitchell believed that his traditional, strict control approach was what was needed for successful teaching and learning to take place inside of his classroom. This research study does not focus on student assessment results or progress, and therefore cannot make any inferences regarding the success of any pedagogical approach with regard to test scores. However, what the data do portray is the particular kind of place that Mr Mitchell has created inside of his classroom, which was an extension of his personal experiences and accumulated dispositions that he expressed through his teaching pedagogy.

7.4.2.2 Miss Müller: The creative pedagogue and relationship builder

Miss Müller's primary focus was on acknowledging her students' diversity through her specific pedagogical practices to create an inclusive classroom culture. She made use of a variety of

resources to enhance her pedagogical task, which included: a visualiser,[5] models (replicas), videos, various textbooks, subject-specific magazines, copies of interesting newspaper articles, diagrams and pictures, science practicals (such as organ dissections and microscopic work), and other science materials, including plants and chemicals.

Her pedagogical approach developed as she learned from her colleagues and support staff:

> My teaching practice changed when I worked in the centre for assessment accommodation at school during an exam. This is where I learnt how to support students with particular problems or barriers, or how to be able to identify issues or barriers and how to adapt the texts that I use, how I speak in class, how to include the various disabilities in my teaching approach. (Miss Müller).

A Science teacher, she explains that she regularly plans and adapts her various approaches (what and how) to suit the learning needs of her students. She views her strength as being a good improvisor and that she can surprise her students with the way she presents content to them. She says that she "want[s] to ensure that my classes are not just the boring same thing each day. Saying this, I also keep the kids that have ASD in mind that enjoy structure and consistency. I know my students so I can plan for this" (Miss Müller).

She also expresses her concerns that the curriculum is overloaded: "there is just no time to do everything that CAPS prescribes and expects … I teach the important concepts, but I have to pace and plan in my own way, considering our context, which is very different from a mainstream classroom" (Miss Müller).

Miss Müller utilised a strategy for eliciting independent thinking in her classroom, which were what she calls the "three b's: brain, book and buddy". She expected her students to work through the three b's before they asked her a question. When a student asked her a question in class, she would respond with: "What did your brain tell you? What did your book tell you? What did your buddy tell you?" (Miss Müller). With this strategy, she hoped that students would engage in their own processes to solve problems and not primarily rely on the teacher to provide the answers. She states that: "my students do not need to sit quietly and work, but when they talk to someone it must be about work. They respect this. We have a good structure in this way" (Miss Müller).

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[5] Visualisers, also known as document cameras, are real-time image-capture devices for displaying an object to a broad audience over a projector onto a whiteboard.

Furthermore, Miss Müller was mindful of making unfair judgements about her students and their behaviour in her pedagogical endeavours:

> When I know the child has misbehaved in another class, I can't judge that child when he comes to my class. He needs to be given a new opportunity to prove himself. I am very serious about this…There is a boy in my one class who is fascinated by the Nazis, which has been a topic of discussion amongst other teachers. So, I have started up conversations with him around that, and he appreciated just being given the time of day to voice his opinion rather than people just being angry at this and judging him. He struggles with relationships with teachers, so I am just providing him with a space to share his thoughts and beliefs without judgement but to understand how and what he is thinking. I don't support what he believes in, but at least I can connect with him in some way. (Miss Müller).

Building rapport with her students was an essential aspect of Miss Müller's pedagogical approach. She aimed to know and understand each of her students within the entirety of their context. She believes that she can accomplish this through compassionate interactions and conversations with her students, where the students had an opportunity to explain their thinking and behaviour.

7.4.2.3 Mr Vivier: The liberated homosexual

In stark contrast to Mr Mitchell's approach, Mr Vivier, an Afrikaans language teacher, believed that teachers should 'talk and chalk' (i.e. teach didactically) as little as possible at Canaan School. His pedagogical approach was firmly focused on making the curriculum accessible to his students through his adaptations of the curriculum and interventions:

> Most of them (students) can't summarise on their own, or some can't even read for themselves. Even if we watch a video, I can't just let it play. I stop in between and then have to explain what was said in plain terms and then make it applicable to their lives…only then we continue with the video. Also, I provide a lot of notes, sometimes they have to summarise on their own, but I try to help them as much as I can. I have to make visual representations for them, rather than leave concepts as abstract, especially in language teaching. At times some students can make some connections on their own, but it is quite difficult cause most can't generalise or apply prior knowledge to concepts. (Mr Vivier)

He explains that he incorporates various teaching methodologies in his practice depending on the students in his classroom at a particular time. He continuously differentiation in his teaching approach and considers the students functioning levels:

> You can't approach the group as generic, and you teach generically. Sometimes you have to take up the 40 minutes just explaining the concept in a variety of ways for each type of

student to grasp it. In my Afrikaans language classes, I consider those students with language barriers, and I use a lot of English words so that they can understand the questions asked in an activity. Students diagnosed with ASD struggle with Afrikaans. They mostly choose to speak English, and some refuse to speak Afrikaans or another language. They know that they should speak in Afrikaans in my class, but if they struggle, we will do it in both languages. (Mr Vivier)

He believes that his best asset is his ability to observe and assess his students during his lessons:

You have to analyse the students as you go on in the lesson. That is something I did not do at the beginning of teaching here, but you quickly learn that you have to check up on the students. Many of them lack motivation, so they would sit in class with a book, but it's not even your book, so I check on them all the time. (Mr Vivier)

He explained to me that his own story impacts the most on his approach to teaching and on what he as a teacher finds acceptable in his classroom. Through his expression of his gayness, he aims to project a subjectivity that is liberal and inclusive. He finds teaching the History content as a means to engage his students in controversial conversations and debates around race, gender, sexuality, power and prejudice, especially when he teaches about the Second World War.

7.4.2.4 Miss Jacobs: The emplaced, morally just subject

In her nearly twenty years of teaching at Canaan School, Miss Jacobs had planted deep roots at the school. She lives on campus, is an active member of the school's SMT as an HOD, she is the head of the girls' hostel, acts as the invigilator for Matric examinations, and assumes many other duties that embed her in the daily operations of this institution.

She often reflects on her experiences of teaching at a mainstream high school. She explains the 'mind shift' that she had to make when she first started at Canaan School thus: "The students are not going to adapt to your style of teaching, you have to adapt to their style of learning. In my mainstream experiences, the students adapt to your style of teaching" (Miss Jacobs). This is also the advice she gives to new teachers who join the staff at Canaan School.

She has taught the various prescribed government curricula while employed at Canaan School, but states that: "My teaching style has stayed the same because I believe that I get results this way, and it works for my students" (Miss Jacobs). She prefers to instead "baby" (her word) her students rather than to leave them without support, even if she teaches in the FET phase. She considers all her students' disabilities and writes as little as possible on the board; she finds that large-font, typed text and many visuals to support reading are crucial. She is consistent in the delivery of her lessons: "You have to pace the lesson, you can't put everything up on the board, just one thing at a time and

slowly work through the activity. If a student can't read, then you don't force that child to read" (Miss Jacobs).

She emphasises the pedagogical task as requiring a lot of patience and that she often feels that students do not appreciate the immense effort she puts into her lesson planning and delivery. She believes, however, that it is her moral and ethical responsibility to continue to do all she can to support her students. She elaborates on this in the following way:

> You have to have a lot of patience. I think that by the Grace of God, I have received more patience than most. This helps me here. I also believe that if I do good for a student, then someone else will do good for me. I say thank you to God every day, for the blessings I have. The Bible says the one hand shouldn't know what the other hand is doing, so I give. The same person may not return that, but someone else will return those good deeds. (Miss Jacobs)

Miss Jacobs's pedagogical focus is firmly fixed on preparing her students for life after school and she expresses her belief that this is her calling. A large part of achieving this goal depends on her continued involvement with her students as she takes them from Grade 10 through to Grade 12:

> Here [at Canaan School] I can take a student in Grade 10 and take them straight through to Grade 12. By then, we know each other, they understand my style of teaching, and I understand them. We work out a specific dynamic that often leads to success. I see how students grow through the years, and when they get to Matric, they have come so far. Some others don't, but I hold on to the success stories. (Miss Jacobs)

She views parent contact and involvement as integral to accomplishing this goal:

> I have close contact with my students' parents. At parent evenings I ask them: 'What should I look out for in your child? What should I be sensitive to?' and I ask them about their family set-up; these are essential things that I have to know because the students' behaviour depends on what happens at home. It is essential to know what is going on with these students in their personal lives. (Miss Jacobs)

What is most remarkable of Miss Jacobs's pedagogical practices was her continued involvement with her students after they graduated from high school. She passionately explains the scope of her involvement to me:

> These students need us after school because their parents are often not knowledgeable and themselves have struggled after school. So, being the teacher goes much further than just my teaching inside the classroom. I always tell my students, when they leave Matric, they have to remember when they exit the walls of Canaan School, they have to face the cruel outside

> world. You must always have a back-up, and we are your back-up, come and come ask our help or advice. I have a few graduates that I still support. The one physically disabled girl is at university now, because of my guidance, and I continue to support her. (Miss Jacobs)

Miss Jacobs is intent on creating a classroom culture where students feel safe, supported and cared for as she guides them to academic success, which, for many at school, is to pass the matric national senior certificate (NSC) examination.

7.4.2.5 Mr Williams: The inspiring father figure

Mr Williams's taught the subject Life Orientation in the school's senior phase (Grades 7 – 9). Teaching the students valuable life skills was his passion. He conveyed a father-like teacher subjectivity in his classroom. Seeing how his students grow, even if in seemingly non-academic ways, motivated him. He explains that he "teach[es] them how to disagree in a good way, what good manners are, importantly, I teach them that if they fail that it is not the end of the world, I often have to build up their self-confidence" (Mr Williams).

Similar to Miss Jacobs's objectives, Mr Williams desires to impact on his students' vision for their future and wishes to provide his support and guidance to enable them to accomplish their career aspirations. It is therefore not surprising that Mr Williams pays special attention to this aspect in his Life Orientation classes His pedagogical approaches are aimed at throwing open the door of the classroom by 'inviting' the outside world in. He utilised story-telling and various resources which he found in the outside world to help in bringing the real world into his teaching. He states that:

> I am the resource … I don't need a PowerPoint presentation, because I use my own visuals, photographs, and objects from my travels. When I travel, I am always thinking of my lessons, and I gather information along the way. Your subject area must be part of your life. You must become the subject you teach. You, as the teacher, have to read and learn and be the walking resource. (Mr Williams)

As I observed Mr Williams's interactions with his students, it quickly became apparent that he knew each of the students in the grade for which he was a grade head. He knew their diagnoses, their home circumstances, and often interacted with their parents on phone calls or teacher-parent appointments. Mr Williams was an observant and caring teacher, and his students enjoyed interacting with him during his lessons. His classroom was lively space for learning, because he believed that a classroom should be an interactive space where students could engage with the teacher, the classroom assistant, their fellow students and other resources.

He was acutely aware of the diversity and the various learning barriers of his students and therefore used various forms to represent curriculum content, making especially sure that those who could not

read were equipped with appropriate resources and audio to keep up in class. He spent considerable teaching and learning time to make sure that his students felt heard and safe, which led to other teachers' negative opinions of his teaching style. Although Mr Williams was an outspoken individual, he did not pay much attention to such corridor gossip as he believed in the approach that he employed.

He employed a respectful approach to dealing with behavioural problems in his classroom:

> If someone disrupts the classroom, I would quickly ask everybody to lie on their arms or to look down. Then I would talk straight to the child that was misbehaving, sort it out, and then my lesson would go on. If you don't do this, then other students in the class would chip in, and the situation can easily escalate from there. (Mr Williams)

Parents often thanked Mr Williams for the extra effort he made supporting their children's education. Parents expressed their gratitude in emails, thank you notes and phone calls. It was evident that Mr Williams was a respected and admired figure to many of his students.

7.4.2.6 Mr Swanepoel: Morphing into a dissatisfied and disconnected teacher subjectivity

Mr Swanepoel is often viewed as a disciplinarian, who is often called upon by female teachers for his support with boys who display defiant behaviour. His classroom and office are situated at the end of a long corridor filled with classrooms where students in the FET phase predominantly attended their classes. He asserted himself through his authoritarian and masculine posture and deep, commanding tone of voice. Mr Swanepoel was an assertive individual, yet students respected him for the compassionate way in which he dealt with student matters. As a grade head in the FET phase, he was actively involved in students' lives. With 25 years of experience at Canaan School, he understood the learning barriers that the students experienced and how these impacted on their learning.

Mr Swanepoel teaches Tourism (Grades 10 to 12) and many of his student enjoyed his classes. Inside his classroom his students could sit where they pleased and most assumed relaxed postures, indicating that they felt comfortable in his presence. He describes his special-needs approach as one with a focus on "more individual attention and different teaching strategies with smaller groups and help from the support services" (Mr Swanepoel).

His pedagogical approach was engaging and conversational, and he often enjoyed making a joke, keeping his students focused on his instruction. What was striking about his approach was the caring way in which he addressed his students, often using pet names and checking in with them to ensure that all were in good spirits. He describes his approach as determined by mutual respect between himself and his students:

> You know that these kids won't give you the respect if you don't provide them with respect first. I want to teach the kids respect by showing them respect. I believe this is a big driving force here ... people don't give up on children, we don't just leave a child, we walk a path with them, and we keep on walking, I believe it's part of our make-up, we operate differently, we have to. (Mr Swanepoel)

He believes that most teachers at Canaan School quickly learn that respect must be a core value instilled in the teacher-student relationship for successful engagement with students with special educational needs, but more so, those with behavioural difficulties.

Mr Swanepoel continued and described his approaches in the following way:

> Why are we here? We have children with an array of problems … and we are an academic school; we take a child with special needs, and we do various things to make that guy write the same exam as any other matric student. We don't get academic achievement, but we get the child that keeps on trying, or the one that climbs out of his shell, broken children that get a new lease on life, a child that has been hit by life in mainstream and I think for us, it is to see how children can change. There are many disappointments, but there are enough that make a success. We don't sit here for the salary. (Mr Swanepoel)

Although Mr Swanepoel understood the school context and the students, he also expressed his dissatisfaction with the way the school was managed, which led to him harbour negative feelings associated with Canaan School and its structures. I would frequently find Mr Swanepoel in his office, adjacent to his classroom, behind his laptop busy with administrative tasks. It seemed as if Mr Swanepoel was often upset by decisions made by top-management and explains that these placed immense pressure on the teaching staff. He states that his grade head responsibilities have increased immensely over the past few years, which forced him to neglect his teaching tasks. As these feelings accumulated, Mr Swanepoel projected a dissatisfied and disconnected teacher subjectivity, which led to him often being absent from school.

7.4.3 Alternative assessment: adaptations and accommodations

The inclusive efforts of the staff at Canaan School were emphasised in the way in which assessments were adapted according to nationally prescribed assessment accommodations and concessions (see SIAS, 2005a; EWP6, 2001; National Education Policy Act, 1996). Canaan School functioned as one of the leading institutions developing these assessment adaptations, also referred to as assessment accommodations. Miss Jacobs was adept at developing of these approaches:

> I came here and learned about Alternative Assessments. We were the school that leads the way with these adaptations, and we taught the rest (other schools). Students here are so

> privileged to be here. The same learning barriers are in mainstream schools, and they don't have what we have here. (Miss Jacobs)

For students experiencing barriers to learning, some of these assessment accommodations included concession from a first additional language for the hearing impaired, the assistance of a speech therapist or reader/scribe for students with language difficulties, and the use of screen reading software.

Assessments can be divided into continuous assessments employed by teachers in their classrooms, and tests or examinations that were held at the end of each term. During a term teachers would assess student progress according to the CAPS prescriptions; however, assessments were always adapted to accommodate the students' barriers to learning. Mrs X, a support staff member, explains that:

> Students with serious reading deficiencies are assisted by providing reading and learning material on MP3 players and helping them to utilize this aid. Tests and examination material are also presented to those students orally or on audio when writing the external Senior Certificate examination in Grade 12. Students who have serious difficulties in communicating their knowledge in writing are assisted by educators and specially trained scribes, called an amanuensis, to do oral tests or examinations. Extra time is granted to students with writing difficulties or a slow writing speed. (Mrs X)

My objective in including this section is to emphasise the need for a complete institutional climate change through a restructuring of the school environment for these special needs students to prepare for and complete expected assessments (based on CAPS prescriptions). The anticipated stress accompanying assessments and outcomes often led to many students experiencing extreme anxiety, meltdowns, epileptic seizures and behavioural changes. The place of school, through the combined efforts of staff members, is transformed into a highly functional assessment accommodation centre for their students. The 'feel' of the institution changed during the last weeks of a term, when classes ceased and "the school becomes an effective special-needs school" (Mr Williams). Internal structures were in place that had been developed over many years of implementation and were continually being revised to provide the most efficient assessment system possible.

During the three- or four-week assessment programme, staff members' roles changed from classroom teacher to reader/scribe (transcribing for students who could not write or read for themselves), or the teacher in charge of a group of students with high anxiety levels, tasked with providing these specific students with a calm and structured environment before they were called on to complete a test or examination. There were many roles that teachers were asked to assume, but most important was that teachers' strengths were taken into account and each had been assigned a

particular role for which they were well equipped. Teaching staff worked collaboratively with support staff members to assist each student, creating a collaborative and inclusive space that impressed.

In sum, the delivery of the CAPS curriculum to students with special educational needs is mostly 'prescribed' by policy but interpreted by the institution and processed and presented in internal structures and procedures. However, teachers' pedagogical practices are their central expression of their dispositions and embodied identifications. Therefore, each individual teacher makes choices regarding their pedagogical choices, and the data show that they enact their subjective agency inside of their classrooms and through their pedagogical behaviours.

7.5 Making a place for inclusion

At Canaan School, my research focused explicitly on how teachers' (conscious *and* unconscious) pedagogical practices inside and outside of the classroom act as a place-making device. I understand teachers' pedagogy as the 'what, how and why' of their teaching. Teachers use these pedagogical practices to establish a place.

Inside of classrooms, teachers construct a particular place from the spaces encountered by students. Each teacher establishes a particular place through their pedagogical place-making practices in various spatial dimensions. When teachers enter the school and their classrooms, they bring with them their accumulated dispositions, beliefs, values, attitudes and histories into that space and recreate it through their practices. I argue that teachers' acting at school, through their pedagogical practices, is closely related to the way in which they conceive and imagine those locales, based on their socialisation.

The notion of place-making suggests that the way teachers design their classroom interiors, act individually and communally inside of these classes, imagine them and feel about them are all entangled in the process of constructing their classrooms as specific places. Therefore, place-making entails an interaction between the physical (material), the social (engagements between teacher and students) and the mental (the way each individual imagines the place). The making of a place also involves endowing it with a particular culture, which each participating teacher did based on their subjectivities. A classroom as a place is, therefore, a site where teachers and students connect, where teachers and students endow the classroom space with meaning and as such, turn it into something lived and experienced.

Lefebvre's three spatial dimensions are intricately entangled in each other as places are made. At Canaan School the authority of the existing school culture sets out parameters within the teachers' lived dimension. If we understand the production of space as a continual dialectical process – space

as constantly remade – then it is evident that behaviour influences school culture, but an existing culture in turn demarcates and influences behaviour and attitudes (Zhu et al., 2011).

Focusing on the place-making pedagogical practices of teachers, I argue that places are 'made' through a specific interaction between the school culture (as explained in Chapter 5) and each individual's particular identity (Chapter 6).

Furthermore, the construction of inclusive classroom environments is difficult to observe, as it occurs while teachers are also doing other things and, significantly, because "extending what is ordinarily available to all students is a complex pedagogical endeavour" (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011). Florian and Linklater (2010) argue that what is key to understanding teaching at inclusive schools is not whether teachers have the necessary knowledge and skills to teach in inclusive classrooms, but how they make the best use of what they already know when students experience difficulty. What I discovered during my research was that at Canaan School enormous trouble was taken to secure the inclusion of all students, regardless of diagnosis, physical disability or learning barrier.

The success of the inclusion of students depended on the day-to-day interactions with their teachers and the types of classroom environments which they created. Canaan School's efforts to make a place for inclusion is best explained as a values-driven effort from the high school staff, encompassing qualities such as compassion, commitment and connection.

I have argued that the school culture had the effect of isolating teachers inside of their classrooms and I have shown how they acted inside and outside of their classrooms to make place for their students. Outside of their classrooms support structures could be accessed to extend on what teachers could offer, but were dependent on the teachers' referrals.

Students with hearing and speech disabilities needing further support were sent to the speech department, where they received an individualised intervention. The high school's occupational therapist assisted in structuring tasks for individuals or groups of students. In other cases, where students struggled under the pressure of their workload, which presented in an emotional or behavioural change, they could make use of a cooling-down time-out period or could request to book an appointment with either the school psychologist or the counsellor. Students with physical disabilities, many of whom are wheelchair users, had access to facilitators, nursing staff and carers who were dedicated to their support. These individuals would assist the physically disabled in class, for toileting and feeding, as well as in more complex medical situations. In other medical cases, mainly regarding the regular occurrence of students suffering from epileptic seizures at school, two nurses at the school clinic would take care of and inform parents/guardians and monitor the students' recovery. I observed a number of these incidents. When seizures occurred inside

classrooms, teachers would quietly, without creating too much distress and/or disrupting the class, inform the nurse via telephone, manage the student, and continue with their teaching when the nurse arrived. Some of the other students seemed to be quite familiar with these occurrences and would support their friends or quietly continue with their work. These highly efficient structures and facilities were evidence of a school that delivers specialised teaching and learning interventions to its diverse student body.

Teachers and students got to know each other on many levels as the students' needs, personalities and behaviour patterns differed significantly inside of each class group. Teachers' pedagogies had to be sensitive to these differences. As a result, teachers had to forge intimate connections with students, understand their diagnoses and their behaviour, and they had to know what triggered each student, understand how they learned, had to know when not to apply pressure, and know when to walk away.

In summary, the teachers at Canaan School, driven by their value commitments, stretched their personal capacities to create safe and inclusive spaces for their students. These actions served to uphold the school's status as a 'prestigious' institution for special-needs teaching and learning.

7.6 Conclusion

This final data presentation and analysis chapter set out to present teachers' place-making pedagogical practices. The discussion is underpinned by the view that the school culture provides the context within which the agents (teachers) act as active participants in the place-making processes at the school.

I presented and discussed the data thematically moving from the teachers actions through their out-of-classroom spaces, after which I focused on their classroom practices, and finally I focused on how they deliver the curriculum (CAPS) to students who have been diagnosed with various barriers to learning.

I found that teachers moved around the school created opportunities for valuable non-curricular pedagogical interaction with students, but that the physical school layout and other institutional structures mostly guided, or limited, the extent to which teachers can move around. Additionally, teachers make conscious decisions about their movements, investing in or excluding themselves from particular physical and social (even mental) spaces, depending on their enactment of their agency.

Secondly, teachers create visual classroom subcultures that send valuable pedagogical signals to their students and in particular communicate each individual teacher's beliefs, dispositions and values regarding teaching and learning, which in turn impact on student's academic 'behaviour'.

These signals include teachers' choices regarding the visual classroom space, how they arrange their students in class, and their teaching postures and discourse.

Thirdly, I found that each individual teacher has some form of autonomy over the way they exercise their pedagogical choices in their classrooms, while delivering the CAPS curriculum. The data show that they enact their subjective agency inside of their classrooms and through their pedagogical behaviours. While their behaviours are 'prescribed' by policy, they each go on to establish diverse pedagogical practices to educate their students

Finally, teachers make a place for inclusion through the choices they make, based on who they are and the context within which they work, to address 'education for all' in their daily practices. These place-making pedagogical practices reflect their "knowledge, attitudes and beliefs about students and learning, as well as in the things that they do and the responses that they make when the students they teach encounter barriers to learning – that determines their inclusive pedagogical approach" (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011: 826).

CHAPTER 8: Conclusions and recommendations

8.1 Teachers 'making place' for inclusion

This thesis presented research in the sociology of inclusive education. It provided an interpretation of how six teachers 'make place' through their pedagogical practices at their special-needs high school. Place-making in the thesis refers to the process by which teachers construct place as they engage in individual and communal interactions and practices within their school's various social spaces (Nespor, 1997; O'Donoghue 2007; Tupper et al., 2008). The pedagogical practices of teachers, I argue, is central to their place-making at this special-needs school.

I restate and acknowledge my researcher positionality as researcher and teacher at Canaan School, while gathering the data during 2019. I refer back to the methodology chapter (section 4.7) to emphasise the great caution that was applied in ensuring the reliability and validity of the data findings, conclusions and recommendations made here. I, in particular, note that undertaking an ethnographic research study situates the researcher in complex ways at the research site as well as in relation to the participants. My upbringing as a white, South African, female, born in the 1980s in a politically turbulent country and my own experiences of schooling as student and teacher in Cape Town has positioned me in particular ways. The researcher is a crucial 'instrument' in the qualitative research process via her or his observations, facilitation of interviews, and interpretation of the data. Therefore, "the researcher as a 'human instrument' brings to bear (unavoidably) his or her interpretations and cultural orientations into the picture" (Somekh & Lewin, 2005:16). I accept the limitations of what is regarded as the 'truth' and place teacher subjectivity and institutional context in the centre of this ethnographic research study. I acknowledge the importance of adopting a reflexive stance throughout the fieldwork as well as in the interpretation of the data and the final conclusions that I make about the study.

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven I offered a discussion and analysis of the findings of this study. Chapter Five concentrated on the institutional culture of the school, Chapter Six discussed the selected teachers' subjectivity in the school, and Chapter Seven presented an understanding of these teachers' place-making pedagogical practices. This chapter concludes the study by providing a summary of the findings in response to the main research question. It emphasises the knowledge contribution of this study, clarifies the delimitation of the study, and finally, provides recommendations for further research. In this way, I respond to the overarching research problem:

> *How do teachers make place through their pedagogical practices in a special-needs high school?*

By presenting my findings and conclusions in this chapter, I highlight the study's specific knowledge contribution. For this thesis, the knowledge contribution lies in addressing 1) the historically unfolding institutional culture of the school and how it operates to position the school and its teachers; 2) the subjectivities of the teachers vis-à-vis the institutional culture; and 3) the place-making pedagogical practices the teachers establish within the limits of the institutional culture and their specific subjectivities in making a place at the school and in their classrooms.

8.2 Research question one

What are the various dimensions that constitute the school culture at a special-needs high school?

8.2.1 The historically unfolding institutional culture at Canaan School

This thesis has presented the institutional culture at Canaan School as a facet of the contextual dimension that positions the teachers in the school and classroom. The institutional culture operates as the constitutive backdrop in respect of which the teachers make a place in the school.

By incorporating the historical unfolding of Canaan School's institutional culture, I argue that the institutional culture positions the professional practices of the teachers at the school. I discuss how Canaan School is positioned as a formerly white, Afrikaans, Christian, special-needs school. I argue that Canaan School expresses its Afrikaans, Christian, 'white tone' through the 'unwritten rules' prevalent in its daily operations and prestige as a leading special-needs institution in South Africa.

The historical development of Canaan School positioned the school as a particular place, reconfigured within the various spatial dimensions through the people who interact with the institution. The making of a place, throughout history, entails endowing it with a particular culture and involves a dynamic interaction between Lefebvre's (1971/1991) three 'fields of space': physical, mental and social/lived space. As Chapter Five illustrates, the time and space dimensions are central to understanding the formation of school culture. School culture at Canaan School is constituted amid the 'messiness' of special-needs schooling and through invisible characteristics, including its political economy, its prestige and the expression of its 'white tone'.

I argue for the particular realisation of the institutional habitus 'in action' in terms of the three spatial dimensions. I argue that 'white tone' has morphed into a discourse of managerialism that has come to characterise the institutional tone, made up by the managerial practices associated with the neoliberal institutional functioning of the school. These practices have been playing a formative reorganising role in the lived realities that the managers, teachers and learners experience at the school.

8.2.2 Place-making: Leadership practices and internal structures

Although this thesis did not aim to investigate leadership practices per se, the data indicated that these practices were instrumental in shaping the culture at the school. I conclude that managerialism characterised the institutional tone at the school. Canaan School's mode of governance embraces the for-profit sector's values and 'marketing language', focusing as it does on quantifiable aspects. The special-needs school struggles to manage or respond to the complex qualitative realities of day-to-day life in its environs and classrooms.

At Canaan School both the school's historical development and the policy landscape position the decision-makers at the school, mainly the principal and deputy principals, which in turn impacts on the lives of the teaching staff in the lived dimension. The practices of the principal, utilising policies and other forms of legislation that are not particularly sensitive to special-needs classrooms, to substantiate decisions made at the school were problematic for the teachers. The concern with the enactment of policy is that school leaders should consider the context of special-needs education delivery before slavishly implementing policy expectations. Importantly, schools are not homogenous; they are unique institutions each situated in a specific social context, serving a diversity of communities. Therefore, the environment creates a context within which the particular school operates. I stress schools' unique contexts and emphasise that individual schools should be capacitated to meet their local needs and that at the heart of the notion of inclusion "lies a conviction that one size does not fit all" (Slee, 2001: 395).

I argue that a discourse of managerialism has come to characterise the adapted institutional tone, made up of the managerial practices associated with the institutional functioning of the school. These practices have been playing a formative reorganising role in the lived realities that the managers, teachers and learners now encounter at the school. Canaan School is set up to operate as a distinctive kind of place for the teachers, which situate or position them in their classrooms. Teachers embody specific values, assumptions and beliefs in the light of what they understand as their 'function' at Canaan School. The culture of performance efficiency enters into the classrooms through the development of a disciplinary orientation that locate the teacher as isolated in the classroom. Therefore, the teachers are positioned in relation to the dominant discourses and culture at Canaan School, which operates as the context within which teacher subjectivities and their pedagogical practices ensue.

8.3 Research question two

> *What are the subjective complexities that constitute teachers' place-making and pedagogical practices?*

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8.3.1 The teacher as subject in interaction with the school's institutional culture

The culture at Canaan School is made up of sets of complex relations between managers, teachers and students. These relations are continually shifting and changing, while at the same time being absorbed by both teachers and students (see Webb et al., 2002). The data indicate that as the teachers come to understand the institutional culture, they realise that their survival and success are dependent on their activation of facets of their accumulated dispositions and skills that resonate with the school culture at Canaan School. Although the culture initially overwhelms the teachers, once they become immersed in the space, they enter a process of behaving in specific ways, in effect projecting adopted subjectivities in the school. Teachers have to adjust within this school space to negotiate a 'way of being' or living inside of the place, a process which I view as their subjective place-making practices.

Teacher subjectivities are evinced through their socialisation in the various fields of their life trajectories. Each teacher's distinctive socialisation (pre-Canaan School) positions him/her in relation to the school culture. In contact with the school culture, the teachers respond by repositioning themselves and expressing or projecting a particular teacher subjectivity. I argue that it is the teachers' personal and pedagogical histories that position them in particular ways in relation to place-making within the school context.

Issues of class, race, gender orientation and age significantly impact on each of the participating teachers' personal and professional socialising processes, situating each in differing ways in Canaan School and its particular institutional culture. When these teachers come into contact with the institutional culture of Canaan School, they enter into identity-shaping processes whereby they adapt their responses in their new social field. Once these teachers have worked out their positioning, they 'speak back' to the school space through their assertion of agency.

I view the teachers' living and acting at the school as the place-making practices that they utilise to build up or adjust or shift their habitus as teachers. The teachers' place-making entails their time-space paths, indicating that teachers choose to either insert or exclude themselves from particular physical, social and mental spaces in the school. Here the diversity among the students whom they teach significantly influenced their responses, behaviours and adaptations as they figure out how best to locate and project their teacher subjectivities considering their particular school context.

I argue that these teachers project and express particular subjectivities that result from the way they understand themselves in the school space based on their experience. Teachers act to reposition themselves vis-à-vis the institutional culture through their individualised ways of acting and living in the school.

The processes that operated to establish teachers' habitus and their subjectivities lay the foundation for understanding these teachers' consequent pedagogical practices inside their respective classrooms.

8.3.2 Teachers are not the same

My exploration of teacher subjectivities and the above findings emphasise that teachers are not all the same. I argue, with Artiles and Kozleski (2007), for a critical awareness of the complexity of identity formation and teachers' practices in inclusive classrooms. Jansen (2001) emphasises that teacher identities as portrayed in policies are based on a "politically naïve and pedagogically ill-informed" (p. 246) perspective on teachers. Similarly, Carrim (2001) points out that "the notion of 'the educator' continues to homogenise teachers and teaching, and is unable to analytically address the specific realities experienced by teachers or the complexities of their identities" (Carrim in Jansen, 2001: 245).

Therefore I suggest, based on my research, that explorations of teacher subjectivities in schools and classrooms must consider the participants' place-specific behaviours. The spatial characteristics and consequent daily activities that occur within school spaces are of great importance when aiming to understand the variety of identifications teachers can make. The spatial characteristics of a place are distinctive as they offers specific positioning resources for the individual to draw on, which could include institutional resources, habitual classroom roles and the curriculum, to list a few (see Wortham, 2004).

8.4 Research question three

> *What is the nature and the extent of teachers' place-making practices inside their inclusive high school?*

8.4.1 Subjectivity and pedagogy

In this study, each of the participating teachers' pedagogical approaches served as place-making practices turning their classrooms into distinctive places experienced by their students. Acting within the prescriptions of the CAPS curriculum and school structures, policies and expectations, the teachers each approached their pedagogical task in diverse ways. Their subjective capacities and teaching orientations played a role in their pedagogies.

At this special-needs school, the primary task is the teaching and learning of the national prescribed CAPS curriculum. The data indicate that the pedagogical endeavours of the six teacher participants are focused on preparing their students for their final Matric (Grade 12) examination. To

accomplish this task, teachers draw on their own socialisation and schooling experiences, and act in ways that they believe will offer their students the best possible education to accomplish this goal.

The delivery of the CAPS curriculum to students with special educational needs entails that these teachers express their pedagogical agency in the specific contexts of their classrooms. While their behaviours are 'prescribed' by policy, they each establish diverse pedagogical practices to educate their students. Each teacher enacted their subjective agency in their classrooms and through their pedagogical behaviours.

I argue that the discrete qualities that define who teachers are – given their socialisation and what the school culture provides – merge to establish their unique diversified teaching philosophies expressed through the decisions these that teachers make regarding their educational task.

8.4.2 Place-making

In Chapter 7 I presented the most prominent aspects that operated inside and outside of classrooms as the participating teachers live and act at school. Without merely restating the findings, I synthesise those aspects to illustrate how the place is created.

I view schools and classrooms as "the outcome of a spatial dialectic: the imbrications of physical space, representational space, and spatial representation" (Fataar, 2009:1). Inside of each teacher's classroom, specific assemblages were formed, which incorporated objects, technologies, postures, movements, values and ways of 'doing' inclusive education (see McGregor, 2004).

At Canaan School, spatial networks were regulated by timetables, policy documents, varying functions, task descriptions and curricula creating boundaries and parameters for interaction between the teachers and their students, which impacted on the pedagogical encounter inside of the classroom. I concur with McGregor (2004:348) that teachers and students "are dialectically constituted by social relations, and network ties, [and that] pedagogy becomes an accomplishment of a network rather than an individual". Inside of classrooms, teachers constructed particular places which were encountered by their students, but each teacher now remakes this place on various dimensions. When teachers enter the school and their classrooms, they bring their personal, political, emotional, and professional identities into that space (see Jansen, 2001) and recreate it through their practices.

To restate, I view 'place-making pedagogical practices' as the social activities associated with the process of place-making. In illustrating the teachers' place-making, I follow Lefebvre's (1971/1991) logic of the 'production of space'.

Classrooms became the predominant space where teachers could assert their subjectivities and enact their pedagogical task. I argue that teachers can 'intervene' (within the broader school culture) and

create representations of classroom space that resonate with who they understand themselves to be and what their pedagogical task entails. At Canaan School, the participating teachers created 'representations' of spaces for learning, which, I argue, provided concrete guidelines for how 'thought' can become 'action' (see Lefebvre, 2000:165) – considering that physical and visual representations of space bear implicit histories and ideologies (Lefebvre, 1991:116) embedded in the spatial context and symbolic or imaginary realms. My contention is that these subcultures teachers create send valuable pedagogical signals to their students. These representations of space communicate each individual's beliefs, dispositions and values regarding teaching and learning, which in turn impact on student's academic 'behaviour'.

Pedagogy encompasses the spatial practices teachers utilise to create places for teaching and learning. I argue that a broader understanding of pedagogy encompasses teachers' movements, teaching and learning postures, how they plan for inclusion, and the decisions regarding how they construct their lived classroom spaces. In the study, pedagogical practices are not meant to denote the narrower focus on pedagogical processes associated with learning and teaching in the classroom. Instead, it refers to the intersecting practices that arise out of the teachers' engagements with the various spaces of their work.

The data show that these spatial practices reflected the teachers' subjective pedagogical orientations. I restate and emphasise that power, performativity and pedagogy come together at school, and that they are embodied and expressed inside of classrooms (see Schmidt, 2013). The ways that the participating teachers made place inside of their respective classrooms represent their personal views, values and beliefs related to what it entails to teach at this special-needs high school. Therefore, multiple meanings were attached to specific teachers' classrooms, and student behaviour is affected accordingly.

Chapter 7 described the various teacher subjectivities and the way that each teacher acted to 'make place' inside of their classrooms. I argue that the six participating teachers established 'place-making pedagogical practices' within the limits of the institutional culture and their specific subjectivities in making a place at the school. I argue that responding to students' special educational needs depends on the ability of the teacher to shift their teacher identity to one that embraces inclusion through acquiring the required knowledge, attitudes and beliefs that embrace inclusive pedagogical practices. As I have emphasised throughout this thesis that, through their subjectivities and consequent pedagogical practices, teachers interact dynamically with the culture of the school in the creation of particular spaces for learning. Therefore, this research has broadened the understanding of how these spaces are constructed and provided insights into what guides and sustains their creation, and how this process differs from teacher to teacher.

The classroom, as a place, is thus a nexus of spaces within a given boundary and has assigned values and interpretations (O'Toole & Were, 2008). Notably, the experiences of individuals in such specific moments in place are varied and dependent on how the individual is situated within the flows and frictions involved in constructing that place (Massey, 1993). These findings have shown that inclusion entails complex interactions between policy, context, culture, leadership, identity (subjectivity) and pedagogy.

As explained above, the various dimensions (physical, social and mental) of the institution of school are 'made' by its inhabitants. School space is an active participant in this place-making process that influences and guides its inhabitants' daily activities at school. Importantly, although the school exists as a particular place sociologically and historically 'made' by people, it continues to be made and remade by its inhabitants. The making of a place is a response to what already exists, guided by the actors' subjectivities, dispositions, beliefs.

8.4.3 Inclusion requires resources and support staff

I conclude from my research findings and the literature on the topic that an inclusive pedagogy embraces collaboration and values multidisciplinary teamwork, and also requires specific knowledge, attitudes and beliefs about learning and learners. At Canaan School, the school's institutional culture provided such collaborative interactions, outside of their classrooms, in meetings, or through accessing support services. Teachers did not work in isolation; however, they were to some extent 'isolated' inside of their classrooms.

Institutional cultures that embrace collaboration and values multidisciplinary teamwork will be able to generate and allow the types of pedagogical work needed for successful inclusion. Teacher subjectivities could be shifted through the types of teacher educational socialisation that is promoted within a collaborative context. Such contexts could be established by school leaders, which will allow teachers and support staff to collaborate in safe and supportive environments to shape and shift teachers' existing teaching subjectivities towards collaborative learning. At Canaan School such collaborative learning subjectivities were not explicit; participating teachers acted in ways that to some extent indicated 'survival' subjectivities.

8.5 Delimitations

I want to restate that this is a qualitative ethnographic study conducted with a diverse group of high school teachers from an inclusive, special-needs school situated in a suburb of Cape Town. The research stretched over one school year, i.e. approximately ten months. The purpose of the study was to generate an understanding of teachers' professional and place-based identities (i.e. their

subjectivity), their school's culture, their pedagogical practices and of the way that these contribute to the making of a particular place in their classrooms.

The study was limited to researching the experiences of six high school teachers at one inclusive, special-needs school and focused on their pedagogical practices and their place-making. Thus, the research study is limited to a selection of teachers representing less than 10% of the staff working at the specific school. The study is also limited to the experiences and practices of these teachers at one specific school. This particular school as a full service, inclusive or special-needs high school is one of merely five such schools in Cape Town.

8.6 Possible new research directions

Current South African education policy aims to create and sustain a singular, inclusive education system. Accordingly, my intention in this study was to highlight those practices and procedures which could advance more inclusive classroom spaces in special-needs classrooms, as well as in regular, mainstream classrooms. Importantly, further studies in this and related directions will provide further insights into various aspects related to inclusion.

These research directions could include, as I suggest in the previous section, principals' leadership practices in mainstream and special-needs school aimed at the creation of inclusive school cultures. My study found leadership practices to be a decisive factor impacting on the creation of the school's institutional culture and in framing the limitations of the teachers' pedagogical practices. Research in this area will enhance an understanding of the diverse contextual realities of schools and the subjective complexities of school leaders.

Furthermore, future research could explore the roles and actions of school management teams (SMT) and school governing bodies (SGB) and how these aid in the construction of internal school policies and procedures to advance inclusion.

Findings of this research study suggest that

At Canaan School, a prominent aspect of responding to students' educational needs was the adaptation of assessments and the utilisation of assessment accommodations. Research exploring the assessment practices in more detail will advance an understanding of how assessment adaptations and accommodations impact on students' academic achievements. Such research projects could track student progress before, during and after assessment accommodations have been applied and could reveal how students with barriers to learning acquire and relay knowledge.

Also, research on the narrower focus on teachers' classroom pedagogy in their teaching, should aim to consider the implications thereof for curriculum policy and practice at special needs schools. Research studies that concentrate on how teachers adapt the curriculum (currently CAPS) for

students with special educational needs would be valuable to inform inclusive pedagogical practices at special needs and mainstream schools. The various pedagogical commonalities and differences at these two types of schools should also be explored.

Finally, data in this research study, as well as the literature presented in Chapter 2, indicated that the process of inclusion places immense emotional demands on teachers and could impact on their physical and emotional wellbeing. Research exploring this aspect of inclusion within the South African context could reveal important structural aspects to take into account in pursuit of supporting and sustaining teachers' wellbeing at special-needs as well as in mainstream schools.

Ainscow (2005) makes an important observation when she states that schools with specialist knowledge fostering inclusive cultures, such as special-needs schools, rarely discuss their institutional practices, as they are mostly taken-for-granted actions. This observation emphasises the importance of understanding inclusive education within the institutional context and the associated educational practices of the school and its teachers.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has concluded the study by providing a summary of the findings in response to the main research question focused on understanding how teachers make place through their pedagogical practices in a special-needs high school. By presenting my findings and conclusions in this chapter, I outline the study's specific knowledge contribution, which focuses on: 1) the historically unfolding institutional culture of the school in positioning the school and its teachers; 2) the subjectivities of the teachers vis-à-vis the institutional culture; and 3) the place-making pedagogical practices whereby the teachers, within the limits of the institutional culture and their specific subjectivities, make a place from the spaces at the school and inside of their classrooms.

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Addendum A: Ethical consent from Stellenbosch University

APPROVED WITH STIPULATIONS
REC: SBER - Initial Application Form

15 July 2019

Project number: EPS-2019-9427

Project title: The place-making pedagogical practices of teachers in an inclusive high school.

Dear Ms Elzahn Rinquest

Your REC: SBER - Initial Application Form submitted on 1 April 2019 was reviewed by the REC: Humanities and approved with stipulations.

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
15 July 2019	14 July 2022

REC STIPULATIONS:

The researcher may proceed with the envisaged research provided that the following stipulations, relevant to the approval of the project are adhered to or addressed:

1. SCHOOL PERMISSION REQUIRED

The researcher is reminded to obtain written permission from the school principal to do the research among the teachers at the school. [ACTION REQUIRED]

HOW TO RESPOND:

Some of these stipulations may require your response. Where a response is required, you must respond to the REC within **six (6)** months of the date of this letter. Your approval would expire automatically should your response not be received by the REC within 6 months of the date of this letter.

Your response (and all changes requested) must be done directly on the electronic application form on the Infonetica system: https://applyethics.sun.ac.za/Project/Index/14853

Where revision to supporting documents is required, please ensure that you replace all outdated documents on your application form with the revised versions. Please respond to the stipulations in a separate cover letter titled "**Response to REC stipulations**" and attach the cover letter in the section **Additional Information and Documents**.

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (9427) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Research Protocol/Proposal	FINAL PROPOSAL E Rinquest PhD Proposal 23 Oct 18	30/10/2018	1
Investigator CV (PI)	ER CV 2019	15/01/2019	1
Default	ER CV 2019	15/01/2019	1
Informed Consent Form	Participant Concent Form	01/04/2019	1
Data collection tool	PhD Interview Schedules	01/04/2019	1
Data collection tool	Focus Group Schedules	01/04/2019	1
Data collection tool	Observation Schedule	01/04/2019	1
Proof of permission	PhD consent letter JKS	01/04/2019	1
Proof of permission	WCED Research approval letter	01/04/2019	1
Budget	Research budget	01/04/2019	1

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

Addendum B: Permission to conduct research from the WCED

Western Cape Government
Education

Directorate: Research

Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za
tel: +27 021 467 9272
Fax: 0865902282
Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000
wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20181211–9705
ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Ms Elzahn Rinquest
13 Sultana Road
Somerset West
7130

Dear Ms Elzahn Rinquest

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: THE PLACE-MAKING PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES OF TEACHERS IN AN INCLUSIVE HIGH SCHOOL

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:
1.   Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2.   Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3.   You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4.   Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5.   The Study is to be conducted from **14 January 2019 till 27 September 2019.**
6.   No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7.   Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8.   A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9.   Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10.   A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11.   The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:
         The Director: Research Services
         Western Cape Education Department
         Private Bag X9114
         CAPE TOWN
         8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.
Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard
Directorate: Research
DATE: 12 December 2018

Lower Parliament Street, Cape Town, 8001
tel: +27 21 467 9272   fax: 0865902282
Safe Schools: 0800 45 46 47

Private Bag X9114, Cape Town, 8000
Employment and salary enquiries: 0861 92 33 22
www.westerncape.gov.za

Addendum C: Permission to conduct research from Canaan School
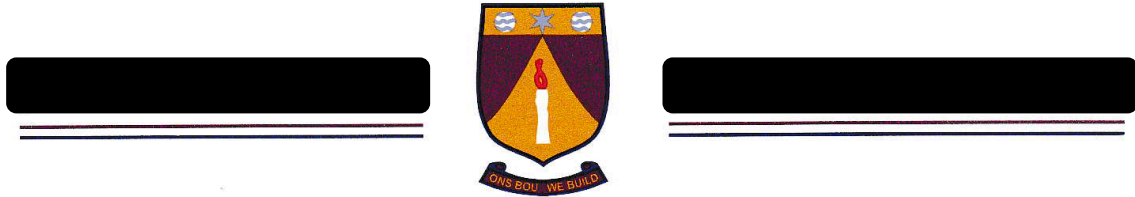
OLSO-SKOOL / ELSEN SCHOOL

Verw. No. /Ref. No.
Navrae / Enquiries:

Tel:
Faks/Fax:
E-pos/mail:

Authorisation to conduct research at ▓▓▓ School

Reference Number: 20181211-9705

Dear Ms Elzahn Rinquest   18 January 2019

This letter serves to confirm that ▓▓▓ School is informed about the proposed investigation by yourself and gives you permission, under the criteria set out in the attached letter by Dr Wyngaardt, to conduct the research at ▓▓▓ School.

We wish you all of the best for this study!

Yours in Quality education

HEADMASTER

Addendum D: Participant consent form

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of thesis:

The place-making pedagogical practices of teachers in an inclusive high school.

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by ELZAHN RINQUEST for a Ph.D. Thesis, from the EDUCATION POLICY STUDIES DEPARTMENT at Stellenbosch University.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The focus of this research study is to understand how teachers make place via their pedagogical practices in an inclusive high school in Cape Town. The research will investigate the inclusive school culture at one specific special needs high school. School culture is understood as an active 'participant' in the place making process and offers the 'actors' a backdrop for their 'acting'. The research will primarily focus on understanding the teacher participants' place making inside of their respective classrooms, with specific focus on their pedagogical practices. The process of place making implies that places are created and recreated by the people who live in them. The golden thread throughout the study will be to explore the construction of place in three dimensions, namely; mental, physical and lived space (social).

2. PROCEDURES

You will be asked to volunteer to participate in the study for the duration of ten months, from January to October 2019 (excluding school holidays).

If you volunteer to participate in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

2.1. Semi-structured interviews:

Various individual, semi-structured, interviews will be conducted with you over the period of the ten months in 2019. You will receive an outline of the potential questions that will arise in the interview prior to it being conducted. Topics will include: your biographical information; professional practice; special needs teaching; pedagogy; place-based practices, such as: your physical classroom, social interactions with students, parents and colleagues, and your ideas regarding policies guiding your school; your beliefs about your professional capacity; your feelings and responses to being a teacher at a special needs school; your understanding and (re)actions relating to your own and other's authority at school.

The duration of each interview will be approximately one hour and will take place after school hours or as decided by consultation between yourself and the investigator.

2.2 Classroom observation:

The researcher will visit the classroom of the participant at a time and date agreed on by them to observe the classroom culture and specific practices of the participant which all relate to topics of individual interviews mentioned above. Classroom observations will be for the duration of one school period per week or as agreed on by researcher and participant.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There should not be any risks involved in the research. Participants are welcome to withdraw from the research at any stage.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

I believe that this type of research will contribute to the literature that tries to understand how teachers' pedagogical practices, in inclusive and special needs schools, influence places and how places influence them.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive any payment for participating in this research study.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with your child will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of:

- Individual interviews will be audio recorded. The sole reason for this is so the researcher can focus on what is being said in the interview and is not forced to continually make notes of what is being discussed. The audio recording will be used with utmost caution and confidentiality, after the interview, to make the needed notes.
- The participants will have access to any audio recordings of interviews conducted and it will be available to participants to review/ edit if it is necessary or applicable. It will be deleted after the thesis has been written.
- All data produced and gathered as a result of this research study will be safeguarded in a password protected safe as well as electronically in a password protected folder.
- Confidentiality will be maintained throughout this research study. The identity of the school as well as all participants will be protected. The school's name will be changed to a fictional name decided on by the researcher. No real names of participants will be used. All participants will be identified in the study by means of selected pseudonyms.
- Faces of people in photographs (taken by students) will be blackened and rendered unidentifiable. Any publication of photographs is subject to ethics procedures and the specific participant's consent.

Copies of the thesis will be made available to you and will be given to the Western Cape Education Department as well as Prof. Fataar, my supervisor, and the external examiners for the thesis. Confidentiality, through pseudonyms, will be maintained throughout the process.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be part of this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw her from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Elzahn Rinquest *(Principal Investigator)*

elzahn.rinquest@gmail.com

072 493 4901

Prof. Aslam Fataar (Supervisor)

Education Faculty, Stellenbosch University

afataar@sun.ac.za

(021) 8082281

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT

The information above was described to the participant by Elzahn Rinquest in [*Afrikaans/English*] and *the participant is* in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to the participant. The participant was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to his/her satisfaction.

I hereby consent to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Participant

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the subject/participant*]. He/She was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in [*Afrikaans/English*] and no translator was used.

/_____   _____

Signature of Investigator   Date

Addendum E: Qualitative questionnaire

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Participant Name:

FAMILIAL:

Where did you grow up?

How would you describe your family?

How would you describe your relationships with your various family members?

How would you describe your formative years?

What level of education does your family members have?

Did/ do your parents work? What were their occupations?

SCHOOLING:

Which school(s) did you attend?

What were your general impressions of school?

Did you have any specific interests/hobbies/sports, etc?

Tell me about your greatest achievements.

How did your family view education and the importance thereof?

Were your parents supportive in relation to your education and how?

Were your parents supportive in terms of your interests and school activities?

Which subjects did you enjoy the most? Achieve in?

Did you acquire any leadership positions at school?

Where did you attend university? And why?

Describe your tertiary education experiences?

Which course/degrees/diplomas/certificates did you complete?

Which subjects did you specialise in?

Do you have any special training in special needs/inclusive education prior to working at this school?

WORK:

Where did your professional career start?

How old were you when you entered into the teaching career?

Have you always been in teaching? Tell me about your other careers.

Have you taught at various schools?

How long have you been working at this school?

Which subjects do/have you taught?

Why did you apply for a job at this specific school?

When applying were you aware that the school was a special needs school and how did you perceive teaching here to be when you applied?

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME YOU HAVE SET ASIDE TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

Addendum F: Interview schedules

FOCUS: PEDAGOGICAL HABITUS

Schooling:

- When you were at school – what can you remember about the way that teachers taught you?
- Was there a teacher or teachers that you enjoyed their way of teaching more than others? Why?
- What did you take from these experiences into your own teaching practice?

Training:

- Who influenced you to become a teacher?
- When at university studying to be a teacher – was there something that stood out to you that you find valuable in your teaching practise today?
- What were you like as an education student?
- Did your experiences in practical teaching help you in any way to teach the classes that you teach today?

Practice:

- Thinking back at your teaching career – how have you changed your teaching practice since you first started teaching?
- What would you say impacts the most on the way you teach today?

FOCUS: PLACE BASED PRACTICES

THE PHYSICAL CLASSROOM

- Do you consider the physicality of your classroom as important for the learning experience?
- In terms of your classroom lay-out --- Why are things arranged in the ways that they are?
- Do you use visuals in your classroom? How/Why?
- (What's the value of having posters on your walls?)
- How long have you had the things on your walls that you have there now?
- Do you change the visual structure of your classroom?
- What do you deem the most important aspect of your classroom space?
- Do you write on the board? Or do you use powerpoint presentations?
- Explain the function of the various items of furniture in your classroom.
- Do you feel that the size of your classroom is sufficient?

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- Do you feel the placement of your classroom in the school building works well?

- What would you change about your classroom?

- Do you research/read up on the impact of physical classroom space?

- Do you think about it?

- Do you only teach inside of your classroom or do you use other spaces? Outside? Where? How? Why?

- What kinds of materials and supplies do you use?

TEACHERS: SOCIAL SPACE

Congregate in space:

- When you arrive at school, what do you do? Describe your morning routine.
- Do you only teach in your classroom or do you move around in other spaces/ classrooms in the school?
- Where do you go when you have a break?
- What do you do during break-times?
- When you are on break duty – what do you do?
- What do you consider as your safe space at school? Why?
- Are there specific places at school that you dislike and try to avoid?
- Do you leave straight after work to go home? What do you do once the bell rang for the end of the school day?

Staff interaction/ collaboration

- What are your experiences with working with other teaching staff?
- Do you enjoy interacting with other staff members or do you prefer to keep to yourself?
- Describe to me the interactions that you have with your colleagues.
- What are the dynamics between the high school teachers and the therapists?
- Do you have people here that you spend time with outside of work, which you consider as friends?
- Why do you think you specifically connect with these staff members?
- Is it easy for you to build relationships with your colleagues – taking into consideration age, race, religion?
- Would you say that there a specific things that divide staff members? (Or) Are there specific groupings of staff? Give some examples.
- Have you ever been in conflict/ argumentative situations with a colleague?
- When/Why would you disagree with a colleague?
- Which characteristics do you appreciate of a colleague?
- Are the teachers here competitive?

- Are the leaders supportive?

- Describe your relationships with members of the management team at school.

- Do you generally follow the line function or would you skip the line and talk to your principal when there is a problem?

- Do you think that you have enough opportunities to interact with various members of staff? Think about the cleaning staff, classroom assistants, therapists, gardeners, etc.

- How do these interactions happen?

- Do you meet in subject groups?

- Do your colleagues support you in your planning and assessment setting?

- Do you ever collaborate with teachers from other schools?

- Give an example of a time when you've worked on a team.

- How do you feel about team-teaching?

- Describe one time when you've acted as a leader.

- What do you look for in a principal?

- How do you communicate with the management staff`?

- Have you ever received an award for anything in your lifetime? Describe

Student interaction

How would you describe your interactions with your students?

What is your philosophy regarding a teacher's interaction with their students?

How do you think your students would describe you?

Teaching learners with barriers to learning, whom are already at high school level - Are the learners you teach motivated? Or do you struggle to encourage them to buy into their academic careers? How do you motivate your learners?

A student confides in you and tells you that his parent abuses him. He asks you not to tell anyone. What do you do?

Do you do extra-curricular activities? Which ones?

Does your interaction with your students change outside of the classroom? How? Why?

Discipline

Tell me about your discipline philosophy.

What are your classroom rules? How do you make students familiar with the rules?

What daily or weekly routines would be incorporated in your teaching?

One student hits another student. What do you do?

A student throws a pencil across the room. What do you do?

Explain what you would do if a student was swearing in your class?

What would you do if a student was complaining about an assignment you've given?

What would you do if a parent complained about an assignment?

Describe some methods of "positive reinforcement" that you might use in your classroom.

Would you describe yourself as a "tough" teacher or an "understanding" teacher? Explain.

How would you create a behaviour modification for a student with ongoing behaviour problems?

What are some ways you can avoid behaviour problems?

Without giving any names, describe the most challenging student you've ever taught.

How do you feel about noise in your classroom?

How would you teach conflict resolution to your students?

Parent interaction

Do you often communicate with parents?

How do you communicate with parents?

About what would you contact parents?

What do parents contact you about?

How would you describe the relationship between a parent and the teacher?

What is the importance (if any) of having a relationship/communication with your students' parents?

What would you do to calm an angry parent?

How do you respond to a parent that calls you because they are worried about their child's low grades?

A parent writes a note and tells you that their daughter could not complete their homework assignment because she had a dance recital the night before. What would your reactions be?

INTERVIEW: PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

General background

- What motivates you to get up in the morning and come to school?

- What do your consider to be your strengths as a teacher? Explain.

- Describe what you view as your weaknesses as a teacher.

Special needs teaching

- Do you enjoy teaching high school learners with special educational needs?

- What are the challenges with teaching special needs students?

- When teaching – do you have a structure that you follow for your classes?

- How do you navigate between the various levels of functioning in your classroom?

- Do you have specific methods/ practices that you utilise to manage this?

- How have you adapted your teaching style to accommodate these types of learners?

- Does this impact on your planning for lessons? How?

- Do you get the time to apply these methods? In practice & planning?

- Do you feel that CAPS offers you the scope to do this?

- Can you apply the same methods to all your classes or do you have to adapt?

- Do you think that you make learning fun/enjoyable for your students? How?

- In which ways do you encourage creativity in your classroom?

- How do you measure student performance in your classroom?

- How do you help students to be accepting of one-another?

- Do you think you are a flexible person? Explain.

- When would you describe one of your lessons as a successful lesson?

- How do you use technology to enrich your lessons?

Professional basis for teacher identity:

- o Do you feel competent to teach the specific subjects and these types of learners?

- o Do you often go for training relating to your specific subjects? Who offers these training opportunities?

- o Which support structure do you make use of and do you find helpful in your classroom to teach your specific subjects?

- o How do you make your teaching connect to students' real-world experiences?

- o Where do you plan to be five years from now?

TEACHER IDENTITY

Political basis for teacher identity: (MENTAL SPACE)

- How would you describe this particular school to someone that knows nothing about it?

- How would you describe the scope of your job here?

- How would you say the WCED views your role as a teacher at this specific school?

- How does the school view your role as a teacher here?

- Do you think that all types of learners are always included at this school (general)?

- What do you think you do to include ALL learners? (Discuss: gender, race, class, religion, language)

Emotional basis for teacher identity:

- o Tell me about the emotional demands that your teaching places on you. What is the impact of this on your teaching? Your personal/day-to-day life?

- o Let's talk about the existing stresses and pressures in your everyday life at school:

- o How often do you feel under pressure or stressed at work?

- o What is the impact of this on your emotional experiences at school?

- *How do you experience change/new approaches? Are you comfortable with it? Do you challenge change initiatives? Why? How?*

- *Do you feel confident in your position at work? What makes you doubt yourself?*

- Do you tend to worry? What makes you worry?

- What part of your job do you enjoy the most?
- What part of your job scares you?

Addendum G: Observation schedule

SCHOOL CULTURE

Physical & social:

- General first impressions of physical school building
- Aesthetics of building and informal spaces: (Colour, lighting, shape, etc.)
- General movement of staff & students in and around the building.
- Identify and observe various informal spaces in and around the school building.
- Who spends time in which spaces?
- Observe & describe activities that occur inside each of the spaces identified.
- Meetings, training & other school activities

The participants:

- Where do they spend their time before school, during break times, after school?
- Who do they spend their time with?
- What do they do in these spaces? Why?
- How do they interact with each other?
- What do they talk about?

Classroom observations: Place making practices

The researcher will visit the classroom of the participant at a time and date agreed on by them to observe the classroom culture and specific practices of the participant which all relate to topics of individual interviews mentioned above. Classroom observations will be for the duration of one school period per week or as agreed on by researcher and participant.

Observations to focus on:

- Physical & visual classroom structures
- Social interaction between participant & students
- Diversity, inclusivity & discrimination
- Pedagogical approaches
- Specialised approaches